

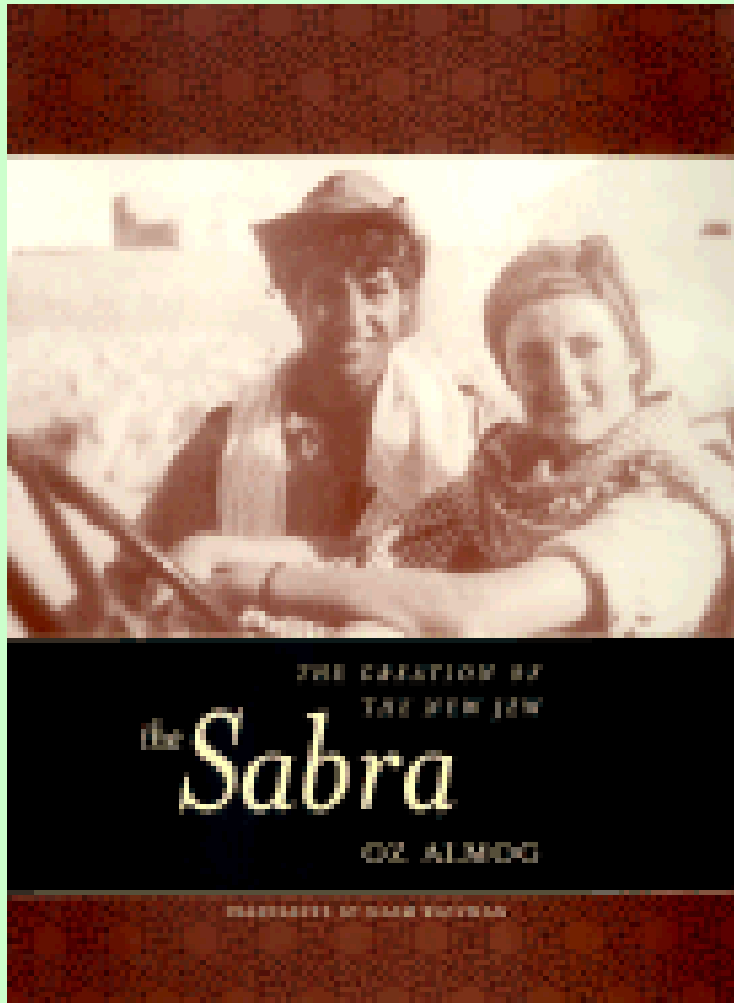
Israel's Identity: from hegemony of the New Jew (“Sabra”) to current “tribalism”

- The Other to which the new Jew, the Sabra, was counterpoised was the old “Diaspora” Jew more than the Arab residents of Palestine.

“Sabra” (prickly pear)



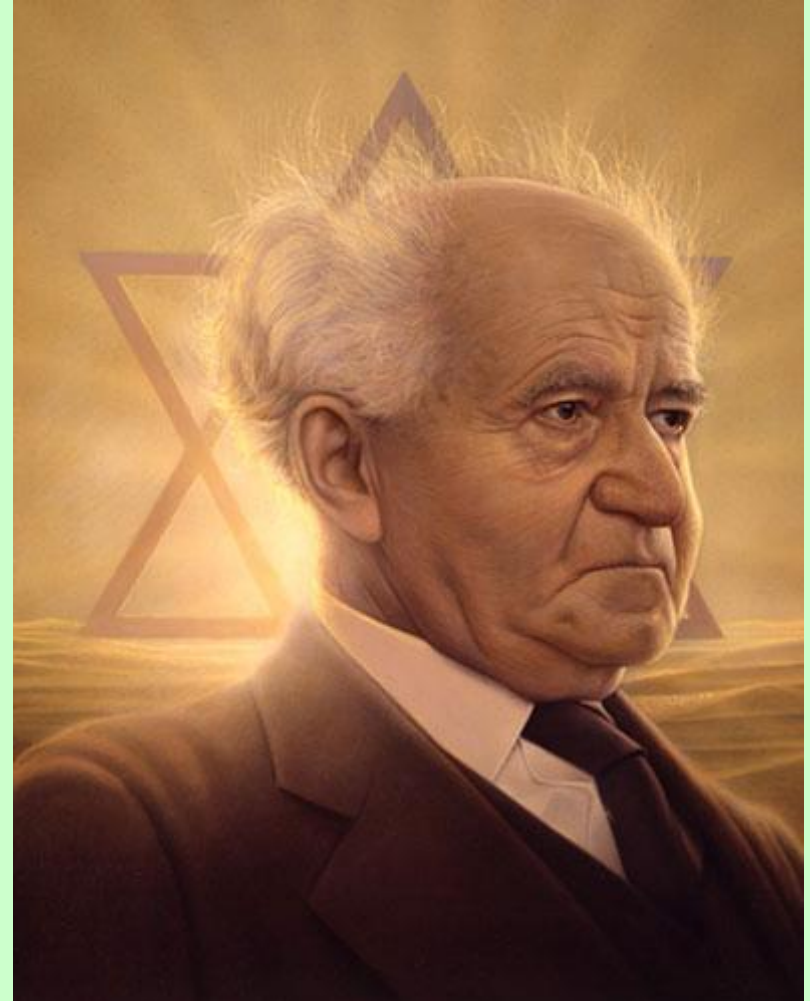
Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew* (U. of Calif. Press, 2000)



- Synopsis: “This book provides a comprehensive portrait of the Sabras (the state of Israel's first generation, born between the 1930's and 40's) . . . It's an interesting look at the creation of a new Jewish identity, and the reasons why Israeli Jews have become so different from their Diaspora forefathers.”

Take David Ben-Gurion, for example (1886-1973)

- Immigrated from Russia to Palestine in 1906.
- Worked initially as an ag. Laborer.
- Hebraized his name from “Grün.” Hated speaking Yiddish.
- An avid bible reader, yet thoroughly secular.
- From ~1930, became the undisputed leader of the “Yishuv,” then Israel’s first PM



The New Jews: Sabra farmer-warriors epitomized by Moshe Dayan (1915-1981)



Yitzhak Rabin, 1922-1995. Israel's first Sabra PM



Ariel Sharon, 1928-



Identity politics in Israel

- The “New Jew” vision viewed Israel as a largely-secular state of Jews (e.g., the “Law of Return”).
- If initially the New Jew was set apart primarily from the Diaspora Jew, after 1948, the view of the Arab as the cultural Other hardened (whereas the Holocaust weakened the Jewish Other).
- From 1948 to the 1970s, the “New Jew” identity was hegemonic. The swift victory of 1967 was its high tide; its decline was precipitated by:
 - The shock of the 1973 Yom Kippur war.
 - Demographic and political changes in Israeli society
- Demographics change: what “tribes” had no place within the dominant narrative?

Israel's “tribes: the Arab citizens

- Do not fit comfortably within either a “state of Jews” or “Jewish state.”
- Might fit more comfortably within:
 - A communist Jewish state
 - Some kind of a Middle Eastern (or Semitic) hybrid identity
 - An Islamic state
 - “A state of its citizens”

Nazareth (R)



Israel's "tribes": the Sepharadi Jews



JEWS IN GRAVE DANGER IN ALL MOSLEM LANDS

By WALLACE ELLSWORTH

LAND MARKS, N. T. 342
15—For Daily Post, 1962. The
United Nations has had before it
an appeal for "immediate and ar-
rived" consideration of the case of
the Jewish population in Arab
and Muslim countries following
Yalta, Moscow, and Berlin.

[illegible]

Reports from the Middle East indicate that there is serious tension in all Arab countries. The Jewish populations there are gravely worried at the prospect that an Arab-Jewish war may break out suddenly at any moment.

Already in some Moslems states such as Syria and Lebanon there is a tendency to regard all Jews as Zionist agents and "folk enemies." They have been expelled outside with feeling rising high. There are indications that the stage is being set for a tragedy of inevitable proportions.

Nearly 800,000 Jews live in the Muslim and Arab countries bordering the Aegean along the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean. Jewish leaders today are convinced that their position is unique in the region.

On Jan. 28, 1948, the World Council of Churches issued a statement in Geneva, Switzerland, stating that the world will come before it.

Nine Hundred Thousand in Africa and Asia Face Wrath of Their Foes

| | |
|----------------|---------|
| French Hermann | 100,000 |
| Italy | 100,000 |
| Germany | 100,000 |
| Spain | 100,000 |
| Belgium | 100,000 |

| | |
|--|--------|
| Europe | 50,000 |
| Thailand | 40,000 |
| UNHCR | 15,000 |
| Yemen | 40,000 |
| East Asia | 30,000 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America | 10,000 |
| Other | 10,000 |
| Asia (excluding refugees from Vietnam) | 7,000 |
| Adm. expending refugees from Vietnam | 5,000 |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| It provides the beginning of an | ALPHABETIC LISTING OF | |
| unpublished lists of Jews served | names in Italy, . . . | 1,000 |
| prisons of non-Nazi states would | Other countries, . . . | 2,000 |
| be considered "members of the | South, . . . | 1,000 |
| former NAZI STATE OF PRUSSIA." | | |
| These lists would be used to | Total | 4,000 |
| to trace and send to France re- | | |
| sistance in "German conditions in | | |
| Poland." Jews referred to as | | |
| active fighters would be referred | | |

The presentation gives many facts. "Virtually all" South, etc.

"NOT LIKE DACHAU, IS IT, HERR MUFTI?"



arrests in the spring of the Syrian Government have been disrupted. Freedom of movement has been "practically abolished," says

In 1993, no fee is permitted to leave the country unless he deposits \$1,000 (\$20,000) with the Government to guarantee his return. His departure has to be within

In Lebanon, Ipan have been accused of contributing financially to the PLO's efforts. The United Nations partition resolution on Palestine calls for measures against Jewish property acquisition by the Jews which includes bans of "immigration and" etc. *

Danger Emphasized
 Citing many other details of persecution, this report declares that "the very survival of the Jewish communities in eastern ARAB countries is in serious danger unless preventative action is

Today, with a Jewish State established, Jewish spokesmen at Lake Geneva did not conceal their anxiety that the danger to the survival of the Jewish people, once of the Arab countries is even more imminent, and that the only

Conditions here in the Muslim countries. They are worst in Ya-

man and Agnes, who
study here have had in seven Ca
lifornia, California is much of the

remains have demonstrated in recent months, this being particularly true of Lebanon, Iran and Egypt. In the southern Gulf too, most Arab

The Madisonians noted, with some unease, that the bill would, if passed, have the effect of making it more difficult to pass a bill.

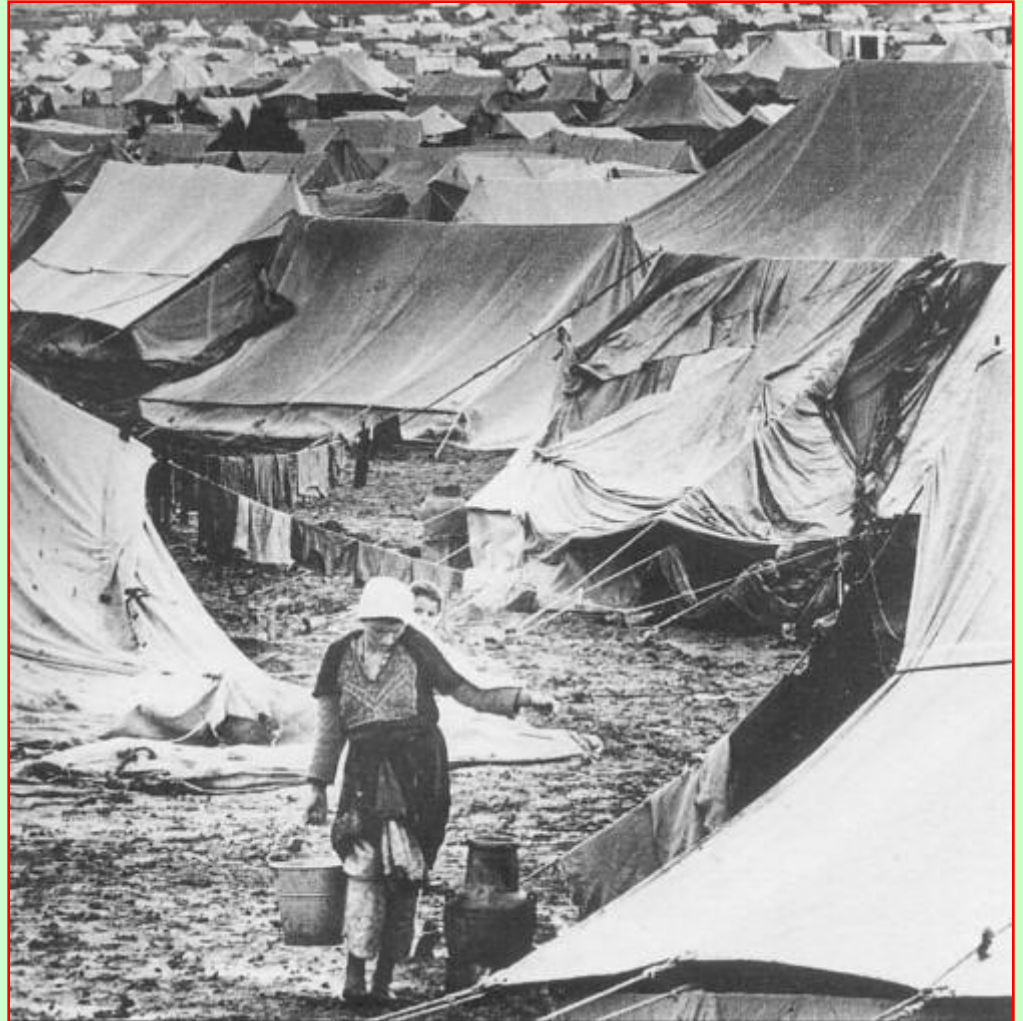
will. The negotiations will be going on for some 48. The only thing that makes us nervous is that the negotiations will be going on for some 48.

The *Mellah* in Sefrou, Morocco



Iraqi Jews arrive in Israel ~1950 (L)

“Ma’abara” (R)



Ashdod



Israel's tribes: the “ultra-Orthodox”

- Historically hostile to Zionism
- Were devastated by the holocaust
- Were expected by the Zionist leadership to become extinct—expectations were confounded by history
- Don't care much for a “state of Jews.”

Knitted kippahs and black hats



Me'a Shearim, Jerusalem





Beitar Ilit, an ultra-orthodox settlement

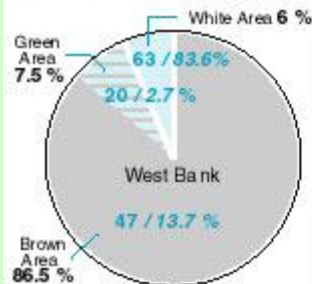


Israel's tribes: the national-religious bloc

- Was a junior partner of the hegemonic elite
- Became awakened by the 1967 victory
- Want a Jewish state in Greater Israel
- The core of the settler movement

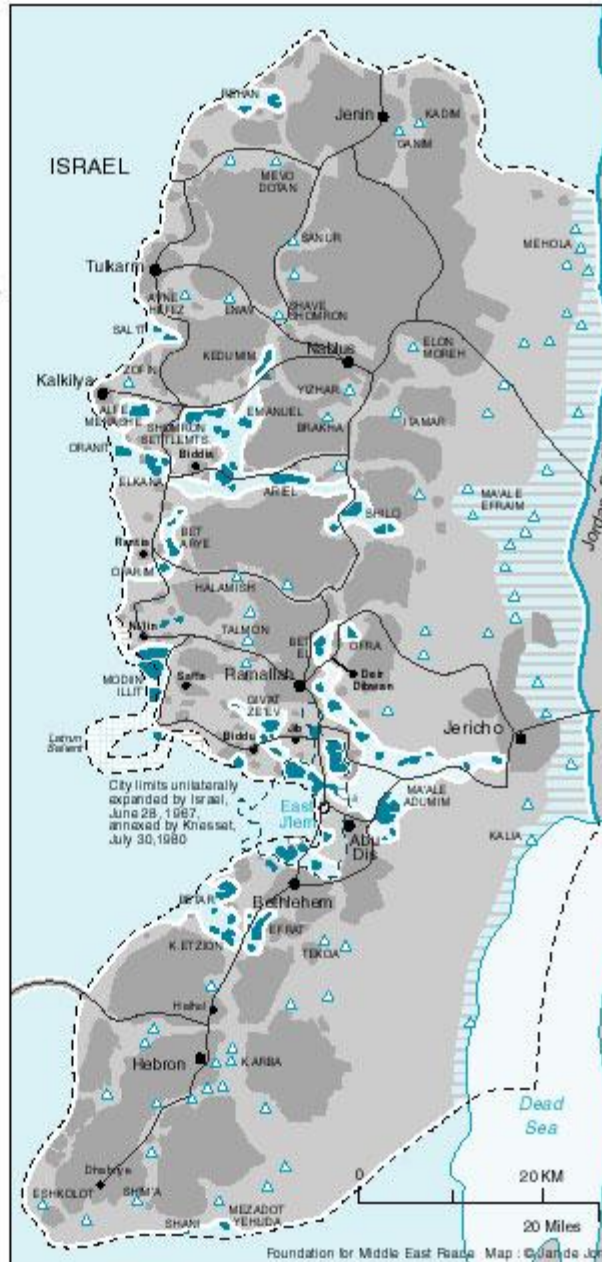
Projection of the Clinton Proposal - December 2000

Based on a 6 % - West Bank Territorial Transfer to Israel



West Bank Sovereignty Areas, including Number of Israeli Settlements and Percentage of Settlers, excluding East Jerusalem

A Palestinian State - Historical Comparison



Settlement of Shilo, near Ramallah



Settlers demonstrating against PM Sharon in 2005



Whatever happened to the old, hegemonic elite?

- It became a “tribe,” epitomized by Tel-Aviv. Largely Ashkenazi.
- Tel-Aviv’s state of mind: party time; militantly secular; high tech; looking outward toward Europe and the U.S.
- Identity: a [democratic] state of Jews. Wants peace to become a part of the West more than a part of the Middle East.

Tel-Aviv Skyline







Tel-Aviv, 2004 Gay Pride Parade





Tel Aviv: streetlife and nightlife



The newest tribe: the “Russians”



Rabin and the Oslo Process

- Rabin's secular-Zionist vision: “we want a [democratic] state of Jews” (Quoted by Barnett, p. 75)
- Coalition of “Tel-Aviv,” elements of the Sepharadi “development towns,” elements of the new “Russians,” with outside support of (for the only time in Israeli history) the Arabs.
- Rabin was killed in 1995 by a member of the “national-religious” tribe, Yigal Amir. Today, many Israelis support amnesty for Amir.



- On October 26, 2004, the Knesset approved PM Sharon's plan to remove all Jewish settlements from the Gaza Strip.
- Vote tally: 67 in favor; 45 opposed; 7 abstentions; 1 absent (illness)
- Who were the 67? Labor; Shinui; roughly half the Likud (Sharon's own party). Who do they represent in Israeli society? Tel-Aviv.
- Who were the 45 opposed? Half the Likud; the National Religious Party (knitted kippahs); the Ultra-Orthodox Ashkenazi parties; Shas (Ultra-orthodox Sepharadi); the National Union.