Association of Israel Studies
Annual Conference, American University, Washington D.C.
"Visions and Divisions"
2001 Conference Abstracts

MONDAY - MAY 14
8:00 - 10:00pm - Board Meeting

TUESDAY - MAY 15

9:00 - 10:15 Registration

10:15- 11:45

Session 1A   **ISRAEL IN UNEXPLORED COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES**
Organizer and Chair: **James Ron**

"When Ethnos and Demos Collide: Visions of Citizenship in Israel and Germany"
Danny Levy, Department of Sociology, State University of New York at Stony Brook
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This paper explores the various ways in which citizenship debates have changed or reproduced the balance between ethnic and civic forms of national self-understanding in the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel. Both countries have descent-based laws, awarding citizenship to those who prove that they are of German or Jewish descent. In contrast to most immigration studies who spotlight the incorporation of out-groups (e.g. non-national immigrants), this project focuses on in-groups who are formally part of the nation-state (e.g. ethnic Germans, Jews from the former Soviet Union). In both countries, the end of the Cold War and its concomitant waves of immigration have catapulted tensions between ethnic particularism and universalistic civic claims to the forefront of political debates. Unlike countries with civic modes of incorporation and strong assimilatory agents, nations with ethno-cultural traditions face a different set of problems when confronted with a heterogeneous population. Their institutional and cultural mechanisms to cope with heterogeneity are circumscribed by ethno-cultural self-understandings. This has frequently led scholars to place both countries in a rigid dichotomy of ethnic (ius sanguinis) and civic (ius soli) categories. Instead of presupposing that ethnic and civic are fixed and mutually exclusive notions, I suggest that these categories are contingent on historical junctures, political circumstances and different memory regimes.

"Israeli-Palestinian Truth and Reconciliation in Comparative Perspective"
Eric Goldstein, Research Director, Human Rights Watch/Middle East
e-mail: goldsteinli@yahoo.com

"Strategies of State Control in Bosnia and Palestine"
James Ron, Departments of Sociology and Political Science, Johns Hopkins University

e-mail: Jron@jhu.edu
Session 1B   **LAW AND GENDER**
              Organizer and Chair: **Pnina Lahav**

Documentary: "Women of the Wall"
Faye Lederman, Filmmaker

"Perspectives of the Religious Communities on Collective Public Prayer at the Wall"
Janet Dolgin, Professor of Law, Hofstra University

"The Litigation before Israel's High Court of Justice Concerning the Women of the Wall"
Pnina Lahav, School of Law, Boston University
e-mail: plahav@acs.bu.edu

Session 1C   **GENDERED IDENTITIES: NATION, CONFLICTS, AND THE MILITARY**
              Organizer and Chair: **Orly Lubin**
              Tel Aviv University, Department of Poetics and Comparative Literature
              e-mail: lubin@post.tau.ac.il

"Cross-Dressing in the Israeli Military: Gender Identities among Women Soldiers in 'Masculine' Roles"
Orna Sasson-Levy, Department of Sociology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem & Center for the Study of Jewish Life, Rutgers University
e-mail: orsasson@rci.rutgers.edu

"Feminism, Zionism and the Possibility of Subjective Discourse: Reflections of a *Yoredet*"
Esther Fuchs, Judaic Studies, University of Arizona
e-mail: fuchs@u.arizona.edu

"Narratives of Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict"
Uta Klein, Institut für Soziologie, Universität Münster
e-mail: uklein@uni-muenster.de

12:15 - 1:30 lunch

1:30 - 3:00
Plenary Session: **REFLECTIONS ON *MIZRACHIYUT* AND ETHNICITY IN ISRAEL**
Chair: Ella Habiba Shohat, City University of New York
Discussants: Aziza Kazzoom, UCLA, Ruth Tsoffar, University of Michigan, Ella Habiba Shohat, City University of New York

3:00 - 3:15 break

3:15 - 5:00

Session 2A   **ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO MANDATE HISTORY I:**
                   THE PROFESSIONS
                   Organizer and Chair: **Ilana Feldman**

"Waterworks: Government Services, Provincial Histories, and Local Conflicts in Mandate Gaza"
Ilana Feldman, Departments of Anthropology and History, University of Michigan
feldmani@umich.edu

"Integrating Medical Histories into the History of Mandate Palestine"
Sandy Sufian, Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine, Oregon Health Sciences University and Kaiser Center for Health Research
sufians@ohsu.edu

This paper will make a case for the integration of medical history into the socio-cultural studies of Mandatory Palestine. Although the paper will focus on the ramifications of medical history for achieving greater insight into the Zionist project, the methodological issues raised in this paper can be applied to histories of Palestinian nationalism, British colonialism and of the interaction between these three parties during the Mandate period (and indeed can be applied to other historical periods as well). The paper will review the sparse, extant literature on the subject and submit several methodological questions that help illustrate the value of writing histories of medicine and public health in Palestine. These questions include: What can medicine, and disease offer to an understanding the history of Mandate Palestine and the Zionist project? What is the relationship between health and the fulfillment of the Zionist endeavor, of nationalist movements in general? How do public health measures reflect components of the Zionist imagination and help produce or legitimize Zionist ideological claims? How do interactions with the Palestinian Arab community shape public health measures and what impact does the Zionist drainage project have upon the Palestinian Arab population and upon the topography of Palestine? Such questions point to the function of medical history as not only a valuable topic of inquiry alone, but also as a new way of exploring the political, economic, demographic, diplomatic and social themes in the history of Mandatory Palestine.

The paper will not argue that health was *the* most important component in Zionist national ideology nor the highest practical priority, either in an organizational or financial sense. Nonetheless, the author asserts that the category of health plays a significant part in the fulfillment of the Zionist project and in the transformation of Palestine, a point not fully addressed in the secondary literature of the period. The paper will offer possible reasons why medical history has been overlooked as an important methodological tool. It will then show how medical histories provide nuanced ways of examining British imperialism and the Zionist colonization of Mandate Palestine through the empirical example of Zionist anti-malaria activities during this time.

"Education and Ascendency under the Mandate: The Establishment and Engineering of Public Education in Palestine"

Jason Greenberg, Anthropology Department, Temple University
sanford@temple.edu

"Managing Colonization: The Institutionalization of the Israeli Field of Professional Management in a Context of Dual Colonialism"

Michal Frenkel, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
frenkelm@post.tau.ac.il

The dominant paradigm in the historiography of Israeli society has viewed the British colonial state and the Jewish organized community in Palestine as two distinct entities. This paper examines the adoption of professional managerial ideas and practices in mandated Palestine as part of the dual colonialist project, the British and the Zionist. Postcolonial literature stresses the centrality of colonial bureaucracies, European settlers, experts and professionals invading the colonies in the diffusion and adoption of scientific and rational thought and practices in the colonized societies. As part of their "civilizing mission", the different social carriers of the colonial project have sought to bequeath their values, their religious belief and their systems of production and organization to the "primitive", "savage" societies under their rule. In that dimension the case of Palestine was not different than other cases of colonization. Both the British authorities and the Zionist organization – each for its own purposes but often in collaboration – have attempted to implement in Palestine advanced models of management and bureaucratization such as Scientific Management and Industrial Psychology, common in the US and Western Europe at the time. The two colonial powers invited (mostly) American experts to train agricultural and industrial managers and workers in these fields and were both applying these models, although very partially, in institutions and organizations under their supervision.

Session 2B   **CULTURAL REPRESENTATIONS AND SIGNIFYING PRACTICES IN ISRAEL**
Organizer and Chair: **Nathan Brown**

"The Unproblematic State of Palestine"

Nathan J. Brown, Department of Political Science, George Washington University
e-mail: Nathanbrown6@aol.com

"'Deaf Discourse:' The Social Construction of Deafness in a Bedouin Community"

Shifra Kisch, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: shifrak@post.tau.ac.il

"Silencing of Israeli-Jewish Teachers"

Pnina Peri, Levinsky Teachers Training College
e-mail: pnina.peri@verizon.net

"Education, Socialization, and Development of National Identity: The American Common School and Israel Defense Forces in Transnational Perspective"

Michael Perko
School of Education and Department of History, Loyola University of Chicago
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Recent years have witnessed the burgeoning of transnational history, the comparative study of common historical topics across regions, cultures and societies. Such a mode of inquiry offers rich possibilities in the historical study of education in dynamic young societies. American educational historians have repeatedly pointed out that one of the major purposes of common schooling in nineteenth century America was the socialization of immigrants in American life and culture. Israeli authors have commented in similar fashion about education undertaken by Zahal. However, little or not attempt has been made to compare and contrast the two experiences in terms of dynamics and outcomes. This paper will utilize the approach of transnational history to compare and contrast the purpose and development of the American common school in the nineteenth century with the Israel Defense Forces (Zahal), especially its Education Division, as an educational agency in the twentieth century. Utilizing primary sources that include documents, textbooks, and oral history interviews, as well as a wide array of secondary literature, the paper will point out similarities and differences in the manner in which the socialization of youth and immigrants into each society was carried out by these educational agencies, as well as the manner in which each itself contributed to the malleable national identity

Session 2C   **ISRAELI FILMS AS RECENT HISTORY I**
                Organizer and Chair: Judd Ne'eman

"The National Space in Michel Khleifi's film 'A Wedding in Galilee'"
Nurith Gertz, Open University, Tel Aviv
e-mail : nuritgr@oumail.openu.ac.il

The *film wedding in galilee* (Michel Khleifi, 1986) replaces the narrow space of a Palestinian village in Israel by a larger imagined national space. At the same time the film redistributes the same national space to create a polyphony of minority voices. Such cinematic exposition of the Palestinian body politic in 1986 foreshadowed processes taking place intensively in the Palestinian society during the last decade.

"America in Jerusalem: Reflections of the American Image in Israeli Advertising in the 90's"
Anat First, School of Journalism and Communication, Netanya Academic College
e-mail: d_first@netvision.net.il &
Eli Avraham, School of Communication, Cinema and Culture, Sapir Academic College
e-mail: eliav@mscc.huji.ac.il

"Boundaries of Palestinian Memory: Home and Exile, Identity and Disappearance in the New Palestinian Cinema"
Haim Bresheeth
e-mail: yos-haim@internet-zahav.net

This paper concentrates on three new Palestinian films produced in Israel recently, examining them from a number of theoretical perspectives. The films chosen are: **1948** by Mohamad Bakri (Israel, 1998) **Chronicle of a Disappearance** by Elia Suleiman (Europe and Palestine, 1996) and **Ostura** by Nizar Hassan (Israel, 1998). All films were produced by Palestinians living in Israel, and deal in different ways with the Palestinian experience, memory and history.

The article is using a number of theoretical approaches: The first is the concept of cinematic Ethnotopia, or the cinematic gaze at the other which is aware of itself, and of its objectifying potential. The ethnographic content and framework of the three films are examined to determine the ways in which they deal with *Self* (Palestine) and O*ther* (Israel) and the representational methods employed within them. Within this, the work examines the representation of the Israeli in those films, which vary in their methods and means of presenting and analyzing the Israeli. The second approach used is an identification of the storytelling elements in what are basically documentary films about Palestine today. The examination discovers the importance and centrality of storytelling and oral history as referential systems for Palestinian culture, and specifically, cinema.

The third approach used is based on Freud's writing on Mourning and Melancholia, and searches for the melancholic elements within the film narratives and structure. This examination leads to a broader discussion of the struggle between the two cultural and political narratives – Zionism and the narrative of Palestine. It is found that the Zionist narrative has effaced, replaced, and erased, first the reality of Palestine, then the memory and history of it. In this context, the three films are reviving the Palestinian memory and history, debating the facts with Zionism and its military and civil apparitions, and are trying to create a space for debate and building of a new Palestinian narrative. The article concludes with the assumption that this new arena of struggle, the cultural arena, is crucial in order to move from the early, exclusively-military struggle, further afield to realm of cultural and civil confrontation, leading to possible coexistence through a complex transformation of the conflict.

5:00 - 5:15 break

5:15 - 7:00

Session 3A   **PROSPECTS FOR ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PEACE**
                 Organizer and Chair: **Daniel Lieberfeld**
                 Discussant: **Herbert C. Kelman**, Department of Psychology, Harvard University
                 e-mail: hck@wjh.harvard.edu

"Sovereignty Belongs to God: The Missed Opportunity in the Temple Mount Negotiations"
Jerome Segal, Segal, Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy, University of Maryland
e-mail: js37@umail.umd.edu

"Reconciliation and Coexistence between Arabs and Jews in Israel: Challenges and Possibilities"
Mohammed Abu Nimer, School of International Service, American University
e-mail: abunim@american.edu

"Prospects for a Palestinian-Israeli Permanent Status Agreement"
Khalil Jahshan Vice President
American Arab Anti-Defamation Committee
e-mail: naaainc@erols.com

"Rabin's Strategic Vision at Oslo: What Remains?"
Daniel Lieberfeld, Department of Government and Legal Studies, Bowdoin College
e-mail: dlieberf@bowdoin.edu

Session 3B   **POSTZIONISM AND THE CRITIQUE OF POWER**
                Organizer and Chair: Laurence J. Silberstein

"The Post-Zionist\ Neo-Zionist Pendulum in Israel – A Fresh Look"
Ilan Pappé, Department of Political Science, University of Haifa
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This paper argues that the political and ideological categorizations based on party affiliation in Israel do not expose the level and significance of the internal strives in the Israeli Jewish society. The paper offers three categorizations: neo-Zionism, post-Zionism and Classical Zionism and sociological reifications that help to understand the current debates in the county on the past, the present and the future. It offers to see the groups as coalitions of identities and interests that vary in their stability and importance. The paper tries to follow the vicissitudes of the three interpretations to the Israel\Palestine reality beyond the academia and the elite and to assess who and how within this cultural debate is relevant and affective at present and may be so in the future.

"Making Power Visible: Postzionism as Critique"
Laurence J. Silberstein, Department of Religion Studies, Lehigh University
e-mail: ljs2@lehigh.edu

Most discussions of postzionism focus on the work of those who have been dubbed "new historians" and "critical sociologists." In this paper, I argue that the most challenging critiques of Zionism actually come not from the writings of the historians and sociologists, but from a small group of Israeli intellectuals who, informed by contemporary critical theory, focus their critiques on such neglected sites of power as spatial arrangements, museums, art, ethnography, and academic discourse. Rendering visible relations of power overlooked by most analysts of Israeli society and culture., these intellectuals, whom I have previously referred to as "postmodern postzionists," carry the critique of Zionist discourse beyond the point to which it has been taken by the historians and sociologists. Applying the revised concept of the intellectual proposed by such contemporary philosophers as Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, I shall discuss the ways in which these postmodern postzionist intellectuals pose challenges to Zionism that have been inadequately understood and addressed.

"Cannibal Ideology: The Body in Mizrahi Hebrew Literature"
Ruth Tsoffar, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan
e-mail: rtsoffar@umich.edu

"Revisionisms: Post-Zionism Reconsidered"
Eran Kaplan, Department of Comparative History, Brandeis University
e-mail: ekaplan@brandeis.edu

Post Zionism, which has become over the last decade one the dominant topics in the Israeli intellectual discourse, opens deep wounds in the Israeli consciousness, and questions many of the fundamental truths that Israeli culture and society are based on. The debate over Post Zionism in Israel, however, is characterized by vitriol and emotions and lacks a critical, historical perspective. In this paper I want to examine Post Zionism, as an Israeli version of the post-modern criticism of Western culture, within the context of Zionism's internal debates. The paper will argue that the Post Zionists – referred to here as a group of Israeli academics and intellectuals who offer the most comprehensive *revision* of Zionist ideology while relying on discursive and representational methodologies - are the true intellectual and cultural heirs of the Zionist Revisionists of the 1920s and 1930s who, too, launched a sweeping attack on the philosophical basis of mainstream Zionism.

Post Zionism, as a post-modern critique, attempts to challenge Zionism's accepted means of representation, and undermine its self-perception as the only and necessary expression of Jewish history and culture. It seeks to challenge Zionism's accepted means of representation, and undermine its self-perception as the only and necessary expression of Jewish history and culture, and allow for the development of a discourse that accepts and legitimizes the other. Politically (with regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict) the Post Zionists follow in the tradition of the anti-Zionist, radical Left, and certainly their critique of Israeli militarism could best be classified as such. However, in examining their intellectual methods and some of their cultural and social solutions, it could be argued that the Post Zionists are assuming today a similar role to the role that Jabotinsky and the other ideologues of Zionist Revisionism assumed in the Zionist intellectual field during the 1920s and 1930s – that of the critics of Zionism as a product of the Enlightenment and its intellectual and cultural legacy.

The Revisionists called on the Zionist movement to abandon the politics that are based on (false) universal values and the belief in progress. They wanted to lead Zionism to what Jabotinsky described as "the other side of the fence," a sphere free of the decaying influence of rationalism, science and universal morality. Similarly (though for very different political reasons!) Post Zionists like Ophir, Azoulay and Luski view the turmoil and violence in Israel as the legacy of the Enlightenment and its cultural values and see their role as intellectuals to deconstruct that legacy and create an alternative intellectual and cultural environment in Israel. Despite their differences, both the Revisionists of the 30s and the modern-day Israeli revisionists, have found themselves on similar sides in the intellectual and cultural arena - challenging modernity as the sole model for the Zionist movement and offering a critique that places power as its main agent.

Session 3C   **EARLY ISRAELI-US RELATIONS**
              Organizer: **Zohar Segev**, Chair: **Motti Golani**, Discussant: David **Gordis**

"The Place of the State of Israel in the Worldview of American Zionists at the End of the Forties"
Zohar Segev, Department of Jewish History, Haifa University
e-mail: zsegev@research.haifa.ac.il

"A Leader or an American Leader? Abba Hillel's Visit to the Land of Israel in the Winter and Spring of 1947-8"
Motti Golani, Land of Israel Studies Department, Haifa University
e-mail: golani@research.haifa.ac.il

"Explaining the Culture Clash in Youth Aliyah to Americans"
Erica Simmons, Department of Theory and Policy Studies, University of Toronto
e-mail: erica.simmons@utoronto.ca

The American Jewish women's Zionist organization, Hadassah, and Israel's Youth Aliyah educational movement have had close ties since the 1935 agreement making Hadassah the sole official representative of Youth Aliyah
in the United States. As the largest single non-governmental financial contributor to Youth Aliyah, the Hadassah organization has long expected to be kept informed about Youth Aliyah programs and facilities. This paper will examine how the "culture clash" between Eastern and Western immigrants to Israel in the 1950s, as experienced in Youth Aliyah, was explained to the American supporters of Hadassah.

From its inception in the pre-State era, the Youth Aliyah educational movement was used as a means of inculcating Zionist ideology in young immigrants. After 1948, Youth Aliyah was regarded as the ideal instrument of immigrant education and the means by which a child's character, attitudes and goals could be shaped to meet the needs of the new state. In the 1950s, Youth Aliyah took into its care many of the children of recent
Mizrahi (North African and Middle Eastern) immigrants. While the parents were sometimes described as "the generation of the desert" with little hope of real assimilation into Israeli society, Youth Aliyah tried to make their
children into Israelis. This meant not only removing children from their families but trying to erase all vestiges of their distinct cultural and ethnic identity. Youth Aliyah policy in the 1950s must be understood within the context of growing fears of the "Orientalization" or "Levantization" of Israeli society if the Mizrahi immigrants were not successfully Westernized.

Through an analysis of bureaucratic correspondence, Youth Aliyah and Hadassah in-house studies and surveys, psychologists' reports and policy documents I will analyze how Youth Aliyah's mandate and programs were
explained and promoted to the North American supporters of the Hadassah Organization whose donations represented a major portion of the Youth Aliyah budget. This material shows that the

Youth Aliyah organization made a concerted effort to force the assimilation of immigrant children and conscript them to the Zionist pioneering ethos. My comparative analysis of Hadassah publicity documents and Youth Aliyah communications will show how Hadassah bureaucrats discussed the culture clash within Youth Aliyah and how, in turn, they presented this issue to their supporters.

"American Jews as Linkage Actors in Relations between the United States and Israel, 1956 - 1966"
Etta Bick, Department of Political Science, College of Judea and Samaria of Bar Ilan University
e-mail: bick@etzion.org.il

3D **GRADUATE STUDENT MEETING**: Dissertation and Grant Proposals
    Organizer and Chair: Nadav Shelef, University of California, Berkeley
    e-mail: shelef@uclink4.berkeley.edu

7:00 - 8:00 Dinner

8:00 - 10: 00 Keynote Address:
    Ambassador Dennis Ross, Special Middle East Coordinator

WEDNESDAY - MAY 16

8:00 - 9:00 Registration

9:00 - 10:30

Session 4A   **THE AL-AKSA INTIFADA: ORIGINS, DYNAMICS, AND SIGNIFICANCE**
            Organizer and Chair: **Alan Dowty**

"The Al-Aqsa Intifada"
Alan Dowty, Department of Government and International Studies, University of Notre Dame
Alan.K.Dowty.1@nd.edu
& **Michelle Gawerc**, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies University of Notre Dame
e-mail: gawerc.1@nd.edu

"Fallen Pillars: Explaining the Setback for Middle East Conflict Resolution"
Aharon Klieman, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University & University of Michigan
e-mail: aklieman@umich.edu

"Ethno-Religious Relations and Policy Making: Israeli Arabs in the Al-Aqsa Intifada"
Daphne Tsimhoni, University of Hartford/Hartford Seminary
e-mail: Tsimhoni@HartSem.edu

The October 2001 riots in Israel (Al-Aqsa Intitfada) demonstrated the rise of a new Islamic centered Arab ethnicity that is taking pace as the leading political force among the Arabs in Israel. Its spokespersons openly express their denial of Israel's right to be the nation state of the Jewish people, even a democratic liberal one.

The paper will discuss the role of this new trend, the changing ethno religious relations within the Arab minority and the government attitudes toward them as a major cause for Al- Aqsa Intifada:

1. The demographic expansion of the Muslim majority among the Arabs in Israel versus the decline of Christians and the Druze. The rise of the Islamic movement among the Muslims in Israel on the background of their being the most deprived group in Israeli society.

2. The breaking down of the delicate balance between Muslims, Christians and Druze as enhanced by the government's mishandling of the ethno religious relations as demonstrated in the Muslim-Christian controversy of 1999-2000 in Nazareth. The Nazareth affair as well as the mode in which Israel retreated from South Lebanon formed milestones in the weakening of the Christian and Druze position and sense of security and their growing dependence on the Muslim Arab environment.
3.   The rising force of Jewish religious parties first and foremost Shas and its denial of Israel's secular Zionist identity. Shas party has become the role model for the Arab parties in both agenda and lines of activity. The party's encouragement of the veneration of Jewish holy tombs that have been in certain cases expropriated from Muslims further enhances Muslim religious extremism in the state.

"What Went Wrong With the Peace Process?"
Jerome Slater, Department of Political Science, SUNY/Buffalo
e-mail: jnslater@acsu.buffalo.edu

The failure of the Camp David summit in September 2000 and the subsequent Palestinian-Israeli violence has been widely attributed to the unreasonable position taken by Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian Authority. Although this view continues to dominate public discourse in the United States, in informed Israeli circles it has given way to a much more critical view of Barak's policies and understanding of the reasons for the Palestinian position. There is now increasing recognition that Barak's proposals on Jerusalem and on the settlements would have left the Palestinians with a non-viable state, economically, politically, and psychologically--even Israeli centrists increasingly use the term "Bantustans" to describe the situation.

Clinton's uncritical acceptance of Barak's position contributed to the breakdown at Camp David and the subsequent violence, for it removed any kind of American pressure--pressure that might well have been successful--for a more forthcoming Israeli response.

Session 4B   **REPRESENTING INDEPENDENCE**
               Organizer and Chair: **Rebecca Kook**

"Imagining Independence in the Palestinian School Curriculum"
Issam Nassar, The Institute of Jerusalem Studies, Jerusalem
e-mail: issamn@palnet.com

"Celebrating Independence: Lighting the Torches Ceremony as a Map of the Nation"
Rebecca Kook, Department of Politics and Government, Ben Gurion University of the Negev
e-mail: bkook@bgumail.bgu.ac.il

"*Tkumah*: Towards a Post Zionist Television?"
Ilan Pappé, Department of Political Science, Haifa University
e-mail: pappe@poli.haifa.ac.il

This paper examines Tkumah, the Israeli TV series prepared for the country's jubilee, as a 'post-Zionist' show. It focuses on the chapters dealing with the formative years in the country's history. The paper deconstructs these chapters by exposing the balance between the dominant Zionist narrative and the challenging post-Zionist view. It highlights particularly the perception and image of the other as it is broadcasted through the narration, the footage, the techniques and general direction of the show.

"Independence? Personal Freedom and Civic Space among Israeli Palestinians"
Tania Forte, Department of Behavioral Sciences, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

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Session 4C   **COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION I**
               Organizer and Chair: **Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi**

"The Reconfiguration of Space and Time in Israel in the Wake of the 1967 War: A Comparison of Jerusalem, Hebron, and the Sinai"
Gershon Shafir, Department of Sociology, University of California, San Diego
gshafir@ucsd.edu

"Historiography and Post-Nationalism: The Television Series *Tkuma* and the Identity Crisis in Israel"
Eran Fisher, Department of Sociology, New School for Social Research
e-mail: fishe192@newschool.edu

"Tel Aviv's Rothschild: When a Boulevard Becomes a Monument"
Barbara Mann, Near Eastern Studies Department, Princeton University
e-mail: bmann@princeton.edu

My paper addresses the relation between place and memory in Tel Aviv. Drawing on

representations of the city, and reading the city itself as a text, I probe the degree to which Tel Aviv's relatively shallow roots – its ostensible lack of memory -- has shaped both imagined versions of the city as well as actual elements of its physical plane.

According to urban landscape historian Dolores Hayden, "the production of spaces begins as soon as indigenous residents located themselves in a particular landscape and being the search for subsistence. (1) The production of stories explaining these spaces begins just as quickly. The establishment of Tel Aviv in 1909 was part of a fundamental revolution in modern Jewish culture and society regarding notions of space and territory. The idea of "the first Hebrew city" was widely conceived and represented in literature and other forms of artistic expression. This imagined city, however, was often only tangentially related to the actual city as it grew and expanded. Therefore, in addition to examples from novels, poetry, guidebooks, postcards and painting, my papers treats the city itself as a kind of "text," whose public spaces, street names and memorial sites may be read as a more material version of the city's narrative of self. The inscription of history on the plane of the city is neither self-evident, nor predictable, even in explicitly historical sites such as musuems and monuments. However, certain potentially collective memories may be associated with a city's unique geographic features -- a river or the seashore -- or with constructed sites also particular to that city -- a park, a landmark building, even a main thoroughfare. New York's Hudson River, or Berlin's Unter den Linden, and Tel Aviv's Rothschild Boulevard are all examples of loosely regulated public sites which have become thoroughly emmeshed in the main themes of their cities' pasts, and they are featured as such in cultural representations of the city. A text seeking to describe the city may draw on these sites as part of a larger reservoir of images which seem mythic in their ability to encapsulate the city's essence. The repeated evocation of such a site, whether in literature, fine arts, or in touristic depictions of the city, furthers the site's monumental character, often without any relation to the site's actual history, or its contemporary significance within the city. These texts, however, should be examined just as critically as the "tokens and hieroglyphs" of the city's streets, those "gaps in its very plan and physical form, its local monuments and celebrations, which remain as traces and ruins of their former selves."(2) A careful reading of canonical images of the site, as well as the site itself vis-a-vis the evolving plane of the city, will reveal the process through which the site has become instantiated in the city's collective memory.

In his critique of the Blue Guide, Roland Barthes notes that "to select only monuments suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land, and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical."(3) In this paper I seek to inject some aspect of the "historical" into a reading of Tel Aviv's pre-urban nucleus – Achusat Bayit -- especially Rothschild Boulevard. The concepts of the "monument" and the "boulevard" provide poles around which I construct a provisional descriptive poetics of the city -- the monument referring to the grand narrative of Tel Aviv's origins, the boulevard referring to the revelation of difference and quotidian detail.

"Dry Bones and Broken Bones: Archeological History vs. *Haredi* Memory"
Michael Feige, Ben-Gurion Research Center and Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
e-mail: msfeige@bgumail.bgu.ac.il

The paper analyses, from historical and sociological perspectives, the conflict between the Haredim and Israeli archaeologists regarding the excavations at the City of David in Jerusalem during the early eighties. Due to the pivotal status of archaeology in the Israeli nation-building project, the Haredi challenge was understood as a threat to the hegemonic narrative, coming from a group that has claims on the truthful representation of the Jewish past. A comparative examination with other similar conflicts regarding the right to possess and interpret cultural heritage shows the uniqueness of the Israeli case. It is claimed that the very fact that the two conflicting sides are of the same nationality -- therefore contest the right of holding the title of the true "native people" -- intensifies the conflict. Such an analysis suggests a new perspective regarding the role of memory and history in the construction of communal rights, native identities and images of authenticity in Israeli society.

10:30 - 10:45 break

10:45 - 12:30

Session 5A   **ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO MANDATE HISTORY II**:
                THE ROADS NOT TAKEN
                Organizer: **Aviva Halamish**, Chair: **Ylana Miller**

"From Eastern Europe to the Middle East: The Reversal in Zionist Policy Vis-à-vis Jews of Islamic Countries"
Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, Department of History, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
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It was during World War II that the Zionist movement in Palestine first developed a significant commitment to the Jews in Islamic countries. Until then Zionist activity had focused on Europe, chiefly the large Jewish population centers in Eastern Europe. The Zionist movement had its sources of strength there, and it was from there that most of the immigrants to Palestine came. In contrast, in the 1950s Jews from Islamic countries accounted for more than half of all immigrants to Israel. By the end of the first decade of the State of Israel, the demographic balance had been tipped, and they accounted for slightly more than half the population.

The factors that motivated the establishment to bring over the Jews of Islamic countries and the connection between these factors and the position of the Mizrahim in the geographical, economic, social, and cultural periphery of Israeli society have been mentioned or discussed in many studies. The standard Zionist explanation given for the huge wave of immigration is that Israel needed people to work in industry and agriculture, to contribute to the war effort, and to settle territories that it had captured. This explanation does not answer the question of whether the Zionist establishment intended to distribute resources, and especially work, to the Jewish immigrants on a cultural or ethnic basis. In studies conducted in the first decades of the state, it was customary to link the low socioeconomic status of the Mizrahim in Israel with their pre-immigration demographic traits and educational statistics and to explain their condition in terms of their difficulty adjusting to a modern society. Other studies claim that the Mizrahim were brought over not just because of the need for more people but chiefly because Israel needed

cheap labor, which the Mizrahim supplied even before the establishment of the state.

It should be noted that all these explanations are based not on empirical research into immigration policy but on hypotheses proposed in the course of research studies on the absorption of immigrants from Islamic countries in Israel. These hypotheses are extrapolations from the absorption policy to Israeli immigration policy.

In this paper I seek to focus on two main issues: What factors were behind the change in the Zionist establishment's policy regarding the immigration of the Jews from Islamic countries? What was the significance of the change, what areas of activity did it encompass, and to what extent and in what areas of activity was the change likely to affect the policy governing the absorption of Jews from Islamic countries in the 1950s and 1960s?

The discussion of these issues will focus on the "One Million Plan" presented by Ben-Gurion in 1943–1944, which explicitly proclaimed the immigration of one million Jews from Europe and Islamic countries to be a central Zionist objective. This declaration was a manifestation of the reversal in Zionist policy vis-a vis the Jews of Islamic countries; for the first time, they were considered potential candidates for immediate immigration and for Zionist activity that would prepare, encourage, and train them to immigrate. Based on the Zionist establishment's discussions of the One Million Plan, we will attempt to discern how the Zionist leaders perceived the Jews of Islamic countries and to understand the plans that they drew up for their immigration and absorption a few years before events made it possible for these plans to have an effect on actual absorption.

In this paper the issue will be explored as it was perceived at the time, based on archive sources that document discussions in leadership institutions, public statements and remarks in international forums, and the operative policy that stemmed from the plan.

"Bi-Nationalism in the Ideology and Praxis of Ha-Shomer Ha-Tza'ir: A Case of Optical Illusion"
Aviva Halamish, Department of History, Open University, Tel Aviv
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The paper probes the double axiom maintained in the historiography of Mandatory Palestine, i.e., that ha-Shomer ha-Tzai'r was the main and most consistent political force in the Yishuv (pre-state Jewish community in Palestine) advocating and promoting Arab-Jewish bi-nationalism, and that bi-nationalism was a central pillar of the movement's ideology and praxis.

The first part of the paper is a concise survey of ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir's version of bi-nationalism from the time the phrase was first integrated into the movement's platform (1933) up to its public abandonment on the eve of
the foundation of the state of Israel. It will elaborate on the movement's stands and activities regarding relations between Jews and Arabs in the labor market ("Irgun Meshutaf"); the bi-national alternative it presented
against the Peel partition plan (1937) and the Biltmore program (1942); the movement's

involvement in bi-nationalist organizations in the 1940's; and finally its reaction to the Soviet Union's support of the UNSCOP partition plan.

The second part of the paper raises the claim that the double axiom presented above is partially a matter of optical illusion. As a matter of fact bi-nationalism was of minor importance in the ideology and praxis of ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir. The movement's order of priorities was clearly stated in its triple slogan "For Zionism, Socialism and the Brotherhood among Nations". The joint Arab-Jewish workers organization was aimed at protecting the Jewish worker from the inherent advantages of his Arab competitor, and all along bi-nationalism was phrased so it does not contradict the main and agreed upon purpose of Zionism - creating a Jewish majority in Palestine. Ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir never compromised on the issue of Jewish immigration to Palestine.

The third and final part of the paper will dwell upon the causes of the optical illusion, rooted both in the movement's explicit attempts and implicit behavior, and in some basic features of the early historiography of Zionism and the Yishuv, such as attributing importance to ideology over and above praxis; over-estimation of verbal expression while ignoring actual activity; taking rhetorical declarations, both oral and written, which were introduced for political and educational purposes, at face value; and insufficient distinction between general decisions taken in the open institutions of the movement and those arrived at behind-closed-doors discussions and by the executive forums of the movement.

"A Democratic Critique of the Mandate"
Lawrence Davidson, Department of History, West Chester University
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In the late 1920s and 1930s a number of US consular officials in Jerusalem critiqued the British and Zionist policies in Mandate Palestine using US democratic principles as their touchstones. They came to the conclusion that the problems facing the British, Jews, and Arabs could be solved by restructuring the Mandate government along more democratic lines and asserted that such restructuring would bring government policy in Palestine more in line with the intent of the League of Nations Covenant. These ideas were put forward to the State Department in Washington. They were rejected, and the diplomats warned to keep their opinions to themselves. While this effort on the part of middle level US diplomats was futile, it is an interesting platform from which to compare British and Zionist policies against those professed by both the US and the League Covenant. It leads us to a sobering consideration of democratic ideals on the one hand, and the harsh realities of imperial, national, and ideological interests on the other.

 "Historical Institutionalism: A Fresh Perspective on the Pre-State Women's Movement"
Leah Simmons Levin, Department of Political Science, York University
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The period of the British Mandate in Palestine has been viewed by scholars as central to understanding the development of the independent State of Israel. While scholars disagree over the particular dynamics which

typified the functioning of the self-governing Jewish structure of the British Mandate, both non-feminist and feminist analyses alike have been unable to accurately account for the involvement of women in Mandate politics. In the first case, lack of historical knowledge about women=s political activity in the Yishuv, and a preoccupation with dominant parties and their involvement in the state-building processes has meant that non-feminist analyses cannot view women, concentrated as they were in marginal political organizations,
as an important political force. In the case of feminist analyses, faulty assumptions about the nature of the non-labour Zionist women' s organizations of the time have prevented feminist scholars from viewing the pre-state Women's Lists (which were elected to all four of the pre-state Representative Assemblies) as an important stage in women's attempt to achieve political representation.

An effective theoretical and methodological perspective allowing women's political activity in the Mandate to be incorporated into broader political analyses of Mandate politics is historical institutionalism. Historical institutionalism emphasizes the importance of institutions in structuring political choices and decisions, while avoiding the pitfalls of institutional determinism. It avoids explaining historical developments by recourse to single-cause explanations, and it approaches history with a strong belief in historical contingency. In addition, historical institutionalism rejects the notion that political actors always make
decisions which maximize their self-interest.   Historical institutionalism thus provides a broad basis for historical analysis and facilitates a comparative component to political history. Viewed through the lens of historical institutionalism, women's political activism in Mandate Palestine can be understood in the context of both the women's movement of the time, as well as the evolution of the Mandate polity.

Session 5B   **ISRAELI FILMS AS RECENT HISTORY II**
              Organizer and Chair: **Judd Ne'eman**

"Mr. Gramsci Talks with Mr. Mani"
Judd Ne'eman, Department of Film & Television, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: neema@post.tau.ac.il
My paper deals with the emergence in Israel of a new version of the question of the language. Ram Loevy's television adaptation of A. B. Yehoshua's novel *Mr. Mani* creates in his film a polyphony of spoken dialogue from five languages that were instrumental or detrimental in the revival of the Hebrew language. I base my observation on the film's play with languages on Gramsci's 1930s famous exposition *Il Questionne della Lingua*. Gramsci wrote that "every time the question of the language surfaces, in one way or another, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore: the formation and enlargement of the governing class, the need to establish more intimate and secure relationships between the governing groups and the national popular mass, in other words ***to reorganize the cultural hegemony***." (my bolding, J. N.). In my reading of the television mini-series *Mr. Mani*, I do not relate Gramsci's reorganizing of the cultural hegemony to the widely debated issue of multi-culturalism. I suggest that this issue is being used as guise for the more disturbing question foregrounded by the film: "the rise and fall of the Zionist male body" that had been painstakingly forged from the ashes of the Jewish diasporic body. In other words, the

film weighs the disruption boundaries of the male body against the disruption of the boundaries of the national body.

"Prohibited Landscape: History & Myth of Borders in Israeli Cinema"
Anat Zanger, Department of Film & Television, Tel-Aviv University
E-mail: zanger@post.tau.ac.il

Confronting the invisible landscape which locate behind the fence, sometimes across the street or behind the hill, the camera records territorial borders in Israeli Films such as : *Jerusalem* (Perlov, 1963) *Halffon Hill Doesn't Answer* (Dayan, 1976), *The House* (Gittai ,1983), *Ricochets* (Cohen,1986) and *The Border* (Rovner ,2000) exemplify various distances between the border and the camera' lens along the conflict axis between Israel and its neighbors.

However, the camera explores not only the changing presence of the border landscape but also the gap between border as a physical entity and as a cognitive notion. Roland Barthes wrote that the gaze might be interpreted in three complementary ways (a) in terms of information (the gaze informs) , (b)in terms of relations (gaze are exchanged), and (c)in terms of possession (by the gaze I touch, I attain, I seize, I am seized). But the gaze seeks :something, someone. It is an anxious sign: singular dynamics for a sign: its power overflows it. (Barthes, 1977).

In this paper I would like to trace the gaze of the camera on Israeli borders as "anxious sign" that records the obsessions, moods and neuroses aroused by landscapes of borders.

"'Mr. Mani: The Second Talk' in the A.B. Yehoshua Novel and the Ram Loevy's Television Mini-series"
Michal Friedman, Department of Film & Television, Tel Aviv University
email: friedman@post.tau.ac.il

The second talk in A.B. Yehoshua "Mr. Mani" is structured – like the other talks in the novel – as one-sided dialogue in which only one voice is heard. My paper will examine the way in which filmmaker Ram Loevy uses the television medium in order to achieve the impossible: to transform the one-sided dialogue from a literary phenomenon to an astonishing visual celebration.

Session 5C   **COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND COMMEMORATION II**
              Organizer: **Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi**, Chair: **Gershon Shafir**

"From Shore to Shore: Conjuring the Nation in Clandestine Immigration Museums"
Tamar Katriel, Dept. of Communication and Education, Haifa University
e-mail: tamark@construct.haifa.ac.il

An ethnographic study of the verbal and visual representational practices employed in two heritage museums that thematize the history of the Jewish struggle for immigration in defiance of British policies during pre-state years (1934-1948), "ha'apala," reveals a story that interweaves

Holocaust and Zionist themes, providing an arena for the re-negotiation of notions of agency and passivity, heroism and victimhood, struggle and survival, as well as issues of continuity and exceptionalism in Jewish history. The museums construct a somewhat multivocal and ambivalent version of the story of "the ingathering of the Jews," whose underlying idiom of legitimation nevertheless reconfirms the focal place of the land of Israel in Jewish life. I will attend to how the stories that these museums present relate to changing attitudes towards the Holocaust in Israeli cultural conversation, and to the ways in which the images of
Israeli nationhood they conjure overlook the Palestinian minority in Israel by excluding its own perspective on the same events and by mystifying the sociopolitical struggles that animated them. I will also point to some tentative moves by museum personnel and visitors involve a re-negotiation of central aspects of the museums' official narrative.

"From Agent of National Memory to Local Mnemonic Community: Memorial Ceremonies and Schools in Israeli Society"
Edna Lomsky-Feder, School of Education, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
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"Commemorating Narratives of Violence: The Yitzhak Rabin Memorial Day
In Israeli Schools"
Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, Department of Sociology & Anthropology and Institute of Criminology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
msvini@mscc.huji.ac.il

"Sanctifying the Chosen Body: Commemoration and Collective Identity"
Meira Weiss, Department of Sociology and Anthropology & Gender Studies, Lafer Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
e-mail: msmeira@pluto.mscc.huji.ac.il

12:30 - 1:30 business session and lunch

1:30 - 3:00
Plenary session:
THE CRISIS OF THE PEACE PROCESS
Chair, Ian Lustick, University of Pennsylvania
Participants: Shibley Telhami, University of Maryland
Sara Roy, Harvard University
Ian Lustick, University of Pennsylvania
Lev Grinberg, Ben Gurion University

3:00 - 3:15 break
3:15 - 5:00
Session 6A   **IDENTITY AND TERRITORIAL PRACTICES**

Organizer and Chair: **Aziza Kazzoom**

"The Oriental Within"
Aziza Khazzoom, Department of Sociology, UCLA
e-mail: khazzoom@soc.ucla.edu
"External and Internal Frontiers as the Site of the Construction of Mizrahi Identity"
Gil Eyal, Department of Sociology, University of California, Berkeley
e-mail: eyalg@socrates.berkeley.edu

Shohat (1997) has argued that Mizrahi Jews were sent to the border settlements in the 1950's because they were Mizrahi, i.e. as part of a general strategy of "divide and conquer" which was meant to distance them from Arabs and create hostilities between the two groups. This paper attempts to explore the opposite argument, namely that Mizrahi Jews became "Mizrahi" because they were sent to the border settlements, or more specifically because they inhabited a frontier area, both along the borders and within the mixed cities, where Arabs and Jews co-mingled. Using historical accounts, this paper seeks to show that just as the Zionist leadership engaged in the early 50's in the project of separating Jews and Arabs (by drawing and protecting sovereign borders, and by requiring Arabs in the mixed cities to concentrate in distinct enclaves), it merely set in motion processes (of internal migration) which turned the neat borders and separations into external and internal frontiers, areas symbolically and physically distanced from central authority. The category of "Mizrahi", while it obviously pre-dated the formation of the state, became a means of making sense, domesticating and controlling the frontier experience and the threat it posed to the Zionist project. But just as it emerged as a form of "subjection", Mizrahi identity also became a point of resistance, and tellingly, it was formulated as such on the basis of the frontier experience, in Wadi Salib where Jews cohabited with the remnants of Haifa's Arabs, and in Musrara, along the no-man's-land separating and linking Jews and Arabs in pre-1967 Jerusalem.

"Work, Land: The Story of Palestinian Work Immigrants in the Age of Oslo"
Meirav Aharon, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: meiravah@post.tau.ac.il

This paper examines the life experience of Palestinian work immigrants in Israel at the post Oslo agreement era. Fieldwork was conducted (1999-2000) among illegal Palestinian work immigrants, lodging in Jaffa, most of which are second generation of 48' refugees to Gaza.

I propose an understanding of Palestinian work immigrants as hybrid "border people" whom are left homeless by their transition experience.
Their passage hyphenates Gaza – Tel Aviv – Jaffa and constitutes them as a "third space". The ethnographic core of this paper focuses on the Palestinian work immigrants' encounters with members of various groups at each one of these places: with the Jewish-Israelis in Tel Aviv, with their fellow Palestinians in Jaffa, and with the various sections of the Palestinian society in Gaza.

The first scene[a], "Being in Jaffa", marks the **encounter** between fellow Palestinians from both sides of the Green Line, yet at this process **difference** is being constructed. The Palestinian Israeli citizens engage in oriental practices that constructs Palestinian work immigrants as a separate and subordinate object. In the second scene, "Being in Tel Aviv", a scene that marks the Palestinian work immigrants' encounter with the Jews, the ambivalence of the "border people" is exposed. Tel Aviv is the stronghold of the colonizer and at the same time it is the only place where you can "taste life". Two main events shape the third scene, "Being in Gaza": the establishment of borders and barriers and the establishment of the Palestinian national authority – both consequences of the Oslo agreement. In this part, I argue that my interlocutors ask to deconstruct the border from its dichotomic power. The ambivalent attitude towards the "border" creates the demand of the "border people": a call for "dialectical reorganization" – a state without borders. This hybrid demand is a threat to both the Israeli and Palestinian national states.

Session 6B   **CONTESTED VISIONS OF ISRAELI NATIONHOOD I**
              Organizer and Chair: **Mike Aronoff**

"Exiled in the Homeland"
Donna Divine, Department of Government, Smith College
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No idea is more fundamental to the Zionist sense of mission than the in-gathering of the Jews in the land of Israel and the ending of their exile. Reflecting this view, Zionist historiography constructs a master narrative which describes the movement of Jews from Europe to Palestine during the period of British rule as leaving Exile and coming Home. But if immigrating to Palestine constituted a fulfillment of the homecoming mission, Zionist discourse in Palestine continued to focus far more on often on displacement and exile than on belonging and home. My paper deconstructs the political contexts of this discourse and suggests the disparate ways in which the notion of exile functioned in Yishuv politics. It also raises fundamental questions about conventional Zionist histories which follow the trajectory of Zionist rhetoric rather than the actual by-ways of the state

"From the Jewish People to the Jewish People(s): Relative Deprivation, Optimal Differentiation and Ethnic Politics in Israel"
Stacey Philbrick, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania
e-mail: sphilbri@sas.upenn.edu

 "Nationality Enclaved: 'Peace Watch' in Rabin Square"
Irit Dekel, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: itayirit@yahoo.com

Visions of collective identity are commonly used in Israel since the assassination of
Prime Minister Rabin. An example of a group that tries to define itself by collectivity symbols are
"The Peace and Democracy Watch November 4 1995" gatherings, held in Rabin Square, Tel Aviv,

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[a] I have chosen this term to emphasize than the encounters discussed here occur in bounded time and space.

every Friday Afternoon for more than five years. The Gatherings involve sing-along of Israeli songs and speeches that deal with remembrance of the murder and protest against the political situation in Israel. Most of the movement members are left-wingers. Some of them used to be labor settlement residents.

The group promotes values of Israeli authenticity and sanctifies democracy values, whereas the audience encounters non democratic counter productive of the gatherings. Inveigh performed through sing along by ritual of the negative: the movement members refrain from other ways of political effect such as speaking and negotiating. This ritual is the appearance of the group's metamorphosis from an elite to a social enclave.

The Peace Watch gatherings may be analyzed as means of spreading texts and contexts outside Rabin Square. The rhetoric of the movement, composed of key symbols dating back to the first years of the Israeli nation's independence, appeared in new social contexts. Camaraderie, peace, the dove of peace, remembrance and amnesia were present in the Israeli discourse. Following Rabin's assassination their content and impact were reformed to symbolize social enclaves such as The Peace and Democracy Watch. Identification of this very rhetoric may illuminate court-like practices among other groups which do not enable critical, democratic discourse in the public arena.

"SHAS and the 'New Mizrachim'--Back-to-Back in Parallel Axles: Criticism and an Alternative to European Zionism"
Sami Shalom Chetrit, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem e-mail: msssc@mscc.huji.ac.il

Session 6C   **MASCULINITY AND IDEOLOGY I**
            Organizer and Chair: **Danny Kaplan**

"The Zionist Ideal of Manliness and Israeli Reality"
Uta Klein, Institut für Soziologie, Universität Münster
e-mail: uklein@uni-muenster.de

"Trekking Narratives and the Employment of Masculinity and Nationality"
Chaim Noy, Department of Psychology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
e-mail: mslov@mscc.huji.ac.il

In the last two decades a growing social tradition of a "rite-of-passage" has been practiced in different sub-cultures of (Jewish) Israeli youth, in the form of a lengthy travel abroad, undertaken shortly after the service in the army. During the liminal and moratorial journey, which takes place in Third World destinations, the interconnected issues of personal, collective and national identity are intensively negotiated.

The paper presents the analysis of twenty trekking stories narrated by young Israeli men. In these strenuous physical endeavors, which have played a central role in the ritualized cultural practices of Israeli civil religion (T. Katriel), the interaction of ideology and masculinity is emploted and re-

presented. The stories allow a view of the possible cultural narratives gender and masculinity, available to the youth, as well as a view of subtle variations on the canonic forms.

"The Mask of '*Reut*' and Necrophilia in Israeli Homosocial Discourse"
Danny Kaplan, Department of Behavioral Sciences, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev
e-mail: kapland@bgumail.bgu.ac.il

I discuss sites in Israeli culture in which male friendship - as a national-emotional space - expose a *silenced* homosocial desire. Based on poems of *Reut* (male friendship) and a preliminary narrative analysis of interviews with Israeli men, I analyze rituals and practices related to combat experience and commemoration. Specifically, I explore metaphors that construct death as the climax of homosocial friendship. Within the hegemonic plot of male bonding, death is the only situation that legitimizes male intimacy and desire. I conclude that the "living-dead" fallen men become the objects of a collective male fantasy. The ritualized commemoration for the dead friends, epitomized by the unofficial hymn *Ha-reut,* act as a masking mechanism, both concealing and exposing the national-ideological demand for self-sacrifice.

5:00 - 5: 15 break

5:15 - 7:00

Session 7A   **ISRAEL AS A JEWISH STATE**
                     Organizer and Chair: **Chaim Waxman**

"Israel as the State of the Jewish People: A Political and Cultural Anachronism?"
Yoram Hazony, President, Shalem Center, Jerusalem

"Exporting Revisionism: 'New History' and the Peace Process"
Aharon Klieman, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University and University of Michigan

"Israel as a Jewish National Democracy"
Chaim I. Waxman, Departments of Sociology and Jewish Studies, Rutgers University
e-mail: waxmanci@email.rci.rutgers.edu

"For Love of Country: Judaizing Space in Israel/Palestine"
Batia Roded and Oren Yiftachel, Department of Geography, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

How is homeland constituted while it is both, the spatial-cultural platform of the Israeli political system and the legal territory of the state regime? Is it possible to identify its ethno-national existence, collective exclusion and the hierarchy between different groups of its inhabitants by the establishment, settlement, representation and change of 'homeland'? This paper tries to examine these questions through the prisms of spatial understanding, and the reflections of homeland and

its view in popular culture, especially through Israeli songs (shirie moledet), vis-a-vis the changing geography of the Israeli/Palestinian space. The paper will show the development and changes of homeland images in the Israeli songs through the years and analyze its significance and implications on shaping the Jewish-Israeli political culture. The central questions of this paper are: Who owns the Israeli homeland described in the songs? Where exactly are the borders of this homeland? Where are the boundaries of the national collective that belongs to the homeland, i.e. the political space? What kind of ethno-geography includes/excludes certain groups within 'Israeli' politics and culture?

In the last century the Israeli/Palestinian space went through radical processes of Judaization and de-arabization. These processes are seen clearly in homeland conception (both mythical and concrete) that comes from the Hebrew songs and its translation into understanding of the geographical term 'country' as it exists and it alive in Jewish places only. The discourse that has been created in this way, differentiated between the 'empty' Judaized country and the concrete physical, mixed and disputed territory.

However, the performance of geography and country images in the songs are not static. The analysis shows slow fading in the popularity of the Judaizing idea. In the last decade we can see a passage from domination of frontier, settlement and fatherland songs, to intensified indifferentiation on the one hand, and a very modest beginning of protest songs against this problematic Judaization, on the other hand. The values and practices that have been created by the Jewish project are strong enough, but its centrality is fading away.

Session 7B   **STRATEGIES OF CONFLICT, ACCOMODATION, AND RESOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST I**
Chair: **Joel Migdal**, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington
e-mail: migdal@u.washington.edu

"Beyond the Water War Thesis: The 1960s Jordan River Clashes and the 1980s Palestinian Uprising Revisited"
Jeffrey Sosland, University of Missouri
e-mail: msosland@pluto.mscc.huji.ac.il

 How do states in an hostile international environment respond to water scarcity? Do political leaders use force to increase their water supply? A popular assumption, which most serious analysts question, is that the next regional war will be over water rather than oil. Nevertheless, the water issue is a pivotal matter in current Israel-Syria and Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. If Middle East water disputes are not properly resolved, could the politics of scarcity lead to violent conflict? In the end, which analytical approach is best in understanding the complex politics of Middle East water scarcity and which policies are appropriate for resolving hydropolitical conflicts? In regions, such as the Middle East, that suffer from seasonal drought if not from continual water crises, resource distribution and discrimination are highly sensitive questions. Many affected riparians, as well as specific domestic groups, view water scarcity as a threat to

their existence and well worth a fight. Also, water scarcity issues inevitably become co-mingled with other factors and so may play a significant role in raising tensions among feuding parties. In some of the most enduring conflicts in the international arena, scarce water resources have become a central issue and a source of political tension. The Arab-Israeli conflict, the Indian-Pakistani dispute, and the Syrian-Turkish conflict, to name only a few, have all, at some point, involved serious disagreements over sharing common water resources. Allocating scarce water can be particularly problematic in arid or semi-arid regions. Additionally, when riparians are engaged in an extended cold war, strained political and military relations make cooperation more difficult and outright conflict more probable. The Middle East is the most likely region to experience a water war, yet one has not occurred. By looking at this region, we are able to better understand the issue of water scarcity and conflict, and better develop an approach to analyzing it. This hybrid approach integrates factors from political neorealism, economic- environmental neomalthusianism, and sociological constuctivism. This paper examines the impact of water scarcity on both international and intra-national politics. Historically, a war of water has not occurred and violent conflict directly triggered by water scarcity rarely happens. Nonetheless, water scarcity can have an important impact on the politics of unstable or competitive regions or groups within states. By better understanding how the most politically intense cases -- those that lead to violence -- evolved, we can better understand hydropolitics and the causal chain from scarcity to political conflict. This study argues that developing states are more likely to trigger acute conflict over water scarcity if under the following conditions the political environment is unstable and competitive (realism). Elites politicize and manipulate the water issue so that it becomes a highly ideological or a symbolic matter, resulting in an economically irrational value for water (constructivism) ; and the state is unable or unwilling to adjust domestically to the demands of water scarcity (neomalthusianism).

“Mapping Political Gradients for Withdrawal or Annexation of Pieces of the Occupied Territories: A Technique for Using Comparative Real Estate Prices”
Ian S. Lustick, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania
e-mail: ilustick@sas.upenn.edu
& Dan Miodownik, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania
e-mail: danm@sas.upenn.edu

A crucial question, perhaps the crucial question, is how deeply are particular portions of the territories embedded in the psyche of Israelis? To what extent have different segments of these areas become parts of internalized emotional and cognitive maps of Israelis? To the extent that this has not occurred, if specific areas are still seen as and treated as foreign, or if areas that were internalized become "externalized," then opportunities for territorial compromise still exist and could even expand. What is needed is a metric for mapping the areas that have and have not, are or are not, internalized.   Such a map of the evolving relationship between Palestinian unrest and Jewish Israeli attachment to particular parts of the territories would represent a tool that would be more useful and more politically sensitive to the opportunities for and barriers to territorial compromise than a simple depiction of blue blobs in a sea of red circles (as Peace now depicts the relationship between Jewish settlements and Arab locales in its map of the territories).

We propose to report on our effort to develop such a metric. We hope to turn it into a capability

for producing dynamic maps of the territories in terms of the depth of political attachment and identification that at any
particular time, in the past or the future, Israelis have experienced or are experiencing. Our intent is to base this mapping on the relative and changing size in the gap between real estate prices for comparable properties in socio-economically comparable towns on either side of the green line. Areas where the gap was large would be demarcated as less closely integrated into Israel than where the gap was small. A narrowing gap would indicate progress toward effective integration. A widening gap would indicate a process of psychological and, potentially, political separation. Our research is focused now on accessing data from the classified ad sections of Israeli newspapers and on the identification of comparable towns and settlements. We would look forward to the opportunity to report on our progress at the upcoming AIS meeting.

"Politics of Loyalties: Women's Vote in Local Elections in an Arab Village"
Taghreed Yahia-Younis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University

The paper explores the question whether, and if so how, gendered order in Palestinian society influences women's political behavior. More specifically, the paper examines whether, and if so how, political-*hamula* loyalty affects patterns of political voting by married women during elections for the local authorities in an Arab village in Israel.

The research is based on 25 in-depth interviews (15 women and 10 men) and 7 informants who are known in the village as educated and experienced people. All of them were interviewed on the issues of normative expectations for women's political behavior, their actual behavior patterns, and how women maneuver between traditional expectations of them to demonstrate loyalty to the *hamula*, and the democratic principles that grant them a personal vote.

The paper analyzes the ways in which women deviate from those normative expectations and cast their votes independently.

"Resistance and Subversion of Dominant Power Through Gender Mimicry in David Grossman's *The Smile of the Lamb*"
Joshua Getz, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Emory University
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In recent feminist theory, mimesis is most frequently understood in opposition to the category of masquerade. "mimicry" (the deliberate and playful performance of role) is offered to counter and correct "masquerade" (the unconscious assumption of a role). It highlights the critical difference between a non-ironic imitation of a role and a parodic hyperbolization of a role. In this reading, mimicry resists and subverts dominant systems of representation by intentionally ironizing them.

The Arab protagonist in the novel is depicted as a sensitive character that is deeply loving, caring, nurturing, and intimately bonded with Mother Earth. With unconditional love he a single-handedly raises his foster child, Yazdi. Khilmi's conceptions, legends, and values are rooted in the Arab world. Nonetheless, he lives in a cave near an Arab village whose inhabitants deride and

demean him as they conceive of him as the local fool. Khilmi transcends reality as he oftentimes wanders into a fanciful imaginative and legendary world.

The beauty of the Arab fields and the natural landscape is seen through Khilmi's eyes but the Zionist dream insinuates itself into that landscape. The Zionist dream dovetails the old dream of Western civilization of the noble savage who lives in a pure and innocent world, a world of legends and the imagination, the contrary of the rational, and mechanical Western world. The latter is represented in the novel by Katzman, the cold, calculated, and callous Ashkenazi who becomes the military governor, the male representation of the subjugating Occupation in the West Bank. We have here a colonial discourse of sexuality that appropriates masculinity as the exclusive prerogative of "white" male colonizers while regulating "black" male sexuality to the culturally abjected, pathologized space of femininity, degeneracy, and castration.

Grossman discredit colonialism's authorized version of otherness when he introduces Khilmi's Jewish counterpart in the figure of Uri, the Sephardic protagonist whose father considers him "a perfect idiot." Endowed with rich imagination, Uri is deeply concerned with the notions of love and peace. As the novel progresses, he becomes disabused of both and deeply estranged from his own environment.

The novel culminates at a moment of crisis in both the personal political spheres. Uri, who has come to help Katzman in his work as military governor finds he is unable to fulfill Katzman's dream regarding "an enlightened occupation rule," Uri returns to his wife, Shosh, in order to heal their marriage. The personal crisis occurs when Shosh confesses to Uri her sexual liaison with their friend, Katzman. Parallel to this scenario the political situation comes to a head when the Occupation's practice of collective punishment in the Arab village leads to retaliation against the Israeli army. It is then that Yazdi, Khilmi's son, is killed. Faced with betrayal by wife and friend, Uri releases his bitterness in a political struggle where he aligns himself with Khilmi. As Katzman, the military governor, progressively loses his power, Khilmi, the Arab protagonist, increasingly augments power and might. It is here that Homi Bhabha alerts us to the ever-present possibility of slippage – from mimicry into mockery, from performativity into parody.

Session 7C **MASCULINITY AND IDEOLOGY II**
            Organizer: **Danny Kaplan**
            Chair: **Orna Sasson-Levy**

"Jewish Religious Masculinity in Transition"
Yohai Hakak, School of Social Work, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
e-mail: msyohaih@mscc.huji.ac.il

"Excitement and Control: Normalizing the Military Service in the Narratives of Israeli Combats Soldiers"
Orna Sasson-Levy, Department of Sociology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem & Center for Jewish Studies, Rutgers University
e-mail: orsasson@rci.rutgers.edu

"*Sulha*: Conflict Resolution Among Israeli-Palestinian Men"
Sharon D. Lang, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Redlands
e-mail: lang@jasper.uor.edu

Throughout the Galilee region of Israel, as in many parts of the Middle East, a ritualized process of conflict resolution is practiced by the indigenous Arab population. The process is called sulha, a term glossed as "reconciliation," "cooperation," or "forgiveness." For centuries Palestinian men have resolved interfamilial disputes, however trivial or serious, and maintained peace by employing this systematic yet highly personal process of mediation. In this presentation/paper I offer an analysis and interpretation of sulha based on participant-observation and interviews carried out in northern Israel from September 1992 to April 1996. Specifically, I highlight the lengthy reconciliation process, mediated by notables, that takes place after a murder of a man. I present my analysis
of sulha with the intention of complicating and contesting negative representations of Israeli-Palestinian and Arab village politics prevalent in social scientific and popular discourse. Rather than emphasize the centrality of violence and conflict to the construction and maintenance of political order, I focus on the underlying ideals of cooperation, negotiation, and compromise 'the indigenous representation of sociopolitical interaction‹so evident in the sulha process. As in any sociopolitical system, conflict, competition, and even violence do play a part in Israeli-Palestinian politics, and indeed, sulha does not always succeed. My point, however, is to explain this largely overlooked but highly significant process of conflict resolution and show how it is predicated on a logic of male honor or sharaf and the principle of forgiveness.

7:00 - 8:00 dinner

8:00 - 10:00 Plenary session:
Movie: "HOW I LEARNED TO OVERCOME MY FEAR AND LOVE ARIK SHARON"
Organizer: Ilan Peleg
Discussants: Orly Lubin, Ilan Peleg

THURSDAY - MAY 17

8:30 – 9:45
Session 8A   **ISRAELI FOREIGN POLICY AFTER THE Al-AKSA INTIFADA**
               Organizer, Chair and Discussant: **Robert O. Freedman**,
               Baltimore Hebrew University
               e-mail: rofreedman@home.com

"Israeli Policy Toward Egypt and Syria"
Eyal Zisser, Moshe Dayan Center for ME and North Africa Studies, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: zisser@ccsg.tau.acil

"Israeli Policy Toward the European Union"

Angelika Timm, Department of Political Science, Free University of Berlin
e-mail: angelika.timm@arcormail.de

 "Israeli Policy Toward Russia"
Andrei Fedorchenko, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
e-mail: depisr@orientalia.ac.ru

The Soviet Union was among the countries that were the first to recognize the State of Israel in 1948, but in the next four decades the growth of political contradictions between the two countries did not let to at least lay political and economic foundations of bilateral relations. The restoration of full diplomatic relations between Russia and Israel will mark its 10th anniversary this year. Although many barriers and prohibitions of the past have been eliminated in the last decade, the bilateral relations have experienced several highs and lows. Nevertheless, it seems that all these fluctuations of Israel's relations with first the Soviet Union and then Russia, to some extent are like the turns and twists in the relationship between those close relatives who often quarrel with each other but are still connected by multiple similar traits and goals. In fact, Russia and Israel share many common features and interests. First, the immigrants to Palestine from the Eastern Europe, including Russia, have created political, institutional, social and economic basis for the future State of Israel. Now Israel has the largest Russian speaking Diaspora outside the former Soviet Union. Second, with all differences in a geographical position, political and socioeconomic organization of Russia and Israel both countries show an original synthesis of the Western and Eastern models of public development. Third, two countries are interested in improving its security position in the Middle East and beyond its borders with a help of each other. Forth, Israel and Russia have rather strong common economic interests. The paper will analyze the current stage and prospects of the Russian Israeli relations taking into consideration the recent shifts in the Russian foreign policy (e.g. Russia's intention to return to Asia's politics as a major player, to maintain an area of cooperation with the United States in the Middle East region etc.), as well as Israel's attempts not only to extricate itself from the Middle East conflict deadlock, but to play a new role in the international relations as a whole. I am going to pay special attention to the triangle of relationship among Washington, Moscow and Jerusalem. The paper will be in part based on interviews in the Russian and Israeli Foreign Ministries, as well as discussions with policy makers, academics and businessmen from Russia, Israel and the USA.

Session 8B   **STUDYING THE INVENTION OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES I**
              Organizer, Chair and Discussant: **Dov Shinar**

"The Personalization of Collective Identity: Americanized Media and Intifada 2000"
Tamar Liebes, Department of Communication, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
mstamarl@mscc.huji.ac.il

"Mid-Life Crisis, Kibbutz Style"
William Miles, Department of Political Science, Northeastern University
e-mail: b.miles@nunet.neu.edu

As a category for defining collective identity within advanced postindustrial society, age has come into its own relatively late within social analysis. Where it has been a factor of analysis, the extremes (e.g., youth culture on the one hand, senior citizens on the other) have generally garnered the bulk of attention. In contrast, middle-aged populations have been least examined as a discreet category worthy of collective identity formation.

In Israel, the founding of new kibbutzim in the late 1970s and early 1980s presents a unique opportunity to examine the ramifications of an age-skewed society, one in which the "elders" are only middle-aged. Two of these, Yahel and Lotan, constitute the focus of this paper. Founded as flagship kibbutzim of the Reform Jewish movement in 1976 and 1983, respectively, the effective and affective homogeneity of these two communities is defined at least by age as it is by denominational preference. Indeed, although the two shared identical ideological and religious goals from the outset, the succeeding differences between the two kibbutzim may be attributed largely to the few years separating their respective age cohorts.

A particularly interesting phenomenon is the onset in Yahel of mid-life crisis, a period in which middle-aged individuals take existential stock of their current condition and intensively assess their present with respect to past goals and probable future. In "ordinary" society, this crisis is mitigated by the sandwiching of mid-lifers between other age groups. In the community under review, however, the phenomenon takes on a greater significance, for two principal reasons. For one, on kibbutz – where major problems are collective to begin with – the mid-life crisis necessarily takes on collective, as opposed to merely individual, import. Secondly, the age-skewed demography ensure that virtually the entire cadre of "elders" undergo the same psychological process at the identical time. This necessarily affects the tone of the entire community. It is hypothesized that Lotan, only a few years behind Yahel in collective age, will undergo significant transformation in ideology and administration as it, too, approaches the mid-life years.

The paper concludes with a call for renewed attention to the kibbutz – usually dismissed as a marginal or anachronistic structure within contemporary Israeli society – for the light it can shed on understudied dimensions of collective identity, and particularly on the solutions that intentional communities can bring to age-based crises.

"Coming to Jerusalem: Arab Students Negotiate Identity"
Brian Schiff, Department of Psychology, Wellesley College
bschiff@wellesley.edu

"The Role of Language in the Formation and Transformation of Collective Identity: Quebec and Israel"
Dov Shinar, Department of Communication Studies, Ben Gurion University of the Negev
e-mail: shinard@bgumail.bgu.ac.il

Session 8C   **STRATEGIES OF CONFLICT, ACCOMODATION, AND RESOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST II**

Chair: **Joel Migdal**, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington

"Israel's 'Ethnic Project' in the City of Shafa-amr"

Ibtisam Ibrahim, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: iibrahim42@hotmail.com

Since 1948 Israel has fostered divisive policies, facilitated by laws and governmental practices, towards the three religious groups (Muslims, Christians, and Druze) of the Arab minority and treated the three groups differently. The most favorable treatment has been accorded to the Druze, with Christians ranked second, and Muslims the least favored. The outcomes and the effects of this policies is to provoke Arab disunity. The paper examines differential treatment, which I call Israel's "ethnic project", towards the Arab minority by studying the community of Shafa-amr - a religiously mixed city - in Western Galilee. Evidence shows that state's intent is to preserve separate ethnic and religious identities to discourage an Arab collective national identity. This has been done by promoting types of fragmentation, such as preferential treatment and residential and school segregation mainly between the Druze and the other religious groups. In the city of Shafa-amr, the government practices are revealed in the community-specific housing and education projects for the Druze people alone. The study also reveals how the three religious groups were receptive to this differential treatment, thereby helping to sustain separate ethnic and religious identities. The paper concludes that such differential treatment by the state across religious lines increased sectarianism among the three Arab religious groups within the same city.

"Suez-Sinai, 1956: The International, Strategic Aspect"
Michael J. Cohen, Department of General History, Bar-Ilan University
e-mail: mcohen@mail.biu.ac.il

The 'Sinai Campaign' of 1956 was seen at the time by Israelis as a major military triumph over Egypt, and confirmation that the State of Israel had arrived as a Middle East 'player'.

In fact, the Sinai war was part of a wider Middle Eastern crisis.

None of Israel's wars involved such direct military aid from two of the major powers of the time, France and the UK. The powers' military involvement was largely hidden from the public eye at the time. Of course, not only Israel, but France and the UK also, all had their own Middle East interests to serve. The Sèvres conspiracy that preceded the Sinai campaign, was in many senses an 'unholy alliance'. None of the three conspirators harbored much goodwill for, or trust of their 'allies'.

In aligning herself with France and Israel, the UK in fact crossed several 'red lines' of the Middle East strategy she had worked on for years with the US, a strategy aimed at mobilising the Arab world into a military alliance with the West. In so doing, the UK provoked the most serious crisis ever in the Atlantic Alliance, and in the process, set her signature to the final demise of the British Empire in the Middle East.

"Missing the Target: The Unintended Consequences of Electoral Reform "
Emanuele Ottolenghi
The Middle East Centre, St. Antony's College & The Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, Yarnton
e-mail: emanuele.ottolenghi@sant.ox.ac.uk

The system of direct election of the Prime Minister was introduced in Israel in the early nineties, in order to provide a solution to the problems of political instability, party fragmentation, and coalition crises. One would assume that rational thinking politicians would choose a system that would solve the problems at best, and not exacerbate them at worst. Based on the performance of the system in Israel to date, that is exactly what happened. This could be explained as an unintended consequence of constitutional reform. In fact, there existed a body of literature within the context of France and Italy that demonstrated that such a system would foster instability.

This paper will explain the political and institutional context within which Israel's constitutional reform was adopted. It will explore how a specific context of political crisis combined with rules for the adoption of legislation opened an opportunity for a private member's bill that under other circumstances had little hope of success to become law.

9:45-10:00 break

10:00 – 10:15
Plenary: Greeting by Ambassador David Ivri, Israeli Ambassador to the U.S.

10:15-10:30 break

10:30 - 12:00
Plenary session:
Joan Nathan, **"THE ROLE OF FOOD IN THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL"**
    Joan Nathan is the author of *The Foods of Israel Today*

12:00 - 1:15 lunch

1:15 - 3:00

Session 9A   **CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE TRANSVALUATION OF ISRAELI VALUES**
    Organizer and Chair: **Angelika Timm**

"Political Value Change in the Russian-Speaking New Immigrant Community in Israel: Factors and Prospects"
Vladimir Khanin, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: khanin@post.tau.ac.il

"Mediterraneanism in Israel's Popular Culture: Artificial Construct or Lived Reality?"
Alexandra Nocke, Potsdam University
email: Anocke@aol.com
"The Engagement of Israeli NGO's in a 'Culture War'"
Angelika Timm, Department of Political Science, Free University of Berlin
e-mail: angelika.timm@arcormail.de

"Low-Intensity War and Human Rights Organizations as Guardians of the 'Rule of Law'"
Avishai Erhlich
Academic College Tel-Aviv Yaffo and Department of Sociology, Tel-Aviv University
e-mail: avishai_ehrlich@hotmail.com

Session 9B   **LAW, POLITICS, AND ETHNICITY**
                 Organizers and Chairs: **Gad Barzilai & Ilan Peleg**

"The Rights of Migrant Workers in Israel"
Yossi Dahan, Open University, Tel Aviv and the Adva Center
e-mail: yossida@oumail.openu.ac.il

"The Status of the Israeli Constitution at the Present Time"
Martin Edelman, Department of Political Science, State University of New York, at Albany
E-mail: me354@csc.albany.edu

"From Ethnic Hegemonism to Liberal Multiculturalism: What Will it Take for Israel to Transform?"
Professor Ilan Peleg, Department of Government and Law, Lafayette College
e-mail: pelegi@lafayette.edu

"Shas in Law and Multiculturalism: A Critical Communitarian Perspective"
Gad Barzilai, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University
e-mail: gbarzil@post.tau.ac.il

Session 9C   **STUDYING THE INVENTION OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES II**
                 Organizer: **Dov Shinar**, Chair: **Tamar Liebes**

"Dis-membering and Re-membering the Palestinian Collective Memory: The Case of the Arab Israeli Press"
Mustafa Kabha, Department of History, Open University, Tel Aviv
e-mail: mustafa@oumail.openu.ac.il
& **Dan Caspi**, Department of Communication Studies, Ben Gurion University of the Negev
e-mail: danca@oumail.openu.ac.il

"Secular Dances Around the Tribal Campfire: The Holiday Literary Supplements in the Israeli Press"
Moti Neiger, Department of Communication, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
einmot@netvision.net.il
& **Itzhak Roeh**, Department of Communication, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
msroeh@mscc.huji.ac.il

"A Home Away from Home? "Israel Shelanu" and the Self Perceptions of Israeli Migrants"
Oren Meyers, Anneberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania
omeyers@asc.upenn.edu

"If Words Could Kill: The Reciprocal Relationship between Discourse and Activism"
Muli Peleg, Political Science Department, College of Tel Aviv-Yaffo
pelegmt@inter.net.il
3:00 - 3:15 break

3:15- 5:00

Session 10A ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO MANDATE HISTORY III
Organizer: **Ylana Miller**, Department of History, Duke University,
e-mail: ymiller@duke.edu
Chair: **Aviva Halamish**

"Arab-Jewish Relations August 1929"
Tobe Shanok, independent scholar
e-mail: tshanok@zahav.net.il

August 1929 was a watershed for change in communal relations in Palestine. The Yishuv was developing at a rapid pace with institutions, industry and commerce expanding while the Arab millets were beginning to stagnate financially and economically and commercially, as compared to the Yishuv. The two millets were clearly beginning to show signs of unequal development. In this backdrop, national sentiment in both Arab and Jewish communities were rising but with little attempt made by the respective leaderships to blunt the friction.

In August 1929, the match was lit that propelled both communities to ultimately view the other in harsh and cruel terms. Hebron was (and still is) the microcosm of relations that went awry. Why did this occur and what was the full extent of change in relations that took place? What part did the Jewish Agency and British officials play prior to, during and immediately after the ensuing events that had lasting effects? These are but a few questions that must be seriously analyzed in a re-assessment of Arab-Jewish relations and why Hebron became the symbol for massacre, hate and division.

This event appears as a bloody culmination of pent -up anti-Jewish feelings in the Arab communities. The reality is much more complex and nuanced. The historical narrative does not

discuss the Hebron Arabs who saved many Jews at the risk of their own lives nor the complicated and uneven Arab-Jewish relations evident in different places. The narratives have not discussed the absence of Arab attacks against Jews in Tiberius and why such a bloody occurrence never happened or why did the unthinkable occur in a place where Jews and Arabs were known to have such close and positive contacts throughout centuries.

The continuation of negative perceptions, feeding off of the media and educational system's syllabus and socialization techniques of stereotyping, has fostered an atmosphere little conducive to mutual understanding or future contact. In order to begin the long, hard road it is time for a re-appraisal of past history in order to find the strands and directions by which perceptions were formed and thus understand the point at which these must be changed and then form a strategy for that change. The re-appraisal of past relations is necessary in order to understand how and why we are presently at a dangerous crossroads in Arab and Jewish relations.

"The Sports Column as an Agent of Identity: Palestinian Nationalism in Mandatory Palestine"
Tamir Sorek, Meyerhoff Center for Jewish Studies, University of Maryland
e-mail: ts194@umail.umd.edu
The paper outlines the history of the Arab Palestinian sports in the mandatory state, emphasizing the national meanings ascribed to it by the sports press. The Palestinian national movement in those days had gone through an accelerated process of crystallization, and internal conflicts about the nature of this new identity were common. In this context, the newspaper *Filastin*, strove to promote the idea of cross-religious particular Palestinian identity and its sports section was dedicated to spreading this ideology. Thus, its nationalist discourse drew a direct line between the strengthening of the individual body and the strengthening the "national body" and described sports as an integral part of the Arab heritage. In addition, it called the Palestinian leaders to adopt the Egyptian and the Zionist attitudes toward sports.

"Economics in the Service of History: The Case of Mandatory Palestine"
Jacob Metzer, Department of Economics, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
e-mail: msmetzer@mscc.huji.ac.il

The main purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how valuable economics can be in illuminating key issues in the history of the Mandate period. Two themes will be pursued. One will concentrate on the usefulness of economics as a body of theory, providing analytical devices for comparatively examining phenomena and patterns that are, at least in part, economically interpretable. Prominent examples in this respect include: the characteristics of segmentation in the labor and capital markets, land tenure regimes in the Arab rural sector; rural-urban Arab migration; and the expression of Jewish economic nationalism as a case of collective action without government. The second theme will draw on (development) economics as a source of empirical methodologies and constructs, enabling quantitative documentation and assessment of economic growth and development in the Arab and Jewish communities. Particular emphasis will be put here on an internationally comparative examination of the association between the level of economic wellbeing within each community and such attributes as fertility, infant mortality, life expectancy, literacy and schooling.

"And the Sales Go Marching On' How, Why and to What Effect was HMG Land Policy in Palestine Thwarted by Arab Land Sales and Jews Purchases after the Promulgation of May 1939 Palestine British White Paper"
Kenneth W. Stein, Emory University
e-mail: kstein@emory.edu

In a report issued in 1943 about how Arabs in Palestine continued to sell lands to Jewish buyers, the Criminal Investigation Division of the Palestine administration reported the following "The procedure adopted by the Jews obtain land is to first obtain details of an old judgement against the Arab owner of a parcel of land which has not been discharged, or not put in the Execution Office, or details of an old mortgage on the land. The owner is then approached and a private agreement reached as to the price to be actually paid, and his consent
obtained to the proceedings to be followed.

The Jews then buy out the judgement creditor or mortgagee and obtain a power of attorney to execute the judgement of foreclosure on the mortgage. The name of the judgement creditor or mortgagee is not changed.
The land is then put up for auction and the Jews, with the collusion of the Court Clerk, arrange the sale in such a way that the auction is not a public one as the law demands. It should be noted that under Ottoman Law certain steps must be taken before the final sale is made, but are taken without objection, the provisions of the Ottoman Execution Law is evaded, and the ensuing sale is to all intents and purposes, a private one. The Chief Execution Officer having found that there are no objections from the owner, the judgement debtors obtain the registration of the land in the name of the Jewish Company." Without Arab land sales to Jews who immigrated to Palestine, a geographic nucleus for a Jewish state would not have materialized before 1940. HMG recognized Jewish territorial and demographic growth in Palestine when it suggested the partition of Palestine in the 1937 Peel Report. For a variety of reasons, the idea of partition was shelved; instead through the May 1939 White Paper, HMG decided to tighten severely the capability of Jews to immigrate to Palestine and to buy land. HMG sought to protect the Arab population from further displacement because of Jewish immigration and land purchase.

While the pace of both dropped dramatically in the 1940s, Aliyah Bet,' (illegal immigration) and Arab land sales to Jews continued uninterrupted. The restrictions of the 1939 White Paper notwithstanding, the growth of the Jewish national home was slowed not stopped in the 1940s. Concomitantly the Arab political community in Palestine
disintegrated.

Using Palestine Land Department files, records from the Colonial Office, acknowledgment of such undertakings in the Palestine Arab press, this paper enumerate how land was transferred, how much was transferred, and how inept the British were in stopping land sales. It will reaffirm the broader historical reality that the mutually beneficial symbiosis which Jews and Arabs in Palestine developed in land transactions over the previous fifty years was not deterred by British policy; and that Jewish land purchases along with illegal immigration, though relatively small as compared to previous decades, energized the Zionist enterprise; and, that some Arab peasants

were in fact vigorously antagonistic to the land transfer regulations because they adversely affected an option to
mortgage lands and obtain capital for improvements and other daily needs.
Elsewhere, I have shown how and why these processes evolved in the 1920s and 1930s; this paper continues the story no amount of British political engineering was able to keep Arab seller and Jewish buyer from finding a way to do business, with neither of them fully aware of the magnitude or ultimate political consequences of their actions.

Session 10B **CONTESTED VISIONS OF ISRAELI NATIONHOOD II**
Organizer: **Mike Aronoff**, Chair: Donna Divine

"Israeli Foreign Policy and the Politics of National Unity"
Dov Waxman, International Relations & Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University, School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS)
e-mail: dovwaxman@hotmail.com

"The Body of the Nation: Terrorism and the Embodiment of Nationalism in Contemporary Israel"
Meira Weiss, Department of Sociology and Anthropology & Gender Studies, Lafer Center, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
e-mail: msmeira@pluto.mscc.huji.ac.il

Israeli nationalism hinges on a military conflict-cum-routine, that has created a society deeply concerned with territorial borders as well as body boundaries. This concern continues to play an influential role in central cultural scripts such as militarism and nationalism, and underpins the transformation from collectivism to individualism. In this paper I show how national identity is inscribed in the Israeli "chosen body," and how "the body of the nation" arises following critical events such as terrorist bombings. Building on a discursive analysis of "BodyTalk" in the media representation of terrorist attacks, the paper focuses on the non-discursive management of concrete bodies following such attacks. I focus on practices that can be subsumed under body identification and take place in the National Institute of Forensic Medicine. The data is based on interviews and observations conducted in the Institute during 1996-1998, and supplemented by narrative analysis of media texts. Body identification and bodyTalk are presented as complementary aspects of the discourse of collective, national identity in contemporary Israel. It is argued that Israeli and Jewish identities, although sometimes discursively (politically) separated, are still closely tied in more fundamental, non-verbal practices of body identification.

"Temporal and Spatial Dimensions of Contested Israeli Nationhood"
Myron (Mike) Aronoff, Department of Political Science, Rutgers University
e-mail: maronoff@rci.rutgers.edu

"Israel's National Identities: Moving Beyond Hegemonic Competition?"
Nadav Shelef, Department of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley
e-mail: shelef@uclink4.berkeley.edu

The illumination of the competition among different visions of Israeli collective identity has tended to come at the price of focusing either on one of the major cleavages in Israeli society that affect collective identities (Israeli-Palestinian, Ashkenazi-Sephardi, Religious-Secular, etc.) or on the competition for hegemony that characterizes the interaction of collective identities. This paper argues that a more nuanced understanding of Israeli collective identity (identities), and of collective identities more generally, must simultaneously incorporate different dimensions of collective identity and investigate modes of their interaction that may range beyond their competition for hegemony. Using the literature on nationalism and national identity (and its frequent inability to adequately capture important dimensions of Israeli politics), the paper suggests that one potential way of accomplishing this dual task is by categorizing Israeli national identity in terms of their ideological content along the following dimensionsdefinitions of membership, the appropriate territorial boundaries, conceptions of time and history, and of the appropriate relation to the past, ideal way of relating to other groups (Israeli and other), and the appropriate institutional structure of the state. This framework generates a number of hypotheses about the sources of change and continuity in the different visions of Israeli collective identity. An important one is derived from the multi-dimensional concept of collective identity and the possibility of cooperation along one dimension even as competition continues on another. Specifically, this framework suggests that under certain conditions different visions of collective identity may compete (sometimes violently), cooperate, attempt to convert, or even ignore each other.

Session 10C **CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE PEACE PROCESS**
        Chair: **Ilan Peleg**, Lafayette College

"The International Self: Israel and the Palestinians, 1948-1993"
Mira Sucharov, Department of Government, Georgetown University
e-mail: sucharmm@georgetown.edu

What leads longstanding adversaries to pursue compromise? Examining the case of Israel's decision to seek peace with the PLO leading up to the 1993 Oslo agreement, I argue that states possess a self-image, or role-identity, that describes and constrains policy actions. When a state's foreign policy behavior contradicts its role-identity, however, unconscious counternarratives are brought to the fore, causing a "cognitive dissonance" that forces the state to take radical action to realign its actions with its self-image. Two events in the 1980's --the Lebanon War and the Israel's response to the Intifada -- led Israel to experience itself as an "aggressor," rather than as a "defensive warrior" fighting only wars of no alternative ("ayn breirah") and using "purity of arms." The extension of an olive branch to the Palestinians represented the taking of radical action by the state in order to realign its policies with its self-image.

Three years of field work in Israel, the most recent being 1999-2000 as a Rabin fellow at the Truman Institute where I conducted extensive interviews with the senior Oslo negotiators on the Israeli side, as well as Israeli cultural and military figures, provide the immediate background for the research presented here, which emerges from my dissertation at Georgetown University, which I will defend in May.

"Writing to Please: Press Releases, Movement Frames, and the Peace Process"
David Levin, School of Public Affairs, Department of Government, American University
e-mail: dl6545a@erols.com

While many studies have investigated what social and political movement actions are covered by the mass media from a media routine perspective (Wolfsfeld 1997) and many studies have investigated how newsmedia radicalize movement messages (Gitlin 1980) few studies have looked into the signaling process by which movements let media know when the movement has information it wishes to express. In particular, there has been little quantitative methodological research on the critical link that press releases provide between movements and media. Do movement frames become more prominently featured in the news media when press releases are of good quality? Using Israeli newspaper coverage of Israeli peace movements and press releases by two Israeli Peace movements I test 4 press release quality hypotheses. Logit models demonstrate that movement press releases which1) present new factual data; 2) are short, with a single point; 3) are action-oriented (feature a movement activity); & 4) are presented 2-3 days prior to movement action are more likely to covered by Israeli newspapers. In addition, I demonstrate that the movement frames associated with these press releases tend to be releases in which the movement1) portrays its opponents as dangerous radicals and 2) sets itself in opposition to the government. The implications of these findings are discussed in light of the increasing social divisions in Israeli society.

"If It's Not on the Menu, It's Not in the Cards: Political Culture and Peace-Process Policy"
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President Clinton took interference in the internal affairs of another country to unprecedented heights when he sent his three favorite campaign advisors to Israel to help Ehud Barak win his election. They won the election, but not the peace. This paper examines why the Clinton-Barak peace-making venture failed, and it suggests how to avoid failure in the future. Our thesis is that a peace agreement entails making a connection between two political cultures. If the connection is to be made, and, especially, if it is to have continuing validity, the connection must constitute very similar, if not identical, concepts. If one or both sides do not exhibit these concepts in their political language, there can be no connection and no peace agreement. The situation is complicated if one side exhibits contradictory concepts in word or deed. The situation is further complicated if a mediator involved has, still, a third political culture and an accompanying third political language. We further assert that common concepts cannot be imposed, but must arise from the parties to the conflict themselves, in order to create meaningful peace agreements. We apply the above to the past two-year period in Israeli-Palestinian affairs, and we suggest tactics for promoting common political language in the future. We show how to read cultural codes and how to predict if agreement between two political cultures is possible and on what terms.

"The Tension Between Integration and Fragmentation in the Middle East."
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