## INDEX

Page locators in italics indicate tables

Abbas, Mahmoud, 296 Abdulhamid II, 79 Abitbol, Michel, 96 Abu Ghush clan, 67 Acre, 64, 275 Agrant, Simon, 187 agriculture, 5-7, 70-71, 108, 336n. 10 Agudat Israel party, 102, 111, 358n. 6 Algeria, 369n. 78 `Ali, Muhammad, 62, 66, 68, 70, 275 aliya, 95 Al-Jalome Village, 192 Allenby, Edmund, 73 Allon, Yigal, 163, 166 Allon Plan, 167–168, 209, 244, 404n. 29 All Palestine Government, 236 ibn-Amir, Husayn-`Ali, 62 Anatot (town), 206 Anglican Church, 87 annexation, 119-121, 172, 189, 394n. 2; avoidance of, 126, 169, 209, 244, 259, 287; citizenship and, 194-195 anomie, 167, 169, 200, 215, 219-220 anti-Semitism, 123, 181, 228, 359n. 8 Aqaba summit, 296 al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, 261, 267, 298 al-Aqsa mosque, 79 Arab Bank, 77

Arabesque (Shammas), 222–226 Arab Executive Council, 78, 337n. 27, 356n. 60 Arab identities, 31; Arab order, 49-50; family identity, 44, 44-45; Israeli-Arab identity, 34; Spearman correlations, 52-54. see also pan-Arabism Arab Independence Party (Hizb al-Istiqlal al-'Arabi), 74 Arabism, political, 62 Arab Legion, 165, 217 Arab National Fund, 77 Arab nationalism, 34, 62-63, 346n. 12, 349n. 28 Arab-Palestinian dichotomy, 42-43 Arabs, 169, 380n. 15; Christian, 71; 1948 exodus, 34; legal discrimination against, 180-181; Muslim-Christian associations, 78, 337n.7, 353n. 48, 355n. 59; repression of, 180-183, 185, 187-188, 222-223, 232-233; stereotypes of, 241-242, 245; survey of, 58-59, 59. see also ethnic cleansing/removal; Palestinian collective identities; Palestinians Arab states, 160; opposition to Israel-Egypt peace treaty, 215-216. see also Egypt; Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan; Iraq; Lebanon; Syria

Arafat, Yasir, 58, 238, 242, 251, 289, 413n. 45; American-Israeli position and, 290-291; illness and death of, 266, 267, 296 Arian, Asher, 35 armistice agreement, 1949, 163, 238, 282, 380n. 15, 382n. 39 arms exports, 146 Armstrong, John A., 63 asabiyya (identity group), 61-63, 69, 77-81 Ashkenazi Jews, 30, 93, 169, 285 Asian-African Jews. see Mizrahi Jews al-`Asifa, 237, 238, 242 assimilation, 18, 32 Association for Civil Rights, 179 attitudinal dualism, 42-43 Auron, Yair, 33 Australian Supreme Court, 388n. 6 Avnery, Uri, xi Avruch, 102 al-awqaf, 65, 79 a'yan (urban notables), 5, 65, 68, 77

Balfour Declaration (1917), 73, 74, 109, 337n. 27, 351n. 40, 356n. 60, 409n. 15 al-Bana, Hasan, 80 Barak, Aharon, 179, 186, 187, 196–197, 261 Barak, Ehud, 293, 382n. 36, 413n. 43; collapse of peace-oriented camp and, 288–290; 1999 election victory, 282–283

Bar-Lev, Haim, 191

Bar-Lev line, 167

Barzilai, Gad, 134

Basic Laws, 232–233, 361n. 36, 389n. 20, 400n. 33; Conversion Law, 233; Freedom of Occupation, 186, 196, 233; Human Dignity and Freedom, 186, 195–198, 198, 390n. 22; Law of Citizenship, 197, 233, 394n. 63; Law of Land Acquisition, 192–193; Law of Return, 31, 180–181, 197, 233, 389n. 15, 394n. 63, 400–401n. 37; Law on the Status of the World Zionist Organization, 233;

marital, 18, 91, 94, 338-339n. 47; Social Security Law, 233; Work Hours and Days of Rest Law, 233 Bedouins, 64, 66, 188-189, 217 Begin, Menachem, 151-152, 172, 213, 215, 259 Begin Doctrine, 175 Beit El settlement, 194 Bellah, Robert, 90, 94 Ben, Aluf, 260 Ben-Ami, Shlomo, 292 Ben-David, Joseph, xii Ben-Eliezer, Uri, 132, 134 Ben-Gurion, David, 114, 117, 142, 278, 368n. 62; annexation and, 394n. 2; political-military doctrine, 383n. 50 Ben-Porat, Miriam, 192 Benvenisti, Meron, 171, 195 Ben-Yair, Michael, 389n. 17 Ben-Yehuda, Nachman, 155, 378n. 6 Bichler, Shimshon, 146 Bilu association, 277 Bir al-Sab (Beersheba), 64 Bir'im (village), 212 Bodwen, Tom, 12 Bonaparte, Napoleon, 275 borders, 33, 63-66, 98, 106; ceasefire lines, 41, 98, 137, 165, 202, 206; Green Line, 137, 182, 233, 238, 246, 263, 382-383n. 46; historic, Eretz Israel, 96, 119; Road Map and, 297-298; separation barrier, 256–257, 260–261, 264–265; shifts in, 231. see also sociopolitical boundaries British colonial rule, 2, 236, 277–278, 366n. 25, 409n. 15; Jewish parallel system, 76, 110-111, 353n. 50, 363n. 3, 409n. 16; law, 392n. 43; origins of Israel and, 107-110; Palestinism and, 75-77, 82-83. see also Mandatory Palestine Brubaker, Rogers, 272-273 B'Tselem, 264 Buber, Martin, ix-x Bush, George W. administration, 263, 264, 295-296

Calhoun, Craig, 273 Camp David accords, 172-174, 214, 217, 219 Camp David talks, 290-292 Canaanites, 63 capital, Jewish, 5-6, 10, 13, 16, 112, 116 capitalism, 5-7, 32-33, 86, 402-403; populist, 32, 342n. 38 ceasefire agreements, 202-203, 219 Christians, 66, 71–72; Arab, 80, 355n. 58; Muslim Christian associations, 78, 337n.7, 353n. 48, 355n. 59 citizenship: annexation and, 194-195; boundaries of, 96, 182, 183; as conditional, 76, 128, 191; denied to Palestinians, 205, 224-226, 259-260, 281-282; formal, 236, 285; identity and Israeli state, 229-233; individual and, 227-228; Law of, 197, 233, 394n. 63; as legal status, 234; millet system form of, 79, 232, 356n. 62, 400n. 35; Muslim world order, 349n. 28; obligations to state, 226-227; universalistic, 122, 237 civilian militarism, xv, 137–138, 141–144, 152-153, 163 civil religion, 94-95, 384n. 62 civil society, 37, 40-41, 105, 108; dual collective identity with state, 122-125, 230; Palestinian, 244-245 civil war, 136-137 class relations: aristocratic families, 66, 348n. 25; a'yan (urban notables), 5, 65-66, 68, 77; effendi, 77, 83; fellahin, 5, 6, 67-69, 83; middle class, 115-116; shabab (underclass), 5, 55, 347n. 19; Tanzimat reforms and, 65-66, 70, 71 Clemenceau, George, 73 Clinton, William, 290, 413-414n. 47 Cohen, Haim, 197 colonialism, European, 230 colonial system, Israeli, 114, 258-259 colony, pure, 121 combatant community, 134 communalism, 88 communism, 230

Communist Party, 111 concrete interactions, 3, 6, 88, 283, 339n. 51; in cultural sphere, 7, 336n. 12 conflict: as integral social system, xvi, 299-300; routinization of, 130, 143-144, 163, 167, 177-178, 203, 248; social identities and, 29-30 consensus culture, 133 conspiracy-theory approach, 159 constitution, Israeli, 186, 195-198, 389n. 20, 393-394n. 60 consumerism, 7 contextual constructionism, 156 Cooper, Frederick, 272-273 Council for National Security, 157 Crimean War, 70 Crusaders, 164-165, 275, 356n. 65, 383n. 53 crystallization, processes of, 1-2, 5 cultural assumptions, 229 cultural creations, 202 cultural identity, 398n. 12 cultural militarism, 163 cultural nationalism, 277 current security (bitachon shotef), 163 Current Sociology, xvii

Damascus, 73-74

David, King, 53, 353n. 49

Dayan, Moshe, 144, 167–168, 203, 206, 215, 368n. 62, 369n. 76; eulogy for Rothberg, 143, 177; functional division and, 243

Dead Sea, 64

Declaration of Principles (1993), 58, 248, 252

decolonization process, 81, 284, 409n. 16 defense establishment, 157, 379n. 11

democracy, 182, 196, 411n. 32; ideology of, 300–301; incompatible with Judaism, 232, 393nn. 57, 58; Israeli state defined as, 122, 230, 232; militarism and, 133, 137

Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), 239

Democratic Movement for Change, 117

demographic projections, 260, 396n. 21, 409n. 16 dhimi (protected minorities), 66 Diaspora, Jewish, 76, 85, 87, 100-102, 110, 113, 165, 362n. 40, 398n. 10, 402-403n. 16 disengagement initiative, 256-257 District Act (1864), 65 Dori, Yaacov, 379n. 12 Dubnow, Simon, 277 East Jerusalem, 21, 121, 194, 244, 287. see also Jerusalem economic sphere: interaction in, 5-7; militarism and, 146-147 economy: Arab, 5-6, 13; cheap labor market, 258, 284-285, 286; occupied territories and, 258-259; Palestinian, 259, 261, 286 education, 30, 35, 91-92, 114, 183; nationalreligious, 170-171 effendi, 77, 83 Egypt, 62, 165-166, 172, 346n. 12, 386n. 89; 1834 invasion of Palestine, 66-70; peace treaties and, 214-216; Sinai campaign, 1956, 164, 383n. 52; War of Attrition (1969), 205

Egyptian National Assembly, 213

Eilon Moreh settlement affair, 190–191

Eisenstadt, Shmuel N., ix–x, xii, xvi, 32, 85 Eitan, Rafael, 190

elections: 1977, 91, 117, 120, 150, 185, 259, 287; 1992, 121, 130; 1996, 255; 1999, 282–283, 288–290; 2001, 282–283, 293; 2006, 266–268

elites, 171, 176, 222, 266, 278; Arab, 282, 300; militarism and, 133–134, 138–141, 144, 146, 149–150

emergency laws, 147–149, 193

emigration, attitudes toward, *38–39*, 45, *47*, 49, 51, *52*, 55, 102–103, 407n. 1

employment, measures of, 40, 46 End of Ashkenazi Hegemony, The (Kimmerling), xvii entrepreneurs, 115–116 Eretz Israel (Land of Israel), xvii, 9, 125, 235, 298, 360n. 25; borders of, 96, 119; Emuni ideology and, 170–171; Israeli state compared with, *98–99*, 100–101; militarism and, 150–151; Palestinian view of, 253–254; social boundaries of, 96–97. *see also* Israel

Eshkol, Levy, 241, 242, 243

ethnic boundaries, 183–184, 188–189

ethnic cleansing/removal, xiii, 13, 158, 380n. 19, 391nn. 38, 39, 411–412n. 36, 412n. 36; military battle over Palestine and, 280–281; politicide and, 262, 264, 294

ethnic groups, 97; millets, 79, 232, 356n. 62, 400n. 35 ethnic identity, 43, 273–277, 373n. 43

ethnocentric/particularistic social order, 30-32

Europe, treatment of Jews, 276–277 exchange systems, 4

Executive Committee (Jewish Agency), 111 export market, 146, 285

family identity, 31-32, 40, 41-43, 44, 61, 271, 344n. 1; familial order, 44-45; Spearman correlations, 46-48, 52-54 Fasuta (village), 222 Fatah, 81, 250, 261, 268, 401-402n. 6; international attention to, 205, 242; legitimacy of, 168, 291, 300; military wing, 237-238; Oslo agreements and, 287-288; policing by, 172; pragmatization of, 250-252 al-Fatat and al-`Ahd, 73, 74 fatwa (religious verdict), 80 Faysal ibn Husayn, Amir, 73-75, 346n. 13 Faysal ibn Hussein, Emir, 202 Faysalism, 73-74 fellahin, 5, 6, 67-69, 83 *fida'i* (warrior), 238, 245–246 Filastin, 75 Filastinuna (Our Palestine), 237

Ezrahi sector (Palestine), 90

First Zionist Congress, 277, 358n. 6 flexible responsiveness, 161 Fourteen Points, 274 France, 73, 369n. 78 French Revolution, 87 functional division, 243 game theory, 20, 339n. 49 garrison-state model, 133 Gavison, Ruth, 196–197 Gaza City, 58, 64, 71; All Palestine Government, 236; Palestinian autonomy, 247–248 Gaza Strip, 81, 96, 121, 165, 287; Katif bloc,

263; self-determination and, 118 Geertz, Clifford, 96, 101

- Gellner, Ernest, 82, 379n. 7
- gender, *39*, 45, 182–183, 344n. 1; militarism and, 149–150, 377n. 81, 378n. 84; women as marginalized group,

149-150; women in military, 162

- General Syrian Congress, 74
- Geneva Conventions, 194, 242
- gerim (sojourners), 96
- Giddens, Anthony, 26–27, 137, 141 Ginsberg, Asher (Ahad Haam), 89
- Golan (Syrian) Heights, 119, 166, 194, 244,
- 287, 394n. 2
- Goldstein, Baruch, 288
- Goode, Erich, 155
- Gouraud, Henri, 73
- gourba (exile), 81
- Gramsci, Antonio, 144
- Great Arab Revolt (1936-39), 69, 77, 107, 109–110, 247, 284, 349–350n. 30 Greater Israel ideology, 172, 263, 298
- Greater Syria episode, 72–75, 348n. 26
- Green Line, 182, 233, 238, 246, 263,
- 382–383n. 46
- group classifications, 28–29
- guerilla warfare, 173–174, 238–240, 403n. 22
- Gulf War of 1991, 118, 294
- *gurba* (Palestinian exile), 160, 252–253, 284

Gush Emunim movement, 92, 169–170, 195, 213, 215, 220, 253 Ha'aretz, xvii, 265 Habash, George, 239 Habibi, Emil, 282 al-Hadi, Awni Abd, 74 Haganah organization, 114, 409-410n. 16 Hague Convention, clause 55, 194 Haifa, 66, 76, 139 halacha (religious codex), 94, 96-100, 99, 362n. 40, 400n. 37; Eretz Israel and, 102; immigrant-settler society and, 183-185; orthodox interpretation of, 232-233; technology and, 361-362n. 37 Halevi, Bensman, 389n. 18 halutz (Zionist pioneer), 88, 113 Hamas, 118, 247, 254, 261, 290, 298-299, 407n.4; 2006 elections and, 267-268 Hamas Covenant, 247 hamule (extended family/clan), 61 Haolam Hazeh, xi Harkabi, Yehoshafat, 164, 203 al-Hasan, Bilal, 252 al-Hasan, Khalied, 252 Hasemites, 81 Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, 242, 264, 365n. 20, 369n. 76; Fatah in, 238; national security and, 165, 167-168; Palestinian population, 205, 406n. 46 Hawatmah, Na'if, 239 hawks and doves, 207-210 Hebrew language, 123, 223 Hebrew University of Jerusalem, ix-xi, xvi Hebron, 64, 67-68, 217, 295 Hegel, G. W. F., 105, 108 hegemony, 125-126, 137-139, 144, 389n. 20 heritage studies, Jewish, 92 heroes: fida'i (warrior), 238, 245-246; halutz (Zionist pioneer), 88, 113; samid, 238, 245-246; shahid (martyr), 245-246, 298-299 Herut party, 117-119, 125-126, 395n. 5

Herzl, Theodor, 89, 274-275, 277

Hesder Yeshivas, 170 Hezbollah, 290 High Court of Justice (HCJ), 179-181, 186, 265, 390n. 22, 391n. 31 Hijaz, 62 Himanutah Company, 184 Histadrut (General Labor Federation of Jewish Workers in Palestine), 7, 88, 111, 113-114, 410n. 16 historical processes, 229 historiography, 59, 217, 379n. 7 Hizb-Allah, 174 Hobsbawm, Eric J., 82, 379n. 7 Hofman, John, 34 Hofnung, Menachem, 148, 191 holidays, 123 Holocaust, 101, 181, 279, 373n. 37 Holy Islamic lands (waaf), 63, 71-72, 253-254, 267, 298, 4011. 2 Horowitz, Dan, 105, 142, 161 hukuma al-wataniyya (national government), 78 human rights, 120, 148, 226, 389n. 17 Huntington, Samuel P., xii-xiii, 145 ibn-Husayn, Faysal, 62 Husayni clan, 79 al-Husayni, Hajj Muhammad Amin, 74, Hussein, King of Jordan, 205

Ibrahim Pasha, 67

ideal types, 96, 135, 145

identities, xvii, 1–2, 31, 60, 271–272; elements of, 85–86; formative period, 277–278; individual, relationship with, 97, 98; multiple memberships and, 29–30, 34–35, 37, 45, 98; as precondition for national identities, 59, 82; religion and, 86–87; research method, 35–41; 1834 revolt and, 68–69; selfconcept and, 28–29; shifts in, 90–92, 103, 365n. 15; state-society paradigm and, 104–105, 130, 363n. 1; thresholds of, 272–274; transformations of, 273–274, 299–301. *see also* nationalism;

Palestinian collective identities identities: combination of, 30, 42-44, 44; gender, 45, 344n. 1; Israeli state and, 229-233; partialed-out, 55,52-54; self-imposed, 228-229; sub-identities, 64, 77, 124, 309. see also collective identities; social identities; specific identities Ikrit (village), 212 imagined communities, 59 Immigrants, Settlers, and Natives (Kimmerling), xvii immigrant-settler society, 121, 131, 201, 284, 294, 301; British colonial rule and, 76, 82-83; citizenship and, 227; expropriation of occupied territories, 193-195; judicial system and, 181, 185, 198; nationality and, 227, 230-231; national security and, 175-177; parallel institutions, 76, 110-111 immigration, 410n. 23 immigration, Jewish, 354n. 53; 1904--1905, 72; 1948, 124–125; British colonial rule and, 76, 82-83; first wave, xiii, 1, 6, 72, 277; from former Soviet Union, 118, 131, 260; from Islamic countries, 32; Mizrahi, 30–33, 35, 93, 95, 116, 118, 206; motivation for, 102–103; quotas, 2–3; second to fourth wave, 88, 113, 337n. 15; socialization, x, 161–162; traditional religions and, 124-125; from United States, 93; to United States, 279, 408n. 9; variety of groups, 112; from Yemen, 95, 361n. 31. see also Law of Return inclusion, patterns of, 229, 234 Independence Day, 280 individual, 25; citizenship and, 227-228; relationships with collectivity, 97, 98; structuralist-functionalist theories of, 26-27. see also family identity; professional identity individualistic identities, 31, 42-43, 45, 66, 90, 234, 407n. 1 Industrial Revolution, 70 inquiry commissions, 77

institution building, 77-81

integral social system, conflict as, xvi, 299–300

- interaction, 1–3; in cultural sphere, 7–9; in economic sphere, 5–7; patterns and spheres of, 3–5, *4*; in political sphere, 9–17; types of, 283–284. *see also* concrete interactions; model interactions
- intercommunal war, 158, 246, 280
- internal colonialism, 184
- international community, 89, 166, 279; quartet of U.S., Russia, UN, EU, 266, 268, 294
- International Court of Justice, 263, 265–267
- international law, 191, 194, 242
- Interrupted System, The: Israeli Civilians in War and Routine Times (Kimmerling), xiv-xv
- intifada, 171, 245, 246–247, 295; 1987, 258–259, 286; 2000, 259, 261, 283, 286;
- al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, 261, 267, 298; Palestinian uprising of 1987, 118
- *iqlimiyya* (regionalism), 61
- Iranian Khomaynism, 62
- Iraq, 62, 252, 346n. 13, 413n. 45; Anglo-American invasion of, 294, 296
- Islam, 8, 55, 69, 253–254, 300, 349n. 28; *al-umma al-islamiyya*, 62, 83; nationalism and, 62–63; Palestinian collective identity and, 79–81
- Islamic Jihad, 247, 290, 407n. 54, 414n. 52 Israel, 81; as abstract term, 105; as alterna-
- tive to colonial state, 110–111; defined as Jewish and democratic, 122, 230, 232; internal contradictions, 258–261, 281–283; original model of, 97–98; origins of state and society, 107–110; political culture, 240–243, 247–248; population at time of independence, 95; state-making by Jewish community, 110–112. *see also* borders; Eretz Israel

Israel control system, 167

Israel Defense Forces. see also military

Israel Defense Forces (IDF), 133, 139; transformed to police, 168-172, 248-249, 369n. 80 Israel-Egypt peace treaty, 172, 214-216, 220 Israeli-Arab identity, 34 Israeli Arab orders, pure, 55 Israeli identity, 31; Israeli Jewish orders, pure, 51-55; Israeli order, 48-49; Jewish identity compared with, 93; Spearman correlations, 46-48, 52-54 Israeli state: as binational, 119-120, 126-131, 169, 195, 208, 285-286, 369n. 80, 397n. 3; building of, post--1948, 112-118; constitutional revolution, 195-196, 198; emergency laws, 147–149, 193; Eretz Israel compared with, 98-99, 100-101; identity and, 229-233; as Jewish Orthodox, 184–185; as morally corrupt, 96; religion, influence on, 122-124; as strong state, 104-105, 130. see also autonomy of state; halacha; immigrant-settler society; militarism; national security; nation-state; state Israeli system of control, 184 Israel-Jordan peace treaty, 173, 380n. 15 Israel Lands Administration, 233 Israel Lands Authority, 191-193 Istanbul, 65, 66

Jabal al-Quds. *see* West Bank Jabal Nablus, 67–70, 349n. 28 Jabor, Rafiq, 7–8 Jabotinsky, Zeev, 96 Jaffa, 64 to, 71, 347n. 21, 348n. 25, 35on. 35 Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad connection, 71 al-Jalil (Galilee), 64 Jamal, Ahmad Muhammad, 62 Janowitz, Morris, 142, 145–146 al-Jazzâr, Ahmad Pasha, 275 Jerusalem, 63–65, 67, 76, 217. *see also* East Jerusalem Jewish Agency, 31, 114, 356n. 60, 388n. 4; laws on, 233; legal discrimination and, 179–180. *see also* World Zionist

Organization

Jewish Enlightenment (Haskala) revolution, 358n. 7 Jewish identities, 31-34, 92-93; Israeli identity compared with, 42-43, 92-93; Spearman correlations, 46-48, 52-54 Jewish-Israeli collective identity, 93–95, 223, 241, 300 Jewish National Fund (JNF), xiii-xiv, 77, 184, 192, 211, 233, 278-280 Jewish non-Israeli identity, 51 Iewish state, as term, 105-106, 196-197. see also Israeli state Jews: Ashkenazi, 30, 93, 169, 285; Central European, 90; Eastern European, 90, 113, 116; German, 90; Mizrahi, 30-33, 35, 93, 95, 118, 206, 285; Orthodox, 91-92, 111, 184-185, 358n. 7; secular, 30, 33, 123, 139, 183, 231; Sephardic, 111; Western, 90 jihad, 267, 288, 298 Joint Seminar (Harford-MIT) on Political Development, xii-xiii Jordan. see Hashemite Kingdom of Iordan Jordanian identity, 81 Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, 173 Jordanian-Syrian eastern front, 205 Jordan River, 63, 165 Jordan River valley, 121 Judaism, 388n. 13; Judeocentricity, 100-101; incompatible with democracy, 232, 393nn. 57, 58; nationalism and, 95-96, 230, 347n. 15; as term, 196-197 Judea, 96, 100, 126 judicial system, 99, 197-198; constitutional revolution, 195-198; as dual system, 182-183, 232-233; Eilon Moreh settlement affair, 190–191; ethnic boundary and, 188-189; expropriation of occupied territories and, 193-195; gender inequality and, 182-183; management of conflict and, 187-188; militarism and, 147-149; nationalization of land and, 191-193; periodization and, 185-186; as tool of repression, 180-183,

185, 187–188, 232–233. *see also* Basic Laws. *see also halacha* "Jurisdiction in an Immigrant-Settler Society: The Jewish and Democratic State" (Kimmerling), xv *jus ad bellum*, 151

Kach party, 396n. 20 Kadima party, 266 Kahane, Meir, 218, 396n. 20 Karamah, battle of, 238 al-Karmil, 75, 352n. 47 Katif bloc (Gaza Strip), 263 Katzir (Qa'adan) affair, 179-180, 183 Kedar, Alexander, 180, 388n. 6 Keegan, John, 177 Kerlinger, Fred N., 42 Khaldun, Abd al-Rahman, 62 Khartoum summit, 166 Khun, Thomas, xvi Kibbutz Lehavot Haviva, 192 kibbutz movement, 88, 149 Kimmerling, Baruch, 33 kinship ties, 13, 96, 98, 100 Klausner, Joseph, 7 Knesset, 111, 134, 208, 266 Kook, Isaac Hacohen, 169 Korn, Alina, 193 Kretzmer, David, 198 kufrs (non-believers), 80 Kuneitra (Syria), 219

Labor party, 32–33, 172, 248, 283; 1999 elections, 288–290 Labor Zionism, xiv, 257–258 Lake Kinneret, 290 land: communal holdings, 75–76; as holy, 169–171; nationalization of, xiii–xiv, 191–193, 387n. 3; national security and, 165–168. *see also* Eretz Israel; Holy Islamic lands *Land, Labour and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Shafir), xvi land acquisition, xiii–xiv, 3, 5, 109, 336n. 8, 355n. 56, 388n. 4; *halacha* and, 362n.

40; percent of land bought, xiv, 159, 191, 279; sale of Arab lands to Jews, 76-77 Land of Israel Movement, 126, 220 Laswell, Harold, 133 Latin Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, 164–165, 275, 356n. 65, 383n. 53 Lavon, Pinhas, 368n. 62 Lavon Affair, 117, 368n. 62 Law of Citizenship, 197, 233, 394n. 63 Law of Land Acquisition, 192-193 Law of Return, 31, 233, 389n. 15, 394n. 63, 400-401n. 37; judicial system and, 180-181, 197 laws. see Basic Laws; judicial system League of Arab States, 236-237 Lebanon, 62, 173, 290; Christian Maronites, 129, 173, 386n. 85 Lebanon, 1982 war, 118, 140, 151, 219, 240, 362n. 42; opposition to, 173-174, 362n. 42 left wing, 8, 30, 35, 185, 359n. 13; Israeli identity and, 48-49 Legislative Council, 109 legitimacy of state, 118, 123-124, 180-181, 183; religion and, 87, 91 legitimate rights, as phrase, 210 Levantinization, 165, 216-217, 336n. 11 liberalism, classic, 86, 89-90, 122, 124, 230 Liberal party, 117 Libya, 252 Liddel-Hart, B. H., 161 Likud party, 32-33, 97, 117-118, 185, 248; 1977 elections, 120, 150, 259, 287; hegemony and, 125; separation barrier and, 256 Lissak, Moshe, xii, xv-xvi, 105, 144 Litani River, 64 local identities, 64-65 logic of state, 106-107, 116-117, 126-127, 130 Lovers of Zion, 277 loyalties, 10, 13, 34, 39, 61, 68-69, 119 Luckham, A. R., 138 Lukes, Steven, 141

majalis al-idra (local councils), 66 Making of Israeli Militarism, The (Ben-Eliezer), 132 mamlachtiut (kingdomship), 114, 163, 278 Mandatory Palestine, 9, 75, 96, 107-110, 351n. 40, 356n. 60, 365n. 20, 366n. 25, 409n. 15. see also Palestine Mann, Michael, 374n. 47 Mapai party, 113, 114-115, 134, 368n. 62; decline of, 117-118 Mapam party, 114, 117 marginalized groups, 384-385n. 69; judicial repression of, 180-183, 185, 187-188, 232-233; self-identity and, 228-229; state-making and, 111-114; struggle for hegemony and, 125-126; women, 149-150 Marj Ibn Amir Baysan (Jezreel Valley), 64 Marshall, T. H., 226 Marxism, 89 Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), 239, 252 massacres, 261, 267, 282, 288, 298, 386n. 85; Kfar Qassem, 389n. 18 Mautner, Menachem, 394n. 63 McMahon, Henry, 73, 351n. 40 Mecca, 62, 403-404n. 25 Mediterranean Sea, 63 melting-pot ideology, 113, 162 membership, 29-30, 34-35, 37, 45, 98, 229 memory, collective, 69-70, 240, 379n. 7 mercenaries, Arab, 137 Meretz party, 283 messianic movements, 167, 366-367n. 37 Michael, Sami, 223 Migdal, Joel, xvi militarism, 113, 176, 373n. 37, 376n. 64, 387n. 94; civilian, xv, 137–138, 141–144, 152-153, 163; cognitive level, 140, 141; cultural, 137-140, 163; democracy and, 133, 137; economic structure and, 146-147; legislative and judicial structure and, 147-149; macho culture and gender domination, 149-150; patterns of, 135-137; political culture and,

militarism (continued) 138, 149-153; political structure and, 144-146; praetorian, 133-134, 140-141; primordial ties and, 150-152; Prussian, 137-138; research on, 132-135; routinization of conflict, 143-144, 163, 167, 203; security network and, 134-135; as self-evident, 135, 136, 139, 141; social construction of Arab-Jewish conflict, 143-144; social division of labor, 139-140; violent-force dimension, 136-137; women and, 377n. 81, 378n. 84 military: conscription, 133, 162, 381n. 31; dual structure of, 381nn. 31, 32, 383n. 47; formation of, 72; full mobilization, 166, 384nn. 59, 60; internal political controversy and, 200; officers, 157, 379n. 10, 381nn. 29, 31; political institutions, boundaries with, 138-139; professionalization of, 145-146; reserve duty, 162, 164; service, social mobility and, 374n. 50, 375n. 60; weaknesses, 162, 382nn. 36, 37; women in, 162. see also Israel Defense Forces military-cultural complex, 176-178 military-industrial complex, 119, 133, 141, 146-147 military mind, xv, 15, 141–142, 144–146, 176 millenarian movements, 253, 408n. 9 millet system, 79, 232, 356n. 62, 400n. 35 Mills, C. Wright, 141 Milson, Menachem, 405-406n. 44 minimalist state, 75–76, 108, 226, 277 mini-state option, 250 Mintz, Alex, 147 Mizrachi movement (mercaz ruchani), 231 Mizrahi (Asian-African) Jews, 30-33, 35, 93, 95, 116, 118, 206 model interactions, 1-3, 283-284, 300; in cultural sphere, 8-9; economic, 6-7 modernism, 300 modernization, 10, 62, 87, 95, 345n. 6, 349n. 29; peace process and, 214,

216-217 Mohilever, Samuel, 231 Moore, Dahlia, 35, 228-229 Morris, Benny, 163 moshavot (pre-Zionist colonies), 88, 114 mosques, as communication network, 80 Mount Sinai, 167, 384n. 62 Movement to Stop the Withdrawal (MSW), 199-200, 215 mufti, 65 mufti of Jerusalem, 79 Muhammad, Prophet, 63, 403n. 25 al-Mujamma' al-Islami, 247 municipal councils, 111 *mu'sha* communal land holding, 75–76 Muslim Brotherhood, 80, 247, 267, 298 Muslim-Christian associations (MCAs), 78, 337n.7, 353n. 48, 355n. 59

- Nablus region, 65, 67-68, 295, 352n. 41
- al-Nadi al-`Arabi, 74
- nakba (catastrophe), 281
- al-Nasser, Gamal Abd, 383n. 52, 402n. 7
- National Guidance Committee (NGC), 244
- nationalism, 33–34, 77, 124, 276, 345n. 10; Arab, 34, 62–63, 235, 346n.2, 349n. 29; cultural, 277; definitions, 86; Islam and, 62–63; Judaism and, 95–96, 230, 347n. 15; modern, 95–96; religion and, 86–87, 91, 347n. 15, 358n. 5; secular, 12, 30, 33, 84, 88–89; theories of, 59; Turkish, 61–62. *see also* collective identities; Palestinian collective identity; secular nationalism
- nationality, 227, 230–231, 399–400n. 27 National Religious Party, 160
- National Religious Party, 169
- national security, 156–157, 374n. 48, 375n. 60; armed forces transformed to police, 168–172, 248–249; Camp David and war of choice controversy, 172– 174; construction of doctrines, 157–161; humanpower management doctrine, 161–162; military-cultural complex, 176–178; outer circle and parallel doc-

trine, 174-176; Palestinian infiltration activities, 162-164; preemptive war doctrine, 1956--1967, 162-168; security, as term, 189-190; security network, 134-135; security reasons, 167, 190-192, 194, 291; settlements and, 160–161, 194; Six-Day War and, 165-167; territorial depth, security, and sanctification of land, 165-168 nation-building strategy, 88, 210 nation-in-arms, 133 nation-state, 82-84, 122-163, 126-128, 398n. 10; as term, 105-106. see also state Nazism, 138, 279 Negev Desert (Ramat Hovav), 188-189 Netanyahu, Benjamin, 288-289, 413n. 42 Netzarim settlement, 249 new Israeli, 33, 88, 241–242 newspapers, 75, 352n. 47 nuclear weapons, 174-176, 386n. 90, 387n.94 Nuremberg laws, 233

occupied territories, 33; administered areas, 121, 194, 300, 390n. 30; annexation, identity and support for, 38, 44, 46, 51; Arab population, survey of, 58-59, 59; closures on, 250; Gush Emunim and, 169-170; High Court of Justice and, 189–190, 265, 3911. 31; Israeli economy and, 258-259; judicial system and expropriation of, 193–195; local leadership, 244-245; natural resources, 207; Road Map plan, 295-298; self-determination, bargaining for, 118. see also annexation; Gaza; Gaza Strip; settlements: West Bank Ofira, 218 Olmert, Ehud, 266, 289 Olshen, Jacob, 192 Olympics, Munich, 239 Operation Defensive Shield, 262 Operation Litani, 240 Ordnance 172, 191

Orthodox Jews, 91–92, 100, 111, 184–185, 358n. 7 Orthodox non-Zionist groups, 91–92, 94, 102, 112–114, 217, 278

Oslo agreements, 165, 172, 261, 287–288, 291; 1993, 247–250, 259, 405n. 42; 1995 (Oslo 2), 249

Ottoman Empire, 2, 275–276, 346–347n. 14, 351–352n. 41, 392n. 43; law, 392nn. 43, 49; reforms (1839), 65–66 Ottoman Islamic regime, 111

Ottomanism, 61–62, 66, 83

Palestine: autonomy, 247-250, 369n. 76, 372n. 28; boundaries, 351n. 40; circle of, 160; elections, 2006, 266–268; ethnic identity, 168; labor force, 7, 127, 206; leadership crisis, 296–298; military battle over, 280-281; national identity, 168; permanent inhabitants (1850), 64; reasons for choice of, 122, 182, 232; 1834 revolt and, 67-70; urban dwellers, 64-65, 347n. 18. see also Mandatory Palestine; occupied territories; settlements Palestine Liberation Army, 402 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 58, 81, 168, 205, 237-240, 4021. 7; Charter, 242-243; external operations, 239, 246 Palestine Royal Commission of 1937 (Peel Commission), 77, 110, 354n, 55 Palestinian Bureau of Statistics, 262 Palestinian collective identities, 31, 34, 58-84, 168, 254, 344n. 1; asabiyya (identity group), 61-63, 69, 77-81; British colonial state and, 75–77, 82; demonic image, 237–240; as distinct from Arab identities, 60; dual sense of belonging, 235–236; geographic and sociopolitical boundaries, 63-66; Greater Syria episode, 72–75, 348n. 26; Islamic factor, 79-81; lack of historical record, 69-70; in refugee camps, 81;

Spearman correlations, 52-54

Palestinian Congresses, 75, 356n. 61; Third (Haifa, 1920), 78, 337n. 27 Palestinian National Authority, 82, 184, 243, 267, 295, 406n. 45; Oslo agreements and, 247-250, 287-288 Palestinian National Charter, 238–239, 251-252 Palestinian National Council (PNC), 237-238, 250-252, 294, 296 Palestinian nationalism. see Palestinian collective identities Palestinian People, The: A History (Kimmerling and Migdal), xvi Palestinians: citizenship denied to, 205, 224-226, 259-260, 281-282; de-Palestinization of, 235-237, 242. see also Arabs: Palestinian collective identities Palestinians: The Making of the People (Kimmerling), xvi Palestinism, 59-60, 253, 284, 344n. 1; British colonial state and, 75-77, 82; new, institution building and, 77-81 Palmach organization, 114 pan-Arabism, 61, 62, 81, 168, 346n. 13; de-Palestinization and, 235-237, 242; rejection of, 58-59 pan-Syrian identity, 83-84, 235 paramilitary organizations, 114, 261, 409-410n. 16 Paris Peace Conference, 72 particularistic identities, 30-32, 86, 99, 106, 131, 273 passports, 399-400n. 27 patriarchates, 71 Patriarch's Cave massacre, 261, 267, 288, 298 patriotism, 138 "Patterns of Militarism in Israel" (Kimmerling), xiv peace, xv, 118, 121; as abstract, 169; as collective goal, 127-128; hawks and doves, 207-210; internal controversy, 214-215, 220-221; political culture and, 200-203; price lists, 209, 214, 219-220; public opinion, 213-214, 220-221;

realization of aspirations for, 203-204; treaties, 173, 181, 214-216; values and, 169, 204-205, 209-210, 213-217 Peace Now, 214-215, 378n. 84 peace-oriented camp, 261-262, 288-290 peasant society, 65 Peel Commission (Palestine Royal Commission of 1937), 77, 110, 354n. 55 Pensioner's Party, 266 Peres, Shimon, 35, 368n. 62 Peretz, Amir, 266 personal identity, 28-29 Philistines, 64, 125, 353n. 49 Phoenicians, 64 Plan D (Tochnit Daleth), 157-160, 280, 380n. 16 political culture, 14, 34, 106–107, 130; contradictions within, 230-232, 260; Israeli, 240–243, 247–248; militarism and, 138, 149-153; national-religious, 150-151; peace and, 200-203; stability of, 133; xenophobia, 281 political ideology, measurement of, 37-38 political institutions, military and, 138-139 political parties, 32-33, 94, 102. see also specific parties political sphere, interaction in, 9-17 political structure, militarism and, 144-146 Political System of Empires, The (Eisenstadt), x politicide, 240, 268-269, 293-294; Israel's internal contradictions, 258-261; military phase, 261–263; 2006 Palestinian elections, 266-268; political phase, 263-266 Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War against the Palestinians (Kimmerling), xvii politruks, 138 polycentric society, 102 population: demographic projections, 260, 396n. 21, 409n. 16; Jordan, 205, 406n. 46; patterns and spheres of interaction, 3-5, 351n. 38

populist capitalism, 32, 342n. 38

Postzionism Debates, The: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture (Silberstein), xvi

- power orientation, 254–255, 373n. 37; de-Palestinization, 235–237, 242; intifada and, 245, 246–247; Israeli policy and Palestinian response, 243–246; Israeli political culture and, 240–241; making of demonic image, 237–240; new Israeli and, 241–242; Oslo agreement and Palestinian National Authority, 247–250; pragmatization of Fatah, 250–252; weakness component, 241, 246, 248, 266, 272, 406n. 45
- "Power-Oriented Settlement Bargaining between Israelis and Palestinians, The" (Kimmerling), xv

praetorian militarism, 133–134, 140–141 praxis, 26–27

- preemptive war doctrine, 1956--1967, 162–168
- primordial ties, *61*, *98*, 100, 129–130, 284; civil society and, 108; militarism and, 150–152; religion and, *87*; symbols, 234
- professional identity, 31–32, 42–43, 45, 51–55, 407n. 1; profession-based order, 49; Spearman correlations, *46–48*, 52–54
- property rights, 192–193, 392n. 49 psychological barriers, 213 public opinion, 213–214, 220–221, 263– 264

pure orders, 50-55

Qasim al-Ahmad, 67 al-Qassam, Izz al-Din, 80, 247 *al-qawmiyya al-Arabiyya, 77 qawmiyya* (peoplehood), 61, 74, 75, 81, 84 *qawm* (people), 61, 352n. 45 *quadis shari'a* (court judges), 65, 68, 79

Rabat summit (1974), 239 Rabin, Yitzhak, 58, 172, 374–375n. 52, 405n. 42; assassination of, 288; peace

and, 262; power-oriented settlement and, 248, 251 Ram, Uri, xvi al-Rantissi, Abdel Aziz, 268, 299 Rapoport, David, 134 reference groups, 3, 283-284 Reform Jews, 100 refugee camps, 81, 162, 236, 284 refugees, 168, 280, 395n. 13; Palestinians defined as, 236 Reines, Isaac Jacob, 231 Rejectionist Front, 252-254, 406n. 49, 50 religion: civil, 94-95, 384n. 62; faith vs. religious observance, 93-94; identity shifts and, 91-92; legitimizing aspect of, 87, 91; measures of, 39-40; nationalism and, 86-87, 347n. 15, 358n. 5; as source of Zionism, 122-124 religious identity, 17, 32-33, 36, 91, 230 research method: analysis of, 41-44; components of social identities, 36; measures of social and political involvement, 36-41, 37-40; sample, 35-36; variables and measures, 36 Reveil Juif, Le, 96 Revisionist Zionism, 96, 111, 125, 210-211, 257-258, 259 Revolt of 1834 (Syrian Peasant Revolt), 66-70, 275-276 Rida, Muhammad Rashid, 79 right of return (al-awda), 281, 287, 291, 296 rights, collective and individual, 183, 227-228 right-wing identity, 30-33, 35 riots, 79, 217, 300, 20178 Rise and Decline of Israeliness, The (Kimmerling), xvii Road Map plan, 292–298 Rohana, Nadim, 34 role-player framework, 26 Ross, Andrew, 142 Rothberg, Roy, 143 Royal Institute of International Affairs report, 86-87

rules of the game, 1-3, 60, 106, 220, 361n. 37; secular nationalism and, 88-89. see also halacha sabra (native-born Jew), 113 Sadat, Anwar, 172, 210, 213-214, 294 Saladin, 71, 75, 164, 356n. 65 Samaria, 96, 100, 126 Samuel, Herbert, 780 Schiff, Zeev, 175-176 secular Jews, 30, 33, 123, 139, 183, 231 secular nationalism, 30, 33, 84; Arab, 62-63; symbols, 12; Zionist ideology and, 86-89. see also nationalism secular society, 94, 170-171 security settlements, 374-375n. 52 security zones, 121, 137, 174 self-concept, 28-29 self-determination, 73, 77, 118, 274, 284, 293 separation barrier, 256-257, 260-261, 264-265 separation of powers, 186 Sephardic Jewish community, 111 settlements, 76, 391n. 38; defense of, 160-161, 381n. 25; Eilon Moreh settlement affair, 190-191; internal controversies, 199-200, 219-221; national security end, 160-161; removal of, 199-200; reversibility of, 210-213; social mobilization and, 206-207; types of, 212-213; unauthorized, 288, 412n. 41; urban, 205, 217, 256, 391n. 38; Yamit, 199-200, 207, 214, 217-219. see also occupied territories shabab (underclass), 5, 55, 347n. 19 Shafir, Gershon, xvi shahid (martyr), 245-246, 298-299 Shamir, Ronen, 35, 68, 180-181 Shammas, Anton, 222-226, 234, 397-398n. 5, 397n. 1, 399-400n. 27 Shapiro, Yonathan, 35 Sharett, Moshe, 142 shari'a judges, 65, 68, 79

Sharon, Ariel, 173, 289, 295-296, 385n. 80; military phase of politicide and, 261-263; political stage of politicide and, 263-266; separation barrier and, 256-257, 260-261, 264-265 shaykhs (rural chieftains), 65 Shepherdstown talks, 289 Shiite Amal, 174 Shills, Edward, 92, 96 Shilo (town), 206 Shinui party, 266 al-Shuqairi, Ahmad, 237, 242 Silberstein, Laurence J., xvi Sinai campaign, 1956, 164, 383n. 52 Sinai Peninsula, 165, 167, 172, 385-386n. 81, 394n. 2; removal of settlements from, 199-200 Sivan, Emanuel, 186 Six-Day War (1967), 202, 212, 214, 262, 280-281, 284; immigrant-settler society and judicial system, 185-186, 192; national security and, 165-167; peace process and, 202, 212, 214; poweroriented settlement and, 237-238, 245 Smilansky, Moussa, 7 Smith, Anthony D., 63, 82, 379n. 7 Smooha, Sammy, 34, 236 social categorizations, 28-29; bipolar, 29-30, 33-34 social identities (SIs): agents as carriers of, 27-30; Arab-Palestinian dichotomy, 42-43; cleavage-based, 29-31, 69-70, 83, 207, 240-241, 287; collectivistic dimension of, 31-32, 42-43; components of, 36, 37, 42-43; individual dimension of, 31-32, 42-43; Israeli context, 30-32; Jewish-Israeli dichotomy, 42-43, 92-93; meanings of, 27-28, 42, 45, 55-56, 340n. 10; other, 34-35 socialism, 8, 32-33, 86, 88, 124, 126, 230 socially constructed realities, 154-156, 177–178, 378n. 6, 379n. 7 social mobility, 5, 115-116, 206-207, 258,

285; gender and, 149-150; military service and, 374n. 50, 381n. 38 social orders, 28; Arab Israeli order, 50; Arab order, 49–50; bipolar social categorizations and, 29-30, 33-34; civic/universalistic, 30-32; collective identities as precondition for, 59-60, 82; ethnocentric/particularistic, 30-32; Israeli order, 48-49; Jewish, 45-48; measures of, 36-41; non-Arabic political orders, 62; Ottoman reforms and, 65-66; Palestinian order, 50; production and reproduction of, 27-29, 28, 36, 56, 60, 155; profession-based order, 49; pure, 50–55; pure Israeli Arab, 55; social identities and, 28-29; structuring, 44-45; theoretical approaches, 56-57. see also sociopolitical boundaries: universalistic identities social sciences, 154-156, 177-178, 379n. 7 sociology, ix-x, xvii, 25, 56, 155 sociopolitical boundaries, 59, 87, 98, 106, 112; of citizenship, 96, 182, 183; of Eretz Israel, 96–97; formation of, 70–72; militarism and, 141–144; military and political, 138-139; Palestinian identities and, 63-66. see also borders; social orders Solomon, King, 53 South Lebanese Army, 174, 406n. 44 sovereignty, 10, 14-16, 109-110, 194-195, 211–212, 390n. 30 Soviet Union, 131 Soysal, Y. N., 229 state: collective identity, 106; cult of, 163; dual collective identity with civil societies, 122-125, 230; identity, 129-130, 369n. 76; legitimacy, 87, 91, 118, 123-124,

180-181, 183; logic of, 106-107, 116-117,

126-127, 130; marginalized groups

territorial, 63, 68, 125-126. see also

autonomy of state; immigrant-

and, 111-114; minimalist, 75-76, 108,

226, 277; party delinked from, 117-118;

settler society; Israeli state; nation-state

409n. 16; institution building, 77-81 state-citizen relations, 226-227 State of Israel. see Israeli state state-society paradigm, 104-105, 130, 363n. 1 state strength, 105-106, 129, 130 Status of the Jewish Agency Law of 1952, 114, 388n. 4 stereotypes of Arabs, 241-242, 245 strategic depth, 167 structuration theory, 26-29 subcultures, 29, 91, 111, 124, 127-130 sub-identities, 64, 77, 124, 309 subject states, 226 Suez Canal, 164, 167, 205, 394n. 2 suicide bombers, 256-257, 261, 267, 288, 298-299 sumoud (steadfastness), 245 Sunni Islam, 79 super issues, 35 Supreme Muslim Council, 79 symbols, 182, 285; cultural militarism and, 138; Holocaust, 101; Islamic, 79; national, 91; primordial, 96, 234; religious, 87, 91, 123; security-related, 377n. 74; social, 92; state identity and, 120; Zionist, 170-171 synagogue membership, 37, 45 Syria, 62, 72, 165, 346nn. 12, 13; 1834 revolt, 67-70, 275-276 Syrian Peasant Revolt (1834), 66-70, 275-276 Syria (Surya al-Janubiyya), 66, 75. see also Palestine Taba talks, 292 Tal, Israel, 160 Tamari, Salim, 244 Tamimi, Rafiq, 74 taxes, 363n. 4; dhimmis, 66, 349n. 28; Tanzimat reforms, 65-66, 70, 71, 276 Taylor, Charles, 108 technology, exchange of, 6-8 Tel Aviv, 76

state building, 120-121, 157-160, 369n. 78,

Tel Aviv University conference (1992), 254-255 Templar religious sect, 72 Temple, Jewish, 80, 353n. 49 Temple Mount, 291, 292, 293 territories. see occupied territories terrorism, 239-240, 402-403n. 16 theocracy, 185, 197 theo-politics, 94 third dimension of power, 141 Third Jewish Commonwealth, 394n. 2 third parties, 2-3 Tilly, Charles, 60, 142, 227 Tiran Straits, 165 Torah Observant Sephardim party, 102 trade unions, 111, 115, 126, 351n. 40 traditionalism, 8-9, 92, 97, 300 Transjordan, 74, 81, 236, 365n. 20. see also Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan truce, ten-year (hudna/fadya), 267-268, 296 Tunisian Zionists, 96 Turkish nationalism, 61–62 Turner, John C., 29 'ulama (religious learned class), 65 umma, 61, 345n. 10 al-umma al-`arabiyya (Arab nation), 62, 235-236 al-umma al-islamiyya, 62, 83 United Nations, 48 United Nations Charter, 226, 239 United Nations General Assembly, 279 United Nations Partition Plan, 130, 158-161, 252, 260, 279-280, 3901. 30, 406n. 49 United Nations Resolution 181, 212, 251, 279 United Nations Security Council, 242 United States: American-Israeli position, 290-291; civil war, 70; immigration to, 124, 408n. 9; invasion of Iraq, 294, 296 universalistic identities, 30-32, 86, 131,

201, 208, 273; citizenship and, 122, 237; liberalism and, 89–90

urban settlements, 205, 217, 256, 391n. 38 urban strata, 5–6, 16–17, 65, 71, 77, 83, 114 us and them mentality, 28–29, 59, 70, 100–101, 160; 160

Vagts, Alfred, 137, 140 values, 29, 32–33, 43, 375n. 60; civil religion and, 196–197; militarism and, 176, 178; peace and, 169, 204–205, 209–210, 213–217; Western, 113, 128–129 Vanunu, Mordechai, 387n. 94 Village Leagues, 405–406n. 44

wars: 1948, 159, 161, 173; 1982, Lebanon, 140; by choice, 151–152, 166, 172–174; guerilla warfare, 173-174, 238-240, 403n. 22; Gulf War of 1991, 118, 294; intercommunal, 158, 246, 280; preemptive war doctrine, 162–168; Sinai campaign, 1956, 164, 383n. 52; War of Attrition (1969), 205; War of Independence (1948), 159, 161, 173. see also Lebanon, 1982 war; Six-Day War; Yom Kippur War Washington Declaration, 251–252 watani/wataniyya, 61, 74, 77, 84, 235 Weber, Max, 96 Weisglass, Dov, 265 Weizmann, Chaim, 72, 74, 202 Weizmann, Ezer, 190 West Bank, 81, 121, 125, 165, 167, 236, 287; Palestinian autonomy, 247-248; selfdetermination and, 118. see also Judea; Samaria Western Wall, 292 Wilson, Woodrow, 73, 274, 293 women. see gender Workers' Society (Hevrat Ha'Ovdim/ Meshek Ovdim), 113, 114, 117 world system, xvi, 70-72, 124, 127-128 World War I, 72-73 World Zionist Organization, xiv, 31, 72, 114, 277, 356n. 60, 388n. 4. see also Jewish Agency

Wye River Accord, 289n, 413. 42

Yadin, Yigael, 157–160, 379n. 12 Yasin, Shaykh Ahmad, 247, 268, 299 Yehoshua, Abraham B., 223–226, 234, 398n. 12 Yemen, immigrants from, 95, 361n. 31 Yesha, 171 *yishuv* (political community), ix, 110, 134, 217 Yom Kippur War (1973), 118, 126, 140, 215, 249, 385–386n. 81, 394n. 2 youth movements, 92–93, 169–170 Yuchtman-Yaar, Ephraim, 35

Zion, as target country, 87 Zionism and Economy (Kimmerling), xiv Zionism and Territory: The Socio-Territorial Dimensions of Zionist Politics (Kimmerling), xiii Zionist collective identity, tension among components of, 86, 101-103, 122, 131 Zionist ideology, x, 31–32; anti-Semitism, attitude toward, 359n. 8; denial of conflict, 9-10; ethnic identity and, 274-277; immigrant-settler state and, 181-182; key elements, 361n. 32; national security doctrine and, 158-159; peace motifs, 201; as rebellion against God, 408n. 9; religion and, 87, 91-92, 122-124; religious-national mixture, 230-231; reversability of, 210-213; Revisionist movement, 96, 111, 125, 210-211, 257-258, 259; spiritual, 89; split within, 257-258