





# SEVENTH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM THE KLAL YISRAEL PROJECT

## Reconsidering Israel-Diaspora Relations

(Tel-Aviv University, Gilman Building, Room 496: 7-9 January 2013)

 $Under\ the\ auspices\ of\ the$  Tel-aviv university, hebrew university of jerusalem and ben-gurion university  $_{\rm And}$ 

La Fondation des Sciences de l'Homme (Paris)\*Moses Mendelsohn Zentrum (Potsdam)\*Institut d'Etudes juives Martin Buber (Bruxelles)\*Brandeis University\*The Hadassah-Brandeis Institute \*Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism (TAU)\* The Kantor Center for the Study of Contemporary European Jewry (TAU)\* The Fanya Gottesfeld Heller Center for the Study of Women in Judaism (BIU)\* The Liwerant Center for the Study of Latin America, Spain, Portugal and their Jewish Communities (HUJI)\* Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

MONDAY 7.1	TUESDAY 8.1	WEDNESDAY 9.1
Greetings: 9.30-10.00	10.00-12.30	10.00-12.30
Opening: 10.00-12.00	Cafetería lunch	Cafetería lunch
FESTIVE LUNCH	14.00-16.30	14.00-16.30
14.00- 16.00	17.00- 19.00	17.00- 19.30
16.30 -19.00		CLOSING DINNER

**Organizing Committee**: Eliezer Ben-Rafael, Yosef Gorny, Judit Bokser-Liwerant, Yitzhak Sternberg, Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer, Ofer Shiff, Shuli Efter-Golik and Or Ben-Chaim

The debates will be held in English and open to the public

#### **MONDAY 7-1-2013**

9.30-10.00: Greetings

Chair: Judit Bokser Liwerant

Prof. Raanan Rein, Vice-President, Tel-Aviv University

Prof. Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi, Dean of Social Sciences, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. Amos Drory, Vice-President, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

### 10.00-12.00: Opening session. Diaspora-Israel: Continuities versus discontinuities

Chair: Benyamin Neuberger

Yosef Gorny American Jewish intellectuals and Israel: New relations?

Jonathan D. Sarna From World-wide People to First-World People: Consolidating Jewry Dina Porat The impact of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust on Israeli and Jewish identity

## 14.00-16.00: The role of religiosity and ethnicity in Israel-Diaspora relations (A)

Chair: Uzi Rebhun

Menachem Friedman Orthodoxy in a 'multicultural' Jewish world

Nissim Leon Strong ethnicity: The active religion of new diaspora communities in Israel Shlomo Fischer Between *Makor Rishon* and *The Jewish Press* – Two Orthodox cultures

#### 16.30-19.00: The role of religiosity and ethnicity in Israel-Diaspora relations (B)

Chair: Chaim Waxman

Ofer Shiff The post-1948 diasporic emphasis on Jewish spiritual awakening

Julius H. Schoeps How Secondary anti-Semitism complicates Jewish Life in Germany

Gideon Katz Israel and Diaspora in A.B. Yehoshua's work

Lars Dencik The dialectics of Diaspora: The art of being Jewish in contemporary Modernity

#### **TUESDAY 8-1-2013**

### 10.00-12.30: The impact of changing generations

Chair: Avi Bareli

Leonard Saxe From tourist to citizen: Taglit and north American Jewish young adults

Yossi Shain Are we growing apart? What binds us together?

Sylvia Barack-Fishman Generational constructions of Jewish peoplehood

Shula Reinharz The limits of the Peoplehood concept

### **14.00-16.30:** Gender in the Jewish world (A)

Chair: Paula Kabalo

Gili Goffer Gender and migration, gender and Aliya – Changes in the concept of womanhood

Dalia Ofer Women survivors of the Holocaust: From destruction to reconstruction

Hannah Kehat Orthodoxy and gender in Israel

Judy Baumel-Schwartz Orthodox Jewish women as a bridge between Israel and the Diaspora

## 17.00-19.00: Gender in the Jewish world (B)

Chair: Raanan Rein

Yael Israel-Cohen Orthodox Feminism beyond gender: The trend towards hybrid Orthodoxy Florinda Goldberg Gender, religion and belonging in the novel *La Rabina* by Silvia Plager Margalit Bejarano Ethnicity, gender and transnationalism: Latino Jews in Miami

### **WEDNESDAY 9-1-2013**

## 10.00-12.30: Israelophobia, neo-antisemitism and Jewish reactions (A)

Chair: Haim Avni

Michel Wieviorka France: Changes within diaspora, anti-Semitism and French politics Leonardo Senkman Anti Imperialism and anti-Zionist Judeophobia in Latin America Chantal Bordes-Benyoun Unquietness of the French diaspora after the March 2012 murders

Discussant: Scott Ury

## 14.00-16.30: Israelophobia, neo-antisemitism and Jewish reactions (B)

**Chair**: Thomas Gergely

Shmuel Trigano The hatred of the Jews in a Global Age

Raphael Vago Jews, civil society and responses to anti-Semitism in Post-Communist Europe Denis Charbit "The delegitimization of Israel": The impact on Israel-Diaspora relationship Erik H. Cohen Views of Israel from the Diaspora: A multi-survey review

## 17.00-19.30: Closing session. Past vs present-day configuration of Israel-Diaspora relations

Chair: Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar

Eliezer Ben-Rafael Israel-Diaspora relations revisited: A transnational perspective

Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer Is Jerusalem the Center of World Jewry?

Sergio DellaPergola Israel-Diaspora relations: hard and soft variables

Judit Bokser Liwerant Jewish Diaspora and transnationalism: "Awkward partners"?

### **Information for all participants**

Refreshments will be available every morning before the beginning of the first session

### ABSTRACTS ACCORDING TO SESSIONS

#### **MONDAY 7.1.13**

10.00-12.00: Opening session. Diaspora-Israel: Continuities versus discontinuities

Chair: Benyamin Neuberger

Yosef Gorny: American Jewish intellectuals and Israel – New relations?

This paper might be regarded as an additional chapter of my book – "The State of Israel in Jewish Public Thought: The Quest for Collective Identity" (NYUP & Macmillan, 1994).

The issue of the book was the Zionist leaders in Israel and in the USA searching for a basis of new relations between the Diaspora and the State in the period 1945-1990.

This paper intends to follow the state of mind of Jewish intellectuals in the USA regarding Israel in the last 20 years, among three groups of intellectuals, who were connected to two Journals and a newspaper since 1990: Encounter, Tikkun, and Forward. Their discourse was concentrated in the Jewish-Arab national struggle. Each group represented a unique political and spiritual ethnic approach towards Israel's policy vital for its existence as a Jewish State.

The Encounter recommended power policy; Tikkun preached messianic liberalism; and Forward advised a realistic political approach. All three approaches express the involvement of the intellectuals in the political issue without being professional politicians.

### Jonathan D. Sarna: From World-wide People to First-World People: Consolidating Jewry

Jews imagine that we are an "am olam," a global people spread "from one end of the world even unto the other." Since World War II, however, the Jewish world has been consolidating at an unprecedented rate. More than 80 percent of world Jewry lives in just two countries: the United States and Israel. Half of all Jews live in just five metropolitan areas: Tel Aviv, New York, Los Angeles, Haifa and Jerusalem. More than 93 percent of Jews live in countries of the First World, meaning countries with the most advanced economies, the highest standards of living, the most advanced technologies and the greatest influence on world affairs. Most of the countries outside of the First World, by contrast, are totally barren of Jews or house remnant communities that are far too small to be viable. In short, where once Judaism was a "world religion," today, increasingly, it is a "First-World religion". This paper will examine the consolidation of world Jewry and its implications.

#### Dina Porat: The impact of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust on Israeli and Jewish identity

This is a vast issue, long debated and researched. Therefore, given the time and framework limit, let us present four viewpoints, and try to illustrate them by using a number of examples:

First, the impact of anti-Semitism on Jewish identity: a letter from Albert Einstein to Haim Weizmann, deploring the undermining impact of anti-Semitism on the inner most feeling of the modern Jew, vis-à-vis the Orthodox attitude that denounces such an impact all in all: anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust, are part of Jewish history, that the believer can afford to ignore on account of a solid well-built identity.

Second, the impact of the Holocaust on the tension between Jewish and Israeli identities: Recently, author Aharon Apelfeld advocated the understanding of the Holocaust as characterized by love, especially within the Jewish family, that made it possible to overcome the disaster, while author A. B. Yehoshua's perception of the Holocaust is one of terrible failure. Hence, Apelfeld fosters Jewish identity, while Yehoshua would like Israelis to distance themselves from exilic identity, and foster a purely Israeli one.

Third, the impact of the Holocaust on a dual Israeli identity, of both fighters and potential victims, of Sabras and yet part of Jewish fate, of survivors and rescuers at the same time. No event can exemplify this duality better than Prime Minister's Nethanyahu's address to AIPAC members, comparing the Auschwitz bombing affair in 1944 to today's need to bomb Iran's nuclear's facilities, and the heated debates that ensued.

Last but not least is the impact of the survivors on Israeli society: today they are considered heroes, and survival is seen as bravery, hence one can identify with them without feeling an exilic Jew. Zionism today is not anymore the revolutionary movement it was, cutting itself from Judaism, harbingering a totally new beginning and Israeli secular culture is shifting towards moderate Judaism that is part of the chain of Jewish history. Antisemitism and the Holocaust have a hand in this change.

### 14.00-16.00: The role of religiosity and ethnicity in Israel-Diaspora relations (A)

Chair: Uzi Rebhun

## Menachem Friedman: Orthodoxy in a 'multicultural' Jewish world

From its beginning Orthodoxy, as a response to threats of the open modern society, was never united. But also there were a variety of responses, organized and non-organized, the observant Jews find themselves fighting for their future survival of their religious way of life in a modern secular "hostile" world. Modern secular political movements took the lead in shaping the "new" Jewish life especially in the western Diaspora and in Palestine-Israel until the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the religious leadership, admired Rabbis, head of the majored Chassidic courts, were "expelled" from the Jewish political arena. But this was change in post-modern multicultural society, which witnesses the revival of religion and religiosity. How will this new phenomena effect the relations between the "new" self confidence Orthodox world with the non-Orthodox, with the Conservative and Reform Communities? How the "new" rising leadership of Chassidic courts and "Torah sages", most if not all are Ultra-Orthodox, influenced the inter-Jewish relations in this post-modern multicultural society?

### Nissim Leon: Strong ethnicity: The active religion of new diaspora communities in Israel

The discussion about ethnic groups in Israeli society generally tends to see them as weak, peripheral groups that are distant from the center. They can gather strength both by slowly drifting towards the center over several years, or by acquiring political power, e.g., by establishing political parties. In this lecture, I present a counter-example of sorts that has been unfolding before our eyes for the last decade in the context of Israel's globalization and its transnational relationship with communities in the Jewish Diaspora. I also seek to discuss what I call "strong ethnicity." This is developing in the lifestyles of groups of traditionally observant new immigrants who come from Jewish communities in Western Europe and North America. These groups are assimilating into Israel while preserving their cultural capital. There is nothing new about this, except for its potential to effect a change in its surroundings—that is, to serve as a message of new possibilities to the broader environment. This lecture describes this integration with a focus on changes that are already in progress, such as those within synagogues affiliated with specific communities. These communities are shifting from seeing themselves as marginal to asserting a strong ethnic identity that tries to influence the center and sees itself as having always been part of it.

Shlomo Fischer: Between Makor Rishon and The Jewish Press - Two Orthodox cultures

In this paper I compare Israeli religious Zionist and the American Modern (or Centrist) Orthodox communities. Both communities are non-Haredi and are highly involved in their surrounding societies. Both also tend to right wing political orientations, especially as regards Israel and there is instrumental political and financial cooperation between the communities At the same time they have significantly different underlying cultural premises and orientations. The major cultural orientation of Israeli religious Zionism is that of Romantic nationalism with a very strong expressive dimension. This is characteristic of landed majorities, especially those involved in territorial and ethno-national conflict. American Modern

Orthodox culture in contrast, still leans toward the type of rationalist culture that characterized Jews for centuries as an urban minority specializing in commercial and financial occupations. In America, as in other Western countries, this rationalist culture also largely employs individualist discursive assumptions.

I argue that this distinction results in important differences in Jewish education and cultural production between the two communities and in difficulties in interaction between them. It would also seem that American Orthodox rationalist premises are less resilient to haredization than Israeli romantic ones. New left-wing currents in American Modern Orthodoxy may be partially due to the influence of Israeli romanticism.

## 16.30-19.00: The role of religiosity and ethnicity in Israel-Diaspora relations (B)

Chair: Chaim Waxman

## Ofer Shiff: The post-1948 diasporic emphasis on Jewish spiritual awakening

This paper begins with the premise that the foundation of Israel was not only a celebrated victory for American Zionism, but a deep ideological crisis as well. With Israel-centered Zionist ideology taking center stage, the Israeli emphasis on Alliyah and on "negation of Exile" advocacy became most threatening – to the extent of de-legitimizing Diaspora Zionism. This paper will deal with the efforts, during the 1950's of leading American Zionists to confront this threat by putting forward the idea of Jewish spiritual awakening as the focus and raison-d'etre of their post 1948 Zionist advocacy. The outcome of this development, as I will try to demonstrate, was a Zionist inner dialogue between two parties (Israel and Diaspora Zionists) who used similar concepts, yet gave them different and often opposing interpretations. Focusing on the speeches of Israeli and Diaspora Zionists in the 1951 Zionist Congress in Jerusalem, I will attempt to demonstrate and further characterize this dialogue, and its relevancy for today's understanding of Israel-Diaspora relations.

## Julius H. Schoeps: How Secondary anti-Semitism complicates Jewish Life in Germany

The Jewish Community in Germany has significantly grown during the recent two and a half decades. Jews have consolidated their networks and are eager and willing to participate in social and political life of the overall society. Anti-Semitism is noticeable in empirical studies, but not as a day-by-day experience. Though, as a maybe even more awkward phenomenon appears the so called Secondary anti-Semitism (Rensmann/Schoeps, 2010). While the term is irritating, the phenomenon bares a relatively clear pattern: Media, intellectuals or just ordinary people tend to equalize delinquencies of Jews, or of groups of Jews, or – in the context of the Middle East conflict – of Israeli military operations as "crimes against humanity" or even as "Nazi-like style". By means of selected media reports/comments and by quotes of intellectuals, I will outline the (apparently) wishful thinking of parts of the German elites to relativize or oust the shadows of the past, and at the same time aiming "a new normality". I will also comment on how politically sensitive Jews try to respond to such tendencies.

### Gideon Katz: Israel and Diaspora in A.B. Yehoshua's work

It is easy to see that Joshua's ideas on *galut* have a Zionistic character. According to him the aim of the Israeli State is to normalize the Jewish people and to organize them in a new modern political frame. In this paper I will analyze this Zionistic character from other perspective – the way Joshua uses the Zionist ideas. This way could be described as 'Israelizing the Zionist idea'. Joshua adopts Zionist concepts but changes their basis: he replaces the *galut's* point of view with the Israeli's point of view. This is the link between his claim on the anti-Semitism's roots and Leon Pinsker's ideas on Jewish anomaly existence, and between his 'negating the *galut'* and Ach'ad Ha'am's view on Spiritual Center.

## Lars Dencik: The dialectics of Diaspora: The art of being Jewish in contemporary Modernity

Jews, wherever they have lived and wherever they have moved, always since the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. have been a small minority living in Diaspora – and hence over 2000 years developed a particular attitude or mentality based on a *diasporaic minority awareness*.

This has rendered the Jewish group capable today of being at the same time a distinct national minority and well integrated in the modern societies they live in.

Aside from the predicament of being constantly and everywhere a religious/ ethnic/cultural minority of society, Jewish historical experience includes repeated occurrences of cultural oppression and life threatening persecution. The living memories of exposure and powerlessness have deeply imprinted the *Diaspora-Jewish way of relating to life*.

How, in spite of oppression and fragmentation, has the Jewish civilization survived with an intact integrity? An answer seems to rest in the notion of 'mobility'. The necessity of geographical mobility over the centuries has cultivated an inner, intellectual mobility. Rootlessness was forced and mobility the response, and in this lies one source of the *dialectics of Diaspora*. The strategy for survival has been standing on two legs: alliance and mobility. Interaction between the two has cultivated 'the art of being Jewish' in contemporary Modernity.

In this presentation I will provide a perspective on what this, in conjunction with the fact that one in the Western world today is living in a highly and rapidly changing Modernity, implies with respect to the understanding of one's Jewish identity, relation to the Jewish religious and cultural traditions, to the power-holders in the country one lives in, and to the State of Israel.

#### **TUESDAY 8-1-2013**

### 10.00-12.30: The impact of changing generations

Chair: Avi Bareli

#### Leonard Saxe: From tourist to citizen: Taglit and north American Jewish young adults

Since its launch in 1999, more than 225,000 Jewish young adults (18-26 years old) from North America have participated in Taglit-Birthright Israel's ten day educational programs. Taglit participants represent the diversity of American Jewry and include those with little or no prior exposure to Jewish education, those with exposure to part and full time Jewish schools, those who are 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> generation American, along with those who emigrated from the Former Soviet Union. In addition, participants include those from all of the denominations, those whose parents are both Jews and those from families with only one Jewish parent. A program of research has been conducted since Taglit's inception to assess the impact of the experience. Because Taglit receives twice the number of applicants that it can accommodate and uses a lottery-like process to select participants, it's possible to isolate the effects of the program. The effects have been stunning, both in terms of their positive evaluation of the experience and in terms of its impact on participants' attitudes toward their Jewish identity and Israel. As we collect data on the long-term impact of the experience, it is increasingly clear that experiencing

Israel with Diasporan and Israeli peers alters participants' trajectory of Jewish identity and engagement. The strength and durability of the effects suggests that participants shift from knowing that one of their identities is "Jewish" to feeling a sense of ownership about their Jewishness. They, perhaps, arrive in Israel as tourists, but the program stimulates a process of their feeling ownership for their Jewish identity and seeking to become citizens in the Jewish world. That a short intensive experience can have such profound impact has a host of implications for how we think about Jewish identity and our sense of Jewish Peoplehood.

## Yossi Shain: Are we growing apart? What binds us together?

There are lots of discussion in recent year regarding the so-called growing rupture between liberal Jews in the US and the state of Israel. The two issues informing the (apparent) widening gap are of course religion and Right wing politics -- in Israel and the US.

My talk will examine both the reality and assumptions about the gulf between Israel and the Jewish liberal Diaspora; what are the institutional manifestations of these gaps and the mechanisms used to spoil or amend relations -- bothh in the US and in Israel? How American domestic politics has impacted the gap? What is the role of the internal American shifts in religiosity on Diaspora-Homeland ties? How internal Israeli divisions are used to mobilize forces along the lines of the US-Israeli divide? and what are the new developments among younger generation of American Jews?

## Sylvia Barack-Fishman: Generational constructions of Jewish peoplehood

Attachment to the Jewish people has been a cornerstone not only of Jewish communal functioning but also personal Jewish identity for much of Jewish history, and well into the modern era. Grandparents of American Jews now in their 20s and 30s, whether they were Jewishly knowledgeable or Jewishly ignorant, religious or apathetic or militantly secular,like most American Jews for most of the 20th century had a strong feeling of "us or them," Jews and the rest of the world, the "non-Jews, or *goyim*"--a term that included everyone else. Even Jews who had little in the way of Jewish ethnic capital--who know little or nothing of Jewish languages, written texts, and cultural expressions--had a sense of being linked to the Jewish people and Jewish destiny. For these Jews, Israel, as "the Jewish State," made a profound difference. Only a minority spent time in Israel. But for many American Jews concern about Israel was experienced on a visceral level--in their *kishkes*--a personal identification with and defensiveness about Jews.

In contrast, among today's American Jews in their college years, 20s, and 30s, even some who are rich in Jewish ethnic capital have ambivalent feelings about perceived differences between Jews and non-Jews. Many are attracted to pluralism and to Jewish social justice and educational activities, but are unresponsive to activities to "protect" Jews--since they don't feel Jews are vulnerable, either as American individuals or as a people. This conviction that Jews are no longer a vulnerable group extends itself to their feelings about the Jewish state. They associate primarily with other young Americans who see the world through post-nationalist, global eyes. They are sensitive to what they perceive to be moral weaknesses, mistaken policies, and political mistakes committed by both American and Israeli governments. They are anxious for Judaism and for Israel to be forces for good in the world. Their criticism of Israeli policies reflects not a lack of interest in Israel but rather a redefinition of Israel-Diaspora relationships that is related to their reconstruction of concepts of Jewish peoplehood.

Ironically, this Jewish generation who typically rejects the idea of Jewish difference and vulnerability, is very attracted to diverse Jewish experiences and their cultural products. Today's Jewish "emerging adults" do not pursue assimilation into bland American culture, as some of their grandparents and great-grandparents did. Instead, they are attracted to particularistic Jewish cultures around the world, including cultural elements derived from Jewish life in North

Africa and Arab countries, from Sephardic communities, and from less-known aspects of Ashkenazi history and life. They reject a kind of one-size-fits-all homogenous Jewish peoplehood, and instead seek elements of Jewishness that are more *harif*--that have a sharper, more piquant flavor. They flock to stories about Jews in South America, in North Africa, in Alaska, devour stories about earlier historical periods, and are curious about life and spiritual expression in ultraOrthodox enclaves. In their prolific artistic expressions, younger American Jews often juxtapose exotic Jewish cultural expressions with non-Jewish elements, a kind of cultural fusion, rather than assimilation. One may term this new emphasis in Jewish peoplehood, which is influenced by globalization, global Jewish multiculturalism, or Jewish pan-ethnic pluralism.

Not least, note must be taken of the pronounced gender imbalance in Jewish connectedness in American Jewish life. From childhood onward through every stage of adulthood, girls and women are more active in almost every measurable Jewish activity than are boys and men, except for the Orthodox community. Girls are far more likely to continue with Jewish education through their teen years than are boys, who almost universally drop out after bar mitzvah. Jewish women comprise more than two-thirds of adult Jewish learners. Intermarriage rates are almost equal between Jewish men and Jewish women, but Jewish women who intermarry are much more likely to raise Jewish children than are intermarried Jewish men. Aspects of this imbalance began decades ago, and are now quite pronounced. Only a few current educational strategies, such as Birthright Israel, have almost balanced gender participation.

This paper examines the implications of these transformed, and highly gendered new constructions of Jewish peoplehood.

#### Shula Reinharz: The limits of the Peoplehood concept

Every few years, the organized Jewish world adopts a buzz word to describe, in the broadest terms, what motivates them to act for Israel and the Jewish People. We've had slogans whose constituent groups met each other rarely, and those where the group feells like a friendly foot i the water. The latest buzz word is Peoplehood. To what extent is Peoplehood a goal of pro-Israel activity, and on what level is it meaningless.

#### 14.00-16.30: Gender in the Jewish world (A)

Chair: Paula Kabalo

## Gili Goffer: Gender and migration, gender and Aliya – Changes in the concept of womanhood

This lecture will deal with the question of the degree to which the aliya/immigration was effective in changing gender roles among the men and, primarily, the women who participated in it.

Immigration is a process in which social contexts change, making possible a new division of resources and responsibilities in large and small units of the social fabric. As such, immigration makes possible a redefinition of the roles of different groups, including the roles of women and men in society. The first aliyot constitute an exceptional type of immigration because the members of these aliyot not only moved to a new land but sought to build a new society. Unlike other social revolutions, the Zionist immigration society was able to "begin anew" without coming into direct conflict with old power centers. This circumstance existed from the First Aliya until at least the mid-1920s and even after.

Creating gender equality was defined by some of member of the Second and third Aliya as one of the goals of the revolution that they sought to implement in the Land of Israel. This tendency was especially prominent among the women, many of whom sought to change the definition of femininity and participate fully in mainstream social activities, taking on active, influential and

productive roles. Many of the young women who arrived in the Land of Israel in the years 1903 to 1923 came here not only because of national or social motivations but also as a result of gender-based motivations, seeking to change their social roles and participate in a more significant way in shaping their society.

Upon their arrival in the Land of Israel, these women distanced themselves from the accepted conception of masculinity and femininity but encountered new difficulties that resulted from life in a young immigrant society. The circumstances of their immigration created an excellent opportunity for gender revolution but also erected barriers to implementing a revolution of this type.

Many of the most prominent women of the Second Aliya expressed disappointment with the results of the revolution and with the roles women played after their arrival in the Land of Israel. This disappointment has caused many researchers to play down the revolutionary aspects in the perceptions of women's roles in. In this lecture, I will endeavor to point out both the depths of the gender revolution despite the disappointment of some of its carriers, and the importance of immigration as a central factor in this revolution's relative success.

#### Dalia Ofer: Women survivors of the Holocaust: From destruction to reconstruction

Jewish women survived the Holocaust in fewer numbers then Jewish men.

Following the end of the war, the young men and women who survived, endeavored to rehabilitate their lives. It was a painful process of loneliness, sadness that was often blended with a strong sense of guilt for staying alive. Many men and women went back to their countries of origin to look for relatives, spouses, children and friends. They were confronted with a difficult reality that emerged both from the destruction and suffering of the war and the rejection of their previous neighbors. These moved large numbers of survivors to decide that their future lies in emigration. Palestine\Israel were central targets.

Women like men immigrated in different periods in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Immigrating to Israel during these years was not an easy experience and the hope to reach a place where they will be able to lead quiet life was a dream. It is clear that each survivor had his\her particular experience according to the individual personality. They were integrated into the new life in the formative years of Israel in a variety of ways. Many women chose to be housewives; others learned a vocation while some were professionals. I would like to analyze the process and choices and center on two major questions:

How the life experiences prior to the war and during the war correspond to the Israeli experience?

What kind of a challenge were these women experiencing when they confronted life in Israel as new immigrant and survivors of the Holocaust?

Following the above questions I will relate to four women Bornia Klibanski, Lili Kasticher Hirt, Rachel Auerbach, Bella Hazan. Each of them had a different background, were born in different countries and of different age. I will examine their efforts to reconstruct their lives in Israel.

#### Hannah Kehat: Orthodoxy and gender in Israel

Despite the historic deep conflict between religion and Feminism, in recent decades, religious women have changed the situation and created ways of combination and integration between religion and feminism.

However, the ultra-Orthodox community in Israel does not give legitimacy to the values of liberalism, equality and feminism. In their way, these struggles are all against religion and therefore they have to avoid the changes and the promotion of human rights on the basis of gender equality. In recent years, there have been two processes within the orthodox community

in Israel: Religious extremism on the one hand, in the other hand trying of the ultra – Orthodox people to assimilate more inside Israel society, These two trends increase the effort of parts of them, to push women back from the public sphere to the private sphere and exclude them from leadership roles These two trends have flooded again the clash between religion and modernity, between traditions characterizes large parts of Israel and feminism and liberalism. At that point we return and have to deal with this great challenge when the subject is not only the status of women in Israel, but the status of women in Israel and the Jewish world as an indication of the freedom and democracy of our country.

## Judy Baumel-Schwartz: Orthodox Jewish women as a bridge between Israel and the Diaspora

During the past decades Orthodox Jewish women have begun to create a form of international community, adopting cultural and religious norms that transcend the cultures of their home countries. This has been possible due to a growing awareness of gender bonds and empowerment, the spread of electronic communication and the commonality of relatively inexpensive international travel. One form of electronic communication that has contributed to the establishment and strengthening of this virtual community is the English language Orthodox Jewish women's internet forums. By their international nature, these forums act as a bridge for Orthodox Jewish women worldwide. My study has shown how these forums strengthen the bond between Orthodox Jewish women in Israel and in the Diaspora, acting as a multi-directional method of communication, educational framework and cultural influence.

## **17.00-19.00:** Gender in the Jewish world (B)

Chair: Raanan Rein

## Yael Israel-Cohen: Orthodox Feminism beyond gender: The trend towards hybrid Orthodoxy

In this study, I consider the views of Orthodox feminist activists regarding questions of religious authority and denominational ties. I argue that their perspectives point to an emerging mode of thinking within modern Orthodoxy and reflect the development of a hybrid religious identity that is tied to feminist perspectives about women's status, but go far beyond questions of gender dynamics. The interviewees in this study suggest that Orthodoxy should incorporate a more pluralistic system of religious authority and give more legitimacy to individual perspectives in the halakhic framework. Furthermore, the interviewees' perspectives regarding the overlap between Orthodoxy and Conservative Judaism in certain respects and the need to embrace the other denominations are telling of unprecedented religious pluralism. Such views raise the question of the boundaries of Orthodoxy. In this vein, parallels are drawn between certain views in Orthodox feminist circles and "post-Orthodox" perspectives.

### Florinda Goldberg: Gender, religion and belonging in the novel La Rabina by Silvia Plager

Esther Fainberg, a young-mature Argentinian living in New York, decides to become a woman rabbi in order to give full sense to her life and her Jewishness. Her daring forces her to overcome the negative reaction of her family and surroundings, which ranges from lack of sympathy to overt intolerance and prejudice. Located in the U.S., Argentina and Israel, the novel exhibits different ways of understanding and living gender, Judaism and spiritualiy in our times.

## Margalit Bejarano: Ethnicity, gender and transnationalism: Latino Jews in Miami

Miami, the gateway to Latin America, is one of the largest Jewish communities in the US and a major concentration of Hispanics. The transnational diaspora created by the Cuban exiles and strengthened by other Latin American immigrants has a far reaching influence on the host

society, transforming its social values, political loyalties and ethnic relations, and threatening the hegemony of the white English speaking Americans.

Within this context, the Jews from Latin America represent a special case. They share with the English speaking Jews their religion and ethnic origin, and with the Hispanics their homeland and nationality. Their relations with the English speaking Jews are subject to tensions between continuity and change, manifested in Jewish institutional frameworks, such as religious congregations, the JCC and the Jewish Federation.

Jewish Latino women play a major role in the process of insertion into the local Jewish institutions and in the process of their Latinization. Coming from closely knit communities and protective societies, they are confronted by more freedom, but also by greater economic responsibilities that limit the time they can dedicate to institutional life. Nevertheless, they were able to create informal networks that seek to revive their former Jewish life in an atmosphere of warmth and intimacy that they lack among American Jews. Women are major actors in the process of growing observance among Jews from Latin America, often through the day schools of their children that serve as agents of religiosity. At the same time they continue to preserve a strong commitment to Israel, strengthened by the impact of the local political environment.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the patterns of identity of Jewish-Latino women in Miami, comparing the perspective of their different homelands (Cuba, Colombia/ Peru, Argentina, and Venezuela) and their sub-ethnicity (Ashkenazi, Sephardi, Syrian). Based on oral histories and results of an electronic survey, the paper will examine their views as manifested in family life, social frameworks, religious congregations and in their activities on behalf of Israel.

#### **WEDNESDAY 9-1-2013**

## 10.00-12.30: Israelophobia, neo-antisemitism and Jewish reactions (A)

Chair: Haim Avni

## Michel Wieviorka: France: Changes within diaspora, anti-Semitism and French politics

The French Jewish diaspora is in a permanent process of change. On the one hand, there are strong tendencies towards communitarianism, usually connected with strong positive feelings towards Israël, with frequent double nationality. On the other hand, anti-semitism is not as active as it could be ten years before. It is less and less "classical", related to old images of the Jews, and more and more frequent within migrant people from Arab or Muslim origins. The Jews in France also appear as the first minority that benefits from a neo-republican political treatment, they are at the same time considered as fully integrated within the Nation and the Republique, and accepted much more than any other group as a minority or a community.

#### Leonardo Senkman: Anti Imperialism and anti-Zionist Judeophobia in Latin America

My presentation will discuss some distinctive Jew-phobia features of the current local anti – Israel linked to anti Imperialist discourse in Latin America waged by political populist organizations fighting against Globalization, and how it evolves in the particular socioeconomic conditions of Argentina and Venezuela.

By exploring the specific internal dynamic of local politics that may shed light on the awakening of such anti globalization discourse, I'll underscore the different strands of anti-Semite components coming from both the deep resentment towards the economic globalization and transnationalism, and also as importation of the Arab slanderous vilification discourse of Israel and Zionism because the unsolved Palestine conflict.

Besides political explanations for understanding anti Zionism linked to anti-imperialism, my paper will raise the question why the globalization process make more receptive conspiracy theories with anti-Semite strings in Latin America political culture of populist regimes, even in

the case of Argentina after fifty years of the unsolved bombing of the local Jewish Community premise.

## Chantal Bordes-Benayoun: Unquietness of the French diaspora after the March 2012 murders

Unquietness belongs to the historical diasporic culture and memory. Throughout history, the feeling of insecurity varied according to the contexts, especially according to the social relationships between Jews and non Jews. In France, the contemporary Jewish condition was characterised for a long time by a high level of social integration, in spite of the experience of anti-Semitism. After the Second World War and Vichy, which was the hardiest experience of rejection they experienced, they recovered their place, their citizenship, their passion towards French culture and way of life, and their peace of mind, even if they were more conscious and more vigilant. Do this frame of mind still topical today? Considering the events which deeply hearted the French Jewry in March 2012, the murders of Toulouse and Montauban, it is possible to revisit this issue by questioning the awareness towards new anti-Semitism, attitudes towards the country and the eventuality of migration. The event revealed among Jews a growing perception that an historical change was happening and the feeling by a part of them that they were undergoing a new social position that make them foreigners again. As usual, the communitarian links were reinforced while the ethnisation of the French society reinforced.

## 14.00-16.30: Israelophobia, neo-antisemitism and Jewish reactions (B)

**Chair**: Thomas Gergely

## Shmuel Trigano: The hatred of the Jews in a Global Age

The opening of the second Intifada marked the birth of a new form of the hatred of the Jews, different from modern antisemitism. This phenomenon is part of a larger configuration specific to a post-democratic evolution in Western countries, new conditions of existence of the Jews which challenge the post Second World War *status quo* concerning them. We will try to sketch out the main characteristics of this hatred which is developping outside and has effects also inside the Jewish people.

## Raphael Vago: Jews, civil society and responses to anti-Semitism in Post-Communist Eastern Europe

Following a brief presentation of patterns of post-Communist anti-Semitism, the discussion will focus on several major issues and questions:

- the extent to which Jewish reaction to anti-Semitism in the various countries is coordinated with the agenda of elements of civil society which are focusing also on issues of xenophobia, racism, discrimination, immigration. Do the local Jewish leaderships present the "Jewish question" as a "unique" case linked to the memory of the Holocaust and the legacy of anti-Semitism, and/or as part of a "universalist" approach?
- Post- Communist Jewish politics and the politics of responding to anti-Semitism: is there a pattern of Jewish political response to the respective policies of local governments? The delicate relationship between the Jewish community and the ruling Fidesz party in Hungary will be presented as a test case.
- The influence of anti-Semitism on the internal Jewish discourse on the future of Jewish existence in the area. The specter of Holocaust denial, anti-Semitism, in various forms in the different states of the region, raises again the old question if indeed the situation is so bad, what are we doing here? (questions raised in Hungary, Romania) Are Jewish responses also motivated by the need to justify the continuing revival of Jewish life?

## Denis Charbit: "The delegitimization of Israel": The impact on Israel-Diaspora relationship

Since less than a decade, a new term appeared in the pro-Israeli discourse: the delegitimization of Israel. It sums up the enterprise pursued by Israel's adversaries. The term was quickly adopted in institutional and public discourse by both Israel and Jewish communities in the Diaspora. Some Western political leaders started using it to express their support of Israel. Our lecture will relate to the advantages the term "delegitimization" offers in the polemical Israel/Palestine debate and especially in the reinforcement of the relationship between Israel and Jewish communities around the world. By establishing a common denominator, the struggle against "the delegitimization of Israel" permits to reduce if not to evacuate the tensions and dissensions that may weaken the relationship.

## Erik H. Cohen: Views of Israel from the Diaspora: A multi-survey review

The attitudes held by Diaspora Jews regarding Israel is a subject which has explored from various angles in surveys of numerous populations over the course of several decades. The image of Israel is a highly instructive reflection of the population. This presentation will give an overview of what the perception of Israel held by Diaspora populations reveals about their Jewish identity, based on the results and analyses from several major surveys. 1) The assessment of what comprises an ideal youth group tour to Israel, in the view of participants from different countries; 2) The images and symbols of Israel held by various Diaspora youth populations; 3) Impressions of what would comprise 'peace' in Israel; 4) The goals held by Diaspora communities in bringing educational emissaries (shlichim) from Israel; 5) Attitudes regarding Israel and Jewish identity held by alumni of a youth leadership training program in Israel. Data from each survey were analyzed using multi-dimensional tools which uncover the underlying structure of attitudes. Taken together, these analyses give a broad and deep picture of attitudes towards Israel their political and ideological views of Israel as a religious concept and a political reality, and what they 'want' to learn about Israel in their home communities and when they visit.

## 17.00-19.30: Closing session. Past vs present-day configuration of Israel-Diaspora relations

Chair: Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar

### Eliezer Ben-Rafael: Israel-Diaspora relations revisited: A transnational perspective

This presentation will focus on the socioeconomic, political and cultural discrepancies that are more and more salient between the Jewish diaspora and Israel: while the diaspora tends to concentrate in upper or middle-upper social strata, the Israeli population numbers large numbers of middle-lower and lower layers; the wide majority of Jews over the world is not religious – or at least not in the halakhic sense -, politically liberal – if not left-wing-, supportive of cultural innovations. At the same time, a large part of the Israelis tends to retain some traditional markers, does not mind the orthodox monopoly on regulations of personal status and, today, leans toward the right-of-the-center political factions. Last but not least, the ethnic composition of the Jewish diaspora contrasts with Israel's. In these circumstances, criticism of Israël has become common in Jewish diasporan milieus and the feeling of gap alienation with the diaspora is spreading among Israelis. On this basis, several possible and alternate models of diaspora-'homeland' are discussed and considered under the light of their plausibility.

### Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer: Is Jerusalem the Center of World Jewry?

In fact, I will discuss not only the specific issue of the centrality of the Israeli capital, Jerusalem, in World Jewry, which is a very significant and sensitive issue per se, but equally the closely interconnected question about the centrality of Israel in world Jewry. Concerning the centrality of Israel it must be noted that there is a tendency among Diaspora Jews to regard the US and now also Europe as two additional political and social centers of World Jewry. These claims are connected to basic actual attitudinal and socio-political changes occurring in the highly heterogeneous worldwide Jewish diasporas and among many Israelis, who are uninformed of

and insensitive to the situation in the Jewish Diaspora. Part of these changes apply also to the position of Jerusalem in the minds and actions of many Jewish Diasporans. One of the main controversial issues in this second interconnected respect is related to the question whether Jerusalem can be re-divided in the case of a solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As mentioned above, one of the main arguments will be that the reasons for such more obvious divergent attitudes concerning Israeli and Jerusalem centrality are the actual changing backgrounds and positions of the various highly heterogeneous Jewish entities around the world, including the Jewish Israeli one.

## Sergio DellaPergola: Israel-Diaspora relations: hard and soft variables

This paper suggests a comparative perspective on several aspects of global Jewish peoplehood and of the underlying relationship between its main constitutive components: Jews as the majority of population in a sovereign state Israel, and Jews as small minorities in a constellation or Diaspora of Jewish communities worldwide. Israel-Diaspora relations consist of different kinds of process: those processes that unfold in parallel and with some degree of independence in different places, and whose variable dynamics generate and reshape the internal equilibrium of the whole global Jewish configuration; and those processes that unfold through active mutual interaction between the parts, also producing consequences of global import. Among the first, harder type of process, one can account demographic and socioeconomic trends, and to some extent Jewish identificational trends. Patterns of Israel-Diaspora divergence and convergence can be detected in each of these various respects. Among the latter, softer type of process, one detects Jewish institutional governance, Jewish politics, and to a large extent Jewish culture, along with Jewish identification which however also significantly draws from the mutual relation. We will review the nature of the main processes at work and the odds inherent in various possible scenarios for the future.

## Judit Bokser Liwerant: Jewish Diaspora and transnationalism: "Awkward partners"?

In an era of globalization, the Jewish People develops its singularity amid a world of diversified and expanded Diasporas. Like other Diasporas, and possibly even more, Jews are experiencing changing models of interactions and cohesion -along with confrontation and cleavages. While the dimensions of continuity, distinctiveness and boundary maintenance acquire different meanings along an increasingly mobile world, the Jewish experience represents a singular case which throws new perspectives to the changing profile of an ethno-national Diaspora entering a new transtional dynamics.

If one of the main characteristics of Diasporas as social formation is the triadic relationship between globally dispersed yet collectively self-identified ethnic groups; the territorial States and contexts where such groups reside; and the homeland States and contexts their forebears came from, amid a growing mobiel world, Homeland(s), today, have pluralized and act as changing referents. While older notions of Diaspora imply a return to a real or an imagined homeland, newer uses replace return with dense and continuous linkages across borders. Moreover, these uses overcome the binomial origin-destination and include countries of onward migration and return.

On its part, the notion of transnationalism has been a characteristic process that has historically shaped the Jewish condition worldwide, and specifically in Latin America. Singular to the latter is the historic process of being attached to different shifting and overlapping external Jewish centers, both real/concrete and imaginary/symbolic. These relations were colored by a dynamics simultaneously evincing strong transnational solidary connections and a dependent or peripheral character of communities in the making. Political concepts, values, aspirations and organizational entities imported from previous Jewish experiences in other parts of the world played a fundamental role in the process of cultural and institutional formation of Jewish communities in Latin America – perhaps more so than in other regions of Jewish immigration

such as Western Europe or North America. The State of Israel and the Jewish/Zionist ethos have played a singular role as catalysts.

Today's emigration waves from the continent point to new models of transnational ties, links and interactions as well as the emergence of trsantional social fields and spaces. Diaspora and Transnationalism may thus be seen both as a key condition for approaching the Latin American Jewish past and its present changing profile. The emergence of new models of relations between communities and the center(s), from one hand, and inner differentiation of identities, form the other, draws a complex array of trends where tacit disagreement and even disputes take place regarding the frontiers of identity, its collective and institutional expression and, certainly, the place of the State of Israel. This paper aims to analyze these processes relating common trends in the Jewish world and the singular developments in Latin American Jewish communities.

Focusing on the old/new social dynamics of Jewish communities and relocation of life abroad, it is our contention that the binomial Diaspora and Transnationalism has implications for social theory in its approach as an "awkward partners" with changing and overlapping conceptual meanings and uses.

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