Contents

Preface viii
Introduction to the English Edition ix
Introduction xvi

PART ONE: THE DESERT

Interlude: The speech about the border 3
1 Border cities 7
2 David becomes Goliath 17
3 Preaching in the wilderness 24
4 Socialism without borders 34
5 Against the current 41
6 Border runners 48
7 Encounters 56
8 Prisoners and banished 68

PART TWO: CRACKS

Interlude: The two rabbis 85
9 Earthquake 87
10 There is a border! 95
11 Together 105
12 No man's land 115
13 The trial 124
14 The left-wing colonizer 131

PART THREE: THE INTERNAL BORDERS

Interlude: M. Dankner and M. Shemesh 143
15 Separation at last? 145
16 Jews and Israelis 153
17 The periphery becomes the center 160
18 Hallel's prayer 170
19 Beyond Judea and Israel 184
20 Homecomings 195
21 Border identities 205

Glossary 215
Important dates 217
Index 219

Introduction to the English edition

Three years ago, when I finished the last chapter of "On the Border," the border between Israelis and Palestinians was, once again, torn apart by fighting. It was still, nonetheless, a border. Subsequently it became the Wall. The "Wall of Separation" or "Wall of Shame," was intended to create an insurmountable barrier between Israelis and Palestinians. But no wall, no matter how high (and this one is over 25 feet high near Qalqiliya and Tulkarm), no electronic fence, no trench, even filled with crocodiles (an option that had been discussed), is capable of stopping a suicide bomber armed with the despair and the scars left by the humiliation of his father or the murder of his best friend. If that was the intent of Israeli strategy, then it has failed once more.

In fact, the wall intended to enclose the Palestinians in a ghetto (or perhaps several ghettoes) is today a looming threat not only to the people of the West Bank and Gaza, but for the Israeli people as well. In building this wall, Israel has chosen to enclose itself, creating an immense bunker, hyper-armed and paranoid in the extreme.

One need not explain yet again how the wall is an assault on the liberty of Palestinians, or how it buttresses the process of evictions and settlements, and tramples underfoot the right to self-determination of an entire people. But one does need to point out its depraved and destructive impact on the future of the Israeli community. Clearly, any wall is incapable of stopping bomb attacks and, undoubtedly, it risks provoking a new upsurge of aggression against civilians, now transformed in spite of themselves into garrison-dwellers. It slams shut the "window of opportunity," to use the phrase cherished by the American administration to describe the negotiating process launched by Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat. In fact it means that Israeli leaders have chosen to reject the hand held out by the Palestinians and the Arab world, preferring enclosure and the historically fragile military support of the United States. As the researcher, Menachem Klein, member of the Israeli delegation to the Camp David summit, wrote:

> …the enthusiasm for a unilateral separation is not only an expression of a crisis of policy but of conscience as well. This plan, based on an

> outlook derived from both Zionist voluntarism and unilateral action, espouses enclosure behind what Jabotinsky [ideologue of the Zionist extreme right during the 1920s and 1930s–MW] called an "Iron Wall," and the use of force outside its perimeters. "A mutually agreed upon accord is impossible," wrote Jabotinsky in 1923, "because settlement must be pursued from behind an Iron Wall which the native population does not have the strength to break." What can such an outlook mean for the left, whose conscience embraces politics rather than brute force, a left that would consider the Palestinians as equals and seek a partnership with them as opposed to their submission?

It is a great historical irony that Zionism, which wanted to tear down the walls of the ghettoes, has created the biggest ghetto in Jewish history, a super-armed ghetto, capable of continually expanding its confines, but a ghetto nonetheless, turned inward upon itself and convinced that outside its walls lies a jungle, a fundamentally and incurably anti-Semitic world whose sole objective is the destruction of Jewish life in the Middle East and elsewhere.

The building of the wall makes Israeli–Palestinian cooperation doubly difficult, almost impossible. First of all, on a practical level, the border crossings, which this book chronicles, are more and more difficult: between walls, electronic fences, various barriers and roadblocks, there are few Israeli activists who still try to cross. As for the Palestinians, they no longer do so; the risks are too great. But the most important barrier is psychological. "We are a villa in the heart of the jungle," Ehud Barak, the man principally responsible for the failure of the Oslo peace process, dared to say. This description of Israel and its surrounds is a summary of a political philosophy that sees the Arab world and the Palestinians, not as enemies to be fought with everything in one's power, until, sooner or later, one can negotiate with them, make peace and reconcile, but rather, as an existential threat: ferocious beasts, barbarians. In the face of such a threat, the very idea of negotiations becomes absurd, for only permanent, preventive, and total war can try to subdue the threat of the jungle. If history can still teach us anything at all, then indeed this outlook has little chance of success.

The demented person who builds his villa in the heart of the jungle is opting for a bunker and permanent war. He leaves no room for coexistence. That explains how a conflict, namely a fight about territory, sovereignty, natural resources and borders, has become

an existential war where the survival of one depends upon the eradication of the other.

As I point out elsewhere in this book, the Hebrew word for "border" also means limit. During the course of the last three years, the self-imposed limits of a civilized society or a state of laws and rights that serve as a benchmark if not for Israeli policy then for its dominant ideology and for the self-image of the Hebrew State – those limits are disappearing, one after the other. The violence against Palestinians is increasingly without limits, neither the limits of international law and conventions, nor those that would support Israel's claim to be a state of laws and rights. Even the Supreme Court, which had succeeded in imposing certain rules and restrictions, including a ban on all forms of torture, upon a no-holds-barred security-above-all-else military, has ceased contesting army orders under the pretext of the fight against terrorism.

I have described in detail in another work, the overall process of the dehumanization of the Palestinians and the systematic destruction of their society. As the Israeli sociologist Baruch Kimmerling wrote:

> I accuse Ariel Sharon of setting in motion a process which will not only intensify the blood bath on both sides but is likely to set off a regional war and a partial or total ethnic cleansing of the Arabs in the land of Israel. I accuse the army command, spurred on by nationalist leaders, of inflaming public opinion against the Palestinians, under the cover of military professionalism. Never before in Israel have so many generals in uniform, so many former generals, so many veterans of the security services, sometimes disguised as "academics," taken part in the brain-washing of public opinion. If a judicial commission of inquiry is impaneled to investigate the catastrophe of 2002, the generals must be indicted alongside the civilian criminals. I accuse the managers of the Israeli electronic media of giving the various military spokesmen the access they needed for an aggressive, belligerent and almost total seizure of control of public discourse. The generals not only control Jenin and Ramallah, but Israeli radio and television as well . . . I accuse whomsoever sees and is aware of these things, of doing nothing to prevent the looming catastrophe. The events of Sabra and Shatila were nothing compared to what is happening and to what is about to happen…

This heartfelt cry by one of Israel's most prestigious sociologists is echoed by Avraham Burg, a Labor leader and former speaker of

the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, in a forum published by *Yediot Aharanot* and reprinted by *Le Monde*. The headline says it all: "The Zionist revolution is dead." Burg writes:

> Zionism is dead and its killers have occupied the corridors of government in Jerusalem. They don't miss an opportunity to put an end to whatever was really good about the national renaissance. The Zionist revolution was supported by two pillars: the hunger for justice and a leadership with a sense of civic morality. Both have disappeared. Today the Israeli nation is nothing but a pile of corruption, oppression and injustice. It is quite likely that ours will be the last Zionist generation. What will remain afterwards is an unrecognizable and hateful Jewish state… after two thousand years of struggle for survival, we now have a state that builds settlements under the leadership of a corrupt clique that laughs at civic morality and law. A state run with contempt for justice loses its power to survive. Ask your children which of them is sure to be here for the next twenty-five years. The most clear-sighted answers will shock you because the countdown for Israeli society has already begun…

By linking, in his analysis, the denial of the rule of law within the territories, on the one hand, with the endemic corruption of the political class, on the other, Avraham Burg confirms the predictions of the greatest Israeli intellectual, the late Yeshayahou Leibowitz, who maintained, since the end of the 1960s, that the occupation would destroy the democratic infrastructure and moral values upon which the vision of the State of Israel had been based.

Very recently, Moshe Negbi, legal commentator for national radio and the daily *Maariv,* published a book with the eloquent title: "*We have become like Sodom*." In the book, Negbi states: Israel is no longer a democracy, but a banana republic, in which the police and the public prosecutor are afraid of political and financial interest groups, often Mafia, and are no longer capable of carrying out the law or protecting the rule of law. Three successive prime ministers have been suspected of corruption or embezzlement and the attorney-general closed the file in all three cases despite the recommendations of the police.

A substantial part of "*On the Border"* is devoted to the internal borders, those that divide Israeli society along social, economic, ethnic and cultural lines.

Ehud Barak's goal, when he was elected in 1999, was to rebuild a national consensus and reduce the internal fractures of Israeli society. Did he succeed? The answer is not simple, far from it.

First of all, Israeli society is united once again, behind a real obsession with security and fortified by the certain belief that its very existence is at stake. Upon returning from the Camp David II fiasco in July of 2000, Barak was not content with merely denouncing Yasser Arafat for having rejected his "extremely generous offers." He went further – and this was the most important aspect of the propaganda campaign launched by the former prime minister – stating that the rejection of the generous offers was proof of the absence of good faith on the part of the Palestinian president, who, hiding behind his so-called moderation, was planning the destruction of Israel. The whole Oslo process was nothing but a trap that he, Barak, had unmasked at the very last minute; a deadly trap that would bring the Jewish state to ruin.

This great lie, repeated *ad nauseum* for months on end by media the world over, resulted in the collapse of the Israeli peace movement and the rehabilitation of national unity in the face of the Palestinian danger. A national unity discourse that was widely accepted from the 1950s through the 1960s but then lost after the invasion of Lebanon in 1982 is back in fashion. Today it is the hyper security-conscious and racist discourse of a society turned in on itself behind a 25-foot-high wall. A society that sees anti-Semitism everywhere but chooses to ally itself with Protestant fundamentalism of the extreme right, whose theological anti-Semitism is notorious.

National unity has set aside dissensions between the religious and non-religious, between Jews of Arab and Jews of Western culture, between militants of the peace camp and partisans of Greater Israel. It has not abolished these divides but merely plastered them over with the psychosis of security.

Although the Zionist left has somewhat toned down its compromise-oriented discourse, as Avraham Burg's words show, it is still profoundly hostile to the idea of a state of Mafiosi and Messianic fundamentalists that tears to shreds its dream of a modern, secular state of laws, open to the Western world. In fact, many are leaving or dreaming of leaving, and the Jerusalem and Tel Aviv consulates of European countries report tens of thousands of requests for foreign visas. Nonetheless, emigration remains, of course, the choice of a minority.

Sooner or later the battles about what kind of state and what kind of Israeli society, about the role and place of religion, about the

contradiction between a Jewish and a democratic state, about ties with the West and with the Arab East, will start up again, because the differences reflect not only contradictory ideologies but divergent interests. Any level headed examination of the balance of forces reveals the mystifying character of the existential threat propounded by Barak and Sharon. But can level heads prevail when bombs are exploding in the cafés of Tel Aviv and the buses of Jerusalem?

I have been criticized for not being sufficiently clear in this book, about the issue posed by terrorism – that is, the attacks against civilians by some Palestinian organizations. I explain my position in one of the chapters, but I affirm my choice, as an Israeli, to remain discreet as regards this issue. That said, it is clear that not only are attacks on civilians, be they bombs launched from a fighter plane or a bomb placed on a bus, morally unacceptable, but they also serve to reinforce within Israeli society the perceived existential threat that justifies not only total war against the Palestinians but all the sacrifices including numerous Israeli deaths.

Sharon is perfectly aware of this and his generals do precisely what it takes to provoke attacks, particularly by targeted assassinations of popular political leaders every time the Palestinian side declares a truce. Sharon needs terrorism to keep the spirit of a war for survival and national unity coursing in the veins.

As evidenced by the account of this book, borders express two contradictory movements: one being the separation between human beings according to their nationality, their ethnicity, religion or social class, the other providing protection and a means of asserting sovereignty and maintaining independence in the face of an imposed foreign power.

That is why those who work for a rapprochement between men and between nations often have to change hats, at times a border runner, at others a border guard; a border runner hoping to contribute to the emergence of a pluralist, transnational and multi-ethnic humanity and a world based on the values of solidarity and cooperation; a border guard charged with defending the sovereignty, self-determination and independence of a people threatened by foreign aggression. Likewise they must also guard the internal Israeli borders against any rapprochement in the name of a spurious national unity between democrats on the one hand and, on the other, racist, fascist and Nazi currents or movements that hold to antithetical ideas.

This dual task, contradictory only in appearance, has been performed daily by Israeli anti-settlement activists since July 2000,

when Israeli leaders chose to turn their backs on the hopes raised by the Oslo Declaration of Principles of 1993. On the one hand they call on Israeli soldiers to refuse to participate in the colonial war in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip while conducting a political campaign for withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian territories. On the other, through actions based on political and humanitarian solidarity and through common initiatives embracing the prospect of coexistence anchored in solidarity and equality, they fight to keep open the few breaches that remain in the wall of hate and blood, which today, almost hermetically separates Israelis and Palestinians.

This book ends with a bet, a bet based on common sense, namely a bet that common sense will dictate life over death and openness rather than enclosure. Is it a realistic bet, two years later, after thousands of deaths, tens of thousands mutilated for life, systematic destruction and permanent humiliation? Has the colonial imperative and the hatred it engenders won out over common sense? Perhaps. Nonetheless we have no choice but to keep the bet open because it is the only alternative to barbarism.

It was on the border between Petain France and Franco Spain that Walter Benjamin ended his own life because on both sides of the Pyrenees barbarism had won the bet against progress and common sense. Today, on both sides of the "Wall of Shame," between Salem and Qalqiliya, around Jerusalem, and encircling the residents of Gaza, there are fighters for liberty and brotherhood. There are tens of thousands of them in Palestine and some thousands in Israel. More than enough to keep the bet alive.

Introduction

My trial ended in October 1989. It had lasted almost three years and I was finally sentenced to 30 months in prison for "aiding illegal Palestinian organizations." During the course of those three long years, a concept emerged both in the accusations of the prosecution and the arguments of the defense, a concept that would little by little become the central pillar of this judicial affair: the border.

With the charge of supporting terrorism having fallen apart, the parties confronted each other on the issue of the border, in what the public prosecutor called the *no man's land* between Israelis and Palestinians, and between legality and illegality. Indeed, I was the first to use the term, but it was only gradually that I became aware that at some point my entire life, as private person and as a militant, had been the result of a deliberate choice to live and fight on the border. My judges understood it perfectly and devoted lengthy paragraphs of their verdict to the danger the border poses for those who decide to live their lives and carry on their struggles there.

The last 35 years of my life have been in fact a long march on the border, or rather along the different borders that divide the State of Israel and the Arab–Muslim world, Israelis and Palestinians, as well as Jews and Israelis, the religious and the secular, and Jews of Europe and Jews of the Orient. Some borders intersect and sometimes overlap, are more or less open, but never impassable.

Borders not to be crossed, but also borders to break through; borders of a Jewish identity that was important for me to preserve, but also a socialism without borders; impenetrable borders between antithetical values, yet a rejection of borders that would ban exchanges and coexistence.

The border denotes a beyond that both frightens and fascinates. It is first of all a place of separation, between states, between communities, a line between us and them, and as such an element in the makeup of identities and groups. "The border is not a spatial fact with sociological effects, but a sociological fact which takes a spatial form," wrote Georg Simmel,[1] implying that borders tend to multiply as the mind

1. Georg Simmel, *Sociologie. Ètudes sur les formes de la socialization,* trans. from the German by Lilyane Deroche-Gurcel and Sibylle Muller, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1999, p. 607.

becomes conscious of them. It implies a permanent questioning of what is meant by "us" as well as the "other," those on the other side of the border. In our pluralistic sociological reality, we are all surrounded by multiple borders. One needs to be aware of them and, to do so, must fight the ever-present temptation to reduce one's identity to a one-dimensional reality. There are many who would pressure us at any cost to define ourselves solely in relation to a flag, as belonging to a unique identity, and thus divide the world between an ethnic or national "us" and all the others. Conversely, when sub-commandante Marcos describes himself as an Indian cast aside by colonization, as a black confronting racial segregation, as a woman oppressed by sexual discrimination, as a Jew persecuted by the anti-Semite, as a homosexual victimized for his sexuality, as a worker crushed by exploitation, he is tracing the borders of a pluralistic identity, a choice that consciously refuses to rally behind a single flag.

The border is a place of confrontation, "a sinister zone of domination and of terror."[2] Border conflicts are often intended to protect identities and defend the right to autonomy. But they can be the expression of a desire for expansion and the negation of the identity of those on the other side. The deceptive English cognate *frontier* does not describe a boundary, but on the contrary, an open space, a place to be conquered. Israel and its inhabitants have lived this double aspect of the border, a wall that separates and protects, and a call to new conquests, for more than half a century. Shut in within its borders, in the heart of an Arab world that accorded it no legitimacy at all, the State of Israel has always refused to fix its exact borders and has in fact never stopped modifying and expanding them. The duality of the border has always conferred different, even contradictory tasks on those who chose to put themselves there: border guard or border runner, or both simultaneously. When the Israeli army invaded Lebanon it was imperative to play border guard and to call on the soldiers to go back home; likewise with the settlers who recognized no limits – one had to trace a border for them behind which the Palestinians could express and protect their national sovereignty.

If it does define territories, the border sometimes also separates human beings by national, ethnic and religious demarcations. Those borders can then be places of conflict, places of indifference, or contrarily, places of solidarity, exchange and cooperation. The

2. Ulf Hannes, "Frontières," *Revue internationale des sciences socials*, Spring 2001, p. 60.

borders between Israel and the Arab world that surrounds it have been, for fifty years, borders of hatred and of war. There the border acts "like a physical force repelling both sides."[3] At the beginning of the 1990s, when peace plans were being drawn up to erect walls of separation rather than spaces for cooperation, I chose to be a runner across the line between the two sides of the conflict. I felt strongly attached to the clan of Hebrews, or, in our language, *Ivri,* from the verb *Avar,* which means to pass, to go over there, sometimes even to transgress.[4] As a good Hebrew I wanted to be a border runner in three ways: a messenger of the values of fraternity, solidarity and the prospects of coexistence, a coexistence based on respect, equality and cooperation; a border smuggler; and a transgressor of the taboos that pressure us to shrivel up in a jingoist identity.

The border is not merely a place of separation where differences are asserted; it can also be a place of exchange and enrichment where pluralist identities can flourish. One can have encounters there that cannot take place elsewhere, certainly not in one's village nor in the bosom of one's clan: there you will most likely find replicas of yourself, hear yourself speaking through the mouths of others and be comforted by your own convictions.

The dual aspect of the border can push us to be simultaneously a border guard, respectful of the sovereignty of the other, of his freedom and independence, and a border runner who plies the exchange and crossovers of the human realities that the border separates. But it would be a mistake to believe that the border exists only between states or national communities. It also extends through our societies, between ethnic groups and cultural communities, between the dominant center and the periphery of the excluded. Its effects are no less perverse, the hatreds it arouses no less persistent than those created by external borders.

The internal border also requires a dual effort: to make openings to facilitate exchanges and solidarity, but also to build dams against the will to forge, at any cost, a national unity based on hatred of others and fear of the Other. National conciliation and reconciliation with the enemy never go hand in hand, and fraternization with the enemy often requires a break, even a fratricidal conflict within the bosom of one's own tribe. That prospect does not frighten me; on

3. Simmel, *Sociologie,* p. 608.
4. In Hebrew *avera* means the misdeed, the crime.

the contrary, I detest tribes and have always refused to shut myself within the clan's confines.

It is why I take a certain pleasure in feeling, even in the bosom of a society that I claim to be my own, as a "foreigner in my own home," like that foreigner portrayed by Georg Simmel as "not like a voyager in transit, but like the man who came from somewhere else and has settled in permanently, or at least for a long time, so that he's at the same time an insider and an outsider…"[5] Certainly, I am an Israeli, but I jealously guard my identity as Diaspora Jew, which enables me to view my own society with a certain detachment.[6]

Over the course of the years I have made many round trips between the internal and external borders. During that long march along the border, I learned that despite the discomfort, despite being marginalized, and sometimes despite the dangers, nothing in the world could make me give up my place at the border and at the periphery in exchange for a comfortable and warm seat in the bosom of my own tribe.

5. Georg Simmel, "Digressions sur l'étranger," in Yves Crafmeyer and Isaac Joseph (eds), *L'École de Chicago, Naissance de l'écologie urbaine*, Paris, Aubier, 1990.
6. *Ibid.*

Index

Compiled by Sue Carlton

Abna al-Balad (Sons of the Land) 32
Abouhazera, Rabbi 179
Abu Awad, Riad 49, 50, 75, 79, 81
Abu Feiçal 58, 59
Abu Ghneim hill 108
Abu Gosh music festival 168
Abu Hilal, Ali 78, 79, 80
Abu Jamal 57, 71–2
Abu Jiab, Ghazi 68
Abu Moussa 71–2
Abu Shakra, Jane 109
Abu Shakra, Samir 109
Adiv, Udi 50–1, 52
Agazarian, Albert 62
Akiba, Rabbi 85
Akiba School 8, 11
Algeria 17, 48, 56
Aloni, Shulamit 163
Alsace
  Jewish community 7–8
  Judaism as state religion 9
Alternative Information Center (AIC) 50, 105, 110–14
  and assassination of Rabin 164–5
  charges against 124–6
  closed down by police 115–17
  crises 113
  and house demolition 195
  objectives 110–11
  and prisoner exchange 72, 73
  reopened 127
  shared values 112
  staff from Golan Heights 208–9
  technical assistance to Palestinian groups 113–14, 125
Amam, Ilal 56
Amara, Jean-Claude 196
Al-Amari camp 62, 78
Amir, Yigal 187
Amit, Daniel 60
ancestral lands 87
Ansar III prison camp 112
anti-globalization movement 193–4, 203
Anti-Matzpen Seminar 33
anti-Semitism 135, 153–6, 182
  and creation of Jewish State 154–5, 157
  and Zionism 154–8, 172
Anti-Terrorism Act 1950 115
anti-Zionism 26, 31–2, 37, 125, 192
  see also Jewish State, de-Zionization of; post-Zionism
apartheid 151–2
  see also separation
Appeal of the 121 48
Arab Jews 160–1, 163, 185
Arab nationalism 24, 38
Arab Studies Society (SAS) 106, 132
Arab–Israeli war 1967 17–19
  and Israeli unity 19, 29, 87, 173–5
  and shift to right 19–20
Arafat, Yasser ix, xiii, 58, 72, 91, 108, 109, 133
Argentina, Jewish emigration 155
Argov, Shlomo 92, 93
Aruri, Taissir 78, 80
Ashkenazi Jews 11, 14, 161–2, 170
Ashkenazi, Moti 88
Ashrawi, Hanan 49, 62–3, 65–6
Ashrawi, Zeina 63, 66
assimilation 7, 10, 154, 155, 161, 173, 211–12
el-Astrashe, Farid 14
Atlit prison 96
Austria, Jewish emigration 155
Avivim 90
Avnery, Rachel 178
Avnery, Uri 21, 28, 60, 145, 178
Ayash, Yihya 164

Baba, Abdel Hamid 78
Balas, Shimon 211
banishment *see* deportations/expulsions
Bar-Giora station 12
Bar-Lev Line 88
Barak, Aharon 35

Barak, Ehud x, xiii, 151, 165–6, 168, 174, 195, 198, 199
Barghouti, Marwan 80
Barnawi, Fatma 74
Bat Shalom 195
el-Batch, Ahmad 43
Bazak, Judge 122–3
Begin, Menachem 79, 89, 92, 93, 96, 163, 174, 175
Beilin, Yossi 160
Beit Mahsir 132
Beit Nuba 18
Beit-El 165, 174
Beit Sahour 97
Ben Ami, Shlomo 179
Ben Amotz, Dan 28
Ben Gurion, David 11, 21, 171, 175, 178, 192, 213
Ben Nathan, Asher 37
Ben Porat, Yeshayahu 28
Ben Zion, Yehoshua 70
Ben-Ari, Colonel Ahaz 76–7
Bensaïd, David 205, 206
Berger, Rabbi Elmer 37
Bertrand Russell Foundation 26
Bessarabia, Jews from 163
Bethlehem, University of 49, 62
Bir Zeit University 49, 60, 61–2
El-Bireh 73
Bitton, Charlie 178
Black Panthers 42–3
Blumenthal, Elhanan 159, 190
Bnei Brak 172, 179
Bober, Arie 37
Bolivia 36
border
  concept of xi, xvi–xviii, 3–5, 151
  and identity xvii, xviii, 212–14
  and law 3–4, 48, 124–5, 130
borders
  between Israelis and Arabs 205, 207–8, 210
  between Jews and non-Jews 8–9, 54
  border cities 7–16
  Golan community 208–9
  internal xii, xviii–xix, 9–10
  and interrogations 119–20
  and invasion of Lebanon 95
  and occupied territories 103–4, 126–7
  and solidarity 54–5
  and terrorist organizations 124–5
  see also closure; Other; separation
Bouissou-Mandouze, Jeanne 48
Boukhara 14
Bouqatha 209
Bové, José 193, 194, 196
Boyarin, Daniel 130, 178–9
Britain, anti-war movement 36
Brzezinski, Zbigniew 90
Burg, Avraham xi–xii, xiii
by-pass roads 193, 195–6

Camp David agreement 1978 92, 98
Camp David summit 2000 xiii, 109, 152, 166
Carter, Jimmy 90
children 197–8, 210
  of Matzpen members 45–6, 63, 66, 94
Chile, Jewish emigration 155
Christianity, conversion to 211
Civilian Mission for the Protection of the Palestinians 194
closed military zones 195
closure 150–2, 199–200, 206
  Wall of Separation ix–x, xv
coexistence/cooperation 4–5, 108, 109, 197, 207, 212
Cohen, Aaron 21–2
Cohen, Yehezkel 51
Cohn-Bendit, Danny 36
colonial mentality 53–4, 63–4
Committee for Action Against Settlements in Hebron 92
Committee Against the Iron Fist 80, 105–6, 107, 108, 109
Committee Against the War in Lebanon 93
Committee of Solidarity with Bir Zeit University 61–2, 92–3
Concordat 8–9
conversion 172–3, 211
curfew 90, 97
Curiel group 58, 59

Dahaniyé 76, 77
Damascus 14, 209

Damiri, Faez 62
Dankner, Amnon 143
Davar 22
Day of the Land 43, 59
Dayan, Moshe 19
Deheisheh camp 62, 71, 78
Demanjuk, Ivan 56
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) 26–7, 50–1, 69
demonstrations
  after Sabra and Shatila massacre 131
  against invasion of Lebanon 93
  against repression of Intifada 131
  by Palestinian activists 107, 108
  for release of prisoners 146
  and solidarity 127–8
deportations/expulsions 18, 74–81, 208
Diaspora 11, 12, 15, 35, 67, 156, 158
Dimona 164
Dreyfus Affair 154
Druckman, Haim 20
Druzes 208–9
Dutschke, Rudi 36

Efrata settlers 195–6
Egypt, attack on Israel 1973 87–8
Eitan, General Rafael 147
Eitan, Judge Dov 100
Eliashar 14
Emmaüs 18
Enough is enough! pamphlet 26
Enriquez, Miguel 38
Eshet, Guideon 128
ethnic cleansing 25, 30, 150
Europe
  attacks on Israeli targets in 56
  trips to 57–8
European Jews 166–7
Evron, Boaz 28

Fanoun, Mahmoud 79, 80
Faraj, Hamdi 62
Faraj, Jamal 78
Fatah 28, 43, 60, 74, 76, 80, 106, 146–7
fedayin 56, 69
Federation of Palestinian Students 124
Feld, Israel ('Sroulik-the-Red') 35
Feldman, Avigdor 76, 117, 123
Felix, Menahem 20
'Four Mothers' 203
Frankfurt 7
Free University of Berlin 37
fundamentalism xiii, 168–9, 186–8, 203
future
  apocalyptic vision of 200–2
  hope for 202–4
  third way 205–8, 209–10, 212–14

Gabaï 14
Galilee 59
Galilée des Pierres (Mangiante) 31
Galili, Lili 129
Gaspar, François (Abou Salem) 106
Gaza Strip 3, 20, 29, 105, 126, 146, 150
  see also occupied territories
Geneva Convention 74, 75, 76
Genossar, Yossi 118–19
German SDS 36
Gesher 113
Geula 14
Ghanem, Adnan Mansour 73, 75, 79
Ghazawi, Izzat 203
Al-Ghul, Omar 56
Givat Mordechai 14
Golan Heights 88, 92, 208–9
Goldman, Nahum 32
Gorbachev, Mikhail 155
Goren, Hagi 168
Gorky, Maxim 68
Gour, Colonel Mota 16
goyim 178
Granot, Elazar 133
Greater Israel 20, 21, 162, 163
Greenpeace 193
Greenwald, Malkiel 157–8
Grossman, David 198
Guilon, Carmi 116–17, 118–19
Guirouch 74
Gulf War 1991 150
Gush Emounim 173–4
Gush Shalom (Peace Bloc) 145–6

el ha-Maayan network 169
Haaretz 21, 129, 184

Habad-Lubavitcher Hasidic group 176
Habash, George 116
Habibi, Émile 24, 47
Hacohen, David 131–2
Hadashot 143
Haifa 11, 33
  oil refineries 24
Haifa Bay industrial center 25
Hakawati Theater 106
Halawa, Rassem 71
Halevi, Ilan 47, 49, 58, 59, 151
Hallel 170, 171
Hamami, Saïd 56
Al-Hamishmar 132
Hamshari, Mahmoud 56
Hanegbi, Haim 30, 79, 133, 145, 178
Hankin, Yehoshua 132
Har Homa settlement 108
Harel, Yehudith 203
Hashomer Hatzair 132, 172
Hawari, Mahmoud 31
Hazan, Naomi 151
Hebrew University 15, 25, 29–31, 60–1
  Student Parliament 29
Hebron 18, 20, 61, 92, 151
  Talmudic college 177
Hémou, Commissioner 33
Herut 98
Herzl, Theodor 155
Hezbollah 203
High School Students' Appeal 32
Hill of the Olive Tree 195–6
Histadrut 25, 131
Holocaust denial 161–2
Hotam 22
el-Husseini, Abdelkader 106
Husseini, Feisal (Abu el-Abed) 78, 106, 107–9, 127, 129, 130

Independence Day 170–1
Indymedia 203
International Committee of the Red Cross 72, 77
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 164
internationalism 24, 34–40, 112, 212
Internet 193
Intifada
  First 66, 78–9, 106–7, 126, 145, 196, 208
  repression of 103, 131
  Second 152
Iraqi Jews 162
Islam, conversion to 211
Israel
  contradictions xiv–xv, 51–2, 159, 168–9, 185, 189, 190
  crisis of motivation 189, 190
  death penalty 70
  democratization 192–3
  economic prosperity 19
  expansionism 20–1
  human rights violations 21–2
  mass movements for change 88–9
  military-industrial complex 19
  nuclear weapons program 211
  peace treaty with Egypt 92
  public opinion 106, 109, 152, 166
  schools 163
  shift to right 19–20, 164–6, 168, 172–5
  social and cultural divisions 166–9, 184–5
  turn to Orthodox Judaism 162, 173–80, 190
  withdrawal from occupied territories 87, 146, 148, 150, 192
  women pacifists 64–5, 98
  see also Jewish State
Israel Council for Israeli–Palestinian Peace 60
Israeli Army
  refusal to serve 3, 32, 95–7, 101–4, 202–3, 206
  religious recruits 159, 190
  role of 96–7, 99
  see also reservists
Israeli Communist Party (PCI) 21, 31–2, 70, 127
  expulsion of dissidents 24–5, 34, 35
Israeli Socialist Organization 25
Israelis
  and anti-Semitism 153–6, 182
  identity 210–13
  new generation 193–4, 203
  paranoia 198–9
  relations with Palestinians 62–7, 112, 136–7

understanding Palestinians 53–4, 136, 138
unified by Arab–Israeli war 19, 29, 87, 173–5
see also Jews; Orthodox Jews

Jaber, Salah 56
Jabotinsky, Zeev x
Al-Jadid 24
Jafari, Ali 71
Jaffa 21
Jawad, Hassan Abdel 62, 78, 79, 80
Jebel-el-Skeikh (Mount Hermon) 208
Jedda, Ali 73, 74
Jedda, Mahmoud 73, 109–10
Jenin 21
Jericho 20
Jerousi, Yaish 164
Jerusalem
as border city 11–16
and coexistence 109
diversity 14–15
and identity 15–16
prophecies about 85
rejection of Zionism 13–14
Jewish Agency 155
Jewish Defense League 184
Jewish National Fund 132
Jewish State xiii–xiv, 14, 17–18, 28, 133–4, 154
as anti-Semitic state 172
and borders xvii–xviii
de-Zionization of 25, 26, 49, 50
role of army 96–7
as secular state 184, 185, 189
as theocratic state 184, 185–6, 188, 189
Jewish–Arab network 51, 69
Jews
assimilation 7, 10, 154, 155, 161, 173, 211–12
emigration 154–5, 161
and periphery 8, 160–3
survivors of Nazi genocide 156, 170
see also Israelis; Orthodox Jews
Jibril, Ahmad 72, 75
Jordan, Palestinian activists 56
Jordan River, massacre at 26
Jordanian border 3, 12, 104
Judea, State of 184–5, 188
Judeocide
memorial 115, 162
role of Zionists 156–8
survivors of 156, 170

Kaddouri, Rabbi 179
Kahane, Rabbi Meir 184, 188
Kahn, Marcel Francis 196
Kaniouk, Yoram 184
Kastner, Rudolf 157–8
Keinan, Amos 28
Kfar Saba 42, 70
El-Khader 195
Khader, Naïm 56
Khatib, Samira 85
El-Kheiri, Bashir 78, 80
kibbutzim 11, 42, 160
Kibbutz Gan Shmuel 50–1
Kibbutz Kerem Shalom 76, 77
Kibbutz Negba 22, 23
Kibbutz Shaalvim 18
Kibbutz Shaar Ha'amakin 21–2
Kimmerling, Baruch xi
Kiryat Shmona 90
Klein, Menachem ix–x
Klingberg, Sylvia 56
Knaani, Abraham 21
Knesset Israel 14
Kol Haneshama synagogue 129–30
Kollek, Teddy 36
Kook, Rabbi Abraham Yitzhak 171, 172, 173, 177
Kook, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda 20
Kreisky, Bruno 155
Kronenbourg cemetery 17
Kubaa, Taissir 49
Kurdistan 14
Kuron, Jacek 35–6

Labadi, Majed 78
Labadi, Muhammad 78
Labor Party 11, 93, 105, 145, 151, 160, 163, 172, 174–5, 178, 192
labor-Zionism 20, 170, 174–5, 179
see also left Zionism
Ladino 14
Langer, Felicia 23, 46, 70–1
Laor, Yitzhak 93
Lapid, Tomi 143

Larnaca 80
Latroun, deportations 18, 26
law, as border 3–4, 48, 124–5, 130
Law of Jerusalem 92
lawyers, for Palestinian fighters 46
League Against Religious Coercion 172
Lebanese Communist Action Organization 56
Lebanon
  deportation to 77
  Israeli invasion of xvii, 92–3, 95–104, 105
  Israeli occupation 94
  Israeli withdrawal 203
  Palestinian activists 56
left Zionism xiii, 22, 61, 64, 132–9, 160, 162, 165, 175, 179
Leibowitz, Yeshayahou xii, 23
Levine, Judge 146–7
Likud Party 163, 168, 175, 202
Limoges 17
Lithuania 14, 163, 186
Lobel, Elie 56, 58, 59
Löwy, Michaël 35

Maalot 90, 91
Maariv xii, 94, 98
Machané Yehuda 14
Machover, Moshe 26, 30, 56, 58, 59
'Mad Women of Windsor' 98
Majdel Shams 208, 209
Malta summit 1985 155
Mandel, Ernest 36
Mandela, Nelson 57
Mandouze, André 48
Manifesto Against Repression 21–2
Mansour, Camille 147, 148
Mansour, Youssef 70
Mapai-State 22
Mapam 22, 28, 133
Maquis, French Jewish scouts 17
al Mara 113
Marc Hagenau Company 17
Marciano, Yakov 202–3
Marcos, sub-commandante xvii, 193
Markovitz, Sergeant 172
Matzpen 21, 22, 23, 25–33, 127, 129, 192
  analytical differences 50–5
  children of members 45–6, 63, 66, 94
  contact with Palestinian activists abroad 56, 58–67
  dialogue with Arab activists 38–9, 49–50, 56–67
  internationalist outlook 34–40, 112
  and invasion of Lebanon 92–3
  joint statements with Arabs 26–7
  meetings in Europe 57–60
  ostracism 43–7
  police interrogations 42–3
  and political activism 41–3
  and Yom Kippur War 87–8
Mea Shearim 14, 170, 172, 178
Meir, Golda 32, 88, 154, 170, 198
Melamed, Zalman 20
Mellahs 14, 158
Memmi, Albert 53, 63, 134, 136, 138
Mendel, Hersh 35
Meretz 127, 151, 174, 195
Merkaz Harav Talmudic Academy 171, 195
Messianic nationalism 20, 23, 173–4, 176, 180–1, 187, 188
Mghara, Ishak *see* Abu Jamal
Micah, Prophet 85
MIR, Chile 38
al-Mithaq 113–14
Mizrahi 171–2
Modzelewski, Karol 35–6
Moroccan Jews 162–3
Morocco 14, 57
Moskobiyé 42–3, 116
Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo 205
Moulin, Jean 121
Al-Mounadel 49
Movement for Greater Israel 20
Movement for Peace and Security 20–1
Mustafa, Hisham 56
mysticism 20, 186

Nablus 20, 21, 146–7
Nafha prison 71
Nahlaot 14
Naqba 31
Nassar, Dr Majed 200, 203
Nasser, Gamal Abdul 25, 32

National Religious Party (PNR) 166, 168, 171, 173, 176
national unity xiii, xviii, 87, 105, 106, 202
nationalism 21, 32, 36
  see also Messianic nationalism
Nazareth 21
Nazi occupation 17
Neeman, Jud 60
Negbi, Moshe xii
Netanyahu, Benjamin 108, 163, 165, 166, 184, 187, 188, 195
New Historians 112, 191, 192
New Sociologists 191–2
Nicola, Jabra 24
1948 War 31, 32
Nofal, Mamdouh 91
Nusseibé, Sari 109

occupation 18–19, 20–1, 90–1
occupied territories
  as administered territories 20–1
  closure 150–2
  demonstration in 146–7
  encirclement ix–x, xv, 150
  and Israeli withdrawal 87, 146, 148, 150
  political developments after Lebanese War 105–14
  resistance movement 60
  uprising *see* Intifada
Ofakim 164
Offenburg, Mario 56
Ofra 165, 174
Omer, Dan 26
Operation 'Peace in Galilee' 93, 94
Orient House 106
Oriental Jews 161, 162, 166–7
Orpaz, Yitzhak 21
Orr, Akiva 25, 30, 35
Orthodox Jews 158–9
  and exile 213
  fear of forced conversion 172–3
  and fundamentalism 168–9, 186–8, 203
  shift to right 173–81, 189–90
  and weakness 153, 156, 178–9
  and Zionism 154, 170–2, 174, 177, 179, 180, 181
  see also Jews
Oslo accords 109, 139, 145–52, 178, 195, 197, 212
  Declaration of Principles xv, 145, 146, 147–8, 163
  failure of x, xiii, 165, 199
  meaning of 143, 148
  and return of deportees 80
  and separation 148, 149, 150, 151–2, 199
Ost-Juden 9
Other xviii, 53–4, 64, 66, 192, 198, 213
  border and 3, 16, 112
The Other Front 127
Oz, Amos 21

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) 60, 90, 92, 110
  defeat in Lebanon 105
  recognition 138, 203
  representatives in Europe 56, 58
Palestinian Authority 66, 80, 108, 148
Palestinian organizations, as terrorist organizations 124–5
Palestinian state 139
Palestinians
  activists in refugee camps 56–67
  and compromise 197, 199
  deportations/expulsions 18, 74–81, 208
  and freedom of movement 150
  and independence 150, 152
  international support 87
  Israeli relations with 62–7, 112, 136–7
  meetings with Zionists 109
  and place names 65
  solidarity with 49–55, 62
  strategies after Lebanese War 105–14
  villages razed 18, 26, 32, 132–3, 195
Palmach shock troops 132
Park Canada 18
payes 181
peace, meaning of 143–4
peace movement 88–90, 93, 102–3, 105, 110, 131
  and Oslo accords 146, 148–9
  repression of 128
  see also Peace Now!; Yesh Gvul

Peace Now! 89–90, 102, 128, 129, 146, 195
and assassination of Rabin 164–5
and Oslo agreement 148–9
and war in Lebanon 92, 93
Peilim organization 172–3
Peled, General Matti 60, 93, 145–6, 147, 148, 178, 198
Peled-Elhanan, Nurit 198, 203–4, 209–10
Perelson, Inbal 211
Peres, Shimon 179
Péri, Yaakov 118–19
periphery 160–4
alliance with right-wing 160–3, 164, 167
Petah Tikva settlement 170
Pinto 14
place names, Palestinian 65
Plehve, V. von 155, 172
PLFP-CG 72
Poland, Jews from 14, 163
political prisoners 69–70
expulsion of 72, 73, 75, 76–80
hunger strike 71–2
legal representation 70–1
organization 71
release of 72–4, 76, 146, 149
see also prisons
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) 49, 56, 116, 128
contacts with Matzpen 58, 59, 62
prisoners 68, 72, 73
Porat, Hanan 20
porteurs de valises 3, 48
post-Zionism 192–4
Prague, 1968 uprising 36
prisons 68–74
conditions 71, 117–18
and development of leaders 68–9, 111–12
and Palestinian–Israeli contact 69–70
see also political prisoners
Protocols of the Elders of Zion 73
Psagot 151

el-Qassem, Omar 69–70, 72–3
Queimeri, Atta 68

Rabin, Léa 188, 190
Rabin, Yitzhak ix, 75, 105, 155, 160, 163, 195
assassination of 164–5, 186–7, 188–9, 195, 197
and Oslo agreement 145, 146, 147, 148, 149
Rachlevsky, Seffi 180–1, 204
Rafah 29, 80
Rajoub, Jibril 78, 79–80, 110
Rajoub, Younès 75, 79
Rakah (New Communist List) 22, 28, 31
Ramallah 21, 61, 151
Ramlé prison 123
Raz, Mossi 148–9, 165
reconciliation 108, 136, 149, 189, 203, 207
refugee camps
Palestinian activists 56
solidarity actions 62
refuseniks 3, 32, 95–7, 101–4, 202–3, 206
see also Yesh Gvul
Rehavia 14
repression 61, 90–1, 92
of Intifada 103, 131
of peace movement 128
reservists
in occupied territories 127
refusal to serve 3, 32, 95–7, 101–4, 202–3, 206
role of 100–1
see also Israeli Army
resistance 60, 205–6
Revolutionary Communist Youth, France 36
Rhine, river 8
Rosenblum, Doron 137
Rosenfeld, Yona 44
Russia, Jewish emigration 155

Sabra and Shatila massacre 57, 89, 106, 131
Sabras 35, 153, 155–6
Sadat, Anwar 89
Samara, Adel 49
Sarid, Yossef 134–5, 199
Sartawi, Issam 58–60
savonettes (bars of soap) 153, 156

Schlesinger, Rabbi 18
Schneitcher, Commissioner 115
Schprinzak, Ehud 37
Schwalb, Nathan 157
Sderot 164
secularism 181–3
Seeger, Pete 37
Segev, Tom 155–6
selthass (self-hatred) 54
separation ix–x, 148, 149, 150, 151–2, 199, 203–4, 206–7
  see also apartheid
Sephardic Jews 11, 161, 186
Serfaty, Abraham 56–7, 186
settlements
  dismantling of 29, 149, 151
  left-wing settlers 137–9
  policy 20, 21, 92, 165, 174, 195, 197
  settlers preparing to leave 147
Shabiba 76
Shahak, Israel 23
Shahid, Leila 57, 203
Shahin, Abdelaziz Ali (Abu Ali) 74, 75–8, 79, 80, 114
Shaliff, Ilan 22–3
Shamir, Yitzhak 163, 198
Sharon, Ariel xi, 19, 20, 85, 152, 165, 166, 195, 197, 198
  and invasion of Lebanon 92, 93
  provocation xiv
Sharshir, Bilal 78
Shass Party 160, 168, 178, 185, 186
Sheli Party 61
Shem-Tov, Schmoulik 32
Shem-Tov, Victor 32
Shem-Ur, Yonatan 97–100
Shemesh, Mr 143, 203
Shetrit, Shimon 181
Shin Beth 69, 116, 118, 123, 124, 125
Shinui Party 182
Shitrit, Meir 163
shmad 172
Shoah 17
Sholem, Gershom 66
Shoresh 132
Shtetls 7, 14, 158
Shueibeh, Azmi 79, 80
Simmel, Georg xvi, xix
Sinai Peninsula 85, 89
Sirhan, Sirhan Salaimeh 43
Slovakia 157
Sneh, Moshe 28
solidarity 54–5, 61–2, 99, 127–8, 129–30, 197
Soviet Jews, emigration 155, 161
Springer, Axel 36
State of Judea 184–5, 188
Steiner, George 212, 213
Strasbourg 7
  expulsion of Jews 9
  Jewish community 7–8
  and Jews from North Africa 10–11
Struthof-Natzwiller 17
Suez Canal 87, 88
suicide attacks 164
superstition 186
Syria
  attack on Israel 1973 87–8
  Palestinian activists 56
Syrians, of Golan Heights 208–9

Taba 152
Tal, Judge Zvi 5, 121, 124, 128–9
Talmud 85, 214
Talmudic schools 7, 14, 20, 171, 177
Tamari, Salim 49
al Taqadum 113, 124
Tarshiha 31
Taut, Yankel 24–5
Tel Aviv 11, 13, 15, 61, 90, 93, 132, 153
Temple in Jerusalem, rebuilding 20, 185–6, 188
terrorism xiv, 90–1, 115, 124–5
Tet offensive 36
textile industry 164
Thabet, Dr Thabet 203
Third Kingdom of Israel 185–6, 188
The Times 26
Tira 43, 70
Tixier-Vignancourt, Jean-Louis 153
Toamé, Khalil 30–1, 49, 56
Torah 184, 186, 188
torture 114, 117, 118, 122, 123
Transylvania 14
Trotsky, Leon 212
Trotskyism 34, 36, 56, 57, 66–7
Tsahal 19

Tsemel, Léa 43, 85, 179–80, 201
and arrest of Michel 115, 117
contact with Abu Ali 80
end of isolation 94
friendship with Ghazi Abu Jiab 68
friendship with Hanan Ashrawi 62–3, 65–6
and ostracism 44, 45, 46
and political prisoners 69–71, 72, 75, 76
Tsomet 147
Tuma, Émile 24
Tunisia, Arab activists 56

Umamiye 49
Union of Arab Students 30
Unit 101 20
United Nations 19
United States
'Bye-bye, PLO' statement 90, 94
financial support for Israel 19
and Palestine 90

Vanunu, Mordechai 211
Vered, Dan 51
Vidal, Dominique 191

Wall of Separation ix–x, xv
Warschawski, Dror 45, 100, 201
Warschawski, Max 130
Warschawski, Michel ('Mikado')
arrest of 116–17
choosing not to leave 201–2
conditional release 123, 127
imprisonment 117–18
interrogation 118–22
solidarity meeting 129–30
trial xvi, 101, 106–7, 121, 122, 124–30
trial verdict 128–30
TV documentary 176–7
Warschawski, Mireille 130
Warschawski, Nissan 45–6, 102
Warschawski, Talila 63, 66, 73, 94, 149, 201
Weismandel, Rabbi Michal Dov 156–7, 158
Weizman, Ezer 133–4
West Bank 3, 18, 20, 28, 61, 92, 105, 126, 150
see also occupied territories
Wexler, Marcello 95
Women in Black 198, 205–6
World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS) 133

Yaari, Meir 28
Yad Vashem memorial 115, 162
Yallu 18
Yediot Aharonot xii, 27, 28, 98
Yekoutieli, Ornan 129–30, 182
Yemen 14
Yemeni Jews, enforced adoptions 162
Yesh Gvul 3, 95–6, 102, 103, 122, 127, 202
Yirmiya, Lieutenant Colonel Dov 95
Yom Kippur, celebrating 170
Yom Kippur War 1973 19, 87–8
and movement for change 88–90
Yossef, Chief Rabbi Ovadia 178, 179
Yossef, Margalit 178

Zachariah, Prophet 85
Zeevi, Rehavam 64–5
Zion cinema, Jerusalem 74
Zionism xii, 13–14, 17, 24, 25, 131–2, 170, 213, 214
and anti-Semitism 154–8, 172
anti-Zionism 26, 31–2, 37, 125, 192
didactic method 137, 138
and idea of progress 185
and Orthodox Judaism 154, 170–2, 174, 179, 180, 181
post-Zionism 192–4
and separation x, 206–7
see also labor-Zionism; left Zionism
Zonenfeld, Rabbi 177
Zuker, David 51