

POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN ISRAEL

IRE215

SPRING 2019

Session 4



Maya Hadar

On The Agenda

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- **Jerusalem**
 - Jerusalem and Christianity, Islam and Judaism
 - The Capital Controversy

- **From Mandate to Statehood**
 - Arabs and Jews in Palestine
 - Jewish immigration to mandatory Palestine
 - The establishment of Israel and the Arab response

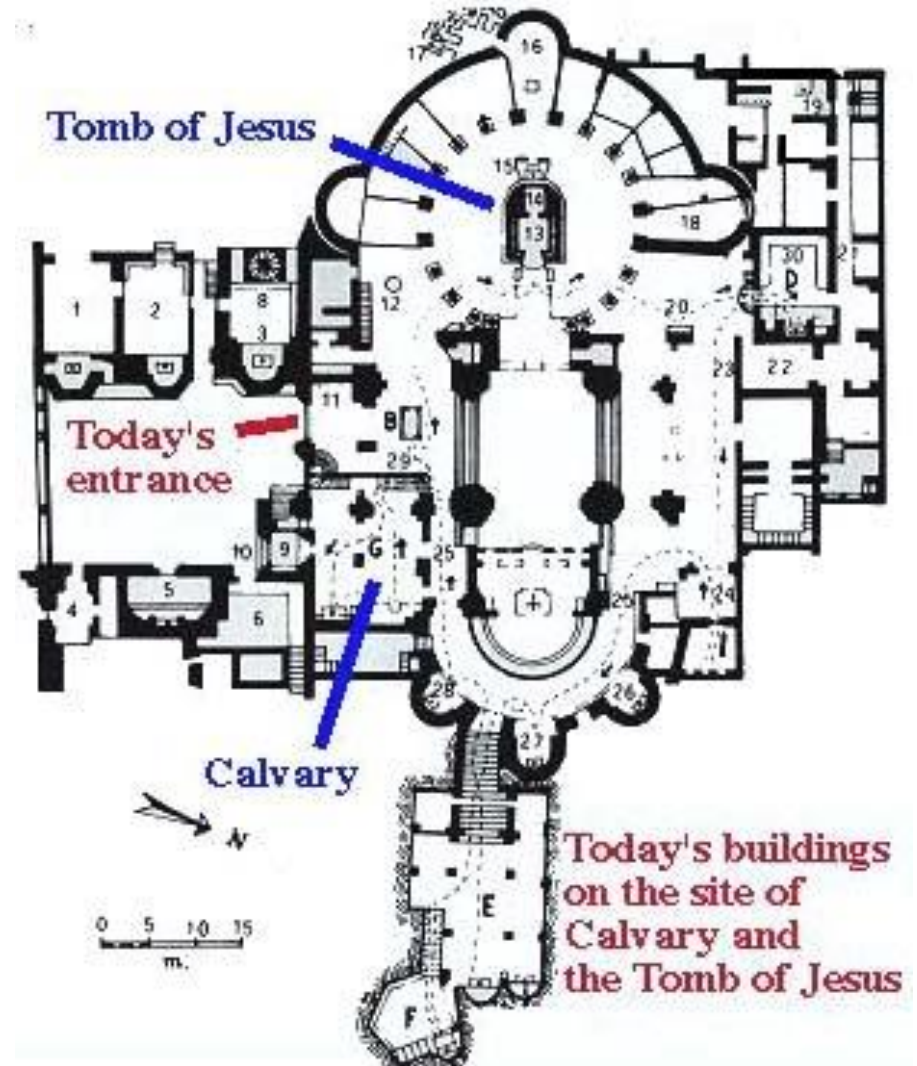
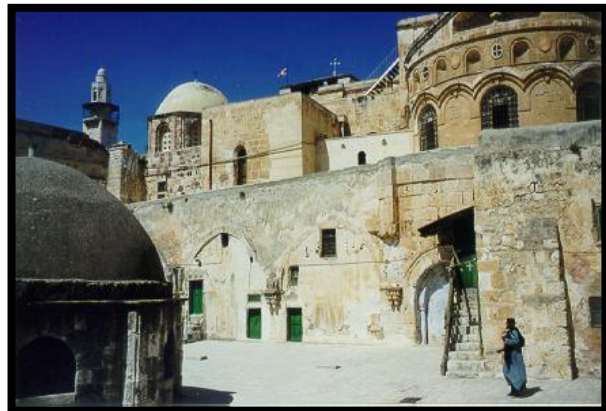
- **The Yishuv (pre-state Jewish Community in Palestine)**



Jerusalem and Christianity

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- Many sites in Jerusalem are considered **sacred by Christians** =>
 - Church of the Holy Sepulcher: Catholics believe it is built over the Golgotha/Calvary (place of Jesus' crucifixion) and Jesus' tomb





Jerusalem and Christianity

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Protestant location for Golgotha Golgotha/Calvary
(the hill on which Jesus was crucified)



Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem



Jerusalem and Christianity

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- The **Christian link** to Jerusalem is essentially a **religious** one
- Except for the short-lived **Crusader kingdom**, Jerusalem has not assumed **political** or **secular importance**
- During the six centuries of **Roman** and **Byzantine** rule, **Caesarea** (northern Israel) was the **capital**



The **Last Supper Room** in Mount Zion/ Cenacle, where Jesus had his last supper with his disciples on the night before his crucifixion



Jerusalem and Islam

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- The '**Dome of the Rock**' (Arabic *Qubbat al-Şakhrāh*) is a Muslim **shrine** built by the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān in **the late 7th century AD**
- The building is **not a mosque** and does not fit easily into other categories of Muslim religious structures
- It is commonly held that the Dome **commemorates the Mi' rāj**, the **Prophet Muhammad's** (founder of Islam) **ascension into heaven (Lailat-al-Miraj)**
- The **rock** over which the shrine was built is **sacred to both Muslims and Jews**



According to Muslim tradition, Muhammad was visited by two archangels who filled his heart with knowledge and faith. He then travelled from Mecca to Jerusalem 'furthest place of worship' on a winged creature (Buraq) and ascended to heaven



Jerusalem and Islam

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Dome of the rock



Rock where Muhammad stood when he was ascended



Jerusalem and Islam

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- During Muslim rule over the city, Jerusalem was **never** made the **political capital** of a **Muslim entity** or a **province** within the **Muslim empire**
- Under **Muslim Arab rule** (638 - 1099) by the Umayyad, the Abbasid and the Fatamid caliphs, Jerusalem was ruled from **Damascus**, **Baghdad** and **Cairo** respectively
 - In the 8th century, the city of **Ramia** was made the capital of the district which embraced Jerusalem
- During the period of Mamluk rule (1250- 1516), the Land was ruled from **Damascus**; in Ottoman times (1517 - 1917), from **Constantinople**

Jerusalem and Judaism

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- Jerusalem has stood at the center of the Jewish people's national and spiritual life since **King David** made it the capital of his kingdom in 1003 BC
- The city remained the capital of the **Davidic dynasty** for **400 years**, until the kingdom was **conquered** by the **Babylonians**



After the death of Saul and his sons, David was appointed king of Judah and began the Davidic dynasty that ruled the kingdom of Judah for about 400 years, until the destruction of the First Temple

Jerusalem and Judaism

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First Temple was destroyed by Babylonians in 586 BC

- Faith took form in the **first temple**, built in the **10th century BC** by King **Solomon** (according to the Hebrew Bible)
- **Temple I destroyed** by the Babylonians
- Following the **return from the Babylonian exile** in 538 BC, **Jerusalem** again served as the **capital** of the **Jewish people** for the next **five and a half centuries**

Jerusalem and Judaism

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- The first temple was rebuilt as the **second temple**, which was **destroyed** by **Romans** in 70 AD => The **Wailing Wall/the Western Wall** is all that was left, **holiest** site for Jewish prayer
- In the Jewish tradition, the **dome of the rock** was where **Abraham**, the progenitor and first patriarch of the Hebrew people, is said to have **prepared** to **sacrifice** his son **Isaac**



Jerusalem and Judaism

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- **Jerusalem** is part of the **Jewish prayer** (appearing in the **old testament**) => *“If I forget you Jerusalem, may my right hand lose its’ skill, May my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember Jerusalem, if I do not exalt Jerusalem above my chief joy”* Psalm 137
- For about 1,900 years, every **Passover Seder** ends with the words: *“L’shana Habaah b’Yirushalim”* => **“Next year in Jerusalem”**



Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, 1898



JERUSALEM

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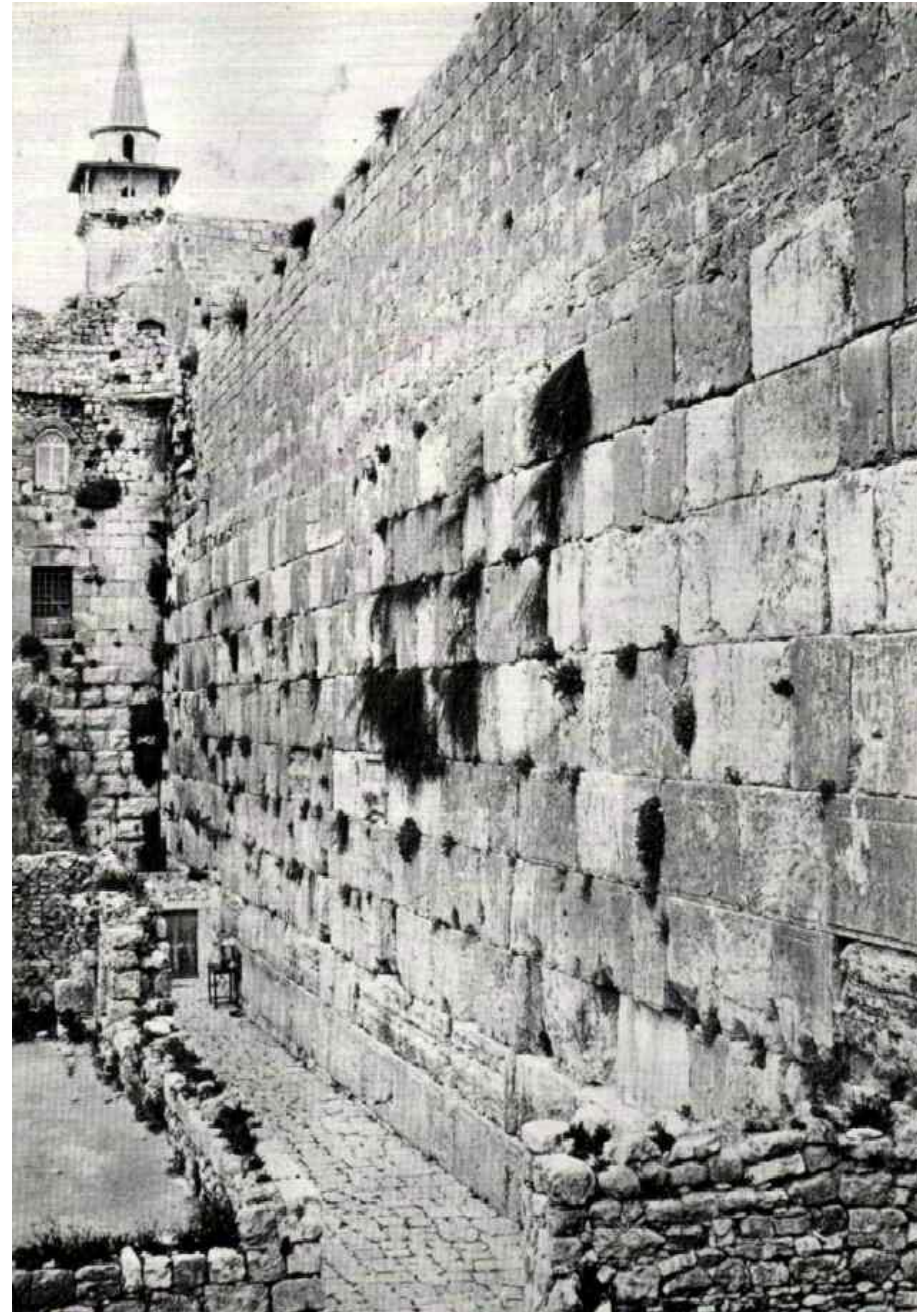
- Both the Dome and Al-Aqṣā Mosque are located on the **Temple Mount**, the site of Solomon's Temple and its successors, an area known to Muslims as **Al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf**

The Wailing Wall – foundation of the Jewish Temple

The Dome of the Rock



**Kotel HaMaravi
Western Wall
c. 1870**



c. 1898



Dome of the Rock, c. 1877

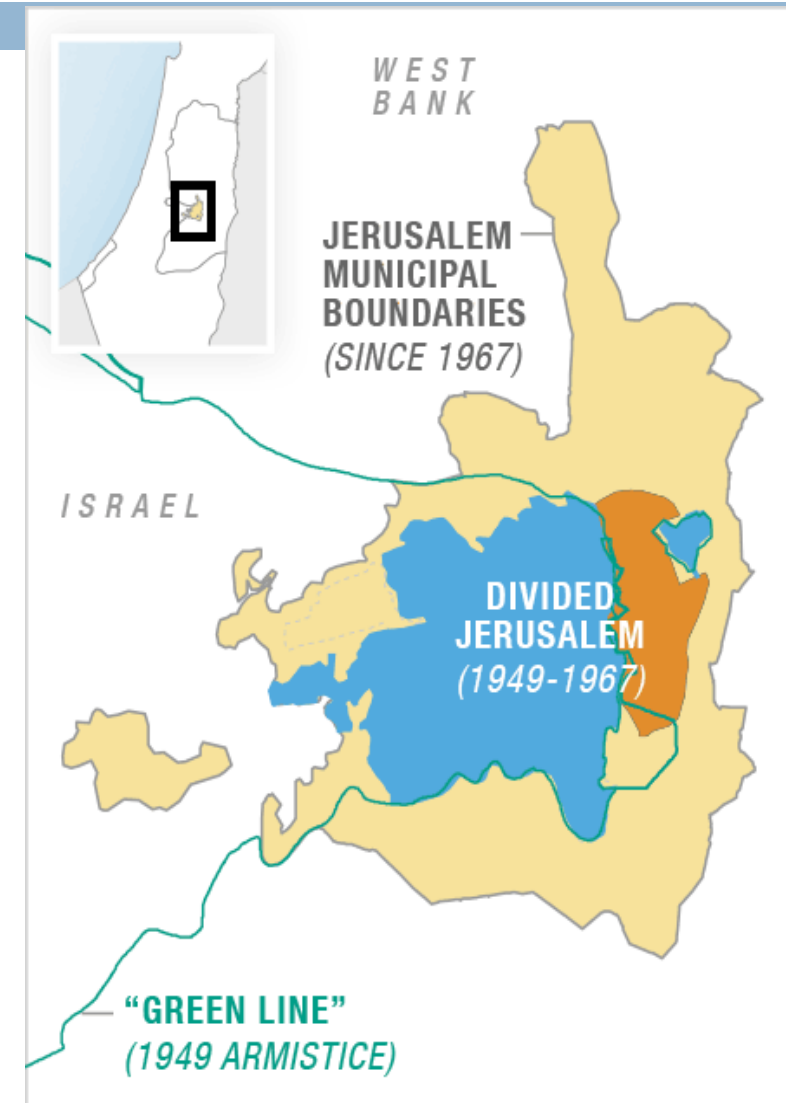


Jerusalem and Israel



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- **Under British rule (1922-1948)**, Jerusalem was the seat of the **High Commissioner** and most **administrative** offices of the Mandate + **central institutions** of the **Jewish community**
- **1947-** The United Nations **did not** include Jerusalem in Israel/Palestine, as part of the partition of the mandatory territory of Palestine
 - Jerusalem was set to be an **“open city”**
- **1948-49-** war, Israeli victory, transfer of **Israeli government** from Tel-Aviv to **Jerusalem**



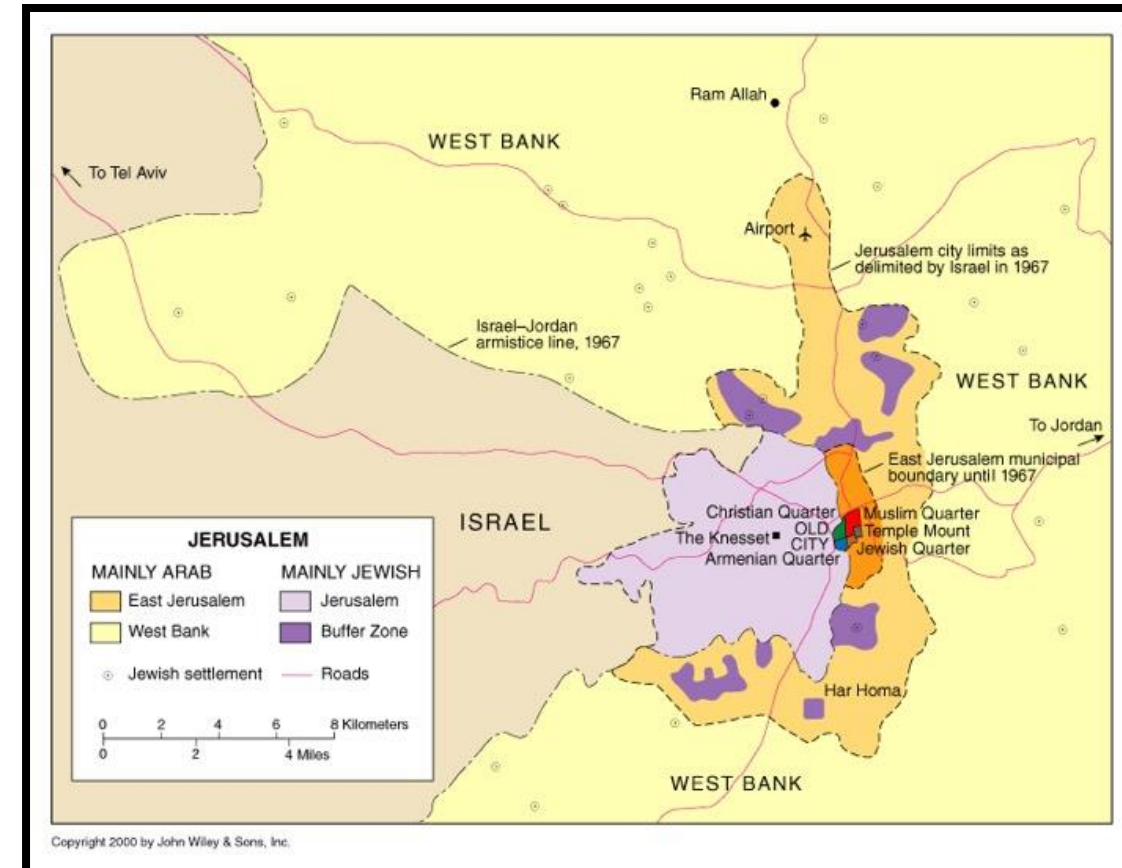
Source: Map data by Daniel Seidemann/Terrestrial Jerusalem. Labeling by NPR

Jerusalem and Israel



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- **1948-1967** => A city divided
 - **Eastern side** (including the Old City) was **annexed by Jordan**
 - **Western side** became **Israel's capital**
- **Palestinians** living in the **west** **abandoned** their homes and fled to the east
- **Jews** were **expelled from the Old City's Jewish quarter** and were barred from entering the Western Wall

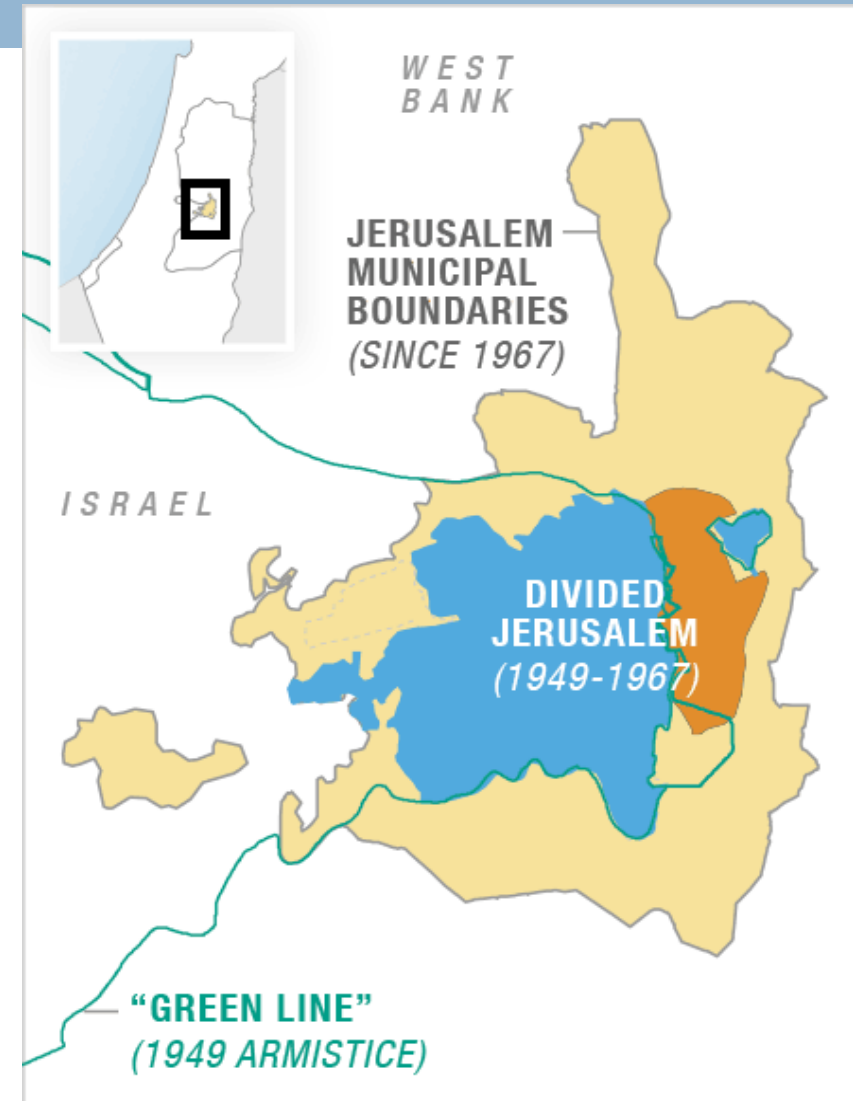


Jerusalem and Israel



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- The **Six Day War, 1967** => Israel defeated the combined armies of Egypt, Syria and Jordan, captured **East Jerusalem** (and other territories)
 - **Jerusalem** was **united under Israeli rule**
 - The **Old City** was **opened** to people of all faiths
 - The **eastern part** of the city was **reintegrated** into the **nation's capital (Israel)**



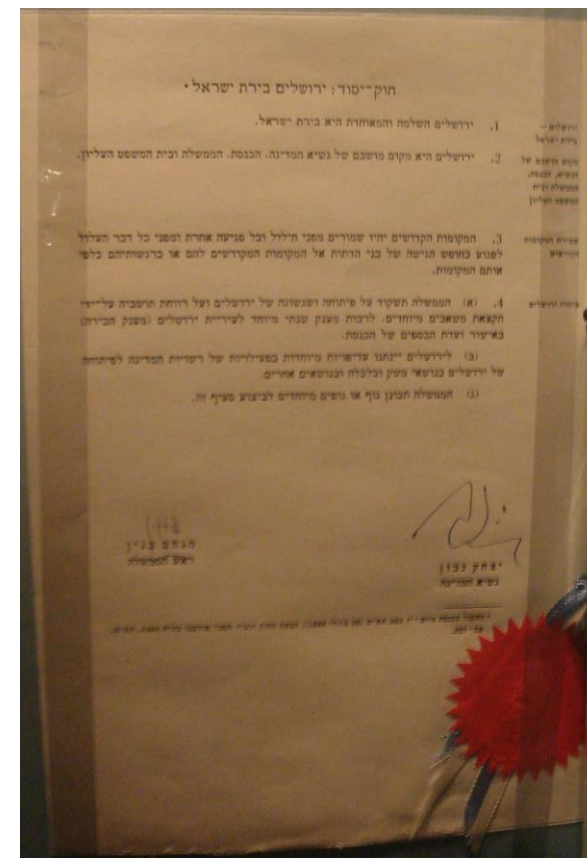
Source: Map data by Daniel Seidemann/Terrestrial Jerusalem. Labeling by NPR



Jerusalem and Israel

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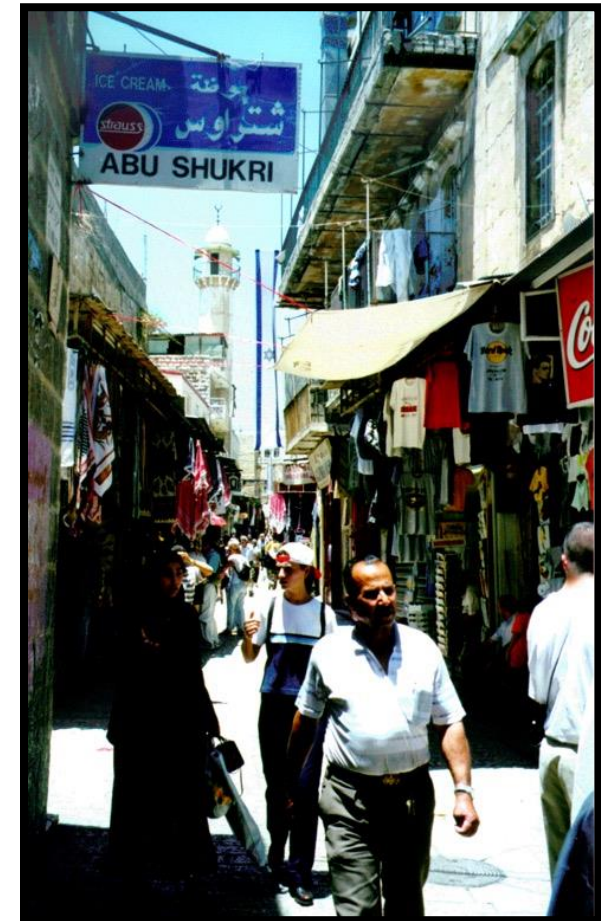
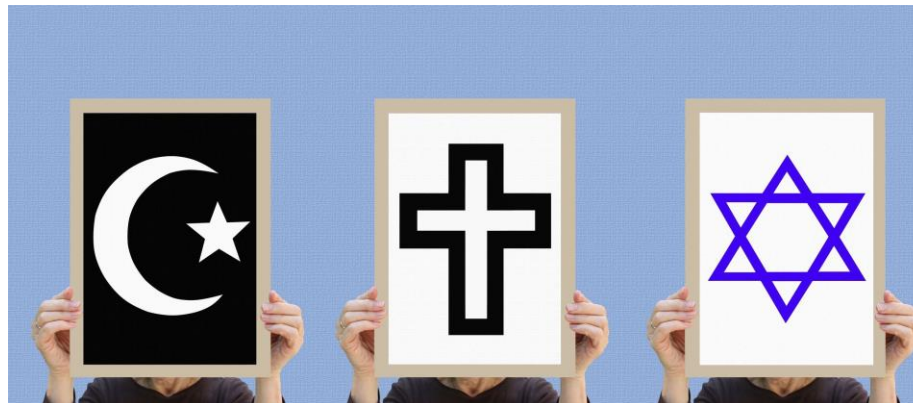
- July 1980 => the Knesset (Israeli parliament) passed **'Basic Law – Jerusalem'**, restated **Israel's rights and obligations concerning its capital:**
 - The Law affirmed that the **holy places of all religions shall be protected** from desecration
 - **Free access** to the holy places is **guaranteed**
 - The Government is to provide for the **development** and the **prosperity of the city** and the well-being of its inhabitants



JERUSALEM

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- Cultural Diversity



Capital Controversy

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- Jerusalem's **unresolved** status is one of the **core questions** at the heart of the Israel-Palestine conflict
- The **western part** of Jerusalem (mainly Jewish Israelis and Israel's government), **isn't really contested, likely to remain part of Israel** in future peace talks
- The **eastern part** (including key Jewish, Muslim and Christian holy sites), captured by Israel in 1967 and annexed, is **claimed by the Palestinian leadership**
- Many of the world's governments **do not recognize** the city as part of **either** Israel or Palestine

Capital Controversy

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- While **Israel's government** and **parliament** are based in **Jerusalem**, the nation's **economic and business centre** is in **Tel Aviv**
- **Tel Aviv** is also home to many **foreign embassies** including the UK's and, until May 2018, the US'
- *Practice for years:* Americans born in Jerusalem issuing passports in the embassy- place of birth is "Jerusalem" without mentioning a country
- **Dec 2017 => Trump** decides to **relocate the US embassy to Jerusalem**

Capital Controversy

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- The US acknowledges that **Jerusalem is Israel's capital**
 - Trump did set that the **actual borders** of the city are still subject to **negotiation**
- **UN General Assembly** held a rare **emergency session** at the request of **Arab** and **Muslim states** after Trump's decision heightened tensions in the ME
 - The **resolution** effectively **called on the US to withdraw its recognition of Jerusalem** as the capital of Israel and was backed by the overwhelming majority of members



Capital Controversy

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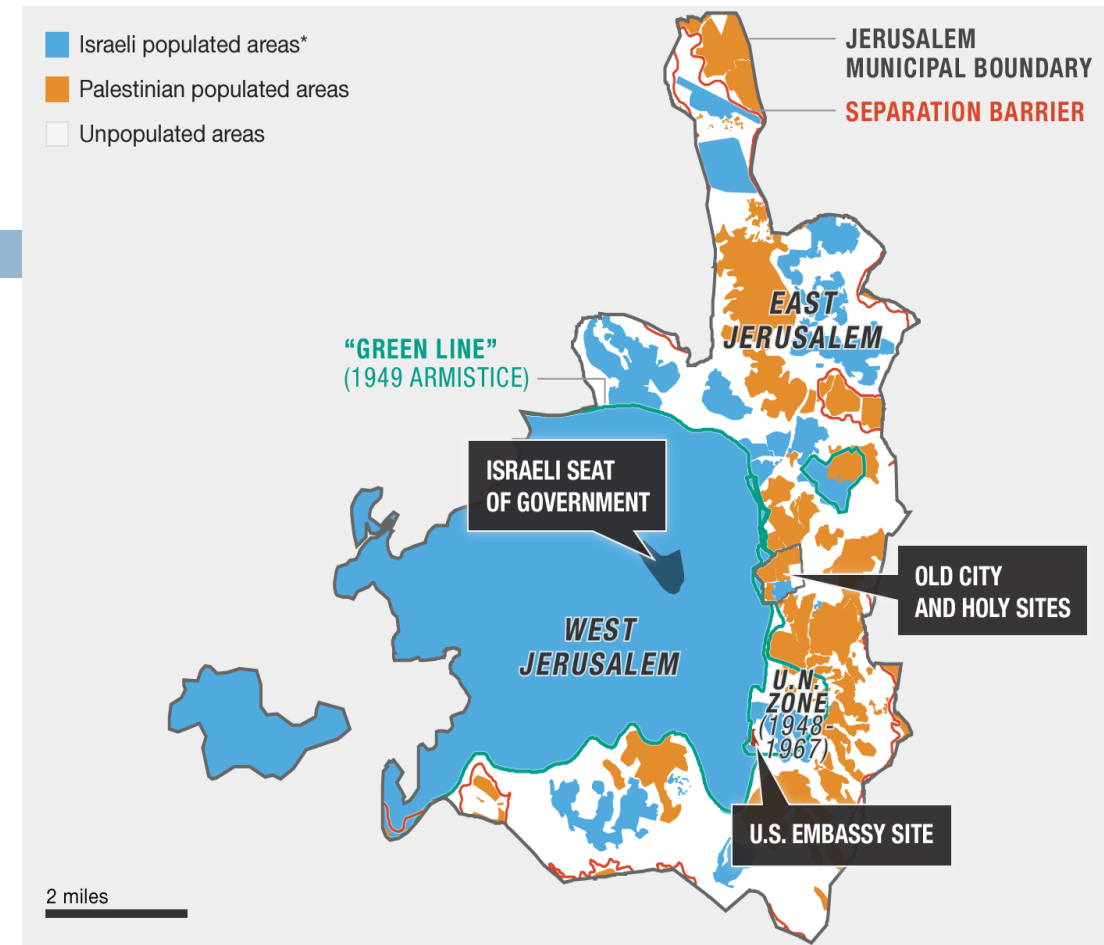
- Palestinian President **Mahmoud Abbas** **reaffirmed** that Jerusalem was the "*eternal capital of the State of Palestine*"
- Many **world leaders condemned** the move => fears it could spark further **bloodshed** + disrupt attempts to reach a **two-state solution**
- **May 2018** => US marked the **opening** of its **embassy** to Israel in **Jerusalem**



Capital Controversy

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- Physical terms: a **move** of the **ambassador** and **staff** from Tel Aviv to a large **consular building** (already exists)
- Political significance: after decades of **US policy** stating that the **status of Jerusalem** should be settled in **peace talks** between Israelis and Palestinians, the Trump administration signals that the city is Israel's capital



Source: Map data by Daniel Seidemann/[Terrestrial Jerusalem](#). Labeling by NPR

*** The Green Line separates the territory that Israel and Jordan controlled when an armistice was signed ending the (1948) Arab-Israeli war shortly after Israel's creation

Zionism

- A Jewish nationalist movement

GOALS:

- The creation and support of a **Jewish national state** in **Palestine**, the ancient homeland of the Jews => **spiritual** and **political** renewal of the Jewish people there
 - Sees it as an outgrowth of **natural right** and **historic fact**
- Freedom from **Western anti-Semitism**
- 1897: Theodore Herzl founded the World Zionist Organization (WZO)



Theodore Herzl
1860-1904

Biblical Zionism

- Recognizes the '**hand of God**' in fulfilling his covenant **promises** to his covenant people => **Return to "Zion"**

*"Hear the Word of the Lord O nations, proclaim it in the distant coastlines, He who scattered Israel will **gather them** and will watch over them like a shepherd"*
Jeremiah 31:10

*"And you will know that I am the Lord, when **I bring you into the Land of Israel, the Land which I swore to give to your forefathers**"* Ezekiel 20:42

Balfur Declaration of 1917



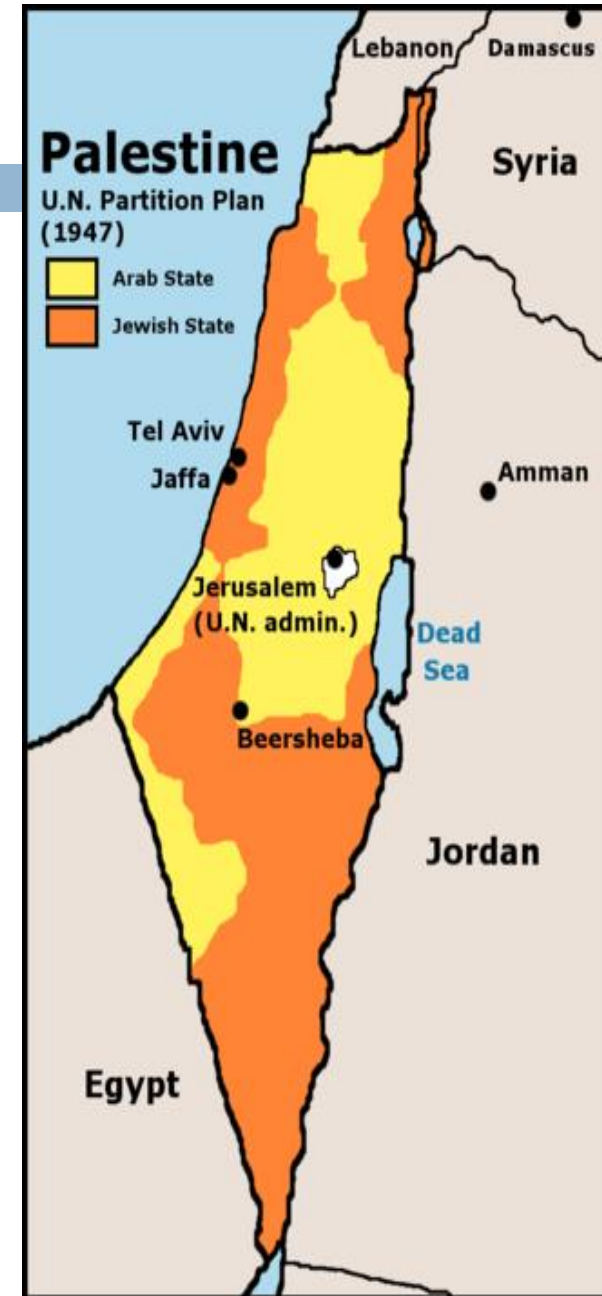
Sir Arthur James Balfour
Br. Foreign Secretary

*“His Majesty’s Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to **facilitate** the **achievement** of **this object**, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine...”*

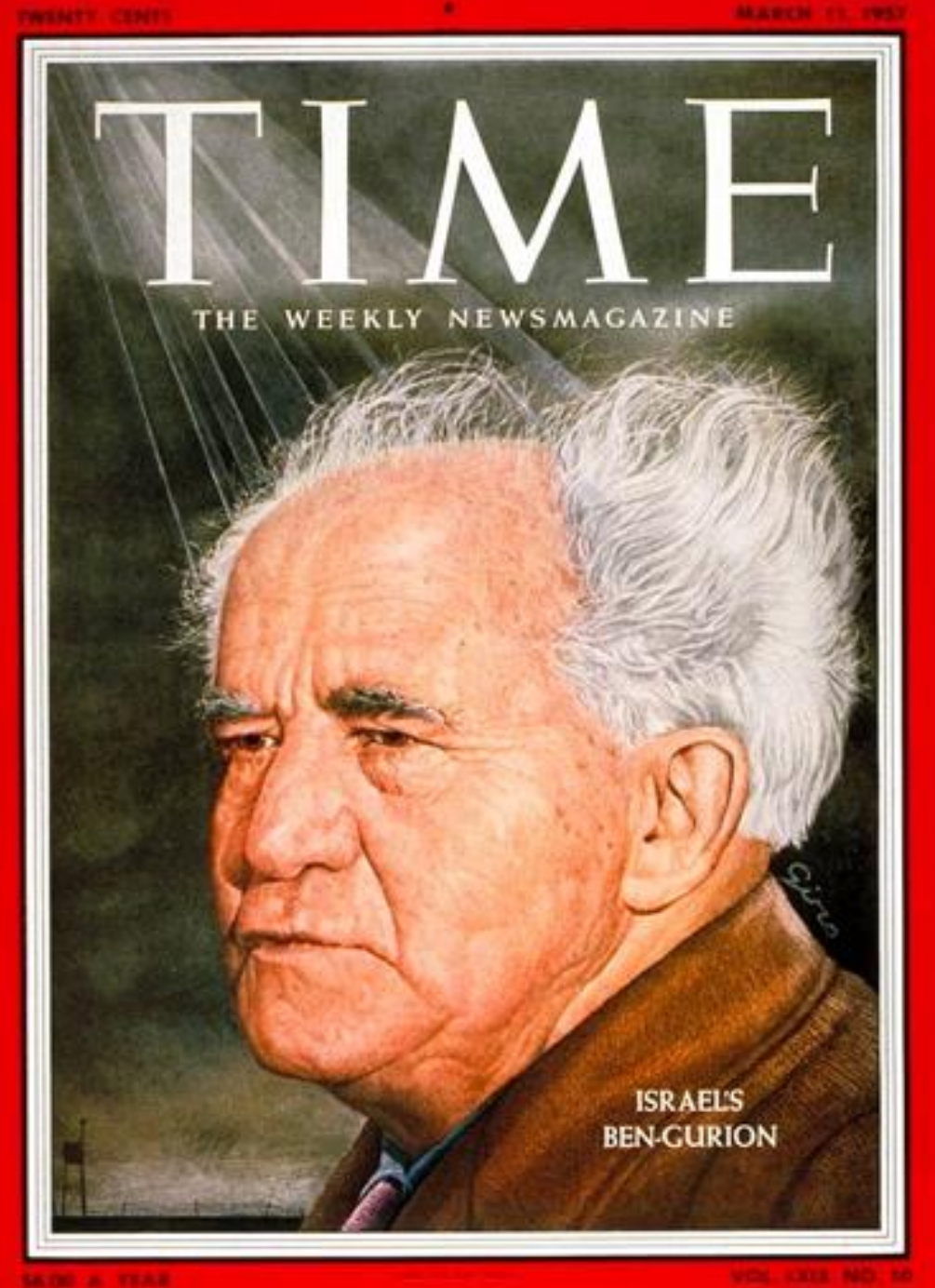
- Supported the creation of a **Jewish homeland**
- Led to **more Jews moving to Palestine**
- **Hatred and distrust** grew between **Arabs and Jews** under British control

The UN Partition Plan

- 1947 => **The U.N. Partition Plan**
 - **Palestine divided** between the Jews and the Arabs;
Jerusalem internationalized
- The **Jews accepted** the partition
- May 14th 1948 => **David Ben-Gurion** (first prime minister) **announced Israel's independence**
- May 15 => **the Brits leave**



Chaim **Weizmann**, first president of Israel with US president Harry **Truman**



Declaration of Independent

- “... we, members of the people's council, **representatives of the Jewish community of erez-israel and of the Zionist movement**, are here assembled on the day of the **termination of the British mandate** over erez-israel and, by virtue of our **natural and historic right** and on the strength of the resolution of the **United Nations general assembly**, hereby declare the establishment of a Jewish state in erez-Israel, to be known as the state of Israel “

Declaration of Independent

- “... The state of Israel will be **open for Jewish immigration** and for the **Ingathering of the Exiles**; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its **inhabitants**; it will be **based on freedom, justice and peace** as envisaged by the **prophets of Israel**; it will ensure **complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants** irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will **guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture**; it will **safeguard the Holy Places of all religions**; and it will be **faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations ...**”

The Arab/Israel War of 1948

“This will be a war of extermination and a massacre which will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades”

- Pasha, Leader of the Arab league



- The **Arab armies pushed deep** into Palestine, but **after 10 days**, the **Haganah** was able to **push them back**
- **Truce** declared June 11, 1948
- **Fighting resumed** and lasted until the January 1949 **Armistice**

Results of the 1948 War

- **More land under Israeli control** than UN Partition Plan proposed
- **Jordan captured the 'West Bank' and the eastern part of Jerusalem**
 - Jews forbidden to pray at the Western Wall
 - Jewish graves on Mt. Olives desecrated

1949 Armistice Lines following First Arab-Israeli War (1947-49)



First Years of Statehood

The Yishuv

- The **Jewish community** in mandatory Palestine **1922-1948**
- Grew from about **80k** to **650k**
- Labor/Revisionist/General **Zionism**

- Who were they?
- Where did they come from and why?
- What challenges did they have to face?

- **What made the Yishuv viable?**



Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

- **Four** organized immigration waves

The First Aliya (immigration wave)

- Followed **pogroms** (violent riots of **Jewish prosecution**) in **Russia** in 1881-1882
- Most of the **olim** (immigrants) came from **Eastern Europe**; some from **Yemen**
- **Most** were members of “**Hibbat Zion**” and “**Bilu**”, early **Zionist movements** which defined their goal as the **political, national, and spiritual** resurrection of the Jewish people in Palestine

BILU, A Jewish organization, an **acronym** based on a verse from Isaiah (2:5), "*Beit Ya'akov Lekhu Ve-nelkha/Let the house of Jacob go!*". The Bilu'im were influenced by Marx and the Bible and hoped to establish farming cooperatives in Palestine.

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The First Aliya (immigration wave)

- **Inexperienced idealists*****, most chose **agricultural** settlement as their way of life and founded 'moshavot' - **farmholders' villages**
- Settlers encountered **many difficulties** (inclement climate, disease, crippling Turkish taxation and Arab opposition)
- They **required economic assistance** => highly supported by Baron Edmond de **Rothschild**
- The **Yemenite olim**, most of whom settled in **Jerusalem**, were first employed as **construction workers** and later in the **citrus plantations** of the moshavot

***Jews were forbidden to own land in Russia, the country had almost **no Jewish farmers**

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

- Nearly **35k Jews** came to Palestine during the First Aliyah
- Almost **half** of them **left** within several years, about 15k established new rural settlements, and the rest moved to existing towns
- **Not** considered a success story =>
 - Many chose to **immigrate to the US** (higher wages, easier life) and not to Palestine
 - **Many left**

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Second Aliya (1905-1915)

- Followed **pogroms** in Russia and the increasing **anti-Semitism**
- **Had a profound impact on the complexion and development of modern Jewish settlement in Palestine**
- Most immigrants were **young people** inspired by **socialist ideals**
- Many models and components of the rural settlement enterprise came into being at this time => "national farms" where rural settlers were trained; the first **kibbutz** (1909); and **Ha-Shomer**, the first Jewish self-defense organization

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Second Aliya (1905-1915)

- Prominent leader: **David Ben Gurion**
- A Jewish neighborhood established as a suburb of Jaffa, developed into **Tel Aviv**, the **first modern all-Jewish city**
- The **Hebrew language** was revived as a spoken tongue, and Hebrew literature + newspapers were published
- **Political parties** + **workers' agricultural organizations** began to form => Led the "Yishuv" into statehood



Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Second Aliya (1905-1915)

- A total of about 40k Jews immigrated during this period, **nearly half left** (due to absorption difficulties and the absence of a stable economic base)

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Third Aliya (1919-1923)

- A continuation of the Second Aliyah which was interrupted by World War I
- Triggered by the October Revolution in Russia (the Bolshevik Revolution), the ensuing pogroms there + in Poland and Hungary, the British mandate in Palestine and the Balfour Declaration
- Most immigrants were **young halutzim (pioneers)** from Eastern Europe
- Although the British Mandatory regime imposed Aliyah quotas, the Yishuv numbered 90k by the end of this period

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Third Aliya (1919-1923)

- Built roads and towns + undertook major projects (draining of marshes)
- Founded:
 - The General Federation of Labor (Histadrut)
 - The Elected Assembly and the National Council: representative institutions for the Yishuv
 - The Haganah: the clandestine Jewish defense organization
- Agricultural settlement expanded, first industrial enterprises established
- Approximately 40k Jews arrived during that time, relatively few left

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Forth Aliya (1924-1927)

- A direct result of the economic crisis and anti-Jewish policies in Poland, along with the introduction of stiff immigration quotas by the United States
- Most immigrants belonged to the **middle class** and brought modest sums of **capital** with which they established small businesses and workshops => strengthened the towns, industrial development and reinstate Jewish labor in the villages
- 82k arrived, 23k left

Jewish immigration to Mandatory Palestine

The Fifth Aliya (1929-1939)

- Signal event => Nazi accession to power in Germany (1933)
- Increased immigration from **Germany** (professionals) and resumed immigration from **Eastern Europe** due to **persecution** and the Jews' **worsening situation**
- 1933-1936 => 174k, Jews settled in Palestine
- Towns flourished, new industrial enterprises were founded, construction of the Haifa port and the oil refineries was completed
- By 1940, nearly 250k Jews arrived (20k left) and the Yishuv's population reached 450k.

The Yishuv (Pre-state Jewish Community)

What made the Yishuv viable? => institutions

- The Yishuv was headed by a **two-winged system of national institutions**, based on independence and sovereignty of Jews in Palestine
- Fulfilled the dual role of **conducting day-to-day life in an autonomous setting** and constructing the **infrastructure** for an **independent Jewish state**
- **Umbrella => Zionist organizations**, recognized by the League of Nations and the Mandatory Power as the sole representative of the Jewish people in all matters relating to Palestine
- The most powerful and influential body in the Yishuv was the **Palestine Zionist Executive** and, as of the early 1930s, the **Jewish Agency Executive**

The Yishuv (Pre-state Jewish Community)

- The Yishuv functioned as a parliamentary democracy, formally having all three branches of government:
 1. The **parliament**: "National Assembly"
 2. The **executive** organ: "the National council/committee"
 3. The **judicial system**: "the Hebrew Court of Peace"
- Within a few years, the stature of the Hebrew legal system declined =>
 - Limited scope of jurisdiction (rabbinical courts: personal matters only)
 - Voluntary character, reliance of the Jews on the efficient Mandatory judicial system
 - Lack of coercive means for enforcement of decisions

The Yishuv (Pre-state Jewish Community)

- First elections to the **National Assembly**: April 1920, after resolving the issue of the women's right to vote
 - The Orthodox community and the "Mizrahi" (the religious Zionist party) **opposed the participation of women** in the elections
 - After deliberation, it was agreed that **only men** would cast their votes in the orthodox quarters, but each vote would **count as two**, to compensate for the women
 - Eventually the **religious Zionist parties complied** with the inclusion of women in the democratic process
 - The ultra-orthodox (who were not members of the Zionist Organization in the first place), quit the assembly and did not take part in its elections
 - Elections to the National Assembly should have been held every four years, but actually held in 1925, 1931 and 1944.

The Yishuv (Pre-state Jewish Community)

- The Mandatory government granted **the Zionist Organization** (and, from the early 1930s, the Jewish Agency) **partial authority** over matters that are customarily handled by the government in independent states (immigration, settlement, economic development and even some military issues)
- The **Yishuv institutions dealt with internal matters** (education, health, welfare). By definition, the Zionist organs had the upper hand in leading the Yishuv
- Weak Yishuv institutions (also) due to political factionalism => 20 lists competed for 28,765 potential voters (77% participation) => prevented the crystallization of a power center with strong public backing

The Yishuv (Pre-state Jewish Community)

- The Rabbinical Council, headed by two chief rabbis, one Sephardic and one Ashkenazi, was the religious organ of the Yishuv, officially recognized by the Mandatory power. There were local Rabbinical Councils in the all-Jewish cities and towns, and in those with a substantial Jewish population, as well as a network of Rabbinical courts with jurisdiction over matters of personal status – marriage, divorce and inheritance.

Next Session...

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- Nation-building; 1948-1967



Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions???