Index

Acton, Lord, 114, 166n44
Aliyev, Heydar, 186n49
America. See also United States
anti-Semitism, 83
Arabs and Muslims, 123
Civil War, 19
identity, 16, 26, 67, 84
influence on diaspora activity, 66–67
and Israel, 83–90
Jews in, 54–66, 72–76, 79–100
“Manifest Destiny,” 45
American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), 87, 92, 108, 122, 135, 180n109, 184n25
American Jewish Committee (AJC), 83
Americans for Peace Now, 111
Amichai, Yehuda, 82
Anderson, Benedict, 111, 130, 182n7, 185n33
Anti-Defamation League (ADL), 51, 83
Anti-Semitism, 61, 67, 71, 83, 92, 104, 134
and anti-Americanism, 93
Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 88–90, 111–20, 135
Arabs, 61, 70, 77, 78, 112, 134, 152
Arafat, Yasir, 49, 90, 91, 118, 120
Arian, Asher, 70, 173n6, 175n37, 177n50, 178n66
Armenian Democratic Liberal Party (ADL-Ramgarais), 51
Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), 51, 148, 184n21
Armenian State, 19, 128, 132–33, 156–57, 161–62
genocide, 14, 116, 120–22, 133, 145–50
“Greater Armenia,” 52
Assimilation/assimilationist, 14–20, 22, 67, 72, 78, 85, 88, 94, 104, 174n16
Astourian, Stephen H., 184n21
Asylum Seekers, 21
Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 14
Australia, 59
Authoritarianism, 45
Authoritarian regime, 12, 17–18, 22–26, 44–52, 112, 128
Ayalon, Daniel, 96
Azerbaijan, 14, 116–22, 147–50, 163n10, 163n21, 171n42, 186n49
Section (907), 116
Ba’athism, 17, 25
Bakshi-Doron (Chief Rabbi), 80
Balkan, 12, 166n40
nationalism, 27
Baltic States (post-Soviet policies), 12, 166n40
Barak, Ehud, 60, 70, 78, 82, 88, 90–91, 106, 111, 180n96
Barnea, Nahum, 93–94
Beledian, Krikor, 120
Beloff, Lord, 56
Ben-Gurion, David, 84, 93, 141
Berkowitz, Peter, 77
Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), 39, 164n24
Blaustein, Jacob, 84
Bloom, William, 137
Bonds
Indian, 39
Israel, 56
Bosnia, 124
Boulding, Kenneth (on conflict-resolution), 186n46
“Brain drain” vs. “brain gain” (Kapur), 38
Brandeis, Louis D., 99
Britian’s “white man’s burden,” 45, 134
Buber, Martin (“vocation of uniqueness”), 46, 133, 170n33
Bundists, 94
Bush, George H. W., 87, 123
Byman, Dan, 110, 184n29, 185n44

Capitalism, 38, 40, 77
Catholics, 67
Caucasus, 118
Ceaușescu, Nicolae (Romania), 54
Checked, Jeffrey, 62, 173n73
Chinese Christians, 67
Carrick, Jacques, 186n49
Cicero, 31
Citizenship, 11, 14, 19–21, 32, 38, 58, 65, 127, 140, 156–57
Civil Disobedience, 66, 114
rabbinic impetus for, 181n119
Civil society (and state and political society), 49, 52–54, 142
Cold War, 2, 88
Collier, Paul, 115
Colombia, 37
Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), 162
Conflict resolution, four types of, 182n1
Counter theoretical concepts, 9

Cyprus, 117
Czechoslovakia, 22, 162n1

Dahl, Robert (polyarchy), 45
Dalai Lama, 26
Dan, Joseph, 74, 176n47
Davidic Kingdom, 1
DeConde, Alexander, 165n31, 179n75

Democracies, 5, 20–22, 26, 71, 75, 78, 86–88
liberal regimes, 113, 117, 123, 128, 143–48
Dershowitz, Alan, on the “Jewish Question,” 174n16

Albanian, 170n36
Armenian, 7, 14, 26, 51–52, 102, 110, 133, 143–52, 171n42, 184n21
bonds, 39
Chinese (kinship ties and economic growth), 38, 40
Croatian, 20, 27, 50
Cuban, 45, 127, 165n30, 182n1
disloyalty, 134
“domestic politics,” new meaning of, 7
Eritrean, 39, 164n22, 168n17, 184n27
fighting for the homeland, 110, 114, 170n36
financial flows, 5–6, 31–63; identity motivated, 47
formation of, 5–13, 18, 27
funding armed conflict, 111, 115, 170n34, 182n3, 184n27
galut (exile), 74; vs. tfutzot (diaspora), 82
Hellenic and Roman, 31
Indian, 38–39, 44, 117, 170, 186
Irish, 36, 67, 115–16, 124
irredentism (definition), 14; vs. far-removed, 166n39, 188n14
Jews, and withdrawal from Gaza, 65–66
“kidnapped victims,” 101
as lobby, 27, 32, 54, 84, 85, 109–11, 115–23, 128, 132, 149–50, 171n42, 179n75, 185n34, 188n20
militants, 116, 142–45
mobilization of, 20, 27, 44, 51, 83, 109–10, 120, 130, 146–47
moderates, 90
Muslim, 49; adaptation of, 165n39 and nation-state, 34–35
organizations, 47–53, 87, 90, 108, 147–48
Palestinian, 170n34
passive vs. active actors, 130–33
“Peace spoilers” vs. “peace harbingers,” 114–20
philanthropy, 55–56, 60, 72, 76, 80, 83
Polish, 36–37, 40
and religion, 65–69
Russia, and “near abroad,” 131, 188n14
and secession, 9
and security, 67–69, 90–95, 105–9
Sikh, 44
Slovak, 12, 22
Tamil, 110, 183
as “third-level” players, 102
Tibetan, 26
types of support for homeland, 109–11
Dominican Republic, 37–38
Doty, Roxanne, 137
Dual loyalties, 22
Dufoix, Stephane, 188n10

Egon, Mayer, Jewish Identity Survey (2001), 72
Eichmann trial, 85
Eisenhower administration, 84
and Suez Campaign, 141
Ellenson, David, 66
El Salvador, 37
Eritrea, 17, 39, 124. See also diaspora, Eritrean
Esman, Milton, 130
Ethiopia, 17, 39, 54, 131. See also diaspora, Eritrean
war with Eritrea, 164n22
Ethnic groups/ethnicity, 10–31, 44, 53, 67, 73, 83, 86, 101–38, 146, 177n53, 186n49. See also diaspora and kinship
Ethnofocal vs. ideofocal, definition, 5
Etzel (Irgun Zva’I leumi), 50
Evangelista, Matthew, 139, 187
Evangelists (Christian Right), 98
and support for Israel, 181n23
Exiles and political exiles, 12, 13, 15–16, 19, 45, 54, 83, 102, 115, 142, 145, 163n14, 182n1
Exilic, 13, 15, 74, 83

Federalist Papers, 3
Fenianism (Irish), 36
Filipinos, 12, 14, 16
Financial flows, 31–63
Fisher, Joschka, 132
Forward, The (weekly periodical), 93
Foxman, Abraham (ADL), 111
France, 20, 25, 116, 145–46
and diasporic influences, 188–89n21
mission civilisatrice, 45
Fredrick William III (Prussia), 3
Friedman, Thomas, 58

Gaulle, Charles de, on Quebec, 25
Germany, 21
and diasporic influences, 188–89n20
foreign influence, 45
East and West, 15
relations with Israel and Jews, 131–32
as “reluctant land of immigration,” 21
Turks in, 16
War of Liberation, 3
Gilpin, Robert, 2
Gitelman, Zvi, 119, 162, 186n53
Global Indian Family conference, 38
Globalization, 32–37, 49, 63, 77
Goldman, Nahum (World Jewish Congress), 141
Gore, Al, 73
Greece, 14, 36, 163n11
Grosby, Steven, 1
Grossman, David, 82
Gruen, Erich, 31–32
Gutnik, Yosef, 59

Ha’aretz, 59, 111, 155
Halacha (halachic), 74, 76, 79, 89, 174n10, 176n48. See also Jews
Haluz, Dan, 96
Hammer Zvulun, 78
Harmony
of diffuse ethnicities, 23–24
of discrete ethnicities, 23–24
of diversity, 23–24
Hazony, Yoram, 78
“Hebrew Humanism,” 4, 46
Herberg, Will, 73
Herzberg, Arthur, Mamlactiyut (Statism), 76
Hindus, 17, 39, 44, 67, 97, 164n24
Hindutva, 97
Hirsch, Richard (Rabbi), 76
Hoenlein, Malcolm, 91, 106
Holocaust, 14, 73, 75, 80, 83, 85, 103, 133
Swiss accounts of, 135
Holsti, Kalevi, 33
Homelands, 1–14, 32, 38–39, 45, 65, 69, 84, 105–53
Hovannistan, Raffi, 148
Hungarian minority, 22
Huntington, Samuel, 132
and “clash of civilizations,” 128
and kin-country loyalties, 166n47
Hussein, Saddam, 115
Hybridization, 16
Hyphenated Americans, 31

Identity, creation and re-creation of, 9.
See also nationalism
IEIS. See Intraethnic interstate flows
Ideofocal nationalism, 10–28, 44–47, 164n23, 165n28
vs. civic identity, 169–70n27

India, 17, 23, 25, 37–39, 44
secular nationalism, 17, 24
Indigenous population, 6, 12–26
Indonesia, 12, 38
“Inside the state” vs. “inside the people,” 7
Intraethnic interstate (flows) (IEIS), 35–36, 40–42, 44–45, 47–49, 51, 53, 167n7
Intifada (first and second al-Aqsa), 57, 61, 70, 87, 93–96
IR theory, 127–41
and constructivism, 7, 62–63, 128–39, 144
and kinship ties, 4–5
and liberalism, 58, 83, 90, 129, 136, 139
and realism, 4, 33, 150
Iran/Iranian, 12, 13, 27, 50, 78, 125, 127, 131, 142
Iraq, 12, 15, 17, 113, 114, 122, 142
Ireland, 36, 67, 83, 115
Good Friday Agreement, 124
Irish Republican Army (IRA), 115–16, 138
Irredentism, 5, 9, 13, 14, 16, 102
in Mexico, 166n39
Islam/Islamic, 49, 50, 89, 116, 123, 170n34
Israel
Arabs in, 138
“buying Jews,” 54
“civil religion,” 176n38
Defense Force (IDF), 96
Duality of identity, 165n28
Hagana (pre-state major Jewish underground), 50–51
and High Court, 80
identity (Kulturkampf), 6, 53–62, 65, 70, 76–91; impact on Jews abroad, 35
Knesset, 56, 58, 79, 94, 105, 158
Labor Party, 112
Law of Return, 76, 81, 138, 155
Likud Party, 86
migrants into, 16
Mizrahim (Oriental Jews), 76–77, 80; vs. Ashkenazi Jews, 78–79
Index

post-Soviet Jews (Russian migrants), 90
reliance on diaspora money, 35, 53–62
and responsibility for Jews, 155–59
secular vs. religious, 176n42
Shas Party, 78
Shinui Party, 79
Six Day War (1967), 75, 77, 85–86, 151
South Africa, 140, 90n51
Suez Campaign (1956), 141
“state of all its citizens” vs. “Jewish state,” 62
Temple Mount controversy, 106–7
and the UN, 86; Conference on racism in Durban, 92
on diaspora as strategic asset, 103–4
visits as litmus test of Jewish loyalty, 92
War of Independence (support of American Jews), 55–56
War in Lebanon (1982), 57
“Who Is a Jew” controversy, 81–90
Yom Kippur War (1973), 86
Israel Policy Forum (IPF), 111
“Israeliness” vs. “Jewishness,” 70
Italy, 36
Japan, 46, 168
Jay, John (Federalist Papers), 3
Jerusalem, 31, 70, 76, 91, 106–13, 116
Jewish Agency for Israel, 91
Jewish Americans, 56–63, 83–100, 122
and foreign affairs, 67, 84–94;
impact on Israeli identity, 69–76, 78–81
Jewish diaspora
in Hellenic and Roman period, 31–32
as paradigmatic case, 161n1
Jewish identity, 67–70
and Holocaust, 73
Jewish politics
Am levadad yishkan, 103
and campaign for Soviet Jews, 21, 86, 133
and Israel’s primacy, 94–95
and Jerusalem, 91–92
and kinship ties, 2, 91
Gaza withdrawal, 65–66
geula (redemption), 75
la’goyim vs. am nivchar, 76
“Jewish question,” 94, 131, 174n16
“Jewish secularism,” 72
Jewish security, 61, 67, 191n5; and Law of Israel, 155–59
Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 80
Jewishness, 54, 57, 67, 89, 158, 180–81n110
Jews
in Britain, 134
Conservative Movement (Masorti), 58–60, 69, 76, 79–85
German, 131–32
haredim, 77–78, 90, 173n6, 176n42
Hasidic, 81
Homeland, 69
kinship, 2
Orthodox, 59–65, 68, 71, 73–75, 80–90, 94–114; American, 90;
Zionists, 74–75
Mediterranean, 31
Messianic, 74, 75, 79
in postwar Germany, 131–32
Prussian, 3
Reform Movement (Progressive), 45, 58, 59, 66, 69, 70–71, 89, 92, 94, 98, 109, 111, 114, 155
Soviet, 2
Josephus, 31
Judeo-Christian, 98
Jus soli vs. jus sanguinis (citizenship), 20–21
Kapur Devesh, 38
Kashmiris, 24–25
Katsav, Moshe, 70, 173n4
Katzenstein, Peter, 103, 137–38
Kedourie, Eli, 43
Kenya, 142
Khalistan, 183n16
King, Charles, 162n9, 173n1
Kinship (peoplehood)
in biblical times, 1–3
in conflict, 105–18
and financial flows, 53–62
Kinship (peoplehood) (continued)
and homeland, 5
and IR scholarship, 4
Jewish, 110, 113
and loyalties, 2–13, 25, 28, 32–33, 39, 63, 84, 92, 104, 116, 141, 143
and responsibility and the law, 155–59
and the State, 4, 127
in the U.S., 3
Knopf, Jeffrey, 105
Kocharian, Robert, 149–52
Kohl, Helmut, 21
Kohn, Hans, 46
Korea, 45, 163n15
North and South, 15
Korean Christians, 67
Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), 110, 170n36
Krasner, Steven, 45
Kurds, 10, 12, 14–15, 22

Lamm, Norman, 89
Land of Israel (Eretz Israel), 74
Lapid, Yosef, 138
Latvia, 166n40
Law of return, 76, 81, 155. See also Israel
Lebanon, 57, 131
Legitimacy, 13, 29, 55, 59, 80–84, 148, 151
Lerner, Michael (Rabbi), 114
Levitt, Peggy, 38
Levy, Daniel, 73
Liberalism, 7, 58, 83, 90, 129, 136, 139, 151
Lieberman, Joseph, 73
Liebman, Charles, 71
Lijphart, Arend, 22
Lind, Michael, 16, 163n18, 167n53
Linz, Juan, 43, 161, 167n57
Little Italy, 36
Lubavitcher (Rebbe), 81, 178n64
Luchins, David (Rabbi), 112

Malaysia (Sabah state), 16, 38
Maya Catholics, 67
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 46
Meir, Golda, 50–51, 56
Melchior, Michael (Rabbi), 82
Mendelsohn, Ezra, 83, 94
Mengistu, Haile Marian, 17
Meridor, Sallai, 93
Merom, Gil, 46
Michael, Franz, 26
Migration, forced vs. voluntary, 12–13, 16, 21, 41, 55, 127, 148, 153
Mill, John Stuart, 41
Milliet system, 164n23
Milner, Helen, 140
Milosovic, Slobodan, 27
Moldova, 14, 26, 162n9
Moskowitz, Irving, 59
Multiculturalism, 12, 25, 119, 128, 176n47
Multiethnic societies, 11, 17, 21, 43–44, 89
Muslims, 61, 74, 92. See also diaspora, Muslim anti-Muslim sentiment, 97

Nagorno-Karabakh (NK), 10, 14, 51–52, 120–22, 144, 186n49
Nation
components of, 42–47
organic vs. voluntary, 169n25
Nation-state, paradox of, 9–29
National identity, 162n8, 165n28
Armenian, 191
British, 45
and “chosen trauma,” 186n47
components of, 61
French, 45
German, 45
Indian, 164n24
monoethnic, 13
and “national interest,” 103
Nationalism
civic vs. ideofocal, 11, 169n27
civic vs. organic, 44, 162n8
ethnofocal vs. ideofocal, 10
genealogy of, 10–13
liberal vs. communitarian, 44
modern, 1–3
narratives of, 55, 76, 98; memory, 103–4, 137
“objectivist” vs. “subjectivist” per-
ception of, 43
scientific inquiry of, 168–69n22
types of, 10–13
of USSR, 163n21
Nation state vs. State nation (Linz), 43
birth vs. maturation, 10
Nazi Germany, 13, 22, 27, 93
Nazism, Volksgemeinschaft, 3
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 24
Netanyahu, Benyamin, 59–60, 81
New Delhi, 38
"New fact" (Lakotosh), 7, 49, 81
Nicaragua, 37
Nini, Yehuda, 78
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
(NATO), and relations with
Turkey, 22, 146, 170n36
Nuremberg Trials (population trans-
fers), 163n11
O'Brien, Conor Cruise, 175n26
Oslo Peace Process, 5, 6, 35, 57, 70,
76, 88–91, 107, 110, 112, 116–19,
126, 153
Jewish-American opposition to,
185n34
Ottoman, 145
Overseas Chinese capitalism, 40
"Over there" vs. "over here," 135
Oz, Amos, 82
Palestine Liberation Organization
(PLO), 116, 117, 185n34
Palestinians, 19, 31, 50–55, 57, 59, 70,
77, 83, 90, 106, 108, 109, 111,
112, 118, 123–27, 152
Panossian, Ramzik, 151
Pan-Romanianism, 162n9
Particularism, 46–47, 58
Patriotism, 3
Peoplehood. See kinship
Peres, Shimon, 88
Persian Gulf Crisis (1990–91), 21
Philo, 31
Pittsburgh Convention 1999 (Reform
Jews), 75
Pluralism, 53, 59, 65–85, 87–99, 128,
132
Poland and diaspora, 36–37
Political society vs. civil society and the
state (Alfred Stephan), 48, 49
Pollard Affair, 57, 87
Polyarchy, 22
Posen, Felix, 72
Presbyterian Church, 98
Promised Land, 2
Protestant–Catholic–Jew (Herberg),
73
Putnam, Robert ("two-level" game),
104
Quebec, 12, 25
Rabin, Yitzhak, assassination of, 70, 81,
88, 96, 174n10
Racism, 86, 92
Rechtsstaat, 164, 176
Refugees vs. economic migrants,
165n30
Regime types, 5, 9
impact of, on diasporas, 18–21
Rice, Condoleezza, 111
Rosen, David (Rabbi), 134
Roshwald, Aviel, and civic nationalism,
162n5
Ross, Dennis, 112
Rudolph, Lloyd, 17
Rudolph, Susanne, 17
Russia, 166n40. See also USSR
minorities of, 22, 166–67n49
and democracy, 22
Sacks, Jonathan (Rabbi), 134
Safran, William, 188n10
Saudi Arabia, 21
Schnierson, Menachem Mendel
(Lubavicher Rebbe), 81
Schorsch, Ismar, 76
Self-determination, 14–15
and secession, 9
Woodrow Wilson’s proclamation of,
20
September 11, 2001, 6, 49, 61, 68
Shakespeare, 3
"Shared blood" vs. "blood shed," 3
Sharon, Ariel, 99, 112
and Jewish involvement, 189n27
Shavit, Ari, 70
Sheffer, Gabriel (on “stateless” diasporas), 183n16
Shokeid, Moshe, 177n53
Sikhs, 12, 14, 44, 127
Punjabi, 24–25, 67
Slovakia, 22
Smith, Tony, 132
Social Democratic Hunckakian Party (SDH) (Armenia), 51
Soloveitchik, Joseph B. (Rabbi), 74–75
Soviet socialism, 25
State, definition of, 49
Sudeten Germans, 22
Suny, Ronald, 103
Sznaider, Natan, 73
Ter-Petrossian, Levon, 111, 121, 147–49
Terrorism, 27, 70, 92, 128, 134, 145–46
Armenian, 191n61
Hezbollah, 131
Palestinian, 70
Tibet, 26
Tito, 26–27
Titoism, 25
Tölölyan, Khachig, 104, 120, 163n21, 171n42
Treaty of Sèvres (1920), 14
Tudjman, Franjo, 27
Turkey, 14, 116, 119
as modern state, 164n23
and relations with Armenia, 144–53
and relations with France, 122
United Jewish Appeal (UJA), 55
United Jewish Communities (UJC), 61
creation of, 177n59
United States, 139, 143. See also America and diaspora politics, 20, 32
and foreign aid, 182n2
and foreign policy, 105, 132; Armenian influence on, 116; and ban on aid to Azerbaijan, 116; Jewish influence on, 113–14; in the Middle East, 86–88, 106–9, 185n34; and pressure on Truman to help Israel, 179n75; Reagan plan, 87
House of Representatives, 111
Jackson-Vanik Amendment (free Soviet Jews), 86
Jews and blacks, 87
kin communities in, 37–38
neoconservatives, 90, 113–14
and religious diversity impact on identity, 97–98
USSR (Soviet Union), 17, 26, 37, 86, 105, 131, 145, 162n9
Article 17, 211n63
“Lost tribes,” 54
Va’adat Shenhar Committee, 78
Versailles Peace Conference, 14
Vietnam (North and South), 15
Vital, David, 87
Volksgemeinschaft, 3
Walzer, Michael, 23
weak state, 139, 142–44
Weiner, Myron, 16
Wendt, Alexander, 137
Wertheimer, Jack, 80
West Bank (Greenline), 61–62
Western democracies, 21
Wilson, Woodrow, 20
Woodward, Susan, 50
World Bank, 127
World War I, 14, 20, 36, 115
World War II, 27, 92
Wuthnow, Robert, 175
Yehoshua, A.B., 82
Yoffie, Eric (Rabbi), 94
Yugoslavia, 27–28
Zangwill, Israel, 168–69n22
Zionism, 47, 61, 73, 76, 78, 87, 93, 98–99, 104, 137. See also Israel and Jews vs. Armenian nationalism, 151–52
Ben Gurion’s brand of, 84
and “Christian Zionism,” 98
vs. messianic approach, 175n30
and post-Zionism, 61, 78, 89
and religious Zionism, 175–76n30, 180–81n96
Zukerman, Morton, 119