

Regina Polak (ed.)

# Israel's 70th Anniversary: Insights and Perspectives

Politics – Culture – Religion

Vienna University Press



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# Religion and Transformation in Contemporary European Society

Band 19

Herausgegeben von Kurt Appel, Christian Danz,  
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und Sieglinde Rosenberger



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## Preface

### 1. Why it is necessary to deal academically with the 70th anniversary of the State of Israel

On the occasion of the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, the Research Centre “Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society” of the University of Vienna, in cooperation with the Faculty of Catholic Theology and its Institute for Practical Theology and the Jewish Community of Vienna, organised a symposium to honour and reflect academically on this momentous historical event. On November 12, 2018, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the declaration of the Republic of (German) Austria, internationally renowned scholars from Israel provided exemplary insights and perspectives on the complexity of Israeli politics, culture and religion.

There are manifold reasons for such an exceptional interdisciplinary and theological recognition of this anniversary of the State of Israel.

First, because of Austria’s culpable entanglement in the Shoah, it has a special responsibility, in a spirit of solidarity, to take care of the State of Israel. The active participation of Austrians in the murder of 6 million Jews obliges academic researchers in Austria to engage with the ongoing history of the Jewish people.

Second, religion played and still plays a fundamental role in this issue. It is not only that too many national socialist Austrians called themselves Christians, but that the Catholic Church and its theology played a significant part in the genesis of a murderous anti-Semitism. Despite the Jewish origins of Christianity, a centuries-old Christian anti-Judaism sowed the demonic seeds of hatred against Jews that laid the ground for a radical anti-Semitism that was the ideological heart of a barbarian regime. Too many Catholics were not averse to the politics of a totalitarian regime that strived to extinguish the Jewish people completely for their being Jewish. There were too few righteous people in Austria at that time.

Third, this regime also opposed Judaism as a religion that was and still is inextricably linked to an ethos of equality for all people and the dignity of every



human being – an ethos that provokes racist, authoritarian, and totalitarian politics. Looking at the global rise of authoritarian right-wing and populist politics in recent decades, it is clear that this ethos of equality and dignity is once again endangered. One cannot help but fear that human dignity will be in great danger in the aftermath of the so-called “Corona-Crisis” because of a likely rise in hatred against social, ethnic and religious minorities on a global level. The worldwide growth in anti-Semitism in new forms – especially in the phenomenon of a right, left, and Muslim Israel-related anti-Semitism – is a threatening prospect. This is another reason why researchers on religion have a duty to engage in academic research on Israel. Religion not only plays a significant role in history, but also in the present.

Fourth, another reason for an academic focus on the State of Israel can be argued from the context of the existential significance that the land of Israel has always had for Jews – both those living in Israel and those in the diaspora. After the experience of the Shoah, the State of Israel is considered by the Jewish people to be a safe haven. Religion, therefore, is relevant to the foundation of the State of Israel because the Shoah, while not the only reason for the international recognition of the State’s establishment, was the decisive factor. Though the meaning of the land for Jewish people is heterogeneous, the religious meaning of Israel makes addressing it from interdisciplinary perspectives necessary. Religion has an enormous and growing impact on contemporary politics and culture in Israel. Though most Israeli people consider themselves secular, religion has shaped the atmosphere in Israel and also plays a crucial role in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. So while the Middle Eastern conflict is not at the centre of this anthology, as the aim of the half-day symposium was to pay a critical tribute to the impressive achievements of the young State of Israel, the conflict was, of course, addressed by the authors.

Fifth, the central role of religion in Israel and the religious meaning of the land still raise fundamental theological questions for both Jews and Christians. As anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism still exist among Catholic Christians – despite Catholic teaching rejecting any form of anti-Semitism and the obligation of the faithful to combat it – theology must reflect this religious dimension. Also, from a practical-theological point of view, contemporary Judaism and therefore the existence of the State of Israel are realities that challenge theological research. To be capable of such research, which is a future project, it is first and foremost necessary to listen to Israeli scholars.

Interdisciplinary academic appreciation of the State of Israel is therefore not only a duty arising from responsibility in the past and present; it is also a great joy. Researchers are confronted with a young, dynamic state – full of social, cultural, economic, technical and academic innovations – which is seeking its way into the future. Israel is a fascinating and dazzling but also a contradictory

country. It is much more than the tragic conflict between Jewish and Palestinian people.

Sixth, therefore, is the aim of the symposium to offer insights unknown to many into the interior of this religious, cultural and political laboratory that is Israel. Too many people in Austria and Europe are unaware of this impressive side to Israel and associate the State of Israel only with the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. As we are convinced that people in Europe can learn a lot from Israel, this aspect is placed at the centre of the anthology. The handling of religious diversity within the country; the integration of more than a million Jewish immigrants; the development of a dynamic economy; a flourishing education and science system; a rich culture in the field of literature and above all film; and last but not least the lively, constant and conflictual struggle for democracy – one of the few democracies in the region of the Middle East and built in just seven decades – are all inspiring. Religion plays an important role in these matters. This does not, of course, mean that one can minimise or ignore the increasing challenges to Israeli democracy from right-wing politics and religious fundamentalism. These challenges include human rights violations, internal racism against minorities (including Jewish minorities), aggressive settlement politics and eroding democratic structures. Like many European countries in recent years, Israel too has been experiencing these problems. The scholars therefore refer to this dangerous situation and propose a more nuanced view.

Although two years have passed since this symposium, we believe that its aims and academic contributions are still relevant. We therefore decided to publish them for a broader audience – both for scholars of religion from different disciplines and for opinion leaders in the Catholic Church. The symposium also had a unique relevance for the University of Vienna, which was highlighted by Rector Heinz Engl in his opening speech. Since the University of Vienna played a tragic and central role in the acceptance and establishment of the national-socialist regime in Austria, this symposium was another step in the self-critical review of the responsibility of this famous institution. It was an expression of its willingness to acknowledge the visible consequences of its guilt. Therefore, we decided to publish its excellent lectures, with the addition of two contributions from members of the Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society Research Centre. We believe that these academic reflections are an inspiring starting point for further interdisciplinary academic research.

## 2. Overview of the Contributions

The anthology starts with greetings from Dr Denise Quistorp-Rejc, envoy of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs. After presenting an appreciation of the academic acknowledgement of the State of Israel over the past 70 years and referring to the friendly relations and close cooperation between Israel and Austria in the political and economic fields – especially in the cultural and academic spheres – she stresses the strategic meaning of the dialogue with science in the diplomatic realm: strengthening the capacities and visibilities of scientists, enhancing the prestige of universities and research institutions, and spreading knowledge that provides a basis for mutual understanding. She describes how cooperation with science lays a foundation for cooperation in culture, science and politics. Finally, she remembers the historical dimension, which is ever present in diplomatic relations with Israel.

Dr Talya Lador-Fresher, the Ambassador of Israel to Austria, expresses her conviction that the symposium and this publication provide an opportunity to reflect at an academic level on the great achievements of the State of Israel in the last seven decades and to build bridges between Israel and Austria. She refers to Israel as the first and only true democracy in the Middle East, the diversity of Israeli society reflected in the political system, and the religious freedom declared in the Declaration of Independence. The anthology will encourage more Austrians to get to know Israel beyond what they see in news coverage and to visit and experience Israel first hand.

The first academic contribution, “Divided we stand: On the competing visions of Israel”, deals with the critical question of the identity component of Israeli people, focusing on personal and group consciousness, which plays a significant role in the issue of national resilience. Professor Yedidia Stern analyses the strength and weakness of this identity component in Israeli society from different perspectives, embedded in the question concerning what it means when the State of Israel defines itself as “Jewish and democratic”. He discusses the conceptual tension prevailing between the two parts of this self-definition, describing and analysing what are almost ‘culture wars’ between various groups to unravel the constitutional definition evoked by the definition. After sketching the dispute between four main sections in Israeli society and their diverse visions of the State, he presents contemporary trends within Israel. He concludes that supporters of competing visions, through this conflictual diversity, potentially strengthen Israeli national resilience.

In the contribution “Israel 70: Relations between Religion and State, Democracy, and the Israeli Legal System”, Eli Salzberger reflects on these relations. In his first section, he describes the unprecedented achievements of Israel in its 70 years of existence. He focuses on the fields of security and economy and

describes some achievements in the realm of culture, science and the arts, most of all the revival of the Hebrew language. Finally, in his first section, he stresses the foundation and maintenance of an uninterrupted liberal, “thick” democracy since the establishment of the State in 1948. However, as this democracy is considered by him as being far from perfect, in the next section he discusses the extent to which liberal democracy has become distorted and flawed as a result of current developments. Referring to the focus of the symposium, he argues that the relationship between religion and state as well as freedom of religion can be perceived as one of Israel’s weaknesses vis-à-vis liberal democracy, which affects not so much the rights of minorities as it does those of the secular Israeli majority. In the third section, Eli Salzberger considers the process of the rapid deterioration of liberal democracy in Israel.

Rachel Elior contributes another exciting perspective by reflecting on the question of the impact on Israeli politics if the holy language of Hebrew is transformed into a language of daily life. In her contribution, she describes how the Hebrew language became holy, explains what holiness means, and gives a historical overview of the different stages of the transformation of Hebrew from an ancient written language into a renewed, “actual”, secular spoken language. She discusses this topic in two parts: a theological-mystical section pertaining to the meaning of the Holy language in the past; and a second section in which she explores the crucial significance of the revival of an ancient mystical-messianic tradition in the secular Zionist present and its far-reaching political implications in the State of Israel.

In her case study on the holy places in Israel, Hana Bendcowsky demonstrates how religion in Israel is not only an expression of religious identity, a belief system or a lifestyle committed to sacred law and religious authorities, but it is also inseparably linked to geographical places through sacred sites connecting religious people with land, history and tradition. Sacred places are therefore an important expression of religious experience, community and identity. The contribution “Religion in Israel – The Holy Places as a Case Study” – therefore explores the relations between the State of Israel and religion in Israel through the prism of holy places, discussing the laws, governance and conflicts that arise in the context of this tense relationship.

“Religious Cinema in Israel” by Eran Kaplan was added after the symposium in 2018. Kaplan reflects the astonishing fact that religion has gained a more prominent role in Israeli cinema. In his contribution, he examines the reasons for this phenomenon by describing concrete films and their embeddedness in the broad social and cultural changes in Israel. He also explores some of the key features of this “religious turn” and tries to describe, using examples, which qualities make certain Israeli films Jewish.

The next two contributions complete the aims of the anthology through an Austrian and a Christian perspective and were added after the symposium by two members of the Research Centre “Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society”. Gerhard Langer reflects on the challenges the State of Israel poses for Christian churches. As the Zionist movement and its hope for a homeland as the last refuge of a distressed and harassed Jewry crystallised in the establishment of the State of Israel with the crucial role of the Bible as an epitome of Jewish identity, many new theological and political questions arose for Christian churches. In his contribution “The Seventieth Anniversary of the Founding of the State of Israel and its Importance for Christians and Jews” in “The Reflections of a Theologian and Judaic Studies Scholar”, Gerhard Langer first formulates claims for the Christian churches, such as the recognition of Jewish plans and hopes for the land as a legitimate expression of a relationship to God, the acceptance that Christianity has no claim to the land, and a commitment to combating any kind of anti-Semitism, including anti-Zionism. Second, he explores the question of Jewish existence in the context of Israel, referring to contemporary theoretical and empirical research.

In my own contribution, “‘New’ anti-Semitism with a Special Focus on Israel: A Challenge for Catholic Pastoral Theology”, I deepen one of the arguments made by Gerhard Langer from a Catholic practical-theological perspective: the obligation to combat anti-Semitism in all forms, with a special focus on Israel-related anti-Semitism. As “new” anti-Semitism can be found among Catholic Christians in the pastoral realm, the Catholic Church must deal with this issue, for both political and theological reasons. I therefore first provide an overview of the academic debate on anti-Semitism, including facts and figures of the Austrian situation. I then present important positions of the Catholic Church on combating anti-Semitism, including their theological foundation, political implications, and consequences. I conclude with pastoral-theological perspectives for a better future practice in Catholic pastoral work.

Last but not least, we want to thank all our sponsors who made the edition of this volume possible: the Research Centre “Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society” of the University of Vienna, the Faculty of Catholic Theology of the University of Vienna, the Rectorate of the University of Vienna, the Municipal Department 7 of the City of Vienna and the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs.

Special thanks also go to the team at the Research Centre “Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society”, in particular to Martin Eleven and Marlene Deibl, and to my study assistant Anna Davogg, who were responsible for the careful preparation of the publication.

Vienna, 5 June 2020

Regina Polak

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Dr Denise Quistorp-Rejc  
(Envoy of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and  
Foreign Affairs)

## Greetings

Dear readers,

The presentations and articles collected in this volume provide us with valuable scientific insights into Israel's complexity, diversity and richness and allow a most appropriate academic acknowledgment of the remarkable accomplishments of the State of Israel of the past 70 years.

Austria and Israel entertain friendly relations and cooperate closely in the political and economic fields – and especially in the cultural and academic area.

It, therefore, was a great honour and pleasure to host the symposium '70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Israel: Insights and Perspectives. Politics – Culture – Religion' at the University of Vienna. The contributions of the distinguished participants to the conference and to this publication will further enhance future prosperous relations between our two countries.

For, apart from cultural exchange and dialogue, science has become an important ally of Austrian diplomacy. As science and technology touch everybody's lives, they must also matter to politics and diplomacy. We need scientific thinking for evidence-based foreign policy decisions to promote our national interests and to encounter the global challenges through international cooperation. The latter is the domain of diplomacy. That is why science diplomacy is now a substantial working area in Foreign Affairs. We develop this new field of activity in close cooperation with our partners at universities and scientific institutions as well as in the ministries of education, science, research, digitalization, technology and innovation.

In our experience, the interaction of science and diplomacy works as a two-way process with mutual benefits: on the one hand, there are encounters of researchers and partnerships of research institutions that strengthen the capacities and visibility of scientists and enhance the prestige of universities and research institutions. On the other hand, scientific collaboration and academic mobility spread knowledge that provides a basis for mutual understanding. Cooperation in any area – culture, science, or politics – can build upon it.

Arts and science are essential aspects of Austrian culture and therefore integral parts of Austrian foreign policy. It is through Cultural and Science Diplomacy that we enter into dialogue with the rest of the world, thereby creating mutual trust and understanding as a basis for our bilateral relations and international cooperation. Over the years, Austrian Science Diplomacy has proven to be a stabilizing element in politics. Science always provides a positive agenda for cooperation, with its universal language keeping communication channels open, even in politically strained times.

The historical dimension is ever-present in diplomatic relations. To know our own history and to understand other countries' expectations towards Austrian foreign policy is indispensable for a successful dialogue. To ensure knowledge and scientific research both as internal and external aspects of foreign policy, we recently established a history unit in our ministry.

Moreover, given the ever-growing importance of science and technology in global affairs, we have now strategically outlined the role of science in Austrian international cultural relations. The science-concept specifically aims at supporting Austrian diplomatic representations in science diplomacy. Their activities include the support of universities and scientific institutions in their international scientific co-operations; the organisation of scientific events as an opportunity for Austrian academic institutions to network with potential partners; furthermore, *trending*, *facilitating*, *matchmaking*, and *starting-up* support to identify new topics of collaboration and facilitate contact with potential partners in Austria; and most importantly: the co-operation with Austrian chairs and study centres.

We are so fortunate as to closely collaborate with the Centre for Austrian Studies at the Hebrew University, which was established as a joint initiative of public and private Austrian sponsors. In memory of long-time Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kollek, who grew up in Vienna, the *Kollek Jerusalem Vienna Chair for the Study of the Cultural Aspects of Vienna and Jerusalem* had been established at Hebrew University as well as the *Franz Cardinal Koenig Chair*, named after the former Cardinal of Vienna.

These invaluable academic ties, the encounters and partnerships of scientists and students, the exchange of culture and science, of knowledge and expertise, connect academia and peoples. They are an indispensable prerequisite for dialogue, and, in consequence, for friendly and constructive bilateral and international relations.

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Dr Talya Lador-Fresher  
(Ambassador of Israel in Austria)

## Greetings

Celebrating the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the State of Israel was a great opportunity to show the diversity, the achievements and the challenges of the State of Israel – within the country itself and beyond. Us at the Embassy of Israel in Vienna have happily been celebrating this important milestone in various events throughout the year.

The symposium, which took place on November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2018 at the University of Vienna, was another great opportunity to look at these issues from the academic level and to build new bridges between our two countries. The uniqueness of this seminar was its joint focus on politics, culture, and religion – three topics that may seem unconnected, but in fact are highly intertwined.

Israel, the only true democracy in the Middle East, enjoys a very dynamic political scene. It is one of the first countries worldwide that allowed women's suffrage (1928) even before the state was established. Golda Meir was the third female head of state after WWII worldwide.

The political system reflects the diversity of Israeli society in terms of religion, personal histories and social backgrounds. It actually allows representation of ultra-orthodox and other shades of Judaism, Arabs as Muslims or Christians, and secular alike. All these have a place in the country and in politics. The Declaration of Independence also clearly mentions the importance of freedom of religion.

This diversity is also reflected on the cultural landscape of Israel. We are known for our literature, with the highest number of publications per capita per year. Being the people of the Book, this is not surprising. Israel is a world power when it comes to modern dance and classical music as well.

I hope that this symposium, and the publication following it, will encourage more and more Austrians to get to know Israel beyond news coverage and to visit and experience our country firsthand.





## Divided we Stand: On the competing visions of Israel\*

*'Israel's spiritual character and her internal stability will be the primary factor  
in the future in determining our security and our international standing.'*

David Ben Gurion,  
engraved on Shimon Peres' tombstone<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

The Article analyzes the strength and weakness of the identity component in Israeli society from one perspective: the attitude of the country's citizens to the constitutional identity of the state, which is defined as "Jewish and democratic." It presents the conceptual tension that prevails between the two parts of the definition according to the various interpretations of "Jewish State" and "Democratic State". It describes the dispute between the four main sections of Israeli society – secular, ultra-orthodox, religious-Zionists and Israeli Arabs – regarding their visions of the state. It presents current trends, showing that supporters of competing visions of Israel are drawing closer, potentially strengthening Israeli national resilience.

## 1. Introduction

A country's national resilience is a result of many, mutually related elements. It comprises, *inter alia*, matters of economic resilience (such as the state of the economy, living standards, the availability of resources, the level of innovation), of social resilience (such as inequality, the availability and quality of education, the standard of health services, unemployment rates), of political resilience (such as the stability of the regime, political participation, trust in government institutions, the integrity of the government) and of national security (such as the sustained fostering of military power).<sup>2</sup>

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\* Ben-Gurion, David: *Like Stars and Dust: Essays from Israel's Government Year Book*, Sede Boker: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev 1997, p. 303.

1 Translation: Batya Stein; Research Assistant: Gabriel Abensour. The article is a more detailed version of "Israel: Jewish, Democratic, and Resilience? On Competing Visions of Israel," in: Cohen, Stuart / Kliemann, Aharon (eds.): *Handbook on Israeli security*, Routledge 2019.

2 For further discussion on the concept of national resilience, see: Eshel, Yohanan / Kimhi, Shaul: "A new perspective on national resilience: Components and demographic predictors," in: *Journal of Community Psychology*, 2016/44 (7), pp. 833–844; Hall, Peter A. / Lamont, Michèle (eds.): *Social resilience in the neoliberal era*, New York: Cambridge University Press

In this article, I will consider an additional component of national resilience, which is particularly critical in the Israeli context: *the identity component*. This is an abstract component that focuses on personal and group consciousness rather than on material elements or on institutional structures. Although identity is an elusive facet of national resilience, hard to define and to measure, it has proven to be, as will be shown, enormously significant. Identity is a crucial element in the mobilization of Israeli society into joint action in many areas.<sup>3</sup>

As this article shows, security matters have been at the center of Israel's existence from the moment of its creation, when it confronted threats of immediate annihilation by surrounding states, and until this very day. The average Israeli constantly bears the security burden: compulsory military service for men and women (for longer than is usual in most countries);<sup>4</sup> reserve duty (mainly, but not only, for men) over two decades and more; a significant allocation of taxes and national resources to security needs;<sup>5</sup> and, most importantly – a continued consciousness, which is never eased, of life under a security threat to the individual and to the state. The ability to take a strong stand in these circumstances, over generations, is not self-evident. It is related, as noted, to all the elements of national resilience but draws – in my view, mainly – on the collective identity component.

What is the collective identity component of national resilience? People are not isolated atoms, moving around without attachments to their surroundings. Everyone has a name, memories, a legacy, myths, and an ethos he or she shares with others, from which his consciousness is carved as well as her orientation in the world. Individuals, even in a postmodern global world, live within a history, a

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- 2006; Canetti-Nisim, Daphna / Hall, Brian J. / Hobfoll, Steven E. / Galea, Sandro / Johnson, Robert J. / Palmieri, Patrick A.: "Trajectories of Resilience, Resistance and Distress during Ongoing Terrorism: The Case of Jews and Arabs in Israel," in: *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 2009/77 (1), pp. 138–148; Canetti, Daphna / Cohen, Naor / Rapaport, Carmit / Waismel-Manor, Israel: "What does national resilience mean in a democracy? Evidence from the United States and Israel," in: *Armed Forces & Society*, 2014/40 (3), pp. 504–520; Eshel, Yohanan / Kimhi, Shaul / Lahad, Mooly / Leykin, Dmitry: "National resilience: a new self-report assessment scale," in: *Community mental health journal*, 2019/55 (4), pp. 721–731.
- 3 Some studies already discussed the link between resilience and identity in different national contexts, see for instance: Rorlich, Azade-Ayse: *Volga Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience*, Stanford: Hoover Press 1986, pp. 157–176; Healy, Susan: "Cultural resilience, identity and the restructuring of political power in Bolivia." Paper Submitted for the 11th Biennial Conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Bali June 2006; Koudela, Pál: "National Identity and Social Resilience in the Case of South Korea," in: *Asia-Pacific Social Science Review*, 2015/15 (2), pp. 159–167.
- 4 Defense Service Law – Consolidated Version 5746–1986, Sefer Ha-Chukkim of 5745, p. 12, LSI vol. XXXIX, p. 15.
- 5 Israel Central Bureau of Statistics, *Defence Expenditure In Israel 1950–2017*, July 2019, [written by Ram Ben-David] available here: [https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/publications/DocLib/2019/1758/e\\_print.pdf](https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/publications/DocLib/2019/1758/e_print.pdf). [09.01.2020].

culture, and group attachments that they are born into or have chosen. Many of the actions we perform – including some seemingly “automatic” ones – convey our commitment to specific identity attachments. Nationality, religion, culture – among the most crucial forces driving human history – are identity attachments that join together the people who share them and distinguish them from others who belong to another nationality, religion, or culture.

Some have tried to lessen the significance of these identity attachments invoking a universal, humanistic, neo-liberal approach. They hold that the good for individuals is independent of any garments of group identity, or even of his or her own beliefs or values.<sup>6</sup> In their view, full self-realization compels detachment from commitments to any group and assuming responsibility for not hurting others is enough. This stance, which ridicules liberalism and actually backfires on it, represents a radical pole of liberal fundamentalism. Liberal thought, and certainly its communitarian version, decisively places individuals and their right to write their narratives as they wish within a concrete context of identity attachments, from which and in whose light they function.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, the rebounding power of nationality and religion in the twenty-first century in both East and West is a counterreaction to this fundamentalist neo-liberalism. People do wish to see themselves as part of something greater than themselves, a collective identity, as manifest in the familiar phenomenon of “identity politics” with all its virtues and flaws.<sup>8</sup>

In my estimate, the State of Israel would not prevail were its citizens to sanctify only the value of individual self-realization. As John Donne aptly noted, “No man is an island, / Entire of itself; / Every man is a piece of the continent, / A part of the

6 Nussbaum, Martha: *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2006, pp. 69–80. “The capabilities approach is fully universal: the capabilities in question are held to be important for each and every citizen, in each and every nation, and each person is to be treated as an end.” (Ibid. 78). This approach is rooted in the eighteenth century enlightenment thought. For thinkers like Condorcet or Voltaire, the emancipation of individuals from their cultural, ethnic or religious bonds was a necessary step toward progress. See: Schlereth, Thomas J.: *The Cosmopolitan Ideal in Enlightenment Thought: Its Form and Function in the Ideas Of Franklin, Hume, and Voltaire, 1694–1790*, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press 1977.

7 See for example: Walzer, Michael: *Spheres of justice: A defense of pluralism and equality*, New York: Basic Books 1983; Walzer, Michael: “The Communitarian Critique of Liberalism,” in: *Political Theory*, 1990/18 (1), pp. 6–23; Kymlicka, Will: *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001, pp. 201–289.

8 For further discussion on liberalism and particular identities, see: Kukathas, Chandran: “Liberalism and Multiculturalism: The Politics of Indifference,” in: *Political Theory*, 1998/26 (5), pp. 686–99; Baumeister, Andrea: *Liberalism and the ‘Politics of Difference’*, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press 2000; Kymlicka, Will: *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, Citizenship*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2001; Ismail, Salwa: “Being Muslim: Islam, Islamism and Identity Politics,” in: *Government and Opposition*, 2004/39 (4), pp. 614–631.