

CONFLICT IN THE HOLY LAND AND ARAB AND JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN LATIN AMERICA: PART OF THE PROBLEM OR PART OF THE SOLUTION?



**Woodrow Wilson
International
Center
for Scholars**

Dr. Edward Edy Kaufman

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Research Assistants: Luciana Debenedetti

Janine Jaouni

Hanif Kashani

PEACEMAKERS OR PEACEBREAKERS?

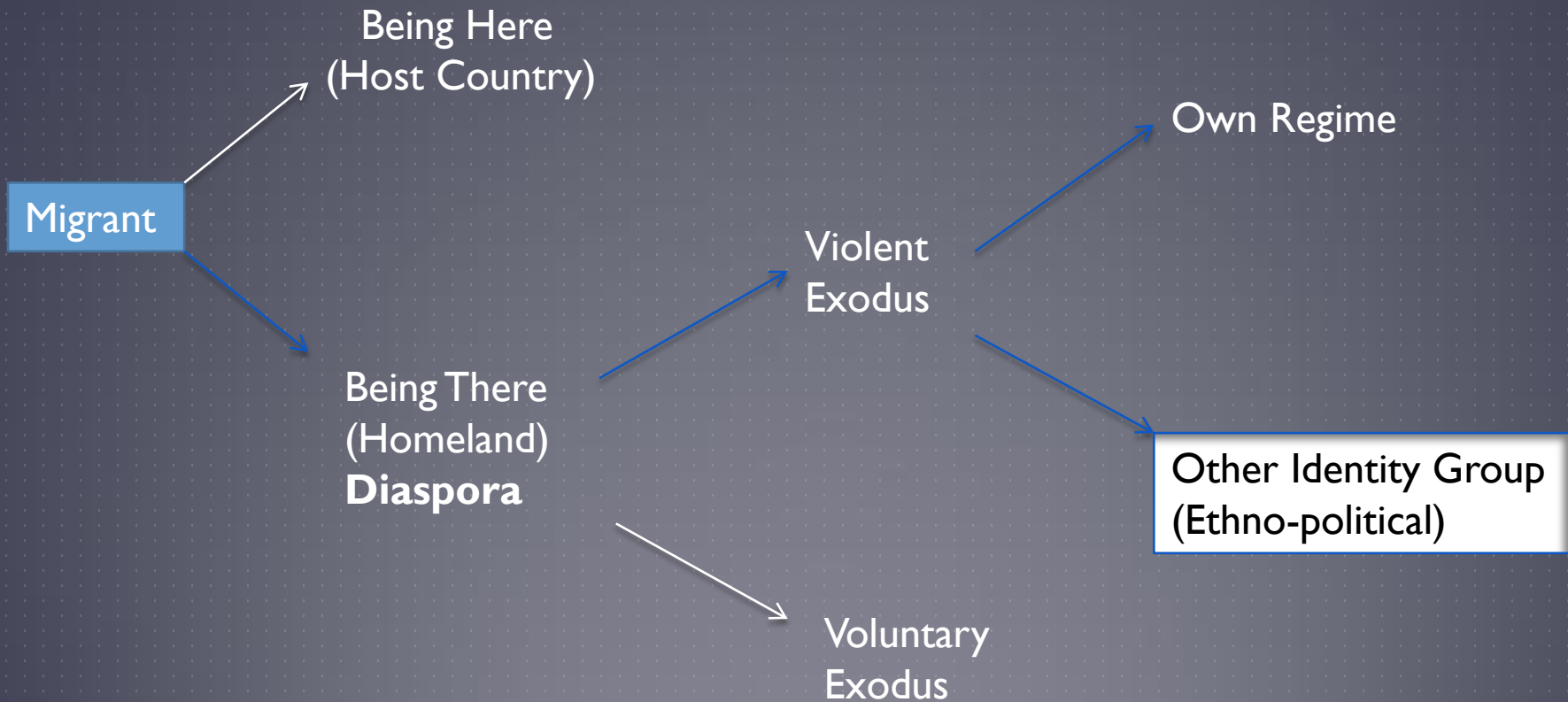
In Buenos Aires, the streets
Israel and Palestine intersect.



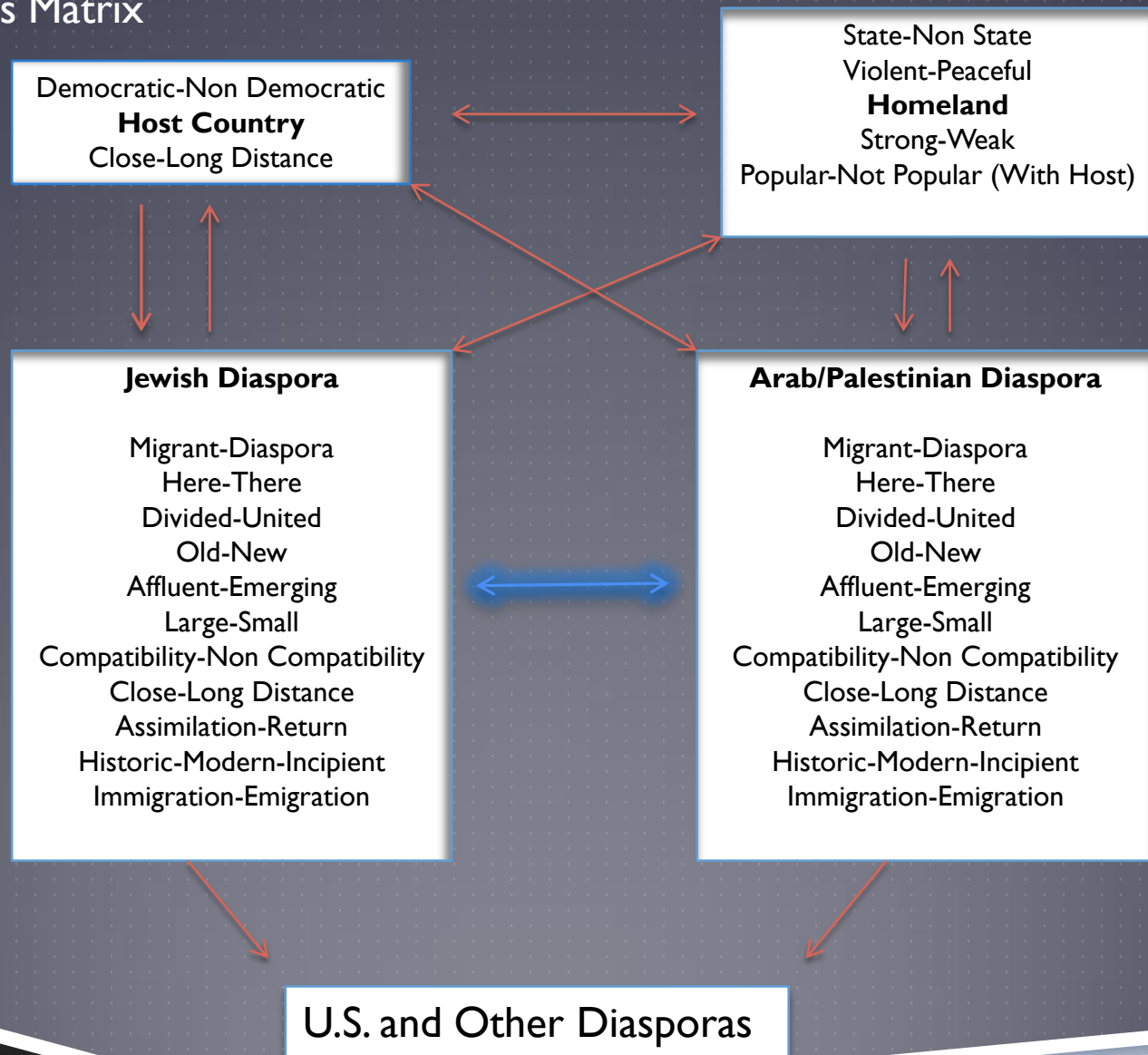
MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- ▶ What is the relationship between Diasporas/host-land/homeland in conflict situations?
- ▶ How does the Arab/Palestinian-Israeli conflict affect the relations between Arabs and Jews in Latin America? Is there a reciprocal/asymmetrical effect?
- ▶ What are the variables that lead such communities to contribute to peacebuilding or to be spoilers of such processes?

DIASPORA AND (VIOLENT) CONFLICT



Diaspora Analysis Matrix



DIASPORA ANALYSIS

Chronological

- Bercovitch Conflict Model
 - Pre-conflict/pre-escalatory
 - Acute conflict and war
 - Peacemaking/post-conflict resolution

Functional

- Organizational: Political, Educational, Cultural
- Financial/Economic
- Repatriation to Homeland

Geographic

- Regional (FEDEARAB, LAJC)
- Pan-American/ U.S. (B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee)
- Global (PLO, World Zionist Organization)
- Homeland-Hostland Dichotomy: "Being Here and Being There"

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

- ▶ A) Testing Current Hypotheses
- ▶ B) Generating New Hypotheses
 - ▶ Applicability to both sides
 - ▶ Ex. Victimhood
 - ▶ Specific applicability to one side
 - ▶ Ex. Stateless vs. State
- ▶ Advantages of comparative analysis vs. historical/ “uniqueness” approach
 - ▶ Contribution to research by focusing on TWO communities, IN RELATION to one another
 - ▶ Not totally analogous: Two differentiated cases in terms of the axis of centrality of the homeland
 - ▶ Multiple identities; contradictory identities

JEWISH POPULATION CHANGES OVER TIME IN LATIN AMERICA

Country/Region	1970	2009	% Change
Argentina	282,000	182,500	-35
Brazil	90,000	95,800	+6
Chile	30,000	20,600	-11
Mexico	35,000	39,500	+13
Uruguay	32,000	17,600	-45
Venezuela	12,000	12,200	+2
Total Central America	46,800	54,700	+17
Total South America	467,000	335,900	-28

Source: Sergio Della Pergola, "Cuántos Somos Hoy?" pp314-315 in *Pertenencia y Alteridad: Judíos en/de América Latina: cuarenta años de cambios*

JEWES IN LATIN AMERICA

▶ History of immigration

- ▶ Organized communities from the late 1800s
 - ▶ Parallel development in Palestine/Argentina—Rothschild/Baron Hirsch
 - ▶ *Turcos y Rusos/Polacos*
- ▶ 1948-1973
 - ▶ Multilateral support at the UN
 - ▶ Volunteering in 1967 War
- ▶ 1975-1990
 - ▶ UN Vote that Zionism is Racism
 - ▶ Military Dictatorships
- ▶ 1990s-Present
 - ▶ AMIA/Israeli Embassy Bombings: Israeli-Israelita
 - ▶ Diasporism versus Zionism

FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP TO HOMELAND (JEWS)

- ▶ Political
 - ▶ Multilateral votes
 - ▶ Jerusalem
 - ▶ Palestinian Statehood?
- ▶ Financial
 - ▶ Contributions to State (Jewish National Fund), Institutions (Hebrew University), Charities (Israeli Red Cross) vs. Family Remittances
- ▶ Demographic: Pronounced periods of *aliyah* from Latin America
 - ▶ See next slide
- ▶ Other Jewish Institutional/Organizational Ties
 - ▶ Continental: Joint American Jewish Committee
 - ▶ Latin America: Latin American Jewish Congress
 - ▶ World: World Jewish Congress, World Zionist Organization
- ▶ Push factors
 - ▶ Economic factors, ex. 2001- huge spike in immigration from Argentina after crisis
 - ▶ Internal environment, strife, ex. Military dictatorships
- ▶ Pull factors
 - ▶ Idealism; Zionist values
 - ▶ Demographic considerations
 - ▶ Economic Incentives

MUSLIM/ARAB/PALESTINIANS IN LATIN AMERICA

Country	Muslims	Arabs	Palestinians
Argentina	(400,000 - 500,000) ²⁴ ,(682,138) ¹⁵ , (784,000) ¹⁶ ,(900,000) ²³	(115,000) ¹² ,(3 million) ⁹	(1100) ¹³
Chile	(3,350) ¹⁵ ,(4,000) ¹⁶	(3,500) ¹² ,(700,000) ⁶	(100,000-300,000) ² ,(350,000) ³ ,(355,250) ⁵ ,(500,000) ⁶
Uruguay	(351) ¹⁵ , (300-400) ²⁵ , (1,000) ¹⁶		
Paraguay	(1,000) ¹⁶ ,(3,581) ¹⁵		
Bolivia	(995) ¹⁵ , (2,000) ¹⁶		
Peru	(1,000) ¹⁶ , (2,991) ¹⁵		
Ecuador	(2500) ¹¹	(2500) ¹¹	
Colombia	(9,255) ¹⁵ , (14,000) ¹⁶		(12000)
Venezuela	(94,000) ¹⁶ , (117,043) ¹⁵	(1.5M) ²¹	
Brazil	27,000-1M	3M-12M	(60,000) ¹⁶ ,(150,000) ¹⁴
Panama	(11,938) ¹⁵ , (24,000) ¹⁶		(7100) ¹³
Costa Rica	(431) ¹⁵	(3,300) ¹²	
Nicaragua	(600) ¹⁵ , (1,000) ¹⁶	(600)	
El Salvador	(1,461) ¹⁵ , (2,000) ¹⁶	(1200) ¹²	(60,000-100,000) ¹⁴
Guatemala	(1,000) ¹⁶ , (1,355) ¹⁵		(1,400) ²⁰ ,(1,600) ¹³
Honduras	(11,000) ¹⁶ , (12,712) ¹⁵	(150,000-200,000) ¹	(59,000) ¹³ ,(150,000-200,000) ⁸ ,(200,000) ⁷
Mexico	(39,000) ¹⁹ , (11,247) ¹⁵ , (110,000) ¹⁶	(1.1M*) ²²	(12000) ¹³
Cuba	(500-1000) ⁴ , (6,887) ¹⁵ , (9,000) ¹⁶	(20000) ¹⁷	
Dominican Republic	(2,000) ¹⁶ , (11,752) ¹⁵		
Haiti	(2,000) ¹⁶ ,(5,521) ¹⁵	(4,900) ¹⁰ ,(45,000) ²⁶	

COMPARISON TO THE U.S.

	USA	Latin America
Muslims	2,600,000	1,720,000
Arabs	1,573,530	20,000,000
Palestinians	85,754	600,000

MUSLIM/ARAB/PALESTINIANS IN LATIN AMERICA

- ▶ Definitional Problems- Statistics
- ▶ 5 Identities
 - ▶ Religious (Muslim, Christian)
 - ▶ Ethnic (Arab)
 - ▶ National (Turk, Greater Syria, Syria/Lebanon/Palestine after 1920)
 - ▶ City (Bethlehem, Ramallah)
 - ▶ Extended Family (Hamoulah, Tribal)
- ▶ History of immigration or diasporization
- ▶ Social clubs/local less national organizations/representation, split, cultural/sport more than unified political entities
- ▶ Relationship to homeland/s tradition more than current magnet

PALESTINIANS IN LATIN AMERICA

▶ Phase 1

- ▶ Ottoman Rule; 2nd half of 19th Century
- ▶ Predominantly Christian, coming from Bethlehem and Beit Jala
- ▶ Important goals were to improve economic situation, seek safety from war, injustice

▶ Phase 2

- ▶ 1948, upon the establishment of Israel (known as *Al-Nakba* in the Arab world)
- ▶ Immigration to Latin America, among other places
 - ▶ Largest Palestinian Diaspora
 - ▶ Different from refugees in Arab countries
- ▶ Unable to return → remittances sent home

▶ Phase 3

- ▶ After 1967 War
- ▶ Predominantly young Palestinian men involved in PFLP and PCP and GUPS
- ▶ Islamist presence: Hamas

FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP TO HOMELAND (ARAB)

- ▶ Political
 - ▶ Insignificant before 1967
 - ▶ Palestinian Liberation Organization
- ▶ Financial
 - ▶ Family Remittances
- ▶ Demographic
 - ▶ Isolated cases of second houses in the Holy Land
- ▶ Other Arab Institutional/Organizational Ties
 - ▶ Latin America: Federacion de Entidades Arabes (FEDEARAB)
 - ▶ Palestinian National Congress (PNC)
- ▶ Push factors OUT of Middle East
 - ▶ Poverty, persecution
 - ▶ Christians: Muslim/Jewish fundamentalism
- ▶ Pull factors TO Latin America
 - ▶ Land of opportunities
 - ▶ Christian/Catholic-majority countries

ISLAM IN LATIN AMERICA

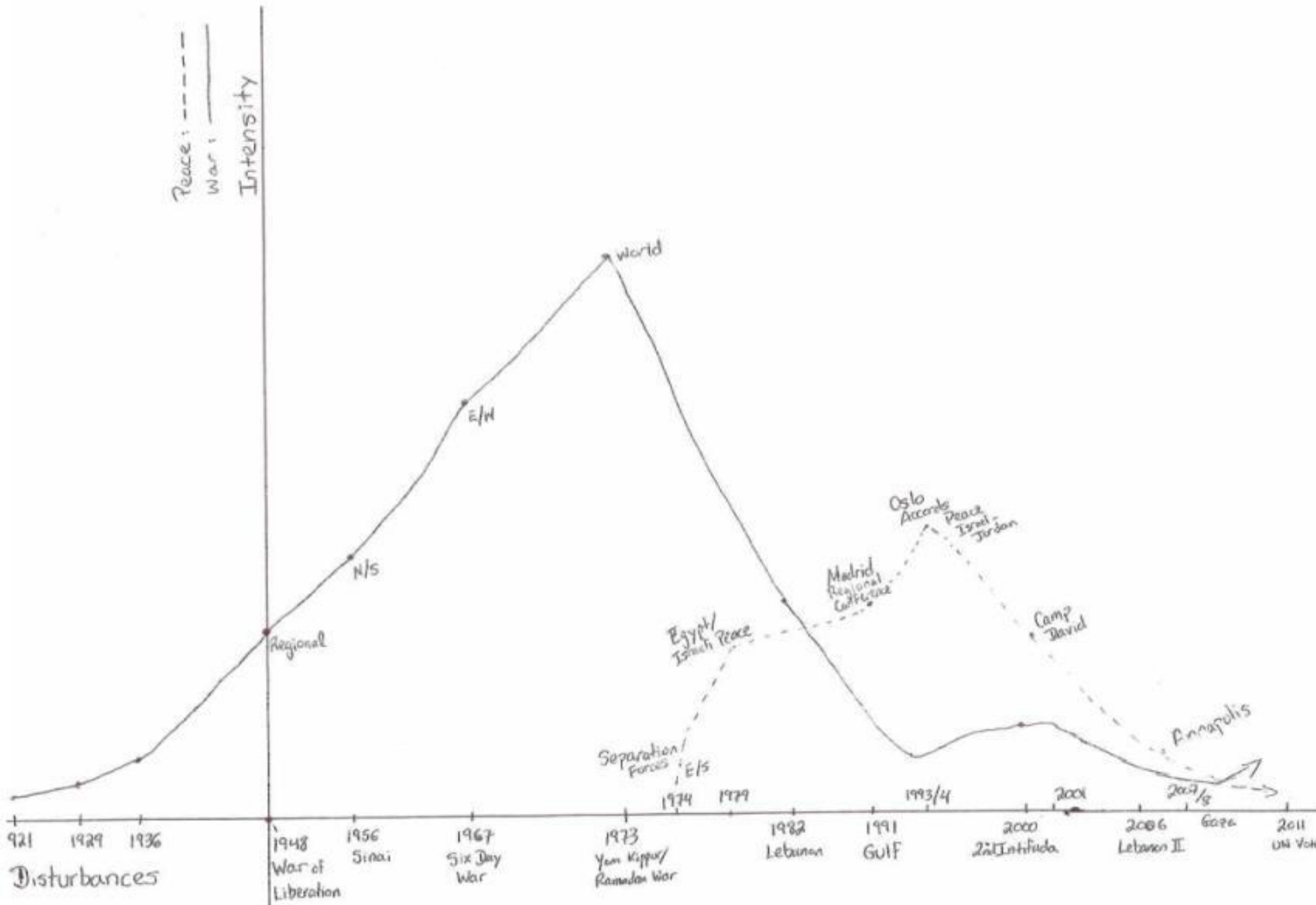
- ▶ Over 1 million Muslims in Latin America
- ▶ Building of *Da'wah* centers to bring Muslims together and teach Islam; preserve identity (Saudi Arabia particularly financing)
- ▶ Ruhollah Khomeini cultural-religious center in Caracas, Venezuela (Iran)

- ▶ Radical Islam
 - ▶ Alleged al-Qaeda presence in Latin America, whose activities are often confused with that of Hezbollah, other groups.
 - ▶ 1992 and 1994 bombing of Israeli Embassy, AMIA in Buenos Aires linked to Iran/Hezbollah, though the group has denied involvement
 - ▶ Post-9/11 priority for the US

THE HOLY LAND - MILESTONES IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

- ▶ Different Narratives– Historical Experiences
- ▶ For Palestinians:
 - ▶ 5 Centuries until 1918: subjects of Ottoman Empire
 - ▶ 1919-1948: British Mandate (1922, excluding TransJordan); Greater Syria– Inside Palestine family feud... Emergence of Palestinian Identity
 - ▶ 1949: No Palestinian State; Pan Arab Nationalism
 - ▶ 1965-67: Palestine Liberation Organization Armed Struggle
 - ▶ Secular Democratic Palestinian State
 - ▶ 1988: Two State Solution
 - ▶ 2006: West Bank (PA-PLO); Gaza (Hamas)
 - ▶ 5 types of Palestinian identities (Aaron David Miller): West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalemites, Israeli Palestinians, Refugees
 - ▶ Who is the diaspora supposed to help?

Israeli Milestones in Conflict



ISRAELI POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

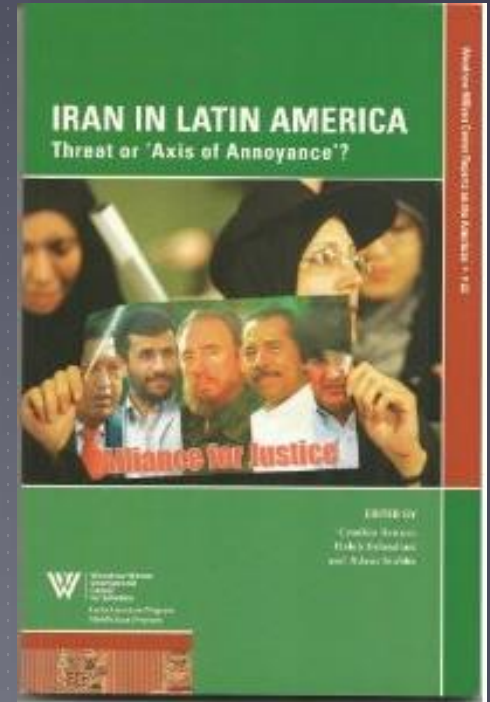
- ▶ Official policy, through the
 - ▶ A) Foreign ministry (includes military ties)
 - ▶ B) The Jewish Agency
 - ▶ Totally focused on the Jewish community, but it is part of state demographic goals
 - ▶ Strengthening Israel-centered identity (Hebrew teachers, youth movements)
- ▶ Triangular Harmony: Israel-Country-Jewish Communities ?
- ▶ Conflicting interests:
 - ▶ Kidnapping of Adolf Eichmann, 1960
 - ▶ Argentina under military rule, 1976-1983
 - ▶ Iran/Contra affair

ARAB POLICY IN LATIN AMERICA

- ▶ No Palestinian representation until 1980s, starting with Cuba
- ▶ Arab League office in Buenos Aires (Hussein Triki)
- ▶ Arab countries negligent on Palestinian issue; fewer embassies than Israel
- ▶ Brazil, Mexico voted in favor of UN Zionism is Racism Resolution (1975)
- ▶ After 2000, PA appointed emissaries/ambassadors (replacing PLO)
- ▶ 2011 UN Statehood Campaign

IRAN IN LATIN AMERICA

- ▶ Iran's overall policy/strategic goals
 - ▶ Economic self-interest (OPEC, Trade)
 - ▶ Joint enterprises (Empty promises? Domestic considerations?)
 - ▶ Anti-U.S. rhetoric
 - ▶ Assert foreign policy independence, alternatives to status quo
 - ▶ Nuclear development?
- ▶ Narrowing focus on Israel/Palestine
 - ▶ Impact on Venezuela, Bolivia, Nicaragua
 - ▶ Cut relations with Israel
 - ▶ Exporting Violence?
 - ▶ Argentina, Mexico



IRAN IN LATIN AMERICA

▶ Holocaust denial

- ▶ 2006: International Conference to Review the Global Vision of the Holocaust- Tehran
- ▶ Ahmadinejad's use of word "Zionist" as a cover for anti-Semitic sentiments
- ▶ As a spokesman of "oppressed nations" and anti-U.S. garners attention, support
- ▶ Fidel Castro condemns Iranian government's Holocaust denial

▶ Complex relations: Argentina

- ▶ Diplomatic relationship strained after AMIA, Embassy Bombings; Timerman beginning to open relations
- ▶ 2008: Bi-lateral trade at \$1.2 billion
- ▶ Cause of concern for United States

POLITICAL CHANGES IN LATIN AMERICA

▶ Military Dictatorships

- ▶ Argentina
- ▶ Brazil
- ▶ Chile

▶ Democratization, Market Liberalization

- ▶ Plurality
- ▶ Washington Consensus
- ▶ MERCOSUR

▶ Emergence of the Populist Left

- ▶ Chavez- Venezuela Morales- Bolivia Ortega- Nicaragua

▶ Emergence of the Democratic Left

- ▶ Mujica- Uruguay Lula/Rousseff- Brazil Kirchner- Argentina

ARABS AND JEWS TOWARDS PALESTINE/ISRAEL

Characteristics	Jews	Arabs
History of Identity	Old, Established	New, Relational to Israel
Loyalty	Incumbent Government	Multiple Loyalties to Representation
Financial Contribution	Societal/State-building	Family Remittances
Centrality of Homeland	Central, but decreasing	Not central, but increasing
Significance of Homeland	Language, Religion, Culture, Nationhood	Nationhood
Unifying Effect?	Ashkenazi/Sephardi “Melting Pot”	Differentiation between Christian-Muslim
Return to Homeland	Drastic decrease	None (Difficult- Stateless)
Expatriates	Israeli emigration- Negative Balance	Christian emigration- Negative Balance
Affluent/Emerging	Middle/Upper Class	Middle/Upper Class
Assimilation (Being Here)	Increasing	Overwhelming

GENERATING HYPOTHESES AND IMPLICATIONS

- ▶ Action research = work in progress (Abrahamic Interfaith and cousins clubs: reality or utopia?)
- ▶ Initial experiences: Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Peru , El Salvador (largest Jewish and/or Arab communities)
- ▶ Latin America as a laboratory [comparative other regions]– Diasporas as “partners in conflict”
- ▶ Sharing and strengthening a common identity

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

- ▶ Part of the problem or solution: peace breakers or builders? Import or export?
 - ▶ Fluctuation both ways - no determinism [judeo/islamofobia in hostland not major explanatory variable]
- ▶ Policy Relevance: Both Government and Civil Society relevance – Diasporas mirroring right or wrong
- ▶ Over time, Latin American public opinion/sympathy has shifted from Israel to Palestine
- ▶ Evangelists [new supporters of Israel] and Catholics [low pro-Palestinian sympathy]
- ▶ Compatibility with governments- ideally diasporas would like to be in good terms with homeland/host-land. Tension in crisis situations at homeland
- ▶ Harmonious triangle: homeland-hostland-diaspora
- ▶ Overall policy relevance on I/P negligible impact. Still, can play a role at the peacebuilding/track II diplomacy level. (Oslo Peace Process/ Montevideo)
- ▶ Agenda for further research:
 - ▶ Diasporization versus long-distance nationalism – Is there a Diaspora phenomena after third generation in a democracy?
 - ▶ Are Diaspora splits a reflection of homeland politics (AIPAC/J Street) or community enlightened best interest?
 - ▶ Transnational identities: challenges the idea that the geographic border; quasi-citizenship?

Thank you!

Comments?

Questions?

Contact:

kaufmane@umd.edu

Edward.Kaufman@wilsoncenter.org

HYPOTHESES

▶ General Hypotheses

- ▶ Long-distance nationalism: may become more involved in hardline politics of their countries because they do not face; “it is our blood we’re talking about”- Yossi Sarid
- ▶ Diasporas that were created by conflict, by trauma, or memories are less willing to compromise (Pogroms, Holocaust vs. Nakba); trauma
 - ▶ Conflict in the past and an aspiration of return to the homeland in the future; Law of Return vs. Right of Return
- ▶ Homeland governments consider migration to be Diaspora security threats
- ▶ *Shain and Barth: diaspora groups’ influence on the foreign policy of their hostlands; influential in democratic states and when they have an identity-based motive, such as transforming the homeland into a state*

▶ Hypotheses relevant to Jews

- ▶ Diasporas are likely to act as peacemakers if engagement in homeland politics is perceived as identity-reinforcing, and legitimate in the international arena; the more inclusive the political system, the more diaspora activities are channeled into the system

▶ Hypotheses relevant to Palestinians/Arabs

- ▶ Anderson: Stateless diasporic communities linked to legitimized leaders and organizations are more likely to pursue strategies based on negotiation, than are diasporas delegitimized in the international arena (Hamas)
- ▶ Stateless/Refugees have the potential to import conflict; diasporas are guilty of broadening the conflict → not so prominent in Latin America; few acts of terror were involving foreign governments, it’s not home-grown

INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE- CHILE

- ▶ Ford Foundation Grant, Fundacion IDEAS
- ▶ 22 participants: 2 coordinators, 3 researchers, 6 facilitators, 11 speakers
- ▶ July 2006- February 2008
- ▶ DIJO wishes to be a catalyst for the eradication of intolerance, discrimination, and prejudices, in addition to reinforcing the acknowledgement and respect of cultural and social diversity.
- ▶ 3 phases
 - ▶ Literature Review/Survey of Best Practice models
 - ▶ Surveys of students in Colegio Arabe and Instituto Hebreo

ALIYAH TO ISRAEL FROM LATIN AMERICA

Inmigración a Israel desde países latinoamericanos, perfiles anuales, 1948-2008

