

## Index

- abduction (research strategy), 75  
 Abu Khdeir, Mohammed, 183  
 Academy of the Hebrew Language, 189  
 Addresses to the German nation (Fichte), 27  
 African National Congress (ANC, 1912/  
 1923–), 242, 245, 247, 250, 255, 259,  
 284, 292–3, 299, 303, 305  
 Afrikaans Language Monument (*Afrikaanse  
 Taalmonument*), 276  
*Afrikaansche*, 236  
*Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut* (AHI, Afrikaner  
 business association), 280, 297  
*Afrikaanse Patriot, Die*, 235  
 Afrikaner (*Afrikaander*)  
 denotation of, 229  
 derivation of the word, 228  
*Afrikaner Broederbond* (1918–1920), 252,  
 264, 269, 275  
 Afrikanerdom, 15, 235, 240  
 defined, 240  
 ethnonationalism and, 304  
 Israel and, 246–7  
 threats and threads, 242–300  
*After the Rain* (Bar-Ner), 190  
 Ahad Ha'am (Ginsberg, Asher Zvi Hirsch),  
 175, 184, 187, 195, 207  
 Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud, 166, 168  
 Alami, Musa, 192  
*Aliyah* (Jewish immigration wave to Palestine),  
 138, 206  
 Allon Plan (1967), 148  
*Allophone* (defined), 126  
 Alon, Binyamin, 172  
*Altalena*, 169  
 Alterman, Natan, 175, 185, 218  
*am olam* (Everlasting People), 131  
*Am Yisrael Chai* (The people of Israel live on),  
 142  
 American Freedom Agenda, 11  
 American War of Independence (1775–1783),  
 81  
 Amir, Ruth, 225  
 anarchy, uncertainty and, 30  
 Anderson, Benedict, 6  
 Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry (1946),  
 198  
 Anglophones, 92  
 Angola, 247, 248, 262, 273, 287  
*anomy* (meaninglessness and moral vacuity), 5,  
 25, 67, 72, 114  
 anti-Semitism, 133, 140, 246  
 European, 133  
 WCAR and, 159  
 World War II and, 155  
 Zionism and, 153, 205  
 anxiety, 32  
 apartheid, 241–2, 244, 264, 266, 271, 289–90  
 as a necessary evil, 280  
 as an Afrikaner ideal, 265  
 blood-purity and, 254  
 defined, 268  
 ethnicity and, 265  
 Nazism and, 266, 281, 296  
*petty*, 241  
 religious ethnonationalism and, 271  
 Aquin, Hubert, 110

- Arab League's Peace Initiative, 216  
 Arab Question, 159, 175, 200  
 Arab Spring (2010–2013), 167  
 Aran, Gideon, 210  
 Araud, Gerard, 16  
 Arbroath, Declaration of, 21  
 Aronson, Shlomo, 201  
 assimilation, 43, 81, 87, 99–101, 132–3, 152–3, 205, 239, 308  
*Association Canado-Américaine*, 100  
 Aumann, Robert (Yisrael), 174  
 autonomism, 133, 308  
   defined, 131  
*Autorität* (Weber), 52  
 Avidan, David, 137  
 Ayalon, Ami, 193
- Balfour Declaration (1917), 157, 202  
 Balfour, Arthur James, 254  
 Banai, Ehud, 210  
 Bantustans (South African homelands), 241, 245, 267–8, 277, 304  
 Bar Kochba revolt (132–136 CE), 185  
 Barak, Ehud, 164, 169, 198, 215  
 Bar-Asher, Moshe, 189  
 Barnavi, Élie, 158  
 Bar-Ner, Yitzhak, 190  
 Bar-Tal, Daniel, 224  
 Barzilai, Gad, 192  
 Bassi, Yonatan, 151  
 Battle of Blood River (1838), 234, 238, 251, 269, 274, 288, 291  
 Battle of the Nile (Aboukir Bay, 1798), 84  
 Becker, Ernest, 24–5, 49  
 Begin, Menachem, 157, 169, 171, 221  
 Beilin, Yossi, 139–40, 216  
 Beinisch, Dorit, 194  
 Bellah, Robert N., 39  
 Ben Dahan, Eli, 183  
 Ben Yehuda, Eliezer, 275  
 Ben Zakkai, Yohanan, 186  
*Ben-Gurion Complex*, 222  
 Ben-Gurion, David, 13, 134, 138, 160, 176–7, 182, 191–2, 195, 197, 199, 204, 206, 212, 216, 219, 221, 271  
 Ben-Nun, Yoel, 171, 181  
 Benvenisti, Meron, 153, 192  
 Ben-Yehuda, Eliezer, 186  
 Benziman, Uzi, 139, 172  
 Berdichevsky, Micha Yosef, 177  
 Berger, Peter, 25, 50  
 Bergman, Ernest David, 221
- Biebouw, Hendrik, 228  
 black threat (*swart gevaar*), 230, 234, 254–60  
 blame, 58–9, 88  
 Blasi, Augusto, 46  
 Bloc Québécois party, 109  
 Boer War  
   First (1880–1881), 241, 248, 253, 274, 287, 298  
   Second (1899–1902), 97, 239, 264, 274  
 Boers (*boeren*, Dutch farmers), 229  
 Boltanski, Luc, 51  
 Border War (South African Border War, 1966–1989), 276, 287  
*Borealia* (of the north), 93  
 Borges, Jorge Luis, 3  
 Boshoff, Carel, 291  
 Botha, Pieter Willem, 242, 260, 270, 276–8, 284, 287  
 Botswana, 247  
 Bouchard, Gérard, 128  
 Bourassa, Jean-Robert, 113, 122, 270  
 Bourassa, Joseph-Napoléon-Henri, 94–7, 100  
 Bourget, Ignace, 89  
*Brit Habirionim* (Strongman Alliance), 218  
*Brit Shalom* (1925–1933), 213  
 British Mandate for Palestine (1922), 156, 160, 202, 219  
 British North America Act (BNA, 1867), 91–2  
 British Uganda Plan (1903), 179  
*broedertwis* (fraternal war), 261  
 Buber, Martin, 57, 184, 195, 198, 208, 218, 281  
 Burg, Avram, 170  
*Burger, Die*, 282  
 Burgers, Thomas Francois, 236  
 Burke, Edmund, 27  
 Bush, George W., 11  
 Buthelezi, Mangosuthu, 242, 292
- Calhoun, Craig, 6, 50  
 Calvino, Italo, 17, 302  
 Camp David Accords (1978), 163  
 Camus, Albert, 24  
 Canaanism, 211, 308  
 Canadian Confederation, 91, 98, 102  
*Canadien, Le*, 83  
*Canadiens de Montréal, Les*, 106  
 Cantin, Serge, 120  
 Carey, Lord, 38  
 Carnation Revolution (1974), 247  
 Cartier, Jacques, 79  
 Casgrain, Henri-Raymond, 99  
*Catechism of Catholic Education*, 99

## Index

361

- Catholicism  
 French Canadian, 87–90, 99, 104, 108, 270  
 language and, 95  
 Sentinelle Affair and, 100–1  
 Huguenots and, 228  
 New France and, 80  
 revolutionary democracy and, 82, 84  
 South American, 271
- causae-sui*  
 Afrikaner, 15  
 collective, 9, 22–8  
 concurrent, 9  
 consecutive, 9  
 defined, 4  
 French Canadian, 14  
 nation as, 8  
 national  
 justificatory rationales for, 8  
 sustaining, 9  
 reaffirming. reframing, replacing, 62  
*Zionist*, 15
- causation/causality, 6, 10, 45, 73  
 intersubjective reasoning and, 7  
 material, 26
- Century of Wrong, A* (Smuts), 238
- Chamberlain, Joseph, 179
- Charest, Jean, 128
- Charlottetown Accord (1992), 122
- Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), 114
- chimpanzees, 2
- chosen people, concept, 14, 58, 60  
 Afrikaners and, 230, 235, 267, 269, 273  
 French Canadians and, 89, 97, 99  
 Jews and, 130, 182, 195
- Ciechanover, Aaron, 174
- Cillié, Piet, 285
- Cité libre*, 107
- colonialism, 21, 79, 93, 114, 117, 172, 202,  
 209, 212, 228, 233, 241, 247, 251,  
 253, 274
- Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of  
 Non-Aligned States (1975), 158
- conscience, 3, 44  
 collective, 59, 218  
 liberty of, in religion, 81
- Conservative Party of Québec, 90
- Constitutional Act (1791), 81–2
- constructivism/instrumentalism, 19, 20
- Consultation Commission on Accommodation  
 Practices Related to Cultural  
 Differences (CCAPRC), 128
- Cornellier, Louis, 121
- Covenant  
 Afrikaner, 269  
 of the pieces, 182
- Crapanzano, Vincent, 262
- Cross, James, 114
- culture, 61, 274–7
- Daignault, Elphège, 100
- Darwin, Charles, 44–5, 57
- Dayan, Moshe, 148, 161, 177
- de Gaulle, Charles, 111
- De Klerk, Frederik Willem, 285, 292–4, 297
- De la Rey* (van Blerk), 297
- de Waal, Frans, 45, 47
- Debray, Régis, 27
- Defense Forces (IDF), 140, 218
- demographic  
 demon, 150, 152  
 Psychological mitigation mechanism, 72,  
 225, 288
- Denial of Death, The* (Becker), 24
- Derriennic, Jean-Pierre, 119
- Descent of Man, The* (Darwin), 44
- determinism, Psychological mitigation  
 mechanism, 72, 225, 288  
 biological, 2
- Devoir, Le* (Duty), 95, 100, 106
- Diaspora, 156, 158, 205, 308
- Dion, Léon, 121
- discourse-tracing, 76
- discrimination, class and racial, 280
- Disengagement Plan (Israel's unilateral retreat  
 from the Gaza Strip, 2005), 135, 142,  
 150–2, 170–1, 182
- dismissal, Psychological mitigation mechanism, 72
- domination, ethnic, 71
- Dosh (Kariel Gardosh), 161
- Doutre, Gonzalve, 90
- Doutre, Joseph, 112
- du Plessis, Jan Christoffel, 271
- du Toit, Stephanus Jacobus, 235–7, 269
- Dubnow, Simon, 131–2
- Duceppe, Gilles, 109
- Dumont, Fernand, 86, 112, 120, 126
- Duplessis, Maurice, 105, 108, 111
- Durham Report (1839), 86, 88
- Durham, John, 86
- Durkheim, Emil, 50
- Dutch East India Company (Verenigde  
 Oostindische Compagnie, VOC), 228,  
 230, 264
- Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), 229, 231, 264

- Eban, Abba, 156
- Economy and Society* (Weber), 52
- Edict of Nantes (1598), 80
- Eiland, Giora, 152
- Elazari-Volcani, Yitzhak, 177
- Eldad, Aryeh, 182, 207, 220
- emancipation
- French Canadian, 121
  - Jewish, 131
  - without assimilation, 132
- pogroms and, 155
- slave, 233
- emigration
- Afrikaner, 243
  - Huguenots and, 80
  - Jewish, 144, 203
  - South African, 291, 298
- epigenetics
- defined, 46
- equality
- Afrikaner
    - challenges to, 248–62
      - Black, 254–60
      - British, 250–3
      - intra-Afrikaner, 260–2
    - civil, 15, 249
    - racial equalization/leveling and, 233
    - women's, 230
  - complete, 70
  - epistemic inequality and, 41
  - ethnopolities and, 70
  - French Canadian, 89
  - Jewish, 206–7
    - civil, 144
  - racial, 250, 254
  - Zionism and Diasporic, 15
- Eretz Israel, 13, 179, 184
- as the heart of Zionism, 180
- Escape from Evil* (Becker), 24
- ethnicity
- Afrikaner (Afrikanerness), 230, 234, 248, 269, 299
    - religion and, 230
  - ancient pride and, 28, 58
  - apartheid and, 265, 295
  - boundaries of, 68
  - Canadien, 93
  - culture and, 88
  - defined, 6, 21
  - endangered French Canadian, 79–86
  - ethnie (ethnic community), 12
  - ethnosphere and, 70
  - exclusionist, 66
  - French Canadian, 91, 304
  - identity and, 37
  - Jewish (Jewishness), 132, 133, 305
    - religion and, 270
  - linguistic, 100, 125, 186
  - polarized, 23
  - Québécois, 303
  - race and, 264
  - religion and, 88, 265
  - social identity and, 23, 68, 229
  - uncertainty-reduction and, 23
- ethnonationalism, 67, 96, 108–29, 133
- Afrikaner, 227, 238, 259
    - race and, 266
    - religion and, 269–70
  - apartheid and, 271
  - Canadien*, 88
  - civic nationalism and, 112
  - discrediting/negating, 122, 201, 268, 304
  - French Canadian, 96
  - Israeli (in the case of Zionism), 246
  - kinship and, 23
  - legitimacy source of, 71
  - linguistic patriotism and, 125
  - Québécois, 113
  - rationalism and, 112
  - revolts and, 83
- ethno-racism, 268, 271
- ethno-religionism, 112, 126, 307
- Afrikaners, 233, 238
  - French Canadian, 86–107, 270, 307
  - legitimacy source of, 71
  - Zionist ethno-nationalism and, 181, 238
- ethnosphere
- Afrikaner, 227, 309
  - ethnie and, 70
  - evolving, 66–7
  - French Canadian, 79, 307
  - identity and, 67
  - Jewish, 133, 308
- Etzel* (national military organization), 169
- European Union, 11
- Évian Conference (1938), 155
- exceptionalism, human, 1, 4, 47
- existentialism, 2, 4
- political, 23, 26, 301, 305
- expedience, 61, 279–80
- Facing the Forest* (Yehoshua), 190
- Falardeau, Jean-Charles, 80
- Fattah el-Sisi, Abdel, 167

## Index

363

- fear, collective, 2–3, 9, 11, 16, 24–5, 29, 33, 41, 49
- Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations (FAK), 275
- Ferland, Albert, 98
- Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 27
- force,  
 Afrikaner, 286–8  
 French-Canadian, 81, 104  
 limits of (migbalut hakoach), 221  
 theoretical considerations of, 42, 52, 61, 65, 66  
 Zionist, 218–24
- Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784), 228
- Francophonie* (or *Francophones*)  
 defined, 123
- Frankl, Victor, 26
- Franks, C. E. S., 129
- Free Front Party (FF), 293
- Freedom Charter, 260
- French Canadians, 78–129  
*Canadiens*, 15, 79–86, 106  
 1534–1760, 79–80  
 1760–1840, 81–6  
 French *Canadiens*, 86–91  
 1867–1914, 91–8  
 1914–1945, 98–104  
 1945–1960, 105–7  
 nomenclature, 80  
*Canadiens français*, 87  
*la survivance* and, 13  
*Québécois*, 15, 108–29  
 1960–1967, 108–11  
 1967–1980, 111–18  
 1981–, 118–29  
 defined, 108  
 shared character/characteristics, 12–13
- French Revolution (1789), 81–2
- Freud, Sigmund, 37
- Fromm, Erich, 24
- Front de Libération du Québec* (FLQ), 114
- Future Vision for the Palestinian Arabs in Israel, The (2006), 172
- Gallicanism, 80
- Garneau, François-Xavier, 88
- Gazit, Shlomo, 220
- Geffen, Yonathan, 211
- geo-demographics, 242–4, 256, 268, 278, 303–4
- Gereformeerde Kerke* (GK), 229
- Giddens, Anthony, 35
- Gill, Charles, 98
- Ginsberg, Asher Zvi Hirsch (Ahad Ha'am), 175
- Godbout, Jacques, 124
- Golan, Avirama, 153
- Goldmann, Nachum, 138
- Goldstone Report (2009), 142
- Golomb, Eliyahu, 176
- Gordon, A. D., 208
- Gorny, Yosef, 160, 165
- Great Britain, 12  
 Canada and, 12, 79, 81–3, 86–8, 92  
 Palestine and, 12  
 South Africa and, 12, 231–4, 236–9, 248–53, 264, 275, 288  
*Yishuv* and, 143, 156
- Great Trek (1835), 234–5, 238, 251, 269, 274, 282, 285, 288, 298
- Green Line, 152, 211
- Grosbard, Ofer, 224
- Grossman, David, 139, 174
- Groulx, Lionel, 102–4, 119, 271
- Group Areas Act, 279
- guilt, 3, 9, 56–9, 119, 198–200, 295–8
- Gulf War (1991), 164
- Gurevitch, Zali, 210
- Gush Emunim* (Bloc of the Faithful), 179–80, 214
- Ha'aretz*, 149, 153, 194
- Habayit Hayehudi* (Jewish Home Party), 183
- Haganah*, 169, 176
- Haidt, Jonathan, 47–8
- Hakibbutz Hameuchad* kibbutz movement, 138
- Halacha* (Jewish faith and religious law), 131, 177  
 Eretz Israel and, 180
- Halevi, Ephraim, 168
- Hall, Stuart, 37
- Halutz, Dan, 194
- halutzim* (pioneers, avant-garde), 209
- Harkabi, Jehoshaphat, 161
- Harper, Stephen, 129
- Hashomer HaTza'ir* movement (Youth Guard), 213
- Haskalah* movement (Jewish enlightenment), 186
- Hatnuah* Party, 216
- Havel, Vaclav, 306
- Hazan, Ya'acov, 213
- Hebraism, 134–5
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 64
- Heidegger, Martin, 57

- Heine, Heinrich, 131  
 Heinz Dilemma (Kohlberg), 46  
 Hemon, Louis, 97  
 Herrenvolk Democracy (democracy of a master race/ethnie), 192, 277  
*Herrschaft* (Weber), 51–2  
 Hersh, Seymour, 221  
 Hertzog, James Barry Munnik, 240, 251, 274–5, 279  
 Herzl, Theodore (Ze'ev), 155, 184, 194, 210, 271  
 Herzog, Chaim, 158  
 Heyns, Johan, 272  
 Hezbollah, 142  
 Hickey, William, 100  
 history, 60, 273–4  
 Hofmeyr, Jan Hendrik, 235, 237  
 Holocaust, 15, 133, 137, 155, 161, 165, 199, 205–6, 246, 270  
 homeland, 61, 70, 93, 115, 177, 184, 201, 210–12, 240, 285  
   religion as a portable, 131  
 Hume, David, 48
- idealism, universalist, 133
- identity  
   Afrikaner, 227–30  
   coloreds and, 253  
   focal points of, 296  
   Boer, 229  
   British, 36, 38  
   collective, 120  
   fluidity of, 302  
   religion and, 91  
   collective ontological insecurity regarding, 29  
   crisis and fission, 40  
   cultural dimension of, 61  
   defined, 18  
   endangered, 37–8, 69  
   ethnic, 8, 23, 28, 67–70, 115  
   Afrikaner, 14, 305  
   defined, 67  
   external, 67  
   French Canadians, 14  
   past and, 36  
   self-, 67  
   Zionist, 305  
   ethnic and, 37  
   european, validity of, 11  
   existential doubt and, 34  
   future-driven, 37  
   hyphenated, 93
- inner (Freud), 37  
 Israeli, 134  
 Jewish, 12, 14, 135, 178  
   in modernity, 131–6  
   religion and, 131  
 legitimating, 56–9  
 moral, 46  
 national  
   language and, 23  
   ontological insecurity and, 67  
   Palestinian, 160  
   pluralistic, 120  
   politics, 18–22  
   polity and, 35  
   -polity complex, 34, 67  
*Québécois*, 15, 115, 119, 126  
   community and, 120  
 racism and, 230  
 shifts, 67  
 social, 18, 22, 31, 36  
   freedom to choose, 133  
   intergenerational, 19  
   Jews and, 133  
 sociopolitical, 72  
 state-, 36  
 statist versus state, 36
- Ihud* (1942–1948), 213  
 illusion, cultural, 25  
*Imagined Communities* (Anderson), 6
- immigration  
   theoretical considerations of, 37–8, 40, 43  
   French  
     to *New France*, 79–80  
     to Quebec, 117, 121, 123–6  
   British  
     to French Canada, 82, 93, 232  
     to South Africa, 232  
   Dutch, to South Africa, 238  
   Jewish, 138, 144, 188, 204, 251  
   whites, to South Africa, 227–33, 238, 241, 249, 251
- Immorality Amendment Act (1950), 265
- immortality  
   Jewish, 130–1, 136  
   meaningful, 27  
   national, 27, 137  
   symbolic, 25–6, 93, 108, 136  
   Catholicism and, 94  
   Janus-faced, 27  
   symbolic individual, 27
- individualism, methodological, 74  
*Industry of Lies, The* (Yemini), 226

## Index

365

- Inglehart, Ronald, 26  
 Inkatha Freedom Party, 242  
 insecurity  
   demographic, 31  
   epistemic, 34, 41–2, 136–43  
     Afrikaner, 237–42, 290–5  
     ontological insecurity and, 34  
   ontological, 35–41  
     Afrikaner, 228–36, 295–300  
     ethnonational, 58  
     Jewish, 131–6  
*Institut Canadien*, 90  
 interculturalism, 128  
 intermarriage, 152  
 Intifada  
   First (1987), 148, 163–4, 193, 199, 222  
   Second (2000), 139–40, 149, 153, 158, 164,  
     169, 171, 193, 199, 217, 220, 222  
 intuitionism, social (Haidt), 47–8  
*Invisible Cities* (Calvino), 17  
 IR (International Relations, academic  
 discipline)  
   discourse, death/doubt in, 29–30  
   uncertainty, 30  
     aspects of, 30  
     existential, 30  
     intersubjective, 30  
 Iran, 165  
 Iron Wall, 142, 175–6, 195, 198, 212–13, 216,  
 222, 226  
 Islam, militant, fundamentalist, 165  
 Israel  
   as a Jewish state, 136  
   as an ethnic democracy, 192  
   as an ethnocracy, 192  
   defined, 192  
   goals of, 143–6  
   sovereignty, 143  
 Israeli War of Independence (1948 War), 147,  
 160, 165, 218  
 Jabotinsky, Ze'ev, 138–9, 143, 146, 175, 198,  
 212, 216, 271  
 Jameson Raid on the Transvaal (1895–96), 238  
*Jewish State, The* (Herzl), 187  
 Jewishness (Jewish ethnicity)  
   factors preserving global, 132  
   Hebrew-ness and, 134  
   Judaism and, 132  
 Joubert, Elsa, 276  
*Judenstaat, Der* (The Jewish State, Herzl), 155  
 justice, 61  
   Theoretical considerations of, 46, 50, 57, 61  
   Zionist, 175–7, 189, 196–201, 220, 223, 226  
     Afrikaner, 262, 268, 272, 279, 281–2  
 justification  
   principled, 50  
   public, 51  
 Kafka, Franz, 24  
 Kaniuk, Yoram, 165, 190  
 Katzover, Benny, 193  
 Kenan, Amos, 190  
 Kennedy, John F., 13  
*Kerk en Samelewing* (Church and Society), 272  
 Kestell, J. D., 261  
 Kfar Qasim massacre (1956), 218  
*Khirbet Khizeh* (Yizhar), 190  
 Khoikhoi tribes, 230–1, 233  
*kibbutz* (communal settlement based on  
 farming), 209  
 Kierkegaard, Soren, 23  
 Kimmerling, Baruch, 159  
 kin-culture, 23  
 Klein, A. M., 105  
 Kohlberg, Lawrence, 46, 54  
 Kook, Abraham Isaac, 180  
 Kook, Israel HaCohen, 180  
 Koornhof, Piet, 256  
*Kristallnacht* (Night of the Broken Glass, 1938),  
 158  
 Krog, Antjie, 298  
 Kruger, Paul, 236, 269  
 Kublai Khan, 17  
 Kundera, Milan, 7, 33, 306  
  
*L'Action Nationale* (*L'Action Française/L'Action  
 Canadienne-Française*), 102–3  
*la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (the Saint Jean  
 Baptiste Society), 84–6  
 laager, 288  
 Lafèche, Louis-François Richer, 88, 93  
 Lafontaine, Louis-Hippolyte, 87  
 Laforest, Guy, 122  
 Laitin, David D., 22  
 Landau, David, 153  
 Landau, Moshe, 201  
 Landau, Uzi, 201  
 Langheoven, Cornelis Jacob, 275  
 language, 35, 77, 275–6  
   Afrikaans (language), 231, 235, 275–6, 299  
   debate (*taaldebat*), 299  
   defined, 4  
   ethnicity and, 123

- language, (cont.)  
 French, 95, 112, 122–6  
 Hebrew, 187  
   challenges to legitimization, 188  
*langue publique commune* (common public language), 123  
 legitimation and, 75  
 morality and, 45  
 preservation, 95  
 Québécois French (*français québécois*), 123  
 shared, 21, 187  
 Lapid, Yair, 178  
 Laporte, Pierre, 114  
*Last Jew, The* (Kaniuk), 190  
 Laurendeau, Andre, 99, 105  
 Laurier, Wilfrid, 94  
 League of Nations Mandate (1922), 157  
 Lebanon War  
   First (1982), 157, 218, 222  
   Second (2006), 153, 165, 222  
 law and legality  
   Afrikaner, 266, 281–2  
   French-Canadian, 81–2, 90, 96  
   theoretical considerations of, 53, 61  
   Zionist, 132, 146, 152–3, 202–3  
 legitimacy, 50–1  
   horizon of, 66  
 legitimation  
   as a learning process, 9  
   charismatic, 53  
   existential self-, 8, 55–6  
   forceful, 53  
   four fronts of, 51–3, 55  
   identity and, 56–9  
   language and, 75  
   moral reasoning and, 51  
   political, 50–4  
   polity and, 59–62  
   prescriptive and descriptive, 50  
   rational-legal, 53  
   self-, 42  
     existential, 55–6  
 LEHI (*Lohamei Herut Israel*, Fighters for the Freedom of Israel/Stern Gang), 218  
 Leib Gordon, Judah, 186  
 Leibowitz, Elia, 153, 185  
 Leibowitz, Yeshayahu, 29, 148  
 Leo XII, Pope, 101  
 Lévesque, René, 113–14  
   Trudeau and, 118  
 Levi, Reshef, 168  
 Levy, Gideon, 224  
 Liberal party (Parti libéral du Québec, PLQ), 94, 113, 115  
 liberty, 62–72  
   defined, 13  
 Lieberman, Avigdor, 152, 167, 178  
*Ligue Nationaliste, La*, 95  
 Lissak, Moshe, 169, 201  
 Livni, Tzipi, 136, 168, 217  
 Louis XIV, King, 79–80  
 Louw, N. P. van Wyk, 276, 281  
  
*Ma'ariv*, 140  
 Madrid Conference (1991), 214  
 majority/minority, 160, 242–4, 256, 284, 303–4  
 Malan, Daniel Francois, 240, 249, 252, 264, 269, 275, 282  
 Malawi, 247  
*Man's Search for Meaning* (Frankl), 26  
 Mandela, Nelson, 242, 290, 292  
 Manitoba, 94  
 Mapai (Workers Party in Eretz Israel), 138  
 Marcus, Yoel, 153, 165  
*Maria Chapdelaine* (Hemon), 97  
 Marois, Pauline, 128  
 Marx, Karl, 7, 263  
 Masada, 288  
   Laager and, 288  
   on Mount Carmel, 156  
   seige of (73 CE), 185  
   *Yavneh* and, 186  
 Maslow, Abraham, 26  
 Mbeki, Thabo, 242  
 meaning-seeking (defined), 25  
 Meech Lake Accord (1987), 121  
 Megged, Aharon, 201  
*Meimad* Party, 181  
 Meir, Golda, 157, 163, 176, 218, 221  
 Meir, Yitzhak, 181  
 Melchior, Michael, 140, 159  
 memory, collective, 39  
   Afrikaner, 239, 246, 248, 274, 298  
   French-Canadian, 108, 111, 118, 120, 126, 128  
   Theoretical considerations of, 33, 57  
   Zionist, 157, 198, 207, 224–5  
 Mercier, Honoré, 94  
 Meretz Party, 174, 216  
 Métis (mixed descendants of Canadian First Nations and French or Scottish), 93  
 miscegenation, 254  
 mitigation, psychological, 42, 287–9



## Index

367

- Mizrahi Religious Zionist Movement, 179
- modernization, 8, 26, 101, 104, 130–1, 186, 270
- Moledet* Party, 172
- Moodie, T. Dunbar, 284
- morality, 42–62
- as cooperation, 45
  - as prosocial behavior, 45
  - collective, 8
  - defined, 13
  - emergence/evolution, 44–50
  - foundations of, 47
  - malleable, 63–6
  - moral identity, 46
  - national, challenges to, 65
  - reason and, 48
  - self-conception and, 64
- Mortality of the Iron Wall*, The (Jabotinsky), 175, 198
- Morgenthau, Hans, vii, 26, 305
- mortality, 28–9
- collective
    - defined, 30
    - Janus-faced, 8
    - spectrum of, 11
  - defined, 3
  - national, 31
- Mortality Paradox (Cave), 3
- Motlanthe, Kgalema, 242
- Mozambique, 247
- multiculturalism, 38, 119, 122, 128, 295, 300
- Murray, Arthur, 270
- MV Mavi Marmara incident (2010), 142
- My Promised Land* (Shavit), 137
- Myth of Sisyphus*, The (Camus), 24
- Namibia, 242, 244, 247
- Nasrallah, Hassan, 142
- Nasser, Gamel Abdel, 74
- National Party (Nasionale Party; NP), 240, 264
- nationalism, 19–22, 112
- ethnic, see ethno-nationalism
  - banal, 10
  - civic, 113
  - defined, 6, 19
  - factors in rise of modern, 106
  - history/immortality and, 6
  - linguistic, 122–6
  - negative, 19
  - pan-Canadian, opposition to, 122
  - positive, 20
  - peoplehood and, 21–2
- Native Land Act (1913), 241
- Native Urban Area Act (1923), 241
- naturalism
  - reification and, 2
  - Taylor's criticism of, 2
- Navon, Yitzhak, 138
- Nazism, 27
- Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK), 229, 254, 269, 272–3
- Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk* (NHK), 229, 269
- Evangelist and orthodox Calvinist, 269
- Netanyahu, Benjamin, 14, 135, 140, 152, 166
- netzah yisrael* (eternal Israel), 137
- New France, 79
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 24, 73
- Nir, Yonatan, 142
- nomization (defined), 25
- nomos* (meaningful moral order), 25
- Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), 245
- Nordau, Max, 210
- norms, 54
- Norris, Pippa, 26
- O Canada* (anthem), 85
- Octavia parable (*Invisible Cities*, Calvino), 302
- Old Yishuv* (pre-Zionist Jews in Palestine), 133
- Olmert, Ehud, 216–17
- On Justification* (Boltanski and Thévenot), 51
- Operation Cast Lead (2008), 142
- Operation Defensive Shield (2002), 141, 153, 223
- Operation Pillar of Defense (2012), 142
- Operation Protective Edge (2014), 142, 182
- Operation Shlom Hagalil (1982 Lebanon War), 157
- Orange Free State (OFR), 234
- Oren, Amir, 174
- Oslo Accords (1993), 215
- Ossewabrandwag* (Ox-wagon Sentinel), 250
- Oz, Amos, 213
- Palestine, 144–7, 156, 159
- defined, 13
- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 157
- Palestinian National Authority (PNA), 143
- Papineau, Louis-Joseph, 84
- Parent, Étienne, 90
- Paris Peace Conference (1919), 184

- Parizeau, Jacques, 126  
 Parsons, Talcott, 50  
*Parti Bleu*, 90  
*Parti Canadien* (Canadian Party), 83–4  
*Parti National* (Québec Liberal Party, PLQ), 94, 113  
*Parti Patriote* (Patriotic Party), 84  
*Parti Québécois* (PQ), 113, 117  
*Parti Rouge*, 90  
*Partis pris*, 114  
 Partition Plan (Peel Commission 1937), 147, 204, 213  
 patriotism, 112, 123  
   civic, 124, 133  
   Pan-Canadian, 96, 113  
   linguistic, 125  
   Québécois, 113  
 Paul VI, Pope, 157  
 Peace Now movement, 214  
 Peel Commission (1937), 192  
 Peled, Yossi, 166, 195, 223  
 peoplehood, 21–2, 60  
 Peres, Shimon, 14, 135, 148, 169, 174, 195, 215  
 Pergola, Sergio Della, 149  
 Pittsburgh conference of Reform rabbis (1885), 132  
 Pius XI, Pope, 100  
 Plotsker, Sever, 159, 166  
 pluralism, cultural, 119  
 pogroms, 153  
 Poliker, Yehuda, 141  
 polity  
   collective  
     fluidity of, 302  
   epistemic insecurity and, 67  
   ethno-, 72  
     mapping, 71  
   identity and, 35  
   legitimizing, 59–62  
   material basis of, 28  
   national, 8, 70–2  
   shift of, 67  
 Polo, Marco, 17  
 Popper, Karl, 73  
*Poppie* (Joubert), 276  
 Pouliot, Vincent, 76  
 primordialism, 19–20, 28  
*Prisoner, The* (Yizhar), 190  
*Prochain Episode* (The Next Episode, Aquin), 110  
 Progressive Party (Progressive Federal Party), 291  
 Psychology, Terror Management Theory (TMT), 25  
 Public Schools Act (1890), 94  
 Purdy, Al, 129  
 Purified National Party, 240  
*Purpose Driven Life* (Warren), 26  
 Québec  
   Act (1774), 81  
   as a nation, 129  
   division of, 82  
   independence, 96  
   Québec aux Québécois, *Le!* (Québec for Québécois!), 111  
   *Québec Charter of Values*, 128  
   Québécois, 111, 115, 119  
 Rabin, Yitzhak, 135, 169, 215  
 race  
   Afrikaner/White/Black, 232, 234, 242, 249, 252, 255, 256, 263  
   French-Canadian, 87, 89, 95, 97–105, 119  
   Jewish, 192  
   Theoretical considerations of, 7, 21, 60, 68  
 racialism, defined, 263  
 racism, 272  
   Afrikaner, 263–9  
   biological, 264  
   defined, 263  
   Zionist, 263  
*Raisons communes* (Dumont), 126  
 Rank, Otto, 24  
*Ras, Volk en Masie* (Race, People and Nation), 272  
 rationalism, and ethnonationalism, 112  
 rationality, 47  
 Rawidowicz, Simon, 13, 130, 137–8, 302  
 recognition, 64–5, 139, 157, 197–8, 281  
   deficient, 64  
   morality and, 64  
   non-, 64  
   politics of, 64  
   struggle for, 64  
   thick, 64, 215, 217  
   thin, 215, 217  
 Red River Rebellion, 94  
*Reddingsdaadbond* movement, 261  
*Refus Globa, Le* (Total Refusal), 106  
 Registration Act, 278  
 Reines, Yitzhak Ya'acov, 179  
 religion, 28, 60  
   Afrikaner, 230, 234, 268–74  
   as portable homeland, 131  
   auxiliary, 60

## Index

369

- civil, 60, 179, 264, 268  
 collective identity and, 91  
 ethnic and, 88  
 ethno-, 71  
 French-Canadian, 79–82, 85–6, 89–92,  
 95–101, 104–6, 112–13, 125  
 secular, 131–6, 269  
 Zionism and, 176–83  
*Report of the Colour-Question Commission*  
 (1948), 281  
 Retief, Piet, 234  
 revolts of 1837–1838, 83  
*Révolution tranquille* (Quiet Revolution), 108–  
 13, 116  
 Rhodes, Cecil John, 238, 263  
 Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, 247  
 Rhodie, N. J., 255, 279, 283  
 Richard, Maurice, 106  
 Riot, 107  
 Riel, Louis David, 93  
 Rioux, Marcel, 78  
 Rommel, Erwin, 156  
 Rosenzweig, Franz, 190  
 Rotblit, Ya'akov, 214  
 Rothman, Miems, 281  
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 50, 59, 64  
 Rozenal, Uri, 141  
 Sadat, Anwar, 214  
*Saison, La* (The Hunting Season; la saison de  
 chasse), 169  
*Samson Option, The* (Hersh), 221  
 Sapir, Pinchas, 147  
 Sarid, Yossi, 174  
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 24, 64  
 Sauer Commission report (1948), 283  
 scapegoating, 58  
 Scholem, Gershom, 137, 190  
 Scholtz, G. D., 258  
 Scruton, Roger, 32  
 Second Lebanese War (2006), 142  
 Second Trek (1940s), 252  
 Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), 108  
 securitization  
 deep, 32  
 defined, 31  
 theory, 31  
 security  
 as intersubjective uncertainty, 31  
 defined, 30  
 epistemic, 60, 70, 80–2, 87, 118  
 existential, 29  
 ontological, 136  
 self-actualization, 61  
 self-determination,  
 Afrikaner, 268, 278, 293, 294  
 French-Canadian, 104, 105, 111, 112–14,  
 120, 124  
 Jewish/Zionist, 133, 156, 160, 164, 176, 185,  
 197–9, 216–17  
 Theoretical considerations of, 3, 9, 20, 27, 61  
 self-government (*Volkstaat*), 293  
 Sentinelle Affair (1924–1929), 99–101, 270  
*Sentinelles, Le*, 99  
 Separate Freedoms, 256  
*Serious Question, A* (Ben-Yehuda), 187  
 Shalev, Chemi, 173  
 shame, 56–9  
 collective, 57  
 three responses to, 58  
 Shamir, Yitzhak, 149, 163  
 Shapira, Anita, 201  
 Sharon, Ariel, 63, 138, 182, 216–17  
 Sharpeville massacre (1960), 242, 255  
 Shavit, Ari, 137, 165, 167, 220  
*she'erit yisrael* (Remnant of Israel), 137  
 Shelef, Navad, 63  
 Sheleg, Yair, 165  
 Shepstone, Theophilis, 263  
 Shils, Edward, 28  
 Shoa II (Kenan), 190  
 Shoah (Kenan), 190  
 Simon, Akiva Ernst, 198, 218  
 Sinai Campaign (1956), 218  
*sinat hinam* (senseless hatred), 167  
 Six-Day War (1967), 147, 161, 174  
 Slabbert, Frederik Van Zyl, 291  
 slavery, 233  
 small nations, vii, 7–9, 14, 18, 31, 301–2, 304,  
 306  
 analyzing, 29  
 locating, 31–5  
 threats and, 32  
 uncertainty and, 34  
 Smootha, Sammy, 192  
 Smuts, Jan, 238, 240, 248, 277  
 subjectivism, 76  
 socialism, Bund, 133  
 Soffer, Arnon, 149  
 South Africa, borders, demographics, economy  
 Defence Force (SADF), 247  
 Israel and, 246–7  
 South Africa Act of 1909, 241  
 South Africa Party (SAP), 240

- South African Republic (*Zuid-Afrikaansch Republiek*, ZAR), 234
- South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), 245, 247
- sovereignty, 70
- epistemic inequality and, 41
  - ethnopolities and, 70
  - limited (sozerainty), 236
- Soweto riots (1976), 242, 244, 255, 286
- Steyn, Marthinus Theunis, 282
- Stormjaers* (assault troops), 250
- subjugation, 70
- ethnopolities and, 70
- subordination, ethnic (tribalism), 71
- suicide, 24
- philosophical, 24
- survival, 61, 282–5
- Afrikaner, 237–42
  - French Canadian (*survivance*), 89, 95, 98, 100, 103, 109
  - in justice (*voortbestaan in geregtigheid*), 281
  - Jewish, 136–43
  - state
    - Israeli Jews and, 14
    - Zionist, 136–43, 203–8, 303
- Syrkin, Nachman, 138, 177
- Tabenkin, Yitzchak, 138
- Tanzania, 247
- Tardivel, Jules-Paul, 96
- Taylor, Charles, 64, 128
- Tel Hai, battle of (1920), 185
- Temple
- Second, 186
- territorialism, 308
- Tevye (*Fiddler on the Roof*), 130
- Thévenot, Laurent, 51
- Third Force, 286
- threats
- existential, 42
  - sort, scope and scale, 34
- To Be or Not To Be* (Vadeboncœur), 121
- Total Strategy, 287
- Tower and Stockade (*Homa UMigdal*), 288
- Toynbee, Arnold, 78
- transfer (of Arabs from Palestine), 219–21
- Transvaler*, *Die*, 258
- Treaty of Paris (1763), 81
- Tremblay Report (1956), 105
- Trudeau, Pierre Elliot, 107, 112, 122
- Levesque and, 118
- Tziffer, Benny, 142
- ultramontanism, 80, 89, 99, 103
- Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation), 255
- Union Act (1840), 86–7
- Union for Real Afrikaners (*Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners*, GRA), 235
- Union for the Protection of the Boers, 235
- Union Nationale* Conservative Party, 105
- Union of South Africa, 239
- United Nations
- General Assembly Resolution
    - 181, 157, 202
    - 3379, 158
    - 67/19, 202
  - Partition Plan (1947), 143, 180
  - Security Council Resolution 418 (arms embargo), 245
  - Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP 1947), 199
- United Party (UP), 240
- Utrecht Treaty (1713), 79
- Uys, Pieter-Dirk, 276
- Vadeboncœur, Pierre, 121
- Valéry, Paul, 29
- value-rationality (Weber), 74
- van Blerk, Bok, 297
- van den Berghe, Pierre, 192
- van Riebeeck, Jan, 228
- Veneer Theory, 47
- Venter, H. J., 255, 279, 283
- Verstehen* (Weber), 6, 10, 73
- Verwoerd, Hendrik Frensch, 267
- victimization, 58, 88
- Viljoen, Gerrit, 268
- Vitkin, Joseph, 138
- Voëlvry (free as a bird, or outlawed), 277
- Volkan, Vamik, 225
- Volkseenheid* (Afrikaner nation), 250
- Volkskapitalisme* (ethnic people's capitalism), 252
- Volkskas Beperk* (people's bank), 252
- Volkswag* (People's Guard), 291
- Vorster, Balthazar Johannes, 246, 273, 283
- Vrye Weekblad*, 276
- Walt, Stephen M., 30
- Warren, Rick, 26
- Weber, Max, 6, 10, 53, 80
- Weinstock, Dov, 200
- Weizmann, Chaim, 177, 198, 209
- Weizmann, Ezer, 189
- White Paper of 1939, 204
- Wiesel, Elie, 300

*Index*

371

- Wilson, E. O., 46–7  
 Winter, Ofer, 182  
 World Conference on Racism in Durban  
   (WCAR, or Durban I), 159  
 World War I (1914–1918), 97  
 World War II (1939–45), 116, 155
- Xuma, A. B., 259
- Ya'alon, Moshe, 140, 198, 223, 226  
 Ya'ari, Meir, 221  
 Yair, Gad, 224–5  
*Yamei Ziklag* (The Days of Ziklag, Yizhar), 190  
 Yehoshua, A. B., 138, 190  
 Yemini, Ben-Dror, 168, 226  
*yeridah*, 206  
 Yiftachel, Oren, 192  
*Yishuv* (pre-state Zionism), 133, 208  
 Yizhar, S. (Yizhar Smilansky), 190  
 Yizhar, S. (Yizhar Smilansky), 190  
 Yom Kippur War (1973), 161, 214
- Zakovitch, Yair, 198  
 Zambia, 247  
 Ze'evi, Rehavam, 220  
 Zertal, Idith, 225  
 Zinni, Anthony, 32  
 Zionism, 15, 133
- as a vanguard of culture, 210  
 as discriminatory, 158  
 compromise and, 212–18  
 culture and, 186–91  
 defined, 157  
 democracy and, 191–4  
 existential threats and threads, 143–226  
 expediency and, 194–6  
 force and, 218–24  
 goals of, 143  
 history and, 184–6  
 homeland and, 210–12  
 international sphere and, 153–9  
 Jewish majority and, 143–55  
 justice and, 196–201  
 law and, 201–3  
 Middle East and, 159–67  
 national self-determination and, 176  
 Occupied Territories and, 159–67  
 practical, 209  
 purpose of, 137  
 religion and, 176–83  
 Religious, 179, 181  
 Secular, 181  
 self-realization and, 197, 208–10  
 State of Israel and, 167–75  
 Zionist Revisionism, 138  
 Zuma, Jacob, 242