

SCHOOL OF ARTS GHENT

Translating Shifting Narratives:  
The Personal, within a Community, within a State.

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**CHAPTER 1**

**Introduction – Translating Chaos**

## Prologue

18/11/2013

In a waiting corridor of what is called 'immigration point'; a branch of the immigration office of the Belgian government, situated in the city of Ghent we sit in the corridor, there are a few people who clearly seem to be not from here. It is because they are not from here that they 'belong' to this very point. Sitting in this spot, amongst other destiny-escapers as my self, ignites a deep feeling of shame. I want to distance myself from them and I am provoked by the thought of being 'outlawed' and the need to be legally authorized. I look at them and then look into myself and flinch. I take guesses; a Russian woman, a Turkish woman, a man or woman of some unrecognizable non-European origin, a woman with a head cover. The door opens and the small office is revealed to us, a man steps out of it aborting my guessing-game. He asks: "Who's here for questions? Who's for information? Is there any one for translations? Yes?! Come with me". Another person steps out of the office and asks: "Who needs translation?"

Third official of Asian origins or perhaps Moroccan comes out of the office, again in English: "Who's for translation? Are you...?"

A man joins us in the waiting corridor, and says, "I am here for information". He is dressed well, smells well, looks all blond and well, to which I conclude; he is doing well, well enough in life. His excellent Flemish makes one assume that he is a Belgian businessman, needing verification on the correct regulations of employing aliens in this country – his country.

Out of the waiting passage. Now I am inside the office. I am not here for translation.

I can read well the different Flemish documents or newspapers. The man who sits in front of me behind his desk, a relatively young guy with grey hair, speaks perfect Flemish with an accent of an East-European. He is slightly chubby and I have to deter myself from thinking, that in the past being thick was another way for displaying wealth. In his cubicle on the wooden walls are hanged photographs of people from around the world, typical stock-photos. The photos are not personalized. They seem like newspaper cuts, printed on chromo paper that shines, depicting mountainous landscapes of yellow hue. I think of Afghanistan. I see more images of mothers with their children in Thailand, or Tibet. Perhaps they are South-American descendants of the Inca? I check the other cubicles. All officials in this office seem to me representatives of the ex-migrants,

who turned to be the face of the 'possible assimilated other' into Flemish Belgium. They have a double role: to help you and to prove to you that integration is possible. In this governmental institution – the immigration point/translation help desk – you meet the face of migration as a concept. But more, even more, here one cannot trace any backgrounds; one cannot fit faces with their origins, not of people in flesh nor of those appearing in photographs.

The cubicles offer much help in reading and explaining documents, but surely also in another type of translation. Translating one culture to another and translating one geopolitics to another. This is life in practice. This has been my experience in the past eight years. I have had to be translated by authorities, and have had to offer a translation of my own situation to the environment.

In The Netherlands, I start translating myself to others. Being surrounded by international art-students in Amsterdam, one comes in terms with the optimal question; where are you from? My instinctive answer in the first few years is that I am from Israel (but this extended gradually). Following their question is my deconstruction: Is it my accent, or the looks that itches their attention? Are they merely curious and pleased to meet a new person? Do they burst through an open door trying to classify? Later I learn that some place me in Palestinian territory, because I do not seem to fit to their Caucasian idea of a Jew.

Thus begun my dwelling in my own biography and that of others. It conquered my practice as an artist, as my work deals with biographical writing in different media.

I favour the notion of 'extended biography', one that considers origin as a long trail left after a walk, with open ends ready for an inventive task, because also translation is an ongoing task. Although biography is often examined in retrospect, it extends in to the present and is very much 'here' in constant migration. Here, means processing of a cluster of links where; time, geography and genealogy all meet indefinitely.

## Chaos

The very acts of translating and writing is being a scavenger in my own thoughts and then of others. In reading, typing, rereading, correcting, receiving feedback and contemplating I enter in to an unstable process. This type of work helps to deconstruct a chaos, which I am and always was subject to.

To a degree, in my family – Yemenite conservative Jews – cutting corners was taught. Proximity was a virtue to carry out our actions. In practice, that meant to do half, or approximately. For example when in the 11th grade I was to decide of an extra curriculum to specialize in, Biology was the natural decision. However, it was dismissed by my family under heavy convincing; I was advised to pick up an easier subject, such as Bible or Geography, just to 'make it in life', or 'get my diploma', and especially to 'get it over with'. At home, things would be made in the same fashion – around targets; To write my papers quicker with less hesitations just to get it handed in; To make the salad with 'some' salt and 'some' oil; To bake the cake 'ahhh something of that kind', but never with the precision, never with the correction of what is learned in previous experiences. This slackness in turn, with time, and due to embarrassing inaccurate information delivered to me by my parents, had ripened into antagonism. I then felt, unlike my family, that I wanted to know exactly. Supported by the urge to reveal and to insist on details, I wished to prove my parents wrong, but – as I understand it now – this was not purely the desire to rebel, but the means to talk back with them not just to them. What has to be understood however, is that slacking was not advised from the perspective of lazy parents, or because of pessimistic views. Rather, my parents were a young Mizrahi<sup>1</sup> couple; two Yemenites trying to understand and make life in the unfair and already established western society. They had to work hard, harder than others, to support their children and make a home for them. Slacking meant lacking of time. Because when one needs so much done – their advice is seen more as: 'don't be delayed by the noncrucial things'.

In this sense, there were many forces in life, where my family had not the time to stop and contemplate and understand who they were and why. They have merely accepted their Israeli Zionist identity, despite its European background which we, genealogically, are alien to.

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<sup>1</sup> Mizrahim or Mizrahi are Israeli-Jews of Arab decent.

These layers advanced and operated with a certain speed and movement gave little time for comprehending, and even less distance for contemplating. For some, life is a force designed and advanced upon them by others.

Growing up in a 'no time to waste' house, brings its bearings especially when looking outside. One sometimes compares and is then affected with guilt. I have searched myself a consolation in and through drawing, writing, singing, dancing, acting, making films and more but never with the precision of doing one thing correctly. I blamed myself of borrowing from others – of copying and mimicking what others do so pleasurably, so passionately. I test, still, my pleasures because I am not sure yet from which sources of work I derive my joy.

Eventually, the practice of 'checking out things', 'testing', and 'experimenting' developed in to intrinsic hybrid quality in my artistic practice, as much as it brought me into art in the first place. This state of mind, of not being sure, not recognizing fully the different voices, is exemplified for me in the words of poet Elizabeth Alexander:

*All about us is noise*

*All about us is noise, and bramble*

*Thorn and din*

*Each one of our ancestors on our tongues*

To de-compose the noise and bramble, and to deconstruct the chaos caused by thorn and din, I turn to my own ancestors. Namely, in the first chapter of this research, I bring the fading memory of my grandmother in a case known as the Yemenite Babies Affair, where Yemenite babies were kidnapped between 1948-1956 in Israel and were given to adoption, while their families were told the babies had died. My family who lost four babies in the affair had kept rather silent about it. This is juxtaposed by a vivid memory and a call for remembering by Shoshana Madmoni-Gerber, in her book about the Yemenite Babies Affair. In the second chapter I try to answer why my grandmother's memory of the kidnapping of her sister fades in light of another memory – that of The Holocaust. One could say, this is the case in my family only, but I look at this phenomenon of silence in a general way. I understand that there is never an experience

twin to another, only similarities, never a life identical to another life – but identifications. And thus the experience of my grandmother might have no twins but similarities in other families, or affairs.

In chapter three, I leave the personal and the historic and go into the general and present. The chapter is based on a case from 2014, where babies of Israeli gay couples could not receive Israeli passports because they were born to Thai surrogate mothers. It seems almost as a continuation of the past Yemenite Babies Affair. This chapter shows how the state 'uses' babies as a resource to employ its agenda on its citizens. However, whereas the first two chapters depart from idiosyncratic perspective, here I look at the level of the (LGBT) community standing in front of the power structure of its state. I interviewed Israel's LGBT chairman Shai Doitsh about the case.

I suggest to the reader to try and understand the shifts often in the text, between an individual, a community, the state (as a general power-structure), and a more global structure that embodies them all. It is impossible to keep them apart from each other, because the general affects the private, and the private finds herself within a community, whilst the general and the global are sometimes synonymous, they too function as a particular and general. These things are so interlaced, and entwined with many openings and numerous exits, but they together prove a constant movement of the individual inside and outside of different worlds.

CHAPTER 2

**The Beginning of an Unresolved Story**

The Yemenite community arrived to Israel as part of the operation of the Jewish agency to end the Jewish Diaspora. The vision was to bring them to their promised land, as they believed was set forth for them in the bible. The fulfilment of this vision was conceived in Europe and was tied to historical events such as; Draifus Affair (1906), Balfur Declaration (1917), White Papers (1939), and The Holocaust (1945). This operation therefore, was executed by European Zionists according to a wholly Western ideology. Amongst the Yemenite migrants was my grandmother, Ora Adani, and then aged twelve in 1949. She arrived with her family to Israel after leaving their home, in Yemen. They made their way through the deserts, walking for many days until they arrived at the absorption camp in Aden. From there, they were flown to Israel. She told me: 'I was excited and along the whole way I looked through the window of the plane, and remembered that in Israel everything is good. And that there, citrus trees grow Gold-oranges... When we landed we kissed the ground immediately" .

My grandmother was the first child of her parents, and the older sister of 2 brothers, a baby sister of one and a half years old and another baby sister few months old. Being the oldest sister, she helped taking care of them throughout the long journey. Upon their arrival to Israel, they were absorbed in the migration camp in Rosh-Ha'ayin in the centre of Israel. So unfortunate were the events to come, so as to abort their happiness with this promising and hopeful journey. Within a few months of their arrival the family lost their little baby daughter (about 1 year old). "They said she had diarrhoea. They took her to the hospital, and then they said... she died. I think she is probably now in America".

The story above is a private recollection of my now aging grandmother, about the disappearance of her sister – a story told to me at the age of fourteen, when the last commission investigating the affair took place. It is a recollection un-coincidentally similar to recollections of other mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters – all Yemenites who migrated between 1948-1956 – all of whom have lost one or more babies, during their absorption in Israel between those years. Between the 60's and 90's the testimonies piled in abundance, and though they varied in details, they were all quite similar. These facts pointed at the scandal – Yemenite babies were taken from their families in the camps, during the years of absorption. The babies then were reported dead to the families while the families never received a body to bury, a grave, nor a death certificate of their allegedly deceased child. It was learned later, that the babies were given up for adoption,

either abroad or to Ashkenazi<sup>2</sup> couples. Over the span of four decades there were four commissions investigating the affair, but all four of them dismissed the idea that there was a systematic kidnapping of children for further adoptions. All four commissions reported, that most babies from the filed complaints had in fact died. However, still today there are unsatisfactory answers for the physical locations of the babies, deceased or still alive.

Full disclosure: though at the end of the day all four committees dismissed the affair and its systematic removal of children, I approach this writing from the stand point of a community member, who does not doubt the affair. However, I do not believe this harms my research, because I am not dealing with the national acceptance of the destinies of the babies – that is, dead or alive, buried or adopted by others, respectively. Rather, my focus is on the testimony I heard in the family – a personal tragedy, which pain and confusion cannot be dismissed by any authority.

This story of a person is also a story of a community and is also a story of a state in the first years of establishment. My perspective is in light of this shape; a story of individual parents and of individual babies, who were cut off from their genealogical heritage. It is a general tragedy for the state and for the community, made up of many single sufferers. Each of them carries significant memories, dealing with the pain in different ways and is arrested of peaceful life by the unanswered questions. That pain grows even more, when their memory of the displacement meets the national dismissal. For many, this dismissal leaves the story unresolved, and an open wound.

Shoshana Madmoni-Gerber who researched the media coverage of this affair, writes in the epilogue to her book:

*The unresolved tragedy of the Yemenite Babies Affair will not fade with time, as some state leaders hope. Time may even have deepened the wounds of long-suffering mothers and fathers as well as younger generations that see injustice wrought upon their families and community. The kidnapping of my aunt's baby remains a vivid memory. Many people of my generation have made an unbreakable connection with the past and have vowed to fight for recognition of their parent's narratives...*

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<sup>2</sup> Israeli-Jews of European decent.

To date, more than 1000 complaints have been filed with one or more of the three commissions designed to investigate the Yemenite babies affair. However, some activists estimate that hundreds of complaints were not filed because many Yemenite parents lost all faith in state authorities.<sup>3</sup>

When reading the epilogue of Madmoni-Gerber I noticed few elements, which I would like to discuss further. None of my extractions from her epilogue regard any agreement or disagreement with her assertions and thoughts. Rather, they set questions of the movement from personal to general, and from past to present.

From the ending of the epilogue we learn that 1000 complaints were filed, whereas hundreds more incidents were not even registered. Madmoni-Gerber connects this fact to the loss of faith of the families and their disappointment in the state's authority. Moreover, she acknowledges the importance of passing on this memory to her generation (first Yemenite generation born in Israel), and also to younger generations (like myself, second Yemenite generation born in Israel), to hear and recognize our parents' and grandparents' narratives. She marks that this is important because: "No society can build a healthy future or conscience with a stained past. As Boaz Sanjero stated, 'The road to achieving true peace goes through exposing and agreeing on the past, not through hiding it'."<sup>4</sup>

Also, she points out that the kidnapping of her aunt's baby is a vivid memory.

In contrast, my family is one of the estimated hundreds of families who did not file a complaint. The personal kidnappings in my family did not wake up a vivid memory. Knowing many other Yemenite families, I know that to more first and second generations in Israel the situation is the same as it is in my family. In fact, I am the only member of my family to ask questions and express interest in this affair, as well as in the history of the Jews in Yemen. Others, like my cousins, aunts, uncles and my parents turn down the chance to comment and move on to the 'real' current news. At first instance this seems to me that the current events in Israel, which change so quickly take all their attention. One's sensitivity wears off with the unending and daily injustices in the country, so much that it becomes easier to identify today with what happened to a stranger yesterday, than with what happened to your (grand) mother a few decades ago.

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<sup>3</sup> Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. 2009. *Israeli Media and the Framing of Internal Conflict – The Yemenite Babies Affair*. Palgrave Macmillan. Page 192.

<sup>4</sup> From the same Epilogue by Madmoni-Gerber, on page 192.

But I challenge this hypothesis and recall that the identification with another Jewish tragedy – that of the Holocaust, always wins any other story of injustice. The story of the Holocaust, in Israel, (and here I mean not to undermine its importance and centrality to the world, the west and to the Jewish people), is situated at a top and highest rank so that no other tragedy, loss or disaster can be equivalent to it, be compared to nor challenge it. However, as a general line, tragedies should not be up-lifted by weakening or eclipsing other tragedies. Preferably, such personal aches as well as collective narratives that are significant to the understanding of a community's situation, can co-exist, side by side, in a way that members from the different communities, even at distant places or times in the world, can recognize their shared interest in a general well-being.

In February 2014 I went to talk with my grandmother and draw more information about our history. I started by explaining to my grandmother a change that happened in the Yemenite community upon their arrival to Israel. I explained to her, that even though she was Yemenite, in Israel she married in a white wedding ceremony.

I understood this as being a tradition preferred upon her Yemenite roots. I gave an example from my film, then in progress, *All You Need – an address to Queen Victoria*. In the film I used footage from my parents' two wedding ceremonies; a Yemenite pre-ceremony known as *Hena*, and the 'white' Western ceremony. Commentary in the film describes the clash – the incompatibility of the two celebrations. Meaning; the Yemenite ceremony became marginalized over the years in Israel, while the white wedding became an unquestioned default tradition.

White wedding-gowns perhaps appeared in the world before the 19th century. Yet, it is difficult to track the very first 'White' bride, across the universe. However, because of her centrality and power, Queen Victoria of England is remembered as the first to marry in white. It is in 1840 that she marries, and though the medium of photography existed, no photographer was commissioned to portray the wedded couple. Only in 1854, she re-enacted the day with her husband – Prince Albert, in front of a camera. The nobility class and other aristocrats soon began to imitate the woman in reign. From then on, imitations began to spread beyond the Atlantic and beyond class differences.<sup>5</sup> The known White gown has an origin unknown to many, who exchanged much older traditions for this

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<sup>5</sup> This is based on research made for my film. More information can be found in: Cox, Caroline. 2002. *100 Years of Wedding Fashion*. Scriptum Editions. Page 15-16.

quite recent Victorian fashion. In this light I tried to communicate through my film, a message of hybridity. In other words, this white wedding became a tradition, taken-on in the name of 'modernity'. When confronted with the information above, my grandparents and parents answered: "we were modern!" I argued with my grandmother that this wish to be modern was so strong that it partially stood aloof to Yemenite identity. I explained to my grandmother:

R'm:

*What I recognize, is that there is a substitution of the culture, and I see it in the way you celebrated. So the Yemenite Jews, changed the custom from their ceremony to a modern, British ceremony. They changed.*

Grandmother:

*They changed.*

R'm:

*In my eyes what we celebrate, is similar to what we commemorate as a tragedy. We don't know the history of the Arab Jews<sup>6</sup>, we know the history of Europe. This exchange in the wedding is the same exchange of tragedy, which is also European. So is the tragedy of the Yemenites – someone took their babies.*

Grandmother:

*They took babies, but forcefully. My aunt when she arrived, as the plane landed, they took her daughter; they said she is in the hospital, then they said she died. Gone is gone.*

R'm:

*So there is substitution of the tragedy of the Jews from Yemen with a tragedy of the Jews from Europe. A European tragedy.*

Grandmother:

*Oh dear god. Don't remind me of the Holocaust.*

R'm:

*Why?*

Grandmother:

*Because, I don't know. It is like I was in the Holocaust myself. You believe me. It is crazy. It is scary.*

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<sup>6</sup> To this term my grandmother could not agree. The Hebrew language, and Israeli perception do not allow such definition as the 'Arab-Jew' (Arabi-Yehudi in Hebrew). There is a distinct polarity between these two origins. It is still a rather new term that enfolds politics, history, cultures, identity, origins and genealogy in to it. Either way, my grandparents see themselves as Jews, who have nothing in common with the Arabs. While, in using this term here, I mean to unfold my childhood memories of growing up in a household organized by my Yemenite grandparents which resembled much of Arabic culture including the language, tribal-familial organization and even the celebration of food.

R'm:  
Explain this to me.

Grandmother:  
I read, and I watch. Just to imagine what they did to the Jews. It was horrific. Something horrific.

R'm:  
But on the other hand, you also have another tragedy. Much more personal.

Grandmother:  
Me especially. I don't know why.

R'm:  
What?

Grandmother:  
That I feel so personal about the Holocaust. What they did!

R'm:  
But the Holocaust is not an experience of the Yemenite Jews. It is a world tragedy — yes. But you lost 4 babies in this family. So how is it possible you identify more with the Holocaust than with your own private tragedy?

Grandmother:  
Because you imagine to yourself. You imagine yourself, if you were in this. It was something horrific!  
That's it.

R'm:  
But we never knew about our personal tragedy. It was never told. They always said, the Holocaust, the Holocaust... But here I knew nothing.

Grandmother:  
You forget, you know time had passed. Babies are now adults. You know, those who had been through this, they feel. I don't feel like it happened to us.

R'm:  
But I feel that something happened to us, very much, that they stole babies. And then they cover it up.

Grandmother:  
You are right. It should have not happened.

R'm:  
You arrived here, the Yemenites and immediately they took children, your property, and you keep on living in the same country, and without demanding your personal story, memory. It is still constantly being covered.

Grandmother:  
But the tragedy of the Holocaust should never be forgotten. Never! I am telling you, I feel like I was in it.  
I swear. Scary!

R'm:

What some believe, is that they sold these babies, they earned money and with this money they financed the army and the state, during the difficult times of the 50's.

Grandmother:

Don't connect the two!

R'm:

But this is what they say.

Grandmother:

You shouldn't say that, trust me.

R'm:

Why?

Grandmother:

It harms the defence forces. It's not ok. Really.

R'm:

I am just telling you what I heard.

Grandmother:

Ignore it. I am telling you.

The conversation with my grandmother had struck me as curious. The nodding agreements and humming's of my grandfather, aunt and cousin who were sitting aside, proved to me a consensus that I was not part of. Unlike the family of Madmoni-Gerber, the kidnapping of a baby in our family is not a vivid memory. But like her I think too, that we must listen to our parents' narratives. Where was my grandmother's narrative – her very personal memory? And why was it exchanged with the one of the Holocaust?

**CHAPTER 3**

**Reasons of a Vivid/Unvivid Memory**

## Meta Narrative

A direct experience of my grandmother – also a void of a family tragedy – was replaced with the impression of the Holocaust. Regarding the kidnapping of babies my grandmother said: "I don't feel this happened to us." In saying this she showed a difficulty to maintain a close sentiment with the history of her family – that of losing her baby sister. When adding a suggestion to ignore the claim that the army and state sustained themselves by profiting from selling babies for adoption, she protected Israeli Defence Forces. She proved a kind of patriotic nationalism, accepting state's authority, despite her knowledge of the violent injustice inflicted on her family members, and on her community. This became even more surprising because earlier in the interview with both my grandparents, I learned for the first time at the age of thirty, that not only my grandmother lost a sister, but also her uncle lost a baby boy, and the brother and sister of my grandfather each lost a baby – all in the same circumstances; a baby taken forcefully to the hospital and announced dead, while no body, grave or death certificate is shown.

Even without being explicitly asked my grandmother explained why she feels so strongly about the Holocaust: "because you imagine to yourself, you imagine yourself". She noted that she reads and watches (films), two activities that operate as agents of imagination. These enabled her to imagine that if the Yemenites were to live in Europe in those days, they too would have been destined to execution. In this she demonstrated quite classically, the prominence of imagination in binding people together and eventually in creating one's identity. But moreover, according to Benedict Anderson – to draw a conclusion from the title of his book (imagined-communities) – it is imagination that initially establishes (national) communities.

Anderson showed that nations' evolution in binding people together started through what he called 'print-capitalism'. "The novel and the newspaper... (were) forms (that) provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation".<sup>7</sup> Print-capitalism was thus the means to communicate stories to an enormous quantity of people who do not know each other, making them feel connected. To apply this notion of print-capitalism to nowadays, I suggest we think in broader terms that include all media, where perhaps TV, newspapers, news sites and Internet based social-

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<sup>7</sup> Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. Verso. Page 25.

media are the most popular. These are nowadays the transporters of all kind of stories, and they are not restricted to the written word. For example, in the current state of affairs in Israel and its most recent war with Gaza (July 2014), I find a photograph shared by some of my contacts on social media. The photograph shows a row of Holocaust prisoners in black and white, which turns to be a row of Israeli soldiers in colour. The image is titled; "Never Again". This example is good for two reasons; Firstly, it is an example for the way 'print capitalism' nowadays distributes its ideas in a fast manner, with the potential to reach millions of people and then bind them together whether they agree or disagree. Secondly, this example relates back to my topic by showing the Zionist meta-narrative of Israel of which the Holocaust is its tragedy and catalyst. When my grandmother said she reads and sees (photos, films) about the Holocaust, she pointed at those things, which affected her imagination, just as this photo affects (many) Israelis' belief that the past of Europe in the 1940's is still present – an event that is difficult to skim over. In an easy way, and powerful to some, this image transcends the justification for the existence of the Israeli Jewish state, its patriotic behaviour and its military actions. Needless to say, that the current conflict between Israel and Gaza has very little to do with the Holocaust. It therefore proves the spread of the meta-narrative and its tragedy, in the past and in the present. Zionism and the tragedy of the Holocaust take charge of the right to live in Israel, where all other narratives faint.

In her book Madmoni-Gerber exemplifies how the narrative of the Holocaust hold sway over other narratives:

*The pain of Yemenite parents was minimized... When Mizrahi tragedy was compared to the Holocaust for example it rendered the Yemenite Babies Affair as less worthy of being part of public memory.*<sup>8</sup>

She also points out the mechanism of filtering narratives:

*Narratives of Yemenites and other Mizrahi Jews in Israel are still "colonized" by the Zionist power to dictate the stories that will make it to the public sphere.*<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. 2009. *Israeli Media and the Framing of Internal Conflict – The Yemenite Babies Affair*. Palgrave Macmillan. Page 138.

<sup>9</sup> Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. 2009. *Israeli Media and the Framing of Internal Conflict – The Yemenite Babies Affair*. Palgrave Macmillan. page 139.

Until the late 90's in Israel, people absorbed information mainly from the TV, newspapers and radio. In the years prior to Internet, these were the common vessels of information. Most media, which was then in control of Ashkenazi families, had no contestants.<sup>10</sup> Amongst the media-crowd were also Mizrahi and Yemenite Jews, who, even if they did not trust the information suggested to them, had little access to alternative sources of information. But while others' histories were commemorated and remembered, the Arab-Jews "had to choose between their Arabness to their Jewishness"<sup>11</sup>, for Jewishness was conceived in light of the Zionist European agenda and its tragedy, and Arabness was an attribute of the foe.

My grandmother's interview shows how through imagination (reading, seeing and hearing) distant events may hold sway over personal experiences. Even if there is no personal memory, the Holocaust can still, nowadays, feel as an actual experience. In the interview my grandmother proved to be aligned with the meta-narrative of the country – a country to which she migrated with her family. Here she found many difficulties and above all, witnessed many members of her community suffering from the oblivion forced upon them – losing a live child forever. Although she remembers the events, she talks about it with less a conviction than when speaking about the Holocaust. Her testimony over the Yemenite Babies Affair faints, as well as that of my grandfather, who understands deeply that "there's nothing to do about it anymore. Gone is gone". To this point I might have been understood as showing disrespect towards my family, for expressing their 'loose hand' on the kidnapped babies. However, I know that had there been a genuine helping hand determined to assist the community, my grandparents and their family would do all they could in effort of finding the babies they were cut-off from. But with the media, state's hegemonic communication and the meta-narrative at hand, one's perception can be deteriorating especially when being in the immense process of migration.

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<sup>10</sup> Based on Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. In a chapter *Israeli Media: History, Ownership, And the Politics of Mizrahi Representation*. She clearly indicates the Ashkenazi ownership in the history of Israel, of newspapers, radio and television.

<sup>11</sup> Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. Page 177. Using a theory of Ella Shohat in *Rapture and Return: Zionist Discourse and the Study of Arab-Jews*.



Later I found another posted photo of the same style, which – without text, can speak very much for itself. The viewer must only complete the connection in her imagination:



## **Towards Amnesia**

In their migration, the Yemenites had made a long way while experiencing many events. After suffering a long flee in heated deserts leading from Yemen to Aden, loosing loved ones on the way, the arrival to Israel symbolises a dual point. It is both a new beginning, and also a continuation of their forefathers – the Hebrew people. Both points are marked with a front look at the horizon, namely projecting the future. It is both establishing the new nation and also continuing the line of Jewish descent. Once in Israel they must deal with the present situation in the country that demands to fight for its existence, build it and make it strong and resilient – for which they must plan the future and envision it.

The Jews in Yemen lived the nostalgia – towards the idea of the land of Israel (the land and not the state), a biblical holy place from which their ancestors once fled, and to which with the arrival of the Messiah they may go back to the land. In the tradition of the Yemenites in Yemen exist stories, songs and poems that express the longing for the land of Israel. In Israel, their Hebraic past and their nostalgia had merged in a new confluence. Being accustomed to the tradition of telling over 'There' turned now 'Here', meant a new situation where Yemen was not a land to long for, thus not to remember in stories and songs. This means that there is no nostalgia towards Yemen, because their Diaspora had ended. Yet the Yemenites brought with them many customs, traditions, food, songs and dances that have undoubtedly left their mark in the construction of Israeli culture. This symbolizes another aspect in their development – a negotiation of identity by implementing the past into their present. With that they have managed to contribute to the Israeli identity and also to their own, nevertheless without the head turning backwards and longing for Yemen. Such new starts, naturally, call for new stories, narratives and invention of oneself in light of current politics, geography, and language. Anderson marks:

*All profound changes in consciousness, by their very nature, bring with them characteristic amnesias. Out of such oblivions, in specific historical circumstances, spring narratives.*

It is easy to look at this claim in a chronological order:

Profound changes – Amnesia/Oblivion – An encounter with specific circumstances –  
New narratives.

Anderson continues explaining the chronology:

*After experiencing the physiological and emotional changes produced by puberty, it is impossible to 'remember' the consciousness of childhood. How many thousands of days passed between infancy and early adulthood vanish beyond direct recall!*<sup>12</sup>

The Yemenites arrived to Israel and experienced the blessed change in consciousness – the coming home and ending of their history, as Jews in Diaspora. Though they might have wished to continue from where their forefathers – the Hebrews – left, they had to adapt to the new circumstances, and thus adjust their lives in accordance. They faced a new horizon for the Jews in the land of honey and milk, but of hazard and wars as well. After such events, at the spring of their life as infants-Israelis and with the progression of time, they found themselves adults, parents and grandparents with vanishing romantic memories of 'There' and 'Then', but with the creation of new ones.

For the Yemenites, who gladly ended their Diaspora, the switch from lingering nostalgia to visionary future must have been an immense change. This meant for them to create a new, or to continue in light of a future. In the circumstances of their new life, their consciousness was occupied with the difficult demands of here and now, and this situation made Amnesia possible to initiate. Added to that was the rift of choosing between their Arabness and Jewishness, and the creation of the Zabar<sup>13</sup> identity. Thus came in to operation a set of conditions that forced Amnesia on Yemenite narratives. However, where Anderson says it is “impossible to remember the consciousness of childhood”, I mean merely – it is difficult. In my suggested translation, Amnesia is not an absolute term but rather a deterioration of perception. That said, while a certain history was commemorated on a meta-level, others' histories suffered deterioration by means of selectivity, theft and censorship.

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<sup>12</sup> Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. Verso. Page 204.

<sup>13</sup> (Sabra) A Jewish person born in Israel. Zabar refers to the cactus fruit that is found in Israeli deserts, and is therefor signifies then nature of a 'true' Israeli. Zabar identity is promoted as trait to be aspired.

## The Mechanism of Distance and Domination

Israel proved able to dominate the imaginative capabilities of its peoples. Under such terms, it succeeded, to some degree, to situate Zionism as a meta-narrative where the Holocaust functions literally as its trauma, with the typical characteristics of reiterated episodes of pumped fear and anxiety. Considering again the image "Never Again", one thinks of the distancing of the Holocaust from being a world history, and claiming it a Jewish (almost exclusively Israeli) tragedy. If we consider the Holocaust a world tragedy we would be teaching how vicious, cruel and inhuman, human beings can be towards each other. We will start noticing the repetition of cruelty of other such holocausts; Armenian, Cambodian and the Aztec disappearance to name a few. If we consider the kidnapping of babies, we realize this is not an Israeli invention. The two most known cases are: The Lost (aboriginals) Generation, and the kidnapped grandchildren in Argentina of the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo.

One begins to sense the unlimited cycle of brutality, its generality and vastness – a cycle that topped many peaks in Europe of 1940's with the strategy of concentration towards death. This strategy was inflicted also upon Romani, homosexuals and other minorities, which the Aryans wished to cleanse.<sup>14</sup> Yet, the Holocaust is communicated by Israel and claimed as a Jewish tragedy and is distanced from the rest of the world. What is achieved by this kind of definition? Adorno & Horkheimer in their critic on Enlightenment, can illuminate us here:

*In thought, men distance themselves from nature in order thus imaginatively to present it to themselves – but only in order to determine how it is to be dominated.*<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> In my perspective, brutality as a value must be negated from all human beings, unlike removed exclusively towards a specific group. When brutality is tackled from this point of view, as a trait within the human, it would then be negated in general and not just abolished towards specific targets. Thus, one would choose not to inflict brutality against the land, its people and other living creatures. In this view, the discussion around slavery will include also slavery of animals. But when the tactics of isolation are employed on to one group; minorities, races or species it is easy to arrive at categorization and definition and thus to dominate all the rest. To make this clear, by abolishing brutality towards the Africans in America and not the brutality within, this specific group have escaped a tragic destiny but not the definition African-Americans. The agency that defines and dominates was still kept.

<sup>15</sup> Adorno, Theodor W. & Horkheimer, Max. 1944. *Dialectics of Enlightenment*. Verso. Page 39.

My translation of Adorno & Horkheimer here suggests two alternatives: 1. To think of nature as an event, containing many more happenings and phenomena. 2. To understand distance as a way of isolation. In this respect, by taking the distance from the event of nature, man was not only distant from it but also had isolated nature. As noted by Adorno & Horkheimer, man had defined nature via the agency of imagination. Thus begins a puzzling of varied combinations between isolations, isolated, isolators and dominations, dominated and dominators. Meaning, not only nature is defined through isolation but also dominated as such. Continuing this logic, means that most men are dominated by their intervention with nature, of which they are part, because it is defined for them. To define is to make one imagination dominated, and it is easier to plant ideas and to determine characteristics of identifications.

My argument is that the same tactic of distance and domination was used on the event of the Holocaust. By distancing the Holocaust from the world, the Jewish state could redefine it and be the one telling others about it. By this effort it could dominate its definition, but also people's imagination of it both inside and outside Israel. The state lets a door open to dominate people's imagination in how deep and concrete their identification becomes. This doesn't remain theoretical but finds its way in actions. A prominent example of it is "a systematic historiographical campaign, deployed by the state mainly through the state's school system, to 'remind' every young... of a series of antique slaughters which are now inscribed as 'family history'."<sup>16</sup>

The education system disseminates the isolation of the Holocaust as something solely Jewish. Embedded in the education system, is the need to remind the young generation of this specific tragedy as a tragedy of the 'Jewish family', while explicitly not mentioning histories of other Jews. This is one way of de facto isolating the Holocaust that dominates the imagination of people. To many, the composition of a sentence that hosts both words; Holocaust and imagination, is erratic. But by that I only mean to critic the selectivity used in Israel in 'telling the Holocaust'. Not only other groups and the Second World War are distanced from it, but also by 'telling the Holocaust' other's histories are distanced in Israel.

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<sup>16</sup> Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. Verso. Page 201.

## **A Shift in Consciousness**

My grandfather depicts a beautiful co-living in Sana'a the capital of Yemen, with Arab-Muslims. My grandmother expresses her disbelief, telling that one day in Dalaa where she grew-up, she was sent by her mother to draw water from the well. There, two Muslim women tried to push her into the well. With that she discerned, differently then my grandfather that the Muslims were to be kept at a distance. Yet she added that the Imam (king) of Yemen in those days was fairly protective of the Jews. Ironically, it seems to me, that when they arrived to the Jewish state the Yemenites were apt to encounter more dangers than in Yemen. But between their two countries, what struck me the most, is experiencing in one life time the movement from the archaic experience of drawing water from the well to marrying in a modern white wedding.



## CHAPTER 4

### **Current Case of Babies As A Resource to Maintain Power**

## **Displaced Babies**

In January 2014, Israeli media reported on Israeli citizens stranded in Thailand. The citizens were gay couples who arrived to Thailand to be present at the birth of their babies, going through a procedure using a Thai surrogate mother. As a general principle, the surrogate mother signs an official adoption certificate, to release the baby to the biological parents. Having followed the procedure correctly, the couples were then holding their babies, heading towards the Israeli embassy to issue a passport for them. This was a simple task that had known precedent cases in Israeli embassies around the world. But their pleas were rejected, which meant that without the passport, the families could not enter Israel with their babies. As a result, the couples and their babies were stranded in Thailand for two months, while the Ministry of Interior (led by the minister) refused day to day, to issue the passport to about 65 babies.

The Israeli media followed the occurrences and the advancements in solving the issue, though the coverage reported it a struggle led by gay activists and Israeli LGBT organization. During this period I took notice of this scandal, via Internet news sites and social media. I have received the impression that there was a hidden agenda in the decision not to issue the passports to the babies. It either seemed to me, a punishment towards gay couples, who managed to escape inequality in Israel, and created a same-sex coupledness, parenthood, and eventually family. Or it could also be, a fear that the babies born to non-Jewish surrogate will themselves be non-Jewish citizens in Israel.

I approached the chairman of LGBT organization in Israel, Shai Doitsh, to learn more about the case. I used him as a more reliable informer than other media coverage. Doitsh has been a prominent activist in Israel's gay community, a fact that brought him eventually to lead the organization. Next to his activity in Israel, he is also touring round world's gay conferences, amongst which was a panel organized by the UN. The aims of the tours are to advance in human and gay rights, but also to create an exchange of knowledge and experiences. He first gives an outline of the case:

*The couples stranded in Thailand got into this situation because the surrogacy abroad is a utilization of a loop hole in the Israeli law. The Israeli law, which is very old, does not forbid surrogacy abroad. Since it discriminates gay couples and allows only heterosexual couples to have surrogacy procedure in Israel, gay couples do it abroad and ask recognition of their children as children born abroad, to be granted Israeli*

citizenship. It is a constant loop; they travel somewhere, have babies abroad, and thus challenge the state. The state studies the local law, and then lets them enter Israel because there are genetic tests, if proved to be born to an Israeli citizen the baby is therefore Israeli. It happened before in India, the USA and in other countries.

However, the Thai law is not clear. It allows the surrogate mother parenting rights, although she has no biological connection to the baby. It was thus not clear legally, if her disclaim (of the baby) will be sustained (in Thailand), or whether the surrogate could eventually ask to migrate to Israel after her baby.

During the eight months prior to these events, we warned that this had to be solved, but nothing was done about it. And when the babies were already born we said; now they are Israelis. First thing is to let them enter the country – because there were riots in Thailand – and only then after try to solve the complications.

Although there was good contact between the LGBT organization and state's offices, during the eight months prior to the event, Doitsh tells that in the midst of the conflict, there was little communication. Each office shifted its responsibility to the other office; Interior office to Justice office to Foreign Affairs. As a response to the occurrences the LGBT organization initiated a campaign addressing Minister of Interior Gideon Sa'ar, whose in ability was to order the issue of passports. Sa'ar and his wife, in this exact period had received their own first baby. The campaign stated: "Gideon, your baby is at home. Ours not!" The campaign created a pressure, eventuating in the return of the families and babies back to Israel.



Israel's priority is to maintain Jewish majority in the state. Suspecting this kind of motive I asked Doitsh whether there was fear that the babies, born to Thai non-Jewish surrogates, will not be Jewish.

Somehow yes, I guess this also exists. Because the Jewishness of the baby is determined not by the biological mother (donating the egg) but by the surrogate who delivers the baby. But in any case, after arriving to Israel, the babies are converted to Judaism.

In addition to the above, Doitsh stated clearly that the problem was not at all LGBT-phobic; there were straight couples stranded with their babies in Thailand, as well. And Gideon Sa'ar is a known supporter of the LGBT community. He explains the problem of issuing passports:

*The problem is that people go abroad and come back with babies, but this is not set in a law, because the law does not exist. The recognition of the state of those babies is still not regulated. It will be solved when Israeli law will allow gay couples to have surrogacy in Israel.*

This present handling of babies by the state, reminds me of the state's handling of Yemenite babies. It is explained in Shoshana Madmoni-Gerber's research:

*Hertzog points to a direct connection between the kidnapping of Yemenite babies in the 1950's and what she calls the systematic removal of children from their families in Israel today. "There is great similarity between the methods used to take over kids in the 1950's and today... the children are still a resource for the government to maintain its power... all the while using rhetoric and ideology that justifies any means including violence by the controlling institutions all the while denying any responsibility for these actions."<sup>17</sup>*

Madmoni Gerber via Esther Herzog, remind us of the extension of the past to the present. The displacement of babies from their families prevails, because a certain need to maintain power still exists.

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<sup>17</sup> Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. 2009. *Israeli Media and the Framing of Internal Conflict – The Yemenite Babies Affair*. Palgrave Macmillan. Page 186. Quoting Esther Herzog.

## Jewish Agenda

By directing influence on babies and their families the government maintains its power. Not only was this a tactic employed in the Yemenite Babies Affair, but also one may find it operating in this current case. Shai Doitsh in the interview confirmed only a suspicion regarding such a hidden agenda; that the state's Jewish narrative played a role in alerting heads of offices to the problem of granting nationality to babies born in surrogacy abroad. Support of such hidden agenda is not difficult to find. Firstly, surrogacy in Israel is allowed only to straight couples. It is forbidden to gay couples, which then have to turn to surrogacy abroad. The fact that the law discriminates gay couples is a form of displacement. It is a clear proof of 'an agenda' that does not equalize gay couples. Secondly, I could recall of statements made by politicians in Israel in the past, impairing gay couples and their rights. These statements always made a buzz that subsided within few weeks. However, in the period of writing this research, June 2014, another politician made another statement. Rabbi Shai Piron, Minister of Education, said in an interview to an orthodox news-paper: "I think it is the right of a Jewish state, maybe even its duty, to tell same-sex couples who decide to live their lives (together) – this is not a family".<sup>18</sup>

Piron apologized to the many who demanded his immediate resignation. Other voices reminded that Piron was also known as a liberal Rabbi, who initiates unbiased dialogues with LGBT community. However, even without Piron the political milieu is full of more careful people and experienced politicians, who hold similar views as Piron, and on their turn act their vocations silently. To many, the Jewish state of Israel must keep its Jewish unity and majority. The poor statement of Piron, proves that experiences or wishes in some cases of some groups do not coincide with the state's narratives, and that actions might be taken to re-arrange, permit or set limitations.

However, Sahi Doitsh remarked that the situation of the LGBT in Israel is good. Although the law does not often contain the community; the court corrects the situation by setting new regulations to maintain the equality in the state. The good status of the community is in merits of its presence. LGBT community in Israel is not a quiet ornament. Rather, they manage to transcend many lessons about the challenge setting to the hegemony and to the meta-narrative, but most important are the lessons about their successes. In the so

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<sup>18</sup> In an interview with Channel 7, the digital edition [www.inn.co.il](http://www.inn.co.il). From 26/06/2014.

complex Israeli reality, the community proves resilient and embedded, as said by Shai Doitsh:

*The Israeli gay is pro-active, not only in LGBT matters. S/he is involved. S/he cares. S/he is very aware, because s/he has had to fight for rights from early age.*

*I am the head of LGBT organization in a Jewish state, and it conveys a lot.*

The LGBT movement in Israel is inspiring to think of in these terms – a community that draws its power from the state, whilst still being able to 'write back' with its hegemonic nature. To use words of the anthropologist Annette Lynch, perhaps the LGBT community in the mixed Jewish state of Israel shows "a use of heritage as a response to current realities. So while these young people are clearly proud of their cultural roots, they are interested in achieving their own versions of success. Much of the conflict expressed... is tied to balancing their cultural inheritance with commitments to modernity and self-invention".<sup>19</sup>

Despite the tendency to read this struggling affair as a case of a community, I want to remind that it is ultimately and initially a case based on the individual. Namely, this is an individual's personal wish to become a parent, or to create a family. Communities in this sense, only follow the existence of the individual as it is composed of similar stories, identifications, and thus make a multiplicity of individuals. What interested me most in this story was finding a generality that spurs from the individual. Moreover, from this case I learned about the entanglement of the individual in an un-total community, with power, rules and narratives affecting from outside. Un-total, because there were, and are many non LGBT 'fighters' who actively support the struggle of the community. But also because the LGBT community is obviously affected by other communities in a shared environment – other communities that LGBT is also part of – Israel and Judaism. In this sense, the community is not closed within itself, but entangled. This entanglement is sometimes, a conflict. In this case, being entangled in Jewish, Arab, or Mizrahi identifications as a gay citizen in a democratic Jewish State, eventually constructs one's identity.

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<sup>19</sup> Lynch, Annette. 1999. *Dress, Gender and Cultural Change – Asian American and African American Rites of Passage*. Berg/Oxford International.

## CHAPTER 5

### **Conclusion**

## **A Billion Doors To The Same New Being!**

In my introduction I quoted from poet Elizabeth Alexander; "each one of our ancestors on our tongues". Embracing this idea to my full comprehension, I set idiosyncrasy as a departure point for this writing. I also got amplitude from the entire book of Shoshana Madmoni-Gerber, which I found to be an illuminating research to every Israeli who wishes to understand more about the state's history. Her book is also a precious document to all Mizrahim, but is especially awakening to those born within the Yemenite community, full or mixed generations. The book touched me personally as a son of the community, but it also led me to write this research from a personal perspective, being influenced by this call:

*A generation of Mizrahim will not connect to their Arab roots before they get access to their parents' history and culture".<sup>20</sup>*

As I showed in the first chapter, my grandmother's offer of her history was limited in her capacity to contain and distinguish what was inherently hers, and what was actually borrowed. I found a confusion that provoked me. I was upset and surprised when talking with more family members about the kidnapped Yemenite babies. They showed little interest in it. But I was even more surprised to hear my grandmother's adoptive fortifying of the Holocaust, while hardly flinching when talking about the pain of her mother, who apparently spoke about her missing daughter her whole life. This was my personal shock and private history, which sought clarifications in writing.

Thus, the second chapter dealt with the clarifications in need, of my grandmother's detachment with her own history. I tried to show what reasons constitute our collective memory, or either, what are the reasons that make some memories decayed and eclipsed. The main reason, if I should conclude it here, is that history is not remembered but is reminded. It is a sophisticated mechanism that is powerful enough to make one, and then many, feel distant from their own experiences while adopting different historical narratives. Thus I claimed, that the Zionist meta-narrative situated the Holocaust as the first paradigm through which many Israelis see their lives – a direct continuation

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<sup>20</sup> Madmoni-Gerber, Shoshana. 2009. *Israeli Media and the Framing of Internal Conflict – The Yemenite Babies Affair*. Palgrave Macmillan. Page 178.

from the Holocaust that – if not reminded – will be repeated. This paradigm, if to follow Adorno & Horkheimer, was made possible by the Zionist view (turning it to hegemony) via the tool of distance and domination. I argued that the Zionist interest was and still is, to distance the Holocaust from being a world tragedy – a part of a vicious Nazi regime, and a part of a world war. This is because through isolating the Holocaust and re-defining it a Jewish tragedy (which it is, but not only), instead of remembering it as a tragedy of humanity, one can control the narrative and also those listening to it. To be claiming yours a tragedy so significant to the world, means to have power over this world's narrative, and thus the world's imaginative capabilities, or at least to pursue this measure.

I was also occupied in my writing, as much as in my artistic practice, with the question – where do idiosyncrasies lead 'us' to, and what shall others find in such personal documentations?

In posing this question, the connection is already made between the – I (individual) and the – us (general). Thus by inspecting the particular, a whole world of connections and systems often opens. The individual with her particularity exists within an environment. John Dewey reminds us "life goes on in an environment; not merely in it but because of it, interaction with it"<sup>21</sup>. This is the ultimate rule of nature – a co-dependency between the organism and its environment. They behave reciprocally, because without an environment there is no organism, and a multiplicity of organisms determines the environment. Such is the initial mechanism between particular and general and it finds its peace in the everlasting rule of nature.

Such were my first and second chapters, departing from a personal story, which grew to a community of Yemenites, of Arab Jews, their existence in the state of Israel, its relation to Europe, etc. I explored the personal through the eyes of researchers Shoshana Madmoni-Gerber and Benedict Anderson who both move between particular cases and their general existence in the world as cases of domination and power, as cases also exemplifying general models from which to learn about our present.

However, it was important to me to leave that realm of history and to look at this very present. Therefore, in the third chapter I presented a case where gay and straight Israeli couples, were stranded in Thailand after the birth of their babies in surrogacy procedures. The state refusal of issuing passports for the babies seemed to me to be advancing a

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<sup>21</sup> Dewey, John. 1934. *Art As Experience*. Perigee. Page 12.

hidden agenda. I approached the Israeli LGBT chairman, Shai Doitsh, with this supposition. Doitsh affirmed the suspicion, but left it there as a suspicion unproven.

I then reviewed the voice heard by the Minister of Education, Rabbi Shai Piron who denounced the familial bond of gay couples and their children. Bringing this, I hoped to make firmer my supposition of the not-so-hidden agenda of some politicians in Israel, where the Minister of Education by virtue of his role has the agency to promote such views. This Jewish agenda joins the Zionist meta-narrative, by force to overshadowing other narrative or situations, which might harm the idea of Israel as a land of Jews. Also that must always weaken Arabs, Christians and other non-Jewish minorities. But moreover, this case proves once more, that those in power try to rule the individual – a tension shared by other peers and contemporaries in other places in the world.

That said, the individual case of Israel opens the door to other worlds where structures and narratives exist. It shows very much that cases of the present are extended from the past. It shows that narratives are borrowed and migrate just like people. It also shows that narratives adapt and change, being reinvented and negotiated; alas nothing ever lasts in its pure shape, an idea that objects the notion of origin.

The forces that shape one's identity are immense, varied and elusive. The reasons for one's identity can only be first assumed, suggested, and then supported by theoreticians and researchers from different practices; Philosophy, Sociology, History, Political Science, Art, Poetry. Because it is a variety of disciplines that seek answers regarding one's identity shaped by its environment, they point at the multi- trans- and inter-textual. We arrive then at a postulation coined by poet Alan Ginsberg, that to think of identity is to search for; "A billion doors to the same new Being!"<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ginsberg, Allen. 1961. *Howl, Kaddish and Other Poems*. From the poem *The Reply*. Page 116.

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