Becoming Israel: War, Peace, and the Politics of Israel's Identity

POL 345 Y 1 Y

Professor Emanuel Adler
Fall 2018-Winter 2019
Lectures: Tuesday 2:00-4:00pm
Office Hours: Tuesday 10:00-12:00am

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Israelis probably are among the few peoples in the world who, even after several generations of independent existence, still ask: "who were we?," "who are we?," "who is we?," "what are we?, "where are we?," and "who will we become?" Attempting to show why this is so, this course introduces students to Israeli politics, society, institutions and political practice from the distinctive perspective of the development of Israeli identity (identities). Special attention will be given to the sources of Israeli identity, the main players involved in its politics, and the role of regional war and the peace process in its development and inner conflicts. In particular, the course will trace the construction of Israeli identity, starting from the early times of Zionism and ending with the contemporary identity conflicts over the failed Oslo peace process with the Palestinians and the recent Intifada. I will try to show that there is a direct connection between Zionist constituting ideologies, the nature of Israel's institutions and society, and the split soul of Israeli identity.

Course requirements: A review paper (20%) on Yael Zerubavel’s book Recovered Roots (maximum 5 pages, double space), which is due on November 13, 2018; a mid-term paper (30%) on the origins of Israeli political and social institutions (maximum 10 pages, double space), which is due on March 5, 2019; a final exam (25%) on December 4, 2018, and a final exam, whose date will be determined by the Faculty of Arts and Science. Excluding medical emergencies, no late assignments will be accepted.

Prerequisite: A course in POL.

Communication: course announcements and information will be posted in the "Blackboard," at U of T's Portal site:
https://portal.utoronto.ca/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp
The "Blackboard" also allows communication between instructors and students.
We will be happy to receive, and answer to, your personal e-mail messages, as long as you use e-mail judiciously and sparingly

**Plagiarism and Turnitin.com**

According to U of T's Code of Behavior on Academic Matters: "It shall be an offence for a student knowingly: (d) to represent as one’s own any idea or expression of an idea or work of another in any academic examination or term test or in connection with any other form of academic work, i.e. to commit plagiarism…(e) to submit, without the knowledge and approval of the instructor to whom it is submitted, any academic work for which credit has previously been obtained or is being sought in another course or program of study in the University or elsewhere."

Plagiarism will not be tolerated and all cases of plagiarism will be sent to the Dean's Office for appropriate action. For further information on University of Toronto’s policy regarding plagiarism you may look at [http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources](http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources)

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism students. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

If, as a student, you object to using turnitin.com, please see the course instructor to establish appropriate alternative arrangements for submission of your written assignments. These arrangements will include some or all of the following: submission of drafts, rough work and notes; submission of photocopies of sources along with call numbers and web site addresses of sources cited in the paper; a personal meeting with the Instructor.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing in to Turnitin.com. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned.

**Late Penalty Policy:**

No late penalty. All students are required to hand in their essays by the due date, except under extreme and critical health or family circumstances, in which case documentation is an absolute necessity.

**Accessibility Needs:**

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or
course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility.

Accommodation for Religious Observances:

It is the policy of the University of Toronto to arrange reasonable accommodation of the needs of students who observe religious holy days other than those already accommodated by ordinary scheduling and statutory holidays. Students have a responsibility to alert members of the teaching staff in a timely fashion to upcoming religious observances and anticipated absences. Instructors will make every reasonable effort to avoid scheduling tests, examinations or other compulsory activities at these times. If compulsory activities are unavoidable, every reasonable opportunity should be given to these students to make up work that they miss, particularly in courses involving laboratory work. When the scheduling of tests or examinations cannot be avoided, students should be informed of the procedure to be followed to arrange to write at an alternate time.

Required Bibliography

The required readings are available in one or more of the following formats:
1. An online reading on the POL345 blackboard page
2. The course pack – can be purchased at U of T bookstore
3. The course reserves desk at Robarts library.
4. U of T bookstore – there are few books that students are advised to purchase.

Required books to purchase


Recommended to Watch Throughout the Semester

Legend

BS – The reading is available at U of T Book Store
R – The reading is available at the course reserves desk at Robarts Library
C – The reading is available at the course pack
@ – The reading is available on pol345 blackboard page

Course Topics and Readings

Introduction

1- "Under Construction": Israeli Identity/Identities

September 11, 2018

[BS] Garfinkle, chapter 1

September 18, 2018

[BS] Garfinkle, chapter 2

Recommended Readings:


I- Who Were We?

2- Zionism and the Intellectual Origins of Israeli Identity

September 25, 2018


October 2, 2018


Recommended readings, subject # 2:


Hedva Ben-Israel Kidron, "Zionism and European Nationalisms: Comparative Aspects," *Israel Studies* 8/1 (Spring 2003), 91-104


3- Myths and Reality in the Construction of the Modern State of Israel

October 9, 2018


October 16, 2017


Recommended readings, subject # 3:

Garfinkle, chapter 3.


II- Who Are We?

4- The Israeli State, Institutions, and Identity

October 23, 2018


October 30, 2017


Recommended readings, subject # 4:


Shmu'el Hasfari and Eldad Yaniv, *The National Left*  


Ilan Peleg, "Israel Constitutional Order and *Kulturkampf*: The Role of Ben-Gurion,"  


Gideon Doron, "Right as Opposed to Wrong as Opposed to Left: The Spatial Location of the Right Parties on the Israeli Political Map," *Israel Studies* 10/3 (Fall 2005), 29-53.


**Fall Reading Week: November 6, 2018**

**November 13, 2018: First Paper Due**

5- *The Israeli People, Society, Economy, and Identity*

**November 13, 2018**

[BS] Garfinkle, chapter 4


**November 20, 2018**

[@] Eliezer Ben-Rafael, “Mizrahi and Russian Challenges to Israel’s Dominant Culture: Divergences and Convergences,” *Israel Studies* 12/3 (Fall 2007).

**Recommended readings, subject # 5:**


Ephraim Ya'ar, "Continuity and Change in Israeli Society: The Test of the Melting Pot," *Israel Studies* 10/2 (Summer 2005), 91-128.


Alan Dowty ed. Critical Issues in Israeli Society (Westport CT: Praeger, 2004). In particular:


Noya Rimalt, “From Law to Politics: The Path to Gender Equality,” *Israel Studies* 18/3 (Fall 2013).


Sergio Della Pergola, "Demography in Israel at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century," in Rebhun and Waxman, Jews in Israel, 20-44.

Gabriel Ben-Dor and Ami Pedahzur, "Civil-Military Relations in Israel at the Outset of the Twenty-first Century," in Rebhun and Waxman, Jews in Israel, 331-344.


**III- Who Is "We?"**

6- "Jerusalem" and "Tel-Aviv:" The Split Soul of Israeli Identity

November 27, 2018


Recommended readings, subject # 6:

Ezrahi, chapter 1.

Midterm Exam: December 4, 2018
7- "Kulturkampf:" The Secular Religious Divide

January 8, 2019


January 15, 2019

[@] Eliezer Ben-Rafael, "The Faces of Religiosity in Israel: Cleavages or Continuum?" Israel Studies, 13/3 (Fall 2008), 89-113.


Recommended readings, subject # 7:


"'Who is a Jew?' Professor Isaiah Berlin's Memorandum to the Prime Minister of Israel, 23, January 1959," *Israel Studies*, 13/3, 170-77.

8- "Post-Zionism," the "New Historians," and Israeli Identity

January 22, 2019

[BS] Silberstein, chapters 2, 3, 4

**Recommended readings, subject # 8:**

Yoram Hazony, *The Jewish State: Struggle for Israel's Soul* (New York: Basic, 2000), chapters 1 and 2.


Assaf Likhovski, "Post-Post Zionist Historiography," *Israel Studies* 15/2 (Summer 2010), 1-23.


Silberstein, chapter 5.


Some examples of the "new historians'" writings:


9- The Israeli Palestinians: "Us" or "Them?"

**January 29, 2019**


February 5, 2019


**Recommended readings, subject # 9:**


Efraim Karsh, “Israel’s Arabs: Deprived or Radicalized?” *Israel Affairs* 19/1 (2013), 2-20.

Muhammad Amara, "The Collective Identity of the Arabs in Israel in an Era of Peace,"
IV- What Are We?

10- Israeli Democracy as Identity

February 12, 2019


Recommended readings, subject # 10:


www.haaretz.com/weekend/magazine/is-israel-too-jewish.preview-1.511037


**Winter Reading Week: February 19, 2019**

**11. Israel or the “State of the Jewish People?”**

**February 26, 2019**

https://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm


https://en idi.org.il/articles/24241?ct=t(EMAIL_CAMPAIGN_7_19_2018_17_20)
12. War, Peace and Israeli Identity

March 5, 2019

[BS] Garfinkle, 245-278.


March 12, 2019

[BS] Shindler, 267-349.

March 19, 2019

[BS] Shindler, 350-419.

Recommended readings, subject # 11:


"Israel Future: The Time Factor: A Debate between Efraim Imbar and Ian S. Lustick, *Israel Studies Forum* 23.1 (Summer 2008), 3-11


As’ad Ghanem, "The Bi-National State Solution," *Israel Studies* 14/2 (Summer 2009), 120-33.

331-347, and Ami Pedahzur and Holly McCarthy, “Against All Odds—the Paradoxical Victory of the West Bank Settlers: Interest Groups and Policy Enforcement, 443-461.”


Asher Susser, "Partition and the Arab Palestinian Minorities in Israel," Israel Studies 14/2 (Summer 2009), 105-119.

Itzhak Galnor, "The Zionist Debates on Partition (1919-1947)," Israel Studies 14/2 (Summer 2009), 74-87.

Shlomo Aronson, "Israel's Security and the Holocaust: Lessons Learned but Existential Fears Continue," Israel Studies 14/1 (Spring 2009), 65-93.


David Menashri, "Iran, Israel and the Middle East Conflict," Israel Affairs 11/4 (October 2005), 717-736.

Michael Barnett, "Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo," European Journal of International Relations 5/1 (March 1999), 5-36.
Ezrahi, chapters 6 and 8.


**V- Where Are We?**

**12- Israel in the World**

March 26, 2019

[BS] Garfinkle, 229-244.


**Recommended readings, subject # 12:**

Emanuel Adler, ed. *Israel in the World*, 24-110.  
Gabriel Sheffer, "Loyalty and Criticism in the Relations between World Jewry and Israel," *Israel Studies* 17/2 (Summer 2012), 77-85.

Daniel Gordis, "From a Jewish People to a Jewish Religion: A Shifting American Jewish Weltanschauung and Its Implications for Israel," *Israel Studies* 17/2 (Summer 2012) 102-110.

Asher Susser, “Israel’s Place in a Changing Regional Order,” *Israel Studies* 19/2 (Summer 2014), 218-238.

Yehezkel Dror, "Diaspora-Israel Relations: A Long-Term Perspective," *Israel Studies* 17/2 (Summer 2012), 86-91.


Alexandra Nocke, "Israel and the Emergence of Mediterranean Identity," Israel Studies, 11/1 (Spring 2006), 143-173.

Alexandra Nocke, The Place of the Mediterranean in Modern Israeli identity (Leiden, Brill, 2009).


David Ohana, "Israel Towards a Mediterranean Identity," in Shlomo Avineri and Werner Weidenfeld, eds., Integration and Identity: Challenges to Europe and Israel (Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, 1999), 81-99.

David Ohana, Israel and Its Mediterranean Identity (Palgrave, 2011).


Gabriel Sheffer and Natan Aridan, eds. Special Issue: "The Making of Israeli Foreign Policy," Israel Studies 15/3 (Fall 2010), 1-201.

Michael Brecher, Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

Alan Dowty, "Israel's Foreign Policy and the Jewish Question," International Affairs 3/1 (March 1999).


VI- Who Will We Become?

13- The Alternative Paths of Israeli Identity/Identities

April 2, 2019

[BS] Ezrahi, chapter 11.


Recommended readings, subject # 13:


http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.jhtml?itemNo=745748


Spring Semester Exam Week: Final Exam
Additional Bibliography

Books


Beilin, Yossi (1999) *Touching Peace: From the Oslo Accord to a Final Agreement*. 
London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.


Burg, Avraham (2009) *The Holocaust is Over; We Must Rise from the Ashes*. Palgrave/Macmillan.


Hermann, Tamar and Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar (eds.) (1997) Israeli Society and the Challenge of Transition to Co-existence. Tel Aviv: The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University.


Segev, Tom (2007) *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year that Transformed the Middle East*. Metropolitan Books.


**Additional Sources**

Center for Israel Education, "History, Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict." A digital Primary source Compilation. [www.israeled.org](http://www.israeled.org)

"Jellyfish:" The Online Resource for Israel Studies, Schusterman Center for Israeli Studies, Brandeis University. [http://israelsources.brandeis.libguides.com/SIIS](http://israelsources.brandeis.libguides.com/SIIS)

**Most Relevant Journals**

*Ethnic and Racial Studies*

*History and Memory*

*International Journal of Middle East Studies*

*Israel Affairs*

*Israel Studies*

*Israel Studies Review*
Journal of Israeli History
Journal of Palestine Studies
Middle East Journal
Nationalism and Nations
Palestine-Israel Journal
Philosophy and Social Criticism
Shofar
The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs
The Jerusalem Quarterly

Newspapers and Magazines

Jerusalem Post (Internet)  www.jpost.com
Jerusalem Report (Internet)  www.jrep.com
Israel21c (Internet)  www.israel21c.org
YNET http://www.ynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-3083,00.html

Relevant Israeli Films at the Robarts Library

“Haesder”
“Kippur”
“Sallah Shabbati”
“Howitz Shel Avia”
“Promises”
“Waltz With Bashir”
“Get”

“Ajami”

“The Band’s Visit”

“Beaufort”

“The Gatekeepers”

“5 Broken Cameras”

“Dancing Arabs”