

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 midterm 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>

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

Adam Garfinkle, *Politics and Society in Modern Israel*, Second Edition (Armonk, New York: Sharpe, 2000).

Adam Shindler, *A History of Modern Israel*, Second Edition (E-Textbook, Amazon Digital Services 2013).

Laurence J. Silberstein, *The Postzionist Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 1999).

Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

Yaron Ezrahi, *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1997) University of Toronto Press Reprint.

Recommended to Watch Throughout the Semester

Israel Broadcasting Authority, "Tkuma - The Rebirth of Israel" A New Six Hour Modern History of Israel," 1999.

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:

Gideon Shimoni, *The Zionist Ideology* (Hanover: Brandeis University Press, 1995), 3-11.

I- Who Were We?

2- Zionism and the Intellectual Origins of Israeli Identity

September 25, 2018

[C] Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 88-100, 112-124.

October 2, 2018

[R] Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism*, 159-216.

Recommended readings, subject # 2:

Michael Barnett, "The Politics of Uniqueness: The Status of the Israeli Case."
In Michael Barnett, ed. *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1996, 3-28.

Alexander Yakobson, "Jewish Peoplehood and the Jewish State, How Unique?-A Comparative Study," *Israel Studies* 13/2 (Summer 2008), 1-27.

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

Jonathan Spyer, "Theories of Nationalism: The Israeli Experience as a Test Case," *Israel Studies Forum* 20/2 (Winter 2005), 46-68.

Martin Buber, *Israel and the World* (Syracuse University Press, 1997), 214-226.

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

October 9, 2018

[BS] Zerubavel, 13-36, 39-47, 60-76.

October 16, 2017

[BS] Zerubavel, 147-167, 192-213.

Recommended readings, subject # 3:

Garfinkle, chapter 3.

Erez Tzfadia, "Geography and Demography: Spatial Transformations," in in Guy Ben-Porat, Yagil Levy, Shlomo Mizrahi, Arye Naor, Erez Tzfadia, *Israel Since 1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 42-68.

Amos Oz, "The Meaning of Homeland," in Carol Diamant, ed., *Zionism: The Sequel* (New York: Hadassah, 1998), 248-254.

Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew*, trans. by Haim Watzman (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2000), 35-45, 185-197.

Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel*. Trans. by David Maisel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3-24.

Nachman Ben-Yehuda, *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 62-68, 228-258.

Myron J. Aranoff, "The Origins of Israeli Political Culture," in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy Under Stress* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 47-63.

Shoham Hizky, "From 'Great History' to 'Small History:' The Genesis of the Zionist Periodization," *Israel Studies* 18/1 (Spring 2013), 31-55.

Michael Feige, "Passion and Territory in Israeli Historiography," *Israel Studies* 16/1 (Spring 2011), 179-197.

For a political-geographic introduction of the "New Yishuv" see: Ruth Kark and Joseph B. Glass, "The Jews in Eretz Israel/Palestine: From Traditional Peripherality to Modern Centrality," in Efraim Karsh, ed., *Israel: The First Hundred Years*, Vol. 1 Israel's Transition From Community to State (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 73-107.

II- Who Are We?

4- The Israeli State, Institutions, and Identity

October 23, 2018

[BS] Garfinkle, chapter 5.

[@] Baruch Kimmerling, "State Building, State Autonomy and the Identity of Society: The Case of the Israeli State," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 6/4 (December 1993), 396-429.

October 30, 2017

[@] Oren Soffer, "Judicial Review of Legislation in Israel: Problems and Implications of Possible Reform," *Israel Affairs* 12/2 (April 2006), 307-329.

[@] Gideon Doron, "Judges in a Borderless State: Politics versus the Law in the State of Israel," *Israel Affairs* 14/4 (2008), 587-601.

Recommended readings, subject # 4:

Sasley, Brent E. and Harold M. Waller (2017), *Politics in Israel: Governing a Complex Society*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 114-243.

Ilan Peleg, "The Israeli Right;" Mark Rosenblum, "After Rabin: The Malaise of the Israeli Zionist Left;" Shmuel Sandler and Aaron Kampinsky, "Israel's Religious Parties;" Vladimir (Ze'ev) Khanin, "Israel's 'Russian' Parties;" Hillel Frisch, "Israel's Arab Parties;" Pnina Lahav, "Israel's supreme Court," in Robert O. Freedman ed., *Contemporary Israel: Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy and Security Challenges* (Boulder, Co.: Westview, 2009), 21-158.

Menachem Hofnung, "Israeli Constitutional Politics: The Fragility of Impartiality," *Israel Affairs* 5/2-3 (1999), 34-54.

Shmu'el Hasfari and Eldad Yaniv, *The National Left*
<http://www.fas.org/irp/dni/ocs/israel-left.pdf>

Alan Dowty, "Zionism's Greatest Conceit," *Israel Studies* 3/1 (Spring 1998), 1-23.

Ilan Peleg, "Israel Constitutional Order and *Kulturkampf*: The Role of Ben-Gurion," *Israel Studies* 3/1 (Spring 1998), 230-250.

Yechiam Weitz, "The Road to the 'Upheaval': A Capsule History of the Herut Movement, 1948-1977," *Israel Studies* 10/3 (Fall 2005), 54-86.

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.

Rebecca Kook, "Between Uniqueness and Exclusion: The Politics of Identity in Israel in Comparative Perspective," in Michael Barnett, ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom* (Albany, New York: SUNY, 1996), 199-225.

Ilan Saban, "After the Storm? The Israeli Supreme Court and the Arab-Palestinian Minority in the Aftermath of October 2000," *Israel Affairs* 14/4 (2008), 623-639.

Daphne Barak-Erez, "Law and Politics in Israel Lands: Toward Distributive Justice," *Israel Affairs* 14/4 (2008), 662-680.

Gideon Doron, "High-tech Nation: The Future of the Israeli Polity," *Israel Affairs* 17/3 (July 2011), 313-326.

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

[C] Hanna Herzog, "Women in Israeli Society," in Uzi Rebhun and Chaim Waxman, *Jews in Israel: contemporary social and cultural patterns* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2004), 195-220.

November 20, 2018

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

[C] Guy Ben-Porat, "Political Economy: Liberalization and Globalization," in Guy Ben-Porat, Yagil Levy, Shlomo Mizrahi, Arye Naor, Erez Tzfadia, *Israel Since 1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 91-116.

Recommended readings, subject # 5:

Avi Picard, "Like a Phoenix: The Renaissance of Sepharadic/Mizrahi Identity in Israel in the 1970s and 1980s," *Israel Studies* 22/2 (Summer 2017).

Menachem Mautner, "Liberalism in Israel: Between the 'Good person' and the 'Bad Citizen'," *Israel Studies Review* 31/1 (summer 2016), 6-35.

Yoram Peri, *Generals in the Cabinet Room* (Washington DC: US Institute of Peace Press, 2006), 213-232.

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

Ben-Zion Zilberfarb, "From Socialism to Free Market: The Israeli Economy, 1948-2003," *Israel Affairs* 11/1 (January 2005), 12-22.

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

Gideon Doron and Rebecca Kook, "Sources of Stability and Instability in the Israeli Polity," 9-32.

Menachem Hofnung "Corruption, Political Finance, and the Rule of Law," 33-54.

Gad Barzilai, "How Far do Justices Go: The Limits of Judicial Decisions," 55-68.
Zvi Gitelman, "'The Russian Revolution' in Israel," 95-108.

Yair Ezrahi, "Globalization and Its Impact on Israel," 151-166.

Derek Penslar, "Normalization and Its Discontents: Israel as a Diaspora Community," 223-250.

Calvin Goldscheider, *Israeli Society in the Twenty-First Century* (Brandeis University Press, 2015)

Henriette Dahan-Kalev, "You're So Pretty—You Don't Look Moroccan," *Israel Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2001), 1-14

Nelly Elias and Adriana Kemp, "The New Second Generation: Non-Jewish *Olim*, Black Jews and Children of Migrant Workers in Israel," *Israel Studies* 15/1 (Spring 2010), 73-94.

Eliezer Ben-Rafael, "Kibbutz: Survival at Risk," *Israel Studies* 16/2 (Summer 2011), 81-108.

Raymond Russell, Robert Hanneman, Shlomo Getz, "The Transformation of the Kibbutzim," *Israel Studies* 16/2 (2011), 109-126.

Nurith Gertz, "the Kibbutz between the Past and the Present," *Israel Studies Review* (June 2015), 86-100.

Sami Shalom Chetrit, "Mizrahi Politics in Israel: Between Integration and Alternative," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, vol. 29/4 (2000), 51-65

Ella Shohat, "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims," in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat, eds., *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation, and Postcolonial Perspectives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 39-68.

Yosef Gorny, "The 'Melting Pot' in Zionist Thought," *Israel Studies* 6/3 (2001), 54-70.

Vladimir Khanin, "Russian-Jewish Political Experience in Israel: Patterns, Elites and Movements," *Israel Studies* 17/1 (January 2011), 55-71.

Dan Senor and Saul Singer, *Start-up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle* (New York: Twelve, 2009)

Paul Rivlin, *The Israeli Economy from the Foundation of the State Through the 21st Century* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), chapter 3 and 7.

Frances Raday, "Women's Human Rights: Dichotomy between Religion and Secularism in Israel," *Israel Affairs* 11/1 (January 2005), 78-94.

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

Yael Yishai, "Civil Society in Transition: Interest Politics in Israel," *AAPSS* 555 (January 1998), 147-162.

Motti Regev, "To Have a Culture of Our Own: On Israeliness and Its Variants," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23/2 (March 2000), 223-247.

Joel S. Migdal, "Society Formation and the Case of Israel," in Michael Barnett, ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom* (Albany, New York: SUNY, 1996), 173-197.

Baruch Kimmerling, "Political Subcultures and Civilian Militarism in a Settler-Immigrant Society," in Daniel Bar-Tal, Dan Jacobson and Aharon Klieman, eds., *Security Concerns: Insights from the Israeli Experience*. Contemporary Studies in Sociology, Vol. 17 (Stamford, Conn.: JAI Press, 1998), 395-416.

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.

Yoram Peri, "The Political-Military Complex: The IDF's Influence Over Policy towards the Palestinians since 1987," *Israel Affairs* 11/2 (April 2005), 324-344.

Oren Barak and Gabriel Shefer, "The Study of Civil-Military Relations in Israel: A New Perspective," *Israel Studies* 12/1 (2007) 1-27.

Dana Kachtan, "The Construction of Ethnic Identity in the Military – From the Bottom Up," *Israel Studies* 17/3 (Fall 2012), 150-175.

Tamar Horowitz, "The Integration of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union," *Israel Affairs* 11/1 (January 2005), 117-136.

Ben-Zion Zilberfarb, "From Boom to Bust: The Israeli Economy, 1990-2003: *Israel Affairs* 12/2 (April 2006), 221-233.

III- Who Is "We?"

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

November 27, 2018

[BS] Yaron Ezrahi, *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1997), chapters, 5, 7, and 10

Recommended readings, subject # 6:

Ezrahi, chapter 1.

Midterm Exam: December 4, 2018

7- "Kulturkampf:" The Secular Religious Divide

January 8, 2019

[@] Baruch Kimmerling, "Between Hegemony and Dormant *Kulturkampf* in Israel," *Israel Affairs* 4/3&4 (Spring/Summer 1998). Also in Dan Urian and Efraim Karsh, eds., *In Search of Identity: Jewish Aspects in Israeli Culture* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 49-72.

[R] Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), chapters 1 and 2.

Watch: Pew Survey, "Israel's Religiously Divided Society," Pew Research Center, March 8, 2016 <http://www.pewforum.org/2016/03/08/israels-religiously-divided-society/>

January 15, 2019

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

[@] Forum: "The 'Religionization' of Israeli Society:" Yoram Peri, "Introduction;" Tamar Hermann, "More Jewish than Israeli (and Democratic)?" Shlomo Fischer, "Yes, Israel is Becoming More Religious;" Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, "Religious Pressure Will Increase in the Future;" Nissim Leon, "Secular Jews: From Proactive Agents to Defensive Players;" Yaacov Yadgar, "The Need for an Epistemological Turn." *Israel Studies Review* 27/1 (Summer 2012), 1-30.

Recommended readings, subject # 7:

Eliezer Don-Yehiya, "Messianism and Politics: The Ideological Transformation of Religious Zionism," *Israel Studies* 19/2 (Summer 2014), 239-263.

Reuven Y. Hazan, "Religion and Politics in Israel: The Rise and Fall of the Consociational Model" in Reuven Y. Hazan and Moshe Maor, eds. *Parties, Elections and Cleavages: Israel in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*. London: Frank Cass, 2000, 109-137.

Asher Cohen, "Changes in the Orthodox Camp and Their Influence on the Deepening Religious-Secular Schism at the Outset of the Twenty-first Century," in Alan Dowty ed. *Critical Issues in Israeli Society* (Westport CT: Praeger, 2004), pp. 71-94.

Avraham B. Yehoshua, "Separating Religion from National Identity," *Palestine-Israel Journal*, vol. 9/1 (2002), 94-101.

Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, "Jews and Others: Non-Jewish Jews in Israel," *Israel Affairs*, 15/1 (2009), 52-65.

Guy Ben-Porat, *Between State and Synagogue: The Secularization of Contemporary Israel*: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Alan Dowty, *The Jewish State: A Century Later*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, 159-183.

Ehud Sprinzak, "Extremism and Violence in Israel: The Crisis of Messianic Politics," *AAPSS* 555 (January 1998), 114-126.

Aviezer Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism*, trans. by Michael Swirsky and Jonathan Chipman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), chapter 1.

Eliezer Schweid, "Judaism in Israeli Culture," in Rebhun and Waxman, *Jews in Israel*, 243-264.

Shlomit Levy, Hanna Levinsohn and Elihu Katz, "The Many Faces of Jewishness in Israel," in Rebhun and Waxman, *Jews in Israel*, 265-284.

Eliezer Don-Yehiya. "Conflict Management of Religious Issues: The Israeli Case in a Comparative Perspective." in Reuven Y. Hazan and Moshe Maor, eds. *Parties, Elections and Cleavages: Israel in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*. London: Frank Cass, 2000, 85-108.

"'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.

Michal Ben-Josef Hirsch, "From Taboo to the Negotiable: The Israeli New Historians and the Changing Representation of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2007, 5 (2): 241- 258(Highly recommended).

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

Shlomo Aronson, "The Post-Zionist Discourse and Critique of Israel: A Traditional Zionist Perspective," *Israel Studies* 8/1 (Spring 2003), 105-129.

Menachem Brinker, "The End of Zionism? Thoughts on the Wages of Success," in Carol Diamant, ed., *Zionism: The Sequel* (New York: Hadassah, 1998), 293-299.

Erik Cohen, "Israel as a Post-Zionist Society," in Robert Wistrich and David Ohana, eds., *The Shaping of Israeli Identity: Myths, Memory, and Trauma* (London: Frank Cass, 1995), 203-213.

Uri Ram, "Post-Zionist Studies in Israel-The First Decade," *Israel Studies Forum* 20/2 (Winter 2005), 22-45.

Silberstein, chapter 5.

Ari Shavit, "Leaving the Ghetto," Interview with Avraham Burg, *Haaretz* 8.6.2007.
<http://www.haaretz.com/hasen/objects/pages/PrintArticleEn.jhtml?itemNo=868385>.

Zeev Bielski, "Response to Avraham Burg's Remarks," Jewish Agency for Israel, June 10, 2007.
<http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Home/About/Press+Room/Press+Releases/2007/june10.htm>

Some examples of the "new historians" writings:

Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-1999* (New York: Knopf, 1999).

Ilan Pappé, *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict: 1947-1951* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1992).

Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000).

Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: 1882-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

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

January 29, 2019

[@] Sammy Smooha, "Minority Status in an Ethnic Democracy: The Status of the Arab Minority in Israel," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13/3 (July 1990), 389-413.

[@] Yoav Peled, "Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State," *American Political Science Review* 86/2 (June 1992), 432-443.

February 5, 2019

[@] Nadim Rouhana and As'ad Ghanem, "The Crisis of Minorities in Ethnic States: The Case of Palestinian Citizens in Israel," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30/3 (1998), 321-346.

[@] Dov Waxman and Ilan Peleg, "Neither Ethnocracy nor Bi-nationalism: In Search of the Middle Ground," *Israel Studies Forum* 23/2 (Winter 2008), 55-73.

Recommended readings, subject # 9:

Eli Rekless, "The Evolvement of an Arab-Palestinian National Minority in Israel," *Israel Studies*, 12/3 (Fall 2007), 1-28.

Amal Jamal, "The Political Ethos of Palestinian Citizens of Israel: Critical Reading in the Future Vision Documents," *Israel Studies Forum* 23/2 (Winter 2008), 3-28

Yoav Peled and Doron Navot, "Ethnic Democracy Revisited: On the State of Democracy in the Jewish State," *Israel Studies Forum* 20/1 (Summer 2005), 3-27.

Dov Waxman, "Israel's other Palestinian Problem: the Future Vision Documents and the Demands of the Palestinian Minority in Israel," *Israel Affairs* 19/1 (2013), 214-229.

Oded Haklai, "The Arab Minority in Israel: Challenges and Limits in Recent Disciplinary Approaches," *Israel Studies* 18/1 (Spring 2013), 124-145.

Alan Dowty, "Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the Ethnic Democracy Debate," *Israel Studies* 4/2 (Fall 1999), 1-15.

Sammy Smootha, "Types of Democracy and Modes of Conflict Management in Ethnically Divided Societies," *Nations and Nationalism* 8/4 (2002), 423-31.

Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar and Ze'ev Shavit, "The Cleavage between Jewish and Arab Israeli Citizens," Rebhun and Waxman, *Jews in Israel*, 345-370.

Mark Tessler and Audra K. Grant, "Israel's Arab Citizens: The Continuing Struggle," *AAPSS* 555 (January 1998), 97-113.

Dan Rabinowitz, *Overlooking Nazareth: The Ethnography of Exclusion in Galilee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chapters 2 and 5.

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,"

Israel Affairs 9/1-2 (Winter 2003), 249-262.

Mahmud Kayyal, "A Hesitant Dialogue with 'the Other': The Interactions of Arab Intellectuals with the Israeli Culture," *Israel Studies* 11/2 (Summer 2006), 54-74.

"We are at a Crossroads," Interview with Azmi Bishara by Ilan Amouyal, revised 1998 by Azmi Bishara, in Carol Diamant, ed., *Zionism: The Sequel* (New York: Hadassah, 1998), 279-286.

The National Committee of the Heads of the Arab Local Authorities in Israel, "The Future Vision of the Palestinian Arabs in Israel," ed. by Ghaida Rinawie-Zoabi, 2006. [www.mossawacenter.org/.../2006/Future%20Vision%20\(English\).pdf](http://www.mossawacenter.org/.../2006/Future%20Vision%20(English).pdf)

Mada al-Carmel-Arab Center for Applied Social Research, "The Haifa Declaration," Sunday 20 May, 2007. www.mada-research.org/UserFiles/file/haifaenglish.pdf

Adalah, "The Democratic Constitution," 2007. www.adalah.org/eng/democratic_constitution-e.pdf

IV- What Are We?

10- Israeli Democracy as Identity

February 12, 2019

[@] Ruth Gavison, "Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the 'Ethnic Democracy' Debate," *Israel Studies* 4/1 (Spring 1999), 44-72.

[C] Forum: "Is Israeli Democracy in Danger," *Israel Studies Review*, 26/1 (Summer 2011), 1-32. Introduction and articles by Mordechai Kremnitzer and Shiri Krebs; Alexander Yakobson; Naomi Chazan; As'ad Ghanem; and Yaron Ezrahi.

Recommended readings, subject # 10:

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Eva Illiuz, "Is Israel Too Jewish?" *Haaretz Magazine*, March 23, 2013
www.haaretz.com/weekend/magazine/is-israel-too-jewish.preview-1.511037

Emanuel Adler, ed. *Israel in the World* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 73-96.

Joel Migdal, "Whose State is it Anyway? Exclusion and the Construction of Graduated Citizenship in Israel," *Israel Studies Forum* 21/2 (Winter 2006), 2-27.

Sammy Smootha, "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype," *Israel Studies* 2/2 (Fall 1997), 198-241.

Yonathan Shapiro, "The Historical Origins of Israeli Democracy," in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1993), 65-81.

Baruch Kimmerling, "Religion, Nationalism and Democracy in Israel," *Constellations* 6/3 (1999), 339-363.

Gabriel Sheffer, "Has Israel Really Been a Garrison State? Sources of Change in Israel's Democracy," *Israel Affairs* 3/1 (Autumn 1996), 13-38.

Yossi Yonah, "Israel as a Multicultural Democracy: Challenges and Obstacles," *Israel Affairs* 11/1 (January 2005), 95-116.

Asa Kasher, "'A Jewish and Democratic State:' Present Navigation in the Map of Interpretations," *Israel Affairs* 11/1 (January 2005), 165-182.

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

<http://iataskforce.org/sites/default/files/resource/resource-1622.pdf>

<https://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-nation-state-bill-heralds-israel-s-end-as-a-jewish-democratic-state-1.6265674>

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12. War, Peace and Israeli Identity

March 5, 2019

[BS] Garfinkle, 245-278.

[BS] Ezrahi, chapter 9.

March 12, 2019

[BS] Shindler, 267-349.

March 19, 2019

[BS] Shindler, 350-419.

Recommended readings, subject # 11:

Paul L. Scham, "The Historical Narratives of Israelis and Palestinians and the Peace Process," *Israel Studies Forum* 21/2 (Winter 2006), 58-84

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

Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*, 3d Ed. (Polity Press, 2012).

Aharon Bregman, *Israel's Wars: A History Since 1947* (New York and London: Routledge, 2010)

Joel Peters and David Newman eds., *Routledge Handbook on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*: (New York and London: Routledge, 2012).

Gershon Gorenberg, *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977* (Holt, 2007).

Dov Waxman, "Israeli Dilemma: Unity or Peace?" *Israel Affairs* 12/2 (April 2006), 200-220.

Dov Waxman, "From Controversy to Consensus: Cultural Conflict and the Israeli Debate Over Territorial Withdrawal," *Israel Studies* 13/2 (Summer 2008), 73-96.

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

Special Issue: Judea and Samaria's Jewish Settlers and Settlements—Cultural Sociology of Unsettled Space: A Look from Within," *Israel Affairs* 21/3 (2015), especially Miriam Bilig "The Jewish Settlements—Judea and Samaria (1967-2008): Historical Overview,"

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."

Raphael Cohen-Almagor, "The Failed Palestinian-Israeli Peace Process 1993-2011: An Israeli Perspective," *Israel Affairs* 18/4 (October 2012), 563-578.

Sami Adwan, Dan Bar-On, and Eyal Naveh, *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine* (New Press, 2012).

Eyal Naveh, "The Dynamics of Identity Construction in Israel through Education in History," 244-270, and Saleh Abdel Sawad, "The Arab-Palestinian Narratives of the 1948 War," 72-114, in Robert I. Rotberg, *Israeli and Palestinian Narratives of Conflict: History's Double Helix* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006)

Paul Scham, Benjamin Pogrund and As'ad Ghanem, "Introduction to Shared Narratives-A Palestinian-Israeli Dialogue," *Israel Studies* 18/2 (Summer 2013), 1-10.

Mohammed S. Dajami Daoudi and Zeima M. Barakat, "Israelis and Palestinians: Contested Narratives," *Israel Studies* 18/2 (Summer 2013), 53-69.

S. Ilan Troen, "Israeli Views of the Land of Israel/Palestine," *Israel Studies* 18/2 (Summer 2013), 110-114.

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.

Shlomo Ben Ami "So Close and Yet So Far: Lessons from the Israeli Palestinian Peace Process," *Israel Studies* 10/2 (Summer 2005), 72-90.

Eyal Zisser, "Hizbollah and Israel: Strategic Threat on the Northern Border," *Israel Affairs* 12/1 (January 2006), 86-106.

Adam Blinick, "Palestinian Suicide Terror," *Israel Studies Forum*, 21/2 (Winter 2006), 105-119.

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.

Lilly Weissbrod, "Israeli Identity in Transition," in Efraim Karsh, ed., *From Rabin to Netanyahu: Israel's Troubled Agenda* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 47-65.

Michael Feige, "Peace Now and the Legitimation Crisis of 'Civil Militarism,'" *Israel Studies* 3/1 (Spring 1998), 85-111.

Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics from Altalena to the Rabin Assassination* (New York: The Free Press, 1999), chapter 5.

Avishai Margalit, *Views in Review: Politics and Culture in the State of the Jews* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1998), chapter 7.

Steven R. David, "How States die: Lessons for Israel," *Israel Affairs* 22/2 (2016).

V- Where Are We?

12- Israel in the World

March 26, 2019

[BS] Garfinkle, 229-244.

[Available as e-book] Emanuel Adler, ed. *Israel in the World* (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 1-23

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.

Shimon Peres, *The New Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1993), 61-85, 163-179

Raffaella A. Del Sarto, "Region Building, European Union Normative Power, and Contested Identities: The Case of Israel," in Emanuel Adler, Federica Bicchieri, Beverly Crawford, and Raffaella A. Del Sarto, eds. *The Convergence of Civilizations: Constructing a Mediterranean Region* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2006), 296-336.

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).

Michael M. Laskier and Ronen Yitzhak, *Israel and the Mediterranean: Five Decades of Uneasy Coexistence* (Sussex Academic Press, 2013).

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).

Elie Podeh, "Rethinking Israel in the Middle East," *Israel Affairs*. Vol. 3, Nos. 3-4 (1997), pp. 336-354. Also in Efraim Karsh, ed., *From Rabin to Netanyahu: Israel's Troubled Agenda* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), 280-295.

Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (New York: Schocken, 1998), chapter 9.

Joel Peters, *Pathways to Peace: The Multilateral Arab-Israeli Peace Talks* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1996), 1-11, 61-75.

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).

Uri Bialer, *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Sasson Sofer, *Zionism and the Foundations of Israeli Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2007).

Alexander Yakobson and Amnon Rubinstein, *Israel and the Family of Nations: The Jewish Nation-State and Human Rights* (London: Routledge, 2008).

VI- Who Will We Become?

13- The Alternative Paths of Israeli Identity/Identities

April 2, 2019

[BS] Ezrahi, chapter 11.

[C] Emanuel Adler, "Changing Identities: The Path to Peace," in Emanuel Adler, *Communitarian International Relations* (London: Routledge, 2005). Also in *First Andrea and Charles Bronfman Lecture in Israeli Studies*, Munk Centre for International Studies, University of Toronto, March, 21, 2002 (mimeo).

Recommended readings, subject # 13:

Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman, "Israel in the Early Twenty-first Century: Challenging Internal and Global Developments," *Israel Affairs* 9/4 (June 2003), 1-16.

Gershon Gorenberg, *The Unmaking of Israel* (Harper, 2011).

Peter Beinart, *The Crisis of Zionism*: (Time Books, 2012).

Yehezkel Dror, "The Future of Israel: I. External Factors," *Israel Studies* 6/2 (Summer 2001), 90-106.

Shlomo Avineri, "Israel-A Normative Value of Jewish Existence," in Carol Diamant, ed., *Zionism: The Sequel* (New York: Hadassah, 1998), 85-88.

Zeev Sternhell, *The Founding Myths of Israel*. Trans. by David Maisel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), Epilogue.

Ari Shavit, "Systemic Failure," *Haaretz* 03/08/2006.

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A. B. Yehoshua, "An Attempt to Identify the Root Cause of Antisemitism," *Azure*, No 32 (Spring 2008)

Spring Semester Exam Week: Final Exam

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Ben-Yehuda, Nachman (2010), *Theocratic Democracy: The Social Construction of Religious and Secular Extremism*. Oxford University Press

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Newspapers and Magazines

Haaretz (English Edition, Internet) www.haaretz.com

Jerusalem Post (Internet) www.jpost.com

Jerusalem Report (Internet) www.jrep.com

Israel21c (Internet) www.israel21c.org

YNET <http://www.wynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-3083,00.html>

Relevant Israeli Films at the Robarts Library

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