

**Political Science 665**  
**Israeli Politics and Society**  
**Professor Nadav Shelef**  
**Fall 2016**

Office Hours: Mondays 2:00-4, and by appointment  
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**Course Description**

This course examines some of the issues currently facing Israeli society and the ongoing debates in Israeli politics. The course is organized into two parts. The first part establishes the historical and political background against which contemporary Israeli politics plays out. The second part of the course focuses on a number of crucial cleavages and debates within Israeli society – along political, religious, ethnic, and national lines. Although this course is not about the Arab-Israeli or Israeli-Palestinian conflicts, their influence on Israeli politics and society will be addressed.

**Course Requirements**

Our class time will be split between lectures and discussions. Students are expected to attend all classes having read the assigned readings and ready to participate in class discussions.

You should also keep up on current events relating to Israel, including daily perusing of articles in the New York Times and, among others, in:

<http://haaretz.com/>

<http://www.ynetnews.com>

*Simulation: Forming the Israeli government*

At the end of the semester we will engage in a simulation exercise in forming the Israeli government. You will be randomly assigned to represent an Israeli political party and tasked with researching its positions and with negotiating with other “parties” to form the Israeli government. As part of the simulation you will be responsible for drafting a memo detailing your desired candidate for Prime Minister and the most important items on its agenda. This 3-4 page memo should outline your main positions on the key topics facing Israeli society, the policies you would want to enact as part of the government, and what it would take to get you to join it. If you nominate yourself to be the Prime Minister, please provide a breakdown of your proposed coalition partners and what you would be willing to give them. See the attached simulation worksheet. We will then simulate the negotiation process involved in forming the Israeli government. At the end of the exercise, you will be responsible for a memo detailing why you decided to join the government or stay in the opposition.

Late assignments will be penalized half of one letter grade for every day they are late.

**Grading Criteria**

Final course grades will be assigned according to the following weights:

Mid-term exam	30%
Israeli politics simulation	25%

**Honors optional/Graduate Credit**

If you are taking this course for graduate credit or as an honors optional course, you will also need to complete an approximately 6-8000 word research paper on a topic of your choice relating to the course content. The paper will be due on the last day of class. Please meet with me during the course of the semester so we can develop your topic.

For students taking the course for honors or graduate credit, the paper will account for 20% of the grade and the simulation for 5%. The remainder of the grade will be determined by the mid-term and final as above.

**Academic Conduct**

This class is geared to maximize our joint exploration of important topics in Israeli history, society and politics. Serious scholarly discussion becomes impossible when diatribe and invective displace scholarly analysis. As a result, when posing questions or responding to others, students are expected to demonstrate an appropriate level of respect despite what might be deep disagreements.

The background work for your simulation memos requires you to cite other people's work.

**Plagiarism will not be tolerated!** If you are caught turning in work that is not your own or using another author's work without properly citing it, you will receive an F on the assignment. If you have any questions about what constituted academic dishonesty, please consult the Dean of Students Web page, at <http://www.wisc.edu/students/saja/misconduct/UWS14.html>

**Required Readings**

Many of the required readings for this course are in the course reader, which is available at StudentPrint (333 East Campus Mall Rm 3301 or <http://studentprint.rso.wisc.edu/>) and at Learn@UW.

In addition, the following book is required for the course and is available at the University Bookstore and on reserve in College Library.

- Brent E. Sasley and Harold M. Waller. 2016. *Politics in Israel: Governing a Complex Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 9780199335060

## COURSE SCHEDULE

\* indicates reading is in the course reader.

### **September 6: Course overview & Why Study Israel?**

### **September 8: Why study Israel? Cont.**

Sasley and Waller, chapter 1, 1-8.

### Part I: Ideological, historical, and political background

### **September 13-15: The origins of Zionism**

Sasley and Waller, Chapter 2, 11-25.

Pinsker, Leo. "Auto-emancipation: an appeal to his people by a Russian Jew," in Arthur Hertzberg, ed. *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1972), pp. 181-198.\*

Herzl, Theodore, *The Jewish State*, and "Address to the First Zionist Congress," in Arthur Hertzberg, ed. *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1972), pp. 204-230.\*

Zerubavel, Yael. "The Mythological Sabra and Jewish Past: Trauma, Memory, and Contested Identities," *Israel Studies*, Summer 2002, Vol. 7, Issue 2. \*

### **September 20-22: Labor Zionism**

Gordon, A.D. "Logic for the Future," "People and Labor," "Some Observations," "Our Tasks Ahead," "Yom Kippur," "Final Reflections," in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 371-386.\*

Ben-Gurion, David. "The Imperatives of the Jewish Revolution," in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 606-619.\*

Abu, Ofir, Fany Yuval and Guy Ben-Porat. 2011. "'All that is Left': The Demise of the Zionist Left Parties, 1992-2009," in Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds. *The Elections in Israel 2009*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.\*

### **September 27: Revisionist Zionism**

Jabotinsky, Vladimir (Ze'ev). "The Iron Wall," and "The Ethics of the Iron Wall" (13)

Jabotinsky, Vladimir, "Evidence Submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission," in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 559-570.\*

Peleg, Ilan. "The Israeli Right," in *Contemporary Israel: Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Security Challenges*, ed. Robert O. Freedman, pp. 21-45.\*

### **September 29: Religious Zionism**

- Pines, R. "Religion is the Source of Jewish Nationalism," "Jews will accept hardship only in the Holy Land," in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 412-415.\*
- Kook, A.I., "The Land of Israel," "The War," "The Rebirth of Israel," "Lights for Rebirth," in Hertzberg, *The Zionist Idea*, pp. 419-431.\*
- Sandler, Shmuel and Aaron Kampinsky. "Israel's Religious Parties," in *Contemporary Israel: Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Security Challenges*, ed. Robert O. Freedman, pp. 77-95.\*
- Shelef, Nadav and Ori Shelef. 2013. "Democratic inclusion and religious nationalists in Israel," *Political Science Quarterly* 128(2): 289-316.

### **October 4: No class**

### **October 6-18: From Mandate to statehood- the creation of political institutions, a Jewish society, and the birth of the state**

- Sasley and Waller, Chapters 3,4 (27-53).
- Migdal, Joel. *Through the Lens of Israel*, pp. 51-79.\*
- Morris, Benny. 1986. "The Causes and Character of the Arab Exodus from Palestine: The Israel Defense Forces Intelligence Branch Analysis of June 1948." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 22: 5-19.\*
- Shlaim, Avi. 2001. "Israel and the Arab coalition in 1948," *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, edited by Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.\*

### **October 11: No class**

### **October 20: Mid-term exam**

#### Part II: Major social and political cleavages in Israeli society

### **October 25-October 27: Political institutions and the party system**

- **Party assignment for simulation**

Sasley and Waller, Chapters 8, 9, 12, 13 (114-150, 187-218).

### **November 1: Economics and Society**

- Sasley and Waller, Chapter 15 (231-243).
- Seliktar, Ofira. "The Israeli Economy," in *Contemporary Israel: Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Security Challenges*, ed. Robert O. Freedman, pp. 159-172.\*
- Ben-Porat, Guy. 2008. "Political Economy: Liberalization and Globalization," in Guy Ben-Porat, Yagil Levy, Shlomo Mizrahi, Arye Naor, and Erez Tzfadia, eds. *Israel Since 1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.\*

### **November 3-8: Hawks, Doves, and the question of peace**

- Sasley and Waller, Chapter 16 (244-256).
- Dowty, *The Jewish State*, ch.10, pp. 216-248.\*

Ben-Rafael and Peres, 2011. "Settlers as a cleavage the challenges of the national religious" in *Is Israel One? Religion, Nationalism, and Multiculturalism Confounded*. Leiden: Brill.  
Oz, Amos. 1984. *In the Land of Israel*. New York: Vintage Books, 103-123.\*  
Zertal, Idith and Akiva Eldar. 2007. *Lords of the Land: The War Over Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007*, ch. 5, 245-275.\*  
Netanyahu, Benjamin. 1993. *A Place Among the Nations*, New York: Bantam Books: 256-293.\*

### **November 10-15: Palestinians in Israel**

Sasley and Waller, Chapter 7 (86-113).  
Peleg, Ilan, and Dov Waxman. 2011. *Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: chapters 1, 4.\*  
Jamal, Amal. 2004. "The Ambiguities of Minority Patriotism: Love for Homeland versus State among Palestinian Citizens of Israel," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10(3):433-471.  
The Haifa Declaration\*

### **November 17: No class**

### **November 22: The religious-secular divide**

Sasley and Waller, Chapter 6 (72-85).  
Arian, Asher and Ayala Keissar-Sugarman. 2012. *A Portrait of Israeli Jews: Beliefs, Observances, and Values among Israeli Jews 2009*. Jerusalem: Israel Democracy Institute and the Avi Chai Foundation.\*  
Cohen, Asher and Bernard Susser, *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity: The Secular-Religious Impasse*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), chs. 1-2.\*  
Kimmerling, Baruch. *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), ch. 6.\*  
Edelman, Martin. 2000. "A Portion of Animosity- The Politics of the Disestablishment of Religion in Israel," *Israel Studies*, 5(1):204-227.\*

### **November 24: No class: Thanksgiving recess**

### **November 29: The religious-secular divide continued**

### **December 1- 6: The Jewish ethnic divide**

Ben-Rafael, Eliezer and Yochanan Peres. 2005. *Is Israel One? Religion, Nationalism, and Multiculturalism Confounded*. Leiden: Brill, 107-127.\*  
Dahan-Kalev, Henriette. "You're So Pretty—You Don't Look Moroccan," *Israel Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2001): 1-14.\*  
Peled, Yoav. "Towards a redefinition of Jewish nationalism in Israel? The enigma of Shas," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4, (July 1998), 703-727.\*  
Yiftachel, Oren and Erez Tzfadia. 2004. "Between Periphery and 'Third Space': Identity of Mizrahim in Israel's Development Towns," in Kemp, Adriana, David Newman, Uri Ram, and Oren Yiftachel, eds. *Israelis in Conflict: Hegemonies, Identities and Challenges*. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 203-235.\*

### **December 8: Simulation: presentation of party positions**

Simulation party memos due

**December 13: Simulation: party negotiations and government formation**

**December 15: simulation results and course review**

Simulation final memo due

**Final Exam: December 19<sup>th</sup>, 7:25PM-9:25PM**

## *Coalition government simulation worksheet*

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Party: \_\_\_\_\_

### **Proposed government:**

Prime Minister:

Minister of Defense:

Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Minister of Finance:

Minister of Education:

Minister of Health:

Minister of Internal Security:

Minister of Internal Affairs:

Minister of Welfare and Social Services:

Minister of Justice:

Minister of Housing and Construction:

Minister of Religious Services:

Other ministers and deputy ministers:

### **Policy promises**

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- .
- .
- .

<b>Parties supporting this government</b>		
<b>Party</b>	<b>Your name</b>	<b># of seats</b>