

Political Science 665
Israeli Politics and Society
Professor Nadav Shelef
Fall 2012

Office Hours: Wednesdays 2:45-4:15, 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.

Required Readings

Many of the required readings for this course are in the course reader, which is available at Bob's Copy Shop at 616 University Avenue 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.

- Asher Arian. 2005. *Politics in Israel: The Second Republic*. Washington, DC.: CQ Press.

Grading Criteria

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

Participation	10%
Mid-term exam	30%
Research paper	30%
Comprehensive final exam	30%

Course Requirements

Students are required to attend all classes having read the assigned readings before each session. Though class time will primarily be devoted to lectures, questions are welcome and some time each week will be set aside for discussion.

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>

Research Paper

Students are also expected to write an original research paper of between 3000 and 3500 words. The paper provides you with the opportunity to pursue some analytical question about Israel that you are interested in. A good paper both informs and persuades; to do this it must be logically organized, clearly argued, and well documented. Avoid writing a paper that merely restates the readings or repeats the lectures. You need to do some original thinking, research, and analysis in this paper. Stay away from normative arguments or political polemics. The goal is to explain an aspect of Israeli politics or society rather than justify, apologize, castigate or assign blame for one thing or another. This is hard work. You are strongly encouraged to meet with the TA or the professor to discuss the progress of your paper throughout the class.

You are required to submit a paper proposal to the TA by **November 5th**. The proposal should be no more than one page long and include a discussion of the research question and at least five sources (not including any course material) that you plan on using in your research.

The papers are due by in class on **December 13th**. Late papers will be penalized half of one letter grade for every day they are late.

Citations in the paper must be provided in footnotes using the Chicago Manual style. For information see, <http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/DocChicago.html>

Style Counts! Spelling mistakes as well as errors of syntax and grammar are unacceptable. At best they are evidence of sloppy work. At worst they make your argument impossible to understand. While style does not replace substance, a poorly written or organized paper makes it difficult to get to your argument. I encourage you to consult the UW Writing Center's "Writer's Handbook" for more information about style, organization and references.

<http://www.wisc.edu/writing/Handbook/index.html>

There are also a number of excellent guides on the web that I encourage you to consult about how you could go about writing an analytical research paper. Some good sites include:

- How to Research a Political Science Paper, by Peter Liberman:
http://qcpages.qc.edu/Political_Science/researching.html
- Writing Political Science Papers: Some Useful Guidelines, by Peter Liberman,:
http://qcpages.qc.edu/Political_Science/tips.html
- Reading, Writing, and Researching for History: A Guide for College Students, by Patrick Rael: <http://www.bowdoin.edu/writing-guides/>
- Writing a Research Paper, by Sarah Hamid:
<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/workshops/hypertext/ResearchW/index.html>
- An accurate summary of some things *not* to do, which (unfortunately) students commonly do, can be found at [Advice on How to Write a Bad Paper](#).

Here is a rough explanation of how we will be evaluating the papers:

A: This is an outstanding paper. It is well organized around a clear and insightful argument that is logically organized and well-supported with evidence from the historical record and the scholarly literature. The paper considers alternative arguments, deals with countervailing evidence, and weighs their relative merits. It also convincingly shows that its main argument is

better/more complete than the alternatives. This paper also shows how and why the question it pursues and the answer it offers are significant and important. There are few (or no) spelling or proofreading problems and the paper is well and appropriately documented.

AB: High quality in terms of style and content. The paper has a clear thesis statement, good organization and supporting evidence. It shows a solid grasp of the issues at stake and is well written. This paper shows evidence of original thought and planning. While it makes some reference to the scholarly literature it does not fully engage it.

B: The paper shows a decent understanding of the phenomenon and the overall argument is relatively clear although it may tend more toward summary than analysis. While the wider literature is acknowledged, the paper does not add its own insights. However, there may be significant grammatical and syntax errors, organizational problems, and the references to the literature may be perhaps a bit narrow, superficial or insufficient.

BC: The paper conforms to some of the requirements, but falls short on many, or is seriously marred by crucial shortcomings, including, but not limited to, poor organization, poor grammar or a poor understanding of the question. While there is some attempt to deal with the question, the argument is unclear and/or it is not adequately supported by appropriate evidence. There is little attempt to anchor the argument in the literature on the topic.

C: The paper attempts to pose and answer a question but does not actually do so. In other words, it has no argument. It may also be plagued by, among other problems, poor organization, poor writing, over-generality, lack of evidence or its inappropriate, selective or partial use.

F: The paper does not meet the requirements of the assignment and/or is so poorly written as to be unintelligible or has plagiarized from a published text or another student. Note also that an adequate paper that is not on an appropriate topic also falls within this realm

We will take into consideration papers whose final version shows significant improvement over earlier drafts. (Note, to take advantage of this you have to complete drafts of your paper early enough to get feedback. In other words, don't wait until the last moment to start your paper.)

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 research paper 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>

COURSE SCHEDULE

* indicates reading is in the course reader.

September 4: Course overview

September 6: Why study Israel?

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, pp. 1-18.

Barnett, Michael. "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), pp. 3-28.*

Part I: Ideological, historical, and political background

September 11-13: The origins of Zionism

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 18: No class

September 20: Labor Zionism

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 48-58, 117-139.

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 25: No class

September 27: Labor Zionism continued

October 2: Revisionist Zionism

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 139-150

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.*

October 4: Religious Zionism

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 150-157.

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.*

October 9-16: From Mandate to statehood- the creation of political institutions, a Jewish society, and the birth of the state

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 19-36, 364-376.

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 18: Mid-term

Part II: Major social and political cleavages in Israeli society

October 23-25: The Knesset, party systems and state institutions

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 202-312, (skim 282-298), 313-324

October 30: Israeli Political Economy

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 58-82

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 5th: One page paper proposals due

November 1-6: Hawks and Doves

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 42-7.

Yost, Charles W. 1968. "The Arab-Israeli War: How It Began." *Foreign Affairs*, 46: 304-320*

Dowty, *The Jewish State*, ch.10, pp. 216-248.*

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.*

Lochery, Neil. 2007. "The politics and economics of Israeli disengagement, 1994-2006," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43(1):1-19.*

November 8-13: Palestinians in Israel

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 40-2.

Migdal, Joel and Baruch Kimmerling, "The Odd Man Out: Arabs in Israel," in Migdal, *Through the Lens of Israel*, pp. 173-194.*

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*

Rouhana, Nadim N., Mtanes Shihadeh, and Areej Sabbagh-Khoury. 2011. "Turning Points in Palestinian Politics in Israel: The 2009 Elections," in Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds. *The Elections in Israel 2009*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.*

November 15-20: The religious-secular divide

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 348-363.

Levy, Shlomit, Hanna Levinsohn, and Elihu Katz. 2002. *A Portrait of Israeli Jewry: Beliefs, Observances, and Values among Israeli Jews 2000*. 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.*

November 22: No class: Thanksgiving break

November 27-29: The Jewish ethnic divide

Arian, *Politics in Israel*, 36-40.

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 4-11: National Security and past and future peace processes

Horowitz, Dan. "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in A. Yaniv (ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Boulder, 1993), pp. 11-53.*

Texts of Camp David Accords and Oslo Agreements*

Alpher, Joseph. Winter 1995-6. "Israel: The Challenges of Peace," *Foreign Policy*, 101:130-145.*

Carlstrom, Gregg. January 23, 2011. "The "napkin map" revealed." *Al Jazeera*.*

Black, Ian and Seumas Milne. January 24, 2011. "Palestinians agreed only 10,000 refugees could return to Israel." *The Guardian*.*

December 13: Papers due in class and review

Final Exam: December 18th, 5:05PM-7:05PM