

SISME 458– Israel: Politics and Society

Spring Quarter 2004

Course Web Page: <http://faculty.washington.edu/migdal/sis490>

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Office hours:
Tuesday, Thursday 4:30-5:30
and by appointment

Israel is a state within whose borders exists a complex mosaic of ethnic groups and religions. One interesting element about Israeli society, however, is that for years very few Israelis thought of their society as a mosaic. They conceived of it, much like Americans did about their own society several decades ago, as a melting pot that created a fairly homogeneous social core. Arabs were considered permanently outside this core, and immigrant Jews were expected to assimilate into the core. The core presented an archetype of the *helutz*, or pioneer, typified by those revolutionaries from East Europe (especially Russia) who settled the land and their children, the *sabras*. In recent years, the primacy of that core and the image of the archetypical Israeli have been challenged. This course examines how the parts of the mosaic have interacted over time to create today's Israeli society and how Israelis have thought about and handled the realization that social diversity, not singular acculturation and homogeneity, dominates. The course looks, too, at the politics of Israel, especially the interaction of the state with the mosaic society.

I have selected the readings that follow based on four criteria.

1. I hope they are informative and provocative about the subjects they discuss. Leslie Stein's *The Hope Fulfilled* and Asher Arian's *The Second Republic* serve as good basic texts, with other readings providing other perspectives and information.
2. I have, for the most part, chosen accounts by authors who have been major actors in the shaping of the question of how Israeli history, society, and politics are understood. Eisenstadt, Morris, Kimmerling, and others have been major actors in the construction of Israeli intellectual life and public understanding as much as they have been ivory tower observers.
3. As the last topic on the list below indicates, historiography itself has become a major area of contention in Israel, symbolic of other deep cleavages in society, and the authors here are central to the struggle over how to understand the country's history. The readings reflect differing historiographic perspectives, especially on the topic popularly called post-Zionism.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Class sessions will include some lecture, with, I hope, frequent interruptions for questions, clarifications, and objections; directed class discussion; and viewing of occasional films and videos. All reading for the week must be completed before Tuesday's class (except for the first week, when it must be completed before Thursday's session). **Come prepared to talk about the question motivating the author, the central argument, the type of evidence used, and how the piece fits into the array of other readings (with whom is the author allying and with whom is the author arguing?).** There will be three pop quizzes during the course of the quarter on the weekly readings. In total, they will account for 20 percent of the grade, and class participation (attendance and discussion of readings and lecture materials) will account for another 10 percent of the final grade. Three books, Stein's *The Hope Fulfilled*, Arian's *The Second Republic*, and Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled's *Being Israeli* are available for purchase at the University Bookstore. The other readings are in a required course-packet, which is sold online by University Readers (www.universityreaders.com). Please select the STUDENT BUY NOW button located within the top-right corner of every webpage to be taken to University Readers' online store. From there, you will be prompted to choose your state, institution, and course number from a pull-down menu. Easy-to-follow instructions will lead you through the rest of the purchasing process. Payment can be made by all major credit cards and even by electronic check. Once payment is confirmed, your course-packet will be mailed to you for FREE within 24 hours (most of the time, same day). You will also be given instructions on how to download a FREE digital reading supplement so you can get started on your required readings right away. If you have any difficulties, please e-mail orders@universityreaders.com or call 800-200-3908. The staff there can help you handle any problems you may run into.
2. Students will write three response papers, each on the reading for a particular week. The papers should concentrate on one of the readings that week but should also bring in the others in order to develop the argument of the paper on the main reading. These papers—about three pages each—should not be summaries but each should be an exegesis, having its own argument based on a close reading (and citing of passages) of the text. The small papers will, in total, account for about 20 percent of the final grade. The papers must be handed in at the beginning of class on the Monday that the reading is due, and the paper writer must attend class that day. No late papers will be accepted.
3. Students will write a bibliographic essay of approximately 10 pages on one of the course topics listed below. Like the shorter papers, this paper will be organized around your own argument. The “data” for the paper, however, will be the principal literature on the topic, beyond that listed below. As you research the literature on a topic, you will want to ask who the main figures are, what the most important texts are, what the major schools are, and what the most important divisions in the field are. This paper will count for 30 percent of the grade. It is due Thursday, MAY 13.
4. Tuesday, JUNE 8, 2004, 4:30-6:20 pm (20 percent of grade).
5. Students must keep up on current events relating to Israel.

COURSE TOPICS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

1. Overview: Israel in the Local, Regional, and International Context

Reading:

Uzi Rebhun, “Major Trends in the Development of Israeli Jews: A Synthesis of the Last Century” in Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman, eds., *Jews in Israel: Contemporary social and Cultural Patterns* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2004), pp. 3-19.

Leslie Stein, *The Hope Fulfilled*, pp. 1-86.

2. State Formation: The Yishuv and the Creation of Political Institutions

Don Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine under the Mandate* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 37-68.

Yonathan Shapiro, “The Historical Origins of Israeli Democracy,” in *Israeli Democracy Under Stress* (hereafter *Israeli Democracy*), ed. by Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993), pp. 65-80.

Leslie Stein, *The Hope Fulfilled*, pp. 87-122.

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, pp. 1-73.

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic*, pp. 1-41.

3. The Formation of Jewish Society in Palestine and Israel

S.N. Eisenstadt, *Israeli Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1967), pp. 7-58.

Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict 1882-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 45-90.

Calvin Goldscheider, *Israel's Changing Society: Population, Ethnicity, and Development* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002, 2nd ed.), pp. 43-64.

Leslie Stein, *The Hope Fulfilled*, pp. 123-193.

4. Palestinians in Israel

Ian Lustick, *Arabs in the Jewish State: Israel's Control of a National Minority* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), pp. 1-27.

Nadim N. Rouhana, *Palestinian Citizens in an Ethnic Jewish State: Identities in Conflict* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 65-107.

Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), pp. 169-213.

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, pp. 74-109.

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic*, pp. 42-72.

5. Kulturkampf: The Religious Divide

Charles S. Liebman, “Religion and Democracy in Israel” in *Israeli Democracy*, pp. 273-293.

Shlomit Levy, Hanna Levinsohn, and Elihu Katz, “Beliefs, Observances and Social Interaction Among Israeli Jews : The Guttman Report” in *The Jewishness of Israelis*, ed. by Charles S. Liebman and Elihu Katz (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), pp. 1-37.

Patricia Woods, “The Irony of State Incorporation,” in “Courting the Court: Social Visions, State Authority, and the Religious Law Conflict in Israel” (University of Washington, Ph. D. Dissertation, 2001) pp. 79-132 .

Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. xi-xiv.

Shlomit Levy, Hanna Levinsohn, and Elihu Katz, “The Many Faces of Jewishness in Israel” in Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman, eds., *Jews in Israel: Contemporary social and Cultural Patterns* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2004), pp. 265-284.

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic*, pp. 73-140.

6. The Jewish Ethnic Divide

Sammy Smooha, “Class, Ethnic, and National Cleavages and Democracy in Israel,” in *Israeli Democracy*, pp. 309-342.

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, pp. 110-183.

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic*, pp. 141-177.

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 89-111.

7. War and Israeli Society and Politics

Yoram Peri, “The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Israeli Democracy” in *Israeli Democracy*, pp. 343-357.

Uri Ben-Eliezer, *The Making of Israeli Militarism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 193-229.

Yaron Ezrahi, *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), pp. 175-206.

Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 1-3, 286-296.

Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness*, pp. 208-228.

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, pp. 184-210.

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic*, pp. 178-205.

8. The 1967 War and the Burden of Occupation

Aviezer Ravitsky, *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 1-9, 79-144

Menachem Friedman, “The State of Israel as a Theological Dilemma” in *The Israeli State and Society* ed. by Baruch Kimmerling (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 165-211

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, pp. 213-230.

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic*, pp. 206-236.

9. Contested Israeli Identity and the Long Road to Peace

Baruch Kimmerling, “Between the Primordial and the Civil Definitions of the Collective Identity: Erez Israel or the State of Israel?” in *Comparative Social Dynamics* ed. by Erik Cohen, Moshe Lissak, and Uri Almagor (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), pp. 262-283.

William B. Quandt, *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (Berkeley: University of California Press, revised edition, 2001), pp. 290-376.

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, pp. 308-334

Asher Arian, *The Second Republic*, pp. 351-382.

10. After Zionism?: New Historians, New Sociologists, New Textbooks—New Israel?

Moshe Lissak, “‘Critical’ Sociology and ‘Establishment’ Sociology in the Israeli Academic Community: Ideological Struggles or Academic Discourse?” *Israel Studies* 1 (Spring 1996), pp. 247-294.

Michael Shalev, “Time for Theory: Critical Notes on Lissak and Sternhell,” *Israel Studies* 1 (Fall 1996), pp. 170-177.

Laurence J. Silberstein, *Postzionism Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israel Culture*. (New York, Routledge, 1999), pp.1-10, 89-127, and 207-209.

Yoram Hazony, *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel’s Soul*. (New York, 2001), ch. 1, pp. 3-38.

Baruch Kimmerling, “A Glimpse of The Right-Wing Mind—Review of *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel’s Soul* by Yoram Hazony,” pp. 1-5.

Joel S. Migdal, “Israel Grapples with Its History (and Future): The Domestication of the Post-Zionist Critique,” pp. 1-19.

Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli*, pp. 335-348.