

Religion and Politics in Israel

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The course looks at the complicated, unresolved relationship between the political and religious realms, or frameworks on interpretation, in Israel. It will do so while contesting the antinomy alleged in the course's own title (i.e., that religion and politics are two separate realms, the interaction of which constitutes a conundrum), offering instead a more nuanced, 'post-secular' understanding of the religious, theological underpinnings of modern (allegedly secular) politics, as well as a political reading of Israeli Judaism. The course will also consider the implications of Israel's Jewish identity on non-Jews in Israel.

Course Requirements:

1. Full attendance and participation. 15% of the final grade.
2. Midterm exam. 35% of the final grade.
3. Final exam. 50% of the final grade.

Course outline:

A. Some preliminary theoretical considerations: the post-secular turn

JAN. 23RD: INTRO TO POST SECULARISM

Berger, Peter L, ed. *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Washington, D.C: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999. (Intro)

JAN. 28TH: THE POST SECULAR CONTINUED

Taylor, Charles. 1999. "Two Theories of Modernity." *Public Culture* 11 (1): 153–174.

Casanova, José. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. Ch. 1.

Jakobsen, Janet, and Ann Pellegrini. "Times Like This." In *Secularisms*, edited by Janet Jakobsen and Ann Pellegrini, 1–35. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

B. Zionist Nationalism Jewish Religion and Jewish Identity

JAN. 30TH: ZIONISM, EXILE, REDEMPTION AND MESSIANISM

Arthur Hertzberg, ed., *The Zionist Idea* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 14-100.

Shlomo Avineri, "Zionism and the Jewish Religious Tradition: The Dialectics of Redemption and Secularization", in Almog, S., Jehuda Reinharz, and Anita Shapira, eds. *Zionism and religion*. UPNE, 1998, pp. 1-12

FEB. 4TH: ZIONISM AND THE SECULARIZATION (?) OF JUDAISM

Ehud Luz, *Parallels Meet: Religion and Nationalism in the Early Zionist Movement (1882–1904)*, Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1988, pp. 135-202.

Shimoni, Gideon. *The Zionist Ideology*. The Tauber Institute for the Study of European Jewry Series 21. Hanover: Published by University Press of New England [for] Brandeis University Press, 1995, pp. 269-332.

C. Labor Zionism and Jewish Tradition

FEB. 6TH: PART 1

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer, and Charles S. Liebman. "The Symbol System of Zionist-Socialism: An Aspect of Israeli Civil Religion." *Modern Judaism* 1, no. 2 (September 1, 1981): 121–148.

Tsur, Muky. "Pesach in the Land of Israel: Kibbutz Haggadot." *Israel Studies* 12, no. 2 (2007): 74–103.

FEB. 11TH: PART 2

Lilker, Shalom. *Kibbutz Judaism: A New Tradition in the Making*. Darby, Pa: Norwood Editions, 1982. Pp. 142 – 228.

Rubin, Nissan. "Death Customs in a Non-Religious Kibbutz: The Use of Sacred Symbols in a Secular Society." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 25, no. 3 (September 1, 1986): 292–303.

D. The State of Israel: A 'Semi-Constitutional' Perspective

FEB. 13TH: JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC?

Israel's Declaration Of Independence:

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Peace+Process/Guide+to+the+Peace+Process/Declaration+of+Establishment+of+State+of+Israel.htm>

Liebman, Charles S. *Religion and Democracy in Israeli Society. Israeli Democracy Under Stress (An Israel Democracy Institute Policy Study)*. Lynne Rienner . 1993.

Kimmerling, Baruch. "Religion, Nationalism, and Democracy in Israel." *Constellations* 6, no. 3 (1999): 339-363.

FEB 18TH: PRESIDENTS DAY – NO CLASS.

FEB. 20TH: ETHNIC-DEMOCRACY? ETHNOCRACY?

Smooha, Sammy. “The model of ethnic democracy: Israel as a Jewish and democratic state.” *Nations and Nationalism* 8, no. 4 (October 1, 2002): 475-503.

Gavison, Ruth. “Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the ‘Ethnic Democracy’ Debate.” *Israel Studies* 4, no. 1 (April 1, 1999): 44-72.

Yiftachel, O. 2002. “‘Ethnocracy’: The Politics of Judaizing Israel/Palestine.” *Constellations* 6 (3): 364–390.

FEB. 25TH: THE LAW OF RETURN AND THE WHO IS A JEW CONTROVERSY

Israels Law of Return: <http://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/return.htm>

Cohen, Asher, and Bernard Susser. 2000. *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity: The Secular-Religious Impasse*. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press., Ch. 4.

Gavison, Ruth. 2010. *The Law of Return at Sixty Years: History, Ideology, Justification*. Jerusalem: The Metzilah Center for Zionist, Jewish, Liberal and Humanist Thought.

E. Gender, Religion and Politics

FEB 27:TH A LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Halperin-Kaddari, Ruth, and Yaacov Yadgar. “Between Universal Feminism and Particular Nationalism: politics, religion and gender (in)equality in Israel.” *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 6 (2010): 905-920.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. “The Bearers of the Collective: Women and Religious Legislation in Israel.” *Feminist Review* no. 4 (January 1, 1980): 15–27. doi:10.2307/1394767.

MARCH 4TH: A SOCIO-CULTURAL FRAMEWORK

The Current Case of Exclusion of Women from the Public Sphere (News Clips)

Strum, Philippa. "Women and the Politics of Religion in Israel." *Human Rights Quarterly* 11 (1989): 483.

F. Israeli Secularism – A critical Perspective

MARCH 6TH: SECULARIST IDEOLOGY

Katz, Gideon. *The Pale God: Israeli Secularism and Spinoza's Philosophy of Culture*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press, 2011.

MARCH 11^H: SECULAR IDENTITY

Yadgar, Yaacov. "Jewish Secularism and Ethno-National Identity in Israel: The Traditionist Critique." *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 26, no. 3 (2011): 465-479.

Liebman, Charles S., and Yaacov Yadgar. "Secular-Jewish Identity and the Condition of Secular Judaism in Israel." In *Religion or Ethnicity? Jewish Identities in Evolution*, edited by Zvi Gitelman, 149-170, 2009.

G. Jewish Orthodoxy and the Jewish State

MARCH. 13TH: THE ULTRA ORTHODOX

Aviezer Ravitzki, "Munkach and Jerusalem: Ultra-Orthodox Opposition to Zionism and Agudaism", in Almog, S., Jehuda Reinharz, and Anita Shapira, eds. *Zionism and religion*. UPNE, 1998, pp. 67-92.

Friedman, M. "Life Tradition and Book Tradition in the Development of Ultraorthodox Judaism." In *Israeli Judaism, Studies of Israeli Society*, edited by Shlomo Deshen, Charles S Liebman, and Moshe Shokeid, 127–47. Transaction Books, 1995.

Soloveitchik, H. "Rupture and Reconstruction: The Transformation of Contemporary Orthodoxy." *Tradition* 28, no. 4 (1994): 64–130.

MARCH 18TH: RELIGIOUS ZIONISM

Schwartz, Dov. *Religious-Zionism: history and ideology*. Academic Studies Press, 2009.

Aran, G. "A Mystic-Messianic Interpretation of Modern Israeli History: The Six-Day War in the Religious Culture of Gush Emunim." In *Israeli Judaism, Studies of Israeli Society*, edited by Shlomo Deshen, Charles S Liebman, and Moshe Shokeid, 7:197, 1995.

Don- Yehiya, Eliezer. "Jewish Messianism, Religious Zionism and Israeli Politics: The Impact and Origins of Gush Emunim." *Middle Eastern Studies* 23, no. 2 (1987): 215–234.

H. Intra-Jewish Ethnicity and Religion in Israel

MARCH 20TH: THE FIRST ENCOUNTER

Shenhav, Yehouda A. *The Arab Jews: a postcolonial reading of nationalism, religion, and ethnicity*. Stanford University Press, 2006.

Shenhav, Yehouda. "The Cloak, the Cage and the Fog of Sanctity: The Zionist Mission and the Role of Religion Among Arab Jews*." *Nations and Nationalism* 9, no. 4 (2003): 511–531. doi:10.1111/1469-8219.00125.

MARCH 25^H AND 27TH: NO CLASS, SPRING BREAK

APR. 1ST: NO CLASS, PASSOVER

APR. 3RD: THE CASE OF SHAS

Peled Y. "Towards a redefinition of Jewish nationalism in Israel? The enigma of Shas." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 (July 1, 1998): 703-727.

Yadgar, Yaacov. "SHAS as a Struggle to create a New Field: A Bourdieuan Perspective of an Israeli Phenomenon." *Sociology of Religion* 64, no. 2 (June 20, 2003): 223 -246.

I. Traditionists (Masortim) and Israeli Identity

APR. 8TH: PHENOMENOLOGY

Yadgar, Yaacov. *Secularism and Religion in Jewish-Israeli Politics: Traditionists and Modernity*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Yadgar, Yaacov. "Maintaining Ambivalence: Religious Practice and Jewish Identity Among Israeli Traditionists—a Post-Secular Perspective." *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 9, no. 3 (2010): 397–419.

APR. 10TH: THEORY

Yadgar, Yaacov. "A Post-Secular Look at Tradition: Toward a Definition of Traditionism." *Telos* 156 (2011): 77-98.

APR. 15TH: NO CLASS

J. Israeli Judaism: A Couple Of Cases To Consider

APR. 17

Don-Yehiya, E. "Hanukkah and the Myth of the Maccabees in Ideology and in Society." In *Israeli Judaism: The Sociology of Religion in Israel* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1995), 303–21, 1995.

Shoham, Hizky. "'A Huge National Assemblage': Tel Aviv as a Pilgrimage Site in Purim Celebrations (1920–1935)." *Journal of Israeli History* 28, no. 1 (2009): 1–20.

Shoham, Hizky, "The Israeli Yom Kippur and Jewish Public Culture in Israel".

K. A "Hebrew" Challenge to Israeli Judaism: The "Canaanite" Movement

APR. 22TH

Kurzweil, Baruch. "The New Canaanites in Israel." *Judaism* 2 (1953): 3–15.

Ohana, David. "Zarathustra in Jerusalem: Nietzsche and the 'New Hebrews'." *Israel Affairs* 1, no. 3 (1995): 38–60. doi:10.1080/13517129508719337.

L. Non Jews in Israel

APR. 25TH

Lustick, Ian S. "Israel as a Non-Arab State: The Political Implications of Mass Immigration of Non-Jews." *Middle East Journal* 53, no. 3 (July 1, 1999): 417–433.

Kemp, Adriana, Rebeca Raijman, Julia Resnik, and Silvina Schammah Gesser. "Contesting the Limits of Political Participation: Latinos and Black African Migrant Workers in Israel." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23, no. 1 (2000): 94–119.

M. Reform and Conservative Judaism in Israel

APR. 29TH

Cohen, Asher, and Bernard Susser. 2010. "Reform Judaism in Israel: The Anatomy of Weakness." *Modern Judaism* 30 (1) (February 1): 23–45.

Tabory, Ephraim. *Reform Judaism in Israel: progress and prospects*. Institute on American Jewish-Israeli Relations of the American Jewish Committee, 1999. (Available at: <http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nl/newsletter3.asp?c=ijITI2PHKoG&b=840313>)

Elazar, Daniel Judah, and Rela M. Geffen. *The Conservative movement in Judaism: dilemmas and opportunities*. SUNY Press, 2000, 127 – 144.

MAY 1ST: OVERVIEW