Becoming Israel: War, Peace, and the Politics of Israel's Identity
POL 345 Y 1 Y

Professor Emanuel Adler
Fall 2015-Winter 2016
Lectures: Wednesday 2:00-5:00
Office Hours: First Semester: Tuesday 2:00-4:00
Second Semester: Monday 2:00-4:00

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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 18, 2015; a mid-term paper (30%) on the origins of Israeli political and social institutions (maximum 10 pages, double space), which is due on March 9, 2016 and two exams (25% each) at the end of the fall and winter semesters. The mid-term exam and the final exam's dates 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](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


Recommended books


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 16, 2015

[BS] Garfinkle, chapter 1 and 2.

Recommended Readings:


September 23, 2015

No Class Due to Yom Kippur.

A make-up class will be held on December 9, 2015.
I- Who Were We?

2- Zionism and the Intellectual Origins of Israeli Identity

September 30, 2015


October 7, 2015


Recommended readings, subject # 2:


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


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

October 14, 2015: Tkuma, Episode 1: The Conflict; Episode 2: The Ingathering.


October 21, 2015


October 28, 2015


**Recommended readings, subject # 3:**


**II- Who Are We?**

4- The Israeli State, Institutions, and Identity

November 4, 2015


November 11, 2015


Recommended readings, subject # 4:


Shmu'el Hasfari and Eldad Yaniv, The National Left


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.


**November 18, 2015: First Paper Due**

**5- The Israeli People, Society, Economy, and Identity**

**November 18, 2015**

[BS] Garfinkle, chapter 4


**November 25, 2015**

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

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

**December 2, 2015: Tkuma, Episode 3: The People's Army; Episode 5: The Economic Revolution.**


**Recommended readings, subject # 5:**

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


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


III- Who Is "We?"

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

December 9, 2015 (make-up for Yom Kippur):


Recommended readings, subject # 6:

Ezrahi, chapter 1.

Fall Semester Exam Week: Midterm Exam

7- "Kulturkampf:" The Secular Religious Divide

January 13, 2016


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


Recommended readings, subject 7:


"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 27, 2016

[BS] Silberstein, chapters 2, 3, and 4.

[R] Yoram Hazony, The Jewish State: Struggle for Israel's Soul (New York: Basic,
2000), chapters 1 and 2.

**Recommended readings, subject # 8:**


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


Silberstein, chapter 5.


Some examples of the "new historians'" writings:


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

February 3, 2016


February 10, 2016


**Recommended readings, subject # 9:**


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.


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.


February 17, 2016: Reading Week

IV- What Are We?

10- Israeli Democracy as Identity

February 24, 2016


www.haaretz.com/weekend/magazine/is-israel-too-jewish.preview-1.511037

**Recommended readings, subject # 10:**

Adler, pp. 73-96.


**11. War, Peace and Israeli Identity**

March 2, 2016


**March 9, 2016: Second paper due**

March 9, 2016


March 16, 2016

[BS] Shindler, 368-419.

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

**March 23, 2016:** Tkuma, Episode 6: Future Peace, Next War.


**Recommended readings, subject # 11:**


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


Asher Susser, "Partition and the Arab Palestinian Minorities in Israel," *Israel Studies* 14/2 (Summer 2009), 105-119.


Shlomo Aronson, "Israel's Security and the Holocaust: Lessons Learned but Existential Fears Continue," *Israel Studies* 14/1 (Spring 2009), 65-93.


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.


V- Where Are We?

12- Israel in the World

March 30, 2016

[BS] Adler, pp. 1-50; 97-110

**Recommended readings, subject # 12:**

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.

Yehezkel Dror, "Diaspora-Israel Relations: A Long-Term Perspective," *Israel Studies* 17/2 (Summer 2012), 86-91.


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).


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.


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).


**VI- Who Will We Become?**

13- The Alternative Paths of Israeli Identity/Identities

**April 6, 2016**

[BS] Ezrahi, chapter 11.


**Recommended readings, subject # 13:**


Winter Semester Exam Week: Final Exam

Additional Bibliography

Books


Avishai, Bernard (1985) The Tragedy of Zionism: Revolution and Democracy in the Land


Burg, Avraham (2009) The Holocaust is Over; We Must Rise from the Ashes. Palgrave/Macmillan.


Hermann, Tamar and Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar (eds.) (1997) *Israeli Society and the*
Challenge of Transition to Co-existence. Tel Aviv: The Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research, Tel Aviv University.


Segev, Tom (2007) *1967: Israel, the War, and the Year that Transformed the Middle East*. Metropolitan Books.


**Additional Sources**

Center for Israel Education, "History, Politics and Diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli Conflict." A digital Primary source Compilation. [www.israeled.org](http://www.israeled.org)

"Jellyfish:" The Online Resource for Israel Studies, Schusterman Center for Israeli Studies, Brandeis University. [http://israelsources.brandeis.libguides.com/SIIS](http://israelsources.brandeis.libguides.com/SIIS)

**Most Relevant Journals**

*Ethnic and Racial Studies*

*History and Memory*

*International Journal of Middle East Studies*

*Israel Affairs*

*Israel Studies*

*Israel Studies Review*

*Journal of Israeli History*

*Journal of Palestine Studies*
Middle East Journal

Nationalism and Nations

Palestine-Israel Journal

Philosophy and Social Criticism

Shofar

The Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs

The Jerusalem Quarterly

Newspapers and Magazines


Jerusalem Post (Internet)  www.jpost.com

Jerusalem Report (Internet)  www.jrep.com

Israel21c (Internet)  www.israel21c.org

YNET  http://wwwynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-3083,00.html

Relevant Israeli Films at the Robarts Library

“Haesder”

“Kippur”

“Sallah Shabbati”

“Hakayitz Shel Avia”

“Promises”

“Waltz With Bashir”

“Get”

“Ajami”
“The Band’s Visit”

“Beaufort”

“The Gatekeepers”

“5 Broken Cameras”

“Dancing Arabs”