

Dr. Gregory Mahler  
Tuesdays, 4 - 7:00 p.m.  
203a Mandelle, 337-7162  
Winter, 2006

### POL 340: Israeli Politics in the Middle East

This course is designed to be an introduction to Israeli politics over the past five decades, with significant attention devoted to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is intended for all levels of students; no background is assumed for this course other than a lower level comparative politics or international relations course.

The course will have several parts. First, exposure to background material will be provided through brief discussion of such topics as geography, history, economics, and cultural characteristics of people and governments. Second, factors related to institutions and political behavior will be investigated, including units on the constitution, political parties, elections, the legislature, and the executive, as well as some examination of the setting within which Israeli foreign policy decisions are made. Third, Israel-Palestinian issues will be studied, including discussion of the importance of the role of the Palestinians and the West Bank for political stability in the region today, and the history of the recent peace process in the Middle East. This last topic will include some historical perspective of the Palestinians, discussion of patterns of colonialism and nationalism that have existed in Palestine, as well as examination of past negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

Reading: Assigned reading for the course is listed in the Course Outline. The three “required” books listed below have been ordered through the bookstore, and will be read in their entirety.

#### Required

- \* G. Mahler, Politics and Government in Israel (Rowman and Littlefield, 2004) (*Mahler*)
- \* W. Laqueur and B. Rubin, eds., The Israel-Arab Reader (6<sup>th</sup> ed., 2001) (*Laqueur*)
- \* Alan Dowty, Israel/Palestine (Polity, 2005) (*Dowty*)

#### Heavily Used and placed on Reserve

- \* G. Mahler, ed., Israel After Begin (State University of New York Press, 1990) (*SUNY*)
- \* G. Mahler, ed., Readings on the Israeli Political System (*Readings*)
- \* E. Karsh, ed., From Rabin to Netanyahu: Israel’s Troubled Agenda (Frank Cass, 1997) (*Karsh*)
- \* Mark Tessler, A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict (Indiana, 1994) (*Tessler*)

#### Course Requirements:

Required reading for the course is listed in the Outline and is indicated by an asterisk (\*). Once during the term each student must read and report in class as a “*rappporteur*” for an article preceded by a “#” sign. Your job as a *rappporteur* is to share with others in class the key ideas from “your” reading. It should be obvious that you’ll have to do the common reading *before* you do the extra reading, so that you understand how the extra reading relates to the common reading. We will make these assignments on the first day of class. All required *rappporteur* reading (apart from the

required texts) is on reserve in the library, except for the journal articles marked “FTO” (full text online) that you can access via computer. It is expected that you will do assigned reading before the class for which it is assigned so that you can contribute to class discussion.

In addition to required reading, I have made arrangements for six videotapes and DVDs to be available to you over the course of the term. I want you to be able to see what you are studying. Thus, these videotapes are to be considered as *required* viewing. I recognize that I am asking for a good deal of your time in addition to class time, but since our actual time in class is a bit less than you have in many of your classes, I don’t feel that an injustice is being done here.

Class attendance is expected; missing class will make a difference in your grade.<sup>1</sup> Class grades will be based upon three take-home exams (one is the final) and a paper. The (essay) exams will be given as take-home, open-book, open-notes exams; you can use your notes and other printed sources in preparation for and during the exam, but you may not consult other students. *Consultation with other students during the take-home examinations will be considered a violation of the Honor Code.* Class grades will be calculated approximately as indicated below, before any reduction in points due to absenteeism.

Exam 1 (Distributed January 10, due January 20)	20%	100 points
Exam 2 (Distributed January 31, due February 10)	20%	100 points
Exam 3 (Distributed February 28, due March 14)	30%	150 points
Paper (due February 24)	20%	100 points
Participation/Rapporteur assignment	10%	50 points

A short (10-15 page) research paper is required for this course. The paper will be part of your participation in our one-day *Kalamazoo Peace Conference* organized in the class. A satisfactory research paper must be turned in for you to receive a passing grade in this course. NOTE: I do not give "extensions" for paper deadlines. Papers are due at the beginning of class on February 24. After that time<sup>2</sup> papers are considered late, and will be penalized at the rate of 1/3 grade per 24-hour period.<sup>3</sup> The paper is to be handed in typed, double spaced. More written information on requirements for the paper will be provided later in the term.

I have a policy that you may hand your paper in prior to two weeks before it is due (that is, before February 10), and I will be happy to read what you have submitted, mark it up, and make suggestions without recording a grade. You may then rewrite the paper before you submit it for a grade. This "early submission" is not required, although I do recommend it because it almost certainly will result in your producing a better paper. In all cases, your paper must be properly documented with acceptable citation form. We will discuss what “acceptable citation form” means in class, but in any case if you have any questions, I'll be happy to discuss options with you.

Office Hours: I am almost *always* in my office between 7:30 a.m. and 5:30 p.m., although I am almost *never* alone. This means that because of my administrative role you will have to be a bit more active in seeing me. My assistant, Ms. Gibson, will be happy to schedule an appointment, even a same-day appointment, for us to meet, and I will try to block out office hours during the term. I invite you to come by to talk. Certainly one of the advantages offered by being at a place the size of Kalamazoo College is that we will have an opportunity to get to know each other over

the course of the term, and I hope this will work out to our mutual benefit.

Make-Up Classes: It sometimes happens that my College position requires last-minute changes in plans, and we may have to make other adjustments in our meeting times as the term goes along. Thus, although this class will be meeting on Tuesdays at 4 p.m., I ask you to reserve this same time slot on Thursdays for make-up classes, should they be necessary. In no event will we meet both Tuesday and Thursday of any given week, except possibly ninth week when our second meeting might take the place of a meeting during the tenth week.

## COURSE OUTLINE

### Part One: Context

#### I. Tuesday, 1/3

→ \* Film: **Our Century: Exodus**

▶ Geography

\* Matti Friedman, "A Disaster Foretold," The Jerusalem Report (October 17, 2005) (Reserve)

▶ History, the Holocaust, and the Creation of The State of Israel

\* Mahler, ch. 1

\* Readings from LaQueur: See sheet of reading assignments handed out in class

#### II. Tuesday, 1/10

→ \* Film: **Dreamers and Builders: 100 Years of Zionism**

▶ Zionism and Political Culture

\* Mahler, ch. 2

\* Dowty, "Introduction: Two Worlds Collide" (*Dowty, ch. 1*)

\* Dowty, "The Jewish Story" (*Dowty, ch. 2*)

# J. Slater, "Israeli Democracy and the 'Demography Problem'," Tikkun 19:5 (2004): 3-17. (FTO)

# Danny Ben-Moshe, "Elections 1996: The De-Zionization of Israeli Politics," *Karsh*, 66-76.

# Allan Brownfeld, "Increasingly, Thoughtful American Jews are Re-Thinking Zionism,"

Washington Rept on Middle East Affs (2004) 23:4 p.67.(FTO)

# Ehud Sprinzak, "Illegalism in Israeli Political Culture" SUNY #3

# D. Schnall, "Native Anti-Zionism: Ideologies of Radical Dissent in Israel" *Readings*

▶ Religious Institutions

\* A. Gross-Schaefer, "If Not Now, When? The Case for Religious Liberty in the State of Israel," Journal of Church and State (Summer, 2002) 44:3, p. 539. (FTO)

# G. Sapir, "Can an Orthodox Jew Participate in the Public Life of the State of Israel?" Shofar (Winter 2002) 20:2: 85. (FTO)

# Clive Jones, "Ideo-Theology: Discourse and Dissonance in the State of Israel," *Karsh*, 28-46.

# G. Schiff, "Beyond the Begin Revolution: Developments in Religious Parties," SUNY #13

#### III. Tuesday, 1/17

→ \*DVD: **Israel, Birth of a Nation**

▶ Society and Economy

\* Mahler, ch. 3

\* Dowty, "The Emergence of Israel" (*Dowty, ch. 4*)

\* Ariel Ben Yishay, "Palestinian Economy, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Intifada," *MERIA* 6:3 (2002) (FTO)

# Raymond Joubbran, "The Economic Reality of the Arabs in Israel," International Journal on

- World Peace (1995) 12:2 p. 67 (FTO)
- # L. Sharaby, "Israel's Economic Growth: Success without Security," *MERIA* 6:3 (2002) (FTO)
- # Amos Perlmutter, "Cleavage in Israel," Foreign Policy 27 (1977): 136-157, *Readings*
- # I. Peleg, "The Legacy of Begin and Beginism for the Israeli Political System" SUNY #2
- # Lily Weissbrod, "Israeli Identity in Transition," *Karsh*, 47-65.

**EXAMINATION #1 Handed out 1/10, Due 1/20**

Part Two: Government Institutions and Behavior

IV. Tuesday, 1/24

- ▶ The Constitutional System / Parliamentary Government
  - \* Mahler, ch. 4
  - \* M. Edelman, "The New Israeli Constitution," Middle Eastern Studies (2000) 36:2 p. 1-28 (FTO)
  - # G. Mahler, "The Formation of the Netanyahu Government," *Karsh* pp. 3-28
  - # Samuel Sager, "Pre-State Influences on Israel's Parliamentary System," (*Readings*)
  - # L. Wolf-Phillips, "The Westminster Model in Israel?" (*Readings*)
- ▶ The Knesset and the Government
  - \* Mahler, ch. 5
  - # A. Brichta, "Women in the Knesset," (*Readings*)

V. Tuesday, 1/31

- ▶ Political Parties
  - \* Mahler, ch. 6
  - \* Ina Friedman, "Bugaboo Buster," The Jerusalem Report (December 12, 2005) (Reserve)
  - \* Leslie Susser, "A House Divided," The Jerusalem Report (October 3, 2005) (Reserve)
  - # B. Akzin, "The Role of Parties in Israeli Democracy," (*Readings*)
- ▶ The Electoral System and Voting Behavior
  - \* Mahler, ch. 7
- ▶ The Election of 2003
  - \* Cameron Brown, "Israel's 2003 Elections: A Victory for the Moderate Right and Secular Center," *MERIA* 7:1 (2003)
  - \* Don Peretz, Rebecca Kook, Gideon Doron, "Knesset Election 2003: Why Likud Regained Its Political Domination and Labor Continued to Fade Out," Middle East Journal (2003) 57:4 p. 588. (FTO)
- ▶ The Military
  - \* Mahler, ch. 8
  - \* Stuart Cohen, "The Israel Defense Forces (IDF): From a 'people's army' to a 'professional military' – Causes & Implications," Armed Forces and Society (1995) 21:2 p. 237. (FTO)

VI. Tuesday, 2/7

- \* Film: ***Fortress Israel***
- ▶ The Foreign Policy Setting
  - \* Mahler, ch. 9
  - \* Michael Brecher, The Foreign Policy System of Israel Read chapters 2-4, 5 (skim), 6-8, 9 (skim), 15-16, 20, and read especially carefully the conclusions (Reserve)

- \* Laura Eisenberg, "Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbors? Israel and Lebanon After the Withdrawal," MERIA 4:3 (2000) (FTO)
- \* Isabel Kershner, "Caught in the Seam," The Jerusalem Report (October 17, 2005) (Reserve)
- \* David Rodman, "Israel's National Security Doctrine: An Introductory Overview," MERIA 5:3 (2001) AND Stuart Cohen and David Rodman, "An Exchange on Israel's Security Doctrine," MERIA 5:4 (December 2001) (FTO)
- \* Leslie Susser, "Gaza: The Doomed Experiment," The Jerusalem Report (September 19, 2005) (Reserve)
- \* Matti Friedman, "Looking Back and Beyond," The Jerusalem Report (September 5, 2005) (Reserve)
- # Elie Podeh, "Rethinking Israel in the Middle East," *Karsh*, 280-295.
- # David Eshel, "The Golan Heights: A Vital Strategic Asset for Israel," *Karsh*, 225-238.
- # Avner Yaniv, "Israeli National Security in the 1980's: The Crisis of Overload," SUNY #5 Jerusalem
- → \* Film: **Jerusalem**
- \* A. Lithwick, "Jerusalem of Concrete" Jerusalem Report October 18, 2004, 10-15. (Reserve)
- \* Y. Beilin, "How to Solve the Jerusalem Issue," New Perspectives Quarterly 17:4 (2000): 31-. (FTO)
- \* Ira Sharkansky, "The Potential for Ambiguity, The Case of Jerusalem," *Karsh*, 187-200.
- # Michael Brecher, "Jerusalem: Israel's Political Decisions, 1947-1977," Middle East Journal 32 (1978): 13-34.

### **EXAMINATION #2 Handed out 1/31, Due 2/10**

#### Part Three: Middle East Politics

#### VII. Tuesday, 2/14

- \* Film: **Journey to the Occupied Lands**
- The Palestinians and the West Bank
  - \* Mahler, ch. 10
  - \* Dowty, "The Arab Story" (*Dowty, ch. 3*)
  - \* M. Amara, "Israeli Palestinians and the Palestinian Authority," MERIA 4:1 (March 2000) (FTO)
- \* David Samuels, "How Arafat Destroyed Palestine," The Atlantic (September, 2005) (Reserve)
- \* Matti Friedman, "Skirting the Law in the West Bank," The Jerusalem Report (December 12, 2005) (Reserve)
- # Graham Usher, "Who are the Palestinians?" New Statesman 133 (1996): 18-20. (FTO)
- # D. Peretz, The West Bank: History, Politics, Society, and Economy Skim. (Reserve)
- # E. Sahliyeh, In Search of Leadership: West Bank Politics Since 1967, chap. 1
- # B. Kimmerling and J. Migdal, The Palestinian People: A History
- Palestinian Nationalism
  - \* Dowty, "The Re-emergence of the Palestinians" (*Dowty, ch. 5*)
  - \* IPCRI, "Creating the Palestinian State" (Reserve)
  - \* Gal Luft, "Palestinian Military Performance and the 2000 Intifada," MERIA 4:4 (2000)
  - # Shalom Lappin, "Israe/Palestine: Is There a Case for Bi-Nationalism?" Dissent 51:1 (2004), pp. 13-17. (FTO)
  - # M. Tessler, "Arab History ...Origins of Nationalism in the Arab World," *Tessler*, 69-122
  - # Mark Tessler, "The Palestinian Disaster and Basic Issues after 1948," *Tessler*, 273-335.

VIII. Tuesday, 2/21

► The Peace Process

- \* Mahler, ch. 11
- \* Readings from LaQueur, see attached sheet of assignments
- \* "The Road Map," Journal of Palestine Studies (2003) 32:4 p. 83 (FTO)
- \* Ina Friedman, "Democracy Under Fire," The Jerusalem Report (August 22, 2005) (Reserve)
- \* Leslie Susser, "Moderate at the Edge," The Jerusalem Report (May 30, 2005) (Reserve)
- \* Leslie Susser, "Unilateralism in Stages," The Jerusalem Report (October 31, 2005) (Reserve)
- \* Dowty, "The First Pass at Peace" (*Dowty, ch. 6*)
- \* Dowty, "The Impasse that Remains" (*Dowty, ch. 7*)
- \* Dowty, "The Perfect Conflict" (*Dowty, ch. 8*)
- # Osama Fouad Khalifa, "Arab Political Mobilization and Israeli Responses," Arab Studies Quarterly (2001) 23:1 p. 15 (FTO)
  
- # Galia Golan, "Plans for Israeli-Palestinian Peace: From Beirut to Geneva," Middle East Policy (2004) 11:1 p. 38 (FTO)
- #Efraim Karsh, "Peace Despite Everything," *Karsh*, 117-132.
- #Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "Israel's Peace-Making with the Palestinians," *Karsh*, 170-186.
- #Mark Tessler, "The Intifadah and Beyond," *Tessler*, 677-752.

**Term Paper Due, Friday, 2/24**

IX. Tuesday, 2/28: Kalamazoo Peace Conference, I

X. Tuesday, 3/7 or Thursday, 3/2: Final Class

**EXAM #3 Handed out 2/28, Due 3/14**

Notes

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1. Each student will be allowed one unexcused absence. "Excused" means that you will present a written excuse from the Provost's Office(!), the Health Center, or a doctor. After one excused absence, any additional absences will each count as 10% of the total course points in the computation of grades for this course.

2. For those of you who are legalists, or who just don't want any ambiguity in directions, let's consider "the beginning" to mean within fifteen minutes of the start of class.

3. This means a B+ becomes a B, then a B-, then a C+, then a C, and so on.