

**Israeli Territorial Politics:
Between Security & Identity**
(International Relations 58365)
Tuesdays 16:30-18:15
3 March - 23 June 2015

הפוליטיקה הטריטוריאלית בישראל -
בין ביטחון לזהות
(יח"בל 58365)
יום שלישי 16:30-18:15
3 מרץ - 23 יוני 2015

חדר 1710 ROOM

Instructor: Dr. Ariel Zellman ariel.zellman@mail.huji.ac.il מרצה: ד"ר אריאל זלמן
Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Room 313
המכון למחקר ע"ש הרי.ס. טרומן למען קידום השלום, חדר 313

Office Hours: Tuesdays 15:00-16:00 שעות קבלה: יום שלישי

Perhaps the most familiar trope in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is Israel's insistence on "secure and recognized borders" in any final settlement. Although a consistent theme of Zionist politics and diplomacy even before the founding of the State of Israel, there has always been an internal debate as to which borders would provide Israel with security and which boundaries must ultimately be recognized by the Arab world. Often overshadowed in the international arena but no less important in Israeli domestic discourse is the relationship between Israeli national identity and the Land of Israel. This course will explore the evolution of and conflict between these two concepts in Israeli domestic discourse and their respective impact on Israel's territorial policies and international boundaries. To do so, we will consider various thematic approaches including Zionism, security, settlement, and homeland as they have been expressed in the Sinai Peninsula, Southern Lebanon, the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, Jerusalem, and the West Bank. To accomplish this goal, this course will incorporate a range of scholarly historical and political readings on Israel as well as discussions on relevant current events.

Course requirements:

- Attendance & Participation - 10%
- Take-Home Exam - 90% (70%)
 - *Optional* Current Events Analysis (20%)

Required texts:

- Book Chapters will be posted one week in advance on Moodle.
- All journal articles available online: <http://vsfx.cc.huji.ac.il:3210/sfxlcl41/az/default>

Useful but not required texts:

- Netanel Lorch, ed, *Major Knesset Debates 1948-1981*, vols 1-6, United Press of America, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs: Lanham, MD; Jerusalem, 1993.
<http://jcpa.org/article/major-knesset-debates-1948-1981/>
- Walter Laqueur and Barry Rubin, eds., *The Israeli-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, 7th ed., Penguin Books: New York, 2008.
- Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist Arab Conflict, 1881-2001*, Vintage Books: New York, 2001.
- Nadav Shelef, *Evolving Nationalism: Homeland, Identity, and Religion in Israel, 1925-2005*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca, NY, 2010.

Attendance & Participation:

Regular attendance of and participation in class discussions is essential to success in this course. Absences for campus activities, religious observances, personal concerns, etc must be cleared with the instructor in advance barring emergencies so appropriate make-up work can be assigned. Classroom discussions will be open, civil, and mutually respectful. Active involvement in class discussion is strongly preferred, however if you feel very uncomfortable speaking in front of your peers, the instructor can offer alternative assignments for participation credit.

Take-Home Exam:

The final exam will require students to critically analyze and evaluate aspects of Israeli territorial politics discussed in this course. Major themes may include issues of security and identity, popular and elite attitudes and influence over Israeli territorial policy, diplomacy and unilateralism, domestic and international politics and pressures, and democracy and governance. The take-home exam will require responses to two of three essay-length questions drawn from said course material. Questions will be evaluative in nature, requiring critical responses to key questions in Israeli territorial politics with a clear argument supported by evidence. They should include comparative evaluations of the particular territorial case vis-à-vis other territorial disputes in Israel as well as general theories discussed in class. Take home exams will be distributed on the final day of class. Answers may be typed in *English or Hebrew*, double-spaced in twelve point font, with *each answer* three to four pages in length. Students must submit their exam to the instructor via email *by 7 July, two weeks following the final class*.

Optional Current Events Analysis:

You may submit one 4-5 page, double-spaced analysis of a current issue in Israeli territorial politics worth 20% of your overall course grade which will decrease the weight of your final exam. In it, you should discuss why the given issue is contentious and offer policy proposals to advance its resolution. In doing so, you must explicitly consider how Israeli domestic debates on this issue have impacted political decisions in the past and how such concerns should be addressed in the future. Your discussion must draw from at least 2 relevant course readings and at least 2 recent newspaper articles that present contrasting views of the issue. Submit your assignment via email *no later than the final day of class, 23 June, no exceptions*.

Unit I: Zionism & the Land of Israel***Class 1: Basic Concepts (3 March)***

Ben Halperin, "4: Attachment to Zion" in *The Idea of the Jewish State*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969, pgs. 95-130.

Gideon Biger, "The Boundaries of Israel--Palestine Past, Present, and Future: A Critical Geographical View," *Israel Studies* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 68-93.

Class 2: Labour Zionism (10 March)

Nadav Shelef, "Chapter 1: Labor Zionist Mapping of the Homeland" in *Evolving Nationalism*, 2010, pgs. 25-49.

Shlomo Avineri, "Chapter 17: Ben Gurion: the Vision and the Power," in *The Making of Modern Zionism*, Basic Books: New York, 1981, pgs. 198-216.

Class 3: Revisionist Zionism (17 March)

Nadav Shelef, "Chapter 3: Revisionist Zionist Mapping of the Homeland," in *Evolving Nationalism*, 2010, pgs. 81-106.

Shlomo Avineri, "Chapter 15: Jabotinsky: Integral Nationalism and the Illusion of Power," in *The Making of Modern Zionism*, 1981, pgs. 159-186.

Mordechai Kremnitzer & Adam Fuchs, "Ze'ev Jabotinsky on Democracy, Equality, and Individual Rights," Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute, 2013, <http://en.idi.org.il/analysis/idi-press/publications/english-books/>.

24 March, 31 March - Pesach

Class 4: Religious Zionism (7 April)

Nadav Shelef, "Chapter 2: Religious Zionist Mapping of the Homeland," in *Evolving Nationalism*, 2010, pgs. 50-80.

Shlomo Avineri, "Chapter 16: Rabbi Kook: the Dialectics of Redemption," in *The Making of Modern Zionism*, 1981, pgs. 187-197.

Yehudah Elizur, "The Borders of Eretz Israel in Jewish Tradition" in *Whose Homeland: Eretz Israel Roots of the Jewish Claim*, Jerusalem: World Zionist Organization, 1978, pgs. 42-53.

14 April – Instructor Out of Town

21 April – Erev Yom Hazikaron

Unit II: Land as Security

Class 5: Security Narratives (28 April)

Moshe Dayan, "Israel's Borders and Security Problems," *Foreign Affairs* (1955).

Yigal Allon, "Israel: The Case for Defensible Borders," *Foreign Affairs* (October 1976).

Arye Naor, "The security argument in the territorial debate in Israel: Rhetoric and policy," *Israel Studies* 4, no. 2 (1999): 150–77.

Ifat Maoz, et al., "Threat Perception and Feelings as Predictors of Jewish-Israeli Support for Compromise with Palestinians," *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 4 (July 2009): 525-539.

Class 6: Land for Peace? – Sinai & Oslo (5 May)

Baruch Kimmerling, "Exchanging Territories for Peace: A Macrosociological Approach," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 23, no. 1 (February 1987): 13-33.

Michael Barnett, "Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo," *European Journal of International Relations* 5, no. 1 (March 1999): 5-36.

Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collusion: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?" *International Security* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 5-43.

Class 7: Giving Without Receiving? Unilateral Territorial Withdrawal (12 May)

Avraham Sela, "Civil Society, the Military, and National Security: The Case of Israel's Security Zone in South Lebanon." *Israel Studies* 12, no. 1 (2007): 53-78.

Jonathan Rynhold and Dov Waxman, "Ideological Change and Israel's Disengagement from Gaza," *Political Science Quarterly* 123, no. 1 (2008): 11-37.

Robert H. Mnookin, et al, "Is Unilateralism Always Bad? Negotiation Lessons from Israel's 'Unilateral' Gaza Withdrawal," *Negotiation Journal* 30, no. 2 (April 2014): 131-156.

Unit III: Settler Spoilers?

Class 8: Movement for the Whole Land of Israel & Gush Emunim (19 May)

Arye Naor, "'Behold, Rachel, Behold!': The Six Day War as a Biblical Experience and Its Impact on Israel's Political Mentality." *Journal of Israeli History* 24, no. 2 (2005): 229-50.

Rael Jean Isaac, "3: The Land of Israel Movement," in *Israel Divided: Ideological Politics in the Jewish State*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, MA, 1976, pgs. 45-72.

Kevin Avruch, "Traditionalizing Israeli Nationalism: The Development of Gush Emunim," *Political Psychology* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 47-57.

Class 9: Successful Settler Lobbies (26 May)

David Ohana, "Kfar Etzion: The Community of Memory and the Myth of Return." *Israel Studies* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 145-74.

Ron E. Hassner, "The Path to Intractability: Time and the Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes." *International Security* 31, no. 3 (Winter 2006/07): 107-38.

Jerome Slater, "Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Israel and Syria, 1948-2001," *International Security* 27, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 79-106.

Class 10: Unsuccessful Settler Lobbies (2 June)

Gabriel Sheffer, "Was it Really a Trauma? Wider Political Implications of the Removal of Israeli Settlements from Sinai," *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 23, no. 1 (1987): 117-29.

David Newman, "From Hitnachlut to Hitnatkut: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settlement Movement on Israeli Politics and Society," *Israel Studies* 10, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 192-224.

Motti Inbari, "Fundamentalism in Crisis--The Response of the Gush Emunim Rabbinical Authorities to the Theological Dilemmas Raised by Israel's Disengagement Plan," *Journal of Church & State* 49 (2007), pgs. 697-717.

Unit IV: Homeland Politics

Class 11: United Jerusalem? (9 June)

Michael Brecher, "Jerusalem: Israel's Political Decisions, 1947-1977," *The Middle East Journal* 32, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 13-34.

Motti Golani, "Jerusalem's Only Hope Lies in Partition: Israel's Policy on the Jerusalem Question, 1948-67," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999): 577-604.

Menachem Klein, "Old and New Walls in Jerusalem," *Political Geography* 24 (2005): 53-76.

Class 12: Temple Mount & Sacred Spaces (16 June)

Doron Bar, "Reconstructing the Past: The Creation of Jewish Sacred Space in the State of Israel, 1948-1967," *Israel Studies* 13, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 1-21.

Ron Hassner, "Chapter 7: Successful Conflict Management: Jerusalem 1967," in *War on Sacred Grounds*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca, NY, 2009, pgs. 113-133.

Motti Inbari, "Religious Zionism and the Temple Mount Dilemma – Key Trends," *Israel Studies* 12, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 29-47.

Class 13: Whither the Two State Solution? (23 June)

Efraim Inbar, "The Rise and Demise of the Two-State Paradigm," *Orbis* (Spring 2009), pgs. 265-283.

Amir Lupovici, "Ontological Dissonance, Clashing Identities, and Israel's Unilateral Steps Towards the Palestinians," *Review of International Studies* 38, no. 4 (October 2012): 809-33.

Ariel Zellman, "Framing Consensus: Evaluating the Narrative Specificity of Territorial Indivisibility," *Journal of Peace Research* (Forthcoming).

******Final Exam Distributed******

7 July: Take-Home Exams due via email