



**Ginsburg Ingerman Overseas Students Program
Ben-Gurion University of the Negev**

**Left, Right and the End of Ideology in Israel: understanding Israeli Politics,
1960s – 1980s
Fall semester
13-5-343**

Dr. Adi Portugies

Email: adi.portugez@gmail.com

Course Description:

Observers of Israeli society have explained the political changeover in the elections of 1977, when the "left-wing" Labor Party was replaced by the "right-wing" Likud Party, as an ideological turning point, indicating the demise of social-democracy and the rise of Israeli nationalism. Is this true? Are concepts of "left" and "right" meaningful in the Israeli context? By the end of the 1970s, Israel, like other western societies, was moving away from ideology, and was increasingly driven by liberal economic thinking, consumerism and individualism, rather than collectivism and considerations of the common good.

This course will explain the development of Israeli politics in this context, through the decades of the 1960s and the 1970s, brimful of events and happenings, up to the First Lebanon War in 1982.

Course Objectives:

The aim is to provide basic - yet encompassing - knowledge on Israel's political history and an understanding of its political and government structures. The participants will be exposed to broad range of primary sources: documents, posters and music, as well as to scholarly work.

This methodology offers the students a multifaceted approach, one that doesn't simply provide a narrative but rather offers a joint reconstruction of historical narratives.

Field of Education and Discipline(s): Israel Studies, Politics, Sociology

Course Structure:

Lecture: 2+2

Total # of Credits: 4

ECTS (European Credit Transfer System): 6

Teaching Method:

The course will be conducted through a combination of formal lectures, and class debate and discussion. The lectures will be based on weekly reading assignments. In addition to these readings, out-of-class visits and guest lectures will be scheduled.

Reading materials will be posted on the Hi-learn ("Blackboard") website.

Course Requirements

Compulsory attendance: YES

Pre-requisites: None

Structure of Final Course Grad

1. Participation	10%
2. Midterm Exam	20%
3. Final Exam	70%
	100%

Note:

- Work handed in late, will not be graded!
- Students will have their final grade lowered an entire grade level if they miss more than 3 class meetings unexcused
- Language of instruction is English.

Course Schedule Layout:

*Part I: Formative Era***Week 1: Zionism and the challenge of self-sovereignty**

Meir Seidler, 'Zionism's Conflicting Founding Designs and their Ideological Impact', *Israel studies*, 17(3), pp. 176-190.

Haim Hazaz, *The Sermon*, (in English: by Dan Miron).

Rec:

Michael Walzer, 'Zionism and Judaism: The Paradox of National Liberation', *Journal of Israeli History*, 26(2) 125-136.

Week 2: Beginnings of Zionist Politics and the "State in Making"

Ze'ev Tzahor, 'The Histadrut: from marginal organization to 'state-in-the-making'', Jehuda Reinharz and Anita Shapira (eds.), *Essential Papers on Zionism*, [New York 1996](#), 473-508.

Akzin, Benjamin, "The role of parties in Israeli democracy", *journal of politics*, 17, 4, November 1955, 507-545.

Week 3: Constitutional Structure: why does Israel do not have a constitution?

Giora Goldberg, *Ben Gurion against the Knesset*, London 2003, 19-58.

Asher Arian, *Politics in Israel: The Second Generation*, New Jersey 1985, 120-132

Part II: Labor Hegemony Era

Week 4: Zionist Left.

Avi Bareli, 'Distributive justice and a rising middle class: conflict between MAPAI and white-collar professionals before the 1955 general elections in Israel', *Israel Affairs*, 14(2) (2008) 255-276.

Anita Shapira, 'The origins of "Jewish Labor" ideology', *Studies in Zionism*, 5 (1982) 93-113.

Week 5: Zionist Right.

Arye Naor, 'Jabotinsky's New Jew: Concept and models', *Journal of Israeli History*, 30(2) 141-160.

Tzahor, Ze'ev, 'The struggle between the Revisionist party and the labor movement, 1929-1933', *Modern Judaism* 8(1) (1988) 15-25.

Part III: Attributes of the State of Israel

Week 6: Knesset, Supreme Court of Justice, Government

Asher Arian, *Politics in Israel: The Second Generation*, New Jersey 1985, 155-185.

Bareli, Avi, "'Mamlakhtiyut', capitalism and socialism during the 1950s in Israel", *Journal of Israeli History* 26,2 (2007) 201-227.

Week 7: "Jewish and Democratic" - missions and challenges.

Nir Kedar, 'Jewish Republicanism', *Journal of Israeli History*, 26(2) 179-200.

Charles S. Liebman, 'Religion and Democracy in Israel', in: Deshen, Liebman, Shokeid (eds.), *Israeli Judaism: the Sociology of Religion in Israel*, New Brunswick 1995, 347-367.

Week 8: Elite, Hegemony, Populism.

Moshe Lissak and Uri Cohen, 'Scientific strategists in the period of mamlakhtiyut: Interaction between the academic community and political power centers', *Journal of Israeli History*, 30(2) 2011 189–210.

Asher Arian, *Politics in Israel: The Second Generation*, New Jersey 1985, 47-70

Week 9: Israeli Tapestry – ethnic, social and cultural diversities.

Dan Horowitz, Moshe Lissak, *Trouble in Utopia: the overburdened polity of Israel*, Albany 1989, fourth chapter.

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt, 'Jewish Civilization: Approaches to Problems of Israeli Society', in: Deshen, Liebman, Shokeid (eds.), *Israeli Judaism: the Sociology of Religion in Israel*, New Brunswick 1995, 63-74.

Part IV: Structural and Ideological Shifts in the 1970`s

Week 10: War of 1967: social and political ramifications.

Naor, Arye, 'Behold, Rachel, behold': the Six Day War as a biblical experience and its impact on Israel's political mentality', *Journal of Israeli History* 24(2) (2005) 229-250.

Swirski, Shlomo, 'The price of occupation: the cost of the occupation to Israeli society', *Palestine-Israel Journal*, 12(1) (2005) 110-120.

Rec:

Alon Gan, 'The Tanks of Tammuz and The Seventh Day: The emergence of opposite poles of Israeli identity after the Six Day War', *Journal of Israeli History*, 28(2) 155-174

Week 11: Season of Protest: non parliamentary politics.

Michael Feige, `Peace Now and the legitimation crisis of "civil militarism"`, *Israel Studies* 3,1 (1998) 85-111

Eric Cohen, `The Black Panthers in Israeli Society`, *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, 14(1) (1972) 93-110.

Week 12: End of Ideology: changes in the political discourse.

Alan Dowty, *The Jewish State: A Century Later*, Berkeley 2001, 103-136.

Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*, 422-449.

Part V: The Road to the Upheaval

Week 13: War of 1973: social and political ramifications.

Uri Ram, *The Globalization of Israel: McWorld in Tel Aviv, Jihad in Jerusalem*, Oxford & New York 2008, Chapter 1.

Week 14: Right wing party "Likud" in power – some explanations.

Yechiam Weitz, `The road to the "upheaval": a capsule history of the Herut movement, 1948-1977`, *Israel Studies*, 10(3) (2005) 54-86.

Mordechai Bar-On, `Trends in the political psychology of Israeli Jews, 1967-86`, *Journal of Palestine Studies* 17(1) (1987) 21-36.

Week 15: Trends in Historiography: overview and closing remarks.

Daniel Gutwein, `From melting pot to multiculturalism: or, the privatization of Israeli identity`, Anita Shapira (ed.), *Israeli Identity in Transition*, Westport, 2004, 215-231.