

Israel: State, Society, Identity

Taught in Hilary Term

Dr Raffaella A. Del Sarto

There are probably few states in the world that trigger such strong opinions and emotions as the State of Israel. While these responses are generally linked to Israel's foreign relations and the Arab-Israeli conflict, this course aims primarily at "looking inside" Israel. It will introduce students to the politics, society, and institutions of modern Israel by paying special attention to the prevailing societal diversity and fragmentation as well as their political implications. In particular, the dynamics of Israeli politics, society, and foreign relations will be linked to the construction of Israel's identity (and the different interpretations of the latter) from the early days of the state until the advent of the peace process in the 1990s and its collapse.

Course structure and reading list

Week 1: Zionism and the Origins of Israel's Political Culture

Required:

Hertzberg, Arthur (1959) *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, New York: Harper & Row, first edition; Introduction (pp. 15-100).

Avineri, Shlomo (1981) *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, New York: Basic Books, Chapters 9, 11, and 13.

Laqueur, Walter (2003) *The History of Zionism*, 3rd edition, London: Tauris Park Paperback, Conclusions (pp. 589-599).

Mahler, Gregory (2004) *Politics and Government in Israel*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, Chapter 1 (pp. 13-52).

Aronoff, Myron J. (1993) 'The Origins of Israeli Political Culture', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 47-63.

Recommended:

Laqueur, Walter (2003) *The History of Zionism*, 3rd edition, London: Tauris Park Paperback, Chapters 2 and 5.

Avineri, Shlomo (1981) *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, New York: Basic Books, Chapters 15, 16, and 17.

Hertzberg, Arthur (1959) *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, New York: Harper & Row, first edition; the remaining chapters.

Shindler, Colin (2008), *A History of Modern Israel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1 (pp. 10-37).

Week 2: State-Building, Nation-Building, and the Identity of Israel

Required:

Shindler, Colin (2008), *A History of Modern Israel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 2 and 3 (pp. 38-77).

Shapiro, Yonathan (1993) 'The Historical Origins of Israeli Democracy', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 65-81.

Zerubavel, Yael (1995) *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapters 2 (pp. 13-33), 5 (pp. 60-70) and 8 (pp. 114-137).

Horowitz, Dan (1993) 'The Israeli Concept of National Security', in Avner Yaniv, ed., *National Security and Democracy in Israel*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 11-53.

Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*, Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 2 (pp. 56-88).

Sternhell, Zeev (1998) *The Founding Myths of Israel*, translated by David Maisel, Princeton: Princeton University Press, Introduction (pp. 3-46).

Recommended:

Migdal, Joel S. (1996) 'Society Formation and the Case of Israel', in Michael Barnett, ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, pp. 173-197.

Mahler, Gregory (2004) *Politics and Government in Israel*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, Chapter 3 (pp. 85-114).

Sternhell, Zeev (1998) *The Founding Myths of Israel*, translated by David Maisel, Princeton: Princeton University Press, the remaining chapters.

Halpern, Ben and Jehuda Reinartz (1998) *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, Chapters 10 and 11.

Laqueur, Walter (2003) *The History of Zionism*, 3rd edition, London: Tauris Park Paperback, Chapters 3 and 6.

Anderson, Benedict (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 2nd edition.

Week 3: Institutions, Parties, Politics**Required:**

Arian, Asher (2005) *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*, 2nd edition, Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, Chapters 5 (pp. 117-165), 7 (pp. 202-231), and 9 (pp. 263-297).

Mahler, Gregory (2004) *Politics and Government in Israel*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, Chapter 4 (pp. 117-140).

Basic Laws of the State of Israel, at <http://www.israel-mfa.gov.il> (website of the Israeli Ministry for Foreign Affairs)

Ezrahi, Yaron (1993) 'Democratic Politics and Culture in Modern Israel: Recent Trends', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 255-272.

Hazan, Reuven Y. (2007): 'Kadima and the Centre: Convergence in the Israeli Party System', *Israel Affairs* 13(2): 266-288.

Kretzmer, David (2005) 'Human Rights', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London: Routledge, pp. 39-64.

Recommended:

Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak (1989) *Trouble in Utopia: the Overburdened Polity of Israel*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, Chapters 2 and 3.

Arian, Asher (2005) *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*, 2nd edition, Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, Chapters 8, 11, and 12.

Hazan, Reuven Y. and Gideon Rahat (2000) 'Representation, Electoral Reform, and Democracy: Theoretical and Empirical Lessons from the 1996 Elections in Israel', *Comparative Political Studies* 33(10): 1310-1336.

Kretzmer, David (2002) *The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, Part III.

Week 4: State and Religion

Required:

Cohen, Asher, and Bernard Susser (2000) *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapters 1, 2, and 3 (pp. 1-72).

Liebman, Charles S. (1993) 'Religion and Democracy in Israel', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 273-292.

Ravitzky, Aviezer (1996) *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism*, translated by M. Swirsky and J. Chipman, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Introduction (pp. 1-9) and Chapter 1 (pp. 10-39).

Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*, Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 4 (pp. 112-129).

Mahler, Gregory (2004) *Politics and Government in Israel*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, Chapter 2 (pp. 53-84).

Recommended:

Evron, Boaz (1995) *Jewish State or Israeli Nation?*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Friedman, Menachem (1989) 'The State of Israel as a Theological Dilemma', in Baruch Kimmerling, ed., *The Israeli State and Society: Boundaries and Frontiers*, New York: SUNY, pp. 165-215.

Ravitzky, Aviezer (1996) *Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism*, translated by M. Swirsky and J. Chipman, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chapter 3.

Don-Yehia, Elizier (1997) 'Religion, Ethnicity and Electoral Reform: The Religious Parties and the 1996 Elections', *Israel Affairs*, 4(1): 73-102.

Ravitzky, Aviezer (2005) 'Is a Halakhic State Possible? The Paradox of Jewish Theocracy', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 137-164.

Week 5: Immigration, Minorities, Ethnicity, and Israeli Democracy

Required:

Smootha, Sammy (1993) 'Class, Ethnic, and National Cleavages and Democracy in Israel', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 309-342.

Rouhana, Nadim and Asad Ghanem (1998) 'The Crisis of Minorities in Ethnic States: The Case of Palestinian Citizens in Israel', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30: 321-346.

Horowitz, Tamar (2005) 'The Integration of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London: Routledge, pp. 117-136.

Dowty, Alan (1999) 'Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the Ethnic Democracy Debate', *Israel Studies* 4(2): 1-15.

Gavison, Ruth (1999) 'Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the "Ethnic Democracy" Debate', *Israel Studies* 4(1): 44-72.

Yiftachel, Oren (2006) *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Chapter 4 (pp. 84-100).

Shafir, Gershon and Yoav Peled (2002) *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Introduction (pp. 1-34), and Chapter 3 (pp. 74-109)

Recommended:

Khanin, Vladimir (2001) 'Israeli "Russian" Parties and the New Immigrant Vote', *Israel Affairs* 7 (2-3): 101-134.

Jamal, Amal (2006) 'The Arab Leadership in Israel: Ascendance and Fragmentation', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35 (2): 6-22.

Frish, Hillel (2005) 'Israel and Its Arab Citizens', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 207-222.

Kook, Rebecca 'Between Uniqueness and Exclusion: The Politics of Identity in Israel in Comparative Perspective', in Michael N. Barnett, ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, pp. 199-225.

Yiftachel, Oren (2006) *Ethnocracy: Land and Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Chapters 1 and 2.

Shafir, Gershon and Yoav Peled (2002) *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 12 (pp. 308-334).

Yishai, Yael (1996) *Between the Flag and the Banner: Women and Politics in Israel*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Week 6: Zionism and Post-Zionism

Required:

Elazar, Daniel J. and Shmuel Sandler (1997) 'The Battle over Jewishness and Zionism in the Post-Modern Era', *Israel Affairs*, 4 (1): 1-29.

Silberstein, Laurence J. (1999) *The Postzionist Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture*, New York and London: Routledge, Chapters 2 (pp. 47-66) , 3 (pp. 67-88), and 4 (pp. 89-126).

Lissak, Moshe (2007) "'Critical" and "Establishment" Sociology', in Benny Morris, ed., *Making Israel*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 178-201.

Karsh, Efraim (2002) 'The Unbearable Lightness of My Critics', *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer).

Morris, Benny (2007) 'The New Historiography: Israel Confronts Its Past', in Benny Morris, ed., *Making Israel*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 11-28.

Recommended:

Silberstein, Laurence J. (1999) *The Postzionist Debates: Knowledge and Power in Israeli Culture*, New York and London: Routledge, Chapter 5.

Wurmser, Meyrav (2006) 'Zionism in Crisis', *Middle East Quarterly*, 13 (1): 39-47.

Shlaim, Avi (2007) 'Israel and the Arab Coalition in 1948', in Eugene Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edition, pp. 79-103.

Shapira, Anita (2003) *Israeli Historical Revisionism: From Left to Right*, Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass.

Morris, Benny (1999), *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-1999*, New York: Knopf.

Shlaim, Avi (2000) *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, New York: Norton.

Week 7: Politics, Identity and the Peace Process

Required:

Barnett, Michael (1999) 'Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo', *European Journal of International Relations*, 5 (1): 5-36.

Ezrahi, Yaron (1997) *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel*, Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 9 (pp. 207-234).

Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2006) *Contested State Identities and Regional Security in the Euro-Mediterranean Area*, New York: Palgrave, Chapter 4 (pp. 87-130).

Ben-Ami, Shlomo (2005) *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Chapters 8 and 9 (pp. 173-239).

Peretz, Don and Gideon Doron (2000) 'Sectarian Politics and the Peace Process: The 1999 Israel Elections', *Middle East Journal*, 54 (2): 259-73.

Weissbrod, Lilly (1997) 'Israeli Identity in Transition', *Israel Affairs*, 3 (3-4): 47-65.

Dowty, Alan (2004) 'A Question that Outweighs All Other Questions: Israel and the Palestinians in Broad Perspective', in Alan Dowty, ed. , *Critical Issues in Israeli Society*, Westport: Praeger, pp. 169-194.

Recommended:

Ben-Ami, Shlomo (2005) *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, Chapters 10, 11, 12, 13.

Sandler, Shmuel (1993) *The State of Israel, the Land of Israel: The Statist and Ethnonational Dimensions of Foreign Policy*, London: Greenwood Press.

Newman, David (1997) 'Conflicting Israeli Peace Discourses', *Peace Review* 9(3): 417-424.

Smootha, Sammy (1998) 'The Implications of the Transition to Peace for Israeli Society', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 555: 26-45.

Gorenberg, Gershon (2007) *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*, New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Shafir, Gershon and Yoav Peled (2002) *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 6 (pp. 159-183).

Shindler, Colin (2008) *A History of Modern Israel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 11.

Week 8: Alternatives and New Pathways?

Required:

Ezrahi, Yaron (1997) *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel*, Berkeley: University of California Press, Chapter 11.

Adler, Emanuel (2005) 'Changing Identities: The Road to Peace', in Emanuel Adler, *Communitarian International Relations: The Epistemic Foundations of International Relations*, Abdingdon: Routledge, pp. 243-258.

Newman, David (2005) 'From *hitnachlut* to *hitnatkut*: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settler Movement on Israeli Politics and Society', *Israel Studies*, 10 (3), pp. 192-224.

Merari, Ariel (2005) 'Israel Facing Terrorism', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 223-237.

Arad, Uzi, Oded Eran, and Tommy Steiner (2007) 'Anchoring Israel to the Euro-Atlantic Community: Further Upgrading and Institutionalizing NATO-Israel Relations', Working Paper, Herzliya: The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya, available at http://www.herzliyaconference.org/_Uploads/2469NATO.pdf

Dror, Yehezkel and Sharon Pardo (2006) 'Approaches and Principles for an Israeli Grand Strategy towards the European Union', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11: 17-44.

Recommended:

Ohana, David (1999) 'Israel towards a Mediterranean Identity', in Shlomo Avineri and Werner Weidenfeld, eds., *Integration and Identity: Challenges to Europe and Israel*, Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, pp. 81-99.

Sternhell, Zeev (1998), *The Founding Myths of Israel*, translated by David Maisel, Princeton: Princeton University Press, Epilogue.

Peters, Joel (1996) *Pathways to Peace: The Multilateral Arab-Israeli Peace Talks*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, pp. 1-11 and pp. 61-75.

Tovias, Alfred, and Amichai A. Magen (2005) 'Reflections from the New Near Outside: An Israeli Perspective on the Institutional Impact of EU Enlargement', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 10(5): 399-425.

Shindler, Colin (2008) *A History of Modern Israel*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 12, 13, 14.

Bibliography and Further Reading

- Adler, Emanuel (2005) 'Changing Identities: The Road to Peace', in Emanuel Adler, *Communitarian International Relations: The Epistemic Foundations of International Relations*, Abdingdon: Routledge, pp. 243-258.
- Agha, Hussein and Robert Malley (2001), 'Camp David: The Tragedy of Errors', *The New York Review of Books* 48(13), 9 August 2001.
- Anderson, Benedict (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 2nd edition.
- Arad, Uzi, Oded Eran, and Tommy Steiner (2007) 'Anchoring Israel to the Euro-Atlantic Community: Further Upgrading and Institutionalizing NATO-Israel Relations', Working Paper, Herzliya: The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya, available at http://www.herzliyaconference.org/_Uploads/2469NATO.pdf
- Arian, Asher (1995) *Security Threatened*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Arian, Asher (2005) *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*, 2nd edition, Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Aronoff, Myron J. (1993), 'The Origins of Israeli Political Culture', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 47-63.
- Avineri, Shlomo (1981) *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, New York: Basic Books.
- Avineri, Shlomo and Werner Weidenfeld (eds.) (1999) *Integration and Identity: Challenges to Europe and Israel*, Bonn: Europa Union Verlag.
- Barnett, Michael (1999) 'Culture, Strategy and Foreign Policy Change: Israel's Road to Oslo', *European Journal of International Relations*, 5 (1): 5-36.
- Barnett, Michael (ed.) (1996) *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Barzilai, Gad and Yossi Shain (1991) 'Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads: A Crisis of Non-Governability', *Government and Opposition* 26(3): 345-67.
- Beilin, Yossi (1999) *Touching Peace: From the Oslo Accord to a Final Agreement*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo (2005) *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Bick, Etta (1997) 'Sectarian Party Politics in Israel: The Case of Ysrael Ba'Aliya, the Russian Immigrant Party', *Israel Affairs*, 4 (1): 121-45.
- Bogdanor, Vernon (1993) 'The Electoral System, Government, and Democracy', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 83-106.
- Cohen, Asher, and Bernard Susser (2000) *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cohen-Almagor, Raphael (2005) *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Cohen-Almagor, Raphael (2005) *Israeli Institutions at the Crossroads*, London and New York: Routledge.

- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (1999) 'Israeli Identity as Seen through European Eyes', in Shlomo Avineri and Werner Weidenfeld, eds., *Integration and Identity: Challenges to Europe and Israel*, Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, pp. 59-79.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2006) *Contested State Identities and Regional Security in the Euro-Mediterranean Area*, New York: Palgrave.
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A. (2007) 'Wording and Meaning(s): EU-Israeli Political Cooperation according to the ENP Action Plan', *Mediterranean Politics*, 11(1): 59-74.
- Don-Yehia, Elizier (1997) 'Religion, Ethnicity and Electoral Reform: The Religious Parties and the 1996 Elections', *Israel Affairs*, 4(1): 73-102.
- Dowty, Alan (1999) 'Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the Ethnic Democracy Debate', *Israel Studies* 4(2): 1-15.
- Dowty, Alan (2004) 'A Question that Outweighs All Other Questions: Israel and the Palestinians in Broad Perspective', in Alan Dowty, ed., *Critical Issues in Israeli Society*, Westport: Praeger, pp. 169-194.
- Dowty, Alan (ed.) (2004) *Critical Issues in Israeli Society*, Westport: Praeger.
- Dowty, Alan et al. (eds.) (1997) *The Role of Domestic Politics in Israeli Peace-Making*, Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Dror, Yehezkel and Sharon Pardo (2006) 'Approaches and Principles for an Israeli Grand Strategy towards the European Union', *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11: 17-44.
- Eisenstadt, Shmuel N. (1986) *The Transformation of Israeli Society: An Essay in Interpretation*, Boulder, Co.: Westview Press.
- Elazar, Daniel J. and Shmuel Sandler (1997) 'The Battle over Jewishness and Zionism in the Post-Modern Era', *Israel Affairs*, 4 (1): 1-29.
- Etzioni-Halevi, Eva, with Rita Shapira (1977) *Political Culture in Israel: Cleavage and Integration among Israeli Jews*, New York: Praeger.
- Evron, Boaz (1995) *Jewish State or Israeli Nation?*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ezrahi, Yaron (1993) 'Democratic Politics and Culture in Modern Israel: Recent Trends', in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 255-272.
- Ezrahi, Yaron (1997) *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Garfinkle, Adam (2000) *Politics and Society in Modern Israel*, second edition, Armonk, N.Y.: Sharpe
- Gavison, Ruth (1999) 'Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the "Ethnic Democracy" Debate', *Israel Studies* 4(1): 44-72.
- Gertz, Nurith (1984) 'The Few against the Many', *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 30: 94-104.
- Gorenberg, Gershon (2007) *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*, New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- Halpern, Ben and Jehuda Reinartz (1998) *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hazan, Reuven Y (2007) 'Kadima and the Centre: Convergence in the Israeli Party System', *Israel Affairs* 13(2): 266-288.

- Hazan, Reuven Y. and Gideon Rahat (2000) 'Representation, Electoral Reform, and Democracy: Theoretical and Empirical Lessons from the 1996 Elections in Israel', *Comparative Political Studies* 33(10): 1310-1336.
- Hazan, Reuven Y. and Moshe Maor (2000) *Parties, Elections and Cleavages: Israel in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*, London: Frank Cass.
- 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.
- Hertzberg, Arthur (1959) *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*, New York: Harper & Row, first edition.
- Horowitz, Dan (1993) 'The Israeli Concept of National Security', in Avner Yaniv, ed., *National Security and Democracy in Israel*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 11-53.
- Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak (1978) *Origins of the Israeli Polity*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak (1989) *Trouble in Utopia: the Overburdened Polity of Israel*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Horowitz, Tamar (2005) 'The Integration of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London: Routledge, pp. 117-136.
- Jamal, Amal (2006) 'The Arab Leadership in Israel: Ascendance and Fragmentation', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 35 (2): 6-22.
- Karsh, Efraim (1997) *Fabricating Israeli History: "The New Historians"*, London: Frank Cass.
- Karsh, Efraim (2002) 'The Unbearable Lightness of My Critics', *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer).
- Khanin, Vladimir (2001) 'Israeli "Russian" Parties and the New Immigrant Vote', *Israel Affairs* 7 (2-3): 101-34.
- Kimmerling, Baruch (ed.) (1989) *The Israeli State and Society: Boundaries and Frontiers*, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Kimmerling, Baruch (1998) 'Between Hegemony and Dormant *Kulturkampf* in Israel', *Israel Affairs* 4(3-4): 49-72.
- Kimmerling, Baruch (2001) *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kook, Rebecca 'Between Uniqueness and Exclusion: The Politics of Identity in Israel in Comparative Perspective', in Michael N. Barnett, ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, pp. 199-225.
- Kretzmer, David (2002) *The Occupation of Justice: The Supreme Court of Israel and the Occupied Territories*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Kretzmer, David (2005) 'Human Rights', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 39-64.
- Kyle, Keith and Joel Peters (eds.) (1993) *Whither Israel? The Domestic Challenges*, London: I.B. Tauris.

- Laqueur, Walter (2003) *The History of Zionism*, 3rd edition, London: Tauris Park Paperback.
- Liebman, Charles S. (1993) 'Religion and Democracy in Israel, in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, pp. 273-292.
- Liebman, Charles S. and Eliahu Katz (eds.) (1997) *The Jewishness of Israelis*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Liebman, Charles S. and Eliezer Don-Yehiya (1983) *Civil Religion in Israel: Traditional Judaism and Political Culture in the Jewish State*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lissak, Moshe (2007) "'Critical" and "Establishment" Sociology', in Benny Morris, ed., *Making Israel*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 178-201.
- Lowsky-Feder, Edna and Eyal Ben-Ari (eds.) (2000) *The Military and Militarism in Israeli Society*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Lustick, Ian (1995) *Unsettled States, Disputed Land*, Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Mahler, Gregory (2004) *Politics and Government in Israel*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Medding, Peter Y. (1990) *The Founding of Israeli Democracy 1948-1967*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Merari, Ariel (2005) 'Israel Facing Terrorism', in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed., *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 223-237.
- Migdal, Joel S. (1996) 'Society Formation and the Case of Israel', in Michael Barnett, ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, pp. 173-197.
- Morris, Benny (1987) *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris, Benny (1999) *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict 1881-1999*, New York: Knopf.
- Morris, Benny (2007) 'The New Historiography: Israel Confronts Its Past', in Benny Morris, ed., *Making Israel*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 11-28
- Morris, Benny (ed.) (2007) *Making Israel*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Newman, David (1997) 'Conflicting Israeli Peace Discourses', *Peace Review* 9(3): 417-424.
- Newman, David (2005) 'From *hitnachlut* to *hitnatkut*: The Impact of Gush Emunim and the Settler Movement on Israeli Politics and Society', *Israel Studies*, 10 (3), pp. 192-224.
- Norton, Anne (1988) *Reflections on Political Identity*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ohana, David (1999) 'Israel towards a Mediterranean Identity', in Shlomo Avineri and Werner Weidenfeld, eds., *Integration and Identity: Challenges to Europe and Israel*, Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, pp. 81-99.
- Oren, Michael B. (2002) *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East*, London: Penguin Books.

- Peled, Yoav (1992) 'Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State', *American Political Science Review* 86(2): 432-443.
- Peleg, Ilan (1997) 'The Peace Process and Israel's Political Culture', in Alan Dowty et al., eds., *The Role of Domestic Politics in Israeli Peace-Making*, Jerusalem: Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, pp. 13-24.
- Peres, Shimon (with Arye Naor) (1993) *The New Middle East*, New York: H. Holt.
- Peretz, Don and Gideon Doron (2000) 'Sectarian Politics and the Peace Process: The 1999 Israel Elections', *Middle East Journal*, 54 (2): 259-73.
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