

History of Israeli Politics: Institutions and Society
Fall 2007, Emory University
Doron Shultziner

This course explores the Israeli political system, its institutional characteristics and components, and its main political dilemmas. The course aims to provide knowledge about Israeli political history and society. Topics included will be the origins and the development of the political system, electoral histories, and government formation. Attention is given to the dynamics between institutional arrangements and social cleavages in Israel and their interrelated effects. The course also discusses some of the main socio-political issues and tensions resulting from the dual definition of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, religion and politics, and the effects of armed conflicts on politics and society. The course requires no previous knowledge about Israel.

Examination and Grading: Students will write a mid-term paper and give a brief presentation (30%) and write a final examination (60%). Class participation is encouraged and may count up to 10% of the grade.

Students are advised to follow the Israeli daily Haaretz: www.haaretz.com

1. Historical Background

Mahler, Gregory S. 2004. *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapter 1: History and the Creation of Israel, pp. 13-52.

Dowty, Alan. 1998. *The Jewish State: A Century Later*. Berkeley: California University Press. Chapter 3: 'The Zionist Revolution', pp. 34-60.

Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix.

Chapter 1: Prelude: The Birth of an Intractable Conflict, pp. 1-21.

Chapter 2: Bisecting the Land or Zionism's Strategy of Phases? pp. 1-48.

Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel.

Suggested reading:

Hertzl, Theodor. [1896]. The Jewish State.

Hertzl, Theodor. [1902]. The Old New Land (Altneuland).

Isacoff, Johnathan B. 2005. Writing the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Historical Bias and the Use of History in Political Science. *Perspectives on Politics* 3(1): 71-88.

2. Introduction to Israeli Politics and Society: The Origins of the State of Israel, Zionism, and Religion.

Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak. 1978. *Origins of the Israeli Polity*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chapter 8 "The State of Israel and the Political Heritage of the Yishuv," pp. 186-212.

Mahler, Gregory S. 2004. *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Chapter 2: Zionism, Religion, and the Domestic Political Environment, pp. 53-84.

Chapter 3: The Social and Economic Context of Politics, pp. 85-114.

3. Introduction to the Israeli Constitutional System

Mahler, Gregory S. 2004. *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.

Chapter 4: The Constitutional System and Parliamentary Government, pp. 117-139.

Chapter 5: The Prime Minister and the Knesset, pp. 141-169.

Chapter 6: Political Parties and Interest Groups, pp. 171-191.

Chapter 7: The Electoral Process and Voting Behavior.

Suggested reading:

Dowty, Alan. 1998. *The Jewish State: A Century Later*. Berkeley: California University Press. Chapter 4: 'Building a Civil State', pp. 61-84.

Galnoor, Itzhak. 1994. The Israeli Political System: A Profile. In *Whither Israel? The Domestic Challenges*, eds. Keith Kyle and Joel Peters. New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs.

4. The Ben-Gurion Domination Period, 1948-1963: The Challenge of Immigration Absorption, Religion and State Issues, and Security Issues.

Gilbert, Martin. 1998. *Israel: A History*. New York: William and Company, Inc.

Chapter 15: The Ingathering of the Exiles, pp. 250-278.

Chapter 16: Conflicts and achievements, 1952-1955, pp. 279-285, 296-297, 303-304.

Chapter 19: A State in Being, 1956-1963, pp. 329-348.

Friedman, Menachem. 1989. The State of Israel as a Theological Dilemma. In *The Israeli State and Society: Boundaries and Frontiers*, ed. Baruch Kimmerling. Albany: State University of New York Press. Pp. 165-215.

Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix. Chapter 4: The Rise and Fall of the Third Kingdom of Israel, pp. 71-85.

Law of Return.

http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/1950_1959/Law%20of%20Return%205710-1950

5. The 1964-1977 Period: The Growth of Political Blocks, the Six Day War, the Yom Kippur War and its aftermath

Eisenstadt, S.N. 1977. Change and Continuity in Israeli Society II. Dynamic Conservatism vs. Innovation. *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 2: 3-11.

Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix.

Chapter 5: The Jewish Fear and Israel's Mother of all Victories, pp. 86-114.

Chapter 6: *Sedanlaghen* – The Sin of Hubris and its Punishment, pp. 115-145.

6. 1977-1980: From the Political Overturn to the Camp David Accords

Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix. Chapter 7: Begin's 'Capsule Theory' and Sadat's 'Separate Peace', pp. 71-85.

Arian, Asher. 2005. *Politics in Israel: The Second Republic* (2nd edition). Washington D.C.: CQ Press. Chapter 8: Electoral Behavior, pp. 233-262.

Suggested reading:

Stein, Kenneth W. 1997. Continuity and Change in Egyptian-Israeli Relations, 1973-1997. *Israel Affairs* 3(3-4): <http://www.ismi.emory.edu/JournalArticles/IASum97.html>

7. The 1980s Stalemate and the first Intifada I: Political Deadlock in the Face of Ideological Polarization and Radicalization

- Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak. 1989. *Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel*. Albany: SUNY Press. Chapter 2: Israel as a Multi-Cleavage Society, pp. 32-97.
- Sprinzak, Ehud. 1993. Elite Illegalism in Israel and the Question of Democracy. In *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*, eds. Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Pp. 173-198.
- Gilbert, Martin. 1998. *Israel: A History*. New York: William and Company, Inc. Chapter 27: Intifada, pp. 525-542.

8. The 1980s Stalemate and the first Intifada II: Political Deadlock in the Face of Ideological Polarization and Radicalization

- Shalom-Chetrit, Sami. 2000. Mizrahi Politics in Israel: Between Integration and Alternative. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29(4): 51-65.
- Al-Haj, Majid. 1994. Strategies of Mobilization among the Arabs in Israel. In *Whither Israel? The Domestic Challenges*, eds. Keith Kyle and Joel Peters. New York: The Royal Institute of International Affairs. Pp. 140-157.
- Liebman, Charles S. 1993. Religion and Democracy in Israel. In *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*, eds. Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Pp. 273-292.

9. The Turbulent 1990s I: The Constitutional Revolution

- Rahat, Gideon. 2000. The Politics of Reform in Israel: How the Israeli Mixed System Came to Be. In *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?*, In Matthew Shugart and Martin Wattenberg. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 123-151.
- Hazan, Reuven Y. 1997. Executive-Legislative Relations in an Era of Accelerated Reform: Reshaping Government in Israel. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22(3): 329-350.
- Hofnung, Menachem. 1996. The Unintended Consequences of Unplanned Constitutional Reform: Constitutional Politics in Israel. *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 44: 585-604.

Suggested reading:

- Diskin, Hanna and Abraham Diskin. 1995. The Politics of Electoral Reform in Israel. *International Political Science Review* 16(1): 31-46.
- Diskin, Abraham. 1999. The New Political System in Israel. *Government and Opposition* 34(4): 498-515.

10. The Turbulent 1990s II: The Gulf-War, Madrid, Oslo, and Rabin's Murder

- Peri, Yoram. 1993. The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Israeli Democracy. In *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*, eds. Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Pp. 343-357.
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix.
- Chapter 8: The Road to Madrid, pp. 173-200.
- Chapter 9: Oslo: The Glory and the Agony, pp. 201-239.

11. The Turbulent 1990s III and the Politics of Instability: The 1996 and 1999 Elections

Kimmerling, Baruch. 1999. Elections as a Battleground over Collective Identity. In *The Elections in Israel 1996*, eds. Asher Arian and Michal Shamir. Albany: SUNY Press. Pp. 27-44.

Nachmias, David and Itai Sened. 1999. The Bias of Pluralism: The Redistributive Effects of the New Electoral Law. In Asher Arian and Michal Shamir (eds.) *The Elections in Israel 1996*. Albany: SUNY Press. Pp. 269-284.

Shamir, Michal and Asher Arian. 1999. Collective Identity and Electoral Competition in Israel. *American Political Science Review* 93(2): 265-277.

Suggested reading:

Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix.

Chapter 10: The Barak Phase: On Freedom and Innocence, pp. 240-284.

Medding, Peter. 2000. From Government by Party Government Despite Party. In *Parties, Elections and Cleavages: Israel in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*, eds. Reuven Y. Hazan and Moshe Maor. London: Frank Cass. Pp. 172-208.

12. New Directions in Israeli Politics: The 2001, 2003, 2006 Elections in Israel

Abraham Diskin and Reuven Y. Hazan. 2002. The 2001 Prime Ministerial Election in Israel. *Electoral Studies* 21(4): 659-664.

Arian, Asher and Michal Shamir. 2005. *The Elections in Israel 2003*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Introduction, pp. 1-12.

Chapter 1: On Mistaking a Dominant Party in a Dealigning System, pp. 13-31.

Kenig, Ofer, Gideon Rahat and Reuven Y. Hazan. 2005. The Political Consequences of the Introduction and the Repeal of the Direct Elections for the Prime Minister. In *The Elections in Israel 2003*, eds. Asher Arian and Michal Shamir. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. Pp. 33-61.

Suggested reading:

Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix. Chapters 11-12.