

History of Israeli Politics: Institutions and Society
Emory University, Fall 2008 (POLS 385; HIST 385; JS 371)
Dr. 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 have a mid-term exam (25%), short assignment(s) (15%), and write a final examination (60%). Class participation is encouraged and may count up to an additional 10% bonus of the final grade. Students will also send weekly reflection paragraphs on the subjects and readings discussed in class.

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

Other issues:

All students are expected to abide by the Emory Honor Code which covers matters of plagiarism and cheating. If you are unfamiliar with the Honor Code, please read it (http://www.college.emory.edu/current/standards/honor_code.html).

There is no grading curve in this course.

Course textbooks:

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

Rabinovich, Itamar. and Jehuda Reinharz. 2008. *Israel in the Middle East: documents and readings on society, politics, and foreign relations, pre-1948 to the present*. Waltham, Mass. Hanover, Brandeis University Press; Published by University Press of New England.

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.

Primary Sources:

Leon Pinsker. 1882. Auto-Emancipation, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 12-16.

Theodor Herzl. 1886. A Solution of the Jewish Question, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp.16-21.

The First Zionist Congress. 1897. The Zionist Congress, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 21.

Ahad Ha'am. 1897. The First Zionist Congress, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 22-24.

Manya Shochat. 1904-1909. The Collective, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 25-28.

Additional recommended reading:

Hertzl, Theodor. [1896]. The Jewish State; The Old New Land (Altneuland) [1902].

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

London: Phoenix. [chapters 1-2].

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

2. International and Geographical Dimensions, and the Beginning of Internal Conflicts

- Balfour Declaration. 1917. In *Israel in the Middle East*, p. 29.
Zionist Manifesto. 1917. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 30-32.
Palestine White Paper. 1922. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 32-35.
League of Nations. 1922. Mandate for Palestine, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 35-41.
Vladimir Jabotinsky. 1923. The Iron Wall, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 41-43.
Peel Commission. 1937. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 44-46.
George Antonius. 1938. The Arab Awakening. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 46-48.
The White Paper. 1939. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 48-53.
The Biltmore Program. 1942. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 54-55.

Class 'Toward Jewish Statehood':
Readings from *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 56-83, 87-92.

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.
Middle East Institute. 2008. *Israel: Growing Pains at 60*. "Statistics", 108—118.

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.
Mahler, Gregory S. 2004. *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield. Chapters 2-3.

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

- Readings from *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 102-179.
Talmon, J. L. 1961. The Lavon Affair. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 168-171.

Additional recommended reading:

- Gilbert, Martin. 1998. *Israel: A History*. New York: William and Company, Inc. Chapters 15-16, 19.
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.

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

The formation of a Center-Right-Wing Bloc. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 179-183.

The Six Days War. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 208-226

The Yom Kippur War. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 258-286

Additional recommended reading:

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. Chapters 5-6.

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

Menachem Behin. 1977. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 179-183

Israel in the Middle East, pp. 301-305, 312-314.

Foreign Policy Issues, The United Nations Security Council Resolution 338, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 331-336.

Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin. 1977. Speeches in the Knesset. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 363-375.

Additional recommended reading:

Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix. Chapter 7.

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

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

Asher Arian, 1981. The 1981 Elections. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 315-330.

Ariel Sharon. 1982. The Lebanon War. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 399-402.

The Kahan Commission. 1983. Report on the 1982 War in Lebanon. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 402-409.

Domestic Issues In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 412-418.

Hamas, The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement, August 1988, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 430-437.

Additional recommended reading:

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.

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

- Lea Ben-Dor. 1971. The Black Panthers, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 234-237.
- Shalom-Chetrit, Sami. 2000. Mizrahi Politics in Israel: Between Integration and Alternative. *Journal of Palestine Studies* 29(4): 51-65.
- Aryeh Dayan. Aryeh Deri's Speech of April 23, 1997. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 459-462.
- 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.
- Azmi Bishara. 1998. Arab Citizens of Palestine: Little to Celebrate. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 467-468.
- Orr Commission. 2003. Report on Clashes between the Security Forces and Israeli Citizens in October 2000, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 479-484.

Additional recommended reading:

- Liebman, Charles. 1993. Religion and Democracy in Israel. In *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*, eds. E. Sprinzak and L. Diamond. Lynne Rienner Publishers. Pp. 273-292.

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

- James Baker. 1991. The Madrid Middle East Conference, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 437-439.
- Yitzhak Rabin. 1992. Speech to the Knesset on the 1992 Elections, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 446-450.
- Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 490-493, 502-505
- Hamas. Opposition to any Accommodation with Israel, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 500-502.
- Shamgar Commission. 1996. Report on Yitzhak Rabin Assassination, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 456-459.

Additional recommended reading:

- Peri, Yoram. 1993. The Arab-Israeli Conflict and Israeli Democracy. In *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*, eds. Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond. Pp. 343-357.
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo. 2006. *Scars of War, Wounds of Peace: The Israeli-Arab Tragedy*. London: Phoenix. Chapter 8-9.

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

- Israel Supreme Court, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 450-456.
- Hofnung, Menachem. 1996. The Unintended Consequences of Unplanned Constitutional Reform: Constitutional Politics in Israel. *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 44: 585-604.
- Ehud Eiran. Revolution and Counterrvolution: The Israeli Supreme Court from the 1980s Onwards, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 484-487.

Additional recommended reading:

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.

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

Yair Tzaban. The Quandaries of an Israeli Minister of Absorption. In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 419-420.

Anna Isakova. 1998. A Russian Immigrant Looks at Israeli (or Jewish?) Culture, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 468-470.

Micha Feldman. The Ethiopian Emigration, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 421-422.

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

Neeman Commission. 1998. Report on the Conversion Law, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 463-466.

Reuven Hazan. The 1996 and 1999 Elections in Israel, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 471-476.

Avirama Golan. 1999. Between the Lines of the Election Results, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 477-487.

William Jefferson Clinton. 2000. Proposal for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 518-521.

Additional recommended reading:

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

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.

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

Government of Israel. 2004. Resolution regarding the Disengagement Plan, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 543-544.

Ehud Olmert. 2006. Speech to the Knesset on Israel's New Government, and on the Israel-Hezbollah War, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 553-555.

Grossman, David. 2006. Speech at the Rabin Memorial Ceremony, Tel Aviv, In *Israel in the Middle East*, pp. 560-564.

Additional recommended reading:

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; Chapter 1.

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