ISRAELI POLITICS AT A CROSSROADS
POLSCI
2006 FALL 199BS-01

PROFESSOR GABRIEL SHEFFER

Seminar goal and main topics:
Israeli citizens and academics and journalists in Israel and abroad feel and argue that Israeli democracy is flawed. Some observers even maintain that Israeli democracy is in the midst of a crisis. Most of these observers share the view that Israeli politics is at a crossroads. The purpose of this seminar is to examine in depth these and similar arguments about the situation of Israeli democracy, political culture and its structural and institutional characteristics, all of which are very different from the American system.

In this vein, the seminar will deal with the following issues: The roots of the Israeli political system – that is, the main characteristics of the political system and politics during the Yishuv (the Jewish Community in Palestine prior to the establishment of the State of Israel) period; the politics and development of the Israeli political system during three distinct periods from 1948 until the beginning of the 21st century; socialization processes and the impacts of the Israel social structure (the class structure, religious-secular, and Jewish-Israeli Palestinian relations) on current Israeli politics; the main characteristics of current Israeli political culture – values, ethics and behavioral patterns; ideological controversies and conflicts; the main institutional characteristics of the current Israeli political system – leadership, elites, elections, parties, the Knesset (the Israeli parliament), the Executive branch, the Bureaucracy, the Judiciary, Local-Government, and the Israeli "Security Network"; the main changes that have occurred as a result of the 2006 elections; civil-society and politics; is Israel an ethnic-democracy?; the major threats and challenges facing the Israeli political system and politics at the present crossroads.

Seminar requirements:
- Regular attendance in the seminar's meetings and participation in its discussions (20% of the final grade);
- Regular readings of all required bibliographical items and optional reading of the recommended items. All books can be found in the library.
- Mid-term short research paper (topics will be given by me). Submission of this paper in mid October (20% of the final grade);
- Presentation in class of the main issues of the final seminar paper (the selection of the seminar paper's topic and research questions will be done in a personal meeting with me).
- Submission of seminar paper beginning of December (60% of the final grade).

Reading assignments:
The main required readings are from the following three textbooks that can be purchased in Duke Textbook Store:
Alan Dowty. *The Jewish State: A Century Later*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Alan Arian, *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*, Washington DC: CQ Press, 2005.
Ami Pedahzur, *The Israeli Response to Jewish Extremism and Violence: Defending Democracy*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

As noted above, I have added many recommended books and articles that may help in writing your two papers.

Office hours:
Wednesdays, 2:30-4:30 in room 408 Perkins Library. I can be reached at tel. 660-430, or at msgabi@huji.ac.il

Topics and Reading assignments:

I. Introduction

Required reading:
1. Alan Dowty, *The Jewish State. A Century Later,* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, chapter 1.
2. Michael N. Barnett, "The Politics of Uniqueness: The Status of the Israeli Case," in Michael Barnett, ed. *Israel in Comparative Perspective: Challenging the Conventional Wisdom*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996.

II. The Political System and Politics During the Yishuv Period and their Impact on Israeli Politics.
Required reading:
1. Dowty, chapters 2-3.
2. Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel,* New York: Knopf, 1979, chapters xiv, xx.

Recommended readings:
1. Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, "Authority Without Sovereignty: The Case of the Jewish Community in Palestine," Government and Opposition, Vol. 8, No. 1, (Winter, 1973) pp. 48-71.
2. Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine Under the Mandate,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978.
3. Peter Medding, *The Founding of Israeli Democracy 1948-1967*, Oxford: University Press, 1990.
4. Ilan Troen and Noach Lucas, eds. *Israel*: *The First Decade of Independence*, New York: SUNY Press, 1995.

III. The Impacts of the Israeli Social Structure on Politics
Required Readings:
1. Alan Arian, *The Second Republic: Politics in Israel*, Washington DC: CQ Press, 2005. chapter 2.
2. Dowty, chapter 7 and 8.

3. Ami Pedahzur, *The Israeli Response to Jewish Extremism and Violence: Defending Democracy*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002, chapter 1.

Recommended readings:

1. Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, *The Transformation of Israeli Society: An Essay in Interpretation*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985.
2. Yael Tamir, *Liberal Nationalism,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
3. Baruch Kimmerling, *The Invention and Decline of Israeliness: State, Society, and the Military*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001.
4. Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled, *Being Israeli: The Dynamics of Multiple Citizenships*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
5. Joel Migdal*, Through the Lens Of Israel: Explorations in State and Society*, Albany, SUNY Press, 2002.
6. Calvin Goldscheider, *Israel's Changing Society: Population, Ethnicity, and Development*, Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002.
7. Uzi Rebhun and Chaim Waxman, eds., *Jews in Israel: Contemporary Social and Cultural Patterns* Hanover and London: University Press of America, 2004.
8. Uzi Rebhun, "Major Trends in the Development of Israeli Jews: A Synthesis of the Last Century" in Uzi Rebhun and Chaim I. Waxman, eds., Jews in Israel: Contemporary social and Cultural Patterns (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2004), pp. 3-19
9. Anita Shapira, ed., *Israeli Identity in Transition*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 2004.

IV. Israeli Politics and Political System During Three Distinct Periods

Required readings:
1. Dowty, chapters 4 and 6.
2. Arian, chapter 3.
3. Ami Pedahzur, chapter 2.

Recommended readings:
1. Howard Sachar, *A History of Israel, Vol. II,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
2. Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, "Two Reversals in Israeli Politics: Why 1992
Was Not 1997," in *Electoral Studies*, 12,4, December 1993.
3. Menachem Hofnung, *Democracy, Law and National Security in Israel*, Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing Co. 1996.
5. David Levy-Faur, Gabi Sheffer and David Vogel, eds., *Israel in Comparative Perspective: The Dynamics of Change*, London: Frank Cass, 1999
6. Adam Garfinkle, *Politics and Society in Modern Israel: Myths and Realities*, Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2000.
7. Gregory Mahler, ed., *Israel*, Aldershot: Dartmouth, 2000.
8. Leslie Stein, *The Hope Fulfilled: The Rise of Modern Israel*, Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003.

V. Israeli Political Culture and Ideological Controversies

Required readings:

1. Arian, chapters 8, 12.
2. Dowty, chapters 6, 8.

Recommended Readings:
1. Baruch Kimmerling, "Between the Primordial and the Civil Definitions of the Collective Identity: Erez Israel or the State of Israel?" in Eric Cohen, Moshe Lissak and Uri Almagor, eds. *Comparative Social Dynamics*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1985.
2. Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Trouble in Utopia. The Overburdened Polity of Israel*, Albany, SUNY, 1989. Ch. 3.
3. Yaron Ezrahi, "Democratic Politics and Culture in Modern Israel: Recent Trends" in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, *eds., Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Boulder: Lynne Reiner, 1993.
4. Moshe Lissak, "Dominant Political Culture and Political Mutations in Israel" in Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed. *Challenges to Democracy: Essays in Honor and Memory of Isaiah Berlin*, Aldershot, Hants, England: Brookfield, Ashgate, 2000.
5. Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity: the Secular-Religious Impasse*, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
6. Jonathan Mendilow, *Ideology, Party Change, and Electoral Campaigns in Israel, 1965-2001*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

VI-VII. The Main Institutional Characteristics of the Political System

Required readings:
1. Arian, chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11.

Recommended readings:
1. Mahler,
2. Garfinkel,
3. Stein,
4. Shimon Shetreet, *Justice in Israel: A Study of the Israeli Judiciary,* Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994.
5. Don Peretz and Giedon Doron, *The Government and Politics of Israel,* Boulder, CO: Wesview Press, 1997.
6. Hazan Reuven and Moshe Maor, eds., *Parties, elections, and cleavages: Israel in comparative and theoretical perspective.* London ; Portland, OR : Frank Cass, 2000

VIII. Civil-Military Relations.

Required readings:
1. Dowty, chapter 5.
2. Gabriel Sheffer, "Has Israel Really Been a Garrison Democracy? Sources of Transformation in Israeli Democracy," in *Israel Affairs*, vol. 3, no. 1, Autumn, 1996.
3. Oren Barak and Gabriel Sheffer, "Israel's 'Security Network and its Impcat. An Exploration of a New Approach" in *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* Vol. 38, 2006.

Recommended readings:

1.Yoram Peri, *Between Battles and Ballots: Israeli Military in Politics,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

2. Avner Yaniv, eds. *National Security and Democracy in Israel*, Boulder, CO.: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 1993.

3. Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds. *Israeli Democracy under Stress.* Boulder: Lynne Reiner, 1993.

3. Yoram Peri, "Ideological Portrait of the Israeli Military Elite," in *The Jerusalem Quarterly*, No. 3, Spring 1977.

4. Yaron Ezrahi, *Rubber Bullets: Power and Conscience in Modern Israel,* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997.

5. Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics,* New York: Free Press, 1999.

6. Edna Lumsky-Feder and Eyal Ben Ari, eds., *The Military and Militarism in Israeli Society.* Albany: SUNI Press, 1999.

7. Uri Bar-Joseph, ed., *Israel's National Security: Towards the 21st Century.* Portland: Frank Cass, 2001.

8. Yoram Peri, *Generals in the Cabinet Room: How the Military Shapes Israeli Policies,* Washington DC: USIP, 2006.

IX. Is Israel an Ethnic-Democracy?:

Required readings:

1. Sammy Smooha, "The Model of Ethnic Democracy: Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State," *Nations and Nationalism* 8, 4 (October).

2. Yoav Peled, "Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State," in *American Political Science Review,* 86, 2 June 1992.

3. As'ad Ghanem, Nadim Rouhana and Oren Yiftachel, "Questioning 'Ethnic Democracy': A Response to Sammy Smooha," *Israel Studies,* vol. 3, 1998, 2.

4. Alan Dowty, "Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the Ethnic Democracy Debate", in *Israel Studies,* Volume 4, 1999, Number 2.

5. Gavison Ruth, "Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the "Ethnic Democracy" Debate", *Israel Studies*, Vol. 4, No 1, 1999.

6. Sammy Smooha, "Is Israel Western?" in Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Yitzhak Sternberg, eds. *Comparing Modernities: Pluralism versus Homogeneity: Essays in Homage to Shmuel N. Eisenstadt*, Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005.

Recommended readings:

1. Jacob Landau, The Arabs in Israel, London: 1991.

2. Jacob Landau, Y. The Arab Minority in Israel: 1967-1991. London: Oxford University Press, 1993.

3. Ghanem Asad, *The Palestinian-Arab minority in Israel, 1948-2000: a political study*. Albany : State University of New York Press, 2001.

X-XI. Major Threats and Challenges Facing the Israeli Political System and Politics.

Required readings:
1. Pedahzur, chapters Introduction, chapters 2, 3, 4, 5.
Recommended reading:
1. Raphael Cohen-Almagor, ed. *Israeli Democracy at the Crossroads* New York: Routledge Curzon , 2004.

XII-XIV. Presentations in Class by Participants

Additional Recommended Reading:
- Asher Arian, David Nachmias, and Ruth Amir, *Executive Governance in Israel*, New York : Palgrave in association with International Political Science Association, 2002.
- Hillel Frisch, *Countdown to Statehood: Palestinian State Formation in the West Bank and Gaza*, SUNY Press, 1997.
- Mordechai Gazit, *Israeli Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace*. London: Frank Cass, 2002.
- Yoram Hazony, *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel's Soul*. New York: 2001.
- Ron Harris, Alexandre Kedar and Pnina Lahav eds., *The history of law in a multicultural society : Israel 1917-1967*. Aldershot : Ashgate, 2002
- Gary Jacobson, *Apple of Gold: Constitutionalism in Israel and the United States.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Michael Oren, *Six Days of War : June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East.* New York : Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Aviezer Ravitsky, Messianism, Zionism, and Jewish Religious Radicalism, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Itzhak Zamir and Colombo, eds., *The Law of Israel: General Surveys,* Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1995.