

Tufts University
Fall 2010
Tues./Thurs., 1:30-2:45
Eaton 206

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Office Hours:
Tues./Thurs., 12:00-1:00
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PS 138-07

Democracy in Theory and Israel in Practice

Democracy is characterized by inherent tensions and paradoxes, e.g., between governability and representation, majority role vs. minority rights. It encompasses conflicting principles such as these, which make it, as Plato said, “a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder,” but also a very fragile one.

In this course, we will examine the theoretical tensions that exist in the theory of democracy, and we will see how these tensions are reflected in Israeli Democracy. During each class, we will examine a major tension or paradox in democracy, and the form that it assumes in the Israeli context. This will enable us to learn more about democracy, in general, and deepen our understanding of Israeli democracy, in particular.

Regarding democratic theory, we will discover how tolerance of these tensions strengthens the foundations of democracy, and we will determine what checks and balances enable democracy to sustain these inner conflicts. With regard to Israeli democracy, we will diagnose the balance between these conflicting poles, and by doing so, we will identify the solid foundations of Israeli democracy and the sources of its fragility. We will also trace the pathologies of Israeli democracy, as well as its healthy foundations.

* The class will be conducted on a lecture format followed by a discussion.

Grades

Grades will be determined as follows:

- a) 20% Midterm exam (in class)
 - b) 50% Final take-home exam
 - c) 20% Two Written Events Analysis
 - d) 10% Attendance and participation in class
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- a) The midterm exam will be held on October 19th in class. It will be composed of 10 questions about the reading material and material presented in class. The questions will be informative by nature, and will require definitions of concepts and knowledge of basic data.
 - b) The final exam will be a home exam. It will be given to you on #### and you will have to submit it due to #####. The exam will include a list of eight questions and you will have to choose four to answer upon. These questions will have a theoretical aspect regarding the theory of democracy as well as an Israeli aspect. In your answer you should integrate class material, reading material and independent views. You might discuss the subjects with your class mates, but I trust you to write the exam on your own!!!
 - c) During the term you will need to hand in two events analysis that are related to the subjects we discuss in class (3-5 pages). You can choose either a current event of Israeli politics or an historical one. The analysis should integrate reading material, class discussions and independent research about the event. Notice: You are responsible for submitting two events analysis during the term. I suggest you plan a head your assignments schedule so it won't be left for the last minute.
 - d) See Attendance and Participation below.

Grades Scale

All assignments (written, oral, exams) will be given a numerical grade on the following scale:

A	93-100	B-	80-82	D+	67-69
A-	90-92	C+	77-79	D	63-66
B+	87-89	C	73-76	D-	60-62
B	83-86	C-	70-72	F	59 and below

Attendance and Participation in Class

Attendance: Regular attendance and timeliness are important. more than two absences (without proper excuse) will affect your participation grade, and absence from more than a third of the classes will automatically result in a failing grade. Students arriving late will generally be counted as absent.

Participation: Participation in class discussions is welcomed and expected. Reading assignments for each class is obligatory and it will also enhance and improve the quality of your participation. *Participating in class can only improve your grade and it will not harm it in anyway.*

Students are encouraged to keep up on current events relating to Israel. If you wish you can present in class a current event that is connected to the class subjects. I recommend reading an Israeli newspaper for ideas (www.haaretz.com or www.jpost.com or www.ynetnews.com) as well as an American one such as the NY Times or the Washington Post.

Honesty

The university's policy on academic honesty will be strictly adhered to. *For more information on plagiarism and the proper citing of sources, see:*

<http://uss.tufts.edu/arc/writingresources/plagiarism.asp>

Useful links:

*The Israeli Parliament (the Knesset) website: www.knesset.gov.il

Where you can find, for example, a lexicon of terms:

http://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/cindex_eng.htm

*The Israeli Democracy Institute:

<http://www.idi.org.il/SITES/ENGLISH/Pages/homepage.aspx>

Where you can find: The Israeli Democracy Index (2003-2009)

<http://www.idi.org.il/sites/english/ResearchAndPrograms/The%20Israeli%20Democracy%20Index/Pages/TheIsraeliDemocracyIndex.aspx>

*Jewish Virtual Library: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/index.html>

“Israel Studies: An Anthology”

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/text/anthologycivr.html>

You can also find in the site a glossary:

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/gloss.html>

Schedule of Classes and Reading Assignments

- Sep. 7 Introduction - Democracy in theory and Israel in practice (part I)
- Sep. 9 Introduction - Democracy in theory and Israel in practice (part II)
- Dahl Robert. (2000). *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 7-25, 35-61, 192-195.
 - Diamond, Larry (1993). "Democracy as Paradox," in: *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, Diamond, Larry and Ehud Sprinzak (Eds.).Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 21-43.
 - Lijphart, Arend. (1994). Democracies: Forms, performance and constitutional engineering. *European Journal of Political Research*, **25**, pp. 1-17.
[http://ipw-hsg.spsr.ch/caramani/Lijphart%20\(1994\).pdf](http://ipw-hsg.spsr.ch/caramani/Lijphart%20(1994).pdf)
- Sep. 14 Israel – an Overview
- Sep. 16 Israel – Historical introduction (part I)
- Israel's Declaration of independence:
http://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm
- Sep. 21 Israel – Historical introduction (part II), Wars & Peace
- Golan, Galia (2009). "The Peace Process." *Israel Studies: An Anthology*, Mitchell G. Bard and David Nachmias (Eds.),
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/text/golan.html>
- Sep. 23 Israel – United in Diversity? – An Introduction to Israeli Society
- Ben-Porat, Guy (2009). Multicultural Realities. *Israel Studies: An Anthology* (Mitchell G. Bard and David Nachmias (Eds)). Jewish Virtual Library Publications.

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/text/benporat.html>

Sep. 28 No Class

Sep. 30 Israel – The Labyrinth: an Introduction to the Israeli political system

- Nachmias, David (2009). “National Government Institutions”. *Israel Studies: An Anthology* (Mitchell G. Bard and David Nachmias (Eds). Jewish Virtual Library Publications.
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/text/nachmias.html>
- Chazan, Naomi (2005). “The Knesset.” *Israel Affairs*, 11(2), pp. 392-416.
- Yaccobi, Gad (2005). “The Government.” *Israel Affairs*, 11 (2), pp. 376-391.

Oct. 5, 7 Governability Vs. Representation

- *Israel’s Electoral System
- *Coalition Governments in Israel
- *Direct Democracy – an illness or a cure?

- Lijphart, Arend (1993). Israeli Democracy and Democratic Reform in Comparative Perspective.” In: Sprinzak Ehud and Diamond Larry (Eds.). *Israeli Democracy under Stress*, pp. 107-123.
- Bogdanor Vernon (1993). “The Electoral System, Government and Democracy.”. In: Sprinzak Ehud and Diamond Larry (Eds.). *Israeli Democracy under Stress*. pp. 83-106.
- Hazan, Reuven Y. (1996). “Presidential-Parliamentarism: Direct Popular Election of the Prime Minister, Israel’s New Electoral and Political System”, *Electoral Studies*, 15 (1), pp. 21-37.
- Kenig, Ofer, Rahat Gideon and Hazan, Reuven Y. (2005). “The Political Consequences of the Introduction and the Repeal of the Direct Elections for the Prime Minister”, in Asher Arian and Michal Shamir (eds.) *The Elections in Israel 2003*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, pp. 33-61.

- Arieli-Horowitz, Dana (2002). “Referenda in a Post-Consociational Democracy, The Case of Israel”. *Israel Affairs*, 8 (1-2), pp. 146-160.

Oct. 12, 14 Majority Rule Vs. Minority Rights

*The Arab Minority in Israel

- Rekhess, Elie (2007). “The Evolvement of an Arab-Palestinian National Minority in Israel”, *Israel Studies*, Vol. 12 (3), pp. 1-28.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v012/12.3rekhess.pdf
- Ghanem, Asad (2001). *The Palestinian-Arab Minority in Israel, 1948-2000: A Political Study*. Albany : State University of New York Press, pp. 1-30, 157-174.

Oct. 19 **Midterm Exam (in class)**

Oct. 21, 26 Consensus Vs. Conflict

- * Multicultural society?
- *Social divisions of Israeli Society
- *Immigration
- *Socio-Economic Gaps
- *Ideological camps

- Smooha, Sammy (2002). “Types of Democracy and Modes of Conflict Management in Ethnically Divided Societies.” *Nations and Nationalism*, 8 (4), 423-431.
- Smooha, Sammy (1993). “Class, Ethnic, and National Cleavages and Democracy in Israel,” in Sprinzak and Diamond (eds.), *Israeli Democracy Under Stress*, 309-342.
- Ya’ar, Ephraim. (2005). Continuity and Change in Israeli Society: The Test of The Melting Pot.” *Israel Studies*, 10(2), 91-128.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v010/10.2yaar.pdf
- Smooha, Sammy (2008). “The Mass Immigrations to Israel: A Comparison of the Failure of the Mizrahi Immigrants of the 1950s with

the Success of the Russian Immigrants of the 1990s”, *The Journal of Israeli History*, Vol. 27 (1), pp. 1-27.

- Waxman, Dov (2008), “From Controversy to Consensus: Cultural Conflict and the Israeli Debate over Territorial Withdrawal”, *Israel Studies*, 13 (2), pp. 73-96.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v013/13.2.waxman.pdf

Oct. 28, Nov. 2 Religion and/or State

*The tension between Jewish and Democratic state.

- Fradkin, Hillel. (2004). “Judaism and Political Life.” *Journal of Democracy*, 15 (3), pp. 122-136.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v015/15.3fradkin.pdf
- Barak, Aharon (2009). The Values of The State of Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State. *Israel Studies: An Anthology* (Mitchell G. Bard and David Nachmias (Eds). Jewish Virtual Library Publications.
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/text/barak.html>
- Kasher, Asa. “A Jewish and Democratic State: Present Navigation in the Map of Interpretations”. *Israel Affairs*, 11(1), pp. 165-182.
- Ravitzki Aviezer (2005). Is a Halakhic State Possible: The Paradox of Jewish Theocracy. *Israel Affairs*, 11 (1), 137-164.

Nov. 4, 9 Constitution: With or Without it?

*The historical debate about the constitution
*The basic laws
*Current obstacles to constitution formation

- Dahl, Robert, *On Democracy*, 1998, pp. 119-129.

- Rubinstein, Amnon. "Israel's Partial Constitution: The Basic Laws." *Israel Studies: An Anthology* (Mitchell G. Bard and David Nachmias (Eds). Jewish Virtual Library Publications. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/isdf/text/Rubinstein.html>
- Gavison, Ruth (2003). "Constitutions and Political Reconstructions: Israel's Quest for a Constitution." *International Sociology*, 18 (1), pp. 53-70.
- Shamgar, Meir (2005). "On the Need for a Constitution." *Israel Affairs*, 11(2), pp. 345-358.

[Nov. 11 *Veterans' day – No class]

Nov. 16,18 Defensive Democracy Vs. Civic and Human Rights

*Security Threats and democratic rights

- Kretzmer, David. (2005). "Human Rights." *Israel Affairs*, 11(1), 39-65.
- Navot, Suzi (2008). "Fighting Terrorism in The Political Arena: The Banning of Political Parties." *Party Politics*, 14 (6), pp. 745-762.
- Barak-Erez, Dafna. (2008). "Israel Citizenship and Immigration Law in the Vise of Security, Nationality and Human Rights". *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 6 (1), 184-192.

Nov. 23 Political Participation Vs. Anti-Democracy/Politics

*Patterns of political Participation

*Anti-politics trends

Herman, Tamar, Lebel, Yuval and Zaban, Hila. (2008). Anti – politics.

<http://www.idi.org.il/sites/english/ResearchAndPrograms/PoliticsandAntiPolitics/Pages/Anti-Politics.aspx>

Herman, Tamar. (2010). The Emergence of Antipolitical Sentiment in Israel.

<http://www.idi.org.il/sites/english/ResearchAndPrograms/PoliticsandAntiPolitics/Pages/TheEmergenceofAntipolitics.aspx>

[Nov. 25 *Thanksgiving – No class]

Nov. 30 Political Participation Vs. Anti-Democracy/Politics

*Ideological extremism and violence
*Rabin's Assassination

- Sprinzak, Ehud (2000). Extremism and Violence in Israeli Democracy. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 12 (3-4), 209-236.
- Aronoff, Myron, Joel (1999). Political Violence and Extremism (Review). *Israel Studies*, 4 (2), 237-246.
http://rpproxy.iii.com:9797/MuseSessionID=c1e3a214febf0cb93d3e34e6fe5577/MuseHost=muse.jhu.edu/MusePath/journals/israel_studies/v004/4.2aronoff.pdf

Dec. 2 The "Democratic State" (of mind) of Israel

- Israel Democracy Institute. The Democracy Index, 2009, pp. 17-48.
http://www.idi.org.il/sites/english/PublicationsCatalog/Documents/Democracy_Index%2009.pdf

Dec. 7 Conclusion

- Smooha, Sammy (1997). "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype", *Israel Studies*, 2 (2), pp. 198-241.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v002/2.2smooha.pdf
- Dowty, Alan (1999). "Is Israel Democratic? Substance and Semantics in the Ethnic Democracy Debate", *Israel Studies*, 4 (2).
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v004/4.2dowty.pdf
- Gavison, Ruth (1999). "Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the "Ethnic Democracy" Debate", *Israel Studies*, 4 (1), 1999.
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/israel_studies/v004/4.1gavison.html
- Almog, Oz. Shifting the centre from nation to individual and universe: The new 'democratic faith' of Israel. *Israel Affairs*, 8 (1), 2002, pp. 31- 42.
- Yonah, Yossi (2005). Israel as a Multicultural Democracy: Challenges and Obstacles. *Israel Affairs*, 11 (1), pp. 95-116.

Dec. 9 Concluding Debate:
Israel - Democracy against all odds or at odds with Democracy?