

Political Science 452
Politics and Society in Israel

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Fall 2001

This course should give you an understanding both of major topics in political analysis—political culture, proportional representation, coalition formation, ethno-politics, the interplay of religion and politics—as well as of the interaction of society and politics in the State of Israel, a relatively new state in a very old land, and one, which despite its small size, confronts many issues of general importance in political life.

Requirements for the course include a final examination and a choice of a mid-term examination or a modest research paper, roughly 10-15 pages in length. You need not decide between the two until the day of the mid-term. If you show up for the mid-term you will take the test and will not be able to opt for a paper. Should you not show up for the mid-term, you will have to write a paper. The mid-term will be given on Monday, October 22. Papers will be due Monday, December 3.

Though not required, it is a good idea to consult with me on your paper topic. I can help you regarding feasibility, sources, form and substance. The recommended readings listed below could help you get started.

My office hours are Wednesdays, 1:30-3:30 in room 207, 611 Church Street. I can be reached at 763-4393 or at zvigitel@umich.edu.

There is no required text for the course. A coursepack is available at Accu-Copy on William Street.

Reading Assignments

I. Political Culture and Ideology: Zionism

1. Mark Tessler, A History of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict, pp 1-68.
2. Arthur Hertzberg, ed., The Zionist Idea, pp. 179-198; 204-226; 331-350; 355-366; 517-523; 605-619.
3. Shlomo Avineri, The Making of Modern Zionism, pp. 3-13; 217-227.

Recommended

David Vital, The Origins of Zionism
Ben Halpern, The Idea of the Jewish State
Walter Laqueur, A History of Zionism

Charles Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, Religion and Politics in Israel (Ch. 4)
Liebman and Don-Yehiya, Civil Religion in Israel
Jacques Kornberg, Theodor Herzl

II. Political Culture: The Yishuv and the Founding of the State

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. Howard M. Sachar, A History of Israel, pp. 279-353.

Recommended

Amos Elon, The Israelis: Founders and Sons
J.C. Hurewitz, The Struggle for Palestine
Moshe Lissak and Dan Horowitz, Origins of the Israeli Polity
Isaiah Friedman, The Question of Palestine: British-Jewish-Arab Relations
Rael Jean Isaac, Party and Politics in Israel
Benny Morris. The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem 1947-1949.
Yehuda Bauer. From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine

III. The Institutional Structure

1. Asher Arian, The Second Republic: Politics in Israel (1998) Ch. 9 (pp. 237-278).
2. "Introduction," Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds. The Elections in Israel 1996, 1-4.

Recommended

S.N. Eisenstadt, Israeli Society
Asher Arian, ed., Israel—A Developing Society

IV. The Party System

1. Yonathan Shapiro, The Formative Years of the Israeli Labor Party, Chapters 7 and 9.
2. Benjamin Akzin, "The Role of Parties in Israeli Democracy," in S. N. Eisenstadt, Rivkah Bar-Yosef and Chaim Adler, eds., Integration and Development in Israel, pp. 9-46.
3. Asher Arian, The Second Republic, Chs. 5 and 6 (pp. 103-177).

Recommended

Myron Aronoff, Israeli Visions and Divisions
Myron Aronoff, Power and Ritual in the Israeli Labor Party
Peter Medding, Mapai in Israel
Asher Arian, ed., The Elections in Israel, 1977

V. Political Leadership and Political Elites

1. David Nachmias, "Coalition Politics in Israel," Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 7, No. 3, (October 1974): pp. 316-333.
2. Gregory Mahler and Richard Trilling, "Coalition Behavior and Cabinet Formation: The Case of Israel," Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 8, No. 2 (July 1975) pp. 200-233.
3. Asher Arian, The Second Republic, Ch. 4 (pp. 73-102)
4. David Nachmias, "Israel's Bureaucratic Elite: Social Structure and Patronage," Public Administration Review 51,1 (September/October 1991), 413-420
5. Daniel Maman, "Elite Structure in Israel: A Socio-Historical Analysis," Journal of Political and Military Sociology, 25,1 (1997)
6. Yoram Peri, "Ideological Portrait of the Israeli Military Elite," The Jerusalem Quarterly, No. 3 (Spring 1977) pp. 28-41.

Recommended

Don Peretz, The Government and Politics of Israel
Moshe Dayan, Story of My Life
Abba Eban, Autobiography
Golda Meir, My Life
Menachem Begin, The Revolt
Yuval Elizur and Eliahu Salpeter, Who Rules Israel
Lester Seligman, Leadership in a New Nation
Yoram Peri, Between Battles and Ballots: Israeli Military in Politics

VI. Political Behavior

1. Asher Arian, "Were the 1973 Elections in Israel Critical?" Comparative Politics, Vol. 8, No. 1, (1975) pp. 156-165
2. Asher Arian, "The Electorate: Israel 1977," in Howard Penniman, ed., Israel at the Polls, pp. 59-89.
3. Paul Abramson, "Generational Replacement, Ethnic Change, and Partisan Support in Israel," Journal of Politics 51,3 (1989) pp. 545-574.
4. "Introduction" and Hanna Herzog, "Was it on the Agenda? The Hidden Agenda of the 1988 Campaign" in Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds., The Elections in Israel 1988, pp. 1-12; 37-64.
5. Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, "Two Reversals in Israeli Politics: Why 1992 Was Not 1997," Electoral Studies 12,4 (December 1993), pp. 315-341.
6. "Introduction," in Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds., The Elections in Israel 1996, pp. 4-23.

Recommended

Asher Arian, The Choosing People
Howard Penniman, ed., Israel at the Polls
Yael Yishai, Land of Paradoxes: Interest Politics in Israel
Abraham Diskin, Elections and Voters in Israel
Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds., Habehirot beYisrael 1999

VII. Political Socialization and National Integration

1. Myron Weiner, "Political Integration and Political Development," in Jason Finkle and Richard Gable, eds., Political Development and Social Change, pp. 551-562.
2. Daniel Shimshoni, Israeli Democracy: The Middle of the Journey, Ch. 3 (pp. 98-151).
3. Baruch Kimmerling, "Elections as a Battleground Over Collective Identity," in Arian and Shamir, The Elections in Israel 1996, pp. 27-44.
4. Michal Shamir and Asher Arian, "Collective Identity in the 1996 Election," in Arian and Shamir, ibid., pp. 45-65.

Recommended

Shlomo Deshen, Immigrant Voters in Israel
Dorothy Wilner, Nation Building and Community in Israel
Alex Weingrod, Israel: Group Relations in a New Society
Shlomo Deshen and Moshe Shokeid, The Predicament of Homecoming: Cultural and Social Life of North African Immigrants in Israel
Zvi Gitelman, Becoming Israelis

VIII. Ethnicity and Politics: Arabs in Israel

1. Sammy Smooha, "Class, Ethnic and National Cleavages and Democracy in Israel," in Ehud Sprinzak and Larry Diamond, eds., Israeli Democracy Under Stress, pp. 309-342.
2. Ian Lustick, Arabs in the Jewish State, Chapters 4-7.
3. Ilana Kaufman and Rachel Israeli, "The Odd Group Out: The Arab-Palestinian Vote in the 1996 Elections," in Arian and Shamir, The Elections in Israel 1996, pp. 85-115.
4. Yoav Peled, "Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State," American Political Science Review 86,2 (June 1992), pp. 432-443.

Recommended

Jacob Landau, The Arabs in Israel (London, 1991)
Sabri K. Jiryis, The Arabs in Israel (Beirut, 1968 and New York, 1976)
Michael Curtis and Mordecai Chertoff, eds., Israel Social Structure and Change
Yochanan Peres, "Ethnic Relations in Israel," American Journal of Sociology, (May 1971) pp. 1021-1047.
Boas Evron, Jewish State or Israeli Nation?
David Grossman, Sleeping on a Wire: Conversations with Palestinians in Israel
Ori Stendel, The Arabs in Israel
Nadim Rouhana, Palestinians in an Ethnic Jewish State

IX. Ethnicity, Politics and Immigration

1. Zvi Gitelman, Becoming Israelis, pp. 18-115; 250-269; 295-304.

2. Steven Kahan and Chaim Rosen, "Ethiopian Jews in Israel," American Jewish Yearbook 1994, pp. 59-109. **For 2004 ff., use G. Ben-Ezer, "Ethiopian Jews Encounter Israel," Migration and Identity, v. 3, 101-117.**
3. Elazar Leshem and Moshe Sicron, "The Absorption of Soviet Immigrants in Israel," American Jewish Yearbook 1999, pp. 484-522.
4. Zvi Gitelman, Immigration and Identity: The Resettlement and Impact of Soviet Immigrants on Israeli Politics and Society, pp. 42-78.
5. Bernard Reich, Noah Dropkin and Meyrav Wurmser, "Soviet Jewish Immigration and the 1992 Israeli Knesset Elections," Middle East Journal 47,3 (Summer 1993)
6. Edith Rogovin-Frankel, "The Russian Vote in the 1996 Israeli Election," East European Jewish Affairs 26,1 (1996) pp. 3-24. For 2004 ff. add re 199 elections in Arian and "The 'Russian Revolution' in Israeli Politics," in **Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, eds., The Elections in Israel 1999 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 141-164.**

X. Religion and Politics

1. "Religion," in Asher Arian, The Second Republic, 311-323.
2. Charles Liebman and Eliezer Don-Yehiya, Religion and Politics in Israel, chapters 2 and 8.
3. Ian Lustick, For the Land and For the People: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel, pp. 1-71; 177-184.
4. Charles Liebman and Elihu Katz, eds., The Jewishness of Israelis, pp. 1-37; 85-102).

Recommended

Aryeh Rubinstein, "Religious-Party Politics in Israel," Midstream, Vol. 22, No. 1 (January 1976) pp. 27-41.
 Gary Schiff, Tradition and Politics: The Religious Parties of Israel
 Ervin Bernbaum, The Politics of Compromise: State and Religion in Israel
 Articles by Kevin Avruch, Daniel Elazar and Janet Aviad, and by Emanuel Guttman, in Michael Curtis, ed., Religion and Politics in the Middle East
 Norman Zucker, The Coming Crisis in Israel

XI. Domestic Factors in the Arab-Israeli Dispute

1. Yael Yishai, Land or Peace: Whither Israel? (Hoover Institution Press, 1987) pp. 1-27.
2. Ofira Seliktar, "Ethnic Stratification and Foreign Policy in Israeli: Attitudes Toward the Arabs and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," The Middle East Journal Vol. 38 (1984) pp. 34-50.
3. Elie Rekhess, "Israel's Arab Citizens and the Peace Process," in Robert O. Freedman, ed., Israel Under Rabin (Westview, 1995) pp. 189-204.
4. Asher Arian, The Second Republic, 351-366.