ISRAELI POLITICS
Department of Political Science
Tel Aviv University
Fall 2018

INSTRUCTOR:	Dr. Evgeni Klauber
TIME:	Tuesdays & Thursdays 12:15pm-1:45pm
ROOM:	N/A
OFFICE HOURS:	Mondays 13:00-14:00 and by appointment
OFFICE:	Naftali, Room 531
E-MAIL:	klaubere@post.tau.ac.il

Course Description:

This course will examine the central issues currently facing Israeli society and the ongoing debates in Israeli politics. The discussion of Israel's political system will be divided into several distinct, yet analytically related parts: historical roots, societal composition, the legal and judicial system, ideologies, parties, pressure groups, voting behavior and the composition of the Knesset, coalition politics, the government and public policy. Emphasis will be placed on the major political cleavages that tend to determine the nature of Israel's political system: Jews/Arabs, Palestinian/Israeli, religious/secular, Mizrachi/Ashkenazi, rich/poor, civil/military, veterans/new immigrants and, finally, male/female. A discussion on the future of Israel as a Jewish state will conclude the course.

Course Objectives:

- To develop a critical understanding of the leading analytical and theoretical frameworks in Israeli politics;
- To gain a better appreciation of the political challenges faced by Israeli citizens, politicians, and the government in the current globalized world;
- To become able to read, understand, and analyze articles of varying complexity on Israeli politics; become familiar with the resources on Israeli politics and society available through the World Wide Web.

Texts and Readings:
The texts for this course will provide students with the necessary background information and facts for understanding of Israeli politics. The texts will be available on Virtual TAU website and/or will be distributed by e-mail. Additionally, and very importantly, there are a significant number of required readings drawn from current academic journals and periodicals on Israeli politics. These readings also will be available as downloadable documents (Microsoft Word or PDF formats) on the Virtual TAU website and/or distributed by e-mail. The syllabus will be available in both PDF and Word formats so that you can use hyperlinks to the required and recommended readings. It is a requirement of the course that students will be able to access these resources through their own computers or through many computers provided for students' use on campus.

Course Requirements:

This class strongly requires students' attendance and participation. In order to participate actively in the class and to follow up with lectures, you will have to complete the assigned readings before each class. Also, attendance will be taken at the beginning of most classes. I expect you to come to class regularly, and to be on time, while your cellular phones are silenced. Attending at least 85% of lectures is a necessary condition to pass the course. 15% of the grade will be composed from your attendance and participation.

Two equally weighted exams have been scheduled for this course. Each exam is worth 30%, constituting a total of 60% of your final grade. Exams may include multiple choice, short answer identification, and essays. The exams will be cumulative in a sense that students will be expected to draw on concepts and terms learned during each unit of the semester and apply them to the contemporary issues of the Israeli politics. More details regarding the format and materials of each exam will be announced on Virtual TAU prior to the exam.

Another part of your grade (10%) will be a short paper (approximately 2-3 double-spaced pages). The purpose of the assignment is to focus on using the logics of the theories learned in class in order to diagnose a problem in Israeli political life, determine its causes, and suggest potential solutions.

Finally, a long paper (15%), (approximately 4-6 double-spaced pages). You will be asked to write an analytical report on some important issue of the Israeli politics. The topic of the paper will cover issues, or key relationships between concepts of Israeli politics and society that interest you. This assignment will count as 15% of the course grade. Further instructions about the organization and format of the paper will be announced in a timely manner through the Virtual TAU website. All assignments must be printed out (not e-mailed) and submitted to me before the lectures or to my mailbox in Naftali building, fifth floor.

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Grading Summary:

- Attendance and participation: 15%
- Two exams, midterm and final take-home exam (30% each): 60%
- Short paper (2-3 pages): 10%
- Long paper: (4-5 pages): 15%
- Take-home tasks: (will be announced during the semester)

Grading System:

A+ is 97-100%	B- is 80-82%	D is 63-66%
A is 93-96%	C+ is 77-79%	D- is 60-62%
A- is 90-92%	C is 73-76%	F is 59% and under
B+ is 87-89%	C- is 70-72%	
B is 83-86%	D+ is 67-69%	

Academic Honesty, Students with Special Needs, Appealing Grades and Make-ups:

- Any kind of academic dishonesty will be penalized under TAU policy of academic integrity.
- Students who are diagnosed with special needs should see me personally to make their needs known at the beginning of the semester for appropriate accommodations.
- If you believe an error has been made in grading one of your assignments or tests, please inform me and arrange a time to discuss your concerns as soon as possible.
- No make-up exams will be given, except under certain circumstances, such as personal illness, death or critical illness of family members, participation in a university-sponsored event. Special occasions need proper documentation and prior notice to the instructor.

Classroom etiquette, cell phones and laptops

- Please arrive on time.
- Please turn off any device that makes noise; Cell phones should be turned off during class; Laptops should be muted if they are to be used during class.
- Please do not read newspapers and don't send text messages (your phone should be off).
- During the course we will be discussing highly controversial topics, such as Israeli-Arab conflict. Students may have strong feelings that will come in conflict with the feelings of others on these issues. Mutual respect and politeness is required in the classroom at all times.

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Course Schedule and Reading Assignments:[1]

1. Introduction: Research Traditions in Political Science; The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics; Israel the Exceptional?

Required reading:
- Lichbach, M. I., & Zuckerman, A. S. (1997). *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 3-16.
- Garfinkle, A. M. (1997). *Politics and Society in Modern Israel: Myths and Realities*. Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe. Chapter 1, pp. 3-19..

Recommended reading:
- Garfinkle, A. M. (1997). *Politics and Society in Modern Israel: Myths and Realities*. Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe
- Fukuyama, F. (2005) How Academia Failed the Nation: The Decline of Regional Studies, in *Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, Volume 1, Number 1, (Spring 2005), pp. 21-23.
- Green, S. (2002). Rational Choice Theory: An Overview, in *Baylor University Faculty Development Seminar on Rational Choice Theory*, 2002.
- Kohli, A. (1995). The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics: A Symposium, in *World Politics*, Volume 48, Number 1.

2. Power and Influence in Israeli Politics: Who Governs?

Required reading:
- Barnett, M. N., & Duval, R. D. (2005). Power in International Politics, in *International Organization*, 59, 39-75.
- Sharkansky, I. A. F. (March 01, 2003). Toward a Typology of Non-decisions: Three Israeli Cases. *Human Resources Abstracts*, 38, 1, 5-136.
- Lorenzi, M. (2006). *Power: A Radical View*, by Stephen Lukes. ASA
- Shafir, G., & Peled, Y. (2002). *Being Israeli: Dynamics of Multiple Citizenship*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 1-37.

Recommended reading:
- Mandelkern, R., & Shalev, M. (2010). Power and the Ascendance of New Economic Policy Ideas: Lessons from the 1980s Crisis in Israel. *World Politics*, 62, 3, pp. 459-495.
- Lukes, S. (2005). *Power: A Radical View* (2nd ed.). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan

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[1] The course schedule and reading assignments are subject to change under certain circumstances. Any changes will be announced timely in class, and posted on TAU website. It is the student's responsibility to check regularly Virtual TAU website to follow up with updates.

3. Legitimacy and Authority. Legitimacy in Israel and the Occupied Territories

Required reading:
- Lachmann, L. M. (2007). *The Legacy of Max Weber*. London: Heinemann. Introduction, pp. 1-17.
- Sorek, T., & Ceobanu, A. M. (2009). Religiosity, National Identity and Legitimacy: Israel as an Extreme Case. *Sociology*, 43, 3, pp. 477-496.
- Gavison, R. (November 01, 1999). Jewish and Democratic? A Rejoinder to the "Ethnic Democracy" Debate. *Israel Studies*, 4, 1, pp. 44-72.

Recommended reading:
- Bisharat, G. E. (1994). *Land, Law, and Legitimacy in Israel and the Occupied Territories*.
- Avineri, S. (1981). *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*. New York: Basic Books.

4. Toward Statehood: The Zionist Movement and the Jewish Community in Palestine Prior to 1948

Required reading:
- Poggi, G. (1978). *The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press. Chapter 1: The Business of Rule, pp. 1-17.
- Horowitz, D., & Lissak, M. (1973). Authority without Sovereignty: The Case of the National Centre of the Jewish Community in Palestine. *Government and Opposition*, 8, 1, pp. 48-71.
- Spektorowski, A. (2011). Carl Schmitt: Republican Citizenship, Repression and Liberal Rights and Multi-Polarity, in Peled, Y. (ed.), *Democratic Citizenship and War*. New York: Routledge.

Recommended reading:
- Peretz, D. & Doron, G. (1997). *The Government and Politics of Israel*, Harper-Collins Publishers Inc. 1997, Chapter 1: Historical Origins of Israel, pp.1-45.
- Garfinkle, A. (1997). *Politics and Society in Modern Israel: Myths and Realities*. Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe. Chapter 2: In the Beginning, pp.20-55.
- Peled, Y. (2011). *Democratic Citizenship and War.* New York: Routledge.

5. <u>State as a Historical Phenomenon, State-centered Approach to the Development, State-in-Society as Alternative Approach; State Building in Israel and Palestine</u>

Required reading:
- Peretz, D. & Doron, G. (1997). *The Government and Politics of Israel*, Harper-Collins Publishers Inc. 1997, Chapter 1: Historical Origins of Israel, pp.1-45.
- Tilly, C. (1985). War Making and State Making as Organized Crime in *Bringing the State Back*, Evans, P., Rueschemeyer, D., Skocpol T. (eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Migdal, J. (2004). State Building and the Non-Nation-State. *Journal of International Affairs*. Columbia University School of International Public Affairs.

Recommended reading:
- Evans, P. B. (1995). *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Sorensen, G. (2001) War and State-Making - Why doesn't it Work in the Third World? *Security Dialogue*, 32, 3, pp. 341-354.

6. <u>Israel in the International Arena</u>

Required reading:
- Freedman, R. O. (2010), Russia, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: The Putin Years. *Middle East Policy*, 17, pp. 51–63.
- Gilpin, R. (1988). The Theory of Hegemonic War, in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Volume 18, Number 4, pp. 591-613.
- Gilpin, R. (1981). *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-8.

Recommended reading:
- Waltz, K. N. (2007). *Theory of International Politics*. Boston, Mass, McGraw-Hill.
- Gilpin, R. (2002). The Rise of American Hegemony. In K. O'Brien, & A. Clesse (Eds.), *Two Hegemonies: Britain 1846-1914 and the United States 1941-2001*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 165-185.

7. <u>Modernization, Dependency, Colonialism and Neocolonialism in Israeli Politics</u>

Required reading:
- Eisenstadt, S. N. (July 01, 1964). Breakdowns of Modernization. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 12, 4, pp. 345-367.
- Robertson, R. (August 01, 2011). S.N. Eisenstadt: A Sociological Giant. *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 11, 3, pp. 303-311.
- Shafir, G. (April 01, 1996). Israeli Decolonization and Critical Sociology. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 25, 3, pp. 23-35.

Recommended reading:
- Bartram, D. V. (January 01, 1998). Foreign Workers in Israel: History and Theory. *International Migration Review*. 32, 2, Summer 1998, pp. 303-325.

8. <u>Immigration, Political Culture and Israel's Society</u>

Required reading:

- Arian, A. (1989). *Politics in Israel: the Second Generation*, Chaham House, N.J., 1989, Chapter 1, pp. 1-29.
- Goldstein, K. & Gitelman, Z. (2003) "From 'Russians' to Israelis?" in Arian, A. & Shamir, M. (eds.), *The Elections in Israel – 2003*, Transaction, New Brunswick (US) & London (UK), pp. 245-260.
- Hacohen, D. (2003). *Immigrants in Turmoil*, Syracuse University Press. Chapter 8: Immigration during 1948-1998 and its Ramifications on Israeli Society, pp. 251-263.
- Horowitz, T. (2005). The Integration of Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union. *Israel Affairs*, 11, 1, pp. 117-136.
- Lissak, M. (2001). "The Unique Approach to Military-Societal Relations in Israel and its Impact on Foreign and Security Policy", in Sofer, S. (ed.), *Peacemaking in a Divided Society: Israel after Rabin*, Frank Cass, London, pp. 235-255.
- Peri, Y. (2004) *Telepopulism: Media and Politics in Israel*, Stanford University Press, California, Introduction, pp. 1-10.
- Yonah, Y. (2005). Israel as a Multicultural Democracy: Challenges and Obstacles. *Israel Affairs*, 11, 1, pp. 95-116.
- Zameret, Z. (2002) *The Melting Pot in Israel*, State University of New York. Chapter 14: Summing Up: Israel From a "Melting Pot" to a Pluralistic State, pp. 155-160.

9. <u>Israel's Major Institutions: Parliament, Government and the Judiciary</u>

Required reading:

- Chazan, N. (2005). The Knesset. *Israel Affairs*, 11, 2, pp. 392-416.
- Mahler, G. (2004) *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*, Rowmen & Littlefield Publishers, Oxford, Chapter 4: The Constitutional System and Parliamentary Government, pp.117-139, and Chapter 8: The Machinery of Government, pp. 221-247.
- Edelman, M. (1994). The Judicialization of Politics in Israel. *International Political Science Review*, 15, 2, pp. 177-186.
- Barak, A. (1998). The Role of the Supreme Court in a Democracy. *Israel Studies*, 3, 2, pp. 6-29.

Recommended reading:

- Israeli Government's Portal is [here].

10. <u>Elections and Voting</u>

Required reading:

- Bogdanor, V. (1993). "The Electoral System, Government and Democracy," in E. Sprinzak & L. Diamond (eds.) *Israel Democracy Under Stress*, Lynne Rienner Publishers Boulder and London 1993, pp. 83-106.
- Hazan, R. Y. (1997). Executive-Legislative Relations in an Era of Accelerated Reform: Reshaping Government in Israel. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 22, 3, pp. 329-350.
- Lijphart, A. (1993) "Israeli Democracy and Democratic Reform in Comparative Perspective," in E. Sprinzak & L. Diamond (eds.), *Israel Democracy under Stress*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, pp. 107-123.
- Mahler, G. (2004). *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*, Rowmen & Littlefield Publishers, Oxford. Chapter 7: The Electoral Process and Voting Behavior, pp. 193-219.
- Shamir, M., & Arian, A. (1999). Collective Identity and Electoral Competition in Israel. *The American Political Science Review*, 93, 2, pp. 265-277.

11. <u>Parties and Interest Groups</u>

Required reading:

- Arian, A. & Shamir, M. (2005). "On Mistaking a Dominant Party in a Dealingnment System" in Arian A. & Shamir, M. (eds.), *The Election in Israel – 2003*, Transaction New Brunswick (USA), and London (UK), pp.13-31.
- Goldberg, G. (1998). Trade Unions and Party Politics in Israel: The Decline of Party Identification. *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies*, 23, 1, pp. 51-70.
- Mahler, G. (2004). Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Chapter 6: Political Parties and Interest Groups, pp. 171-191.
- Yishai, Y. (2001). Bringing Society Back In: Post-Cartel Parties in Israel. *Party Politics*, 7, 6, pp. 667-687.

12. <u>Coalition Politics in Israel</u>

Required reading:

- Horowitz, D. (1977). More than a Change in Government. *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 5, pp. 3-20.
- Mahler, G. (2004). Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Chapter 5: The Prime Minister and the Knesset, pp. 141-169.
- Mahler, G. & Trilling, R. (1975). Coalition Behavior and Cabinet Formation: The Case of Israel. *Comparative Political Studies*, 8, pp. 200-233.

13. Public Policy in Israel
Required reading:

- Korn, D. (2002). *Public Policy in Israel: Perspectives and Practices*, Lexington Books, Introduction, pp.1-6.
- Don-Yehiya, E. (2002). "Public Policy and Management of Major Political Cleavages," in Korn D. (ed.) *Public Policy in Israel: Perspectives and Practices*, Lexington Books, 2002, pp.9-30.
- Nachmias, D. & Arbel-Ganz, O. (2005). The Crisis of Governance: Government Instability and the Civil Service. *Israel Affairs*, 11, 2, pp. 281-302.
- Peretz, D. & Doron, G. (1997). *Government and Politics of Israel*, Harper Collins Publishers Inc., Chapter 7: Government Administration and Public Policy, pp.208-243.
- Sharkansky, I. (1993). "Israel's Political Economy," in Sprinzak, E. & Diamond, L. (eds.), *Israel Democracy Under Stress*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder and London, pp.153-170.

14. The National Issue: Israeli Jews, Palestinians and the Arab World
Required reading:

- Allon, Y. (1976). Israel: The Case for Defensible Borders. *Foreign Affairs*, 55, 1, pp. 38-53.
- Arian, A. (1995) *Security Threatened: Surveying Israeli Opinion on Peace and War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 254-271.
- Grinberg, L. (1994). A Theoretical Framework for the Analysis of the Israeli Palestinian Peace Process. *International Review of Sociology*, 5, 1, pp. 68-89.
- Shlaim, A. (1994). Prelude to the Accord: Likud, Labor, and the Palestinians. Journal of Palestine Studies, 23, 2, pp. 5-19.
- Ross, D. (2004). *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Prologue, pp. 1-14.

Recommended reading:

- Ross, D. (2007). *Statecraft: And How to Restore America's Standing in the World*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Recommended videos:

- Dennis Ross - Middle East Peace Conference, William S. Boyd School of Law is [here](#).

15. <u>Israeli Arabs: Israel as an Ethnic Democracy</u>

Required reading:

- Jamal, A. (2002). Beyond "Ethnic Democracy": State Structure, Multicultural Conflict and Differentiated Citizenship in Israel. *New Political Science*, 24, 3, pp. 411-431.
- Kook, R. (1995). Dilemmas of Ethnic Minorities in Democracies: The Effect of Peace on the Palestinians in Israel. *Politics & Society*, 23, 3, pp. 309-336.
- Smooha, S. (1990). Minority Status in an Ethnic Democracy: The Status of the Arab Minority in Israel. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13, 3, pp. 389-413.
- Peled, Y. (1992). Ethnic Democracy and the Legal Construction of Citizenship: Arab Citizens of the Jewish State. *The American Political Science Review*, 86, 2, pp. 432-443.

16. <u>State and Religion: Judaism in the Jewish State</u>

Required reading:

- Cohen, A., & Susser, B. (1996). From Accommodation to Decision: Transformations in Israel's Religio-Political Life. *A Journal of Church and State*, 38, 4, pp. 817-839.
- Englard, I. (1987). Law and Religion in Israel. *The American Journal of Comparative Law*, 35, 1, pp. 185-208.
- Mahler, G. (2004). *Politics and Government in Israel: The Maturation of a Modern State*. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Chapter 2: Zionism, Religion and the Domestic Political Environment, pp. 53-88.
- C. Waxman, C. (2000). "Religio-Poilitics and Social Unity in Israel: Israel's Religious Parties" in Robert O. Freedman (ed.), *Israel's First Fifty Years*, Florida University Press, Gaineville, pp. 162-179.

17. The Socio-Economic Cleavage in Israel

Required reading:

- Almog, O. (2002). "Shifting the Centre from Nation to Individual and Universe: The New 'Democratic Faith' of Israel", in E. Karsh (ed.) *Israel: The First Hundred Years*, Frank Cass Publishers, London, pp. 31-42.
- Bernstein, D., & Swirski, S. (1982). The Rapid Economic Development of Israel and the Emergence of the Ethnic Division of Labour. *British Journal of Sociology*, 33, 1, pp. 64-85.
- Seliktar, O. (2000). "The Changing Political Economy of Israel: From Agricultural Pioneers to the "Silicon Valley" of the Middle East", in Robert O. Freedman (ed.) *Israel: First Fifty Years*, Florida University Press, Gaineville, pp.197-218.
- Zilberfarb, B. (2005). From Socialism to Free Market - The Israeli Economy, 1948-2003. *Israel Affairs*, 11, 1, pp. 12-22.
- Hermann, T. (2003). Do They Have a Chance? Protest and Political Structure of Opportunities in Israel. *Israel Studies*, 1, 1, pp. 144-170.

18. Gender Issues in the Israeli Politics

Required reading:

- Kuntsman, A. (2008). The Soldier and the Terrorist: Sexy Nationalism, Queer Violence. *Sexualities*, 11, pp. 142-170.
- Shakdiel, L. (2002). Women of the Wall: Radical Feminism as an Opportunity for a New Discourse in Israel. *The Journal of Israeli History*, 21, pp. 126-163.
- Halperin-Kaddari, R. & Yadgar, Y. (2010) Religion, Politics and Gender Equality among Jews in Israel. Final Research Report prepared for the project *Religion, Politics and Gender Equality*, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

19. The Future of Israel as a Jewish State.

Required reading:

- Gruen, G. (2000) "Israel and the American Jewish Community: Changing Realities Test Traditional Ties," in Freedman, R. (ed.), *Israel's First Fifty Years*, University Press of Florida, Gaineville, pp. 29-66.
- Seliktar, O. (2002). Divided we Stand: American Jews, Israel, and the Peace Process. Westport, Conn: Praege, pp. xiii-xvi and pp. 207-210.
- Shain, Y., & Sherman, M. (1998). Dynamics of Disintegration: Diaspora, Secession and the Paradox of Nation-states. *Nations and Nationalism: Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 4, 3, pp. 321-346.
- Grinberg, L. (2010). The Israeli-Palestinian Union: The "1-2-7 states" Vision of the Future. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 39, 2, pp. 46-53.