

Contents

List of Figures, Tables, Maps, and Boxes	xi
Preface	xv
Introduction: The Study of Israel in Comparative Context	1
What Do We Study?	1
How Do We Study Politics?	2
Studying Political Institutions and Behavior	4
Studying Israeli Government and Politics	5
Notes	10
Part I: The Political Setting	
1 History and the Creation of Israel	13
Historical Roots of Contemporary Israel	15
The Emergence of Zionism, 1830–1917	17
Growth of the <i>Yishuv</i> , 1880–1939	20
The Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate Period, 1917–1947	23
World War II and the Holocaust	33
Transition to Statehood, 1945–1948	34
The Palestinians	38
History and the Creation of Israel	42
Suggested Reading	44
Notes	45
2 Zionism, Religion, and the Domestic Political Environment	53
The Concept of Zionism	55
The Religious Communities of Israel	62
Judaism in Israel	63
Religion and Politics—Jewish Issues	69

Israel's Non-Jewish Communities	75
Zionism, Religion, and the State	77
Suggested Reading	78
Notes	79
3 The Social and Economic Context of Politics	85
Peoples of Israel	86
Ashkenazim and Sephardim	89
Immigration and Emigration	90
Social Class	93
Education and Culture	94
Health Care and Social Services	96
Cities, Villages, Kibbutzim, and Moshavim	98
The Economy	101
Foreign Economic Relations	105
The Political Culture and the Economy	106
Suggested Reading	107
Notes	109
Part II: The Governmental Institutions	
4 The Constitutional System and Parliamentary Government	117
The Debate over Creating a Written Constitution	118
The Structures of the Israeli Constitution	122
The Role of the Courts in the Creation of a Constitution	126
Israel as a Parliamentary System	132
Conclusion	134
Suggested Reading	135
Notes	136
5 The Prime Minister and the Knesset	141
The Setting	141
The Balance of Power	145
Legislation in the Knesset	147
The Members of Knesset	150
Legislative Behavior of Members of the Knesset	151
Knesset Organization	154
Coalition Politics and Coalition Governments	158
The Knesset, the Government, and Israeli Politics	164
Suggested Reading	165
Notes	165
6 Political Parties and Interest Groups	171
The Setting	171

Ideology in Israel	173
The Functions of Parties	175
Parties and Issues	177
Interest Groups	182
Suggested Reading	186
Notes	187
7 The Electoral Process and Voting Behavior	193
The Electoral System and Israeli Voting Behavior	194
Proportional Representation and Elections	194
Past Proposals for Electoral Change	202
The New Electoral System for Prime Minister	206
Voting Behavior and Electoral Results	207
Voting and Ideology	207
Ethnicity	209
Voting Trends	209
Significance of the Electoral Process for Israel	212
Suggested Reading	215
Notes	216
8 The Machinery of Government	221
The Bureaucracy and the Civil Service	223
Local Government	227
The Judiciary and the Legal System in Israeli Politics	230
The Military and the Government	235
The Bureaucracy, the Judiciary, and the Military	237
Suggested Reading	238
Notes	240
 Part III: Foreign Policy and the Middle Eastern Political Setting	
9 The Foreign Policy Setting	251
The Setting: The Legacy of Warfare	252
Strategic Considerations	268
Military-Security Concerns	270
Political-Diplomatic Concerns	273
Economic-Developmental Concerns	275
Cultural-Status Concerns	277
The Foreign Policy Setting: A Recapitulation	277
Suggested Reading	279
Notes	280

10	The Palestinians, the West Bank and Gaza, and Jerusalem	289
	History	290
	The Palestinians	292
	Palestinian Statehood and Governance	296
	Palestinian Goals	301
	The West Bank and Gaza	303
	Jerusalem	306
	Israeli Attitudes, Intentions, and Policies	309
	The Palestinians, the West Bank and Gaza, and Jerusalem	316
	Suggested Reading	318
	Notes	319
11	The Peace Process	331
	The Quest for Peace	331
	Progress toward Peace, Post-1948	333
	Progress toward Peace, Post-1956	334
	Camp David and the Peace Process, 1978–1982	335
	Israel's Peace Initiative, 1989	341
	The Madrid Peace Conference, 1991	342
	The Oslo Accords, 1993	344
	The Wye River Memorandum, October 23, 1998	347
	The Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum, April 30, 2001	350
	Bilateral Progress	351
	The Copenhagen Track	356
	The Quest for Peace, Again	358
	Suggested Reading	359
	Notes	359
	Index	367
	About the Author	381

Figures, Tables, Maps, and Boxes

FIGURES

Figure 2.1	Jewish Population in the World and in Israel	57
Figure 5.1	Percentage of Private MKs' Bills in Total Legislation	148
Figure 5.2	Private Members' Bills Passed by Knesset	149
Figure 7.1	Relative Strengths of Labor and Likud in Knesset Seats	211
Figure 7.2	Proportion of Seats Held by Labor and Likud	213
Figure 10.1	Israeli Settler Population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, 2001	312

TABLES

Table 1.1	Jewish Land Ownership in Palestine, 1900–1947	27
Table 1.2	Non-Jewish Populations in Palestine, 1882–2000	41
Table 1.3	Palestinian Revolts, 1909–1938	42
Table 2.1	Sources of Israeli Immigration	56
Table 2.2	Israel's Population and Religious Communities, 2000	63
Table 2.3	Religion and Politics	70
Table 2.4	Observance of Jewish Religious Law, 1981	71
Table 2.5	Israeli Jewish Religious Practice and Belief	73
Table 3.1	Non-Jewish Populations in Israel, 2001	87
Table 3.2	Population in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip	88
Table 3.3	Religious Groups in Israel	91
Table 3.4	Jewish Immigration to Israel, 1948–2001	92
Table 3.5	Israeli Universities	95
Table 3.6	Hospitals in Israel	97
Table 3.7	Population of Israel's Largest Cities in 1985 and 2000	98

Table 3.8	Size of Israel's Largest Cities	99
Table 3.9	Exchange Rates, 1975–2002	103
Table 3.10	Israel's Balance of Payments, 1949–1997 (in \$U.S. millions)	105
Table 3.11	Israel's Net Foreign Debt	106
Table 4.1	Israel's Presidents	125
Table 5.1	Prime Ministers and Coalition Partners, 1949–2001	160
Table 5.2	A Hypothetical Party Distribution	161
Table 5.3	The Complexity of the Coalition-Formation Process in a 100-Seat Legislature	162
Table 6.1	Four Bipositional Issue Spectra and Possible Political Party Positions	174
Table 6.2	Major Political Parties in Israeli Elections, 1949–2003	178
Table 6.3	Parties Winning Seats in the Elections for the Sixteenth Knesset, 2003	183
Table 7.1	Surplus Vote Distribution (Bader-Ofer Formula): The Computation Method	196
Table 7.2	Surplus Vote Distribution (Bader-Ofer Formula): The Awarding of Extra Seats	197
Table 8.1	State Employees in Selected Ministries	224
Table 8.2	Types of Local Governments in Israel	229
Table 10.1	United Nations Registered Refugees, June 1999	295
Table 10.2	Perceived Fairness of the Palestinian Election Campaign, 1996	298
Table 10.3	Candidates in the January 1996 Palestinian Election	300
Table 10.4	Results of the January 1996 Palestinian Election	301
Table 11.1	The Camp David Accords, 1978	338
Table 11.2	The Madrid Peace Conference, October 30–November 1, 1991	343

MAPS

Map 1.1	The First Partition of Palestine, 1920 and 1922	28
Map 1.2	The Peel Commission Partition Recommendation, 1937	30
Map 1.3	The Woodhead Commission Partition Recommendation, 1938	31
Map 1.4	The United Nations Partition Recommendation, 1947	37
Map 1.5	Armistice Lines	39
Map 1.6	Israel's Borders, 2003	40
Map 9.1	Israel in the Middle East	253
Map 9.2	Israeli Borders Before and After the 1967 War	256

BOXES

Box 2.1	The Americanization of Israel?	61
Box 5.1	Public Perceptions of the Knesset	153
Box 5.2	Standing Committees of the Knesset	157
Box 7.1	Announcements of the Central Elections Committee in the Special Prime Ministerial Election, 2001	198
Box 8.1	The Civil Service Commission's Tasks	225
Box 8.2	Functions of Local Governments in Israel	228
Box 9.1	Israeli Involvement in Lebanon, 1949–2000	259
Box 9.2	Stages in Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1917–2002	261
Box 10.1	Core Content of the Wye Accord, October 23, 1998	302
Box 11.1	The Oslo Accords, August 1993	345
Box 11.2	The Wye River Agreement, October 23, 1998	349
Box 11.3	The Sharm el-Sheikh Report, April 30, 2001	352