## **Political Parties:**

# Political Parties and Interest Groups in Israel

Gregory Mahler Earlham College Richmond, Indiana December 9-11, 2007

#### **Parliamentary Government**

- "Westminister" vs. Presidential Government
  - 1. Split executive
  - 2. President symbolic; Prime Minister and Cabinet powerful
  - 3. Prime Minister and Cabinet *from* the Knesset
  - 4. Government *responsible to* the Knesset
- The Knesset and the Prime Minister
- The President

### **Political Ideology**

- I. Private enterprise (a) vs. socialism (b);
- 2. "Activist" Arab policy (c) vs. restraint (d);
- 3. Torah oriented life (e) vs. secularism (f);
- 4. Pro-Soviet Union (g) vs. pro-West (h);
- 5. Zionist (i) vs. non-Zionist (j).\*

A	В
C	D
E	F
 G	H

\* Thomas Goodland, "A Mathematical Presentation of Israel's Political Parties," British Journal of Sociology 8 (1957): 263-66.

#### **Political Parties**

#### **Functions of Political Parties**

- Personnel Agencies
- Organize Groups and Articulate Demands
- Frame of Reference
- Linkage Mechanisms

### The Electoral System

- Proportional Representation (Israel) vs.
  Single-Member-District Representation (U.S.)
- Electoral Lists of Political Parties
- Accuracy of Representation
- The 1992 "Deviation"

### The Complexity of the Coalition-Formation Process

- Situation I: Simplest Majority Possibilities
  - Parties: A (44), B (42), C (14)
    - AB, AC, BC, ABC
- Situation II: More Complex Majority Possibilities
   Parties: A (38), B (20), C (17), D (15), E (10)

AB, AC, AD, ABC, ABD, ABE, ADE, BCD, etc.

• Situation III: Most Complex Majority Possibilities

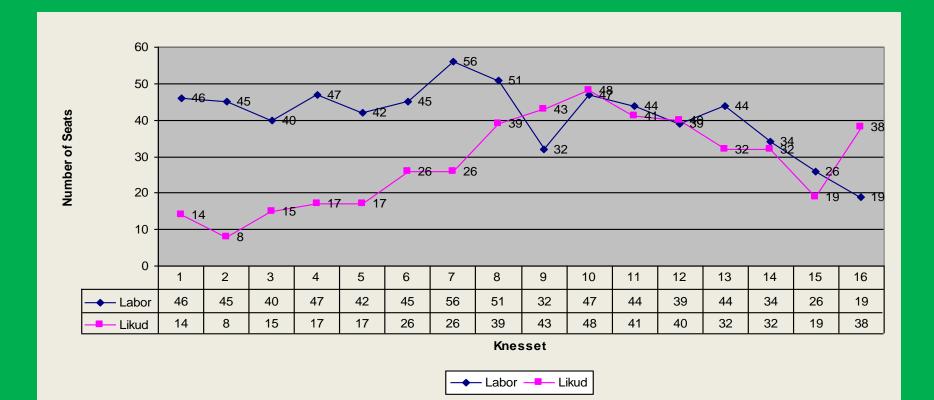
Parties: A (30), B (19), C (12), D (9), E (8), F (8), G (7), H (7)
 ABC, ABD, ABE, ABF, ABG, BCDE, CDEFGH, etc.

#### Governments and Coalitions

3. Sept. 8, '51      II      15      Ben-Gurion (Mapai)      Left, Religious        4. Dec. 24, '52      II      13      Ben-Gurion (Mapai)      Left, Center        5. Jan. 26, '54      II      17      Sharett (Mapai)      Left, Center        6. Je. 29, '55      III      4      Sharett (Mapai)      Left, Center, Religious        7. Nov. 3, '55      III      26      Ben-Gurion (Mapai)      Left, Center        8. Jan. 7, '58      III      24      Ben-Gurion (Mapai)      Left, Center, Religious        9. Dec. 17, '59      IV      23      Ben-Gurion (Mapai)      Left, Religious        11. Je. 26, '63      V      18      Eshkol (Mapai)      Left, Religious        12. Dec. 22, '64      V      13      Eshkol (Mapai)      Left, Religious        13. Jan. 12, '66      VI      38      Eshkol (Mapai)      Left, Religious        14. Mar. 17, '69      VI      9      Meir (Mapai)      Left, Religious        15. Dec. 15, '69      VII      36      Rabin (Mapai)      Left, Religious        17. Je. 3, '74      VIII      36      Rabin (Mapai)      Left, R	Date of Govt. Creation	Knesset	<u>Approx. Life of</u> <u>Govt. (Months)</u>	Prime Minister (Party)	Coalition Partners
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21. Sept. 13, '84XI25Peres (Labor)Left, Right, Religious22. Oct. 20, '86XI26Shamir (Likud)Right, Left, Religious23. Dec. 22, '88XII18Shamir (Likud)Right, Left, Religious24. Je 11, '90XII25Shamir (Likud)Right, Religious25. July 13, '92XIII40Rabin (Labor)Left, Religious26. Nov. 22, '95XIII7Peres (Labor)Left27. Je 18, '96XIV37Netanyahu (Likud)Right, Religious28. July 6, '99XV20Barak (One Israel)Left, Center, Religious29. Mar. 7, '01XV23Sharon (Likud)Right, Left, Center, Religious30. Feb. 20, '03XVI37Sharon (Likud)Right, Center, Religious31. Apr. 5, '06XVIIOlmert (Kadima)Center, Left, Religious	19. Aug. 5, '81	Х	26	Begin (Likud)	Right, Center, Religious
22. Oct. 20, '86XI26Shamir (Likud)Right, Left, Religious23. Dec. 22, '88XII18Shamir (Likud)Right, Left, Religious24. Je 11, '90XII25Shamir (Likud)Right, Religious25. July 13, '92XIII40Rabin (Labor)Left, Religious26. Nov. 22, '95XIII7Peres (Labor)Left27. Je 18, '96XIV37Netanyahu (Likud)Right, Religious28. July 6, '99XV20Barak (One Israel)Left, Center, Religious29. Mar. 7, '01XV23Sharon (Likud)Right, Left, Center, Religious30. Feb. 20, '03XVI37Sharon (Likud)Right, Center, Religious31. Apr. 5, '06XVIIOlmert (Kadima)Center, Left, Religious	20. Oct. 10, '83	Х	11	Shamir (Likud)	Right, Center, Religious
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25. July 13, '92XIII40Rabin (Labor)Left, Religious26. Nov. 22, '95XIII7Peres (Labor)Left27. Je 18, '96XIV37Netanyahu (Likud)Right, Religious28. July 6, '99XV20Barak (One Israel)Left, Center, Religious29. Mar. 7, '01XV23Sharon (Likud)Right, Left, Center, Rel.30. Feb. 20, '03XVI37Sharon (Likud)Right, Center, Religious31. Apr. 5, '06XVIIOlmert (Kadima)Center, Left, Religious	23. Dec. 22, '88	XII	18	Shamir (Likud)	Right, Left, Religious
26. Nov. 22, '95XIII7Peres (Labor)Left27. Je 18, '96XIV37Netanyahu (Likud)Right, Religious28. July 6, '99XV20Barak (One Israel)Left, Center, Religious29. Mar. 7, '01XV23Sharon (Likud)Right, Left, Center, Rel.30. Feb. 20, '03XVI37Sharon (Likud)Right, Center, Religious31. Apr. 5, '06XVIIOlmert (Kadima)Center, Left, Religious	24. Je 11, '90	XII	25	Shamir (Likud)	Right, Religious
27. Je 18, '96XIV37Netanyahu (Likud)Right, Religious28. July 6, '99XV20Barak (One Israel)Left, Center, Religious29. Mar. 7, '01XV23Sharon (Likud)Right, Left, Center, Rel.30. Feb. 20, '03XVI37Sharon (Likud)Right, Center, Religious31. Apr. 5, '06XVIIOlmert (Kadima)Center, Left, Religious	25. July 13, '92	XIII	40	Rabin (Labor)	Left, Religious
28. July 6, '99XV20Barak (One Israel)Left, Center, Religious29. Mar. 7, '01XV23Sharon (Likud)Right, Left, Center, Rel.30. Feb. 20, '03XVI37Sharon (Likud)Right, Center, Religious31. Apr. 5, '06XVIIOlmert (Kadima)Center, Left, Religious	26. Nov. 22, 95	XIII	7	Peres (Labor)	Left
29. Mar. 7, '01  XV  23  Sharon (Likud)  Right, Left, Center, Rel.    30. Feb. 20, '03  XVI  37  Sharon (Likud)  Right, Center, Religious    31. Apr. 5, '06  XVII  Olmert (Kadima)  Center, Left, Religious	27. Je 18, '96	XIV	37	Netanyahu (Likud)	Right, Religious
30. Feb. 20, '03  XVI  37  Sharon (Likud)  Right, Center, Religious    31. Apr. 5, '06  XVII  Olmert (Kadima)  Center, Left, Religious	28. July 6, '99	XV	20	Barak (One Israel)	Left, Center, Religious
31. Apr. 5, '06  XVII  Olmert (Kadima)  Center, Left, Religious	29. Mar. 7, '01	XV	23	Sharon (Likud)	Right, Left, Center, Rel.
	30. Feb. 20, '03	XVI	37	Sharon (Likud)	Right, Center, Religious
Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs web site: www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/go.asp?MFAH0hyd0	31. Apr. 5, '06	XVII		Olmert (Kadima)	Center, Left, Religious

Approx. Life of

#### **Voting and Electoral Outcomes**



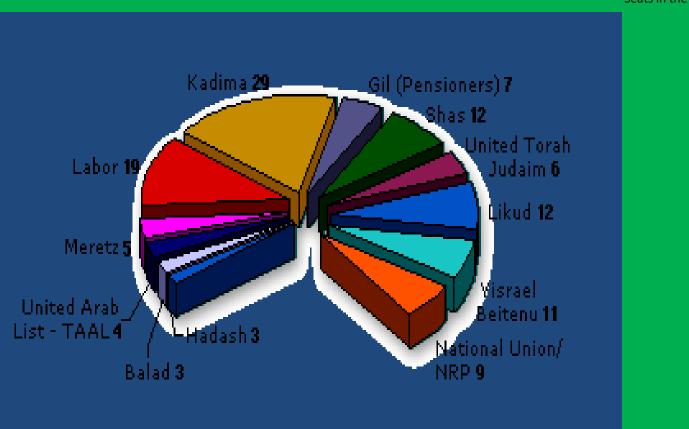
Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, <u>Statistical Abstract of Israel, 2001</u>, Table 10.01, "Elections to the Knesset: Legend to Tables 10.1-10.3," <u>http://www.cbs.gov.il/shnaton52/st10\_001.pdf</u>; Table 10.3, "Knesset Members By Main List," http://www.cbs.gov.il/shnaton52/st10\_03.pdf; Ministry of Foreign Affairs web

## About Voting in Israel

- The Elections in Israel are:
- General: Every citizen of the State of Israel over the age of 18 years has the right to participate in elections.
- National: The entire country constitutes a single electoral district.
- Direct: The Knesset members are elected directly by the public and not by any other body.
- Equal: Every citizen has one vote, and all votes carry equal weight.
- Secret: The voting is done by secret ballot. No one but the voter knows for whom s/he voted.
- Every citizen is free to vote according to his/her conscience without anyone else knowing how he/she voted.
- Elections Results
- 1. Any electoral list receiving more than 2% of the valid votes will be represented in the Knesset.

2. Each list will receive a number of Knesset seats in proportion to the number of valid votes it receives.

#### The 2006 Election



Seats in the Knesset

# Electoral Results

#### 2006

	National F	Results	
* Total Ballots: 3186739 * De	fective Ballots: 4	9675 * Valid Ballots: 31	37064
List Name	Letter	Number of Votes	Mandates
Brit Olam	a	2011	
Da-am - Workers' Party	P	3692	
Gil	זר	185759	7
Green Leaf	qc	40353	
Greens (Hayerukim)	רק	47595	
Hadash		86092	3
Herut	K3	2387	
Hetz	Yn	10113	
Ichud Leumi - Mafdal	06	224083	9
Kadima	ci	690901	29
Labor-Melmad	DON	472366	19
Lechem	T	1381	
Leeder	2	580	
Lev	19	1765	
Likud	מחל	281996	12
Meretz	מרצ	118302	5
National Arab Party	קפ	738	
National Democratic Assembly	т	72066	3
National Jewish Front	2	24824	
New Zlonism	צה	1278	
One Future	-	14005	
Party for the Struggle With the Bank	as yo	2163	
Shas	OW	299054	12
Shinul	100.0	4675	
Strength to the Poor	20	1214	
Tafnit	9	18753	
Torah and Shabbat Judaism	2	147091	6
Tzedek Lakol	r <sub>i</sub> r	3819	
Tzomet	(Y)	1342	
United Arab List - Arab Renewal	C N	94786	4
Yisrael Beitenu	2	281880	11

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### Coalition Government, 2006

Ehud Olmert (K) Tzipi Livni (K) Shimon Peres (K) Amir Peretz (LM) Eliyahu Yishai (S) Shaul Mofaz (K) Ariel Atias (S) Ronnie Bar-On (K) Interior Yacov Ben Yizri (G) Health Benj. Ben-Eliezer (LM) Ze'ev Boim (K) Eitan Cabel (LM) Yitzhak Cohen (S) Abraham Dicter (K) Ya'akov Edery (K) Rafi Eitan (G) Gideon Ezra (K) Environment Isaac Herzog (LM) Tourism Abraham Hirchson (K) Finance Meschulam Nahari (S) Ophir Pines-Paz (LM) Haim Ramon (K) Justice Meir Sheetrit (K) Shalom Simhon (LM) Yuli Tamir (LM)

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Prime Minister/Social Welfare Vice PM / Foreign Affairs Vice PM / Negev and Galilee **Deputy PM / Defense** Deputy PM / Industry, Trade, Labor Deputy PM / Transportation and Roads Communications National Infrastructures **Immigrant Absorption** Minister w/o Portfolio Minister w/o Portfolio Public Security Minister w/o Portfolio Pensioner Affairs Minister w/o Portfolio Science and Technology **Housing and Construction** Agriculture and Rural Development Education, Culture, Sport

**Total Portfolios: 25** 

Kadima: 12 Labor-Meimad: 7 Shas: 4 Gil: 2

## Significance of the Electoral Process

- P.R. voting accurately portrays the public's preferences. Too accurately?
- How would the Knesset be different if there were district-based representation?
- Coalition instability
- Prime ministerial weakness

### Major Political Parties in Israeli Elections 1949-2003

•	A	Israel Labour Party (MAPAI)
•	AMT	Alignment - Israel Labour Party and United Workers'
		Party (7th-12th Knesset) ; Labour headed by Yizhaq
		Rabin (13th K.); Labour (in the 14th Knesset);
		One Israel headed by Ehud Barak - Labour,
		Gesher, Meimad (15th Knesset)
•	AT	Alignment - Israel Labour Party
		and Unity of Labour (6th Knesset)
•	В	National Religious Front, Mizrahi and Mizrahi Workers
•	G	United Torah Judaism - Agudat Yisrael,
		Degel HaTorah, Rabbi Yizhaq Peretz
		Agudat Israel Workers (was AI/PAI)
•	D	National Democratic Alliance (BALAD)
•	HD	The Third Way for National Consensus
•	HN	Centre - Shinui List
•	W	Democratic Front for Peace and Equality; The Israel
		Communist Party (RAKAH), Black Panthers and
		Jewish and Arab Circles
•	Н	Freedom Party
•	HL	Herut-Liberal Front (GAHAL)
•	HLTAM	Likud
•	Т	Free Center (in the 7th Knesset)
•	Т	Moledet
•	Т	Yahad - Movement for National Unity (11th Knesset)
•	YT	National Union - Moledet, Herut, Tequma
•	YM	United Arab List (in the 9th Knesset)
•	JS	Ometz - Recovery of the Economy (10th-11th Knesset)
•	JS	Democratic Movement for Change (DASH) (9th Kn.)
•	JS	Shinui - Secular Movement headed
•	KA	Israel Workers' List (RAFI)

•	KACH	KACH - Movement founded by Rabi Meir Kahana
•	KN	Shlomzion - Realization of Zionism Movement
•	KN	Yisrael Ba-aliyah headed by Nathan Sharansky
•	L	Liberal Party
•	L	Yisrael Beiteinu headed by Avigdor Lieberman
•	LA	Independent Liberals
•	M -MAP	AM United Workers' Party and Non-aligned
•	MHL	Halikud (Mahal) - Likud, Gesher, Zomet
•	MEREZ	Merez - Democratic Israel, RZ, Mapam, Shinui
•	Μ	Am Ahad headed by Amir Perez -
		Faction of Workers and Pensioners
•	NJ	Israel Tradition Movement (TAMI)
•	ADP	Arab Democratic Party
•	AD	Morasha, Mazad, Agudat Yisrael Workers
•	AM	State List
•	AM	United Arab List (in the 15th Knesset)
•	EZ	Degel Hatorah
•	Р	Progressive List For Peace
•	PH	Center Party headed by Yizhaq Mordechai
•	PS	Flatto-Sharon - Development and Peace
•	ΤZ	Zomet - Movement for Zionist Renewal
•	Κ	Israel Communist Party
•	KN	Moqed (Tekhelet-Adom Movement)
•	RZ	Citizens' Rights Movement and Peace
•	S	HaOlam Haze
•	S	Shelli
•	SHAS	Universal Assn. of Sefardi Observers of the Torah
•	Th	Resurrection
•	TW	Unity of Labour
•	TLM	Movement for State Renewal (KEN)
•		Minorities' lists connected with the Alignment
•		Other lists

-- Other lists

## Current Israeli Parties

#### Left Parties

- One Israel
- Meretz

#### **Center and Right Parties**

- Center Party
- Likud
- Liberal Party
- Yisrael Ba'Aliya
- National Unity
- Israel Beitenu

#### **Religious Parties**

- National Religious Party
- Shas
- United Torah Judaism
- Reform
  - Shinui
- Far Left and Arab
  - Dem. Ft. for Peace and Equality
  - United Arab List
  - Balad

## Interest Groups

- The Histadrut (General Federation of Workers)
- The Military
- International Jewry
- Specific ethnic/religious groups (Shas, Ashkenazic Jews, Falashas, Moroccans, etc.)
- Arab Political Organizations

## **Political Parties:**

# Political Parties and Interest Groups in Israel

Gregory Mahler Earlham College Richmond, Indiana December 9-11, 2007