

Israel

Vanderbilt

Israel is coded as a parliamentary democracy from independence in 1948 until 2008. David Ben-Gurion (MPAI) became PM at independence in 1948. There is no SOLS change at independence. In 1949 elections led to a MPAI/URF/PROG/SEPH coalition. In 1951 elections led to a MPAI/URF coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. In 1952 elections led to a MPAI/GZ/HMIZ/PROG/MIZR coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. In 1953, Moshe Sharett, MPAI, became PM as part of the same coalition as Ben-Gurion. This is not a SOLS change. June 29, 1955 elections led to a MPAI/HMIZ/PROG/MIZR coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. In November 1955 elections returned a MPAI/NRP/AA/MPAM/PROG coalition with Ben-Gurion once again as PM. This is a minor SOLS change because the composition of their coalitions were different, but they came from the same party.

1958 elections led to a MPAI/AA/MPAM/PROG coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. 1959 elections returned a MPAI/NRP/MPAM/AA/PROG coalition. This is another minor SOLS change. 1961 elections led to a MPAI/NRP/AA coalition. Another minor SOLS change. In 1963 Levi Eshkol became PM as part of that same coalition. This is not a SOLS change. Following 1966 MPAI merged with the AA into Alignment (MPAI-ALNM) and Eshkol built a MPAI-ALNM/NRP/MPAM/ILIB coalition. This is a minor SOLS change because ALNM (“Alignment”) was an alliance made up of MPAI and AA (until 1968) and therefore does not represent a change in PM party affiliation.

1967 elections led to an MPAI-ALNM/HRUT/NRP/RAFI/MPAM/ILIB coalition with Eshkol, MPAI, still as PM. This is a minor SOLS change. On January 23, 1968 ALNM or the “Alignment” (i.e. MPAI and AA) changed composition. The component parts of ALNM—MPAI and AA—merged with Rafi to become the Israel Labor Party (LAB) and the Alignment in its first incarnation ceased to exist. On January 28, 1969 LAB and MPAM merged to form the second incarnation of Alignment (*The Knesset Website* 2010). When Eshkol died in February 1969, Yigal Allon took over temporarily as interim PM (The State of Israel 2008) as part of the same coalition. This is not a SOLS change. About a month later Golda Meir, MPAI, became PM, also as part of that coalition. This is not a SOLS change. Later in the year, December 15, 1969 elections led to an MPAI-ALNM/GHAL/NRP/ILIB coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. 1970 elections led to an MPAI-ALNM/NRP/ILIB coalition with no change in PM.

March 6, 1974 elections returned a LAB/NRP/ILIB coalition with Meir still as PM. Woldendorp et. al. (2000, 302) state that in this election, LAB is an alliance of MPAI and MPAM, which basically means that LAB is the same as ALNM. (Woldendorp et. al.’s use of LAB to represent the second Alignment is not consistent. If they were aiming to use them interchangeably, then they should have started using LAB in place of ALNM starting in 1969, which is when we would want to capture the coalition shake up and code a minor SOLS change, rather than in 1974.) June 3, 1974 elections returned a MPAI-LAB/ILIB/CRIT coalition with Yitzhak Rabin, MPAI, as PM. This is a minor SOLS change. October 29, 1974 a MPAI-LAB/NRP/ILIB coalition with Rabin, MPAI, still as PM took shape. This is a minor SOLS change. 1976 elections returned a MPAI-LAB/ILIB coalition with Rabin, MPAI, still as PM. This is a minor SOLS change. On April 22, 1977, Shimon Peres took over as party leader and interim PM when Rabin stepped

down. On June 19, 1977, elections returned a LIK/NRP coalition and Menachem Begin, LIK, became PM on June 21st. This is a SOLS change. Later in the year, October 24, 1977 the coalition changed to LIK/NRP/DASH coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. 1981 elections returned a LIK/NRP/TAMI coalition with Begin, LIK, still as PM. This is a minor SOLS change. 1983 elections returned a LIK/NRP/TAMI/THYA coalition with Yitzhak Shamir, LIK, becoming PM. This is a minor SOLS change because Shamir belonged to the same party as Begin, but their coalitions were different.

1984 elections returned a LAB/LIK/NRP/SHAS/SNUI/MSHA/OMET coalition with Shimon Peres, LAB, returning to once again serve as PM. This is a SOLS change. His premiership was agreed upon as part of a national unity government that dictated the takeover of Shamir, LIK, after two years in a rotating premiership (Time Magazine 1984).

In 1986 Shamir, as determined by the arrangement of 1984, became PM as part of the same coalition as his predecessor. Because the coalition remained the same and the change of PM was a prearranged rotation this is not coded as a SOLS change. (Palmer 1996: 281, Rabonovich & Shaked 1986). 1988 elections returned a LIK/LAB coalition with Shamir, LIK, still as PM. Shamir experienced minor coalition changes three times during his premiership: in 1990 a LIK/SHAS/NRP/THYA/TZOM coalition; in 1991 a LIK/SHAS/NRP/THYA/AIS coalition; and on January 22, 1992 a LIK/SHAS/NRP coalition. All of these are minor SOLS changes. On July 13, 1992 Rabin, LAB, becomes PM as part of a LAB/MRET/SHAS coalition. This is a SOLS change. In 1994 the coalition changes to LAB/MRET/HDASH. This is a minor SOLS change. In 1995 Peres, LAB, once again becomes PM as part of a LAB/MRET/YIUD/HDASH coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. In 1996 Netanyahu, LIK, becomes PM as part of a LIK/SHAS/NRP/YB/UTJ/TW coalition (Knesset 2010).¹ This is a SOLS change. Netanyahu's government runs into trouble when he tried to get coalition members to support his Middle East policies and early elections are called.

On July 6, 1999 Ehud Barak, LAB (i.e. LAB, GSHR, MEIM), became PM of a coalition headed by One Israel (OI), which was a List of Labor, Gesher, and Meimad. Aside from OI, other parties in the coalition were: Shas, the NRP (National Religious Party), the Center Party (CP – a group that split away from Likud, labor and Tzomet; also CENTR), YB, and Meretz (MRET -- a merger of Mapam, Ratz, and Shinui). Yahadut Ha'Thorah (UTJ) was also part of the coalition but refused to take a ministerial post in the cabinet (Diskin, 2000, 428). In short, the full coalition was composed of LAB-Gesher-Meimad/SHAS/MRET/CP/YB/NRP/UTJ. On September 5 Yahadut Ha'Thorah defected from the coalition, which is a minor SOLS change (Jerusalem Post 09/05/1999).

Barak's coalition underwent several minor SOLS changes in 2000: on June 24 Meretz left the coalition; Shas and YB left the coalition on July 11; the NRP left a day later on the 12th; and on

¹ Note that Woldendorp codes UTJ as a coalition partner. However, UTJ does not have ministers in cabinet during this period. Meir Porush of the UTJ is deputy minister of Housing. We will code these parties as part of the SOLS. (*The Knesset Website* 2010)

August 4 David Levi took Gesher out of One Israel (OI) and the coalition. Hereafter, OI (now only Labor and Meimad) continues in coalition with the Center Party (CP).²

On February 7, 2001 Ariel Sharon, LIK, became PM in a special election for the prime minister. This is a SOLS change. Because LIK was not the largest party in the legislature at the time (due to the special election), Sharon was forced to form a national unity government made up of Likud, One Israel (Labor and Meimad), Shas, Yisrael Be'aliyah, National Unity- Yisrael Beiteinu (NU or IL), and One Nation (Diskin 2002, p.984). Sharon's coalition fluctuated throughout 2001. According to Diskin (2002, 985): "Within a month [of Sharon's election], the five Yahadut ha-Torah MKs and one from the Centre Party joined the coalition." However, in the next sentence he writes that the Centre Party remained in the opposition. This means that the party itself did not join the coalition at that time. However, on p. 987, Diskin writes that more Centre Party MKs joined. This is confirmed by article in the LA Times (Wilkinson, 2001) and Jerusalem Post (Center Party joins coalition tonight; 08/20/2001). For consistency, we also code the UTJ (aka Yahadut) as joining the coalition even though it had no representation in the cabinet.

2002 was also a turbulent year with seven minor SOLS changes: One Nation (also Am Ehad) left 19 February (Hoffman 2002, Diskin 2003); IL left March 14 (Knesset, Diskin 2003, Singer & Grossman 2003); to be replaced by Gesher and NRP on April 4th (Gilbert 2002b, Knesset, Diskin 2003, Singer & Grossman 2003); Shas and UTJ left May 23 (Jerusalem Post 2002c, Knesset, Diskin 2003, Singer & Grossman 2003); Shas rejoined on June 3 (Knesset, Diskin 2003, Singer & Grossman 2003); Gesher leaves again on 29 July (Hoffman and Wagner 2002, Knesset); and Labor-Meimad left on November 2 (Hoffman and Gilbert 2002, Knesset, Diskin 2003, Singer & Grossman 2003). All of these changes are minor SOLS changes.

According to Diskin (2004), Sharon II (invested 2/27/2003) was composed of Likud, Shinui (SNUI), National Unity Party-Israel our Home (aka Ichud Leumi Party), and NRP. Moreover, YB merged with the Likud immediately following the February 27 elections. Officially, the NRP ministers, Efraim Eitam and Zvulun Orlev, and Natan Sharansky, joined the government on 3 March. Inter-parliamentary Union (http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/arc/2155_03.htm) agrees that Sharon formed a coalition of LIK/SNUI/IL/NRP in March. We code a minor SOLS change for February 27 and for the entry of NRP on March 3.

According to Diskin (2005, 1057), Ichud Leumi (aka National Unity Party-Israel our Home aka NUP) left June 6 2004. Some members of the NRP left June 10 but others stayed, meaning we don't code a minor SOLS change until all NRP members withdrew their support on November 11 (1059). This is a minor SOLS change. Moreover, Shinui left the coalition December 4 (resulting in a minor SOLS change), leaving only Sharon's Likud in the government

² Note that David Levi took his small Gesher fraction out of the coalition on August 4, 2000, but remained in the same "One Israel" party until April 2001, because the Israeli electoral law does not allow an MP to erect a new fraction unless at least a third of the former fraction splits off or within 90 days of new elections (Ha'aretz 2000). Because the Gesher flank in OI had only 2 MPs it was unable to create a new fraction in parliament until new elections were called. The effective departure of Gesher is nonetheless 4 August 2000.

On January 10 2005, Labor-Meimad re-joined Sharon's government. This is a minor SOLS change. Less than 4 months later on March 30, PM's from the two factions that had split from Yahadut Ha'Thorah - Degel Ha'Thora (DH) & Agudat Yisrael (AY) entered the government (Diskin 2006, Knesset). This is a minor SOLS change. Degel Ha'Torah and Agudat Yisrael did not have ministerial portfolios but were deputy ministers instead. However, because there wasn't a minister, the deputy ministers were de facto ministers. On November 23, Labor-Meimad left the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change. At the same time that Labor-Meimad left the coalition Prime Minister Sharon, in conflict with parts of his Likud, left Likud and created Kadima (KAD). As this move coincides with Labor's departure and the Likud ministers remain in the coalition until January 2006, the departure of Sharon and others to Kadima should not be regarded as distinct minor SOLS change. We code KAD/LIK from the moment Kadima is created and Labor-Meimad leaves the coalition ("Sharon names" 2005, Knesset 2010).

On December 2005, Sharon had a stroke and Olmert took over for him. This is not a SOLS change since Olmert was initially interim and he had the same coalition. According to Diskin (2007), the remaining LIKUD members in the cabinet all resigned mid-January 2006 and were replaced by Kadima members by January 18. This is a minor SOLS change. After the May 2006 election, Olmert's first regular coalition government was established on May 4 and included Kadima, Labour-Meimad, Shas, and Pensioners (also GIL). This is a minor SOLS change. Yisrael Beitenu (IL) entered Olmert's coalition on 30 October, which is another minor SOLS change (Diskin 2007, Knesset). Olmert's coalition would remain stable until January 18 2008 when Yisrael Beitenu left the coalition, resulting in a minor SOLS change, and saw no further change in 2008 (Diskin 2008, 2009, Knesset).

Party Abbreviations:

MPAI - (MAPAI) Israeli Workers' Party

URF - United Religious Front; in 1951 disbanded into its separate parties, Poalei Agudat Yisrael

PROG - Progressive Party

SEPH - The National Unity List of Sephardim and Oriental Communities

GZ - General Zionists

HMIZ - Mizrahi HaMizrahi, acronym for Merkaz Ruhani, or Religious Centre

MIZR - Poalei Agudat Yisrael

NRP - National Religious Party

AA - Ahdut HaAvoda, a splinter of MPAM; in 1968 merged with Mapai and Rafi to form LAB

MPAM - Mapam, United Workers Party

ALNM - "Alignment," an alliance of Mapai and Ahdut HaAvoda prior to the formation of LAB

ILIB - Independent Liberal Party; in 1984 the party merged into the Alignment

HRUT - Herut, merged with the Liberal Party to become GHAL

RAFI - Reshimat Poalei Yisrael, i.e. the Israeli Workers List

GHAL - Gahal, made up of Herut and the Liberal Party

LAB - Israeli Labor Party

CRIT - Movement for Civil Rights and Peace, also known as Ratz

LIK - Likud, "Consolidation"

DASH - Democratic Movement for Change

TAMI - Tnu'at Masoret Yisrael, "Movement for the Heritage of Israel"

THYA - Tehiya, "Land of Israel Loyalists' Alliance"
 SHAS - Shas
 SNUI - Shinui
 MSHA - Morasha
 OMET - Ometz
 TZOM - Tzomet
 AIS - Agudat Israel "Union of Israel"
 MRET - Meretz, formed from the merging of Mapam, Ratz, and Shinui
 YTUD - Yiud, splinter of Tzomet
 HDASH - Hadash, The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality
 YB - Yisrael BaAliyah, merged into Likud in 2003
 UTJ - Yahadut Ha'thora, "United Torah Judaism," alliance of Degel HaTorah & Agudat Israel
 TW - The Third Way, splinter of the LAB
 GSHR - Gesher, splinter of Likud
 LIK-GSHR-TZOM - an alliance of Likud, Gesher, and Tzomet for the 1996 elections
 YA - Yisrael Ahat, "One Israel," an alliance of the LAB, Meimad, and Gesher
 CNTR - Center Party
 MEIM - Meimad
 NU - National Union
 YBU - Yisrael Beiteinu, "Israel is Our Home"
 ONE - One Nation, splinter of LAB 1999, dissolved back into LAB in 2005
 KAD - Kadima, "Forward," also known as National Responsibility, splinter of Likud
 GIL - Gimla'ey Yisrael LaKnesset, "Pensioners of Israel to the Knesset"

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