

Centre for West Asian Studies

School of international Studies

Course	PhD
Course No:	WA623N
Course Title:	Politics and Foreign Policy of Israel
Course Type	Optional
Course Teacher	P R Kumaraswamy
Credits:	Two
Contact Hours:	Two per week

Course Objectives: The course seeks to impart a comprehensive understanding of Israel and its foreign and domestic policies. Tracing the historical evolution of the Jewish national aspirations, it seeks to locate the emergence of Israel within the modern West Asian context and its aftermaths. It offers a comprehensive understanding of the foreign and security policies of Israel and their ramifications on the domestic debates over democracy, religion, military and other issues. The course would also involve in-person or online engagements with Israeli scholars.

Learning Outcomes: a. The students would be able to comprehend domestic and foreign policy dynamics of Israel, a country of considerable importance to India, b. The students would be able relate and draw parallels with India's own experiences; and c. Through robust engagements with Israel scholars, the course seeks a place among their peer groups in the world.

Evaluation Method: Sessional work and semester examination

Course Content

Unit I: Historical background:

- a. Jews in the Diaspora, origin and evolution of Zionist ideology

Unit II: Formation of the State of Israel

- a. Jewish national Home, Balfour Declaration, partition of Palestine, Declaration of independence.

Unit III: Arab-Israeli conflicts and peace making:

- a. Origin, progression and consequences of the wars of 1948. 1956, 1967, 1973, 1981 and *Intifadas*; *Gaza Wars* (2008-09, 2012, 2014, 2021)
- b. The successes and failures of the process of peace-making
Armistice agreement 1948-49; Sinai I and II accords; Israeli-Egypt Camp David Accord; Madrid peace process; Oslo Agreement; Israel-Jordan Peace treaty; Wye River agreement. Abraham Accords
- c. Israel's foreign policy and relations with the US, Russia, EU, great powers and India

Unit IV: Government and politics:

- a. Knesset Elections (1948-2022), coalition politics, electoral reforms

Unit V: Internal tensions in Israel

- a. Civil-military relations; secular-religious differences; problems of immigration; Gender debates; Protest Movements; Arab citizens of Israel; Economic policies and reforms

General Select readings:

Brecher, Michael, *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process*, (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1973)

Curtis, Michael and Gitelson, Susan Aurelia (ed), *Israel and the Third World*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Press, 1976)

Klieman, Ahraon *Statecraft in the Dark: Israel's Practice of Quiet Diplomacy*, (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 1988)

Perlmutter, Amos, *Military and Politics in Israel: Nation Building and Role Expansion*, (London: Frank Cass, 1969)

Stein, Leonard *The Balfour Declaration*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961)

Units I and II: Zionism

Avineri, Shlomo (1981), *The Making of Modern Zionism: Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, New York: Basic Books.

Bergamin, Peter. "Revisionist Zionism in Israel." In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–14. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_10-1.

Herzl, Theodor (1896), *The Jewish State*. Translated by Sylvie d' Avigdor, New York: Dover Publications.

Laqueur, Walter *A History of Zionism*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972)

Unit III: War and Peace

Barnett, Dana, and Efraim Karsh. eds. 2021. *Soft threats to national security: Antisemitism, BDS and the De-legitimization of Israel*. New York and London: Routledge.

Bell, Abraham. "The Counter-Revolutionary Nation-State Law." *Israel Studies* 25/3 (Fall 2020), pp. 240-255.

Erlich, Reuven. 2011. "Israel's Unilateral Withdrawals from Lebanon and the Gaza Strip: A Comparative Overview", *Military and Strategic Affairs*. Vol. 3 (1), pp. 61-73

Fleischmann Leonnie. 2019. *The Israeli Peace Movement Anti-Occupation Activism and Human Rights since the Al-Aqsa Intifada*. London: Bloomsbury.

Golan, Galia, (2014) *Israeli Peacemaking Since 1967: Factors Behind the Breakthroughs and Failures*, (London: Routledge).

Kumaraswamy, P.R. "The Gaza-Jericho Agreement: An Asymmetrical Accord", *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 17, no. 2, May 1994, pp.219-232.

Kumaraswamy, P.R. (ed) *Revisiting the Yom Kippur War*, (London: Frank Cass, 2000).

Malley, Robert and Hussein Agha (2002). "Camp David and After: An Exchange," *The New York Review of Books*, 49(10), 46-49.

Morris, Benny (2004). *The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem revisited*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

Oren, Michael. 2004. *Six Days of War: June 1967 and the making of the modern Middle East*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Podeh, Elie. "Israel and the Arab Peace Initiative, 2002-2014: A Plausible Missed Opportunity." *Middle East Journal* 68, no. 4 (Autumn 2014): 584–603.

Sadot, Uri. (2016). Osirak and the counter-proliferation puzzle. *Security Studies*, 25 (4). pp. 646-676.

Sela, Avraham. 2007. "Civil Society, the Military, and National Security: The Case of Israel's Security Zone in South Lebanon" *Israel Studies*, V. 12 (1), pp. 53-78

Unit III: Foreign policy/relations

Andrew (2019) The evolving Israel-China relationship. RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, CA

Ben-Zvi, Avraham. (1993). *The United States and Israel*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Brecher, Michael. *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*. London, Oxford University Press, 1974.

Dieckhoff, Alain. 2017. The Jewish Diaspora and Israel: Belonging at distance?" *Nations and Nationalism* 23: 271–288.

Kumaraswamy PR (2005) Israel-China relations and the Phalcon controversy. *Middle East Policy* 12:2 (Summer):93-103

Kumaraswamy, P. R. (2020). Shifting sands of time: India's approach toward Israel. *Strategic Assessment* 23(3), 54-68. <https://strategicassessment.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Shifting-Sands-of-Time.pdf>,_ (Last accessed on 10 October 2021)

Shichor Yitzhak (2020) Proxy: unlocking the origins of Israel's military sales to China. The Asia Papers, 3 Center for International and Regional Studies, Georgetown University

Unit IV: Democracy and Elections

Averbukh, Lidia. "Local Politics in Israel." In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–13. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_5-1.

Cohen, Asher. (2018). Likud's rise to power and the 'Democracy in Danger' fearmongering campaign: Rhetoric vs. facts. *Israel Affairs*, 24 (6). pp. 1073-1092.

Dyduch, Joanna. "Electoral Reforms in Israel." In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–20. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_33-1.

Galnoor, Itzhak and Dana Blander, 2018. "The Presidency and the Symbols of Power" in *The Handbook of Israel's Political System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 81-98.

Golan, Galia, (2020). “The Israeli Peace Camp”. *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 3, Spring, pp. 75-89.

Goldberg, Giora. “The Rise and Growth of Political Centrism in Israel.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P R Kumaraswamy, 1–11. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_84-1.

Hermann, Tamar (ed.) (2019), *The Israeli Democracy Index 2019*, Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute..

Khanin, Vladimir (2010) “The Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home) Party between the Mainstream and ‘Russian’ Community Politics”, *Israel Affairs*, 16:1, 105–123.

Mahler, Gregory. *Comparative Politics: Exploring Concepts and Institutions Across Nations*. 6th ed., Lynne Rienner, 2019.

Medzini, Meron. “Censorship Problems in Israel – The Legal Aspect,” *Israel Law Review*, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1971, pp. 309-320.

Medzini, Meron. “Reflection on Israel’s Public Diplomacy,” *Bulletin of the French Research Center*, 2012, online: <http://bcrfj.revues.org/6829>.

Navon, Emmanuel. “Israel’s Nation-State Law.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–13. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_18-1.

Nikolenyi, Csaba (2018). “Keeping Parties Together? The Evolution of Israel’s Anti-Defection Law”, *Polish Political Science Yearbook* 47(2) pp. 188–200.

Nikolenyi, Csaba. “The Presidency of Israel.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–12. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_26-1.

Quamar, Md. Muddassir. “Islamic Movement in Israel.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–14. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_25-1.

Sandler, Shmuel, and Aharon Kampinsky. “The Rise and Decline of the National Religious Party (NRP) in Israeli Politics.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–14. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_12-1.

Sandler, Shmuel. “The Jewish Origins of Israel’s Democracy.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–15. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_1-1.

Skorek, Artur. “Basic Laws of Israel.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–14. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_20-1.

Unit V: Internal tensions: Arabs Community

Al-Haj, Majid, 2002. Multiculturalism in deeply divided societies: the Israeli case. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, Jewish-Arab Inter-group relations: the case of Israel*, 26 (2), 169–183.

Al-Haj, Majid. 2020. *Arab Local Government in Israel*. London: Routledge.

Averbukh, L. (2021), “Towards Jewish-Arab Normalization in Israel,” *SWP Comment*, No. 18, March, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik), Berlin.

Dowty, Alan. (1998). “Consociationalism and Ethnic Democracy: Israeli Arabs in Comparative Perspective”, *Israel Affairs*, 5 (2-3), pp.169-82.

Landau, Jacob *The Arab Minorities in Israel, 1967-91: Political Aspects*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Landau, Jacob *The Arabs in Israel: A Political Study*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969)

Sa'di, Ahmad H. 2000. “Israel as Ethnic Democracy: What are the Implications for the Palestinian Minority?,” *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 22(1), 25-37.

Smootha, Sammy. “The Arab-Jewish Divide and Arab Politics in Israel.” In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P R Kumaraswamy, 1–25. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_49-1.

Smootha, Sammy. 1990. “Minority Status in an Ethnic Democracy: The Status of the Arab Minority in Israel,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 13(3), 389-413.

Unit V: Internal tensions: Gender debates

Harel-Shalev Ayelet. 2019. *Breaking the Binaries in Security Studies: a Gendered Analysis of Women in Combat*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Herzog, H. 2008. ‘Re/visioning the women’s movement in Israel,’ *Citizenship Studies* 12(3): 265 – 282.

Lomsky-Feder, Edna and Sasson-Levy, Orna. (2018) *Israeli women soldiers and citizenship: Gendered encounters with the state*. New York: Routledge.

Sasson-Levy, O., Y. Levy and E. Lomsky-Feder, 2011. 'Women Breaking the Silence: Military Service, Gender, and Antiwar Protest,' *Gender & Society* 25(6): pp. 740–63.

Unit V: Internal tensions: Religion and Politics

Ben-Porat, Guy (2013) *Between State and Synagogue: The Secularization of Contemporary Israel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Don-Yehiya, Eliezer (1999) *Religion and Political Accommodation in Israel*. Jerusalem: Floersheimer Institute for Policy Studies.

Lintl Peter (2020) *The Haredim as a Challenge for the Jewish State: The Culture War over Israel’s Identity*. Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.

Skorek, Artur. "Religious Debates in Israel." In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–13. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_8-1.

Unit V: Internal tensions: Civil-Military Relations

Bar-Yosef, Uri. *The Watchman Fell Asleep: The Surprise of Yom Kippur and Its Sources*. Albany, State University of New York Press, 2003.

Brower Kenneth (2018) *The Israel Defense Forces, 1948–2017*. The Begin–Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Ramat Gan

Livny Adi. 2018. "Conscientious Objection and the State. Contextualizing the Israeli Case." *Armed Forces and Society* 44/4: 666-87.

Sheffer Gabriel and Barak, Oren. (eds.) (2010) *Militarism and Israeli society*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Unit V: Internal tensions: Economy

Aharoni, Yair (1998) *The Changing Political Economy of Israel*. *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 555:127-146.

Eckstein, Zvi et al. (2020) *A Growth Strategy for the Israeli Economy*. Foreign Policy at Brookings. Available via Brookings. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/FP_20200407_israel_economy.pdf Accessed 10 July 2021.

Sharp, Jeremy M. (2020) *US Foreign Aid to Israel*. Congressional Research Service RL 33222.

Wolfrum, Stefan. "Economic Reforms in Israel." In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–24. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_51-1.