

Centre for West Asian Studies School of international Studies

Course for PhD

Course No	WA640
Course title	Politics and Foreign Policy of Israel
Course teacher	P.R. Kumaraswamy
Credits	Four
Instruction method	Lectures, Seminars and tutorials
Evaluation Method	Sessional work and semester examination
Course Duration	One Semester
Contact hours	Four hours per week

Course objective: To offer an holistic understanding of the State of Israel and its domestic and foreign policies. This will enable the students to locate the study of Israel with the larger West Asian context and expand their understanding of contemporary regional developments.

Course Outcome: Training students towards attaining a nuanced and non-blinkered understanding of Israel, a country of considerable importance to India, and its domestic and foreign policy dynamics; and to draw parallels with India's own experiences. Through robust engagements with Israel scholars, the course seeks to train students for a place among their peer groups in the world.

Course Content

1. Historical background:
Jews in the Diaspora, origin and evolution of Zionist ideology
2. Formation of the State of Israel:
Jewish National Home, Balfour Declaration, Yishuv, Aliya, Partition of Palestine, Declaration of Independence. Economy
3. Government and politics:
Democracy; Knesset Elections (1948ff); Coalition Politics; Electoral Reforms; Direct Election of Prime Minister; Local Elections;
4. Internal tensions in Israel
Civil-Military Relations; Secular-Religious Differences; Problems of Immigration; Gender Debates; Protest Movements; Arab Citizens of Israel; Military Service;
5. Arab-Israeli conflicts and peace making:
 - a. Origin, Progression and Consequences of the Wars of 19o8. 1956, 1967, 1973, 1981 and *Intifadas*; *Gaza Wars* (2008-09, 2012, 2014, 2021, 2023ff)
 - b. Successes and Failures of the process of peace-making efforts
Armistice agreement 1948-49; Sinai I and II accords; UNSC Resolution 242; 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
 - d. Tools and pillars of foreign policy; Non-identification; Diplomacy of periphery; Arms diplomacy;

General Select readings:

Bialer, Uri. *Between East and West: Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation, 1948-1956*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Brecher, Michael *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1975.

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.

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

Navon, Emmanuel. *Star and the Scepter: A Diplomatic History of Israel*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska, 2020.

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

Unit 1:

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

Becke, Johannes. "Post-Zionism and 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_22-1.

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

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

Unit 2:

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

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, The Israel Defense Forces, 1948–2017. The Begin–Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Ramat Gan, 2018.

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

Kumaraswamy, P R *Arab-Israeli Conflict: A Ringside View*, London: Routledge, 2023.

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

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

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

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

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.

Unit 3

Ariely, Gal. "Israel's Regime Conflicting Classifications." In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P. R. Kumaraswamy, 1–16. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_2-1.

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, Likud's rise to power and the 'Democracy in Danger' fearmongering campaign: Rhetoric vs. facts. *Israel Affairs*, 2018, 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.

Fleischmann, Leonie. "Protest Movements and Democracy in Israel." 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_4-1.

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

Golan, Galia, "The Israeli Peace Camp". *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, 2020, 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.), *The Israeli Democracy Index 2019*, Jerusalem: The Israel Democracy Institute, 2019.

Khanin, Vladimir, "The Israel Beiteinu (Israel Our Home) Party between the Mainstream and 'Russian' Community Politics", *Israel Affairs*, 2010, 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://bcrq.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. "Keeping Parties Together? The Evolution of Israel's Anti-Defection Law", *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, 2018, 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 4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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)

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

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

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

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

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.

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

Unit 5

Abadi, Jacob. 'Israel and the Abraham Accords: A Futile Political Maneuver or a Meaningful Step Toward a Peaceful Middle East'. In *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, edited by P R Kumaraswamy, 1–19. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2022. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_78-1.

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

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

Ben Dor, Rachel, Lieberfeld, Daniel. "Mission Accomplished?: Israel's 'Four Mothers' And The Legacies Of Successful Antiwar Movements", *International Journal Of Peace Studies*, Spring/Summer 2008, Vol. 13 (1), Special Issue: *Antiwar Movements* (Spring/Summer 2008), pp. 85-97

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kumaraswamy, P. R. 'Did Normalization Change Anything? Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi on India's 1992 Decision on Israel'. *Israel Affairs* 26, no. 6 (November 2020): 767–84. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537121.2020.1832313>.

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

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