

## Foreign Policy of Israel

**Instructor:** Dr. Khinvraj Jangid

**Credit:** Four

**Course Code** M.A.(DLB)0480

**Assessment:** 10% Class Participation, 30% Reflection Exercise, 30% Assignment and 30% End term exam

### Overview

The study of politics and foreign policy of the State of Israel is about understanding the determinants, strengths and challenges of Israel in 21<sup>st</sup> century. The birth and evolution of Israel is controversial due to its multiple conflicts with the regional actors of West Asia (Middle East to some). The formation of the state is unique due to the dispersed life of the Jewish people before 1948 and seeking homeland in the land of Palestine during the British Mandate period. Israel, as a small state, carved a distinct foreign policy after 1948 and has achieved significant influence internationally with its innovation, arms-diplomacy, start-ups and high-tech. This course will look into the major *events*, *actors* and *ideas* behind the foreign relations of Israel with the world and particularly with Asian powers like India and China.

### Readings

There is no single text book or a history book for this course. Each topic has required readings that are important for learning. For each class mandatory readings are given. In addition to it there will be some more writings from current news or events which students will receive in advance before a class. Student should come reading them in class so that discussion or dialogue can take place. All the classes will demand students to participate and play active role in the class room with help of readings. Curiosity is equally an important thing to have for every class. Curiosity does not kill the cat *here!* All the readings and books given here are available in the Jindal Global library. Journals are accessible via JGU access. Students may use material from the web so long as they are able to indicate source as well as give the date accessed. I have given a page of internet sources for daily news and events analysis. Follow some of them on weekly basis.

### Assignments

- The reflection exercise is to have you engage with an event, actor or an idea from the course content and seek your personal views and learning experience
- Assignment, word limit 1000 words

Write Your Own Exam Question – Assignment for 30%

Each student will be required to submit 1000-word assignments. The students are required to compose an ‘ideal exam question’, based on the lecture and reading material of the week, and are to answer the question as thoroughly as possible. Students must specify which week the question is related to. This assignment will be graded according to the following criteria:

- Writing style and clarity
- Quality of analysis of readings
- Quality of exam questions proposed

### Plagiarism

It is an offence not mistake. JGU website has full document explaining what constitutes plagiarism and the degree to which it can affect your career. Beware of it.

### Note

*Jindal Centre for Israel Studies (JCIS) will have guest lectures which will be relevant to the issues dealt in this elective so the students enrolled for it are required to attend all such events of JCIS besides the classroom lectures.*

### Week 1 & 2

#### Introduction – Origins of Israel's foreign policy

We review the course and discuss how Zionism, the British Mandate over Palestine, and the Holocaust influenced the formation of Israel's foreign policy during its early years

#### Required reading

Avineri, Shlomo “Ideology and Israel's foreign policy”, *Jerusalem Quarterly* 37 (1986): 3-13.

Aronson, Shlomo “Israel's security and the Holocaust: Lessons learned, but existential fears continue”, *Israel Studies* 14.1 (2009): 65-93.

Jensehaugen, Jorgen, Marte Heian-Engdal, and Hilde Henriksen Waage, “Securing the State: From Zionist Ideology to Israeli Statehood”, *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 23.2 (2012): 280-303.

Dowty, Alan “Jewish Political Culture and Zionist Foreign Policy”, In Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Kleiman, eds., *Global Politics: Essays in Honour of David Vital* (2001): 309-326.

### Week 3, 4 & 5

#### State of Israel and West Asia: War & Peace

We look at the establishment of the State of Israel through the first Israel-Palestine/Arab War of 1948. Israel’s diplomacy in West Asia and in the larger world after 1950 and evolution of its foreign policy. Key events to go through – 1956, 1967, 1973 Wars and 1978, 1991, 1992 years of peace-making.

#### Required Readings

UN Partition Plan for Palestine

(URL: <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/7F0AF2BD897689B785256C330061D253>)

Bar-On, Mordechai (2007), "Remembering 1948: Personal Recollections, Collective Memory, and the Search for 'What Really Happened'", in Benny Morris (ed.), *Making Israel*, The University of Michigan Press. Pages 29 – 46

Gorenberg, Gershom (2009), "A War to Begin all Wars", *The New York Review of Books*, 28 May 2009. (URL: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/may/28/the-war-to-begin-all-wars/?pagination=false>)

Khalidi, Rashid (2001), "The Palestinians and 1948: The Underlying Causes of Failure", in Shalaim, Avi and Eugene, Rogan, *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*, Cambridge University Press. Pages 12 – 36

Morris, Benny (2008), *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israel War*, Yale University Press. Pages 1 – 37

## Week 6 & 7

### Orientation of Israeli Foreign Policy: West vs East

We examine the tension between Israel's location in the East and its desire to be part of the West, and the effects of the East-West dilemma on Israel's foreign policy. Diaspora is one of the key elements in the making of foreign policy in Israel.

#### Required Readings

Shlaim, Avi (2004), "Israel between East and West, 1948-56", *International Journal Middle East Studies*, 36: 657-673.

Podeh, Elie, "The Desire to Belong Syndrome: Israel and Middle-Eastern Defense, 1948-1954", *Israel Studies* 4.2 (1999): 121-144.

Podeh, Elie, "Israel in the Middle East or Israel and the Middle East: A reappraisal", In in Elie Podeh and Asher Kaufman, eds., *Arab-Jewish relations: From conflict to resolution* (2006): 93-113.

Bar-Zohar, Michael, "David Ben-Gurion and the Policy of the Periphery, 1958. Analysis", In Itamar Rabinovitch and Jehuda Reinharz eds., *Israel in the Middle East. Documents and readings on society, politics, and foreign relations, pre-1948 to the present*, Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press (2008): 191-197.

## Week 8 & 9

### Israel and India: Belated Friendship

We look at the Israel's diplomatic efforts towards India and the political difficulty it had with the larger Asia in 1950s. Israel could only receive full diplomatic ties with India and China after the end of the Cold War. India & China are placed very high in the Israeli diplomatic priorities now.

#### Required Readings

Kumaraswamy, P R (2010), *India's Israel Policy*, Columbia University Press.

Kumaraswamy, P R (2018) *Squaring the Circle: Mahatma Gandhi and the Jewish National Home*, KW Publishers

Jangid, Khinvraj (2017) “Modi’s Visit: How Israel Went from 'Contaminated' by Colonialism to India's Strategic Ally”, *Haaretz*, 4 July, 2017. Available Online: <http://www.haaretz.com/opinion/1.798921>

Jangid, Khinvraj (2017) “Growing ideological convergence, not just business, is driving India-Israel relations”, *Hindustan Times*, 7 July, 2017. Available online: <http://www.hindustantimes.com/opinion/common-ideology-not-business-or-strategic-benefits-is-driving-india-israel-ties/story-2d35TyP7HY6EDNOAJioJdJ.html>

Dubnov M Arie (2016), “Notes on the Zionist passage to India, or: The analogical imagination and its boundaries”, *Journal of Israeli History*, 35 (2): 177-214

Inbar, Efraim (2015), “Improving Ties between India and Israel”, *BESA Center Perspectives Paper*, No. 304, 6 August 2015.

Noorani, A G (2017), “A question of ideology: Modi & Zionism”, *Outlook*, 4 August 2017.

## Week 10 & 11

### Israel and United States: Special Relationship

Israel's foreign relations with its most important ally in the international system – The United States – is critical. To analyze the roots of US-Israeli relations, what makes it ‘special’ and how it has shaped Israel's foreign policy are the key goals here. We briefly touch upon the complicated role of Jewish Americans in these relations, and the Americanization of Israeli culture.

#### Required Reading:

Stein, Kenneth W “US-Israeli Relations 1947-2010: The View from Washington”, In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 159-176.

Bar-Siman-Tov, Yaacov “The United States and Israel since 1948: a “special relationship”?” *Diplomatic History* 22.2 (1998): 231-262.

Little, Douglas. “The making of a special relationship: the United States and Israel, 1957–68”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25.4 (1993): 563-585.

Gerlini, Matteo “Waiting for Dimona: The United States and Israel's development of nuclear capability”, *Cold War History* 10.2 (2010): 143-161.

Mead, Walter Russell “The new Israel and the old: why gentile Americans back the Jewish state”, *Foreign Affairs* (2008): 28-46.

Avraham, Eli, and Anat First “I buy American”: The American image as reflected in Israeli advertising”, *Journal of Communication*, 53.2 (2003): 282- 299.

## Week 12 & 13

### **Battle of Narratives: *Hasbara* versus BDS**

This week looks at the various public diplomacy efforts deployed by both Israel and the Palestinians to influence international media coverage. It is important to find the difference in coverage patterns between media outlets and see how one can process the highly propagandist political narratives. We also discuss the role of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS) in challenging the narratives of State of Israel, and Israel's various responses to it.

#### Required Readings

Gutmann, Stephanie *The other war: Israelis, Palestinians, and the struggle for media supremacy*, Encounter Books, 2005: 95-144; 145-178.

Galloway, Chris “Hot bullets, cool media: The Middle East’s high stakes media war”, *Journal of Communication Management* 9.3 (2005): 233-245.

Yogev Einav and Gallia Lindenstrauss “The Delegitimization Phenomenon: Challenges and Responses”, *INSS Memorandum* 169, Tel Aviv: Institute for National Security Studies (2017). Available at:

<http://www.inss.org.il/wpcontent/uploads/2017/10/memo169.pdf>

Liebes, Tamar and Anat First, “Framing the Palestinian-Israeli Conflicts”, In Norris, Pippa, Montague Kern, and Marion R. Just, eds. *Framing terrorism: The news media, the government, and the public*. Psychology Press, 2003: 59- 74.

Gilboa, Eytan “Public diplomacy: The missing component in Israel's foreign policy”, *Israel Affairs* 12.4 (2006): 715-747.

## Week 14 & 15

### **Israel and the changing dynamics in West Asia**

In the last two weeks of the course, we review the recent most drastic changes in West Asia since the events of the Arab Spring and discuss current issues such as Israel-Iran proxy war, the formation of a new ‘Israeli-Saudi’ understating, and prospects for Israel's future in the world.

#### Required Reading

Byman, Daniel “Israel's pessimistic view of the Arab Spring”, *The Washington Quarterly* 34.3 (2011): 123-136.

Guzansky, Yoel “Tacit Allies: Israel and the Arab Gulf States”, *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 5.1 (2011): 9-17.

Barak, Oren “Ambiguity and conflict in Israeli-Lebanese relations”, *Israel Studies* 15.3 (2010): 163-188.

Rabinovich, Itamar “Israel faces the Palestinians”, In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 79-86.