

ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY

L75 JINE 387 (same as: L74 387; L97 3870)

Department of Jewish, Islamic, and Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

Mondays and Wednesdays, 2:30pm-4:00pm

Fall Semester 2018

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Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays, 4:00pm-5:00pm (right after class)

Course Description:

What drives Israel's foreign policy? How does Zionism, Judaism, trauma, and war influence its engagement with the rest of the world? This course provides a historical and current overview of the political, social, and ethical dilemmas faced by Israeli leadership since the country's establishment in 1948. It first reviews the evolution of Israel's foreign policy towards several actors in the international arena, including the United States, the European Union, Russia, Germany, and the United Nations. It then focuses on the Arab-Israeli conflict, stages in its development, approaches to its settlement, and its effect on Israel's foreign relations with Arab and Muslim-majority countries. Current issues in Israel's foreign policy are discussed throughout the course, including the Iranian nuclear deal, the formation of an Israeli-Sunni alliance, the BDS movement, terrorism, Israel's relations with the Jewish Diaspora (with a special focus on the Jewish community in the US), and other events that may unfold during the course. Students are tasked with applying theories of international relations to the Israeli case and examining their explanatory and predictive powers. They will also take part in a class simulation that recreates a major turning point in Israel's foreign relations. The course will include a guest lecture by an Israeli diplomat (depending on availability), and a visit to the St. Louis' Jewish Community Center (JCC) to discuss Israel-Jewish relations in America.

Course goals:

After completing this course, students will be able to:

- Analyze and critique current events involving Israel's foreign policy and the Israeli-Arab conflict
- Access credible sources for news, data, and information regarding Israel and the Middle East
- Use primary sources to produce independent, objective, and evidence-based arguments in their papers
- Apply theories of international relations, psychology, and sociology to the world of international and regional politics

Required texts for class:

Much of the course is going to rely on these two books. The required chapters will be available online, but I recommend obtaining full copies of these books if you really want to delve into Israeli foreign politics:

Freilich, Charles D. *Israel's National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Wittstock, Alfred, ed. *The World Facing Israel, Israel Facing the World: Images and Politics*. Frank & Timme GmbH, 2011.

Major Assignments and course grading:

There will be four assignments (60 points) and one final exam (40 points). Some assignments combine an oral presentation and a paper submission. Assignments include an analysis of a current event (20 points), two critical review papers (15 points each), and a class simulation (10 points). The grading scale is as follows:

A	93-100	C	73-76
A-	90-92	C-	70-72
B+	87-89	D+	67-69
B	83-86	D	63-66
B-	80-82	D-	60-62
C+	77-79	F	0-59

1. Analysis of current event in the news (20 points):

Students are required to critique a current news report that relates to Israel, evaluate the reliability of the sources it uses, fact-check the data, and apply approaches and theories discussed in class to explain the event or expand on it. At the start of every lesson, one student will give a 5-minute oral presentation on the article they chose (10 points). In the following week the student will submit a short paper (4-5 double-spaced pages) that summarizes their presentation and applies comments they received during class (if any), along with a copy of the news report they critiqued (10 points).

Grade allocation for the oral presentation:

Criteria	Points
Student clearly explains the current event described in the news report.	2
Student uses at least two external sources to fact-check the data presented in the news reports.	3
Student convincingly applies a theory or argument presented in class to explain the event and/or expand on it.	3
Student's presentation is organized, clear, and provides a summary without exceeding the time limit.	2
Points Possible	10

Grade allocation for the follow up paper submission:

Criteria	Points
The paper clearly presents the three elements of the assignment – (1) summary of the news report, (2) fact checking, and (3) application of theory/argument to explain the event or expand on it.	6
The student expanded on the presentation given in class and applied comments given after the presentation (if any) to improve the main arguments	2
Paper contains references to external sources for fact-checking	1
Paper is organized, formatted, and does not exceed the page limit.	1
Total points possible	10

2. Two critical review papers (15 points x 2):

Students must choose an article from the optional readings section of the syllabus (not a required reading), summarize its main argument(s), and then criticize it on various grounds using additional sources/articles from the reading list. The critique can also focus on the article's methodology, flow of argument, undisclosed biases, use of sources, etc. (6-8 double-spaced pages).

Grade allocation for the critical review paper

Criteria	Points
Chosen article is summarized accurately, and its main arguments are clearly presented.	3
Critique is objective and relies on several grounds – theoretical, practical, factual, methodological.	5
Critique is convincingly supported by external sources – articles from the syllabus and elsewhere	5
References are written and applied correctly	1
Paper is organized, formatted, and does not exceed the page limit	1
Total points possible	15

3. Simulation (10 points):

A simulation will take place during week 14 and will provide an opportunity for students to apply their knowledge on Israeli and regional foreign policy in an extended group exercise. Students are divided into groups (up to five students per group) and are tasked with representing a country or organization during an unfolding crisis (more details on the simulation appear under "week 14" in the syllabus). Students are required to deliver an oral presentation of their country's stance during class (5 points), and in the following week submit a short collective summary paper (4-5 double spaced pages) in the groups they were in during the simulation (5 points).

Grade allocation for the class simulation (same grade for all participants in the group):

Criteria	Points
Group oral presentation of the country's stance is well-articulated and based on research and reliable data explaining the country's interests and motivations	3
All students in the group participated in	1

the activity and had their voices heard (a student who is willingly not participating in the group activity will not receive the group's full grade)	
All students in the group participated in the oral presentation in some capacity (only one student has to give the main speech, but all students should weigh in and add comments when asked)	1
Total points possible	5

Grade allocation for the follow-up summary paper (submitted collectively, same grade for all participant in the group)

Criteria	Points
The group's stance during the simulation is well-articulated and explains the motivations for the actions it took	2
Arguments regarding the country's interests and motivations are based on primary data and reliable sources	2
Paper is organized, formatted, and does not exceed the page limit	1
Total points possible	5

4. Final exam (40 points):

The exam will be comprised of:

- 22 multiple-choice questions (1 point per question = 22 points)
- Analysis of news report – choice between two options (8 points)
- Open question where students are asked to analyze an event according to competing theories of IR – choice between two options (10 points)

Total points:

Assignment	Possible points
Analysis of event (oral presentation)	10
Analysis of event (paper submission)	10
Critical review paper #1	15
Critical review paper #2	15
Simulation (oral presentation)	5
Simulation (paper submission)	5
Final exam	40
Total points possible	100

Format of paper submissions:

All work for this class should be typed, double-spaced, spell-checked, contain 1-inch margins, and use a 12-point font. The format for references and bibliography can be APA, MLA, Chicago, Harvard, etc. so long as the same style is applied consistently throughout the work. This syllabus applies the MLA style.

Course policies:

INCLUSIVE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT STATEMENT: The best learning environment—whether in the classroom, studio, laboratory, or fieldwork site—is one in which all members feel respected while being productively challenged. At Washington University in St. Louis, we are dedicated to fostering an inclusive atmosphere, in which all participants can contribute, explore, and challenge their own ideas as well as those of others. Every participant has an active responsibility to foster a climate of intellectual stimulation, openness, and respect for diverse perspectives, questions, personal backgrounds, abilities, and experiences, although instructors bear primary responsibility for its maintenance.

A range of resources is available to those who perceive a learning environment as lacking inclusivity, as defined in the preceding paragraph. If possible, we encourage students to speak directly with their instructor about any suggestions or concerns they have regarding a particular instructional space or situation. Alternatively, students may bring concerns to another trusted advisor or administrator (such as an academic advisor, mentor, department chair, or dean). All classroom participants—including faculty, staff, and students—who observe a bias incident affecting a student may also file a report (whether personally or anonymously) utilizing the online Bias Report and Support System.

ATTENDANCE POLICY: Students are expected to attend class regularly and arrive on time. Attendance is mandatory. Unexcused absences of more than 2 lessons will be penalized with a two percent deduction from the student's final course grade. Students are responsible for making up any work missed due to absence.

LATE SUBMISSIONS POLICY: Students must complete all assigned readings before the class meeting and be prepared to participate actively in discussions of the readings and current events. Papers should be submitted by the beginning of class on the specified due date. Late work will be accepted, but dropped 1 point for each day it is late. If you have any special circumstances that you think might justify an extension, please contact me before the due date and I will be happy to accommodate you.

RE-GRADING POLICY: Students who think they have received an unfair grade for one of the exams should write a formal one-page memo summarizing the nature of their complaint and why the work warrants a higher grade. At Washington University in St. Louis, we take grading very seriously and attempt to minimize biased grading. Grade complaints should not be made casually. Grade complaints should be emailed to me within one week of receiving the grade. I reserve the right to adjust the grade upward or downward.

ETHICS/VIOLATIONS OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY: Ethical behavior is an essential component of learning and scholarship. Students are expected to understand, and adhere to, the University's academic integrity policy: wustl.edu/policies/undergraduate-academic-integrity.html. Students who violate this policy will be referred to the Academic Integrity Policy Committee. Penalties for violating the policy will be determined by the Academic Integrity Policy committee, and can include failure of the assignment, failure of the course, suspension or expulsion from the University. If you have any doubts about what constitutes a violation of the Academic Integrity policy, or any other issue related to academic integrity, please ask me. As a general guideline, always cite your sources when you present ideas and/or language that you have not developed yourself, including material from class lectures and discussions. Violation of this policy includes collaborating on assignments where collaboration is not allowed and/or utilizing notes, texts, etc. on any assignment where use of such materials is not allowed

Resources for students:

DISABILITY RESOURCES: If you have a disability that requires an accommodation, please speak with me and consult the **Disability Resource Center** at Cornerstone (cornerstone.wustl.edu/). Cornerstone staff will determine appropriate accommodations and will work with me to make sure these are available to you.

WRITING ASSISTANCE: For additional help on your writing, consult the expert staff of **The Writing Center** (writingcenter.wustl.edu) in Olin Library (first floor). It can be enormously helpful to ask someone outside a course to read your essays and to provide feedback on strength of argument, clarity, organization, etc.

THE UNIVERSITY'S PREFERRED NAME POLICY FOR STUDENTS, with additional resources and information, may be found here: registrar.wustl.edu/student-records/ssn-name-changes/preferred-name-policy/preferred-name-policy-student/.

ACCOMMODATIONS BASED UPON SEXUAL ASSAULT: The University is committed to offering reasonable academic accommodations to students who are victims of sexual assault. Students are eligible for accommodation regardless of whether they seek criminal or disciplinary action. Depending on the specific nature of the allegation, such measures may include but are not limited to: implementation of a no-contact order, course/classroom assignment changes, and other academic support services and accommodations. If you need to request such accommodations, please

direct your request to Kim Webb (kim_webb@wustl.edu), Director of the Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention Center. Ms. Webb is a confidential resource; however, requests for accommodations will be shared with the appropriate University administration and faculty. The University will maintain as confidential any accommodations or protective measures provided to an individual student so long as it does not impair the ability to provide such measures.

If a student comes to me to discuss or disclose an instance of sexual assault, sex discrimination, sexual harassment, dating violence, domestic violence or stalking, or if I otherwise observe or become aware of such an allegation, I will keep the information as private as I can, but as a faculty member of Washington University, I am required to immediately report it to my Department Chair or Dean or directly to Ms. Jessica Kennedy, the University's Title IX Coordinator. If you would like to speak with the Title IX Coordinator directly, Ms. Kennedy can be reached at [\(314\) 935-3118](tel:3149353118), jwkennedy@wustl.edu, or by visiting her office in the Women's Building. Additionally, you can report incidents or complaints to Tamara King, Associate Dean for Students and Director of Student Conduct, or by contacting WUPD at [\(314\) 935-5555](tel:3149355555) or your local law enforcement agency.

You can also speak confidentially and learn more about available resources at the Relationship and Sexual Violence Prevention Center by calling [\(314\) 935-8761](tel:3149358761) or visiting the 4th floor of Seigle Hall.

BIAS REPORTING: The University has a process through which students, faculty, staff and community members who have experienced or witnessed incidents of bias, prejudice or discrimination against a student can report their experiences to the University's Bias Report and Support System (BRSS) team. See: brss.wustl.edu

MENTAL HEALTH: Mental Health Services' professional staff members work with students to resolve personal and interpersonal difficulties, many of which can affect the academic experience. These include conflicts with or worry about friends or family, concerns about eating or drinking patterns, and feelings of anxiety and depression. See: shs.wustl.edu/MentalHealth

Disclaimer:

The instructor reserves the right to make modifications to this information throughout the semester.

Schedule of Topics, Readings, and Assignments:

Week 1: Introduction – the roots of Israel's foreign policy

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

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week, students will:

- Familiarize themselves with the course requirements and main themes
- Get a basic understanding of what Zionism is and what created it
- Identify the main theoretical approaches to why countries act the way they do in the international system (Realism vs. Liberalism vs. Constructivism)

Required reading:

Freilich, Charles D. *Israel's National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change*. Oxford University Press. 2018. (Chapter 9: "The Foreign Policy Response". pp. 258-288)

Snyder, Jack. "One World, Rival Theories." *Foreign Policy*, No. 145 (Nov-Dec 2004): 52-62

Optional reading:

Speech: "Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett to the Israeli Knesset" (15 June 1949). <https://israeled.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/1949-6-June-15-Sharett-to-Israel-Knesset.pdf>

Freilich, Charles D. *Zion's dilemmas: how Israel makes national security policy*. Cornell University Press. 2012. (Chapters 1 + 2, pp. 9-74)

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

Jensehaugen, Jørgen, 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.

Friesel, Evyatar. "On the myth of the connection between the Holocaust and the creation of Israel." *Israel Affairs* 14.3 (2008): 446-466.

Week 2: Is Israel part of the Middle East?

We examine the tension between Israel's geography and its desire to be part of the West, and ask whether Israel is a foreign entity in the Middle East. We take a look at different maps of the Middle East, and understand how they construe different understandings of the region. We also touch upon Israeli culture, tensions between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews in Israel, and the effects of the East-West dilemma on Israel's foreign policy.

**class activity* - Maps! Let's learn how to read them and where to find the really good ones!*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week, students will:

- Be exposed to Israel's main societal cleavages and how they shape its actions in the international system
- Be able to read a map (political maps, demographic maps, etc.), locate credible sources for different types of maps, and understand the importance of geography in international relations
- Identify how foreign relations are shaped by religion, history, culture and tragedy

Required reading:

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 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.

Optional reading:

Nancy Berg. "Israel: the teen years". In Nissim Rejwan ed., *Israel's Years of Bogus Grandeur: From the Six-Day War to the First Intifada*. University of Texas Press (2006).

Shohat, Ella. "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the standpoint of its Jewish victims." *Social Text* 19/20 (1988): 1-35.

Remennick, Larissa. "Transnational community in the making: Russian-Jewish immigrants of the 1990s in Israel." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28.3 (2002): 515-530.

Ohana, David. *Israel and Its Mediterranean Identity*. Springer, 2016.

Weiss, Martin A. "Arab League Boycott of Israel." Library of Congress Washington DC Congressional Research Service, 2007.

<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33961.pdf>

Bilgin, Pinar. "Securing the Mediterranean, inventing the 'Middle East'." In Gillespie, Richard, and Frédéric Volpi eds., *Routledge Handbook of Mediterranean Politics*. Routledge, 2017: 66-75.

Neil Caplan, "Oum Shmoom' Revisited: Israeli Attitude Towards the UN and the Great Powers, 1948-1960," In Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Kleiman, eds., *Global Politics: Essays in Honour of David Vital* (2001): 167-198.

Biger, Gideon. "The boundaries of Israel—Palestine past, present, and future: A critical geographical view." *Israel Studies* 13.1 (2008): 68-93.

Schneer, Jonathan. *The Balfour Declaration: the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict*. Bond Street Books, 2010.

Week 3: Israel and the US – a “special” relationship

We review Israel's foreign relations with its most important ally in the international system – The United States. We analyze the roots of US-Israeli relations, what makes it "special", how it has shaped Israel's foreign policy, and where it is heading in the next decade. We briefly touch upon the complicated role of Jewish Americans in these relations, and the Americanization of Israeli culture.

**class activity* - Fact finding mission: locate reliable data about Jewish Americans (socio-demographic data, immigration, political orientation, etc.)*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week, students will:

- Familiarize themselves with theories of alliance and cooperation in international relations
- Identify the foundations of US-Israeli ties, and where they are heading
- Access reliable sources and data on the Jewish community in the U.S.

Required reading:

Freilich, Charles D. *Israel's National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change*. Oxford University Press. 2018. (chapter 10: "The Special Relationship", pp. 289-324)

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.

Optional reading:

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.

Eran, Oded. "Israel and the US: Is It Really That Bad?" In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 151-158.

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 4: Israel and Germany - In the shadow of the holocaust

We discuss the complicated relations between Israel and Germany: from the question of receiving reparations from Germany during the 1950s, to the influx of young Israelis living in Berlin in recent decades. We ask whether Israelis forgave Germany for the holocaust, and whether Germans forgive the Jews for Auschwitz.

Trigger warning: lesson will include disturbing images/videos and discuss psychological theories of trauma and sensitive/complex family-relations

**class activity* - Role-play debate: Should Israel accept reparations from Germany?*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week, students will:

- Apply psychological theories to international relations
- Discuss moral dilemmas of foreign policy formulation
- Debate pragmatist vs. idealist considerations in foreign relations

Required reading:

Weitz, Yechiam. "The Reparation Negotiations in Israeli Politics: An Introduction". In Sharett, Yaakov, ed. *The Reparations Controversy: The Jewish State and German Money in the Shadow of the Holocaust 1951-1952*. Walter de Gruyter, 2011: 1-22.

Speech: “Menachem Begin (opposition leader in the Knesset) on Whether to Accept Reparations from Germany” (7 January 1952): <https://israeled.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/1952-1-January-17-Begin-on-Whether-to-Accept-German-Reparations.pdf>

Lavy, George. *Germany and Israel: moral debt and national interest*. Routledge, 2014. (Chapters 3 + 12: "The Question of Diplomatic Relations" + "Moral Debt or National Interest?")

Optional reading:

Zweig, Ronald W. "Reparations Made Me': Nahum Goldmann, German Reparations, and the Jewish World". In Raider, Mark A., ed. *Nahum Goldmann: Statesman Without a State*. SUNY Press, 2009: 233-253.

Epstein, Anita. "Can a Holocaust Survivor Ever Forgive the Germans?", *Haaretz*. June 14, 2010. <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/can-a-holocaust-survivor-ever-forgive-the-germans-1.296163>

Weinthal, Benjamin. "Why Europe Blames Israel for the Holocaust: Post-1945 anti-Semitism". *The Jerusalem Post*. January 28, 2014. <http://www.jpost.com/Jewish-World/Jewish-Features/Why-Europe-blames-Israel-for-the-Holocaust-Post-1945-anti-Semitism-339571>

Oz-Salzberger, Fania. *Israelis in Berlin*. Suhrkamp Verlag, 2001.

Week 5: Israel and Europe – Between economics and politics

The European Union is Israel's largest trade partner. Yet the politics between Israel and the EU have known highs and deep lows throughout the decades. We discuss Israeli foreign relations with the EU and several of its state-members, particularly France, UK, and the countries of East Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union (including Russia).

**class activity* - finding reliable data on foreign trade from primary sources*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Realize that Europe is not a country, and differentiate between EU foreign politics and that of the sovereign countries that comprise it.
- Learn how to access primary sources and reliable data about international trade in general and Israeli foreign trade specifically
- Apply economic trade theories in international relations (commercial peace theory, etc.) on the Israeli-EU case study

Required reading:

Dachs, Gisela, and Joel Peters. *Israel and Europe, the troubled relationship: between perceptions and reality*. The Centre for the Study of European Politics and Society. Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel. 2004.

Dror, Yehezkel, and Sharon Pardo. "Approaches and principles for an Israeli grand strategy towards the European Union." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 11 (2006): 17-44.

Freedman, Robert O. "Russia, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict under Putin". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 131-150.

Optional reading:

Bunzl, Matti. "Between anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Some thoughts on the new Europe." *American Ethnologist* 32.4 (2005): 499-508.

Heimann, Gadi. "From Friendship to Patronage: France–Israel Relations, 1958–1967." *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 21.2 (2010): 240-258.

Heiman, Gadi. "Diverging Goals: The French and Israeli Pursuit of the Bomb, 1958-1962." *Israel studies* 15.2 (2010): 104-126.

Goldstein, Yossi, and Yvette Shumacher. "France or the US? The Struggle to Change Israel's Foreign Policy Orientation, 1956–64 (Part I)." *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 4.2 (2010): 99-113.

Ro'i, Yaacov. "The deterioration of relations: from support to severance." *The Journal of Israeli History* 22.1 (2003): 21-36.

Week 6: Israel and the United Nations

We discuss Israel's strained relations with the United Nations and why it seems to repeatedly disregard UN resolutions. We examine Abba Eban's argument that: "If Algeria introduced a resolution declaring that the earth was flat and that Israel had flattened it, it would pass by a vote of 164 to 13 with 26 abstentions."

**class activity* - How to summarize an academic paper and apply critical but constructive thinking: good practice before submitting Critical Review Paper #1*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Learn that the UN has some deep flaws in its system, and look for ways to remedy them

- Familiarize themselves with Cold War politics in the Middle East, and how relevant they still are in the UN's treatment of the region
- Summarize an academic paper of their choice, applying critical thinking

Required reading:

"Is Zionism Racism? Twenty-two Questions", *Bulletin of Peace Proposals* 7.4 (1976).

Speech: Chaim Herzog (President of Israel), "Zionism is not Racism", Speech before the United Nations General Assembly (1975): <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Politics-And-Diplomacy/Zionism-is-not-racism-A-speech-40-years-ago-432506>

Becker, Raphael N., Arye L. Hillman, Niklas Potrafke and Alexander H. Schwemmer, "The preoccupation of the United Nations with Israel: Evidence and theory." *The Review of International Organizations* 10.4 (2015): 413-437.

Optional reading:

Lewis, Paul, "U.N. Repeals Its '75 Resolution Equating Zionism With Racism", *New York Times* (December 17, 1991).

Weiss, Thomas G. *What's Wrong with the United Nations and how to Fix it*. John Wiley & Sons, 2016.

Week 7: Israel and the developing world – "Tikun Olam" vs. "Realpolitik"

We review the evolution of Israel's relations with various countries in Sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. We discuss the conflicting motivations driving these relations and the moral questions they raise.

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week, student will:

- Discuss normative and moral theories in foreign policy
- Debate whether foreign policy should be judged as "good" or "evil"
- Learn how technology can do a lot of good to a lot of people, if applied to good use

Required reading:

Sznajder, Mario. "Israel and (in?) Latin America". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 177-188.

Escude, Carlos. "Israeli-Latin American Relations, 1948-2010". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 189-208.

Chazan, Naomi. "Israel facing Africa: Patterns and Perceptions". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 209-224.

Optional reading:

Oded, Arye. "Africa in Israeli foreign policy—Expectations and disenchantment: Historical and diplomatic aspects." *Israel Studies* 15.3 (2010): 121-142.

Ayee, Joseph. "Africa's Perception of Israel". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 225-238.

Abadi, Jacob. "Israel and Sudan: Saga of an enigmatic relationship." *Middle Eastern Studies* 35.3 (1999): 19-41.

Chen, Yiyi. "China's relationship with Israel, opportunities and challenges: Perspectives from China." *Israel Studies* 17.3 (2012): 1-21.

Shai, Aron. "North Korea and Israel: A Missed Opportunity?." *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 10.1 (2016): 59-73.

Week 8: Israel and the Jewish Diaspora

Submission deadline for critical review paper #1

Here we learn how countries use their Diaspora as a foreign policy tool (China, Russia, Turkey, Israel, Armenia, etc.), we discuss the difference between Israeli and Jewish Diaspora, and we dig deeper into Israel's relations with the Jewish-American community. We will also discuss the effect of Anti-Semitism on Israeli foreign policy.

Visit to the St. Louis' Jewish Community Center to discuss relations (and tensions) between Israel and the Jewish-American community

**class activity* Debate between three groups – should Jews be encouraged to immigrate to Israel, should they stay where they are but be active and influence local politics for the benefit of Israel, or should they be left alone?*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Examine how different countries use their diaspora as a political tool, and the dilemmas this creates for both sides
- Debate how best to treat Diasporas
- Familiarize themselves with the Jewish community in St Louis.

Required reading:

Dowty, Alan. "Israeli foreign policy and the Jewish question." *Middle East* 3.1 (1999): 1-13.

Legislation: The Israeli Law of Return (5 June 1950):

<http://knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/return.htm>

Memoir: David Ben-Gurion (first PM of Israel), "Israel's Faithful Ally", excerpt taken from "Vision and Redemption" (available on Blackboard).

Bialer, Uri. *Between East and West: Israel's foreign policy orientation 1948-1956*. Cambridge University Press, 1990: 57-77.

Safran, William. "The Jewish diaspora in a comparative and theoretical perspective." *Israel Studies* 10.1 (2005): 36-60.

Optional reading:

Shain, Yossi. "The role of diasporas in conflict perpetuation or resolution." *Sais Review* 22.2 (2002): 115-144.

Lugo, Luis, Alan Cooperman, Gregory A. Smith, Erin O'Connell, and Stencell Sandra. "A portrait of Jewish Americans: Findings from a pew research center survey of US Jews." *Pew Research Institute* 10 (2013).

Waxman, Dov. "The Israel Lobbies: A Survey of the Pro-Israel Community in the United States." *Israel Studies Forum*. Vol. 25. No. 1. 2010: 5-28.

Alterman, Owen. "Israel and American Jewry: Moving Beyond the Core." *Strategic Assessment*, 18.4 (2016): 43-57. [http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/systemfiles/adkan18_4ENG3%20\(3\)_Alterman.pdf](http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/systemfiles/adkan18_4ENG3%20(3)_Alterman.pdf)

Porat, Ran. "The Ausraelis: Israelis in Australia as a test case of distinctiveness vis-à-vis the Jewish diaspora." *Israel Affairs* 24.1 (2017): 167-190.

Video: Jews leave France in record numbers, CNN. December 2017.

<http://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2016/01/22/jews-leaving-europe-charlie-hebdo-liebermann-pkg.cnn>

Week 9: Israel's major wars – The deed and the gun

We begin to discuss Israel's conflicts with its neighboring states and with the Palestinians. We focus first on the major wars that took place between 1948-1973, the involvement of major powers in these conflicts, and their effect on Israel's foreign policy to this day.

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Familiarize themselves with the origins of the Israel-Arab conflict, and the differences between that and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict
- Learn about Israel's major wars
- Be convinced that the Middle East is a very complicated place

Required reading:

Morris, Benny. *1948: a history of the first Arab-Israeli war*. Yale University Press, 2008. (pp. 1-36, background only; 37-74; 375-420).

Tal, David. "Seizing opportunities: Israel and the 1958 crisis in the Middle East." *Middle Eastern Studies* 37.1 (2001): 142-158.

Bar-Joseph, Uri. "Last chance to avoid war: Sadat's peace initiative of February 1973 and its failure." *Journal of contemporary history* 41.3 (2006): 545-556.

Optional reading:

Kober, Avi. "Great-Power Involvement and Israeli Battlefield Success in the Arab-Israeli Wars, 1948–1982." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 8.1 (2005): 20-48.

Vanetik, Boaz, and Zaki Shalom. "The White House Middle East policy in 1973 as a catalyst for the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War." *Israel Studies* 16.1 (2011): 53-78.

Levey, Zach. "Israeli foreign policy and the arms race in the Middle East 1950–1960." *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 24.1 (2001): 29-48.

Maoz, Zeev. *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security & Foreign Policy*. University of Michigan Press, 2009.

Week 10: The West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Palestinian question

We discuss the creation and evolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the core issues that make it intractable, possible future perspectives, and how it all shaped Israel's foreign policy.

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Dive into the complexities of the 100-year long Israeli-Palestinian clash, and why some problems don't have a clear solution
- Apply theories of conflict management and conflict resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian case-study, and then scratch their heads

- Win Friday night arguments around the dinner table, because they'll now know more about THE CONFLICT than their parents probably do

Required reading:

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

Elad, Moshe. "The birth of the core issues: the West Bank and East Jerusalem under Israeli administration 1967–76 (part 1+2)." *Israel Affairs* 18.4 (2012): 577-595 + *Israel Affairs* 20.1 (2014): 75-86.

Hassassian, Manuel. "The Intractable Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Future Perspectives". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 87-96.

Optional reading:

Karsh, Efraim. "Zionism and the Palestinians." *Israel Affairs* 14.3 (2008): 355-373.

Shlaim, Avi. "The debate about 1948." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27.3 (1995): 287-304.

Khalidi, Rashid. "The Palestinians and 1948 the underlying causes of failure," In Rogan, Eugene L., and Avi Shlaim, eds. *The war for Palestine: rewriting the history of 1948*. Vol. 15. Cambridge University Press, 2007: 12-36.

Raz, Avi. "The Generous Peace Offer that was Never Offered: The Israeli Cabinet Resolution of June 19, 1967." *Diplomatic History* 37.1 (2013): 85-108.

Karsh, Efraim. "How many Palestinian Arab refugees were there?" *Israel Affairs* 17.02 (2011): 224-246.

Shelef, Nadav G. "From "Both Banks of the Jordan" to the "Whole Land of Israel:" Ideological Change in Revisionist Zionism." *Israel Studies* 9.1 (2004): 125-148.

Arnon, Arie. "Israeli policy towards the occupied Palestinian territories: The economic dimension, 1967-2007." *The Middle East Journal* 61.4 (2007): 573-595.

Oren, Michael B. *Six days of war: June 1967 and the making of the modern Middle East*. Presidio Press, 2017.

Week 11: From David to Goliath – The turn to asymmetrical warfare

Since the 1980s, Israel's attention shifted from major conventional wars against its Arab neighbors, to asymmetrical combat with Palestinian civilian populations. We discuss how this shift profoundly affected Israel's foreign policy, its image in the world, and its self-perception as a democratic state.

**class activity #1* Class debate on a soldier's moral dilemmas during combat, using real-life scenarios from Israel's past wars.*

**class activity #2* Fact-finding mission: locate credible sources on terrorist attacks in Israel and in the Middle East*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Apply theories of "Just War" and ethical combat in asymmetrical conflicts to the Israeli-Palestinian case
- Accurately define "terrorism" and identify the differences between a terrorist and a guerilla fighter
- Identify the differences between various Palestinian resistance groups and their creeds (secular vs. religious)
- Locate credible sources containing reliable data on terrorist attacks in Israel and the region

Required reading:

Freilich, Charles D. *Israel's National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change*. Oxford University Press. 2018. (Chapters 2+3: "Israel's New Strategic Setting" + "The Changing Military Threat", pp. 33-90)

The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), 1988. Available at: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp

Goldberg, Giora. "The growing militarization of the Israeli political system." *Israel Affairs* 12.3 (2006): 377-394.

Optional reading:

Freilich, Charles D. *Zion's dilemmas: how Israel makes national security policy*. Cornell University Press. 2012. (Chapters 5 + 6 + 8 + 9, pp. 122-153, 177-222)

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

Lambeth, Benjamin S. "Israel's War in Gaza: A Paradigm of Effective Military Learning and Adaptation." *International Security* 37.2 (2012): 81-118.

Lambeth, Benjamin S. "Learning from Lebanon: airpower and strategy in Israel's 2006 war against Hezbollah." *Naval War College Review* 65.3 (2012): 83-105.

Maoz, Zeev. "Evaluating Israel's Strategy of Low-Intensity Warfare, 1949–2006." *Security Studies* 16.3 (2007): 319-349.

Montgomery, Evan Braden, and Stacie L. Pettyjohn. "Democratization, Instability, and War: Israel's 2006 Conflicts with Hamas and Hezbollah." *Security Studies* 19.3 (2010): 521-554.

Week 12: The quest for peace

Submission deadline for critical review paper #2

We review the various efforts to reach a solution to end the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the peace deals with Egypt and Jordan, the ongoing negotiations with the Palestinians, and the involvement of the US, the EU, Russia, and the Arab world in such efforts. We ask whether peace is an obtainable goal, and if so, what should it look like.

**class activity* Designing peace: students will be split into groups and asked to come up with a comprehensive peace plan for Israel and the Palestinians. Each group will focus on a different core issue (Jerusalem, refugees, natural resources, security/borders) and present it before class*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Apply what they learned in class to an actual negotiation table, where the freedom of theory must meet the harsh constraints of reality
- Identify the main stumbling blocks that are currently holding back peace efforts
- Hopefully feel good about the future

Required reading:

Freilich, Charles D. *Zion's dilemmas: how Israel makes national security policy*. Cornell University Press. 2012. (Chapters 3 + 7: "Camp David I" + "Camp David II", pp. 79-99, 154-176)

Meital, Yoram. "Perceptions of Peace: Israel, Egypt and Jordan". In Alfred Wittstock, ed. *The World Facing Israel – Israel Facing the World*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2011: 29-38.

Slater, Jerome. "Lost Opportunities for Peace in the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Israel and Syria, 1948–2001." *International Security* 27.1 (2002): 79-106.

Optional reading:

Bar-Siman-Tov, Yaacov. *Israel and the peace process 1977-1982: in search of legitimacy for peace*. SUNY Press, 1994.

Quandt, William B. *Peace process: American diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli conflict since 1967*. Brookings Institution Press, 2010.

Cohen-Almagor, Raphael. "The failed Palestinian–Israeli peace process 1993–2011: an Israeli perspective." *Israel Affairs* 18.4 (2012): 563-576.

Stein, Janice Gross. "The Turning Point: From Management to Resolution in the Arab-Israel Conflict." *International Journal of Peace Studies* 4 (1999): 27-46.

Lehrs, Lior. "Jerusalem on the Negotiating Table: Analyzing the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks on Jerusalem (1993–2015)." *Israel Studies* 21.3 (2016): 179-205.

Rabinovich, Itamar. *Yitzhak Rabin: soldier, leader, statesman*. Yale University Press, 2017: 172-214.

Kacowicz, Arie M. "Rashomon in Jerusalem: Mapping the Israeli Negotiators' Positions on the Israeli–Palestinian Peace Process, 1993–2001." *International Studies Perspectives* 6.2 (2005): 252-273.

Rynhold, Jonathan. "The US and the Arab-Israeli Peace Process: Conflict Management versus Conflict Resolution," In Gilboa, Eytan, and Efraim Inbar, eds. *US-Israeli relations in a new era: issues and challenges after 9/11*. Routledge, 2008: 140-157

Week 13: The war of words - "Hasbarah" vs. BDS

We review the various public diplomacy efforts deployed by both Israel and the Palestinians to influence international media coverage. We analyze the difference in coverage patterns between American, European and Arab media outlets, and examine how major political events changed these patterns over the years. We also discuss the role of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS) in the de-legitimization of the State of Israel, and Israel's various responses to it.

**Class Activity* Class is split into groups and tasked with finding and analyzing media reports from different news sources covering the same event. Each group must identify the different media frames that are employed to each event*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Identify media frames and their application in the news
- Analyze and critique current events and news reports involving Israel's foreign policy and the Israeli-Arab conflict
- Access relevant and credible sources for news, data and information regarding Israel and the Middle East
- Learn that "fake news" is much more common than they think

Required reading:

Freilich, Charles D. *Israel's National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change*. Oxford University Press, 2018. (Chapter 4: "Nonmilitary Threats", pp. 92-116)

Gutmann, Stephanie. *The other war: Israelis, Palestinians, and the struggle for media supremacy*. Encounter Books, 2005 (Chapter 1+4: "War: the Reality Show" + "If it Bleeds, It Leeds")

Optional reading:

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/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/memo169.pdf>

Cohen, Matthew S., and Chuck D. Freilich. "War by other means: the delegitimation campaign against Israel." *Israel Affairs* 24.1 (2018): 1-25.

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.

Navon, Emanuel. *Soft powerlessness: Arab propaganda and the erosion of Israel's International standing*. Herzeliya: IDC Herzeliya, Institute for Policy and Strategy, 2006.

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

Week 14: Class simulation – Winter is coming

War has broken out between Israel and Hezbollah, and this time Syria and Iran are directly involved. Policymakers in Israel now realize that this is not the "Third Lebanon War", but the "First War of the North". The class is split into groups, each representing a different country or international actor. Each group will learn about the interests and motivations of the actor it represents, and submits a statement about its policy regarding the unfolding events. During the simulation new developments will occur, and groups will have to react accordingly. Each group is required to submit a short summary paper the following week explaining its actions and motivations (4-5 double spaced pages).

**class activity* - simulation*

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Set policy goals for their chosen actor and aim towards achieving them
- Articulate their motivations and clearly present them before class
- React to ongoing developments and learn how to compromise
- Produce a well-researched paper explaining their chosen course of action
- Somehow feel that the other side won, regardless of results

Week 15: Israel in a new Middle East

Submission deadline for group simulation summary report

We conclude by reviewing recent drastic changes in the Middle East since the events of the "Arab Spring", and discuss current issues such as the future of the Iranian nuclear deal, the formation of a new "Israeli-Sunni alliance", and prospects for Israel's future in the world.

Lesson goals:

By the end of this week students will:

- Analyze current developments in Israel's region and produce recommendations for Israeli leadership on how to engage them
- Set forward-looking policy goals for the State of Israel, and devise varying scenarios for its future
- Say goodbye, and hope for a bright tomorrow

Required reading:

Freilich, Charles D. *Israel's National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change*. Oxford University Press. 2018. (Chapters 8+11: "Nuclear and Regional Arms Control Policy" + "Primary Conclusions", pp. 234-257, 325-339)

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.

Optional reading:

Jacoby, Tami Amanda. "Israel's Relations with Egypt and Turkey during the Arab Spring: Weathering the Storm." *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* 7.2 (2013): 29-42.

Raas, Whitney, and Austin Long. "Osirak redux? Assessing Israeli capabilities to destroy Iranian nuclear facilities." *International Security* 31.4 (2007): 7-33.

Uzer, Umut. "Turkish-Israeli Relations: Their Rise and Fall." *Middle East Policy* 20.1 (2013): 97-110.

Lindenstrauss, Gallia. "Israel-Azerbaijan: Despite the Constraints, a Special Relationship". *Strategic Assessment* 17.4, 2015: 69-79. Available at:
http://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/SystemFiles/adkan17_4ENG_7_Lindenstrauss.pdf

Feiler, Gil and Keyjn Lim. *Israel and Kazakhstan: Assessing the State of Bilateral Relations*. Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University. 2012.

Burton, Guy. "Explaining Beijing's Shift from Active to Passive Engagement in Relation to the Arab-Israeli Conflict." *Sociology of Islam* 4.1-2 (2016): 93-112.