

University of California at San Diego
School of Global Policy and Strategy
International Studies Program

Shimon Shetreet, Governance and National Policy in Israel

Fall 2019

Course Description

The Course will analyze selected central topics in national policy decisions of Israel in matters of security and foreign relations as well as in social economic and constitutional matters. The course will examine the decision-making process and will discuss major decisions taken at important landmarks in the history of Israel by the leadership and the governing bodies: Parliament, The executive and the judiciary.

Attention will be paid to major strategic and policy decisions taken over the years by distinguished Israeli leaders, mainly prime ministers: David Ben Gurion Theodor Herzl, Ariel Sharon Yitzhak Rabin, and Menachem Begin, Ehud Barak, Yitzhak Shamir and Benjamin Netanyahu.

The course will discuss the Israeli system of government, the constitutional and legal

infrastructure, the electoral system and the political governance. Attention will be given to the fundamental values of the democratic system and the basic principles underlying the workings of the government.

The discussion will include issues, which were at the center of the public debate including the controversy of who is a Jew, state religion relationship, and the regulation of the Holy Places in Israel.

Special attention will be devoted to foreign policy decisions on the regional as well as the global level. The regional discussion will include the Armistice and peace Agreements between Israel and its neighbours -Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and the Palestinians. On the global level the Israeli foreign relations will be analyzed including the relations between the US and Israel, Israel and Europe, the special relations between Israel and Germany and the Relations between Israel and Judaism and Holy See and Catholic Church.

Students are expected to write research papers, (70% of total grade) to give an oral presentation on their research, (20%) and participate in role plays and class discussion. (10%)

The aims of the course

- To enable the students to acquire knowledge and background on the system of government and decision making in Israel on major national policy questions.

- In addition to the knowledge the aim is that the students will be able analyze issues of the subject matter of the course based on theoretical and practical considerations
- The students will apply their learning to write an academic essay on an assigned topic mainly of their choice and giving oral presentation on that topic
- The students will be able also to apply knowledge and analysis in class discussions (including general class discussion of role plays) and give oral presentations in the format of role plays pre-assigned to students.
- The study of theoretical and practical aspects of the issues is aimed at giving the students broad education and good preparation to be qualified to formulate critical assessment and articulated position on the issues and in the future to be qualified to serve in international organizations, government positions and diplomatic service.

Topics for research papers

Please select a topic or two for research papers. Final assignment of topic will be determined in class

1. Major national policy decisions made by distinguished Israeli leaders (The topic can be assigned to a number of students regarding different prime ministers and national policy decisions)
2. The Debate of Who is a Jew in Israel.
3. The regulation of the Holy Places in Israel.
4. The Relations between Israel and Judaism and Holy See and Catholic Church.
5. The Armistice and peace Agreements between Israel and its neighbours - Egypt, Jordan.
6. The relations between the US and Israel.
7. The major decisions taken on the relations between Israel and Germany.
8. The impact of the Holocaust on Israel: Reparation Agreement with Germany and other issues.
9. Israel's National research and development policy.
10. The Israeli Defense Forces: "The army of the people".
11. National policy decisions in the context of legal and constitutional culture

- of Israel (e.g signing peace agreement or taking a security decisions).
12. Landmark points in the promotion of diversity in the public service in Israel.
 13. The Dilemma of determining the status of Jewish non-Orthodox communities
 14. Building a culture of peace in Europe and the Middle East: Economic peace and political peace.
 15. Economic peace: Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ) Projects.
 16. China–Israel relations: Israel's role in China's strategic plan (Belt and Road initiative).
 17. Israel policy towards the civil war in Syria
 18. Israeli and Turkey relations
 19. Parliamentary Vs presidential system of government.
 20. Proportional Electoral system of Israel in comparative perspectives.
 21. Decision making in security matters in Israel.
 22. Decision making in economic policy issues in Israel.

Class Number	Date	Class topic	Role Play	Aim	R.P
1.	02 Oct 2019	Introduction: Basic Values of democratic system. Fundamental principles of governance.	Reading and discussion	Students will be able to identify and address the core components and key values of the Israeli democratic system	2
		The Foundation for the Establishment of the State of Israel; The struggle for Independence	UN Vote: Opponents and Supporters. How should U.S vote on 29.11.1947	Students will contemplate the foundation of the State of Israel from both a local, and a global, point of view	
2.	09 Oct 2019 (Yom Kippur) Self-study, reading and viewing assignment) NO CLASS	Analysis of Israel's Political Governance. Parliamentary System and Coalition Building –Building Majority in Parliament to support the formation of Cabinet –Executive Branch Documentary: Ben Gurion, Epilogue	The Establishment of Blue and White Party 2019 The Establishment of the 1992 Cabinet by Rabin	Students will be able to analyze the State of Israel's political governance based on both theoretical and practical considerations, as well as to evaluate its decision-making process	2

3.	16 Oct 2019	<p>Discussion on the reading of class 2.</p> <p>The Complex Balance between Religion and State in Israel.</p> <p>Basic Law: The Nation-State</p> <p>The Israeli Society – Social Issues and Multiculturalism and Diversity;</p>	<p>The Declaration of Independence and the Definition of the Jewish State</p> <p>Comparative Contemporary Debate in the EU</p> <p>Constitutional Discourse</p> <p>Brother Daniel Case – Defining who is a Jew in the Law of Return</p> <p>Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People</p> <p>Diversity in Representation in the Public Service</p>	<p>To critically engage with the delicate religion-and-state equilibrium in the State of Israel, and to examine cultural issues and dilemmas unique to the region</p>	2
4.	23 Oct 2019	<p>A Nation at War- Israel's efforts to deal with matters of national security;</p> <p>The Efforts towards Building a Culture of Peace;</p>	<p>Armistice agreement 1949 – in Rhodes</p>	<p>Students will be able to evaluate and understand the complexities of the security challenges facing the State of</p>	1

		<p>Israel's Armistice and Peace Agreements.</p> <p>UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338</p> <p>Qualifying Industrial Zones agreements</p>	<p>Peace treaties with Egypt 1979 Jordan 1994</p> <p>Qualifying Industrial Zones agreements</p>	<p>Israel, and how they have shaped peace agreement and a "culture of peace"</p>	
5.	30 Oct 2019	<p>Israel's Foreign Relations.</p> <p>Israel – U.S. Relations</p> <p>Israel – China Relations</p> <p>Israel Turkey Relations</p> <p>Israel's Diplomatic Relations with its Arab Neighbors;</p> <p>The Relationships between the Holy See and Israel in the context of the Historical statements of the Vatican on the theological approach to Judaism</p>	<p>The Turkish ship Marmara incident</p> <p>Israel – U.S. Relations</p> <p>Israel – China Relations</p> <p>Symposium – Israel-Vatican</p>	<p>Students will familiarize themselves with Israel's foreign relations policy. Students should be able to better understand Israel's approach on key global issues.</p>	2
6.	6 Nov 2019	1st part:	The Dilemma of	Students should	1

		<p>Start-up Nation: The Secret of the Magic of the Israeli Economy.</p> <p>Israeli Spacecraft</p> <p>Israel and the China Belt and Road initiative</p> <p>R&D national policy</p> <p>2nd part:</p> <p>Student Presentations</p>	Using Military Knowhow	be able to critically examine key claims regarding the Israeli economy, and to discuss intelligently about its image as the "Start-up Nation"	
7.	13 Nov 2019	Student Presentations of research papers			
8.	20 Nov 2019	Student Presentations of research papers			
9.	27 Nov 2019	Student Presentations of research papers			
10.	4 Dec 2019	Student Presentations of research papers			

Class 1 – 2 October

Introduction

The Basic Values of democratic system of governance

Shimon Shetreet and Walter Homolka, in *Jewish and Israeli Law - An Introduction*

(De Gruyter, 2017). Pp 68-95: Representativeness, governability, accountability, efficiency, stability, efficiency and public confidence.

Shimon Shetreet and Walter Homolka, "The Founding Fathers Agreement of 1947" in *Jewish and Israeli Law - An Introduction* (De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 324-343.

Shimon Shetreet and Walter Homolka, "The Israeli Judicial System" in *Jewish and Israeli Law - An Introduction* (De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 103-125.

3

Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State (Der Judenstaat)*, (New York: Herzl Press, 1970), 31-54.

Suzie Navot, *the Constitutional Law of Israel*, (Kluwer, 2016).

Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty

https://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/basic3_eng.htm

The Foundation for the Establishment of the State of Israel.

Michael T. Benson, Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel (Greenwood Publishing, 1997), 12-24.

Michael J. Cohen, "Truman and Palestine, 1945-1948: Revisionism, Politics and Diplomacy", *Palestine to Israel*, (London: Frank Cass, 1988), pp. 198-219.

UN General Assembly Resolution 181: <https://ecf.org.il/issues/issue/102>

Commencement of the British Mandate on Israel:
https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/palmanda.asp

Martin Gilbert, *Israel- A History*, (London: Doubleday, 1998), pp. 36-58. Balfour Declaration, 1917
https://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/BalfourDeclaration_eng.htm

- Recommended:

Boas Evron, *Jewish State or Israeli Nation?* (Bloomington, Ind. : Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 41-52, 53-67.

Leslie Stein, "Modern Political Zionism", *The Hope Fulfilled: The Rise of Modern Israel*, (Praeger, 2003), pp. 51-86.

Nahum Sokolov, *History of Zionism 1600-1918*, (New York: Ktav, 1969), pp. 263- 272, 307-313.

Gregory Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel: The maturation of the Modern State* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), Chapters 1-2 (p. 13-77). THIRD EDITION.

The Struggle for Independence

Martin Gilbert, *Israel- A History*, (London: Doubleday, 1998), pp. 36-58. Balfour

Declaration, 1917
https://www.knesset.gov.il/lexicon/eng/BalfourDeclaration_eng.htm

Commencement of the British Mandate on Israel:
https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/palmanda.asp

Israel's Declaration of Independence: https://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm

November 29, 1947: The Story of a Vote:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrljzUK0FKg>

- Recommended:

Howard Grief, *The Legal Foundation and Borders of Israel under International Law*, (Mazo, 2008), pp. 74-115, 150-173.

Samuel Sager, "The Provisional State Council and Government", *The Parliamentary System of Israel*, (Syracuse : Syracuse University Press, 1985), pp. 22-33.

Michael J. Cohen, "Appeasement in the Middle east: The British White Paper on Palestine, May 1939", *Palestine to Israel*, (London: Frank Cass, 1988), pp. 101-128.

Martin Gilbert, *Israel- A History*, (London: Doubleday, 1998), pp. 121-152.

Alan Dershowitz, *The Case for Israel*, (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2003), pp. 29-31.

Role Plays:

1. In-Class Simulation -

Simulation Dialogue between President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State George C. Marshall on the question of how the United States should vote in the UN General Assembly on 29.11.1947. On 29.11.1947 the UN General Assembly had to decide whether or not to accept the Partition Plan, which has made possible the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine-Eretz Israel (Resolution number 181).

One of you will play the role of the President, and one of you will play the role of the Secretary of State. (assigned simulation in class).

2. In-Class Simulation - 1947 UN vote

On 29th November .1947 the UN General Assembly had to decide whether or not to accept the, which has made possible the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine- Eretz Israel. 33 countries voted for the resolution, 13 countries voted against and 10 countries abstained.

One of you will play the part of the countries voted for the decision, one of you will play the part of the countries voted against the decision and one of you will play the role of the countries who abstained. (assigned simulation in class)

Class 2 – 9 October:(Yom Kippur - **No class**. Reading and viewing assignment.

Discussion on the reading and viewing of this class will be conducted in the next class – October 16th)

Analysis of Israel's state leaders and political Governance.

Overview of formative years

Documentary – Ben-Gurion: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJ8CVMaG0v4>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OOMykqFASfY>

The establishment of the 1992 cabinet by Rabin

Yitzhak Rabin Documentary <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4R3Mdpsr6lY>

History Chanel, How the Oslo Accords Almost Ended the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nERZr_d343w

The establishment of Blue and White Party in 2019

New Israeli centrist alliance, to be called 'Blue and White,' aims to topple Netanyahu
<https://worldisraelnews.com/new-israeli-centrist-alliance-to-be-called-blue-and-white-aims-to-topple-netanyahu/>

Watch: Moshe Ya'alon on Blue & White Party
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uYpoGvrttqI>

- Recommended:

Yitzhak Rabin interview 1994
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8kCfqCHbFas>

Gregory Mahler, *Politics and Government in Israel: The maturation of the Modern State* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), Chapters 5-8 (p. 135-243). THIRD EDITION.

Class 3 – 16 October

Discussions of the assignments of class 2 (October 9th)

Role Plays:

3.General discussion- The establishment of Blue and White Party in 2019

Before the elections to the twenty-first Knesset, the "Resilience to Israel" party,

headed by Benny Gantz, and the Telem party (National Statesman-like Movement) of Moshe Ya'alon, both new parties headed by former chiefs of staff, announced a joint run for the Knesset. A day before the deadline for the submission of the lists, the parties announced running on a joint list together with Yesh Atid party ("There is a Future") headed by Yair Lapid. Former party chief of staff Gabi Ashkenazi joined the joint list of parties, calling for fighting corruption and replacing incumbent Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu following criminal suspicions.

In the elections, the party won 35 seats, but its rival, the Likud party headed by Benjamin Netanyahu, won the same number, allowing it to be the one that forms the government.

You are taking part in the Debate on whether or not the party should join a unity government with Benjamin Netanyahu, or should it remain on the opposition benches. Many public figures called for a unity government, while the two politicians promised in advance that they would not sit with one another.

4. General discussion- The establishment of the 1992 cabinet by Rabin

Simulation Game: You are appointed by the leader of the Labour Party Mr Rabin, after the 1992 elections to negotiate with leaders of the other parties elected in order to form a stable coalition. This role play involves all the students in the class, each political party (or more) will be represented by a student. All the parties are

negotiating with Labour party an agreement for their participation in the coalition government and joining the cabinet following the elections.

You play the role of the representatives of Itzhak Rabin (head of Labour party who formed the government and was the Prime Minister in the 1992 government), and the others will play the roles of the other parties. The number of Knesset seats won in the elections by the different parties:

Labor – 44, Likud – 32, Meretz – 12, Zomet – 8, Mafdal – 6, Shass – 6,

Yehadut

Hatora – 4, Hadash – 3, Moledet -3, Mada – 2.

The Complex Balance between Religion and State in Israel

The Declaration of Independence and the definition of the Jewish state. Full Recording - Israeli Declaration of Independence
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vy_LIKE9OMQ

Shimon Shetreet and Walter Homolka, "The Founding Fathers Agreement of 1947" in *Jewish and Israeli Law - An Introduction* (De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 324-343.

Comparative contemporary debate in the EU constitutional discourse

Shimon Shetreet, Wayne McCormack. *The Culture of Judicial Independence in a Globalised World* (2016). Pp. 99-105.

Shimon Shetreet, *The Culture of Peace and Human Rights: The development of Human Rights Protection in the EU*, in: *The Culture of Judicial Independence: Rule of Law and World Peace* (Brill Nijhoff, 2014) pp. 99-106.

Brother Daniel case – Defining who is a Jew in the Law of Return

The law of Return, available at: <https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/mfa-archive/1950-1959/pages/law%20of%20return%205710-1950.aspx>

The judgment in the case of Rufeisen is summarized in later case together with other cases about *who is a Jew*. For the case see HCJ 2597/99 Tushbeim V. Minister of Interior <http://versa.cardozo.yu.edu/opinions/tais-rodriquez-tushbeim-v-minister-interior>

- Recommended:

Daniel Oswald Rufeisen, Poland, Testimony of a Holocaust survivor
<http://tst-massuah.scepia-sites.co.il/english/article.aspx?item=709>

Role Plays-

5.Pre-assigned simulation:

The Declaration of Independence and the definition of the Jewish state

In the course of drafting the Declaration of Independence in 1948 there was a

debate on whether the declaration should refer to God directly and on the question of the definition of the identity of the Jewish state. Eventually, it was decided to adopt the following text: "Placing our trust in the Rock of Israel, we affix our signatures to this proclamation".

Before the drafting of the declaration the Zionist movements had to agree on the position that will be presented to the Peel Commission. The three movements were the Zionist Socialist Secular Movement chaired by David Ben-Gurion, the Zionist Religious Movement – Mizrahi chaired by Rabbi Maimon Fishman, and the Civil Zionist Movement chaired by Yitzhak Greenbaum. In 1947 the three movements formulated an agreement among them which they reduced to a letter addressed to Agudat Yisrael. Agudat Yisral was not part of the Zionist movement, and it wanted assurance from the Zioninst movements on the identity of the Jewish state. The letter from the Zionist movements addressed to Agudat Israel provided that in the newly created Jewish state, in addition to freedom of conscious to non-Jewish communities, four principles will be respected as regards to law and religion and the identity of the Jewish state:

The days of rest of Jewish people will be according to the Jewish Sabbath and the Jewish holidays (other communities will keep their own days of rest).

Government facilities will serve kosher food only (according to the Jewish dietary laws).

Marriage and divorce of Jewish people will be conducted according to Jewish law. Those who wish will be entitled to religious education.

In this role play you shall simulate the negotiations in two stages. Stage one: negotiations between the three Zionist movements among themselves, and stage two presentation of the agreement between the three Zionist movements to Agudat Israel and the discussion between the movements. Each of the movements will be represented by one student.

6. Pre-assigned simulation- Comparative contemporary debate in the EU constitutional discourse

In the European Union a very intensive debate took place in the course of the efforts of the EU to adopt a constitution. The debate focused on the religious identity of the EU.

There have been suggestions to solve the question of how the constitution or the basic treaty of the EU should define the religious identity of the EU. One suggestion was (by Pope John Paul II) to make a reference: "reference to the religious and in particular the Christian heritage of Europe" (COMECE – Commission des Episcopats de la Communauté Européenne). Another suggestion was to "recognize the

openness and ultimate otherness associated with the name of God", and another suggestion was "characterized by spiritual impulse always present in its heritage" (Initial Draft Constitution). Eventually, the constitution was rejected (because Holland and France did not approve the constitution in their referendum). Later, in 2009, the EU adopted the Lisbon treaty which provided in the preamble the following text: "Drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law".

This role play will focus on a comparative analysis between the debate in Israel on the Jewish and democratic state and the adoption of the heritage of Israel (see – the Foundations of Law - 1980) and the debate in Europe on the issue of "cultural religious and humanistic inheritance of Europe".

Two of you will support the view of the final formulation and two of you will support the proposal of the Pope and the COMECE to refer to religious and in particular to the Christian inheritance of Europe.

7. General discussion

Brother Daniel case – Defining who is a Jew in the Law of Return

One of Israel's most important laws is the Law of Return. This law gives every Jew

the right to immigrate to Israel and receive Israeli citizenship. One of the first and most important constitutional issues the Israeli Supreme Court had to deal with was the question of how to define a Jew for the purpose of the Law of Return.

In this role play you shall play the case of Oseveld Rufeisen (based on HCJ 72/62 Rufeisen v Minister of the Interior, (1962) 16 PD 2428). Rufeisen is a Jew who converted to Christianity, became a priest and was given the name Brother Daniel. He was recognized as a Righteous Gentile who saved many Jews during the Holocaust.

Brother Daniel requested Israeli citizenship as a Jew, and his request was refused. Brother Daniel (Rufeisen) asked the Supreme Court to order the Minister of Interior to grant him citizenship, based on the Law of Return. Discuss the issue.

Multiculturalism and Diversity

Diversity in Representation in the Public Service

Israeli Hope in Employment, Office of the President <https://www.israeli-hope.gov.il/en/node/406>

Itzhak Galnoor, Public Management in Israel: Development, Structure, Functions

and Reforms (Routledge, 2011). Pp. 61-64, 78-82.

Ensuring equal rights for women in Israel, Minister of foreign affairs
<https://mfa.gov.il/MFA/AboutIsrael/State/Law/Pages/Ensuring-equal-rights-for-women-in-Israel.aspx>

The Civil Service Law (Appointments), 5719-1959: Appropriate Representation among Employees in the Civil Service (Amendment No. 11) 5761-2000 (Amendment No. 13) 5765-2005 (Amendment No. 19), 5717 – 2016:

- Recommended:

Information of the Minister of foreign affairs (brochure)
https://mfa.gov.il/MFA_Graphics/MFA%20Gallery/Documents/Diversity2010-En.pdf

Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People (for class)

The Law <https://knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/BasicLawNationState.pdf>

The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel:
https://www.knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm

Prof. Abraham Diskin on basic law Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=200&v=KuXcq8kxbVs

Basic Law: Human Dignity and Liberty
https://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/basic3_eng.htm

Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation:
https://www.knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/basic4_eng.htm

The Existing Basic Laws: Summary
https://www.knesset.gov.il/description/eng/eng_mimshal_yesod2.htm#9

Role Plays:

8. Background Material Discussion

The dilemmas of the Israeli model of affirmative action

Section 15A of the Civil Service Law (Appointments) states that all positions in the civil service must be properly represented and include workers belonging to certain population groups. An appropriate representation and expression will be given to both sexes, people with disabilities, new immigrants, anyone who is one of his parents and is born in Ethiopia and the Arab, Druze, Circassian and ultra-Orthodox populations. In addition, the Equal Rights for People with Disabilities Law provides rules for adequate representation of people with disabilities in all workplaces.

You are on the committee in the Knesset, at the time of the enactment of the law.

Discuss the purpose and wording of the law.

9. General Discussion

Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People

Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People, informally known as the Nation-State Bill is an Israeli Basic Law which specifies the nature of the State of Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people. The Law was adopted by the Knesset, with 62 in favor, 55 against, and two abstentions, on 19 July 2018. The Law is largely symbolic and declaratory.

The Basic Law states that the State of Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people, and that the State of Israel is the place where the Jewish people has the right to realize their natural right to self-determination. The law enshrines in the Basic Law the status of the emblem of the State of Israel, the flag of Israel and HaTikva ("The Hope") as the national anthem, the Jewish calendar, Jewish holidays, and the Hebrew language as the official language of the state. The law also states that the state will encourage Jewish settlement, that united Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and that Arabic is a language of special status (but not official language). Discuss the issues.

Class 4 – 23 October – Israel's efforts to deal with matters of national security

Armistice Negotiations 1949 – in Rhodes

Israel – Egypt Armistice Agreement [See especially Articles 4 and 5]:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/arm01.asp

Israel – Lebanon Armistice Agreement [See especially Article 2(2)]:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/arm02.asp

Israel – Jordan Armistice Agreement [See especially Article 2(2)]:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/arm03.asp

Israel – Syria Armistice Agreement [See especially Article 2(2)]:
http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/arm04.asp

Tom Segev, 1949 – The First Israelis (1986) pp. 3-24 (pp. 25 – 42, on the missed opportunity for a peace treaty is optional).

Shimon Peres, David's Sling – The Arming of Israel (1970), pp. 169-182.

Ann M. Lesch, Origins and Development of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Revised Edition 2006), pp. 1- 44.

UN Security Council Resolution 242:
<https://mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/peace/guide/pages/un%20security%20council%20resolution%20242.aspx>

UN Security Council Resolution 338: <http://unscr.com/en/resolutions/338>

Khartoum Resolutions (1967) [Articles 2 & 3]: <https://ecf.org.il/issues/issue/141>

The Arab Peace Initiative (2002) [Especially Articles 2, 3, & 4]:
<https://ecf.org.il/issues/issue/167>

- Recommended:

Yoram Peri, *Generals in the Cabinet Room* (2006), p. 213-231.

Max Abrams, *Are Terrorists Really Rational?*, *Orbis*, Vol. 48, No. 3, (2004), pp. 533-549.

Victoroff, Jeff. 2005. "The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49 (1): 3-42.

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

Six-Day War (1967) - Third Arab-Israeli War DOCUMENTARY
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hHqJ6pgdE-c>

Qualifying Industrial Zones agreement

The QIZ (Qualifying Industrial Zone) in Jordan:

In 1996, the U.S. Congress authorized qualifying industrial zones between Israel and Jordan. The QIZ Jordan is an area in Jordan, from which goods can be produced and exported duty free and quota free to the United States. In order to enter the US duty free and quota free, these goods must meet the QIZ Agreement criteria and must be approved by the QIZ Committee.

[In order to meet QIZ Agreement criteria, a product must contain inputs from Israel and Jordan. A product is originating in Israel and Jordan if it was "substantially transformed" in Israel and Jordan, which means at least 35 percent of its "appraised value" was produced in Israel and Jordan, 8% of 35% of which was done in Israel, the rest ie. 27% was done in Jordan.

The QIZ Committee was established at the end of 1998 to determine whether a product, not a factory, can enter the US duty-free. The Committee itself is co-chaired and it is comprised of representatives from Jordan and Israel. The USA Embassies in Tel Aviv and Amman are observers. The QIZ Jordan has been extremely successful in creating jobs, exporting goods and increasing investment in Jordan.

In 2010, the manufacturing sector employed around 212,412 workers and included 1,314 establishments.

Before the establishment of these QIZs, Jordan's export to US was \$15 million in 1997. By the year 2003, Jordanian exports to the US (including QIZs) exceeded \$500 million. By 2006, Jordanian exports to the US peaked, reaching a level of over \$1.3 billion. As of 2007, it was \$1.2 billion and the investment in Jordan totaled \$670 million. Ultimately, the QIZ led eventually to bi-lateral Free Trade Agreement between US and Jordan (Al Nasa'a, Chin, Leonard, Munoz, Reilly. "The Jordan-U.S. Free Trade Agreement: Eight Years Later", University of Michigan, Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy, International Economic Development Program).

Fig. 8: Trade Balance with the USA (million US\$), 2000–2011

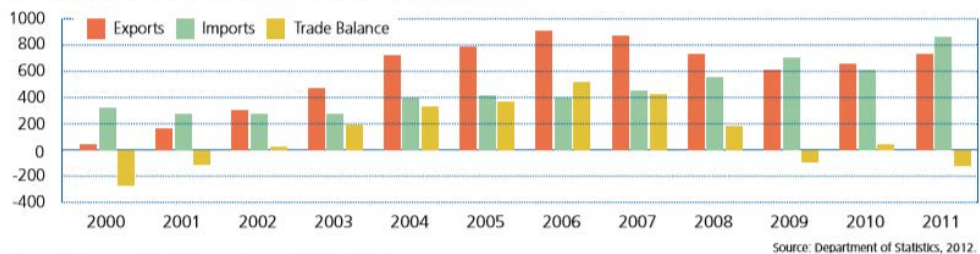
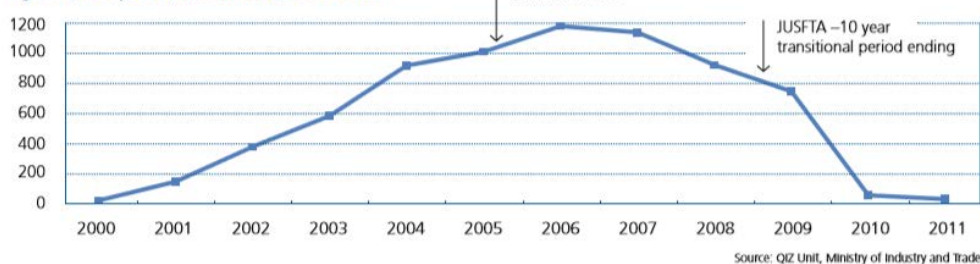


Fig. 9: QIZ Exports (million US\$), 2000–2011



In 2001, Jordan exported more than \$164 million worth of goods and imported around \$280 million. After 2001, the rise in exports contributed to a positive trade

balance between both countries, except for the years 2009 and 2011. Hence, the impact of the QIZs on exports is undisputable.

The QIZ (Qualifying Industrial Zone) in Egypt and the Israel-Egypt Trade

In 1996, the U.S. Congress also authorized a qualifying industrial zone between Israel and Egypt. [Similarly, in order to meet QIZ Agreement criteria, a product must contain inputs from Israel and Egypt. A product is originating in Israel and Egypt if it was "substantially transformed" in Israel and Jordan, which means at least 23 percent of its "appraised value" must be produced in Israel and percent from Egypt, 11.7 respectively.]

The QIZ Egypt came into force in 2004. As of 2006 and 2007, Egypt exports to the US totaled \$266 million and \$739 million respectively. As of 2007, there have been hundreds of millions of dollars of investment in Egypt.

Trade figures between Egypt and Israel are impressive. [Between 1994 and 2000, the total level of exports from Israel to Egypt was valued at \$181 million. In 2000, the Israeli exports to Egypt were valued at \$58.1 million. In 2001, Israeli products were exported to Egypt, with a total value of \$47.1 million (a drop of 20 percent). Around half of the exports to Egypt were textile products. The remaining exports included chemical products, fertilizers and oil products (Yadav, Vikash. "The Political

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Mary Jane Bolle, Alfred B. Prados, and Jeremy M. Sharp Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, *Qualifying Industrial Zones in Jordan and Egypt*, (CRS Report for Congress, 2006).

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Matt Spetalnick, Steve Holland. White House's Kushner unveils economic portion of Middle East peace plan, Reuters, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-plan-exclusive-idUSKCN1TNOES>

Role Plays:

10. General discussion - Armistice Negotiations 1949 – in Rhodes

In 1949, after months of conflict and hostilities between the newly born state of Israel and its Arab neighbors, armistice negotiations began in Rhodes. This included negotiations between Israel and Egypt.

One of you will play the role of Colonel Yitzhak Rabin who was the head of the Israeli military delegation for the Rhodes armistice negotiations, and one of you will play the role of Col. Muhammad Sif El-Din – the head of the Egyptian delegation to the negotiations.

11. Assigned simulation Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ) agreements

You are the three parties to the negotiations on the Qualifying Industrial Zones agreement and should represent the interests that stood behind each side of the agreement: the US, Jordan and Israel.

Consider possible future implications and potential future risks.

Class 5 -30 October

Israel's Foreign Relations

Israel – U.S. Relations

Dennis Ross, *Doomed to succeed: the U.S.-Israel relationship from Truman to Obama* (New York, 2016). Pp. 3-27.

Gerald M. Steinberg, "Israel and the United States: Can the Special Relationship Survive the New Strategic Environment?" in Barry Rubin and Thomas Keaney, ed., *US Allies in a Changing World* (London: Frank Cass, 2001), pp. 145-78.

Eran Lerman, "Re-Energizing the U.S-Israeli Special Relationship; Facing the Totalitarian Challenge, Forging an Alliance for the Next Generation", (*The Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya*, June 2004).

BEN SALES, The Golan Heights and Trump's announcement, explained: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/the-golan-heights-and-trumps-announcement-explained/>

Trump Recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's Capital and Orders U.S. Embassy to Move <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/world/middleeast/trump-jerusalem-israel-capital.html>

- Recommended:

Donald Trump Message at The Embassy's Opening ceremony in Jerusalem, BBC News: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UM3Hi1R1NEw>

Abraham Ben-Zvi, *Lyndon B. Johnson and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel: In the Shadow of the Hawk* Routledge; 1 edition (July 25, 2004).

Abraham Ben-Zvi, *John F. Kennedy and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel* Routledge; 1 edition (December 6, 2012).

Goodwin, Doris Kearns. *Leadership in Turbulent Times*. Penguin Books, 2019.

Israel – China Relations: Israel and the Belt and Road

Shimon Shetreet, *BELT AND ROAD LAWS OF ISRAEL*, pp.1-13.

Galia Lavi, Jingjie He, and Oded Eran, *China and Israel: On the Same Belt and Road?* Strategic Assessment, Volume 18, No. 3, October 2015 (INSS)
[https://www.inss.org.il/he/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/SystemFiles/adkan18_3ENG%20\(4\)_Lavi,%20He,%20Eran.pdf](https://www.inss.org.il/he/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/SystemFiles/adkan18_3ENG%20(4)_Lavi,%20He,%20Eran.pdf)

Yoram Evron, *Sino-Israel Relations: Opportunities and Challenges*, INSS, Volume 10, No. 2, August 2007, pp.61-70.

Aron Shai, *The Evolution of Israeli-Chinese Friendship*, The S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, pp. 17-54, available here:
<https://m.tau.ac.il/~aashai/INSS-2014.pdf>.

Galia Lavi, Doron Ella, *Israel-China Ties: A Developing Friendship that is Cause for Concern?* INSS Insight No. 1104, November 12, 2018
<https://www.inss.org.il/publication/israel-china-ties-developing-friendship-cause-concern/>

Israel-Vatican Relations

David I. Kertzer, *the Popes Against the Jews: the Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism* (New York: Knopf, 2001).

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father David –Maria Jager ,O.F.M,JCD

THE FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE HOLY SEE AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL: A NEW LEGAL REGIME OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS+

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FATİH ŞEMSETTİN IŞIK, "[67th Anniversary of Turkish-Israeli relations: A question of restoring security cooperation amid terror](#)" (Daily Sabah, Mars 2016).

- Recommended:

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.

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

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

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

Role Plays:

12. General discussion: The Turkish ship Marmara incident

The flotilla to Gaza was a flotilla of ships leaving Turkey in May 2010 towards the Gaza Strip. According to its organizers and participants, the purpose of the flotilla was humanitarian: to transfer humanitarian supplies to Gaza residents, despite the closure of the Gaza Strip imposed after the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip, Israel's position was that the true purpose of the flotilla was to support Hamas terrorism by provoking Israel's right to fight terrorism and thus to help its struggle, since the humanitarian situation in the Gaza Strip is good, inter alia, because humanitarian aid can be transferred through the land border crossings with Israel and Egypt. The flotilla was attended by six ships from Turkey and Ali Including hundreds of pro-Palestinian travelers, members of Islamic organizations such as IHH (a flotilla organizer), politicians and several journalists. According to the IDF Spokesperson, 40 sailors joined the flotilla to create a violent confrontation. Israel refused to allow the ships to unload in the Gaza port, and offered the organizers of the flotilla to transfer the equipment on board the ships to Israel, and after the inspection, to the Gaza Strip by the UN and the Red Cross. The flotilla participants refused and continued to sail to the Gaza Strip, outside the territorial waters of Israel.

The Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense have to decide on the operation to take over the Marmara ship. You are participating in a consultation meeting with to

the Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense, before the operation is approved.

One of you supports approval, and the other warns of its ramifications. Discuss.

13. Pre-Assigned simulation: Israel – U.S. Relations

You are asked to take part in a symposium on the subject of Israel-U.S relations.

One of you will play the role of the President and one of you will play the role of the Prime Minister.

14. General Discussion: Israel – China Relations

Chinese company participated in an international tender for a major infrastructure project, building a port in the city of Haifa. The Chinese company won the tender.

A U.S official expressed reservations on the Chinese involvement in major infrastructure project. Discuss the desired Israeli position on this matter.

15. Pre-Assigned simulation: Symposium – Israel-Vatican

You are asked to take part in a symposium on the relationship between Israel and the Vatican. One of you will present the views of the Vatican (both in its capacity the Holy See and in its capacity as the Catholic Church) and one of you will present

the views of the state of Israel and Judaism.

Class 6 -6 November

Start-up Nation (reading and viewing of materials, discussion at class)

- Recommended background reading:

Israel and the World Economy, The Power of Globalization, by Assas Razin, MIT PRESS, 2018.

Zeira Joseph, "The Israeli Economy" (2018).

Made in Israel: The High-Tech Story. 51 minutes.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2OsI5DD0LE>.

SpaceX successfully launches Spacecom's Amos 17 satellite <https://en.globes.co.il/en/article-spacex-successfully-launches-spacecoms-amos-17-satellite-1001296349>

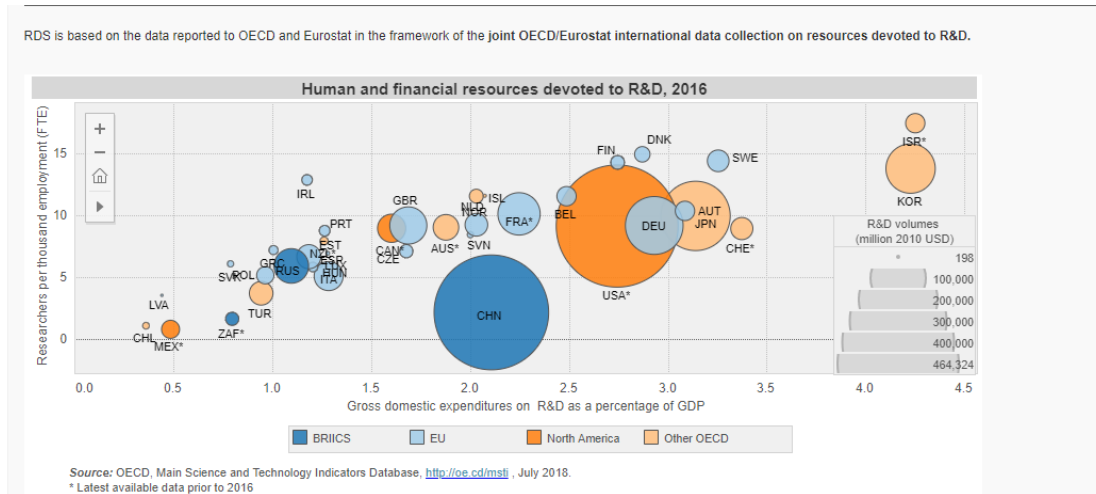
The Dilemma of Using Military Knowhow

Richard Behar, Inside Israel's Secret Startup Machine, Forbes, 2016.
<https://www.forbes.com/sites/richardbehar/2016/05/11/inside-israels-secret-startup-machine/#3dd4bc711a51>

Dan Senor and Saul Singer, *Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle*

Israel Innovation authority, TAKING INNOVATION TO THE NEXT LEVEL
<https://innovationisrael.org.il/en/mnc>

Ministry of Economy and industry, state of Israel, INVESTMENT MODELS IN ISRAEL
https://investinisrael.gov.il/HowWeHelp/downloads/R_D.pdf



Role Plays:

16. General Discussion: The Dilemma of Using Military Knowhow

The State of Israel often defines itself as the "start-up nation" and places its innovation high on its budgetary priorities. A book published in 2009, entitled "Start-up Nation" reviews the phenomenon in a broad way, both in the sense of self-image and in the sense of budgetary preference.

You present to the Minister of Economy a memo with the issue of whether to allow former soldiers who have acquired knowledge of the security services to use it for the establishment of profitable private companies.

Appendix I – Role Plays

Explanatory note

The role plays are divided into 3 groups:

- In-Class role plays – which will be studied and discussed in class.
- General Discussion - which will be discussed generally by students in class
- Pre-Assigned role plays – which will be pre-assigned to specific students in advance who will make a presentation on them.

Role Plays

Class 1 – 2 October - The Foundation for the Establishment of the State of Israel.

1. Simulation Dialogue between President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall on the vote in the UN General Assembly on 29.11.1947 - In-Class

On 29.11.1947 the UN General Assembly had to decide whether or not to accept the Partition Plan, which has made possible the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine-Eretz Israel (Resolution number 181).

One of you will play the role of the President, and one of you will play the role of the Secretary of State.

2. 1947 UN vote - In-Class

On 29th November .1947 the UN General Assembly had to decide whether or not to accept the, which has made possible the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine- Eretz Israel. 33 countries voted for the resolution, 13 countries voted against and 10 countries abstained.

One of you will play the part of the countries voted for the decision, one of you will play the part of the countries voted against the decision and one of you will play the role of the countries who abstained.

Class 2 – 9 October - Analysis of Israel's Political Governance.

3. The establishment of Blue and White Party in 2019 – General Discussion

Before the elections to the twenty-first Knesset, the "Resilience to Israel" party, headed by Benny Gantz, and the Telem party (National Statesman-like Movement) of Moshe Ya'alon, both new parties headed by former chiefs of staff, announced a

joint run for the Knesset. A day before the deadline for the submission of the lists, the parties announced running on a joint list together with Yesh Atid party ("There is a Future") headed by Yair Lapid. Former party chief of staff Gabi Ashkenazi joined the joint list of parties, calling for fighting corruption and replacing incumbent Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu following criminal suspicions.

In the elections, the party won 35 seats, but its rival, the Likud party headed by Benjamin Netanyahu, won the same number, allowing it to be the one that forms the government.

You are taking part in the Debate on whether or not the party should join a unity government with Benjamin Netanyahu, or should it remain on the opposition benches. Many public figures called for a unity government, while the two politicians promised in advance that they would not sit with one another

.

4. The establishment of the 1992 cabinet by Rabin - General Discussion

Simulation Game: You are appointed by the leader of the Labour Party Mr Rabin, after the 1992 elections to negotiate with leaders of the other parties elected in order to form a stable coalition.

This role play involves all the students in the class, each political party (or more) will be represented by a student. All the parties are negotiating with Labour

party an agreement for their participation in the coalition government and joining the cabinet following the elections.

One of you will play the role of the representatives of Itzhak Rabin (head of Labour party who formed the government and was the Prime Minister in the 1992 government), and the others will play the roles of the other parties.

The number of Knesset seats won in the elections by the different parties:

Labor – 44, Likud – 32, Meretz – 12, Zomet – 8, Mafdal – 6, Shass – 6, Yehadut Hatora – 4, Hadash – 3, Moledet -3, Mada – 2.

Two students will represent the Labor party conducting the negotiations and the other parties will be represented by one student each (Final designation of the number of students will be determined on the day of the assignment of the role play to the students).

Class 3 – 16 October - The Complex Balance between Religion and State in Israel

5. The Declaration of Independence and the definition of the Jewish state – Pre-Assigned

In the course of drafting the Declaration of Independence in 1948 there was a

debate on whether the declaration should refer to God directly and on the question of the definition of the identity of the Jewish state. Eventually, it was decided to adopt the following text: "Placing our trust in the Rock of Israel, we affix our signatures to this proclamation".

Before the drafting of the declaration the Zionist movements had to agree on the position that will be presented to the Peel Commission. The three movements were the Zionist Socialist Secular Movement chaired by David Ben-Gurion, the Zionist Religious Movement – Mizrahi chaired by Rabbi Maimon Fishman, and the Civil Zionist Movement chaired by Yitzhak Greenbaum. In 1947 the three movements formulated an agreement among them which they reduced to a letter addressed to Agudat Yisrael. Agudat Yisrael was not part of the Zionist movement, and it wanted assurance from the Zionist movements on the identity of the Jewish state. The letter from the Zionist movements addressed to Agudat Israel provided that in the newly created Jewish state, in addition to freedom of conscience to non-Jewish communities, four principles will be respected as regards to law and religion and the identity of the Jewish state:

The days of rest of Jewish people will be according to the Jewish Sabbath and the Jewish holidays (other communities will keep their own days of rest).

Government facilities will serve kosher food only (according to the Jewish

dietary laws).

Marriage and divorce of Jewish people will be conducted according to Jewish law. Those who wish will be entitled to religious education.

In this role play you shall simulate the negotiations in two stages. Stage one: negotiations between the three Zionist movements among themselves, and stage two presentation of the agreement between the three Zionist movements to Agudat Israel and the discussion between the movements. Each of the movements will be represented by one student.

6. Comparative contemporary debate in the EU constitutional discourse - Pre- Assigned

In the European Union a very intensive debate took place in the course of the efforts of the EU to adopt a constitution. The debate focused on the religious identity of the EU.

There have been suggestions to solve the question of how the constitution should define the religious identity of the EU. One suggestion was (by Pope John Paul II) to make a reference: "reference to the religious and in particular the

Christian heritage of Europe" (COMECE – Commission des Episcopats de la Communauté Européenne). Other suggestion was "recognize the openness and ultimate otherness associated with the name of God", and another suggestion was "characterized by spiritual impulse always present in its heritage" (Initial Draft Constitution). Eventually, the constitution was rejected (because Holland and France did not approve the constitution in their referendum). Later, in 2009, the EU adopted the Lisbon treaty which provided in the preamble the following text: "Drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law".

This role play will focus on a comparative analysis between the debate in Israel on the Jewish and democratic state and the adoption of the heritage of Israel (see – the Foundations of Law - 1980) and the debate in Europe on the issue of "cultural religious and humanistic inheritance of Europe".

Two of you will support the view of the final formulation and two of you will support the proposal of the Pope and the COMECE to refer to religious and in particular to the Christian inheritance of Europe.

7. Brother Daniel case – Defining who is a Jew in the Law of Return - General

Discussion

One of Israel's most important laws is the Law of Return. This law gives every Jew the right to immigrate to Israel and receive Israeli citizenship. One of the first and most important constitutional issues the Israeli Supreme Court of Justice had to deal with was the question of how to define a Jew for the purpose of the Law of Return.

In this role play you shall play the case of Oseveld Rufeisen (based on HCJ 72/62 **Rufeisen v Minister of the Interior**, (1962) 16 PD 2428). Rufeisen is a Jew who converted to Christianity, became a priest and was given the name Brother Daniel. He was recognized as a Righteous Gentile who saved many Jews during the Holocaust.

Brother Daniel requested Israeli citizenship as a Jew, and his request was refused. Brother Daniel (Rufeisen) asked the Supreme Court to order the Minister of Interior to grant him citizenship, based on the Law of Return.

One of you will play Brother Daniel, one of you will play the role of the Minister of Interior and one of you will play the role of the judges.

Class 3 Part 2 – Multiculturalism and Diversity

8. Diversity in representation in the public service – Background Material Discussion

Section 15A of the Civil Service Law (Appointments) states that all positions in the civil service must be properly represented and include workers belonging to certain population groups. An appropriate representation and expression will be given to both sexes, people with disabilities, new immigrants, anyone who is one of his parents and is born in Ethiopia and the Arab, Druze, Circassian and ultra-Orthodox populations. In addition, the Equal Rights for People with Disabilities Law provides rules for adequate representation of people with disabilities in all workplaces.

You are on the committee in the Knesset, at the time of the enactment of the law. Discuss the purpose and wording of the law.

9. Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People – General Discussion

Basic Law: Israel as the Nation-State of the Jewish People, informally known as **the Nation-State Bill** is an Israeli Basic Law which specifies the nature of the State of

Israel as the nation-state of the Jewish people. The Law was adopted by the Knesset, with 62 in favor, 55 against, and two abstentions, on 19 July 2018. The Law is largely symbolic and declarative.

The Basic Law states that the State of Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people, and that the State of Israel is the place where the Jewish people has the right to realize their natural right to self-determination. The law enshrines in the Basic Law the status of the emblem of the State of Israel, the flag of Israel and HaTikva ("The Hope") as the national anthem, the Jewish calendar, Jewish holidays, and the Hebrew language as the official language of the state. The law also states that the state will encourage Jewish settlement, that united Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, and that Arabic is a language of special status (but not official language).

You are participating in a debate on the Knesset law, one of you representing a Knesset member for the law, and the other against the law. Discuss its implications, in your opinion.

Class 4 – 23 October - Israel's efforts to deal with matters of national security

10. Armistice Negotiations of 1949 in Rhodes – General Discussion

In 1949, after months of conflict and hostilities between the newly born state of

Israel and its Arab neighbors, armistice negotiations began in Rhodes. This included negotiations between Israel and Egypt.

One of you will play the role of Colonel Yitzhak Rabin who was the head of the Israeli military delegation for the Rhodes armistice negotiations, and one of you will play the role of Col. Muhammad Sif El-Din – the head of the Egyptian delegation to the negotiations.

11. Qualifying Industrial Zones (QIZ) Agreements – Pre-Assigned

You are the three parties to the negotiations on the Qualifying Industrial Zones agreement and should represent the interests that stood behind each side of the agreement: the US, Jordan and Israel.

Consider possible future implications and potential future risks.

Class 5 -30 October - Israel's Foreign Relations

12. The Turkish ship Marmara incident – General Discussion

The flotilla to Gaza was a flotilla of ships leaving Turkey in May 2010 towards the Gaza Strip. According to its organizers and participants, the purpose of the flotilla

was humanitarian: to transfer humanitarian supplies to Gaza residents, despite the closure of the Gaza Strip imposed after the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip, Israel's position was that the true purpose of the flotilla was to support Hamas terrorism by provoking Israel's right to fight terrorism and thus to help its struggle, since the humanitarian situation in the Gaza Strip is good, inter alia, because humanitarian aid can be transferred through the land border crossings with Israel and Egypt. The flotilla was attended by six ships from Turkey and other countries including hundreds of pro-Palestinian travelers, members of Islamic organizations such as Turkish Organization - IHH (a flotilla organizer), politicians and several journalists, according to the IDF Spokesperson. 40 sailors joined the flotilla to create a violent confrontation. Israel refused to allow the ships to unload in the Gaza port, and offered the organizers of the flotilla to transfer the equipment on board the ships to Israel, and after the inspection, to the Gaza Strip by the UN and the Red Cross, and the flotilla participants refused and continued to sail to the Gaza Strip. Outside the territorial waters of Israel.

You are participating in a situation in which you are two advisers to the prime minister, before the operation is approved. One of you supports his approval, and the other warns of its ramifications. Discuss.

13. Israel – U.S. Relations - Pre-Assigned

You are asked to take part in a symposium about Israel- U.S relations focusing on the beginning of the arms transactions between Israel and the U.S.

One of you will play the role of the President and one of you will play the role of the Prime Minister.

14. Israel – China Relations – General Discussion

Chinese company participated in an international tender for a major infrastructure project, building a port in the city of Haifa. The Chinese company won the tender. A U.S official expressed reservations on the Chinese involvement in major infrastructure project. Discuss the desired Israeli position on this matter.

15. Symposium – Israel-Vatican - Pre-Assigned

You are asked to take part in a symposium on the relationship between Israel and the Vatican. One of you will present the views of the Vatican (both in its capacity the Holy See and in its capacity as the Catholic Church) and one of you will present the views of the state of Israel and Judaism.

Class 6 -6 November – Start-up Nation

16. The Dilemma of Using Military Knowhow- General Discussion

The State of Israel often defines itself as the "start-up nation" and places its innovation high on its budgetary priorities. A book published in 2009, entitled "Start-up Nation" reviews the phenomenon in a broad way, both in the sense of self-image and in the sense of budgetary preference.

You present to the Minister of Economy a memo with the issue of whether to allow former soldiers who have acquired knowledge of the security services to use it for the establishment of profitable private companies.

Appendix II

General Course assessment of student work:

- Seminar research papers 70% of total grade)
- Oral presentation on their research (20%)
- Participation in role plays and class discussion (10%)

Appendix III

Selected Bibliography

For the course readings and for background readings for the papers.

A. General Websites:

Text of the agreements and basic documents relative to Israel's foreign policy and regional peace and security is available at:

Israeli ministry of foreign affairs: www.mfa.gov.il

Avalon institute: ayalon.law.yale.edu

Begin-Sadat Center Security and Policy Studies:
www.besacenter.org

The Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations:
<https://en.davis.huji.ac.il/>

B. Studies of Israeli recent history, society, constitutional system and system of government.

Books:

Joseph Adler, *Restoring the Jews to their Homeland: Nineteen Centuries in the Quest for Zion*, (Jason Aronson, 1997).

Irvine H. Anderson, *Biblical Interpretation and Middle East Policy: The Promised Land, America and Israel, 1917-2002* (University of Florida, 2005).

Hanna Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*, (New York: Viking Press, 1963).

Asher Arian and Michal Shamir, ed., *Elections in Israel* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995).

Dan Senor and Saul Singer, *Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle* (Little, Brown & Company, 2011).

David Ben Gurion, *Memoirs*, (The World Publishing Company, 1970).

David Ben Gurion, ed., *The Jews in their Land*, (Aldus, 1966).

Eliezer Ben Rafael and Stephen Sharot, *Ethnicity, Religion and Class in the Israeli Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Yehuda Bauer, *From Diplomacy to Resistance: A History of Jewish Palestine, 1939- 1945* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1970).

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Alan Dershowitz, *the Case for Israel*, (Wiley, 2004).

Abraham Doron, *Restructuring the Welfare State 2000-2003: The Israeli Experience* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004).

Shimon Shetreet and Walter Homolka, *Jewish and Israeli Law - An Introduction* (De Gruyter, 2017).

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Theodor Herzl, *the Jewish State*, (Herzl Press, 1970).

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Raphael Israeli, *Arabs in Israel: Friends or Foes*, (ACPR Publishing, 2008).

David Kretzmer, *The Legal Status of Arabs in Israel* (Boulder: Westview press, 1990).

Asher Felix Landau, *The Jerusalem Post Law Reports* (Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1996).

Joseph Lash, *From the diaries of Felix Frankfurter*, (W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1975).

Anita Miller, Jordan Miller and Sigalit Zetouni, *Sharon: Israel's Warrior-*

Politician, (Academy Chicago Publishers, 2002).

Amos Mokadi, *Toward a Jewish Paradigm* (Gefen Publishing, 2001).

Suzie Navot, *the Constitutional Law of Israel*, (Kluwer, 2007).

Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky, *the Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co, 1997).

Josef Patai, *Star over Jordan: The Life of Theodore Herzl*, (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946).

Alice Radosh and Ronald Radosh, *The Safe Heaven: Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel* (New York: Harper, 2009)

Tom Segev and Arlen N. Weinstein, *1949: The First Israelis*, (New York: Owl Books by Henry Holt and Company, 1998).

Meir Shamgar, *Military Government in the Territories Administered by Israel 1967- 1980*, (Hebrew University, 1982).

Shimon Shetreet, *Between Three Branches of Government: The Balance of Rights in Matters of Religion in Israel*, (Floersheimer Institute for Policy Studies, 2001).

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Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: the Zionist Resort to Force* (Stanford, 1999).

Neil A. Silberman, *A Prophet from Amongst You: The Life of Yigael Yadin, Soldier, Scholar, and Mythmaker of Modern Israel* (Addison Wesley, 1994)

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