

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL STUDIES

9TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

10-12 OCTOBER 2021



ISRAEL in a CHANGING WORLD

Domestic and International Perspectives and Practices

EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION OF ISRAEL STUDIES,
info@israelstudies.eu,
| www.conference.israelstudies.eu | www.israelstudies.eu |

OUR SPONSORS & CONTRIBUTORS



National University of Political Studies and Public Administration
Faculty of Political Science
"Theodor Herzl" Center for Israeli Studies



INSTITUTE
OF THE MIDDLE
AND FAR EAST
OF THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY

Dear Colleagues,

Welcome to the 9th Annual Conference of the European Association of Israel Studies. I am honoured and happy to greet all conference participants. We are again privileged to be hosted by an excellent and prestigious European University: National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA) in Bucharest, which is a seat of the “Theodor Herzl” Centre for Israeli Studies.

This year’s conference is special for at least two reasons. First, the Association has gone through a transition process. The seat of EAIS was moved in November 2020 from SOAS, University of London, to the Institute of the Middle and Far East, Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Poland). EAIS has been registered as an independent NGOs with legal personality. We are pleased to invite all association members to join the EAIS General Assembly meeting, scheduled for October 12th 2021, before the morning session. Second, for the first time in the EAIS history the Annual Conference is being held, to a great extent, online. We hope that the world will be coming back to the old routine of people-to-people contact, and traditional in person meetings. However to highlight the importance and uniqueness of this year host University we jointly decided to make an effort to come to Bucharest and together with our Bucharest friends and our distinguished keynote speaker Prof. Ayelet Harel-Shalev run the opening ceremony from the SNSPA in Bucharest.

The openness and hard work from our friends in Bucharest made the conference possible in this difficult pandemic time. I wish to thank Prof. Remus Pricopie, Rector of the SNSPA, as well as Prof. Liviu Rotman, Prof. Liliana Popescu and Dr. Daniel Gheorghe for their input and constant support in this conference organisation. Let me also express my deepest appreciation to the members of the Association’s Academic Council and Executive Board.

The Association is also truly fortunate to be continuously and generously supported by the Israel Institute. No doubt, the Association’s contribution to the development of Israel Studies in Europe is possible thanks to this engagement. We are also extremely thankful to Pears Foundation which played a key role in creation of the EAIS in 2010 and has continuously supported the organisation and development of Israel Studies in Europe.

On behalf of the entire Conference Organising Committee, I wish you a productive and enjoyable conference.

Joanna Dyduch

Chair of the EAIS

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

Joanna Dyduch
Daniel Gheorghe
Joanna Guzik
Liliana Popescu
Magdalena Pycińska
Artur Skorek
Jerzy Wójcik

EAIS EXECUTIVE BOARD

Joanna Dyduch
Joanna Guzik
Artur Skorek

ACADEMIC COUNCIL

Eve Benhamou
Peter Bergamin
Joanna Dyduch
Olaf Glöckner
Sharon Pardo
Colin Shindler
Przemysław Turek
Marcela Zoufalá

Bucharest team’s message

Dear Friends,

We are very happy to welcome you at the EAIS 9th Annual Conference on Israel Studies. The “Theodor Herzl” Center for Israeli Studies at the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA) has the privilege to host together with the European Association of Israel Studies (EAIS) the Annual Conference on Israel Studies:

“Israel in a Changing World: Domestic and International Perspectives and Practices”.

The National School of Political Science and Public Administration (SNSPA) is a public University in Bucharest, Romania, founded in 1991. SNSPA aims to train young people to be capable to think freely and use critical thinking. It is one of the most well-known and appreciated universities in the country for its study programs in the field of public administration. Moreover, SNSPA aims to become a provider of governance competences so that in the following years it can develop its capacity of having elite graduates who will contribute to the responsible governance of Romania and the European Union. SNSPA is trying to promote cooperation and partnership with similar universities, governmental agencies and organizations. Also, the university has a special interest for projects in the area of Israel studies.

The “Theodor Herzl” Center for Israeli Studies within SNSPA was established in 2012 in order to provide a deeper analysis and an academic alternative to the partisan approaches. Also, it aims at advancing the knowledge and to provide a rigorous academic perspective on issues pertaining to the Israeli government, politics and society. This academic alternative appeared in the context of our University interest in regional studies, Israel being an example of democracy in the Middle East. We are confident that this conference organized in Bucharest will have a major impact in promoting international relations and Israeli Studies.

We are proud to collaborate with EAIS on this major academic event that aims to identify the main subjects of Israel Studies, covered by European, Israeli and international scholars. The lecturers are members of the academic community of well-known universities from all over the world. The Center’s cooperation with the European Association of Israel Studies has already a rich history with which it organized various events during the past years.

Kind regards,

The “Theodor Herzl” Centre for Israeli Studies Team

Sunday, October 10th, 2021

KEY NOTE

17.00 - 18.15 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

15.00 Information online desk

17.00 – 17.15

Welcome: **Joanna Dyduch**, Chairman of the EAISWelcome: **Prof. Phd. Remus Pricopie**, Rector of the University

17.15-18.15

Opening Keynote: Who protects whom? The Case of Women in Combat in the IDF**Ayelet Harel-Shalev**

Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

The talk focuses on the study of women combat soldiers in the fields of Security Studies, International Relations and Gender Studies. It addresses this issue by bringing the soldiers' voices and silences to the forefront of research in these domains. Identities of men as "protectors" and women as "protected" afford women and men differing access to power and decision-making in the state, in Israel and elsewhere. Women are thus expected to be loyal, obedient, and grateful to their protectors, and they are also expected to take on the role of "carers." The narratives of women soldiers, interviewed in my ongoing research projects, clearly indicate that while they do indeed express "care," they themselves viewed their actions as "protection." The women soldiers themselves broke the carer-protector binary and the act of protection was dominant in their narratives. Moreover, narration of the soldiers' experiences sheds light on the analysis of violence, state violence, combat trauma, security and insecurity. The talk explores women who served in combat roles and combat support positions in the Israel Defense Forces; but the analysis extends beyond the Israeli case insofar as the discussion offers important general insights into the larger issues of the links between war, gender, trauma, protection and politics. Presenting soldiers, veterans and women soldiers as narrators and describing their multiple nuanced perspectives make a valuable contribution to understanding political violence and to comprehending the multiple and multilayered battles faced by soldiers within the spaces of the new wars in Israel and beyond.

17.00 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
16.00 - Warsaw / Stockholm
15.00 - London
10.00 - New York
07.00 - Los Angeles

Sunday, October 10th, 2021

PLENARY ROUNDTABLE

18.30 - 20.00 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

New perspectives on Israel's foreign and security policy

The security and foreign policies of Israel have always been closely intertwined and the Israeli political establishment continues to perceive the regional environment as the source of significant military and quasi-military threats. At the same time, this very environment has changed immensely since the First Arab-Israeli War. Abraham Accords and their follow-up are just the latest expressions of the gradual normalization of relations between the Jewish state and other regional actors. Forming of the broad coalition in Knesset that includes an Arab party has also been met by some experts with hopes for the new opening in Israel's approach to Middle Eastern affairs. The roundtable debate will aim at providing different perspectives on understanding recent changes to Israel's policies and its international role.

CHAIRS: **Joanna Dyduch**, chair of the European Association of Israel Studies, Associate Professor of the Jagiellonian University, **Artur Skorek**, executive secretary of the European Association of Israel Studies, Assistant Professor of the Jagiellonian University

Amnon Aran is Head of Department of International Politics and Senior Lecturer at the City, University of London. He has also contributed to policy-making forums through his work with the public bodies (including the European Union) and think-tanks. Dr Aran's main research interests lie in the international relations of the Middle East, with special reference to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the foreign policy of Middle Eastern states. His most recent book, *Israeli foreign policy since the end of the Cold War*, has been published by Cambridge University Press.

Yael Aronoff is Professor of Political Science/International Relations at Michigan State University. She is also the Director of the Michael and Elaine Serling Institute for Jewish Studies and Modern Israel and is the Serling Chair of Israel Studies at MSU. Dr. Aronoff has served as the President of the Association of Israel Studies from 2019-2021. Her research explores the conditions under which wars end and a process towards peace is achieved. Dr. Aronoff's book, *The Political Psychology of Israeli Prime Ministers: When Hard Liners Opt for Peace*, was published by Cambridge University Press (2014) and she co-edited a book with Dr. Ilan Peleg and Dr. Saliba Sarsar entitled, *Continuity and Change in Political Culture: Israel and Beyond* by Lexington Books (2021).

Chuck Freilich is Professor at Columbia University in the City of New York and Tel Aviv University. He is a former deputy national security adviser in Israel and long-time senior fellow at Harvard's Belfer Centre, has taught political science at Harvard, Columbia, NYU and Tel Aviv University. He is the author of *Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy* (Cornell 2012), *Israeli National Security: a New Strategy for an Era of Change* (Oxford 2018) and the forthcoming *Israel and the Cyber Threat: How the Startup Nation Became a Global Cyber Power* (Oxford 2022).

Dov Waxman is Professor of Political Science and the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Foundation Professor of Israel Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He is also the director of the UCLA Y&S Nazarian Center for Israel Studies. His research focuses on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Israeli politics and foreign policy, U.S.-Israel relations, American Jewry's relationship with Israel, and contemporary antisemitism. He is the author of four books: *The Pursuit of Peace and The Crisis of Israeli Identity: Defending. Defining the Nation* (2006), *Israel's Palestinians: The Conflict Within* (2011), *Trouble in the Tribe: The American Jewish Conflict over Israel* (2016), and *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2019).

18.30 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
17.30 - Warsaw / Stockholm
16.30 - London
11.30 - New York
08.30 - Los Angeles

Monday, October 11th, 2021

SESSION 1

9.30 - 11.00 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

09.30 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
08.30 - Warsaw / Stockholm
07.30 - London
02.30 - New York
23.30 (-1) - Los Angeles

PANEL A

Inclusion, Assimilation and Integration vs. Exclusion and Isolation: Policies, Approaches and Attitudes Towards Minorities in Israel

CHAIR: Olaf Glöckner (The Moses Mendelssohn Center for European-Jewish Studies Podstam, Germany)

Multi-culturalism in Israel: The Case of the Druze Community, Yakub Halabi (Azrieli Institute of Israel Studies, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada and Department of International Studies, Haifa University, Israel)

Discrimination of Sephardim and Mizrahim in Israel, a Mirror Image of USA anti-Black Racism and Black Lives Matter or Cultural Clash?, Yitzchak Kerem (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

The Academic Establishment and the Mizrahim, 1948-1977: From Ethnic Distance to Class Distance, Uri Cohen (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

Mizrahim's Ambiguous Role as 'Arab Brothers' in Peacebuilding Initiatives in the 'New Middle East', Marcela Menachem Zoufala (Charles University, Czechia)

PANEL B

Comparing Jewish, Kurdish and Berber-Amazigh Nationalism

CHAIR: Johannes Becke (Heidelberg University or Olaf Glockner)

The Berber Academy – Notes on the Invention of Modern Amazigh Nationalism, Alessia Colonnelli, (Heidelberg University, Germany)

Nation-Building and the Politics of Memory – Comparing the Kurdish and the Israeli Case, Bareez Majid (Heidelberg University, Germany)

Gathering the Dispersed: State Evasion and State-Making in Modern Jewish, Kurdish and Berber History, Johannes Becke (Heidelberg University, Germany)

PANEL C

Changes of Preferences and Behaviours in Israeli Social and Political Life

CHAIR: Magdalena Pycińska (Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland)

The Connection Between Behaviours, Desires, and Policy Alternatives as a Feedback Mechanism that Reinforces Policy Design and Policy Tools, Lahat Lihi (Sapir College, Israel & Concordia University / Azrieli Institute, Canada)

Trails Committee: Past, Present, Future, Emir Galilee, Havatzelet Yahel and Rachel Katoshevski (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

Escalation of Dishonesty Behaviour in the Israeli Academy, Ohela Gross Avinir and Adaya Meirovich (Hadassah Academic College, Israel), Dalia Gavriely-Nuri (The Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Israel)

Female Students from Cultural Minority Groups in Israel – Experiences, Barriers, Adjustments, Chaya Gershuni (Tel Aviv University, Israel), Nahed Ashkar Sharary (Ben-Gurion University, Israel)

Monday, October 11th, 2021

SESSION 2

11.30 - 13.00 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

11.30 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
10.30 - Warsaw / Stockholm
09.30 - London
04.30 - New York
01.30 - Los Angeles

PANEL A

Israeli Security and Strategic Thinking: Identity, Territory, and Cyberspace

CHAIR: Jacob Eriksson (University of York, UK)

The Relationship Between Security and Territory: Theoretical Reflections, Jacob Eriksson (University of York, UK)

From Occupation to Withdrawal: Territory and Security in Israeli Policy-Making, Rob Pinfold (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel)

Conceptions of Cyberspace in Israeli Security, Carly Beckerman (Durham University, UK)

PANEL B

Israel in Time of Constant Elections (2019-21): Assessing Scope and Durability of Changes in the Political System

CHAIR: Sharon Pardo (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

A Populist Leader Under Neo-Liberal Logic: On the Leadership Pattern of Benjamin Netanyahu in the 2019-2021 Elections, Avi Shilon (New York University, USA)

National Unity Governments in Israel, Csaba Nikolenyi (Concordia University / Azrieli Institute of Israel Studies, Canada)

Arab Political Parties as Legitimate Partners in Israel's Politics and Government. Historical Achievement in the Political History of Israel, Przemyslaw Turek (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Putting Electoral Reform Back on the Political Agenda, David Newman (Ben-Gurion University of Negev, Israel)

PANEL C

Is There a New Regional Dynamic in the Middle East?

CHAIR: Michał Lipa (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

The New Regional Landscape and the Abraham Accords: An Opportunity for Regional Peace?, Jonathan Ghariani (Concordia University / Azrieli Institute of Israeli Studies, Canada)

United We Stand - Israel, Egypt and the Gaza Conflict - Examining Israel-Egyptian Current Relations and the Role of Cairo as a Mediator, Orna Almog (previously Senior Lecturer in Politics and IR, Kingston University, London, UK)

International Hypocrisy or Perceptions of Bias? Attitudes and Policy-Making in the Israeli Case, Or Honig (Tokyo International University, Japan), Ariel Reichard (Tel-Aviv University, Israel)

Israeli-Egyptian Gas Cooperation: Significance of the Political Domestic Factors, Michał Lipa (Jagiellonian University, Poland), Artur Skorek (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Monday, October 11th, 2021

SESSION 3

14.00 - 15.30 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

14.00 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
13.00 - Warsaw / Stockholm
12.00 - London
07.00 - New York
04.00 - Los Angeles

PLENARY ROUNDTABLE

Think-Tankers' Panel: Israel in 2022 – Discussing Upcoming Trends and Challenges

2021 brought in fundamental changes in Israeli politics: a new, broad coalition took over, ending the “Netanyahu era” in Israeli politics. As we meet on 11th October, the Knesset starts its Autumn session which will determine the fate of the proposed state budget, and thus also decide upon the very survival of the “government of change”. The panel discussion will focus on summarising the changes brought in throughout the last year and prospects for 2022 in several important areas: the role of Arab-Israeli citizens after the May’21 riots and the June’21 entry of an Arab party to the government; continuation of the normalisation process between Israel and certain Arab states; chances and conditions for a new opening in Israel’s relations with Europe; and the role of the Israeli national-religious camp, split between the coalition and the opposition.

CHAIR: **Karolina Zielińska**, research fellow at the Israel Research Programme of the Centre for Eastern Studies in Warsaw, Poland.

Contributors:

Arik Rudnitzky, researcher at the Arab-Jewish Relations Program of the Israel Democracy Institute (IDI). His fields of expertise cover political, national and social developments in Israel’s Arab society; Jewish-Arab relations; and government policies on Arabs in Israel.

Peter Lintl is an associate at the German Institute for International and Security Studies (SWP). He heads the “Israel and its regional and global conflicts: Domestic developments, security issues and foreign affairs” project.

Moran Zaga, Policy fellow at the Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policies (MITVIM). Her current study at Mitvim concentrates on the existing and potential cooperation between Israel and the United Arab Emirates.

Calev Ben-Dor is a senior research associate at Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre (BICOM), as well as a Deputy Editor and frequent contributor to “Fathom”, BICOM’s quarterly journal.

Monday, October 11th, 2021

PLENARY SESSION

16.00 - 18.00 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

16.00 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
15.00 - Warsaw / Stockholm
14.00 - London
09.00 - New York
06.00 - Los Angeles

Association of Israel Studies (AIS) Panel: Recent Developments in Israel Studies

CHAIR: **Colin Shindler** (School of Oriental and African Studies, UK) & **Joanna Dyduch** (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Arieh Saposnik, Israel as a Cultural Code—Reflections on the Meaning and Nature of Israel Studies.

Arieh Saposnik is President of the Association of Israel Studies and Associate Professor at the Ben-Gurion Institute for the Study of Israel and Zionism at Ben-Gurion University in the Negev. He is a historian of Zionism and Jewish nationalism. Arieh is interested in the construction of national cultures and identities in the modern world. He is author, most recently, of *Zionism’s Redemptions: Images of the Past and Visions of the Future in Jewish Nationalism* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming, November 2021).

Raphael Cohen-Almagor Just, Reasonable Multiculturalism: The Challenge of Multiculturalism in Israel.

Raphael Cohen-Almagor is Vice-President of the Association of Israel Studies, Professor and Chair in Politics and Founder and Director of the Middle East Study Group (MESG) at the University of Hull. He completed his DPhil in Political Theory at St. Catherine’s College, University of Oxford, where he worked with Geoffrey Marshall, Wilfrid Knapp and Isaiah Berlin. Raphael taught, inter alia, at Oxford (UK), Jerusalem, Haifa (Israel), UCLA, Johns Hopkins (USA) and Nirma University (India). He was also Senior Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington DC, and Distinguished Visiting Professor, Faculty of Laws, University College London. Raphael has published extensively in the fields of political science, philosophy, law, media ethics and medical ethics. His most recent book: *Just, Reasonable Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

Asaf Shamis, How Green is Zionism? The Case of A.D. Gordon’s Deep Eco-Zionism.

Asaf Shamis is an Executive Director of the Association of Israel Studies and a teaching fellow at the University of Haifa. He has published works in political theory, history of Zionism, media history and present-day Israeli politics.

Yael Aronoff, Keeping the Door Open to the Two-State Solution.

Yael Aronoff is Professor of Political Science/International Relations at Michigan State University. She is the Director of the Michael and Elaine Serling Institute for Jewish Studies and Modern Israel and is the Serling Chair of Israel Studies at MSU. Dr. Aronoff served as the President of the Association of Israel Studies from 2019-2021. Her research explores dilemmas over means of war, conditions under which wars end, and the influence of domestic politics on foreign policy. Dr. Aronoff’s books are *The Political Psychology of Israeli Prime Ministers: When Hard Liners Opt for Peace* (2014) and *Continuity and Change in Political Culture: Israel and Beyond* Lexington Books (2021), Co-Editors Ilan Peleg and Saliba Sarsar.

Tuesday, October 12th, 2021

EAIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

8.00 - 9.30 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

08.00 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
07.00 - Warsaw / Stockholm
06.00 - London
01.00 - New York
22.00 (-1) - Los Angeles

SESSION 4

9.30 - 11.00 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

09.30 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
08.30 - Warsaw / Stockholm
07.30 - London
02.30 - New York
23.30 (-1) - Los Angeles

PANEL A

Everchanging Israel in a Changing International Media Landscape: Cinematic and Televisual Portraits

CHAIR: Miri Talmon (The Steve Tisch School of Film and Television, Tel-Aviv University, Israel)

In the Shadow of Current Affairs: Transnational Reviewing of Israeli Cinema, Jerome Bourdon and Sandrine Boudana (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

News Consumption as Democratic Resource Across Generations in Israel and Europe, Hillel Nossek (Kinneret College, Israel), Sagit Dinnar (The Open University, Israel)

Re-imagining Beauties and Bakers: Baking Meanings Across Global Television Screens, Miri Talmon (The Steve Tisch School of Film and Television, Tel-Aviv University, Israel)

Queering the Israeli Screen: A Critical History of LGBT Characters in the Israeli Film, Anna Hamanowicz (College for Jewish Studies Heidelberg, Germany)

PANEL B

Israel and the World – Historical Perspective

CHAIR: Colin Shindler (School of Oriental and African Studies, UK)

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Israel – Between Idealism and Pragmatism, David Tal (University of Sussex, UK)

Analysing Australia-Israel Relations: a Complex Friendship, Suzanne Dorothy Rutland (University of Sydney, Australia)

From Europe but Not in Europe? Changing Images of Europe in Israeli Discourse from the 1950s to the 1970s, Jenny Hestermann (College for Jewish Studies Heidelberg, Germany)

Yeridah? The Gomulka Immigrants (1956-1960) Seeking a Return to Poland, Ewa Węgrzyn (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

PANEL C

Social Discourses, Representation, and Memory

CHAIR: Marcela Menachem Zoufalá (Charles University, Czechia)

Holocaust Memory in a Changing World: Eva.Stories on Instagram, Liat Steir-Livny (Sapir Academic College & The Open University, Israel)

The Encounter with the Jerusalem: Legislating the Affect of the “Holy Site”, Eva Gurevich (Brandeis University, USA)

Reporting Israel and Gaza in the Conservative „paper of record”: a Comparative Analysis of the Daily Telegraph’s Coverage of Events from 2008-2021, Katherine Harbord (Liverpool John Moores University, UK)

The Identity of the Fourth Aliya and Zionist Fulfillment in Palestine, Meir Chazan (Tel Aviv University, Israel)

Tuesday, October 12th, 2021

SESSION 5

11.30 - 13.00 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

11.30 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
10.30 - Warsaw / Stockholm
09.30 - London
04.30 - New York
01.30 - Los Angeles

PANEL A

Israel and the Eastern Mediterranean: the Interplay Between Energy Security and Foreign Policy

CHAIR: Stefan Wolfrum (German Institute for International and Security Studies (SWP) Germany & Jagiellonian University, Poland)

Israel’s Regional Cooperation Potential – the Natural Gas Market as Door Opener, Gabriel Mitchell (Israeli Institute for Regional Foreign Policies MITVIM, Israel)

EEZ Claims and the Natural Gas Market in the Eastern Mediterranean, Abdullah Ibrahim (Geneva Center for Security Policy, Switzerland)

Powering the Divide: European Involvement in Renewable Electricity Projects in East Jerusalem, Lior Herman (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel), Elai Rettig (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

PANEL B

Different Dimensions of Israel’s Security and Defense

CHAIR: Ayelet Harel-Shalev (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

Israel’s „Defensible” Borders: Revisiting an Outdated Concept, David Newman (Ben-Gurion University, Israel)

Women Soldiers as Minorities in the Israel Military, Yuki Sawaguchi (University of Tokyo, Japan)

Ontological Security of Israel and Evolution of the Middle Eastern Peace Process, Artur Skorek (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

The Nation’s Army or the Army’s Nation? Civil-Military Relations in Israel, Zsolt Csepregi (Antall József Knowledge Centre, Hungary)

PANEL C

Zionism, Nationality and Citizenship: Public Debate in the Jewish State

CHAIR: Olaf Glöckner (The Moses Mendelssohn Center for European-Jewish Studies Potsdam, Germany)

Reexamination of Nationalism in the Political Theory: Zionism as a Case Study, Lilach Ben Zvi (Azrieli Institute of Israel Studies, Concordia University, Canada)

Citizenship in a Democratic Nation-State: Israeli Legal History of the 1990s and Early 2000s in Comparative Perspective, Maham Ayaz (Brandeis University, USA)

Sovereignty and Political Culture in Israel: A Cyclical De-civilizing Parabola?, Alon Helled (University of Florence, Italy)

The Israelis in the USA: Opportunities and Challenges, Luiza Khlebnikova (Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia)

Tuesday, October 12th, 2021

SESSION 6

14.00 - 15.30 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

PANEL A

Palestine and Zionism: History of Social Practices and Experiences

CHAIR: Peter Bergamin (Mansfield College - University of Oxford, UK)

Treaty Regime of Mandatory Palestine, Rafał Soroczyński (Mieszko I School of Education and Administration, Poland)

Post-colonial Racialisation of Gender and Religious Experience within the Settler Colonial Context: Ahed Tamimi's Experience of a Racialised Practice, Magdalena Pycinska (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

The Foundations of the French Third Republic in Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's Thought, Roger Ferran i Baños (University of Barcelona, Spain)

The Issue of a Jewish State in East Asia in Japan's Policy During the 15-year War, Joanna Guzik (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

PANEL B

Addressing Intra-Jewish Diversity in Israel

CHAIR: Marcela Menachem Zoufalá (Charles University, Czechia)

A Call for Widening Cultural Awareness within the Health Arena in Israel, Netta Gilboa-Feldman and Nissim Leon (Bar-Ilan University, Israel)

Community? Now, More than Ever – Kibbutz and the Challenge of Coronavirus, Doron Timor (Yad Tabenkin Institute & Open University of Israel)

Unsettled Redemption: Prophecy, Temporal Dissonance, and the Longue Durée of Jewish Settlement in the Occupied West Bank, Ian McGonigle (Nanyang Technological University, Singapore)

Israel as a State of the Jews, Israel as a Jewish State: Reform Judaism in the Political Discourse Around the Kotel Compromise, Ofir Abu (Kinneret Academic College on the Sea of Galilee & Azrieli Center for Israel Studies at Ben-Gurion Research Institute for the Study of Israel and Zionism, Israel)

14.00 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
13.00 - Warsaw / Stockholm
12.00 - London
07.00 - New York
04.00 - Los Angeles

Tuesday, October 12th, 2021

Closing Plenary Session

16.00 - 17.30 Bucharest / Tel Aviv time

Israel and Europe in the Times of Liberalism Contestations and the Crisis of Multilateralism?

CHAIR: Joanna Dyduch (Jagiellonian University, Poland)

PANELISTS:

Sharon Pardo (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel). Paper: Israel's Right-Wing Populists: The European Connection.

Using Benjamin Netanyahu's Israel as a case study, this paper adds a crucial layer to the study of Israel's radical right populism. First, we discuss the concept of populism, claiming that populism is prevalent in Israeli politics because conflicts concerning the inclusion/exclusion of subordinate social groups have marked Israeli society since its inception. Second, we expose the depth of Israel's relationships with Europe's populists and Eurosceptics and argue that Netanyahu's Israel shares common values with these actors. Finally, we claim that Israel uses populism and Euroscepticism as a foreign policy instrument in order to achieve specific political objectives.

Magdalena Góra (Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland). Paper: Importing Differentiation to the EU? Israel's Strategies of Increasing Differentiation Among Member States within CFSP.

It seems to be a truism to state that other actors might be interested in diminishing the unity of the EU member states to achieve a better negotiation position, achieves a favourable stance on a given issue or diminishes the EU's leverage on some issues. In the proposed paper we aim at better understanding what are strategies and domestic factors that facilitate the process of importing differentiation into the EU. To do so we use the concept of differentiated integration and limit our focus on foreign policy cooperation (CFSP and CSDP).

Patrick Müller (University of Vienna, Austria). Paper: Populism Meets EU Foreign Policy: the de-Europeanization of Poland's Foreign Policy Toward the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.

This article bridges between the de-Europeanization framework and works on populism to theorize about de-Europeanization dynamics and their potential drivers. Empirically, the article explores Polish foreign policy under the PiS government for the case of EU-foreign policy cooperation toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. As a highly Europeanized foreign policy issue and longstanding EU priority, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict constitutes an interesting case for the emerging research agenda on foreign policy de-Europeanization. Whilst Poland's traditional support for the EU's common approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been part of its wider Europeanization experience, we argue that under PiS government Poland's foreign policy has changed in important ways, showing signs of de-Europeanization. These changes have been driven by both, ideologically informed preferences of the Law and Justice led government as well as external expectations and pressures.

17.30 – 18.00

Closing remarks

Joanna Dyduch - Chair of the EAIS**Liliana Popescu** - Vice-Rector of The National University of Political Studies and Public Administration (SNSPA)16.00 - Bucharest / Tel Aviv
15.00 - Warsaw / Stockholm
14.00 - London
09.00 - New York
06.00 - Los Angeles

ISRAEL STUDIES REVIEW

An Interdisciplinary Journal

Editors: Oded Haklai, *Queen's University (Ontario)*

Adia Mendelson-Maoz, *The Open University of Israel*

The journal of the Association for Israel Studies

ISR explores modern and contemporary Israel from the perspective of the social sciences, history, the humanities, and cultural studies and welcomes submissions on these subjects. *ISR* also pays close attention to the relationships of Israel to the Middle East and to the wider world, and encourages scholarly articles with this broader theoretical or comparative approach provided the focus remains on modern Israel.

RECENT ARTICLES

Israel and East-Central Europe: Case Studies of Israel's Relations with Poland and Hungary

Joanna Dyduch

Political Labels and Post-Politics: A Comparative Analysis of the Party Spectrum in Israel, Hungary, and Poland

Artur Skorek

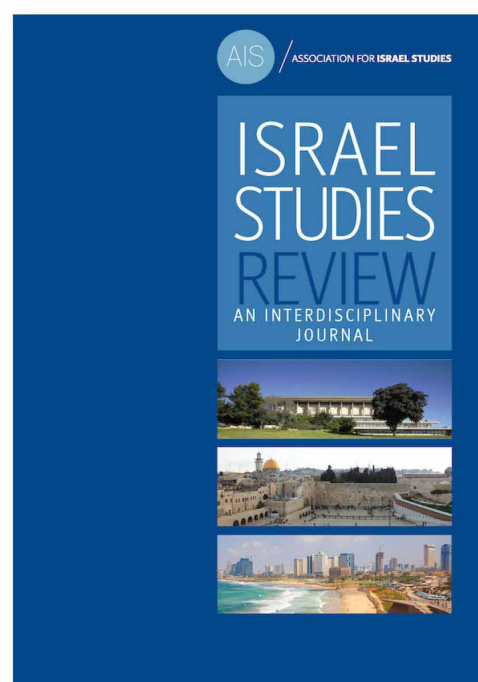
The 2014 Israel-Hamas Conflict: Repercussions on French Foreign and Domestic Policy

Eve Benhamou

Multiculturalism as Reflected in the Linguistic and Semiotic Landscape of Arab Museums in Israel

Athar Haj Yahya

To view all table of contents, please visit the ISR website!



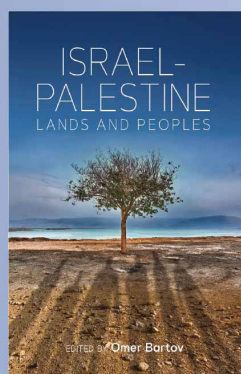
ISSN: 2159-0370 (Print)

ISSN: 2159-0389 (Online)

Volume 36/2021, 3 issues p.a.

www.berghahnjournals.com/israel-studies-review

berghahn books



ISRAEL-PALESTINE

Lands and Peoples

Edited by Omer Bartov

Afterword by Alon Confino

NOTHING NEW IN EUROPE?

Israelis Look at Antisemitism Today

Anita Haviv-Horiner

CAN ACADEMICS CHANGE THE WORLD?

An Israeli Anthropologist's Testimony on the Rise and Fall of a Protest Movement on Campus

Moshe Shokeid

ISRAELI IDENTITIES

Jews and Arabs Facing the Self and the Other

Yair Auron

HAVING AND BELONGING

Homes and Museums in Israel

Judy Jaffe-Schagen

MASS COMMUNICATION IN ISRAEL

Nationalism, Globalization, and Segmentation

Oren Soffer

Translated from the Hebrew by Judith Yalon