

SYNOPSIS

INDIA'S ISRAEL POLICY: FROM 'DIPLOMATIC NORMALISATION' TOWARDS 'STRATEGIC COOPERATION' (1992-2019)

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INTRODUCTION:

India and Israel—two old civilisations of the world, had trade and cultural linkages from prehistorical times. India was a safe place for Jews, where they never experienced any instance of anti-Semitism. The modern State of India was reluctant to recognise the Jewish nation after its formation in 1948. Even after the recognition in 1950, New Delhi deferred the standard diplomatic practice of exchanging missions with Israel. This so-called 'non-relationship' has been explained by scholars and politicians alike with an intention to justify the same. In 1992, when India decided to exchange permanent missions with Israel, the decision was argued as a consequence of the establishment of US hegemony, thanks to the disintegration of Soviet Russia. India's relations with Israel gradually elevated to the level of 'Strategic Partnership' between the two countries. Having Defence cooperation as the basis, the relationship flourished to the level of cooperation in counter-terrorism, cooperation in Agro-tech, Water management, cyber security and high-tech.

India's policy towards Israel is not a product of a simple calculation of convergence of interests perceived by the government. This policy is a product of interactions between the politico-psychological orientation of leaders, the political configuration of the coalition and their collective ideological orientation, India's national interest as perceived by the government and different agencies and most interestingly, domestic politics. So many factors determine India's policy towards Israel, that it is only comparable to India's policy towards the US and not even with Pakistan or China. A major lacuna of the existing literature on the field has been its limitation to the 'non-relationship' phase and obsession to draw a causal relation with the US influence in India's foreign policy. The focus on structural factors behind India's foreign policy undermined decision-makers' role in the sphere of foreign policy making. Thus, this thesis focuses on India's Israel policy from a decision makers' perspective. The study is focusing how the decision-makers of India's Foreign policy balanced among National Interest, political

rhetoric and ideological differences or Convergence while formulating Israel policy, since Independence by following contrasting policies at different times.

OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH:

- a. To understand how priorities are set, Choices are made in foreign policy decision-making in India with a special reference to the decision of Change.
- b. To learn how different variables like personalities, ideologies, domestic politics, national security, counter-terrorism, and regional politics shape India's foreign policy.
- c. To understand how India manages to accommodate conflicting parties while foreign policy formulation.
- d. To analyse how India's bilateral relations with Israel impact its relations with other countries and fora in regional and global politics.
- e. To analyse how policy shift impacts India's foreign policy in a dynamic world.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The central research question of the study is, why and how did India shift from her 'Recognition without Relation' policy towards 'Strategic Partnership' through 'Diplomatic Normalisation'?

Any attempt to examine the main question will pose certain specific but interrelated questions:

- i) Why did India normalise its relations with Israel in 1992?
- ii) What is the strategic importance of Israel for India?
- iii) How does India accommodate conflicting parties like Israel and Palestine/Arabs/Iran in its foreign policy making?
- iv) What are the strategic implications of Indo-Israel relations for the region and for the world?
- v) Has US influence/interest has been instrumental behind India's Israel policy?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

This research is conducted within the broad theoretical framework of Foreign Policy Analysis or FPA. With its prime focus on human decision-making, FPA is clearly an agent-centric methodology that maintains diplomacy, intelligence, security perception, trade negotiations and cultural exchanges; all form part of the substance of foreign policy of a state. At the core of the field is an investigation into decision-making, the individual decision-makers, processes and conditions that influence the making of foreign policy and its significance. The explanation of foreign policy decision-making should be multifactorial, with the desideratum of examining variables at multiple levels of analysis. Explanatory variables from all levels of analysis, from the most micro to the most macro, is important.

The paradigm of FPA is established upon the combination of three epistemological sources, namely:

- a) Decision-Making Approach to International Relations as developed by Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin ;
- b) James N. Rosenau's concept of 'Pre-Theories'; and
- c) Man-Milieu relationship hypotheses in the context of International Relations, as constructed by Harold and Margaret Sprout

Classical and Neo-Classical Realists, being grand narratives of IR, developed foreign policy-specific methodologies; but that presume decision-makers as essentially 'rational' and machine-like individuals without any 'personal' preferences whatsoever. The key assumption of Rational choice theory is nations are led by rational, forward-looking leaders who seek to maximise the expected gains of policy choices in a holistic and compensatory fashion. It may be an excellent guide to policymakers about how to pursue 'National Interest' while dealing with foreign policy, does not essentially offer an appropriate research design to scholars attempting to declutter

foreign policies of Statesmen. FPA, with its methodological flexibility and acknowledgement of heterogeneous political-psychological inclinations of leaders is capable of analysing the foreign policy of any type of leader, including the Realists. Since the research question particularly focuses on the Actors, the focus of the study is to follow the agent-centric methodology.

Any methodologically sound qualitative research, be it in Foreign Policy or in Anthropological studies, begins with judicious identification of variables, drives through meticulous utilisation of research tools for collecting primary data and attempts to explain research problems by employing appropriate research methods. A major focus of the research design is on the question of appropriating of the unit of analysis within the wider environment of the interplay between 'explanandum' and 'explanans'. FPA focuses on the role of decision-makers, the process of foreign policy formulation and the nature of foreign policy choice has tended to produce a stronger emphasis on the agency. The key argument of FPA is that it is finally and ultimately the Actor that frames policy from multiple policy choices or alternatives available within the 'Structure'.

There can be no disagreement that Individual decision-maker, in our case Prime Minister of India, does not formulate foreign policy in a vacuum or in isolation to other policies. Policies are often products or bi-products of any other major decisions, e.g. New Delhi's position on Palestine is often determined, by default, on the basis of its policy on Kashmir. Thus, along with Prime Minister's cognitive or psycho-political inclinations, coordination with the Cabinet, his/her leverage over party and coalition partners, relations with top bureaucrats, and political strength in Lok Sabha also impacts the foreign policymaking and the making of the Israel Policy in particular. This all takes place within the real-political arena where political context, so the appropriation of a policy is valued based on political terms. It has also been witnessed that the political bosses, i.e. the Prime Minister or the other concerned Ministers, appoint those

bureaucrats who are in line with the former's vision and mission. Thus, the preponderance of the Individual leaders in taking the final call, makes them more important in the level of analysis over group, process and bureaucracy. However, Foreign policy is not an 'immediate correspondent' of the structural interplays of International Politics. Nevertheless, the Agents learn from global events over time, which largely influences their actions. Finally, the Individual decision-maker, i.e. the Prime Minister of India, in his real context, is the unit of analysis for this research because 'information is selectively perceived and evaluated in terms of the decision maker's frame of reference'.

The broad framework of five variables, as prescribed by Rosenau, is followed in this research with some moderation. The research focuses on the interplay of five sets of variables. The research is based on Rosenau's five-set variables and the principle of Snyder and his colleagues (1962) that advocates the preponderance of the Individual decision maker; is the theoretical foundation of the research. So, the key explanatory or causal independent variable in this research is the Prime Minister of India i.e. Individual decision maker. Governmental variables refer to the inputs from Parliament, Council of Ministers, MEA, PMO, Indian Military, NSA, Security and Intelligence Agencies like IB and RAW etc. Another set of variables consists of those non-governmental aspects of Indian society that influenced the behaviour of the Indian State towards Israel, and that makes this policy unique in the cartography of India's foreign policy. The dominant Muslim minority's religious views towards the Jews twisted by a land dispute in the post-World War II scenario further complicated the problem to be handled by the policy maker of a secular state with a Hindu majority that had never had any case of anti-Semitism in the history of co-existence. The fourth variable is major contesting political ideologies in India that approach the Jewish/Palestine question from different perspectives. Opposition parties have always been critical of Government's Israel policy from an ideological perspective. As for Systemic variables, these include any actions concerning India's National

Interest occurring globally or in West Asia and North Africa (WANA) region or South Asian region or in any other part directly or indirectly concerning India's involvement or hostility with Israel. It includes how India's policy towards Israel is affected by Supra-national fora like UN, OIC, GCC or phenomenon like Cold War, Globalisation and rise of Terrorism. This research is an attempt to explore how these independent variables shape the dependent variable i.e. India's Israel Policy itself and how 'Change' occurred in the policy over time.

The research has been mostly focused on Primary Data reflected in different government reports, available in Archives, memoirs and books by foreign policy makers who witnessed various stages of this relationship and most importantly, Interviews of Bureaucrats, Ambassadors who witnessed this relationship to grow. In this regard, I have gathered government documents from National Archives, New Delhi and IDSA Library, New Delhi, Israel State Archives, Jerusalem and National Library of Israel, Jerusalem and personal correspondence of various statesmen from Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (Teen Murti Library), New Delhi.

List of Interviews are as follows:

Sl No	Name of Interviewee	Designation	Date and Venue of the Interview
1.	Amb Ronen Sen	Joint Secretary, PMO (in-charge of Defence, Intelligence, Foreign, Science and Technology) (1986 - 1991)	4 th May, 2017 New Delhi
2.	Amb. Jaideep Sarkar	India's Ambassador to Israel (2012-2016)	7th November, 2016, Thimphu, Bhutan

3.	Amb Pinak Ranjan Chakraborty	Deputy Head of Indian Mission in Israel (1995-1999)	12 th September, 2016, New Delhi
4.	P. R. Kumaraswamy	Expert, India-Israel Relations	14 th September, 2016, New Delhi
5.	Mr Moshe Ya'alon	Vice Prime Minister (2009-13, 2015-16), Minister of Strategic Affairs (2009-13), Minister of Defence (2013-16) Former Chief of Israel Defence Forces (2002-2005)	14th February' 2019 at his office in Tel Aviv.
6.	Amb Yaron Mayer	Director of South East Asia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Present) Former Spokesperson, Embassy of Israel to India (2001-05)	17th February' 2019 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jerusalem.
7.	Amb Moshe Yegar	Former Deputy Director-General in Charge of Asia, Africa and Oceania (1990-93)	17th February' 2019 at his residence in Jerusalem.
8.	Amb Alan Baker	Former Deputy Director-General to Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1996-2004), Participated in Joint Working Group for Counter-Terrorism between India and Israel in 2015	19th February' 2019 at Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs, Jerusalem
9.	Amb Alon Liel	Advisor to Prime Minister Ehud Barak on Foreign Affairs (1997-99) Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2000-01)	21st February' 2019 at Joe Cafe, Mevaseret Zion in Jerusalem

10.	Mr. Reuven Merhav	Former Director General, The Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1988-1991)	18th February' 2019 at his residence in Jerusalem
11.	Amb Daniel Carmon	Israel's Ambassador to India (2014-18)	25th February' 2019 at Aroma Cafe, Commercial Centre in Peta Tikwa
12.	Mr Yohada Haim	Ambassador to India (1996-2000)	14th February' 2019 at Aroma Cafe, Mevaseret Zion in Jerusalem.
13.	Mr Ephraim Duwek	Ambassador to India (1992-1996)	18th February' 2019 at his residence in Jerusalem
14.	Amb Giora Becher	Former Consul-General to India (1989-1992)	13th February' 2019 at his residence in Netanya.
15.	Amb Amos Radian	Former Consul to India (1987-89)	12th February' 2019 at his residence in Tel Aviv.
16.	Amb Oded Ben-Hur	Former Consul to India (1985-87)	13th February' 2019 in Milano Cafe, Tel Aviv
17.	Amb Yossi Hasin	Former Consul to India (1979-82)	28th February' 2019 at Cafe Yehuda, Jerusalem

18.	Mr Nissim Mosses	President, Indian Jewish Heritage Centre Close aid to Former Israeli President	20th February' 2019 at his residence in Peta Tikwa.
19.	Mr Rohit Mishra	First Secretary, Indian Embassy, Tel Aviv	20th February' 2019 in Indian Embassy, Tel Aviv
20.	Mr.Harinder Singh	Correspondent PTI, stationed in Jerusalem	21st February' 2019 at his residence in Jerusalem.
21.	Prof. Meron Medzini	Strategic Expert, Truman Institute	19th February at his residence in Jerusalem
22.	Prof Azar Gat	Professor, Tel Aviv University	24th February in Tel Aviv University
23.	Prof Uriel Abulof	Associate Professor, Tel Aviv University	24th February in Tel Aviv University
24.	Prof Hanna Lerner	Assistant Professor, Tel Aviv University	24th February in Tel Aviv University
25.	Mr Malcon Marizian	Palestinian Human Rights Activist	22nd February' 2019 in Old City, Jerusalem
26.	Mr Solomon Wald	Strategic Affairs Expert, Authored a book titled, 'India, Israel and the Jewish People'	28th February at the YMCA Hotel in Jerusalem
27.	Prof Lauren Dagan	Assistant Professor, Bar-Ilan University	24th February at Yafu, Tel Aviv

CHAPTER DESIGN:

Since the major focus of the study is to evaluate India's policy shift chronologically, the Chapters are designed accordingly.

Chapter 1. Historical Background (1947 - 1984)

The chapter focuses on the covert and overt linkage between India and Israel from 1950 to 1984. It primarily tests two major claims of existing literature. One, This was a phase of 'non-relation' and two, New Delhi delayed the issue of 'normalisation' with Israel, mainly because the two countries represent two conflicting ideas of nationalism. Various primary data show that India and Israel maintained communication and even exchanged official visits, though not through Diplomatic missions. Nevertheless, this exchange was crucial to India. Thus, the theory of 'conflicting nationalism' as the factor that explains India's 'non-relationship' is factually incorrect. Israel responded to India's need during the Chinese aggression in 1962, War with Pakistan in 1965, Bangladesh War (1971). Israel's spy agency Mossad was also instrumental in the formation of R&AW. This is a phase better termed 'Relations without Representation' rather than 'non-relations'.

Chapter 2. The Policy of Normalisation: The Era of Rajiv Gandhi and P. V. Narasimha Rao (1984 - 1998)

New Delhi decided to exchange diplomatic missions with Israel in 1992. The existing literature associates the 'event' exclusively with the collapse of Soviet Russia and the 'victory' of the US in the Cold War'. Based on available primary data, the chapter argues that the decision of 'Normalisation' was twofold. One is the decision to normalise in principle and the timing of 'normalisation'. Rajiv Gandhi took the decision in principle in 1985-86, purely from a national interest perspective. The policy was to normalise gradually, solely for domestic political

reasons. For various reasons, it was delayed. P. V. Narasimha Rao implemented the decision at the 'right time'. It is further proved by post-normalisation engagement between India and Israel that the decision for full diplomatic relations was primarily for India's national interest. Within two months of the declaration of exchanging missions, even before the arrival of the first Ambassador of Israel to New Delhi, the Ministry of Defence, India, hosted a team of Israeli defence experts.

Chapter 3. The Policy of Strategic Engagement: The Era of Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998-2004)

Pakistan's Kargil War (1999) underlined New Delhi's lacuna in Defence. India started military modernisation. Both at the time of the war and the post-war defence modernisation, Israel was engaged in pursuing a strategic edge. This engagement was purely technical. Israel was crucial for its cutting-edge technology in surveillance. The rise in the menace of terrorism further deepened the relationship between the two countries. This was the era when Likud in Israel and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India ruled the country. Thus, the opposition in India claimed this relationship was the product of 'ideological convergence'. The Government of India was blamed for alleged 'Ethnocracy' in Israel. The politics of India's Israel policy became more prominent than the actual strategic engagement between the two countries.

Chapter 4. The Policy of Strategic Cooperation: The Era of Dr Manmohan Singh (2004 - 2014):

Dr Manmohan Singh attempted to balance domestic political outrage against Israel and the country's importance in Strategic affairs. The foreign policy rhetoric and National interest were tactfully balanced. India criticised Israel in all global fora, including the UN, yet took the Defence and counter-terrorism cooperation to a new height. Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) took care of India's relations with the Arab world. In contrast, India's relations with Israel were taken care of by the Ministry of Defence, Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and the

States (Provinces) concerned where Israel was cooperating on Agricultural innovation, Water Technology. By the end of 2008-09, two significant changes took place in India and the Middle East—Mumbai Terror Attack (2008) or 26/11 and the Arab Spring. While 26/11 cultivated public opinion in favour of Israel and its way of counter-terrorism in India, Arab Spring minimised the importance of the Palestinian question in the Middle East. With the swearing-in by Dr Manmohan Singh for the second time in 2009, the Left parties, a staunch opponent of Israel, were out of power. It became easy for the Manmohan Singh Government to declare the relationship as a 'Strategic Partnership' in 2012.

Chapter 5. The Policy of Dehyphenation: The Era of Narendra Modi (2014 - 2019)

Narendra Modi's rise to the highest office in India sparked enthusiasm for India-Israel bonhomie's supporters in India and Israel. Modi having a personal inclination towards Israel, categorically declared 'dehyphenation' between India's engagement with Israel and commitment to the Palestinian cause. It was the era of public appraisal of the Israeli Defence Forces and their style of counter-terrorism by the Indian Government. India was no more hesitant in acknowledging the strategic importance of Israel in its Security policy. BJP's preponderance in India's domestic politics and the decline of the Palestinian cause in Middle eastern politics paved the way for this. In Middle-Eastern politics, Israel is started to be approached as a potential source of opportunity and not a threat. Major Arab countries like the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and Bahrain signed Abraham Accord (2019) with Israel, while Saudi Arabia is working towards such 'normalisation'. The primary threat in the Middle East, as perceived by the Arab states, is Iran and not Israel. Though India changed its foreign policy rhetoric toward Israel, it continues to criticise Israel in the UN with a lesser intensity. The Government of India's support of Israel does not indicate any national consensus; the anti-Israel public rallies are more than ever at the time of state visits by Israeli statesmen.

MAJOR FINDINGS:

- 1) India's Israel policy operates in two spaces. The governing principle of one space is National Interest in terms of security for India. Here, India is interest-oriented, reciprocal and bilateral in nature. It focuses on cooperation in counter-terrorism and collaboration in defence. The other space is political, open, and rhetorical in nature. The governing principle of this space is the morality of public space. India consciously maintains a gap between its rhetoric and national interest, so far Israel policy is concern. Policymakers in the South Block always had to balance the politics of mortality and the politics of morality, hard-core national interest and rhetoric.
- 2) The Change in India's Israel policy has been gradual yet inconsistent. As discussed, the four phases of India's policy have some continuity, some changes and some inconsistencies. The shift from Narasimha Rao's 'policy of normalisation' to Narendra Modi's 'Strategic dehyphenation' is not planned but eventual. The absence of a Grand Strategy in India is the main reason for this. Since the India-Israel relationship is all about reciprocity and mutual interests. The relationship developed with the changes in the global outlook of India.
- 3) Rajiv Gandhi adopted the policy of normalisation and planned to implement the same gradually. For Rao, the issue was how to implement it. The decision of normalisation was two-fold. In the first stage, in 1985, the Government of India decided to 'normalise' with the Jewish State. In the second stage, in 1992, the timing of the implementation of the original decision was determined. As policy implementation is inseparable from policy formulation, the South Block's decision to 'Normalisation' and establish missions in each other's territory should be approached as one, yet prolonged, process and an 'event'.

- 4) India's engagement with Iran has been a concern for policymakers in Jerusalem. They are sceptical of the transfer of Israeli technology to Iran via India. For a long time, New Delhi attempted a balance with the Arab world. Finally, with the Arab Spring and Israel's *de facto* normalisation with Arab countries that led to Abraham Accord, it has been easy for India to engage with Israel without considering any reactions in the middle east.
- 5) The US has been crucial in the India-Israel relationship in a very different way than projected. After the disintegration of Soviet Russia, Indian policymakers, particularly Prime Minister Rao, were interested in American defence technology, American direct investment in the newly liberalised market and American loans. Israel was the key to many US decisions. Israel has also been effective against defence embargo against exporting hardware or technology transfer. India normalised with Israel primarily for pursuing National interest, under a favourable global power-balance which does not mean any 'American pressure'.
- 6) India has moved beyond this strategy of converting its own war into another's war by playing a card of commonality like 'if you are not with me, then you are with them'. In the post soviet world, New Delhi developed the strategy of diversifying defence partnerships. India moved towards self-reliance in defence with the policy of 'Arming without Aiming'. India's strategic programme does not consider fighting together in a literal sense with any other country. Neither India nor Israel expects each other to fight against any common enemy in an alien land. Yet, in India's battles against its enemies, Israel is crucial in securing a strategic edge with its advanced defence technologies, which makes the India-Israel relationship a 'Strategic Partnership'.

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D) Interviews:

Interview with Mr Moshe Ya'alon (Vice Prime Minister of Israel, 2009-2013 and 2015-2016; Minister of Strategic Affairs, 2009-2013; Former Chief of IDF 2002-2005) in Tel Aviv, Israel on February 14, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Reuven Merhav (Former Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from 1988 to 1991) in Jerusalem, Israel on February 18, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Yosef Hadass (Former Deputy Director General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel, in 1990) in Jerusalem, Israel on February 21, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Moshe Yegar (Former Deputy Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel, in-charge of Asia, Africa and Oceania, from 1990 to 1993) in Jerusalem, Israel on February 17, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Meren Medzini (Former Brigadier in IDF who accompanied the President on the trip) in Jerusalem, Israel on February 23, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Alon Liel (Advisor to Prime Minister Ehud Barak on Foreign Affairs from 1997 to 1999 and Director-General in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel from 2000 to 2001) in Mevaseret Zion, Jerusalem, Israel on February 21, 2019

Interview with Ambassador Alan Baker (Member of JWG on counter-terrorism in 2015) in Jerusalem, Israel on February, 19, 2019

Interview with Ambassador Yaron Mayer (Director of South East Asia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, October, 2017 to August, 2022 and Former Spokesperson, Embassy of Israel to India from 2001 to 2005) in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jerusalem, Israel on February 17, 2019

Interview with Ambassador Yosef Hasseen (Former Israeli Consul to Mumbai, erstwhile Bombay, between 1979 to 1982) in Jerusalem, Israel on February 23, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Oded Benhur (Former Israeli Consul to Mumbai, erstwhile Bombay, between 1985 to 1987) in Jerusalem, Israel on February 13, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Amos Radian (Former Israeli Consulate-General to Mumbai, erstwhile Bombay, between 1987 to 1989) in Tel Aviv, Israel on February 12, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Giora Becher (Former Israeli Consul General to Mumbai, erstwhile Bombay, between 1985 to 1987) in Netanya, Israel on February 13, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Ephraim Duwek (Ambassador of Israel to India, from 1990 to 1993) in Jerusalem, Israel on February 18, 2019.

Interview with Mr Nissim Moses (Retd IDF Officer, served on special duty in India between 1992-1996) in Peta Tikwa, Israel on February 20, 2019.

Interview with Ambassador Yohada Haim (Ambassador of Israel to India from 1996-2000) in Mevaseret Zion, Jerusalem, Israel India on February 14, 2019

Interview with Mr Daniel Carmon (Ambassador of Israel to India 2014-2018) in Peta Tikwa, Israel on February 25, 2019

Interview with Ms Dana Krush (Deputy Chief of Mission, Israel Embassy from 2015 to 2020) in the Embassy of Israel in New Delhi, India on September 15, 2016.

Interview with Ambassador Ronen Sen (Retd IFS) in New Delhi, India on May 4, 2017.

Interview with Ambassador Pinak Ranjan Chakravarty (Deputy Chief of India's mission in Tel Aviv, 1995-1999) in New Delhi, India on September 8, 2016.

Interview with Late Shakti Sinha (Joint Secretary to the Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, March 1998 to November 1999) on January 17, 2021 via Zoom Meeting.

Interview with Mr Jaideep Sarkar (Ambassador of India to Israel, 2012-2015) in Thimpu, Bhutan on November 7, 2016.

Interview with Mr Rohit Mishra (First Secretary, Indian Embassy in Tel Aviv in 2019) in Indian Embassy in Tel Aviv on February 20, 2019

Interview with Mr Harinder Singh (Correspondent, PTI stationed in Jerusalem) in Jerusalem on February 21, 2019

Interview with Dr. P. R. Kumaraswamy (Expert, India-Israel Relations) in JNU, New Delhi on September 14, 2016, New Delhi

Interview with Prof Azar Gat (Professor, Tel Aviv University) in Tel Aviv University on February 24, 2019

Interview with Prof Uriel Abulof (Associate Professor, Tel Aviv University) in Tel Aviv University on February 24, 2019

Interview with Prof Hanna Lerner (Assistant Professor, Tel Aviv University) in Tel Aviv University on February 24, 2019

Interview with Mr Malcon Marizian (Palestinian Rights Activist) in Old City, Jerusalem on February 22, 2019

Interview with Mr Solomon Wald (Author, *'India , Israel and the Jewish People'*) in YMCA Hotel, Jerusalem on February 28, 2019

Interview with Prof Lauren Dagan (Assistant Professor, Bar-Ilan University) in Yafo, Tel Aviv, on February 24, 2019

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