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ИЗРАИЛЬСКАЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЯ

***Аннотация:** Данная статья рассматривает историю Израиля в контексте сложной обстановки появления еврейского государства. Рассматривается период появления Израиля на карте мира и специфика резолюции № 181 Генеральной ассамблеи ООН о появлении в Палестине двух государств, что привело к резкому увеличению масштаба конфликта. Далее раскрывается асимметричность военных потенциалов сторон. Подмечается, что по итогам войн 1967 и 1974 года Израиль только утвердил свое военное превосходство. Далее раскрывается специфика проблем, которые принесли Израилю многочисленные территориальные приобретения. Далее в статье отмечается, что на фоне постоянных конфликтов в регионе, произошло поражение арабского населения Израиля в гражданских правах. При этом долгое время израильские арабы были скорее довольны своим положением и постепенно «израилизовались». Однако делается акцент, что затем произошел определенный перелом, которым стала первая палестинская интифада 1987 года. Статья отмечает, что с этого времени начался новый виток эскалации арабо-израильского конфликта. На фоне этого рассматривается сложное и двойственное положение, в котором оказались израильские арабы, с их принадлежностью сразу двум идентичностям, израильской и арабской. Отмечается, что Израиль по большей части не сделал никаких серьезных шагов по их интеграции в общество наравне с иудеями. Напротив, наблюдается скорее обратная тенденция. И статья приходит к выводу, что если в первые десятилетия ограничения демократических свобод арабов в Израиле еще можно было чем-то оправдать, то дальнейшее сохранение дискриминационных законов не только ставит под сомнение характер Израиля, как демократии, но и несет большие стратегические риски.*

Ключевые слова: Израиль, еврейское государство, демократия, ООН, арабо-израильский конфликт.

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ISRAELI DEMOCRACY

Abstract: *This article examines the history of Israel in the context of the complex situation of the emergence of the Jewish state. The period of Israel's appearance on the world map and the specifics of UN General Assembly Resolution No. 181 on the emergence of two states in Palestine, which led to a sharp increase in the scale of the conflict, are considered. Further, the asymmetry of the military potentials of the parties is revealed. It is noted that following the 1967 and 1974 wars, Israel only confirmed its military superiority. Further, the specifics of the problems that brought Israel numerous territorial acquisitions are revealed. Further in the article it is noted that against the background of constant conflicts in the region, there was a defeat of the Arab population of Israel in civil rights. At the same time, for a long time, the Israeli Arabs were rather satisfied with their situation and gradually "Israelized". However, it is emphasized that then there was a certain turning point, which was the first Palestinian intifada of 1987. The article notes that since that time, a new round of escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict has begun. Against this background, we consider the complex and ambivalent situation in which Israeli Arabs find themselves, with their belonging to two identities at once, Israeli and Arab. It is noted that Israel, for the most part, has not taken any serious steps to integrate them into society on a par with Jews. On the contrary, there is rather a reverse trend. And the article comes to the conclusion that if in the first decades restrictions on the democratic freedoms of Arabs in Israel could still be justified by something, then the continued preservation of discriminatory laws not only casts doubt on the nature of Israel as a democracy, but also carries great strategic risks.*

Key words: Israel, Jewish state, democracy, UN, Arab-Israeli conflict.

Israeli democracy

The realities of the existence of modern Israel are closely connected with the period of the British mandate over Palestine, which falls between the two world wars. Already at this time, fierce clashes began between the local Arab population and Jews arriving from Europe, who dreamed of returning to their historical homeland [1]. Moreover, there was no adequate policy on the part of the British authorities for a peaceful settlement between Jews and Arabs.

A natural consequence of this was the fact that after the British refused the mandate and resolution No. 181 of the UN General Assembly on the emergence of two states in Palestine – Jewish and Arab, a bloody war immediately broke out in the region [2]. Moreover, it was initiated by the Arabs, who felt themselves to be the stronger party, while the Jews agreed with the UN-approved partition of Palestine. However, the results of the war were not in favor of the Muslim side. The threat to the very existence of the state united the Israelis, and they were able not only to preserve their territories, but also to annex about half of the territories allocated for the Arab state.

This has laid the still insurmountable gap between Israelis and Palestinians. The former appeal to the fact that they initially defended themselves and agreed with the UN decision, while the latter could not accept the expansion of Israel's military and political influence and accuse the Israelis of deliberately creating conditions for the eviction of Arabs from the territories occupied by Israel. Moreover, after the Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1974, the situation only worsened. Israel has finally established itself as the dominant military force in the region, despite the multiple advantages of the surrounding Arab territories in population [3]. At the same time, the tremendous military successes of the Israelis created many political and legal problems when the country gained control over territories that are recognized by the UN as being part of other states. Some of the problems were resolved, as with the Sinai Peninsula returned to Egypt. Some of them remain in an uncertain legal state today, like East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, which Israel considers to be its own (which contradicts the opinion of the rest of the world), as well as the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, where Israel actively intervenes in the actions of the

Palestinian Authority, including by conducting a creeping expansion in the form of the creation of Jewish settlements.

Several decades of constant threats from the Arabs have naturally shaped the Zionist character of Israel, where only citizens of Jewish origin have full rights, who after the mass expulsion of Arabs began to form a pronounced majority in the territories controlled by Israel. The remaining Arabs in Israel were perceived as a fifth column and were initially allowed to participate in political life only through cooperation with Jewish parties.

At the same time, after the final understanding by the Arab countries of Israel's military superiority following the Yom Kippur War, the internal situation in the country has somewhat stabilized. From the 1970s to the early 1990s in Israel, the trends of "Israelization" of the Arabs living there prevailed over their Arab identity. This happened against the background of rising living standards in the country and Israeli Arabs clearly felt that they were living better than the Palestinians. From here, until the late 1980s, it was possible to talk about a certain consensus between Jews and Arabs inside Israel, where the latter generally showed loyalty to the state. That is, Israel had a distinct chance to gradually integrate the Arab population into Jewish society.

However, since the first Palestinian intifada - the uprising of 1987, the situation in this regard began to deteriorate rapidly [3]. Many Israeli military actions against the Palestinians gave rise to retaliatory actions, where each side considered itself entitled to increase brutality (Israelis because they responded to acts of terrorism, and Palestinians because they fought for their right to a full-fledged state within the borders stipulated by UN resolution 181) [4]. A religious factor can also be added to this, since East Jerusalem, annexed by Israel, is a concentration of not only Jewish, but also Muslim shrines.

Israeli Arabs, on the other hand, found themselves in a new rigid contradiction between their identity as Israelis and as Arabs. Hence, the Arab movement for Israel, as a state for all citizens, intensified with the destruction of its national character. These trends became especially pronounced after 2000, with the beginning of a new intifada and the further deterioration of relations between Israel and Palestine. At the same time,

despite some concessions to the Arab minority, in general, there is a tendency in Israel to further tighten control over the Muslim population. Despite the declared democratic form of government, the difference remains that only Jews serve in the army, namely, service in the army gives a lot of social guarantees and rights (including economic support of the state) in the future.

Accordingly, within Israel, the gap in the well-being of Arabs and Jews is growing, in favor of the latter. At the same time, the Muslim population is showing rapid demographic growth and in one or two decades, there will be more Arab citizens in Israel than Jews [5]. Thus, while maintaining current trends, the current Israeli political system will be characterized not just by ethnic discrimination, as it is now, but will become a system of government for the needs of a minority, finally losing the right to be called a democracy.

Thus, Israel is a vivid example of the fact that democracy is often powerless in cases of violent ethno-religious conflict. In such conditions, the observance of the fundamental principles of democracy begins to threaten the very existence of the state. However, at the same time, Israel is also an example of the fact that those methods that are good in conditions of fierce war are ineffective in relatively peaceful times, especially in the long term. In 1948-1974 Israel defended its right to exist and for the sake of this openly trampled on the democratic freedoms of the Arabs, which is generally understandable [4]. After 1974, Israel often pursued an arrogant imperial policy based on the belief in the exclusivity of the Jewish people. Instead of consistently moving towards democratizing relations between Jews and Arabs inside the country, the course of strengthening the Zionist state was continued, supported by the successes of Israeli weapons.

Such a rejection of democratic reforms has led to a pronounced negative result. The time is hopelessly lost. Tensions between Jews and Arabs are very high, and the demographic situation plays exclusively in favor of Muslims. As a result, Israel faces an extremely painful choice – either to begin dismantling discriminatory laws against Arabs with great delay, or, on the contrary, to tighten the police and Zionist character of the state. At the same time, both paths are fraught with great social upheavals and

casualties, because time has been lost for gradual and relatively painless steps to integrate Arabs into Israeli society.

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