

Israeli National Security Strategy, Policy and Decision Making

Modular Seminar, Spring 2007

Professor Chuck Freilich

Ever since its establishment, Israel has confronted an external environment of nearly unremitting hostility. Repeated wars, perpetual hostilities at lower levels, the failed peace processes with the Palestinians and Syria, and even the "cold" peace with Egypt and Jordan, have reinforced this image. As a result, national security has been at the forefront of Israeli life for six decades. Israel has responded by building up a disproportionate national security establishment and by developing a "hunkering down" decision making style. Due to the great importance of the Middle East, especially during the Cold War and current War on Terror, as well as its own unique circumstances, Israel has also become an important player in the international arena, far beyond its size.

This upper graduate-level course is designed for those with a general interest in Israel and the Mid East, especially those interested in national security issues, strategy and decision making, students of comparative politics and practitioners/future practitioners, with an interest in "real world" international relations and national security. It focuses on the basic tenets of Israeli foreign and defense strategy, the primary issues, threats and opportunities facing Israel today and the structures and processes of Israeli national security decision making, including their strengths and weaknesses.

The course will be held in the form of two, intensive, three week modules (February 5-23, 2006 and April 9-27), with a study period in-between. The course presumes reasonable familiarity with Israel and the Middle East. For those in need of further background, a number of basic texts are suggested below.

Course Structure

Module 1 (February 5-23, 2006): The Domestic and External Settings

Week 1: The Middle East Today: Strategic Overview

- a. Israel's Strategic Environment I – Threats and Opportunities
- b. Israel's Strategic Environment II – Unique Characteristics

Week 2: The Domestic Setting of Israeli National Security

- a. The Proportional Representation System
- b. Party and Coalition Politics
- c. The Premier and Cabinet
- d. "Who's Who" in the Israeli National Security System
- e. Political Culture

Week 3: Israel's National Security Strategy and System

- a. Foundations of Israel's Defense Doctrine
- b. Foreign Policy – Basic Tenets

- c. "Nuclear Ambiguity" and the WMD Threat
- d. Israel and the Diaspora: On Being the Jewish State
- e. Semi-Organized Chaos – How the System Actually Works
 - Characteristics of the Israeli Decision Making Process
 - Strengths and Pathologies

Inter-Module Study Period (February 24 – April 8, 2006)

No Classes.

Module 2 (April 9-27): Basic Issues in Israeli National Security

Week 4: Basic Issues in Israeli National Security Policy I – The US-Israeli "Special Relationship"

- a. Brief Historical Overview
- b. Military and Defense Relations
- c. Foreign Relations
- d. Economic and "People to People" Relations

Week 5: Basic Issues in Israeli National Security Policy II – The Peace Process

- a. Palestinian Issue:
 - Brief Historical Overview, Primary Issues (statehood, recognition, refugees, settlements, security, Jerusalem, Intifada, "Fence", "Disengagement")
 - The "Peace Process" – 1993-2006 and Causes of Failure
- b. Syria
 - Brief Historical Overview, Primary Issues
 - From 1973 "Separation" to Geneva 2000 and Beyond
 - The Lebanese Dimension

Week 6: Basic Issues in Israeli National Security Policy III – Israel in the Mid East and International Arena

- a. Israel in the Middle East
 - "Cold Peace" - Relations With Egypt and Jordan
 - The "Iranian Threat"
 - Iraq – Past, Present, Future
 - Saudi Arabia and the Gulf and North African States
 - Isolation or "Normalization" and Integration
- b. Israel in the International Arena
 - Europe/EU, Russia, China
 - "Strategic Relations" - Turkey and India
 - UN and Third World

Additional Subjects:

- Current Events - As Per Developments Throughout the Course
- Guest Lecture(s)- Visiting Israeli Officials, Former Officials, Scholars

Requirements

Class Participation (compulsory attendance) on materials assigned and current events (10%).

Assignment 1: Action Memo to the Prime Minister (20%)

In the role of a senior decision maker (Foreign or Defense Minister, National Security Adviser, Chief of Staff), students will draft a brief (**two page!!**) action memo to the prime minister, proposing a Policy Review in an important area of national security (foreign or defense) strategy, policy or decision making. The memo will present:

- The reasons for proposing the Policy Review, what the problem to be addressed is, why the need has arisen.
- Israel's interests in the issue, threats, opportunities.
- Relevant Middle Eastern/international and domestic political/bureaucratic players whose interests or concerns may be affected and must be addressed.
- Additional relevant considerations – economic, social, technological, industrial etc.

Due date: First Class, Module 2.

Assignment 2: National Security Policy Review (70%)

On the basis of the action memo (and in either the same official position, or a different one if you prefer), students will draft a National Security Policy Review for the Prime Minister (maximum 25 pages double spaced). The Policy Review will:

- Elaborate on all points in the memo, making use of the "Prime Minister's" comments.
- Add a historical/substantive survey of the issue, as well as a theoretical/conceptual model for addressing it.
- Propose a realistic overall strategy for addressing the issue:
 - Clearly articulated policy objectives.
 - Primary alternative approaches or options, advantages and disadvantages.
 - Recommended option.
 - Practical means of implementing the recommended option and achieving its objectives (diplomatic, military, economic etc).
 - Means of dealing with the interests and concerns of the other domestic and foreign players involved.
 - Identify potential pitfalls - what are the risks to successful implementation of the proposed strategy, what factors, players, events may lead to its failure or distortion.

Due date: (as per departmental requirements?)

Office Hours: Immediately before or after class, as per prior email notification.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

Optional Background Reading: History of Israel

(for those wishing to deepen familiarity)

Avineri, S., *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*, NY, Basic Books, 1981

Freedman, R.O. ed., *Israel's First Fifty Years*, Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, 2000

Gilbert, M., *Israel : A History*, NY: William Morrow & Co., 1998

Horowitz, D. and Lissak, M., *Origins of the Israeli Polity*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1978

Laqueur, W. and Rubin, B. eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, New York: Penguin Books, 2001 (sixth edition)

Sachar, H. M., *A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time*, 2nd ed. New York, Knopf, 2000.

Shlaim, A., *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*, Norton, NY, 2000

Tessler, M., *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1994

Optional Background Reading: News Sources and Journals

Journals

International Journal of Middle East Studies

Israel Affairs

Israel Studies

The Jerusalem Quarterly

Middle East Journal

Newspapers and Magazines (in English)

Haaretz - www.haaretzdaily.com

Jerusalem Post - www.jpost.com

Jerusalem Report - www.jrep.com

Yediot Aharonot - www.ynetnews.com

Assigned Readings

Week 1: Strategic Overview

Required:

Evron, Y., *Israel's Nuclear Dilemma*, Cornell, Ithaca, 1994, pp. 81-86

Klieman, A.S., *Israel and the World After 40 Years*, Pergamon-Brassey, NY, 1990, Chapter 1 "The National Interest, Chapter 2 "The World As Viewed From Jerusalem."

Week 2: The Domestic Setting

Required

Arian, A., *Politics in Israel: The Second Republic*, 2nd Edition, Congressional Quarterly Press, Washington, D.C., 2005, Ch. 5: Political Parties, pp. 117-165, Ch. 6: Party Organization, pp. 166-195, Ch.9 264-273; 282-298

Garfinkle, A., *Politics and Society in Modern Israel*, 2nd ed., Sharpe, NY, 2000, pp. 159-171

Rahat, G. and Hazan, R.Y., "Israel: The Politics of an Extreme Electoral System," in Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (eds.), *The Politics of Electoral Systems*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, pp. 333-351

Recommended

Barnett, M. ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1996

Dowty, A., et al. (1997) *The Role of Domestic Politics in Israeli Peacemaking*, Leonard Davis Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem

Gilbert, Martin. *Israel : A History*, William Morrow & Co., NY, 1998

Hazon, Y., *The Jewish State: The Struggle for Israel's Soul*. New York: 2001

Horowitz, D. and Lissak, M., *Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1989

Kaarbo, J., *Power and Influence in Foreign Policy Making: The Role of Junior Coalition Partners in German and Israeli Foreign Policy*, *International Studies Quarterly* , v.40 1996, pp. 501-530

Mahler, G.S., *Politics and Government in Israel*, Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, 2004

Peretz, D. and Doron, G., *The Government and Politics of Israel*, Westview, Boulder, 1997

Gabriel Sheffer, "Has Israel Really Been a Garrison State? Sources of Change in Israel's Democracy," *Israel Affairs* 3/1, Autumn 1996, pp.13-38.

Sofer, S.,ed., *The Role of Domestic Politics in Israeli Peacemaking*, Leonard Davis Institute, Jerusalem, 1997

Week 3: Israel's National Security Strategy and System

Required

Ben Meir, Y., *Civil-Military Relations in Israel*, Columbia Press, NY, 1995 (check pages, approx 30-145

Freilich, C.D. *National Security Decision Making in Israel: Processes, Strengths and Pathologies*, *Middle East Journal*, October 2006

Klieman, A.S., *Israel and the World After 40 Years* (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1990), Chapter 5, "Policy Making.", Chapter 6, "Policy Coordination." Chapter 7, "Policy Implementation"

Recommended

- Ben Meir, Y., *National Security Decision Making; the Israeli Case*, Westview, Boulder, 1986
- Brecher, M., *Decisions in Israel's Foreign Policy*, Yale Press, New Haven, 1975
- Brecher, M., *The Foreign Policy System of Israel: Setting, Images, Process*, Yale Press, New Haven, 1973
- Gorenberg, G., *The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*. Times Books, NY, 2006.
- Government of Israel State Comptroller, *Report on the National Security Council*, Jerusalem, September 2006 (Hebrew)
- Horowitz, D. and Lissak, M., *Trouble in Utopia: The Overburdened Polity of Israel*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1989, pp. 203-330
- Karsh, E., *Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israelis Security*, Cass, London, 1996
- Maoz, Z. *Defending the Holy Land,: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security and Foreign Policy*, Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006 Chapters 11-13**
- Peri, Y., *Generals in the Cabinet Room: How the Military Shapes Israeli Policies*, USIP, Washington DC, 2006

Course Break - Readings for Period Between Modules (February 24 - April 8)

Foundations of Israel's National Security Doctrine

Required

- Bar-Joseph, U., *Towards a Paradigm Shift in Israel's National Security Conception*, *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 3-4, 1999, pp. 99-114
- Bar-Tal, D. *Security Concerns: Insights from the Israeli Experience*, JAI Press, London, 1999. Articles by:
- Ben-Dor, G., *Responding to the Threat*, 113-133
 - Neuman, D., *The Geographical and Territorial Imprint on the Security Discourse*, 73-94
- Cohen, R., *Israel's Starry-Eyed Foreign Policy*, *Middle East Quarterly*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1994
- Karsh, E., *Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israelis Security*, Cass, London, 1996, article by Duncan, A., *Land for Peace: Israel's Choice*, pp. 59-71
- Maoz, Z. *Defending the Holy Land,: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security and Foreign Policy*, Univ. of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2006, pp. 7-18
- Rodman, D., *Defense and Diplomacy in Israeli National Security Experience*, Sussex Press, Brighton, 2005**
- Rodman, D., *Israel's National Security Doctrine*, *Israel Affairs*, 2003, v. 9 #4, pp. 115-140
- Yaniv, A. (ed.), *National Security and Democracy in Israel*, Boulder, 1993, article by Horowitz, D., *The Israeli Concept of National Security*, pp. 11-48

Recommended

- Bar-Joseph, U., Ed., *Israel's National Security : Towards the 21st Century*. Portland, Frank Cass, 2001**
- Anthony H. Cordesman, *Arab-Israeli Military Forces in an Era of Asymmetric Wars*, Greenwood, Washington, 2006
- Cordesman, A., *Peace and War*, Praeger, Westport 2002
- Garfinkle, A., *Politics and Society in Modern Israel*, 2nd ed., Sharpe, NY, 2000, pp. 199-244

- Klieman, A. and Levite, A., *Deterrence in the Middle East: Where Theory and Practice Converge*, Westview Press, Tel Aviv,
- Inbar, E., *Israel's Strategic Environment*, *Strategic Review*, 1994, pp. 34-40
- Levite, A., *Offense and Defense in Israeli Military Doctrine*, Westview, Boulder, 1989, pp. 25-62 and 63-106
- Naor, A., *Lessons of the Holocaust Versus Territories For Peace, 1967-2001*, *Israel Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1, Spring 2003, pp. 130-152.
- Telhami, S. and Barnett, B. eds., *Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2002
- Yaniv, A., *Dilemmas of Security*, Oxford Press, Oxford, 1987

Nuclear Ambiguity

Required

- Feldman, S. *Israeli Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1980's*, Columbia Press, NY 1982, Ch. 4 *The Risks of a Nuclear Middle East*, pp. 142-175
- Evron, Y., *Israel's Nuclear Dilemma*, Cornell Press, Ithaca, 1992, pp. 134-138, 162-170
- Evron, Y., *Opaque Proliferation*, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, v 13, 1990, pp. 45-63
- Karsh, E., *Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israel's Security*, Cass, London, 1996, article by Beres, L.R., *Israel's Bomb in the Basement*, pp. 112-133

Recommended

- Aronson, S. and Brosh, O., *The Politics and Strategy of Nuclear Weapons in the Middle East: Opacity, Theory and Reality 1960-1991, An Israeli Perspective*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1992.
- Cochran, S., *Israel's Nuclear History* by Edwin, *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 3-4, Spring-Summer 2000, pp. 129-158
- Cohen, A., *Israel and the Bomb*, Columbia University Press, NY 1998
- Maoz, Z., *The Mixed Blessing of Israel's Nuclear Policy*, *International Security*, V 28, #2, 2003, pp. 44-77

Israel and the Diaspora

Required

Recommended

- Dowty, A., *Israeli Foreign Policy and the Jewish Question*, *MERIA Journal*, V3, No. 1, February 1999
- Safran, W., *The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*, *Israel Studies*, Volume 10, Number 1, 2005, pp. 36-60.
- Sheffer, G., *Is the Jewish Diaspora Unique? Reflections on the Diaspora's Current Situation*, *Israel Studies*, Volume 10, Number 1, 2005. pp. 1-35
- Barnett, M. ed., *Israel in Comparative Perspective*, SUNY Press, Albany, 1996, article by Sheffer, G., *Israel-Diaspora Relations in Comparative Perspective*,

Week 4: US-Israeli Relations

Required

- AIPAC - US-Israeli Military Cooperation, www.aipac.org/military/

- History of the US-Israeli Relationship, especially section on bilateral agreements, www.aipac.org/relationshipHistory.cfm

Feldman, S., The Future of US-Israeli Strategic Cooperation, Washington Inst. For Near East Policy, 1996, pp. 1-57

Garfinkle, A., Politics and Society in Modern Israel, 2nd ed., Sharpe, NY, 2000, pp. 278-284

Gazit, M., Israeli Diplomacy and the Quest for Peace, Cass, London, 2002, Ch.4-5, the US-Israeli Special Relationship, pp.171-285

Reich, B., Reassessing the Special Relationship, Israel Affairs, v.1 #1, 1994, pp. 64-81

Recommended

Ben-Zvi, A., The United States and Israel: The Limits of the Special Relationship, Columbia Press, 1993

Finkelstein, N., Friends Indeed: The Special relationship of Israel and the US,

Goldberg, J.J., Jewish Power: Inside the American Jewish Establishment. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1996.

Lieber, R. J., US-Israeli relations since 1948, MERIA Journal vol.2, no.3, 1998

Reich, B., Securing the Covenant: United States-Israel Relations After the Cold War, Praeger, Westport, 1995

Spiegel, S.L., The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict: Making America's Middle East Policy, from Truman to Reagan, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985

Week 5: The Peace Process

Palestinian Issue

Required

Dowty, A., Israel and Palestine, 2005, pp.137-203

Rabinovich, I., Waging Peace, Princeton Press, Princeton, 2004, pp.1-37

Ross, D., The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace, Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, NY, 2004, pp. 583-590, 650-779.

Ross, D., Yasir Arafat, Foreign Policy, July/August 2002, pp. 18-26

Rothstein, R.L., The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Oslo and the Lessons of Failure, Sussex Press, Brighton, 2002, articles by:

Miller, A., The Pursuit of Israeli-Palestinian Peace: A Retrospective, pp. 31-36

Shikaki, K. Ending the Conflict: Can the parties Afford it?, pp. 37-46

Ben Aharon, Y., Foundering Illusions: The Demise of the Oslo Process, pp. 59-76

Pundak, R., From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?, pp. 88-113

Rubin, B., Israel's New Strategy, Foreign Affairs, July/August 2006, v 85 #4

Schiff, Z., Peace With Security: Israel's Minimal Security Requirements in Negotiations With Syria, Policy Paper 34, Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy, Washington, 1993

Recommended (general works on Israel-Palestinians)

Bickerton, I. and Klausner, C.L., A Concise History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict (Prentice-Hall, NJ, 2005), pp. 1-20.

Blum, Y.Z., The Juridical Status of Jerusalem, Jerusalem Papers on Peace

Problems, No. 2, Jerusalem, Leonard Davis Institute, February 1974, pp. 1-32

Eisenberg, Laura Zittrain and Caplan, N., Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns,

- Problems, Possibilities, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1998
- Gilbert, M., *The Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Routledge, London, 1993, 6th edition
- Lapidot, R., *Jerusalem and the Peace Process*, *Israel Law Review*, Vol. 28, No. 2-3, Spring-Summer 1994, pp. 1-23
- Laqueur, W. and Rubin, B. eds., *The Israel-Arab Reader*, New York: Penguin Books, 2001 (sixth edition)
- Lea, D. ed., *Survey of Arab-Israeli Relations*, Europa Press, London, 2000
- Makovsky, D., *Making Peace With the PLO*, Westview, 1996
- Morris, B., *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*, Cambridge Press, Cambridge, 1987
- Morris, B., *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881-2001*, Vintage, NY, 2001
- Quandt, W.B., *Peace Process: American Diplomacy in the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967*, 3rd edition, Brooking Institution Press and University of California Press, 2005
- Smith, C.D., *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, St. Martin, NY, 2001, 4th edition.

Israel and the Palestinians I: 1978-1993

- Eisenberg and Caplan, *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 4 (Madrid), pp. 75-89
- Friedman, R., ed., *Middle East Peace Process: The Impact of the Oslo Agreement*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1998
- Morris, B., *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 12 (1st intifada), 561-610
- Quandt, W.B., *Peace Process*, Chapter 10, pp. 290-318
- Smith, C.D., *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Chapter 10, pp. 406-441

Israel and the Palestinians II: 1993-2000

- Eisenberg L.Z./and Caplan, N., *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*, Chapter 6, pp. 103-126
- Kemp, G. and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 55-83
- Morris, B., *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 13, pp. 611-651 (Oslo and Jordan)
- Quandt, W.B., *Peace Process*, Chapter 11, pp. 321-340
- Smith, *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Chapter 11, pp. 457-511

Israel and the Palestinians III: 2000-2006

- AIPAC on Hamas and PA <http://www.aipac.org/hamas/>
- Benn, A., *Grasping for Peace*, *Foreign Policy*, January/February 2002, pp. 82-84
- Freilich, C.D., "Dilemmas of Israeli Policy after the Hamas Victory: From Disengagement to Consolidation?" (A Jerusalem Issue Brief) *Policy Brief Vol. 5, No. 21*, Jerusalem, Israel Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, www.jcpa.org/brief/brief005-21.htm
- Kemp G. and Pressman, *Point of No Return*, pp. 175-196
- Morris, B., *Righteous Victims*, Chapter 14, pp. 652-675
- Quandt, W.B., *Peace Process*, Chapter 12, pp. 341-376

Israel and Syria/Lebanon, 1992-2006

- ADL Backgrounder, "Israel-Syria Negotiations: The Issues," January 23, 2000.
- Evron, Y., *War and Intervention in Lebanon*, 1987
- Freilich, C.D., *Hizballah in Lebanon: The War Was Not Supposed to End This Way*, *Jerusalem Viewpoints: Policy Brief 546*, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, Jerusalem, September 2006.

Kemp G. and Pressman, Point of No Return, pp. 103-122.

Morris, B., Righteous Victims, pp. 632-634.

Rabinovich, I., The Brink of Peace: Israel and Syria. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Rabinovich, I., The War for Lebanon, 1970-1985. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985

Schiff Z. and Yaari, E. Israel's Lebanon War, Simon and Schuster, NY 1984

Week 6: Israel in the Middle Eastern and International Arenas

Required

AIPAC on Iran <http://www.aipac.org/iran/>

Freilich, C.D. and Rosecrance R., Confronting Iran: A US Security Guarantee for Israel?, BitterLemons-International.org -- Middle East Roundtable 4, no. 25, 6 July 2006

Inbar, E., The Indian-Israeli Entente, *Orbis*, v48, #1, 2004, pp. 89-104

Inbar, E., The Resilience of Israel-Turkish Relations, *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 11, No. 4 October 2005

Radu, R. ed., *Dangerous Neighborhood: Contemporary Issues in Turkey's Foreign Relations*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2002, article by Inbar, E., Turkey's New Strategic Partner: Israel, pp. 165-190 also available in *Mideast Security and Policy Studies* No. 53, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar Ilan University, 2003

Recommended

Inbar, E., Regional Implications of the Israeli-Turkish Strategic Partnership" *MERIA Journal* Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 2001).

Harsh V. Pant, India-Israel Partnership: Convergence and Constraints", *MERIA Journal* Vol. 8, No. 4 (December 2004)