

Israeli Foreign and Security Policy since 1948

GOVT157S CM-02, Undergraduate Course

Dr. Ilai Saltzman

Meeting Days and Times: Tuesday and Thursday, 11:00-12:15, Kravis 100

Office hours: Thursday 9:00-10:30, 245 Kravis (and by appointment via email)

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Course Description:

The primary aim of this course is to expand students' theoretical and historical understanding of Israel's foreign and defense relations being a small state. We will discuss the interplay between the regional and global systems and their effect on Israel's policymaking process. This course will provide a substantive and extensive empirical overview of Israeli foreign and security policy highlights and historic events during the period between the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and the present day.

Course Goals:

1. To introduce the concept of small states and contextualize it within the various schools in International Relations (IR) theory.
2. To provide students with insights into the ideational and institutional foundations of the process and dynamics of Israeli foreign and defense policy formulation.
3. To critically examine Israeli foreign and defense policies since 1948 and evaluate their compatibility to the theoretical literature concerning small states.

Assignments and Grading:

1. Reading the assigned materials
2. Full attendance – 10%
3. Actively participating in discussions – 10%
4. Midterm policy paper (3-5 pages) – 25% (due date, October 30)
5. Simulation – 10%
6. Individual presentation – 10%
7. A final research paper (12-15 pages) – 35% (Final paper due, midnight of December 19th)

Grading Scale:

95-100 = A, 90-94 = A-, 85-89 = B+, 80-84 = B, 75-79 = B-, 70-74 = C+, 65-69 = C, 60-64 = C-, 57-59 = D+, 52-56 = D, 50-51 = D-, 0-49 = F.

Classroom Code of Conduct

In order to do well in this course, you need to attend all class sessions, do all assigned readings, actively listen to and focus on lecture material, take notes, and don't be afraid to ask questions or participate in discussions. I often times use "cold calling", i.e. calling on students regardless of whether they have raised their hands or not, in order to encourage in-class discussion, so you should be attentive and familiar with the reading materials.

As a courtesy to your fellow students and myself, please do not carry on lengthy conversations with one another in class. Texting and sleeping in class are also inappropriate,

even if you do not mean either of these as a personal slight. If you intend to use a laptop during class time, please sit in the back of the class room so you will not distract other students. Laptops should be solely used for academic purposes, and not for emails, surfing the net and other non-course related activities.

Lastly, be courteous and respect the opinions of your classmates.

Plagiarism Statement (From RDS' Graduate Student Handbook)

Plagiarism means the use of the thoughts ideas words, phrases or research of another person or source as one's own without explicit acknowledgment. In keeping with this definition, all work, whether written or oral, submitted or presented by students at the College as part of course assignments or for College sponsored extracurricular activities, must be the original work of the student unless otherwise specified by the instructor.

Cheating on examinations of any kind (quizzes, midterms, finals, etc.) includes copying another student's answers, exchanging information, using notes or books unless expressly permitted to do so by the instructor, or gaining access to examinations prior to the actual taking of such examinations. Other examples of academic dishonesty include, but are not limited to, copying or preparing another person's work; buying prepared papers; fabricating laboratory reports or experimental data; gaining unauthorized access to computer data or other privileged information; or supplying false or forged documents to a college official.

Assisting anyone to engage in any of the violations described above qualifies as academic dishonesty.

The faculty of Claremont McKenna College is firmly committed to upholding the highest standards of academic integrity. Each faculty member has the responsibility to report cases of academic dishonesty to the Academic Standards Committee (ASC), which has the duty of dealing with cases of alleged academic dishonesty. When informed of such a case by the instructor, the Committee receives statements and other evidence from the instructor and the student. If aspects of the facts are in dispute, the Committee, by itself or through a designated subcommittee, investigates through interviewing the instructor, the student, and any other relevant witnesses and considering other evidence. If the Committee finds that academic dishonesty has taken place, it then decides upon a punishment, such as suspension. The Committee determines the punishment after due consideration of all circumstances. Any penalty with regard to grades is the prerogative of the instructor

Late Submission Policy

As a general rule, I prefer that students submit their papers on time unless they have a concrete and relevant reason (illness, family crisis etc.) that was brought to my attention as early as possible. But in order to avoid different types of plagiarism discussed in the previous section, I will accept late submission. Yet papers submitted after due date will result in a *full grade* penalty (A→B, B→C, etc), so contact me as early as possible in order to resolve such problems before it is too late.

Disability Support Services

Claremont McKenna College is committed to providing equal access to its programs, services and facilities in accordance with Section 504 of the Federal Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and

Title III of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and subsequent amendments. The Dean of Students Office is responsible for coordinating disability support services for students, with other College departments assisting in the provision of accommodations for students. If you have any other questions related to Disability Support Services at Claremont McKenna College, please contact Julia Easley at 909-607-7377 or jeasley@cmc.edu. Her office is located on the first floor of Kravis Center, Room 137.

General Reading

Charles D. Freilich, *Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2012)

Zeev Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security & Foreign Policy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

Relevant Newspapers, News Outlets and Governmental Websites

Ha'aretz	haaretz.com	Prime Minister's Office	pmo.gov.il
Yediot Achronot	ynetnews.com	Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs	mfa.gov.il/MFA
Israel Hayom	israelhayom.com	Israel Defense Forces (IDF)	idf.il/english
Jerusalem Post	jpost.com	IDF Blog	idfblog.com
Arutz Sheva	israelnationalnews.com		

Notes on Schedule, Reading and Topics

1. I will make every effort to maintain the following schedule of readings and lecture topics. However, we may need to make changes in light of contemporary events or because we spend more time on a particular topic than I had anticipated. In case of such delay, I will make an announcement in class.
2. As you can see, sometimes there are many items for every topic or issue. Items marked with an asterisk (*) are mandatory, and you can think of the others as an inventory of primary and secondary sources that you can and should utilize in your papers (policy and final).

September 2: No Class, Convocation

September 4: Introduction and Course Objectives

September 9: What are Small States? Does Israel Qualify as One?

*Peter R. Baehr, "Small States: A Tool for Analysis," *World Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (April 1975), pp. 456-466

*Robert O. Keohane, "Lilliputians' Dilemmas: Small States in International Politics," *International Organization*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Spring 1969), pp. 291-310.

September 11: The Ideational Sources of Israeli Foreign and Security Policy

*Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land*, pp. 3-17.

*"Introduction" of Theodore Herzl, *The Jewish State: Proposal of a Modern Solution for the Jewish Question (Der Judenstaat Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage)*. Available online <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Zionism/herzl2.html>

*Alan Dowty, "Israeli Foreign Policy and the Jewish Question," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (March 1999), pp. 1-13.

Baruch Kimmerling, "Religion, Nationalism, and Democracy in Israel," *Constellations*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (September 1999), pp. 339-363.

September 16: The Institutional Sources of Israeli Foreign and Security Policy

*Freilich, *Zion's Dilemmas*, pp. 11-26.

*Avi Shlaim and Avner Yaniv, "Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy in Israel," *International Affairs*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (1980), pp. 242-262.

Sammy Smooha, "Ethnic Democracy: Israel as an Archetype," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Fall 1997), pp. 198-241.

Oren Barak and Gabriel (Gabi) Sheffer, "The Study of Civil-Military Relations in Israel: A New Perspective," *Israel Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 2007), pp. 1-27.

September 18/23: The War of Independence and the Creation of Israel

*Moshe Naor, "Israel's 1948 War of Independence as a Total War," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (April 2008), pp. 241-257.

*Benny Morris, "Revisiting the Palestinian Exodus of 1948," in Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shalim (eds.), *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007), pp. 37-59.

*Avi Shlaim, "The Debate about 1948," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (August 1995), pp. 287-304.

Michael Ottolenghi, "Harry Truman's Recognition of Israel," *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (December 2004), pp. 963-988.

Shlomo Slonim, "The 1948 American Embargo on Arms to Palestine," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 94, No. 3 (Autumn 1979), pp. 495-514.

Michael J. Cohen, "Truman and the State Department: The Palestine Trusteeship Proposal, March 1948," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Spring 1981), pp. 165-178.

William L. Burton, "Protestant America and the Rebirth of Israel," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (October 1964), pp. 203-214.

Arnold Krammer, "Soviet Motives in the Partition of Palestine, 1947-48," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Winter 1973), pp. 102-119

Miriam Haron, "Britain and Israel, 1948-1950," *Modern Judaism*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (May 1983), pp. 217-223.

W. Keith Pattison, "The Delayed British Recognition of Israel," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Summer 1983), pp. 412-428.

September 25: In Search of Security and Alignment in the early 1950s

*Avi Shlaim, "Conflicting Approaches to Israel's Relations with the Arabs: Ben Gurion and Sharett, 1953-1956," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Spring 1983), pp. 180-201.

*Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov, "Ben-Gurion and Sharett: Conflict Management and Great Power Constraints in Israeli Foreign Policy," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (July 1988), pp. 330-356.

Zach Levey, "Israel's Quest for a Security Guarantee from the United States, 1954-1956," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1-2 (1995), pp. 43-63.

September 30/October 2: The Suez War and the Emergence of US-Israeli "Special Relations"

*Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land*, pp. 47-79.

*David Tal, "Israel's Road to the 1956 War," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (February 1996), pp. 59-81.

Avi Shlaim, "The Protocol of Sevres, 1956: Anatomy of a War Plot," *International Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (July 1997), pp. 509-530.

Michael B. Oren, "Escalation to Suez: The Egypt-Israel Border War, 1949-56," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (April 1989), pp. 347-373.

Yaacov Bar Siman Tov, "The United States and Israel since 1948: A "Special Relationship?"" *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring 1998), pp. 231- 262.

Michael B. Oren, "Ambivalent Adversaries: David Ben-Gurion and Israel vs. the United Nations and Dag Hammarskjold, 1956-57," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (January 1992), 89-127.

Geoffrey Warner, "The United States and the Suez Crisis," *International Affairs*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (April 1991), pp. 303-317.

Douglas Little, "The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and Israel, 1957-68," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (November 1993), pp. 563-585.

M. A. Fitzsimons, "The Suez Crisis and the Containment Policy," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (October 1957), pp. 419-445.

Peter L. Hahn, "Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (March 2006), pp. 38-47.

O. M. Smolansky, "Moscow and the Suez Crisis, 1956: A Reappraisal," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (December 1965), pp. 581-605.

October 7: Library Workshop (mandatory)

October 9: The 1967 War and Global Readjustment

*Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land*, pp. 80-112.

*Avner Cohen, "Cairo, Dimona, and the June 1967 War," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (Spring 1996), pp. 190-210.

Richard B. Parker, "The June 1967 War: Some Mysteries Explored," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 177-197.

William B. Quandt, "Lyndon Johnson and the June 1967 War: What Color Was the Light?" *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 1992), pp. 198-228.

Isabella Ginor, "The Russians Were Coming: The Soviet Military Threat in the 1967 Six-Day War," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (December 2000), pp. 44-59.

Galia Golan, "The Soviet Union and the Outbreak of the June 1967 Six-Day War," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter 2006), pp. 3-19.

Isabella Ginor, "The Cold War's Longest Cover-Up: How and Why the USSR Instigated the 1967 War," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 2003), pp. 34-59.

October 14/16: The Yom Kippur War and Inter-Bloc Tension

*Ahmed S. Khalidi, "The War of Attrition," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Autumn 1973), pp. 60-87.

*Uri Bar-Joseph, "Last Chance to Avoid War: Sadat's Peace Initiative of February 1973 and its Failure," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (July 2006), pp. 545-556.

*Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land*, pp. 113-139.

Avi Shlaim and Raymond Tanter, "Decision Process, Choice, and Consequences: Israel's Deep-Penetration Bombing in Egypt, 1970," *World Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (July 1978), pp. 483-516.

Michael I. Handel, "The Yom Kippur War and the Inevitability of Surprise," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1977), pp. 461-502.

Avi Shlaim, "Failures in National Intelligence Estimates: The Case of the Yom Kippur War," *World Politics*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (April 1976), pp. 348-380.

William B. Quandt, "Soviet Policy in the October Middle East War-I," *International Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (July 1977), pp. 377-389

William B. Quandt, "Soviet Policy in the October Middle East War-II," *International Affairs*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (October 1977), pp. 587-603.

Victor Israelyan, "The October 1973 War: Kissinger in Moscow," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (Spring 1995), pp. 248-268.

Ghassan Tuani, "After October: Military Conflict and Political Change in the Middle East," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Summer 1974), pp. 114-130.

No Class on October 21 – Fall Break

October 23/28: Camp David and Beyond

*Freilich, *Zion's Dilemmas*, pp. 79-99.

*Tom Princen, "Camp David: Problem-Solving or Power Politics as Usual?" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (February 1991), pp. 57-69.

*Abba Eban, "Camp David: The Unfinished Business," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Winter 1978), pp. 343-354.

Shlomo Avineri, "Beyond Camp David," *Foreign Policy*, No. 46 (Spring 1982), pp. 19-36.

William B. Quandt, "Camp David and Peacemaking in the Middle East," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 101, No. 3 (1986), pp. 357-377.

Fayez A. Sayegh, "The Camp David Agreement and the Palestine Problem," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Winter 1979), pp. 3-40.

October 30: The First Lebanon War (1982)

*Freilich, *Zion's Dilemmas*, pp. 122-139.

*Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land*, pp. 171-206.

*Zeev Schiff, "The Green Light," *Foreign Policy*, No. 50 (Spring 1983), pp. 73-85.

Yitzhak Shamir, "Israel's Role in a Changing Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (Spring 1982), pp. 789-801.

William B. Quandt, "Reagan's Lebanon Policy: Trial and Error," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Spring 1984), pp. 237-254.

Galia Golan, "The Soviet Union and the Israeli Action in Lebanon," *International Affairs*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Winter 1982-1983), pp. 7-16.

Galia Golan, "The Soviet Union and the PLO since the War in Lebanon," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Spring 1986), pp. 285-305.

Efraim Inbar, "Great Power Mediation: The USA and the May 1983 Israeli-Lebanese Agreement," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (February 1991), pp. 71-84.

(Midterm policy paper due)

November 4: Personal Presentations (part I)

November 6: Personal Presentations (part II)

November 11: The Gulf War

*Walid Khalidi, "The Gulf Crisis: Origins and Consequences," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Winter 1991), pp. 5-28.

*Ze'ev Schiff, "Israel after the War," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 19-33.

Philip Mattar, "The PLO and the Gulf Crisis," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (Winter 1994), pp. 31-46.

Martin Indyk, "Peace without the PLO," *Foreign Policy*, No. 83 (Summer 1991), pp. 30-38

November 13: Unlocking the Gates of Peace

*Don Peretz, "The Impact of the Gulf War on Israeli and Palestinian Political Attitudes," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Autumn 1991), pp. 17-35.

*Ze'ev B. Begin, "The Likud Vision for Israel at Peace," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Fall 1991), pp. 21-35.

*Martin Indyk, "Watershed in the Middle East," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 71, No. 1, America and the World 1991/92 (1991/1992), pp. 70-93.

Leon T. Hadar, "High Noon in Washington: The Shootout over the Loan Guarantees," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Winter 1992), pp. 72-87.

Efraim Inbar, "Israel's Small War: The Military Response to the Intifada," *Armed Forces & Society*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Fall 1991), pp. 29-50.

Asher Arian, Michal Shamir and Raphael Ventura, "Public Opinion and Political Change: Israel and the Intifada," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (April 1992), pp. 317-334.

November 18: The Oslo Years and Netanyahu's First Term

*Address by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin upon signing the Israeli-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, Washington, D.C. September 13, 1993. Available online <http://www.rabincenter.org.il/Items/01100/signingoftheDeclationofPrinciples.pdf>

*Address by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to the United States Congress Washington, D. C. July 26, 1994. Available online <http://www.rabincenter.org.il/Items/01099/RabinAddresstoU.S.Congress.pdf>

*Ian S. Lustick, "The Oslo Agreement as an Obstacle to Peace," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Autumn 1997), pp. 61-66.

*Avi Shlaim, "The Oslo Accord," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Spring 1994), pp. 24-40.

Sharif S. Elmusa, "The Jordan-Israel Water Agreement: A Model or an Exception?" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Spring 1995), pp. 63-73.

November 20: Give Peace a Chance?

*Neill Lochery, "The Netanyahu era: From crisis to crisis, 1996–99," *Israel Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 3-4 (2000), pp. 221-236.

*"The Wye River Memorandum (October 1998)," Available online <http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/54A3F15175C5E1A485256AE1006FFC30>

*Ron Pundak, "From Oslo to Taba: What Went Wrong?" *Survival*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (September 2001), pp. 31-45.

Jeremy Pressman, "Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?" *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003), pp. 5-43.

Arie M. Kacowicz, "Rashomon in Jerusalem: Mapping the Israeli Negotiators' Positions on the Israeli–Palestinian Peace Process, 1993–2001," *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (May 2005), pp. 252-273.

Elliot A. Cohen, Michael J. Eisenstadt and Andrew J. Bacevich, "Israel's Revolution in Security Affairs," *Survival*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (January 1998), pp. 48-67.

November 25: Luncheon Talk by the Israeli Consul General to Los Angeles (TBC)

No Class on November 27 – Thanksgiving

December 2: 9/11 and the Bush Presidency

*Benjamin Netanyahu, "Winning the War against Terror, Wednesday, April 10, 2002." Available online <http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Winning%20the%20War%20Against%20Terror.pdf>

*"Netanyahu Speech before the US Senate, 10 April 2002." Available online <http://www.netanyahu.org/netspeacinse.html>

*Freilich, *Zion's Dilemmas*, pp. 177-198.

*Asher Arian, *Israeli Public Opinion on National Security 2003* (Tel Aviv: The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, 2003), pp. 9-11. Available online: [http://d26e8pvoto2x3r.cloudfront.net/uploadimages/Import/\(FILE\)1190276735.pdf](http://d26e8pvoto2x3r.cloudfront.net/uploadimages/Import/(FILE)1190276735.pdf)

*David Makovsky, "How To Build a Fence," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 83, No. 2 (March/April 2004), pp. 50-64.

*"Government of Israel Resolution regarding the Disengagement Plan June 6, 2004." Available online <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Peace/disengagcab.html>

December 4: Netanyahu, Obama and the Challenges of the "New Special Relationship"

*President's Obama's Speech in Cairo, June 4, 2009. Available Online: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/us/politics/04obama.text.html>

*Eytan Gilboa, "Obama and Israel: A Preliminary Assessment," *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (2009), 51-58. Available Online: <http://israelcfr.com/documents/issue9-Gilboa.pdf>

*Zaki Shalom, "US-Israel Relations: Approaching a Turning Point?" *Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (July 2010), pp. 21-35. Available Online: http://kms1.isn.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/119324/ichaptersection_singledocument/0c1aca80-3346-4d5c-84e7-7d39c974ddcf/en/July2010_Ch2.pdf

December 9: Simulation

December 11: Israeli Foreign and Defense Policy in Retrospect

*Efraim Inbar, "Israeli National Security, 1973-96," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 555, No. 1 (January 1998), pp. 162-181.

*John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Fall 2006), pp. 29-63.

*Robert C. Lieberman, "The "Israel Lobby" and American Politics," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 7 No. 2 (June 2009), pp. 235-257.

(Final paper due, midnight of December 19th)

Good Luck!