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
   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)

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

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

Week 2: The Domestic Setting
Required
Garfinkle, A., Politics and Society in Modern Israel, 2nd ed., Sharpe, NY, 2000, pp. 159-171

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

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

Foundations of Israel's National Security Doctrine
Required
   Ben-Dor, G., Responding to the Threat, 113-133
Cohen, R., Israel’s Starry-Eyed Foreign Policy, Middle East Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1994
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

Recommended
Cordesman, A., Peace and War, Praeger, Westport 2002
Garfinkle, A., Politics and Society in Modern Israel, 2nd ed., Sharpe, NY, 2000, pp. 199-244

6
Inbar, E., Israel's Strategic Environment, Strategic Review, 1994, pp. 34-40

**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
Karsh, E., Between War and Peace: Dilemmas of Israelis Security, Cass, London, 1996, article by Beres, L.R., Israel's Bomb in the Basement, pp. 112-133

**Recommended**
Cochran, S., Israel’s Nuclear History by Edwin, Israel Affairs, Vol. 6, No. 3-4, Spring-Summer 2000, pp. 129-158

**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.
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**

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

Week 5: The Peace Process
Palestinian Issue

Required
Dowty, A., Israel and Palestine, 2005, pp.137-203
Ross, D., Yasir Arafat, Foreign Policy, July/August 2002, pp. 18-26
  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
  Pandak, 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

Recommended (general works on Israel-Palestinians)
Eisenberg, Laura Zitrain and Caplan, N., Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: Patterns,
Makovsky, D., Making Peace With the PLO, Westview, 1996

Israel and the Palestinians I: 1978-1993
Eisenberg and Caplan, Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace, Chapter 4 (Madrid), pp. 75-89
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
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
Evron, Y., War and Intervention in Lebanon, 1987
Kemp G. and Pressman, Point of No Return, pp. 103-122.
Morris, B., Righteous Victims, pp. 632-634.
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/](http://www.aipac.org/iran/)
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

**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)