

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Rothberg International School
Division of Graduate Studies

2018/2019 Spring Semester
Class: Boyar 206 ; Wed. 14:30-16:00
Course No. 01660

Reception Hour: Wednesday Before the class
Tel: 02 – 5883156 ; Cell: 0506-449849
Email : eitan.barak@mail.huji.ac.il

Israel's Defense Policy: The Limits of Military Power

01660

Dr Eitan Barak, Adv.

Course Description:

The course will focus on Israel's National Security Policy in its broadest sense. In the first part of the course, we will review Israel's ongoing and unique geo-strategic predicament, together with the effect of that predicament on Israel's notions of national security. In the second part, we will focus on the strategies and options which Israel has chosen to either solve its predicament without directly settling the conflict (strategic alliances, conventional armament and implicit nuclear deterrence), or mitigate it (i.e., limited security regimes, confidence and security-building measures, arms control). The final subject to be discussed is the appropriateness of Israel's security paradigm to a nuclear Middle East, the feasibility of replicating the Cold War balance of terror in the region, and whether such an attempt would embody a hazard or solution. The appropriateness of Israel's security paradigm to the opposite course of actions, i.e., joining a WMD Free-Zone in the Middle East, is to be discussed as well.

Final assignment: Final paper/ seminar paper (100% final grade)

Rothberg International School's Plagiarism and Academic Integrity Policies

Integrity Policy: "Cheating/plagiarism will not be tolerated. Students suspected of violating the Hebrew University Policy on Academic Integrity will be required to participate in the outlined procedural process as initiated by the instructor. A minimum sanction of a zero score for the quiz, exam or paper will be imposed."

Plagiarism: It is important that the written and oral work that you present in this course reflect your own reading, critical analysis, and writing. Plagiarism includes: a) submitting someone else's work in your name whether that someone else is someone you know or someone who posted their work on the Internet; and whether you paid for the material or not; b) submitting your own work from another course without disclosure to the instructor; c) copying passages verbatim or in close paraphrase from published or unpublished material written by someone else without properly using quotation marks and/or without citing your source.

1. Introduction: Israel's Survival Predicament

Bull, Hedley, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), Chap. 2. **ERESERVE 001464809**, Main library JX 1954 B79

Cohen Avner, *Israel and the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), Chap. 1. ("Men and Ethos: David Ben Gurion") **ERESERVE 001954802; E355.03 C678**

Chamberlin, John "Garick", The Evolution of Arab Conceptions of the Crusades, *Strategic Insights*, Volume VI, Issue 2, (March 2007) **E-journal, Search Google**

2. The Premises of Israel's Strategy

Yaniv, Avner, *Deterrence Without the Bomb: The Politics of Israeli Strategy* (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, 1987), pp.12-19. **ERESERVE 001734182; E355 Y23**

Horowitz, D., "The Israeli Concept of National Security," in: Yaniv, A., (ed.) *National Security and Democracy in Israel* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993), pp. 11–53. **ERESERVE 001505077; E355.03 Y23**

Freilich D. Charles, *Israeli National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change* (Oxford University Press), 2018 Chapter 3, (pp.65-90). **Reserves E355.03 F864**

3. Deterrence, Red Lines and Israel's *Casus Belli*: Myths and Reality

Barak, Eitan, " Between Reality and Secrecy: Israel's Freedom of Navigation through the Straits of Tiran, 1956-1967" *The Middle East Journal*, 61(4), (Autumn 2007), pp.657-680.

E-JOURNAL + Overseas Library Journal Collection

Evron, Yair, *Israel's Nuclear Dilemma*, (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1994), chap.2. **ERESERVE 001506145; Main library U 264 E953**

Steinberg, Gerald M., “Deterrence and Middle East Stability: An Israeli Perspective”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 28(1), (1997), 49-56 **E-JOURNAL**

Yaniv Avner, *Deterrence Without the Bomb: The Politics of Israeli Strategy* (Lexington, Mass : Lexington Books, 1987), 38-48. **ERESERVE 001734182, E355 Y23**

Israel's Quest to Solve its Predicament

4. Patrons and the Search for Strategic Alliances?

Freilich D. Charles, *Israeli National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change* (Oxford University Press), 2018, Chapter 10 [The “Special Relationship”], (pp.270-300).

Bar-Siman-Tov, Y., “The United-States and Israel since 1948 - A 'special-relationship'?", *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 22(2), (1998), pp. 231-262. **E-JOURNAL**

Crosbie K. S., *A Tacit Alliance-France and Israel From Suez to the Six Day War*, (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 215-234. ["Conclusions"] **ERESERVE 001954801; E327.44 C950**

5. Conventional Armament?

Barak, Eitan, “Doomed to be Violated ? The U.S.-Israeli Clandestine End-User Agreement and the Second Lebanon War: Lessons for the Convention on Cluster Munitions”, *Denver Journal of International Law and Policy*, 38 (1) (Winter 2009), pp.1-40.**E-JOURNAL**

Gormley M. Dennis *et al.*, “Missiles in the Middle East: Their Destabilizing Role”, in Bernd W. Kubbig & Sven-Eric Fikenscher (eds.) *Arms Control and Missile Proliferation in the Middle East* (London: New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 39-61 **ERESERVE 002011117**.

Steinberg, Gerald, "The History of Arms Control in the Middle East", in Avi Beker (ed.), *Arms Control Without Glasnost: Building Confidence in the Middle East* (Jerusalem: Israel Council on Foreign Relations, 1993), pp. 7-28. **ERESERVE 001567272; Main library JX 1974 A78**

Wezeman, Pieter D., “Conventional strategic military capabilities in the Middle East”, In: Müller, Harald and Daniel Müller, (Eds.), *WMD Arms Control in the Middle East: Prospects, Obstacles and Options* (Ashgate Plus in International Relations and Politics, 2015), pp.185-192. **ERESERVE 001954978; ME327.174 M946**

6. Implicit Nuclear Deterrence?

Cohen Avner, *Israel and the Bomb*, (New York: Columbia University Press), 1998, pp. 339-350 ("Epilogue") **ERESERVE 001954802; E355.03 C678**

Maoz Zeev, "The Mixed Blessing of Israel's Nuclear Policy", *International Security* 28 (2) Fall 2003), pp. 44-77. **E-JOURNAL**

Shalom Zaki, *Israel's Nuclear Option: Behind the Scenes Diplomacy between Dimona and Washington*, (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press and Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, 2005) p. 168 - 178. **ERESERVE 001508148; Main Library UA 853 I8 S51 2005**

Israel's Quest to Mitigate its Predicament

7. Confidence-and Security-Building Measures in the Arab-Israeli Context

Evron Y., "Confidence-and Security-Building Measures in the Arab-Israeli Context" in: Inbar Efraim & Sandler Shmuel, (eds.), *Middle Eastern Security: Prospects for an Arms Control Regime*, (London: Frank Cass, 1995), pp.152-172. **ERESERVE 001451267; Main Library JX 1974 M484**

Barak, Eitan, "Peacekeeping Forces and the Emergence of a Limited Security Regime in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Lesson's from Israel's Experience with Syria and Lebanon, 1974-2006." In: Kobi Michael & David Kellen (eds.), *Stabilizing the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Considerations for a Multinational Peace Support Operation* (Jerusalem: Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, 2007), pp. 70-88. **ERESERVE 001505083; E327.56 M621**

8. Limited Security Regimes in the Arab-Israeli Context

Dombroski Kenneth R., *Peacekeeping In The Middle East As An International Regime*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp.121-137. **ERESERVE 001925771; Main library DS 119.76 D66**

Lindley, Dan, *Promoting Peace with Information: Transparency as a Tool of Security Regimes*, (NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 173-206. **ERESERVE 001925720; Main Library JC 598 L56 2007**

Stein, Janice Gross, "Taboos and Regional Security Regimes", *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol. 26(3), (Sept 2003), pp. 6-18. **E-JOURNAL**

Yaari Ehud, *Sinai: A New Front*, (The Washington Institute for Near East, Policy Notes No. 9, January 2012), pp. 1-20, available at < <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/sinai-a-new-front>>

9. Arms Control in the Arab-Israeli Context

Bar-Yaacov Nomi, "Achieving Universality of the Chemical Weapons Convention in the Middle East", *Survival*, Vol. 57 no. 6 (Dec. 2015–Jan. 2016), pp. 161–182. **E-JOURNAL**

Barak Eitan "Where Do We Go From Here ? The Chemical Weapons Convention in the Middle East in the post-Saddam Era", *Security Studies*, Vol. 13(1), (Autumn 2003), pp. 106-155 [only pp.137-145.]. **E-JOURNAL**

Barak Eitan, "Israel Joining the Non-Proliferation Treaty: Time for a Re-evaluation?", *Disarmament Forum* (4/2005-1/2006), pp. 95-100. **Search Google**

Jones, Peter, "The Arms Control and Regional Security Working Group: Still Relevant to The Middle East", in: Müller Harald and Daniel Müller, (Eds.), *WMD Arms Control in the Middle East: Prospects, Obstacles and Options* (Ashgate Plus in International Relations and Politics, 2015), pp.91-101. **ERESERVE 001998302; ME327.174 M946**

Landau, Emily & Dalia Dassa Kaye, "Disarmament Efforts in The Region: Lessons From The Arms Control and Regional Security Talks" in Bernd W. Kubbig & Sven-Eric Fikenscher (eds.) *Arms Control and Missile Proliferation in the Middle East* (London ; New York Routledge, 2012), pp. 27-38. **ERESERVE 001893906**

Moukhtar, E. F., "The CWC in the Present Middle East Environment: An Egyptian View", *OPCW Synthesis*, (November 2000), pp. 26-29. **ERESERVE 001571703**

10. Israel and a Nuclear Middle East: A Replica of the Cold War's Nuclear Balance of Terror or a Recipe for Disaster

Evron Yair, *Israel's Nuclear Dilemma*, (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1994), chap.3. **ERESERVE 001506145; Main library U 264 E953**

Waltz Kenneth, "Why Iran Should Get the Bomb", *Foreign Affairs* (July/August 2012), pp.2-5. **E-JOURNAL**

10(B): A WMDFZ in the Middle East ?

Fahmy, Nabil & Patricia Lewis, "Possible Elements of an NWFZ Treaty in the Middle East", *Disarmament Forum 2* (2011), 39-50. **Search Google**

Fahmy, Nabil, "The Regional Security Environment and Basic Principles For The Relations of The Members Of The Zone" in: Müller Harald and Daniel Müller, (Eds.), *WMD Arms Control in the Middle East: Prospects, Obstacles and Options* (Ashgate Plus in International Relations and Politics), 2015, pp.15-21. **ERESERVE 001954819; ME327.174 M946**

11. Summary

Amidror, Yaacov "Perfect Storm: The Long-Term Implications of Middle East Chaos", (Bar-Ilan: BESA Memorandum # 8) July 2015, pp. 7-41. <http://besacenter.org/policy-memorandum/perfect-storm-the-long-term-implications-of-middle-east-chaos/>

Freilich D. Charles, "Why Can't Israel Win Wars Any More?", *Survival*, Vol. 57 no. 2 (April–May 2015), pp. 79–92

Inbar, Efraim, "Israel's National Security Amidst Unrest in the Arab World", *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol.35, No. 3 (2012), pp. 59-73. **E-JOURNAL**

Landau, Emily B, "Prospects for a New Arms Control Agenda: View from the Middle East", in: Oliver Meier & Christopher Daase (eds.), *Arms Control in the 21st Century* (London; New York: Routledge), 2013, pp. 220-230 **E-BOOK**

Maoz Zeev, *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security & Foreign Policy* (University of Michigan Press, 2006), chap. 13. **ERESERVE 001508018; Main library DS 119.6 M36 2006**

Freilich D. Charles, *Israeli National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change* (Oxford University Press), 2018, Chapter 11 (pp.302-316). **Reserves E355.03 F864**