

# **National Security in an Era of Transformations and Changes: Basic Concepts in National Security**

BG (Res.) Itai Brun and Dr. Doron Navot

## Course Objectives

Knowledge of basic concepts in national security, the interrelationships between them, and the historical context in which theories and concepts that make up the field of national security and its practice have developed. In doing so, we will seek to understand how the current era is affecting national security and how we deal with it, while analysing aspects related to the global system, the regional system, and the internal system. At the end of the course, we expect the participants to become familiar with the national security terms and to cultivate knowledge about national security in its various components. In addition, we will focus on decision-making processes in the national security field, develop awareness of the possibility of a unique approach to dealing with the subject, national security awareness, and sensitivity. Another key issue we will address is the interaction between historical changes and conceptual changes, including, how the Cold War affected the development of the national security field and how the end of the Cold War, and the end of the so-called Cold War period, have affected and continue to affect the occupation of the national security in the present.

## Course and Grade Format

The course consists of thirteen sessions with two sessions per session (a total of 26 sessions). As long as the situation permits, the course will take place at the INDC on Mondays and Wednesdays/Thursdays from September to October 2020. The course will be jointly delivered by the Deputy Head of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), BG (Res.) Itai Brun, and the Academic Coordinator of the INDC, Dr. Doron Navot.

The course includes five pedagogical components:

1. Reading the required items in the syllabus (see below) and participating in “Coffee and Reading” before each session
2. Class attendance
3. Participation in post-lesson processing assignments, which includes reference to the material for in-depth study (see below)
4. Presentation in groups at the twelfth meeting (4-5 participants in a group) (50% of the grade)
5. Submission of a graduation assignment (up to 800 words) (50% of the grade)

### The Final Assignment

The final assignment includes the submission of an essay that does not exceed 800 words, and must focus on what is the biggest challenge of national security that Israel or another country faces, and justify your choice based on what is learned in the meetings and reading materials. It is not necessary to use detailed references but the rules of academic writing must be adhered to. Submission date: 23.11.2020.

### Details of the Sessions and Reading Materials

#### **First Session: National Security General Introduction and Basic Concepts**

After presenting the course, we will go back in time to the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. From there we will dive into the 2016 presidential election campaign in the United States and the question of Russia’s intervention in the election there. All of these will lead us straight to the question that will be at the center of the first encounter, and throughout the course: What is between classical national security and national security today? In doing so, we will deal in the first lesson with a basic concept of national security, we will get to know prominent definitions, we will discuss characteristics of the ethos of national security and we will begin the discussion of the perceptual and institutional aspects of the field. At the end of the first session we will talk about a number of basic concepts, among them, the state.

Mandatory Reading:

David A. Baldwin. 1997. "The Concept of Security." *Review of International Studies* Vol. 23, No. 1, pp. 5-26.

Reading for Depth:

Joseph Nye. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Basic Books, 2004: 1-32 (Chapter 1)

Brun, I., Shwartz Altshuler, T. 2019. *The Muller Report: What it Includes, What it Omits, and What it Teaches*. INSS: <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/mueller-report-includes-omits-teaches>

Brun, I., Siman- Tov, D. 2019. *Foreing Influence on Political Discourse: A New Strategic Challenge*. INSS: <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/foreign-influence-political-discourse-new-strategic-challenge>

### **Second Session: Relevant Disciplines and Key Theories**

At the center of the second session is the global system and various forms of analyzing its characteristics. During the meeting we will discuss the importance of the collapse of the Soviet bloc in the late 1980s, both for understanding the world system and for understanding approaches and theories for understanding the security reality and national security since then. At the center of the meeting we will examine the state of the system in recent decades, referring to Francis Fukuima's article "The End of History", which since its publication in 1989 has been ridiculed, but has given its author worldwide fame. Thirty years after the publication of the article, the liberal democratic idea does not currently have a single global enemy that represents an opposing ideological alternative - such as fascism or communism. But, the idea confronts various enemies who are hostile to its values, fighting in its institutions, and actually promoting a different global and state "liberal" order. During the lesson we will also begin a discussion on how the Covid-19 crisis can affect the world order.

Mandatory Reading:

Francis Fukuyama. 1989. "The End of History?" *The National Interest* No. 16, pp. 3-18

Reading for Depth:

Lionel Barber, Henry Foy & Alex Barker, Vladimir Putin says liberalism has 'become obsolete', Financial Times, June 2019

Samuel P. Huntington. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 72, No. 3, pp. 22-49

Brun, I. 2020. *The World and the Middle East in 2021: Four Scenarios*. INSS <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/the-world-in-2021>

### **Third Session: Geopolitics and the Regional System**

During the lesson we will deal with the question of the importance of geography for understanding issues in the field of national security and we will discuss the concept of the "regional system". As part of this, we will examine from a national security view what is happening at present in the Middle East. Nine years after the dramatic events of early 2011, the regional upheaval still continues and the Middle East continues to be characterized by instability, uncertainty and explosiveness. There is a broad consensus among researches and observers that the area is in a deep crisis, in a process of historical significance and in a heated struggle over its image. This struggle continues to take place in two areas and along various breaking lines on the regional order - between four different camps that are hostile to each other and struggle for ideas, power, influence and survival. And within the countries themselves - between the rulers and the public in these countries, which suffer from a series of fundamental problems that were not resolved during the years of turmoil and were even intensified.

#### Mandatory Reading:

Avineri Shlomo. 2012. "The Arab Springtime of Nations?" <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-arab-springtime-of-nations?barrier=accesspaylog>

#### Reading for Depth:

Brun, I., Feuer, S.J., Haiminis, I. 2019. *Eight Years after the Upheaval: Alternative Approaches to Understanding the Current Middle East*. INSS. <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/eight-years-upheaval-alternative-approaches-understanding-current-middle-east>

## **Fourth Session: Forms of Thought and Decision-Making Processes**

At this meeting we will enter the national security rooms and into the heads of the people who are actually engaged in the craft. After getting to know different ways of thinking, including different perceptions of cognition and assumptions, sometimes not explicit, regarding the ability to know reality (epistemologies), we will distinguish between metaphors of thinking and problems (chess, Hungarian cube), deal with "secrets" and "mysteries", and analyze ways to shape more informed thinking about complex issues and prepare for the future in the field of national security (use of scenarios). After we get to know some models of decision-making processes, we will also talk about typical thinking failures and characteristics of group thinking.

### Mandatory Reading:

Wohlstetter, Roberta. Pearl Harbor: warning and decision. Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1962, pp. 1-3, 382-401

### Reading for Depth:

Joseph Nye. 1994. "Peering into the future." *Foreign Affairs* Vol. 73 Issue 4: 82-93.

Tversky, A., Kahneman, D. 1992. "Advances in prospect theory: Cumulative representation of uncertainty." *J Risk Uncertainty* 5, 297-323.

Itai Brun. 2018. Intelligence Analysis - Understanding Reality in an Era of Dramatic Changes. pp. 57-66

## **Fifth Session: Truth, Post-Truth and Sense of Reality**

In the fifth session, we will deal with one of the most difficult issues today, and that is the existence of truth, and no less, the changing attitude to the idea that there is truth that can be known, or truths that can be said for something qualified and meaningful. Equally important, we will engage in the development of a culture of distrust and disregard for factors that will previously be presented to the general public with important truths, or what has been called "post-truth" in recent years. As we will see, the debate is not purely metaphysical but cultural and political. In this context, we will examine the following questions: Has the age of Post-Truth and Fake News, where we

are, disrupted our traditional mechanisms for clarifying the reality of national security? Are these mechanisms still capable of distinguishing between truth and false? Between spins and influence efforts and facts? Do decision makers continue to see fact-based professional analysis as the basis for decision-making?

Mandatory Reading:

Hayden Michael. 2018. *The Assault on Intelligence: American National Security in An Age of Lies*, pp 1-11

Reading for Depth:

Clapper James with Trey Brown (2018), *Fact and Fears: Hard Truths from a Life in Intelligence*, pp 1-4, 397-400

Brun, I., Roitman M. 2019. *National Security in the Era of Post- Truth and Fake News*. INSS. <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/national-security-in-the-era-of-post-truth-and-fake-news>

Berger, N., Brun, I. 2020. *Speaking Truth to Trimp: The Crisis between the President and the American Intelligence Community*. INSS. <https://www.inss.org.il/publication/speaking-the-truth-to-trump>

### **Sixth Session: Political Economy**

After examining epistemological and political issues and how they are effecting national security in various ways, we will move on to the sixth session to touch on one of the foundations of our beginnings, namely, political economy, and why they are essentially a fundamental issue of national security.

Mandatory Reading:

Heilbroner, Robert, L. 1999. *The Worldly Philosophers*. Preface + Introduction/Chapters 1+2

Reading for Depth:

Heilbroner, Robert, L. 1999. *The Worldly Philosophers*. Chapter 3.

### **Seventh Session: Contemporary Societies**

There is no such thing as a society, who was known at the time as the Iron Woman, Margaret Thatcher, and years later, she explained that they did not understand her

properly, in part because they ignored her addition - but there are people and families. We will consider the possibility of having such a society above and beyond individuals and families, because it is important to think of society in holistic rather than individual terms, and that society has dramatic importance to both national security and intellectual and practical engagement in national security issues.

Mandatory Reading:

Giddens Anthony And Philip W Sutton. 2001. *Sociology* 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Cambridge: Polity Press, chapter 1.

Reading for Depth:

Canetti, D., Waismel-Manor, I., Cohen, N., & Rapaport, C. (2014). What Does National Resilience Mean in a Democracy? Evidence from the United States and Israel. *Armed Forces & Society*, 40(3), 504–520.

Christian and Spiekermann Kai. 2013. "Methodological Individualism and Holism in Political Science: A Reconciliation." *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 107, No. 4, pp. 629-643.

### **Eighth Session: Regime**

The regime of a society is the institutional configuration of the power organization, such as the electoral system and the separation of powers, but it is also beyond that. The regime, or what was called in ancient Greece the *Politia*, is the order in society and the logic that guides the various factors that make it up, and it includes norms of behaviour and patterns of action related to power activation, which can be identified with regularity and repetitiveness. Nevertheless, we will deal with this in the eighth session, but also with more concrete issues concerning the nature of the regime today, among them, unrest in liberal democracy, the rise of populism and the effects of the regime on national security.

Mandatory Reading:

Müller Jan-Werner. 2015. "Should the EU Protect Democracy and the Rule of Law inside Member States?" *European Law Journal* 21(2): 141-160.

Reading for Depth:

Green, Jeffrey. 2015. "On the Co-originality of Liberalism and Democracy: Rationalist vs. Paradoxicalist Perspectives." *Law, Culture and the Humanities* 11(2): 198–217.

**Ninth Session: Statesmanship and Diplomacy**

Statesmanship and diplomacy are well-known elements of national security, but most of us know very little about them. In the ninth meeting, we will meet in order to remove some of the veil of secrecy that surrounds this field, and we will also ask to examine what statesmanship is and what it has to do with diplomacy. In the second part of the meeting, we will find out more empirically what statesmanship is and what it has to do with diplomacy through three figures that dramatic circumstances have directly or indirectly brought together: Anwar Sadat, Golda Meir and Henry Kissinger.

Mandatory Reading:

Sadat, Anwar. 1978. *In Search of Identity: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper, pp. 325-327

Reading for Depth:

Bar-Joseph Uri. 2012. "Review: Confronting the Intelligence Fiasco of the Yom Kippur War." *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, Vol. 3, No. 2:131-149.

**Tenth and Eleventh Sessions: National Defense in the Information Age**

It is common to assume that war is, first and foremost, a periodic and largely social phenomenon. The general image of many in the public, among decision-makers and in the military system itself about the war, was until not long ago an outgrowth of the form of war that characterized the "modern period". In this image, "modern warfare" was total in its power, industrial in nature, conducted between countries, for a clear political purpose, and its result was, as a rule, clear and unequivocal. To these characteristics was added a cohesive conception of a military "decision", the main components of which were the ideas that became universal regarding the conquest of enemy territory and the destruction of its forces. These were supposed to lead to "victory." The desire to achieve a quick and unequivocal decision, the maneuvering move of the ground forces as the clear representative of such a decision, the clear separation of front and



rear, the concept of border - all these were distinct characteristics of such wars that placed the national defense foundation at the center of national security. In the characteristics of the war, in the implications of the information age for it, in the perceptions of various actors about it, and in the implications of all these changes on the basis of national defense at the center of national security.

Mandatory Reading:

Edward N. Luttwak . 1995. "Toward Post-Heroic Warfare", *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1995

Reading for Depth:

[Brun, Itai. "‘While You’re Busy Making Other Plans’: The ‘Other RMA’". \*Journal of Strategic Studies\* 33, no. 4 \(2010\): 535–65](#)

**Twelfth Session: Coronavirus Epidemic Class Presentations**

The session will be dedicated to the class presentations regarding the Coronavirus pandemic.

There is no compulsory reading for the whole class. Participants are asked to complete the preparation of the presentation and bring it to class.

**Thirteenth Session: National Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century – Where to?**

The journey into the national security field has not ended yet. After summarizing the main points, we have learned, and after having established and refined the continuity and change in the reality of national security and intellectual engagement in the field of national security, we will seek to discover what the new challenges that are facing us are and what the future holds for us in this complex and diverse field.

Mandatory Reading:

National Security Strategy of the United States of America, Introduction.