



## THE TIKVAH FUND

### **Is Israel Alone? The Past, Present, and Future of the U.S.-Israel Relationship**

*December 14–18, 2015*

Dean: Jonathan Silver

Instructor: Michael Doran

Visiting Speakers: Elliott Abrams, Joshua Muravchik, and Charles Krauthammer

#### **I. Description**

The last years have strained the relationship between the United States and the State of Israel. The two nations have serious policy disagreements and the nation's leaders deeply distrust one another. Is this a true crisis? Is the America-Israel relationship fundamentally changing? Is Israel alone in an increasingly dangerous Middle East?

Israelis and American friends of Israel hope that ties of popular affinity, military cooperation, intelligence sharing, and strategic alliance against radical Islamism and terror bind the two states together. For the moment, both of America's major political parties pledge to stand behind Israel at the United Nations and on the battlefield. Practically all Israelis across the political spectrum believe that strong ties with the United States are important to the survival of the Jewish State. Judging by these lights, at least, one might think that we are going through a bad patch—as Israel has with previous American administrations of both political parties.

But are circumstances changing in more fundamental and lasting ways? In the Middle East, the democratic optimism surrounding the Arab Spring has given way to bloody strife and civil war. Iran and the Islamic State, dueling empires of terror, expand through proxy and conquest, threaten America's traditional allies, and hope to eliminate the Jewish State. America seems less willing to assume the responsibilities of ensuring stability in the world, and American withdrawal from the Middle East has coincided with and likely contributed to regional instability. Meanwhile, the global movement to delegitimize Israel has gathered steam and many judges of global opinion are convinced that Israel's unwillingness to grant statehood to the Palestinians is the root cause of the area's animosities and bloodshed.

Can the U.S.-Israel relationship be restored, so that it continues to serve the vital interests of both sovereign states? Do the sources of long-time friendship between these nations contain the seeds of its regrowth? Are Israeli interest and American interest truly aligned in the current age? What about the relationship must be rethought in light of new strategic challenges? Led by former National Security Council official and leading Middle East expert Michael Doran, this seminar will explore the past, present, and future of the America-Israel strategic relationship. Additional speakers will include former deputy national security advisor Elliott Abrams, author Joshua Muravchik, columnist Charles Krauthammer, and others as we explore the history, inner workings, and context of the U.S.-Israel relationship.



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II. Calendar

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Is Israel Alone?</b> December 14-18, 2015</p>				
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Monday, December 14</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Tuesday, December 15</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Wednesday, December 16</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Thursday, December 17</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Friday, December 18</i></p>
				<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Candle Lighting at 4:30 pm</i></p>
Welcome Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast
8:30 AM – 9:30 AM	8:30 AM – 9:30 AM	8:30 AM – 9:30 AM	8:00 AM – 8:45 AM	8:30 AM – 9:30 AM
Background	Israel and the Eisenhower Administration	Israel and the Carter Administration	Israel and the George W. Bush Administration	At Last, Zion
<i>Michael Doran</i>	<i>Michael Doran</i>	<i>Michael Doran</i>	<i>Elliott Abrams</i>	<i>Charles Krauthammer</i>
9:30 AM – 12:30 PM	9:30 AM – 12:30 PM	9:30 AM – 12:30 PM	8:45 AM – 11:30 AM	9:30 AM - 11:30 AM
Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch
12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	12:30 PM – 2:30 PM	11:30 AM – 2:30 PM	11:30 AM – 12:00 PM
Israel and the Truman Administration	Israel and the Administrations of Johnson and Nixon	Israel and the George H.W. Bush Administration	Israel and the Obama Administration, pt. 1: Iran and the Balance of Power in the Middle East	Concluding Session: Recommendation to the Prime Minister
<i>Michael Doran</i>	<i>Michael Doran</i>	<i>Michael Doran</i>	<i>Michael Doran</i>	<i>Michael Doran</i>
2:30 PM – 5:30 PM	2:30 PM – 5:30 PM	2:30 PM – 5:30 PM	2:30 PM – 5:30 PM	12:00 PM - 1:30 PM
Opening Dinner			Dinner	
			5:30-6:00 PM	
			Israel and the Obama Administration, pt. 2: Israel and the Ideology of the Left	
			<i>Joshua Muravchik</i>	
			6:00-8:00 PM	
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Char Bar</b> 214 2 L St NW, Washington, DC 20037</p>				
7:00 PM – 9:00 PM				



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III. Institute Schedule and Syllabus

Monday, December 14		
<i>Times</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Readings</i>
8:30-9:30	Orientation and Welcome Breakfast	
9:30–12:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Background	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Required</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bret Stephens, “Israel Alone,” <i>The Wall Street Journal</i>, April 20, 2015</li> <li>• Walter Russell Mead, “The New Israel and the Old: Why Gentile Americans Back the Jewish State,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, July-August 2008</li> <li>• William Ernest Hocking, “Palestine: An Impasse?” <i>The Atlantic</i>, July 1930</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Recommended</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Abraham Ben-Zvi, “The United States and Israel: 1948-2008,” <i>Israel Studies: An Anthology</i>, April 2009</li> </ul>
12:30–2:30	Lunch and Participant Introductions	
2:30–5:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Israel and the Truman Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Allis and Ronald Radosh, <i>A Safe Haven: Harry S. Truman and the Founding of Israel</i>, ch. 12, “A New Country is Born: Truman Recognizes Israel,” pp. 310-339</li> <li>• Memorandum of Conversation, by Secretary of State, May 12, 1948</li> </ul>
7:00–9:00	Opening Dinner at Char Bar 214 2 L St NW, Washington, DC 20037	

Tuesday, December 15		
<i>Times</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Readings</i>
8:30-9:30	Breakfast	
9:30–12:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Israel and the Eisenhower Administration	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Required</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Shimon Shamir, “The Collapse of Project Alpha,” William Roger Louis and Roger Owen, eds., <i>Suez 1956: The Crisis and Its Consequences</i>, pp. 73-100.</li> <li>• “The Sinai-Suez Campaign: Background &amp; Overview,” <i>Jewish Virtual Library</i></li> <li>• “The Suez Crisis,” <i>US Department of State, Office of the Historian</i></li> <li>• Excerpt from Memorandum of Discussion at the 352<sup>nd</sup> Meeting of the National Security Council, Washington, January 22, 1958 <i>[skim the whole document, focusing on the two paragraphs in bold]</i></li> </ul>



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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Moshe Dayan, “Eulogy for Roi Rotberg”</li> <li>• S.I. Troen, M. Shemesh, eds., <i>The Suez-Sinai Crisis 1956: Retrospective and Reappraisal</i>, ch. 21, pp. 289-329</li> <li>• Text of President Eisenhower’s television address, February 20, 1957</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Recommended</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gabriel Sheffer, <i>Moshe Sharett: Biography of a Political Moderate</i>, ch. 27</li> </ul>
12:30–2:30	Lunch	
2:30–5:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Israel and the Administrations of Johnson and Nixon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marvin Kalb, <i>The Road to War: Presidential Commitments Honored and Betrayed</i>, ch. 9, pp. 199-224</li> <li>• Noam Kochavi, “Joining the Conservative Brotherhood: Israel, President Nixon, and the Political Consolidation of the ‘Special Relationship,’ 1969–73,” <i>Cold War History</i>, Vol. 8, No. 4, November 2008</li> <li>• UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338, contained in United Nations, <i>The Question of Palestine and the United Nations</i>, Chapter 3, “The 1967 and 1973 Wars”</li> </ul>

Wednesday, December 16

<i>Times</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Readings</i>
8:30-9:30	Breakfast	
9:30–12:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Israel and the Carter Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Michael Doran, “U.S.-Israel Relations in the Begin Era,” <i>Menachem Begin’s Zionist Legacy</i></li> <li>• “The Brookings Institution Report,” <i>Journal of Palestine Studies</i>, Vol. 6, No. 2, Winter, 1977</li> </ul>
12:30–2:30	Lunch	
2:30–5:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Israel and the George H.W. Bush Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aaron David Miller, <i>The Much Too Promised Land</i>, ch. 6</li> <li>• “New World Order,” extracts of speech delivered by President George H.W. Bush to Congress, March 6, 1991</li> </ul>



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Thursday, December 17		
<i>Times</i>	<i>Topic</i>	<i>Readings</i>
8:00-8:45	Breakfast	
8:45–11:30 <i>Elliott Abrams</i>	Israel and the George W. Bush Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Elliott Abrams, <i>Tested By Zion</i>, ch. 4</li> </ul>
11:30–2:30	Lunch	
2:30–5:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Israel and the Obama Administration, pt. 1: Iran and the Balance of Power in the Middle East	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Michael Doran, “Obama’s Secret Iran Strategy,” <i>Mosaic Magazine</i>, February 2, 2015</li> <li>President Obama’s Remarks by the President at Cairo University, June 4, 2009</li> <li>President Obama’s Remarks on Jewish American Heritage Month, Adas Israel Congregation, Washington, D.C., May 22, 2015</li> </ul>
5:30-6:00	Dinner	
6:00–8:00 <i>Joshua Muravchik</i>	Israel and the Obama Administration, pt. 2: Israel and the Ideology of the Left	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Joshua Muravchik, <i>Making David Into Goliath</i>, ch. 10</li> </ul>

Friday, December 18		
8:30 – 9:30	Breakfast	
9:30–11:30 <i>Charles Krauthammer</i>	At Last, Zion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Charles Krauthammer, “At Last, Zion,” <i>Weekly Standard</i>, May 1998</li> </ul>
11:30–12:00	Lunch	
12:00–1:30 <i>Michael Doran</i>	Concluding Session: Recommendation to the Prime Minister	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>n/a</li> </ul>