

Anna Sobol Levy Fellowship 2012-2013



Final Report & Summary of Activities

Fellowship Coordinator

Aviram Bromfman

Fellows

Diane Samuels
Sari Sharoni
Adam "Oz" Campus
Kevin Macklin
Anna Corley Nason
Ben Birnbaum

Activities Summary

Num.	Name	Type	Date
1	Israel's History and Structure.	Lecture.	29/08/2012
2	Yad Vashem.	Tour.	20/09/2012
3	210 Squadron – Tel Nof Air Force Base.	Tour + Lecture.	23/10/2012.
4	Ben Gurion Airport + GSS.	Tour + Lecture.	14/11/2012.
5	MK Jonathan Plesner.	Lecture.	11/12/2012.
6	Southern Israel Tour.	Tour + Lecture.	20-21/12/2012.
7	Justice Department Visit.	Lecture.	14/01/2013.
8	Glilot Israeli Intelligence Heritage Center.	Tour + Lecture.	28/03/2013
9	Dr. Yoaz Hendel.	Lecture.	25/04/2013.
10	National Security Council.	Lecture.	11.6.2013
11	Abu Gosh Visit.	Tour + Lecture.	14/6/2013

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Israel's History and Structure Lecture

Date: 29/08/2012.

Time: 15:00.

Location: Rothberg School, class 210.

Overview: This lecture was divided into two parts and was presented by the ASL coordinator, Aviram. The first part reviewed main events in Israel's history from 1922 up until the present covering Israel's wars and important military operations such as the Iraqi nuclear strike and the Mavi Marmara flotilla raid. The second part was an overview of Israel's government structure, separation of powers and main security bodies such as the IDF, MOSSAD and IMI. The lecture took approximately two hours and was followed by a brief Q&A session. The purpose of the lecture was to make sure all of the fellows get a basic background and common ground for future lectures and tours that will be conducted throughout the year.

Aviram Bromfman

Points for Improvement:

- **Attendance:** Even though this was the first lecture, one of the main noticeable drawbacks was poor attendance. The lecture started with only four of the five fellows due to Diane's visit to the U.S.; the problem got worse when another fellow (Ben) left the lecture due to an unexpected emergency. This led to a situation in which most of the lecture was presented in front of only three fellows.

Recommendation: Due to the small amount of fellows participating in the program complete attendance is crucial. This problem will repeat itself next year due to the need to coordinate between the fellows trips abroad during the summer; a possible solution could be moving the first lecture to September where the likelihood for complete attendance is higher.

- **Class Coordination:** The original location that the fellows were told to come to was class 305, as agreed with Rotherberg administration. That was due to the coordinator's request for a class with internet access and a projector; upon arriving in class 305 beforehand to prepare I found it had neither. That led to re-coordination for the class and the need to notify the fellows of the change just 20 minutes before the lecture.

Recommendation: Make sure the coordinator arrives at least one hour before any given lecture to make sure the proper and appropriate facilities are available.

Points for Sustaining:

- **Lecture:** The actual lecture went smoothly and provided valuable information about Israel's security's history to the fellowship members. The need to make sure everyone are on the same page and can relate and identify basic terms in Israel's history and structure is crucial for future programs.

Kevin Macklin

Improves for the lecture:

a. Issue: Using Maps

Discussion: On several occasions, you had to go back to previous slides to show us maps on what you were trying to explain. This was confusing and changed the audiences' views on what they were learning.

Recommendation: In the future, you can give the audience handouts with maps and information that they can look at when they want during the lecture. They will also allow the students in the fellowship to look back on what they learned and possibly further their study from the lecture.

b. Issue: Bad Timing

Discussion: There were problems concerning who was there and they got to the lecture. One student was not there, which was known. Another student was late and had to leave during the lecture due to an emergency.

Recommendation: The student who showed up late did not know about the lecture. This could have been lead to a miscommunication. I recommend that you keep in close contact with each student up until the lecture to make sure they are going to be present.

c. Issue: Classroom Confusion

Discussion: This may be nobody's fault, however, it was confusing that the students did not know where the lecture was going to be held. One student did not have cellular communication, which could have been problematic.

Recommendation: Confirm the room at least a day beforehand and the day of the lecture. Also send that information to each student so they know which classroom the lecture is in without learning at the last minute.

Sustains for the lecture:

a. Issue: Professional Slides

Discussion: The slide presentation was very professional. It had great information, pictures, and videos. These allowed you to easily get your point across and allowed us to learn quickly.

Recommendation: PowerPoint or not, that presentation was very professional and could definitely be used next year.

Yad Vashem Tour

Date: 20/09/2012.

Time: 15:00.

Location: Yad Vashem Institute, Jerusalem.

Overview: The actual tour took around three hours and was conducted by an English speaking guide by the name of John Philips. The tour dealt mainly with the various stages of the holocaust with a big emphasis given to Jewish resistance groups and holocaust denials. The Fellows and I left the Rothberg School via minibus and were driven back the same way.

The tour had a double agenda behind it; the first was to provide the fellows with basic information concerning the holocaust and to make sure that the background of the creation of Israel was understood. The second was to provide an insight into one of the most memorable historical events that still has an impact on Israel's security perception today and is very much alive in today's public discussions.

Aviram Bromfman

Points for Improvement:

- **Coordination:** One of the fellows (Sari) mistakenly thought that gathering time at the Rothberg School was at 16:00 and not at 14:30 as was scheduled. As a result she had to meet us at the institute on short notice.

Points for Sustaining:

- **Guide:** All of the fellows, myself included, agreed that John did a wonderful job; the tour was very professional and informative. Every question that was asked by the fellows got a quick and comprehensive answer; effort should be made to coordinate future tours with him.

Diane Samuels

Discussion:

Our fellowship group took an organized tour of Yad Vashem, the Israeli Holocaust Museum, which serves as a memorial to the Jewish victims of the Shoah. Our tour guide led us through different galleries throughout the museum that chronologically went through the events of the Holocaust. Some of the history discussed included the rise of Hitler and Nazi Germany, everyday life and hardships in the ghettos, concentration and extermination camps, and Jewish resistance. At the end of the museum was the Hall of Names, a memorial to each of the six million Jews that died in the Holocaust. The circular hall contained a collection of the "Pages of Testimony", which included a brief biography of the Jews that perished. Although only some of the victims are accounted for in the Pages of Testimony, the Hall itself is designed to store a page for each and every of the six million Jewish Holocaust victims.

While leading us through Yad Vashem, our tour guide emphasized different Jewish resistance movements during the Holocaust. One of the biggest uprisings occurred in the Warsaw Ghetto, where several hundred Jewish inmates were able to escape on August 2, 1943. However, in the Vilna Ghetto, Jewish resistance activists eventually lost support from the local Jewish population, escaped from the ghetto, and continued their fight in the surrounding forests. Partisan movements, such as the activists from the Vilna Ghetto, were guerilla groups that fought against Nazi Germany and carried out resistance measures in forested areas.

Commentary:

It was no coincidence that the trip to the Holocaust Museum was the second ASL event of the year. The Holocaust is a very integral component in the formation of Israeli foreign policy and Israeli mentality in defending and securing the Jewish Homeland. The trip to Yad Vashem was not only informative in recounting the tragedies of the Jews under the Nazi Regime, but was also useful in preparing the ASL fellows for upcoming visits to Israeli military bases and meetings with Israeli officials. A refresher of the events of the Shoah will put into perspective the Israeli mentality in foreign policy decision-making that includes a strong emphasis on defending the Jewish nation.

Although this was not my first visit to Yad Vashem, the history of the Holocaust itself is very extensive and important. I learned about the events of the Holocaust at a very early age and continued to learn more throughout my life. However, I find that there are always new details that I come across that are important components of the event and give further insight on this tragedy. In this recent trip to Yad Vashem, I was introduced to different types of Jewish resistance and underground movements during the Shoah.



Tel Nof AFB, 210th Squadron Tour & Lecture

Date: 23/10/2012.

Time: 09:00 AM.

Location: Tel Nof Air Force Base.

Overview: We arrived at the base at around 09:00 AM and were escorted by Lt. Colonel Omer to the squadron's main operating facility. The tour began with a 45 min. lecture detailing both the history of the usage of drones in the IAF and specification of the models which are currently in existence in the IAF. This was followed by a very detailed explanation of the "Eitan" UAV which is the main platform for the squadron and is the most advanced drone currently in use by the IAF. The last part of the visit included a tour of the squadron's main hanger and an examination of the actual aircraft.

The purpose of the tour was to expose the fellows to the entire sector of drone operations within the IDF and the various theaters in which they are put into play. The added bonus of this tour was that it was conducted by one of the founding members of the squadron who served in various squadrons before taking command of the 210th. In my mind, the purpose of the tour was achieved in the highest possible way. Unfortunately, due to security concerns we were unable to take pictures.

Aviram Bromfman

Points for Improvement:

- **Time Planning:** The tour was set to start at 08:30, in actuality we arrived at the base at 09:00 due to traffic problems leaving the Rothberg School. On future tours the time set down by the coordinator should take into account traffic and various problems so that the arrival time will not suffer.

Points for Sustaining:

- **Substance:** As reviewed, the lecture with Lt. Colonel Omer included not only the specific "Eitan" drone but also the entire UAV array currently in operation in the IAF. As the importance of the UAV squadrons rises in both intelligence and operational areas this field should be one of the focal points in future programs.
- **Fellows Involvement:** All of the fellows were extremely proactive during the tour; during the lecture questions were asked on issues including technical layout, typical missions the squadron performs and the relevance of the aircraft for future conflicts. Omer was also asked to give his assessment on the Iranian-made drone which infiltrated Israel a month ago. The fellows were sent background information concerning the "Eitan" beforehand and a specific requirement was made by the coordinator to come to the tour prepared with questions. This demand should repeat itself in **all** future tours in order to increase the understanding of the fellows and to stimulate the person who is giving the tour.

Adam Campus

On 23 Oct, the fellowship boarded the van and headed to Tel Nof Air Base, one of the IDF's three key Air Force installations. After an hour ride, we were met by Lieutenant Col Omer, one of the founding members of 210th Operations Squadron. While the base had historically been a training center for IDF paratroop, Combat Search and Rescue and flight school, the 210th made use of the facilities to expand upon the emergent drone technology. After a quick introductory briefing, we learned the basic characteristics of the IAI *Eitan* (otherwise known as the *Heron*); a high altitude (above 40K) drone developed by Israel Aerospace Industries, with a 2000-pound payload, and a wide range of capabilities and mission designations. With the aircraft's significant wing-span, the fuel is stored in the wings and funneled into the fuselage for the duration of the flight, creating an ever-adjusting balance. Perhaps most importantly, Lt Col Omer talked about the pride that the Israelis had in the creation of advanced drone technology created completely within the country, and the wide array of both public and private institutions that worked on the project. Coming together and emerging as a world leader in drone technology is a significant morale boost for the country.

When asked about the recent news that a drone sent by Iran and Hezbollah was shot down in Israeli airspace, he responded that the technology was likely at the stage of the *Firebee*, a drone that was used in extremely limited capacity in 1971. It will be interesting to see how this technology evolves throughout the different regions, and how events like the American RQ-170 crashing in Iran impacts the technology's cyber defense mechanisms and reverse engineering by countries such as Iran, China or Russia. Like in the US, the technology is constantly evolving and has taken on new importance in both combat zones and domestic law enforcement, and the integration of drones will be of the utmost importance, both for the safety and effectiveness in combat operations and the ethical and constitutional issues raised with this technology.

After a discussion of the aircraft capabilities and history, we entered the hangar and saw the aircraft itself. It's bulbous nose cone and overall-layout is similar to many of the American drones used operationally, and with the RQ-1 *Predator* having Israeli origins (original design was created by Israeli aircraft designer Abraham Karem, who immigrated to the US), it suggests a significant amount of technology transfer between the Israel and the US. Despite the *Eitan* sharing what sounds to be similar mission designations to the American RQ-4 *Global Hawk*, the *Eitan* has a shorter wing span buttwin tail booms that suggest the importance on flight stability (as opposed to the *Global Hawk's* longer wingspan but single fuselage). Additionally, the Lt. Col stressed the triple redundancy of the safety features on the aircraft, and with the grounding of all *Eitans* upon a crash in January, reliability and safety is a key component of the system, perhaps more-so than the American system which has seen a larger share of drone malfunctions in the beginning stages of operational use, but a greatly increased proficiency with the technology by learning from the failures. Overall, the tour was quite interesting and informative, and it is important to see the technology that will shape the politics and military dynamics of the region. Lt. Col Omer and Avi were very helpful in putting this tour together and the fellowship had a good time while learning about the IDF Air Force.

Ben Gurion Int. Airport Visit and GSS Lecture

Date: 14/11/2012.

Time: 10:00 AM.

Location: Ben Gurion Intl Airport – Chambers of the Managing Director.

Overview: On the 14 of November the fellowship met with "T", former head of the security wing within the GSS (*Shabak*) and Shmulik Zakai, managing director of Ben-Gurion Intl. Airport and former brigadier general in the IDF. The Purpose of the meeting was to introduce the fellows with the structure and the various missions the GSS has as one of the pivotal security organizations in Israel and specifically how the security wing exists within an organization which focuses mainly on gathering intelligence. "T" surveyed the general outline of the organization and explained a little bit of the history behind every wing, he then continued alongside Mr. Zakai to portray how the GSS and the IDF work together on a daily basis to try and counter various forms of terrorism within Israel's borders and beyond. The lecture took approximately one hour and gave room for questions from the fellows. Due to the identity of the lecturer we were not able to take pictures.

Aviram Bromfman

Points for Improvement: None.

Points for Sustaining:

- **Location:** The lecture took place at Mr. Zakai's chamber's in Ben-Gurion Int. Airport, other than the hospitality the staff showed towards the program this allowed us to connect directly with the topic at hand.
- **Personality:** Speaking both with a former GSS official and a former IDF official gave the fellows a real understanding on how the Israeli security apparatus is a combined effort and the work of one single agency.

Sari Sharoni

We went to Ben Gurion Airport to meet "T", currently working at the Institute of Counterterrorism in Herzliya, and former head of the security division of the ISA/GSS/Shabak/Shin-Bet, and Shmulik, manager of Ben Gurion Airport, and former Director of the Security Division. Shmulik was a retired Brigadier General in the IDF, Commander of the Golani Brigade, Commander of the Gaza Strip Division, and Commander of the division responsible for the Israel-Egypt border.

"T" explained the structure and missions of the ISA as: "safeguarding the state of Israel and its democratic institutions against threats of terror, espionage, sabotage, subversion and to prevent the exposure of state classified information. The ISA also operates to protect and promote other state

interests vital to national security.” The ISA mostly prevents, rather than fights, terrorism. "T" proceeded to explain the bureaucratic structure of the ISA, with the Prime Minister at the top and the General Staff at the bottom. Everyone in the ISA has an army background, and they do not hire Arab-Israelis because they do not serve in the army. He explained that it is unique to find a security division in an intelligence organization, and added that the ISA has a daily connection with the Mossad about intelligence abroad.

The ISA's main focus is the Gaza strip and terror from Sinai to Israel. ISA also prevents security threats to Israel from the outside by working with the Mossad and Americans. There is an understanding in western world that “because the threat is global, the resolution is global;” ISA seeks to maintain cooperation with countries and agencies in the western world.

"T" described the historical development of Israel's Protection & Security Division, starting with the El Al plane hijacks, attempts to blow up planes, and an attack on airport, followed by the massacre at Munich Olympics (72), and hostages at embassy in Bangkok (72). The Israeli government decided in 1972 that security is the responsibility of the ISA, in order to ease lines to communicate intelligence.

Broadly, the ISA is responsible for: dignitary and official delegations protection, national information security, critical infrastructure protection and cyber security, aviation security, diplomatic security, maritime security, border crossing security, and ISA protection. Cyber security from the PM covers all aspects of internet, not just critical infrastructure. Aviation security is very challenging because they must protect many people.

The ISA formulates and determines standards procedures and special directives; they don't provide security. They are also responsible for intelligence and operational guidelines necessitated by Enemy Activity. Additionally, the ISA is responsible for training. They regularly audit their training to ensure relevance and receive feedback from a regulated body.



MK Jonathan Plesner Meeting

Date: 11/12/2012.

Time: 14:00 PM.

Location: MK Plesner's Chambers – Tel Aviv.

Overview: On the 11th of December the fellowship conducted a meeting with MK Yohanan Plesner from *Kadima* Party. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the work the Plesner Committee had done concerning the recruitment and integration of the Ultra-Orthodox (*Haredim*) population into the IDF and mainstream Israeli society. The meeting took place at Mr Plesner's chambers in Tel Aviv and lasted for about an hour. During the meeting Mr. Plesner explained the growing problem Israel is facing concerning the current policy of exempts the *Haredim* are receiving from military service, and the collapse of the mandatory recruitment model if the situation were to continue. The issue of IDF recruitment was presented as part of the larger problem of trying to integrate the Haredim population into Israeli society, in his mind, recruiting will introduce the Haredim populous to ordinary Israelis and grant them basic life skills which they currently lack. The model the committee presented was both a gradual one, recruiting a growing number of Haredim over time and a multi-layered one, offering different service options that include national service in places such as the Israeli Police, Fire Department, community work etc.

The purpose of this lecture was to give the fellows a clear and broad explanation on a subject which is not a classic security issue but stands at the core of the public debate in Israel. Hearing the proposed model from the "horse's mouth" was an unusual opportunity to understand the different factors a politician needs to consider while trying to solve such a sensitive but crucial problem.

Aviram Bromfman

Points for Improvement:

- **Location:** The meeting took place at Mr. Plesner's chambers in Tel- Aviv, the trip there and back took more time than the actual lecture. Future events with government officials should take place in Jerusalem to save time.
- **Sterility:** The lecture was frequently interrupted with phones and different decisions MK Plesner had to make concerning the party's election campaign. This created a lack of focus and continuity which hurt the lecture and didn't left much time for questions. There is no specific point for improvement due to the fact that the lecture was held a month and a half before the general election.

Points for Sustaining:

- **Personality:** A talk with a lawmaker concerning the problem he personally dealt with gives an inside look inside the inner-working of government and a clear idea of how problems are solved and why sometimes the solutions are not implemented. When dealing with a specific political issue an effort should be made to meet with the relevant political figure – All that takes is a little perseverance.

Anna Nason

In the meeting with MK Plesner, we discussed the challenges and implications of integrating the Haredim into Israeli society. The Ultra-Orthodox integration into society is a multi-layered issue that includes integration into the military and both the private and public sector work force. This also requires other structural changes in society namely in education and rabbinical institutions.

In February 2012, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional to have laws that allow "blanket exemptions" of groups within society, thus making it illegal to exempt the Haredim at-large from mandatory service in the military or the civil service. Following this decision, the Plesner Committee was established to create legislation to integrate the Haredim into society. The Committee, which was dissolved by Prime Minister Netanyahu due to an impasse within the coalition, is no longer active. However, if and when this issue returns to the forefront, Plesner's model will be the basis or blueprint for the integration process.

The motivations behind MK Plesner's and many in Israel, both in the public and politics, desire to see the Haredim integration are many and range from moral to economic. First, the Ultra-Orthodox growth rates are unsustainable economically for the state of Israel. In the early days, their numbers were so small that the amount the government paid for their welfare was minimal. Now, they are much larger and only growing. In 1989, they were only three percent of the population. Now they are 14 percent and in ten years they will be at 27 percent of the total population.

Currently, they are exempt from compulsory service and receive money from the government to live so they can study the Torah instead of work. Approximately 35 percent of the Haredim men work. In addition, there is an entire system formed around this way of life. Rabbis are influencers in the community and reinforce the values of the Yeshiva over integrating into society. Plesner discussed the Rabbis' own interests in seeing the status-quo maintained. Also, the political parties that represent the Ultra-Orthodox are single-issue parties designed to keep this system in place. Their control, along with the control of the religious leaders, would be severely weakened if there were reforms to the education system as well as changes in the yeshiva model. Both the rabbinical leadership and political leaders are obstacles to reform. Plesner was hopeful that the Haredim themselves are more open to reform, especially if their rabbis and community leaders encouraged the changes. He discussed the societal implications when the Haredim today break from the "code" of their community. These negative implications deter many who may wish to join the military. Many of these Ultra-Orthodox live in poverty and do not have proper education or training to be an active part of the labor force. In sum, it would be economically unsustainable for the government to

continue to pay subsidies and write welfare checks to such a large percent of the population, especially since their exponential growth rates do not appear to be slowing down.

Another negative implication of not integrating the Ultra-Orthodox into society is the security risk it poses. Within Israeli society, as Plesner discussed, there is a code between Israeli citizens and their government. This idea is that the citizens all give their time to service and in return they receive collective security and benefits from the government. Israel could not afford to pay its military the way a non-voluntary force, like in the United States, is paid. Israel pays its most-skilled marines between 100 and 150 dollars per month. Israel is strong compared to its size. It is this relative advantage that gives Israel its security edge. It needs to be preserved for Israel to have lasting peace and security in the Middle East. The only way it would be morally justified to exempt such large parts of the population would be if Israel moved to a volunteer-based model for the military. However, that is economically impossible.

With the Ultra-Orthodox becoming such a large part of society, Israel will not be able to maintain this model of compulsory service for a strong defense. Plesner stated that 50% of today's first graders are non-Zionist. This figure combines the Ultra-Orthodox and Arab numbers. At this rate, maintaining a strong military based on collective service is unsustainable. Also he says that the military is one of the core elements of Israeli culture and an institution that bonds society together. If in ten years, almost 30% of the population is not required to serve, then it might raise the question to the rest of, "Why are we all doing this?" This compulsory model must be kept and maintained. Part of that maintenance is not exempting large and growing parts of the population.

However, he is balanced and culturally sensitive in his approach. He understands the need to preserve religious beliefs, and therefore advocates for creative channels of service. He would like to see a robust model for civil service created that allows for both men and women to serve in a more civilian-like capacity: nurses, bureaucracy staff, teachers, and so on. But also, he calls for certain units in the army to adhere to the preferences of these religious. In the Haredim combat units, however, these men would need to break from their traditional, religion-only educations. He also understands that at the same time some of the Haredim would stay in the Yeshiva and study the Torah. However, he does see room to allow for later drafts into the military so that there is more time for religious studies and family building.

While he is open to cooperative and flexible models of integration, Plesner does see the challenges: keeping the army under one central command, removing rabbinical influence from these particular units, and maintaining a strong "army culture". He also does not expect changes overnight. He does want to see a gradual integration process. In his report, he cited he would like to begin drafting 80% of the Haredim by 2016.

Plesner, in his report, wants to keep the Arab question separate. The Haredim, he says, should be the current focus as they are Jewish. There is already a common culture and no security risk or sensitivities as with integrating the Arabs into the military. Out of the 20 percent of the Israeli-Arab population, 60 percent of them define themselves as Palestinians. This is the group in which conscription is a problem. A better solution might be integration into the civil service in some sort of capacity. The other 40 percent of the Arab population in Israel are Druze and Bedouin. Over

240,000 Bedouin and Druze serve in the military. The majority of the Druze population serves. For them, it is a tool for mobilization into Israeli society. However, the Arab population integration was not the focus of the discussion, nor was there much time devoted to it.

Reflection:

The discussion with MK Plesner was helpful and informative. Even if most of the information could be found and read online, hearing it firsthand was insightful. It was especially compelling to hear the issue discussed in such clear terms. He was very concise in his presentation which reflects his thorough understanding of the issues. It is impressive the lengths at which he has gone in to really solve the issue detail by detail.

Often, it seems some issues appear as if they are being discussed for political motivations. In the U.S., this is often the case. Politicians see the benefit of focusing on certain issues to gain popular support over addressing issues that are of actual concern. These issues then get pushed aside until they reach "crisis level." There is currently a showdown in American politics over our "debt crisis", and this is exactly what happened. The issue was pushed aside until it was too late. It was refreshing to see MK Plesner actively working on an issue to avoid a future crisis.

Despite the interruptions and distractions, I felt he was honest and sincere in his delivery and motives for reform. It seems he is concerned about the implications of failing to integrate instead of concerned about his popular support. The only criticism is the lack of time for questions and discussion of those questions. However, a month and a half before an election, no U.S. politician would have given us five minutes, much less an hour.



Southern Israel Tour

Date: 20-21/12/2012.

Location: Southern Israel, Gaza region and Sede-Boker.

Overview: Between the dates of the 20 and the 21 of December the Anna Sobol Levy fellowship conducted a learning tour of the south of Israel with a special emphasis made on the Gaza Strip region. The purpose of the tour was to better understand the various aspects of the security situation in the region and to show different angles in which the Israeli government and the public are trying to handle it. The tour was originally scheduled to take place between the 22 and the 23 of November but due to operation "Pillar of Defense" the security situation did not allow us to conduct it. That of all things showed the fellows the changing nature of the security situation in the south.

The first day of the tour began with a tour of the Nahal Oz operational outpost which is home for the Giva'ati Brigade Recon Regiment ("Shoalei Shimshon"), the tour was conducted by Staff-Sargent Ishay from the regiment's recon company. He explained the nature of the activity the regiment conducts on a day to day basis and the how Hamas forces try to challenge that activity, he also gave a short operational history for his deployment and what was to be their supposed role in the ground operation in "Pillar of Defense". We then drove to the Erez Crossing which serves as the main crossing point for individuals who want to cross from the Gaza Strip into Israel and visa-versa. We received a short lecture from the DCO officer in charge of NGO relations, Captain Shai, and a complete tour of the crossing's security apparatus by the shift commander.

Our next stop was the city of Sderot where we received a tour of the city and an explanation on the ongoing Kassam attacks from an official from the Sderot Media Center by the name of Daniel. He showed us the Kassam Museum inside Sderot's police station and showed us various sites around the city that got hit in the recent operation. We continued from there to Naot Farm which is one of the farms created within the "Lone Farms" program instituted by the government to enhance Jewish settlement of the Negev. We were greeted by one of the farm's owner, Lea, which gave us a walking tour of the farm and showed us the various capacities that reside there such as sheep, goats, chickens and the cheese they produce there. Lea also explained the difficulties they and other farmers face while trying to build their homes, the tour was finalized with a high-class dinner we had at the farm's restaurant. Our last stop of the day was at Ayalim's Association's Kfar Adiel Village where we spent the night at a semi enclosed tent.

The second day of the tour began with a tour and a movie showed to us by a member of the Ayalim Association named Daniel who is also a student in Ben-Gurion's University. She walked us through the village and explained the purpose of the program which is to bring young people to the Negev and to instill in them a sense of pioneering. Our next stop was the Ben-Gurion Institute in Sede Boker where we were met by the institute's manager, Airi. He gave us a quick overview of David Ben-Gurion's life and especially his decision to settle in the Negev. The second part of the tour was lecture from Airi on Ben-Gurion's vision for the IDF and how he saw it as one of the main tools to educate and promote important values within the young nation. Our last part of the tour was a visit to the Bedouin Community Settlement Authority in Beer-Sheva. We received a lecture from

the authority's deputy manager, Yossi, who explained to us the current problem facing the government concerning the unrecognized Bedouin villages and the various models and solutions which are currently in affect to try and re-settle the Bedouin population in permanent housing. From there the entire fellowship drove back to Jerusalem arriving at around 16:00 PM.

In my opinion the tour definitely achieved its goal of showing the fellows both the complexity of the security situation in and around Gaza and the different aspects of living in the Negev. There were two problematic points the arouse during the tour; first was the coordination with the IDF during the Nahal Oz visit, the night before the tour I was informed that due to an unexpected assignment the tour will not be conducted by the Brigade Spokesperson but by one of the soldiers serving in the outpost. That fact was on one hand beneficial due to his ability to explain day to day operation and the actual "lay of the land". On the other hand this conveyed a feeling of unprofessional behavior from the IDF because the soldier was only informed the night before and didn't have time to prepare a thought-out plan for the tour. The other one was the sleeping arrangements I coordinated with Kfar Adiel, the semi-enclosed tent we were sleeping did not provide adequate shelter from the cold; that had an effect on the fellows quality of sleep and in turn their awareness during the second day. Even if I take into account these two points I see the tour as a success and one that should be preserved for future programs.

Nahal Oz Outpost

Kevin Macklin

1. Purpose: The purpose of this AAR is to document sustains and improvements, as well as provide recommendations and guidance for future operations.

2. Improves for the tour:

d. Issue: Getting on Post

Discussion: There was a problem getting on post. We were sitting outside the main gate for about ten minutes trying to get access to the facilities. This delayed our tour and may have caused problems for us in the tour accessing certain facilities.

Recommendation: In the future, know when and where you are going to meet our tour guide to get on post. This will speed up operations and not cause problems with Soldiers.

e. Issue: Itinerary

Discussion: There was not a set itinerary. This is because the tour guide was not prepared because he was informed the night before that he would be giving us this tour.

Recommendation: Make sure ahead of time of who will be giving us a tour and what we will be seeing. This will be a good check up on information from the point of contact.

f. Issue: Tour Stops

Discussion: The officer commanding the intelligence balloon was not expecting us. It was hectic for her because she had to put a last minute presentation together about what she and

her people do. This was unprofessional, not on her part, but on our guide who failed to inform her beforehand.

Recommendation: To reiterate, check up on the point of contact. This will lead to better future operations because it will make sure that they are prepared for us.

3. Sustains for the tour:

b. Issue: Knowledgeable Soldier

Discussion: The Soldier who gave us the tour was very knowledgeable on what he and his people experience and what they operate on a daily basis.

Recommendation: Use a similar tour guide in the future. This Soldier evidently knew his job well and more than likely other will as well.

b. Issue: Good Tour

Discussion: The tour was very good and he showed us parts of the post that I believe he was not supposed to. For example, when we were viewing Gaza from the crow's nest, some Soldiers, in my opinion, did not agree with him letting us up there. However, he convinced them otherwise.

Recommendation: Use a similar tour guide in the future. He knew what we would be interested in and he tried his best to let us see them.

c. Issue: Soldier Interaction

Discussion: We were allowed to view and talk to the Soldier operating the outpost. This allowed us to get a good idea of the life and experiences these men and women see every day.

Recommendation: Try your best to allow future tours the ability to view the real life of the Israeli Soldier.



Erez Crossing

Adam Campos

After getting a glimpse of the rugged outpost at Nahal Oz, we were taken aback at the first sight of the Erez crossing; a massive terminal with an entire wall of windows and manicured gardens, resembling Ben Gurion Airport. We were expecting a small, rugged facility that would be able to accommodate the few people passing through, but in general, this seemed out of place with the environment and the current climate. When asked, Captain Shai told us that they had a deal with the political party Fatah to facilitate the movement of over a million people per week, and built the crossing under these projections. While the facility opened in 2006, Hamas took over immediately afterwards, and the flow of people came to a halt. While touring, the political reality was all too evident, as we saw a total of three families in the massive structure. All told, the facility now processes approximately 200 people per day, in contrast to the 150,000 they were expecting.

Interestingly, the process is completely automated, with the help of Palestinian liaisons that monitor and assist those going through. The travellers will put their belongings on an x-ray machine, go through the radio-detection screener, and are shuffled from gate to gate under the direction of the Israeli command center on the upper level of the facility. Overall, it was a very modern, well-established terminal, but the lack of people going through gave it a surreal atmosphere, almost like seeing Ben Gurion airport with no people inside it.

The automation of the facility is driven by the lack of communication between Hamas, Fatah and the Israelis. Anyone wishing to pass has to drive through a Hamas checkpoint, then a Fatah checkpoint, and then arrive at the Israeli center. Hamas and Israel have no contact, Hamas and Fatah have no contact either, and the amount of information Fatah passes to Israel is constrained by their lack of political power in Gaza, thus mandating that the Israeli's continue the process. The Palestinians that assist are put in a difficult position, as they are portrayed as helpers of the enemy by Hamas, yet are somewhat isolated from the Israeli side as well. The security shift manager mentions that they understand this and typically take good care of the handlers, as they do an unappreciated job in difficult circumstances.

While in the command center, we watched some of the videos that they had of rockets and mortars hitting the facility, as well as the powerful video of an attempted female suicide bomber. It was sobering to see her body language and facial expressions as she was caught, and her attempted triggering of the device. While the facility was nearly empty, there are still very powerful threats out there, and the terminal has to maintain vigilance.

The Erez crossing was incredibly interesting to see, and demonstrates how quickly the political atmosphere changes in the region. This facility was planned and built under one agreement, and in just a few days the entire political dynamics changed, thus rendering the facility unsuitable for the current dynamics. It underscores the difficulties of making long-term projections in this region.



Sderot

Ben Birnbaum:

Our guide walked us through the recent history of the town and spoke of the effect that the constant rocket fire it has faced over the last decade has had on the resident population (74% of Sderot children have PTSD; 94% have at least symptoms of it). We visited the police station, where several rockets are on display. Our guide discussed the different types of rockets that have been fired and explained the damage each is capable of causing. He showed us some photographs of damaged houses. He also noted the different colors on the rockets, explaining that the terrorist groups that fire them use them to claim responsibility (green for Hamas, yellow for Islamic Jihad, black for Al-Qaeda-affiliated groups). As we were driving, our guide pointed out the little bomb shelters that are ubiquitous in Sderot and showed how many artists from around the world had sought to beautify them with paintings (including a worm-shaped one near a school that was painted like a giant caterpillar).

We saw a statue of a drummer made completely out of the metal of Qassam rockets, as well as a memorial for rocket victims. Despite the troubles Sderot has faced, our guide noted that real-estate prices have begun rising again. We went on to a hill that overlooks the Gaza Strip, and our guide discussed some of the recent developments since Operation Pillar of Defense.

He noted that now that Hamas and other groups have longer-range rockets, they have tended to bypass Sderot in favor of larger targets like Ashkelon, Ashdod, Be'er Sheva, and (in the last round of fighting) Tel Aviv. He mentioned that there is a community of former Palestinian "collaborators" now living in Sderot.

I found the tour very informative and came away knowing much more about Sderot (and about rockets from Gaza) than I did going in.



Naot Farm

Diane Samuels

After our tour of Sderot and a quick stop at a local humus restaurant, our fellowship group headed over to the Naot Farm. The Naot Farm was established in 2003 and has about 200 goats, which are raised to provide milk that is later used to make homemade cheese. It also has a variety of cabins to accommodate tourists travelling in the area. The Israeli government encourages the development of small family farms in the Negev, such as the Naot Farm, which help to strengthen the economy in the region.



During our tour, we watched the goats get milked, visited a baby goat pen (and could pet the goats), and saw sheep. After hearing about the process the farm uses to make cheese, our tour-guide took us to the farm shop where we were able to sample goat milk and different kinds of cheese. Although some family farms in the South have had problems with local Bedouin tribes who sometimes steal animals or damage the land, the Naot Farm has been fortunate so far not to have any such security problems. The Naot Farm visit was a nice transition from learning about the role of the military in South from our earlier trips, to understanding civilian life in the Negev. When our tour finished, we ate dinner at the Naot Farm restaurant, which was a great way to finish off the first day of our trip to the South. After leaving Jerusalem and spending 11 hours touring four unique and memorable destinations, starting with an operational outpost near Gaza and ending with a tour of a small family farm, the dinner was a great way to discuss and compare all of the day's activities.



Ayalim Association

Sari Sharoni

We visited the Ayalim Association before we even realized. At the end of the first day of our tour, we made our way to Kfar Adiel, where we would be sleeping. In Kfar Adiel, we slept in large *ohel* (tent) that was generally open to the elements. The whole group, bus driver, security guard, and all slept in the same space on small, thin pads in all of our clothing. When we woke up in the morning, Aviram and another man we hadn't met were cooking a healthy breakfast for us—eggs, salads, bread, and cheeses.

When we left the tent, little did we know, we were in a village of the Ayalim Association. A short walk away was a Student Center, where we watched a short film on the founding of the Ayalim Association. In the video, the founder, Matan, spoke about his inspiration to build “student villages” in the Negev. His project would be driven by volunteer work—all community members are expected to pitch in and participate in the actual construction of the community, as well as engage in extant volunteer work.

After we watched the video, our tour guide, a spunky girl from Jerusalem, spoke about her personal experience and why she decided that living in Ayalim was right for her. She raved about living in the Negev, being part of a student community, and being involved in volunteer projects. She showed us around the village and explained that every single component had been built by hand by a community member.



Ben Gurion Institute

Our visit to the Ben-Gurion Heritage Institute was very interesting to say the least. Upon arriving to the site, we met our tour-guide who showed us a movie about Ben-Gurion's life. The movie consisted of quotations of different statements that Ben-Gurion made about his life and highlighted his passion for the Negev and developing settlement in the region. Ben-Gurion believed in the idea of starting everything from scratch and doing it on your own. His love for the Negev region was inspired by stories from the bible, the fact that the Jewish nation was founded in the desert, and that it was an exit from Israel into other lands of the Middle East.

After the movie, we entered a small house that contained a photo exhibit about the life of Ben-Gurion. The exhibition further portrayed Ben-Gurion's avid support of settlement in the Negev as well as his request to become a member of the Kibbutz Sde Boker in 1953, after resigning as Prime Minister. One of my favorite quotes from the exhibit was Ben-Gurion's reaction after visiting Sde Boker for the first time, in which he said, "I have never envied anyone, nor anyone's wealth or status...but after visiting you I have found it hard to overcome a pang of envy in my heart, why had I not been fortunate enough to take part in such a venture". It was interesting to learn that at first the members of the kibbutz did not want him to join for a few reasons: he was old (and most of the members there were of a younger generation), he was a politician, and he was a capitalist and had owned a home in Tel Aviv. In the end, Ben-Gurion was able to join and was given the assignment of measuring rain and collecting other meteorological data at the kibbutz.

After the photo exhibit, we entered an adjoining house which was the site of the Desert home of David and Paula Ben-Gurion at Kibbutz Sde Boker. We were able to tour his entire house and saw his living room, kitchen, bedroom, and study. His home in the Negev was filled with about 5,000 books and we learned that Ben-Gurion himself wrote 32 books. He read all different kinds of books about philosophy, the bible, military, history, Jewish studies, and more. Ben-Gurion was also adamant about reading books in the language that it was written.

Lastly, we headed over to the Midreshet Ben-Gurion, an educational center in Sde Boker. Our tour-guide gave us an interesting lecture about Ben-Gurion's leadership skills and role in the military. He was a leader who shaped the values, structure, and mission of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and had a number of core beliefs regarding the Israeli military. First, he believed that there would be one army that reports to one government. During the time when Israel gained independence, there were many active militias. Ben-Gurion dismantled all of these military organizations and founded one united military force. Second, he believed that the military should be the "army of the people", in which every Jewish Israeli citizen should serve the Israeli army. Third, he thought that the army should be used as a melting pot to mold a new and different kind of Jew. Lastly, Ben-Gurion believed in the issue of morality within the army. The army should be used as a moral tool of the Jewish people and promote long-lasting ethical values.

After the lecture, we visited the graves of David Ben-Gurion and his wife Paula, also located at the Midreshet Ben-Gurion. Ben-Gurion's grave is very simple and only gives three dates: his birth (1886), death (1973), and the date that he immigrated to Palestine (1906). The entire tour of the Ben-Gurion Institute was very informative, and the enthusiasm and admiration our tour-guide had for Ben-Gurion was contagious.



Negev Bedouin Community Settlement Authority

Anna Nason

In the meeting with the Negev Bedouin Community Settlement Authority (NBCSA), we discussed the following topics regarding the Bedouin community in the Negev:

- History of the Bedouin people in the Negev.
- Israel's attempts to settle the Bedouins.
- Primary job of the NBCSA

History

The Bedouin community in the Negev migrated to Israel from the Sinai peninsula. They come from the same Bedouin community as the current Bedouins in Egypt. As nomadic people, they prefer to wander as opposed to establishing permanent settlements.

Current Status

Today, the Bedouins inhabiting Israel's Negev live in settlements ranging from legal to illegal. There are approximately 191,000 Bedouins living in the area with about a four and a half percent natural increase per year. They account for 12 percent of the Arab population in Israel. The Bedouins who live in unrecognized settlements live there illegally but still claim the land. There are thousands of claims filed with the Israeli Supreme Court that claim ownership of this desert land. Total the claims equal around 150 thousand acres of land.

Role of the Israeli Government

Since 1966 there have been attempts to settle the Bedouin population by creating permanent villages in which they can live. However, approximately ten years ago, the Israeli government decided to finally deal with the Bedouin settlements. They established the Negev Boudouin Community Settlement Authority (NBCSA) to create a master plan in which to settle and assimilate this part of the population. The NBCSA has gone to extensive lengths to understand the wishes of the many different Bedouin clans and families within Israel. The NBCSA developed the 1028 Proposition which determines how the land will be given to the Bedouins. With this, two-thirds of the population will be settled in their current place. Israel will build the infrastructure and legalize, what are currently illegal settlements. There are many requirements these currently illegal settlements must meet to be converted to a legal entity: proximity to high risk areas such as factories that could under fire from Gaza and population density. Currently Israel offers 100 thousand shekles per family who wants to move to a permanent place. In these new communities, the Israeli government builds the roads, schools, and other infrastructure. While the families use the money to build a house.

Rahat is a Bedouin town in the Negev and is the largest in the world. This is a successful model that the NBCSA looks to for future, permanent Bedouin settlements. In these planned settlements, the NBCSA takes the population from the area in which the settlements are intended and works with the community to design a village that best suits them. For instance, the official discussed how one family is involved in a blood feud. Therefore, all of the members cannot live in the same area. The NBCSA takes this into account and will build their homes apart from each other. In another instance, Israel rebuilt the community mosque in the new village taking the cap from the old building and putting on the new one. Lastly, Israel plans to build special schools for all of the handicap Bedouin children as a result from incest that is popular among this community.

Cultural Divide

Many of the challenges Israel faces with the Bedouin population are related to a difference in culture. The Bedouins are Arab Muslims that are religiously conservative and culturally traditional. The Islamic Court in Israel allows them to marry up to four wives even though polygamy is illegal in Israel. Also, many of the Bedouins still see a conflict with Jewish Israelis. Some leaders advocate for their communities to not give up “their land” to Israel which makes it difficult for the NBCSA to plan and put into action these new settlements. Culturally, the Bedouins do want to be “tied” down to any one place. They do not want to be regulated and forced to pay taxes, register with the government, and join a more Western-oriented world.

Future

The official at the NBCSA left us with a hopefully perspective that spoke of a future of an integrated and successful Bedouin society. He sees positive results from the integration that has already occurred. Now, many Bedouin young people attend Israeli schools. He sees how they have

begun to want computers, video games, and other forms of technology. Since more than 60% of this Bedouin population is under the age of 20, he is confident that if Israel keeps moving forward, integration could be attained through young people. These young people will want “better” lives than their parents and will take more advantage of all the services and support Israel has to offer. He also sees great hope with the Bedouin women. With these settlements, there will be new avenues for work and education for women. The official referenced many cases where when women become educated, they leave behind more traditional ways of life. This is especially important regarding polygamy. He says an educated woman will not let her husband marry another woman.



Conclusions

The official from the NBCSA gave us an excellent overview of Israel’s current struggles with the Bedouins. He was very thorough in his lecture covering both the many perspectives and components of this challenge. I was very impressed with his resolve to find a solution as well as his vast knowledge on the topic. Most importantly, I was struck with his compassion for the Bedouin people. I saw his desire to accommodate as best as possible their ideas, needs and desires to make the transition as fair and smooth as possible. Overall, this lecture was essential to our understanding of Israel today.

Tour planning and Organization

Sari Sharoni

Each component of the tour flowed perfectly into the next and built on the lecture or tour that came before it. The tour of Nachla’oz military base prepared us with relevant information for the Gaza Border Crossing, and together both prepared us for touring Sderot, which showed us the personal impact violence from Gaza has on Israeli towns. After Sderot, which was informative but quite sad, it was a nice break to go to Naot Farm and see how Israelis are being entrepreneurial in the Negev, and then see how students are “reclaiming the Negev” in the Ayalim Association the next morning. Learning about the Naot Farm and the Ayalim Association as examples of developing the Negev

prepared us very well for our visit to Ben Gurion's kibbutz home in Sde Boker, and our informational tour on the life and mission of Ben Gurion at the Ben Gurion Institute.

The only flaw of the tour was sleeping (or rather, struggling to sleep) in the freezing cold *ohel*. We had a very early morning and a very full day which demanded a good night of sleep. If, at the very least, the space were fully enclosed and not "in the elements," and we did not have to sleep in all of our clothing to maintain a semblance of body heat, we could have been much better rested for the next day of activities. That said, the poor sleeping conditions followed by another early morning, made it very difficult to stay focused during the next day of activities.



Department for International Agreements and International Litigation and the Human Rights and Foreign Relations

Date: 14/01/2013.

Time: 10:30 AM.

Location: Department's Offices – Tel Aviv.

Overview: On the 14th of January the fellowship visited the Department for International Agreements and International Litigation and the Human Rights and Foreign Relations in Tel Aviv. The lecture was given by the department's deputy director Tal Werner-Kling and lasted for an hour and half. The purpose of the lecture was two-folded, first to introduce them with various International Law issues that Israel has faced and yet to face concerning the conflict with the Palestinians and how these challenges are being met by the Justice Department. These issues include the Goldstone Report, the Marmara flotilla incident, various prosecution attempts abroad against top Israeli officials and the recent UN General Assembly declaration on Palestine as an observer state. Secondly, was to convey the unique situation in which Israel operates within the various international forums.

Aviram Bromfman

Ms. Werner-Kling explained how Israel is always examined by a different standard in front of bodies such as the UNHRC and how that standard affects and sometimes pre-determines the outcomes of various investigations. The main message coming out of the meeting is that International Law is always intertwined with international politics and as such is very difficult, but not impossible, to use objectively. Ms Werner-Kling offered the solution of Israel taking a proactive role to determine new international standards for nations who fight guerilla groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah.

In my opinion the visit was a successful one and one that managed to convey the government's response and understanding for the new front of the 21st century; the international law front.

Ben Birenbaum

On January 14, we went to visit the Department for International Agreements and International Litigation and the Human Rights and Foreign Relations in Israel's Justice Department.

Our host was well-spoken and did an excellent job of laying out the challenges Israel faces on the world stage from international bodies and other judicial mechanisms that make it increasingly difficult for it to defend itself against its enemies in an age of asymmetric warfare.

Our host spent much time talking about the United Nations Human Rights Council and argued convincingly that it had betrayed its mission by focusing obsessively and unfairly on Israel. The body, she noted, has issued more condemnations against the Jewish state than against all other

states combined. She also pointed out that its charter names Israel's treatment of the Palestinians as a permanent agenda item, the only such item not related to universal issues like women's rights.

Speaking about the U.N. Human Rights Council (UNHRC), our host honed in on the Goldstone Report, the document issued by a UNHRC panel set up to investigate Israel's 2008-09 Operation Cast Lead against Hamas in Gaza. The report accused Israel (and to a lesser extent, Hamas) of war crimes, though she noted that Judge Goldstone later retracted the charge in a mea-culpa op-ed in The Washington Post. She argued that the mandate of the mission itself was biased since it only referred to events during the period of the operation, thereby ignoring its context. She noted that a few of the panel's participants had histories of bias against the Jewish state. She also argued that the commission, formed shortly after the war, failed to give Israel sufficient time to investigate the relevant incidents itself. Therefore, she argued that Israel was correct not to cooperate with the commission, which she argued would have lent it legitimacy.

Arguing that Israel was not against international fact-finding missions per se, she cited the one started by U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and chaired by former New Zealand Prime Minister Geoffrey Palmer to investigate the 2011 Mavi Marmara incident as an example of an evenhanded panel that had a positive effect. She noted that this panel found Israel's naval blockade of Gaza to be legal even though it criticized certain elements of Israel's raid on the blockade-running ship that led to the deaths of nine Turkish nationals.

Our host spoke about the issue of universal jurisdiction, whereby some states (particularly in Europe) allow international plaintiffs to file war-crime suits against international (in this case, Israeli) officials, in some cases precluding them from visiting a given state for fear of being arrested. She cited the case of former foreign minister Tzipi Livni, who--before the United Kingdom changed its universal-jurisdiction laws--had to cancel a visit to London. She noted that many European states were changing their policies after universal jurisdiction had been abused (particularly against President Bush and other senior figures in his administration).

She also touched briefly on the issue of the International Criminal Court and alluded to the challenge Israel might face should the Palestinians (recently granted non-member observer state status at the U.N. and thus the ability to join the ICC) take Israel to The Hague for war crimes or settlement construction.

In general, I thought the presentation was well-informed, well-structured, and well-argued. The PowerPoint presentation made it easy to follow. Our host did a good job of engaging contrary arguments without necessarily disparaging them. I would highly recommend a return visit to this office for future classes of scholarship recipients.



The Glilot Israeli Intelligence Heritage Center

Date: 28/03/2013

Time: 14:00

Location: Glilot

Overview: On the 28 of March the fellowship went on a tour of the Israeli Intelligence Heritage Center in Glilot. The tour constituted of three parts and lasted for three hours. The first part was a lecture from Brigadier General (Ret.) Amnon Sofrin, the founder of the Field Intelligence Core in the IDF and Ex-Chief Intelligence Officer for Mosad. The lecture covered both the various intelligence organizations that make up the Israeli intelligence community and the process of intelligence gathering and processing - "From the Unit to the Consumer". Mr. Sofrin then answered questions from the fellowship members. The second part of the tour was a walking tour of the Terror Museum which displayed various captured terror instruments from the Palestinian second Intifada and from captured weapon boats; the tour was conducted by one of the fellows from the Center's research institute. The third part of the tour was an hour and half long lecture on the rise of Radical Islam from a professor at the research Center.

The tour had a dual purpose to it, first to give an overview of the Israeli Intelligence community and to give the fellows a chance to present questions to one of most well informed individuals belonging to that community.

The original plan was to finish the Glilot tour and then go visit the Refugee Free Clinic in Tel-Aviv Central Bus Station but due to the fact the tour guide got sick and could not get a replacement that part of the tour got canceled.

Aviram Bromfman

Improves :

- Tour Position in General Schedule – The tour and the lecture were interesting and were given by knowledgeable presenters but most of the actual material was already known to the fellows due to past lecture and Rothberg School courses. The tour should be placed as one of the first two tours of the program so that the fellows can gain the most from it and to use it as background for further tours later in the year.

Sustains:

- Lecture from Mr. Sofrin – The lecture and further Q&A time with Mr. Sofrin were one of the most interesting and informative of the entire program and certainly the highlight of the tour. His knowledge of **actual** intelligence work and personal experience worked a long way in enhancing the fellows understanding of the intelligence process. In future visits every effort should be made to coordinate a lecture with Mr. Sofrin.

Kevin Macklin

The purpose of this AAR is to document sustains and improvements, as well as provide recommendations and guidance for future operations.

1. Improves for the tour:

a. Issue: Museum Time

Discussion: There could have been more time for us to explore the Terrorism Museum.

It felt as though the tour took us from place to place quickly and did not allow for time to carefully examine and read the exhibits.

Recommendation: In the future, set aside time before or after the tour for the students to explore the museum.

b. Issue: Refugee Free Clinic

Discussion: The refugee free clinic was on the itinerary. However, we were not given the opportunity to visit it. This is because our tour guide was sick the day of.

Recommendation: Make sure that if our tour guide has an unexpected emergency, that they should have a back up to guide us around.

c. Issue: Grounds Tour

Discussion: After the presentations and museum tour, we were allowed to walk around the grounds of the facility to look at the memorials and head back to the van.

Recommendation: Have someone give us a quick tour of the grounds before we go back. This will give us a better understanding of the entire facility and why we are there.

2. Sustains for the tour:

a. Issue: Knowledgeable Presentations

Discussion: The presenters were very knowledgeable on their subjects and answered questions thoroughly and precisely.

Recommendation: Use similar presenters in the future. These men evidently knew their subjects well and more than likely others will too.

b. Issue: Good Tour

Discussion: The tour was very good and he showed us parts of the museum that I believe I would never have noticed. He also attempted to explain most things in the museum so each of us would not have to read everything to understand its purpose being there.

Recommendation: Use a similar tour guide in the future. He knew what we would be interested in and he tried his best to let us see them.

c. Issue: Quality Presenters

Discussion: The two men who presented their research were outstanding. They were both

very skilled and highly qualified to be presenting information on Israeli intelligence services and terrorism.

Recommendation: Try to find quality presenters for future tours. This will allow us to learn the best information from the right people.



Lecture with Dr. Yoaz Hendel

Date: 25/04/2013.

Time: 19:00 PM.

Location: Rothberg School Lecture Hall.

Overview: On the 25th of April the fellowship heard a lecture from Dr. Yoaz Hendel, the former head of communications in the PM office and the current head of Zionist Strategy Institute. The lecture had three parts to it, the first was an overview of Israel's current global-strategic situation and Dr. Hendel's views on it, the second was dedicated to a more focused explanation on the issue of Public Diplomacy ("Hasbara") and the growing importance of that front in the current global climate. Dr. Hendel explained how the subject only became a focal point in the heads of decision makers after the events of the Mavi Marmara Flotilla and the attempted boycott of Israeli ships in Britain. The third part of the lecture was dedicated to Q&A. The main message coming out of Dr. Hendel was that if Israel wants to deal with the current anti-legitimation campaign being run against her, it has to start presenting the conflict as it is, a complicated situation where there are no definite "Good-guys" and "Bad-Guys". At any rate, Israel has to realize that it cannot choose not to get involved in that theatre, because when no proactive action is made then the results turn against Israel (See: Goldstone report, Flotilla).

Anna Corley

During the lecture, Dr. Hendel presented his current threat assessment including internal and external challenges facing Israel.

He opened with his background and why he places an emphasis on the security threats against Israel. His prolific military experience, security work in the Prime Minister's office, and how his Ph.D have all contributed to his security focus. Over his career, he has specialized in 'hasbara.' In both his career as a journalist and policy-expert, he has worked on Israel's public image and how to accurately portray Israel's decision-making and circumstances around the world. He worked in the current Prime Minister's office on this very issue as the director of communications and public diplomacy and now heads The Institute for Zionist Studies. In English, Dr. Hendel defined 'hasbara' as a combination of public diplomacy, the accurate portrayal of Israeli action and the motivations behind them, and the process of combating the negative press that Israel often receives from journalists and non-profit organizations around the world.

Challenges of Israel and Hasbara:

External

1. Iran

- a. Israel classified Iran as one of their most serious external threats in the 1990s and still sees it that way today.
- b. One of the main concerns with Iran acquiring nuclear weapons is the threat of a nuclear domino effect across the region. If Iran acquires the technology then states like Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, and Egypt will work to do the same.
- c. The Iran question remains a salient issue between Israeli decision-makers, and there are differing perspectives. Many policy-makers and government officials believe that Israel can live with the Iranian threat, however, Dr. Hendel differs from that perspective.

2. Rockets Surrounding Israel

- a. There are thousands of rockets surrounding Israel from Gaza, Hizbollah, and Syria.
 - i. Gaza, for instance, even after Pillar of Defense, has over 60 long-range rockets that can reach strategic sites inside Israel.
 - ii. Hizbollah also has rockets capable of reaching sensitive sites.
 - iii. The ports of Ashkelon and Haifa and Dimona are all strategic sites that Israel cannot fully prevent one of these actors from striking.

3. Cyber-Security Threats

- a. Israel has developed many tools to face this new challenge.
- b. In addition, this is a growing threat around the world that governments are facing.

4. Delegitimization of Israel.

- a. This is the topic in which Dr. Hendel specializes. Over the years he has recognized the severity of this threat.
- b. After the Marmara Flotilla incident in 2011, Israeli policy-makers and the political establishment realized the central importance of Hasbara. Dr. Hendel said that the incident caused them to “rethink” this warfront.
 - i. Also, prior to this incident, many leaders did not see the importance of understanding the pro-Palestinian organizations and their aims.
- c. In the past, Israel lost in the field of legitimization. Israel, across many events, did not try to convince people and go to lengths to explain its actions and positions on certain issues, for instance, both Lebanon wars.
- d. He discussed his time as a reserve commander of a IDF unit that served in the 2008 Operation Cast Lead into Gaza. After, he recalled a tough and unforgiving question session with diplomats around the world, mainly European.

- i. In this session, he told them about the Israeli Army's concept of "purity of the weapon," a concept that does not exist in any other military manual around the world.
- ii. This concept calls for the limiting of civilian damage on all fronts. He explained that this was the source and base of decision-making within the IDF command paradigm, even during Operation Cast Lead.
- iii. He, in part, acknowledged the efficacy of Napoleon's statement about three journalists being more valuable than one soldier, demonstrating Israel's need to present its case before foreign journalist to better display its intentions.
- iv. iv. Now, Israel's leaders are committed to understanding the pro-Palestinian movement and their aims.
- v. He also discussed the need for Israel to work to change public opinion in countries around the world so that governments can also establish deeper connections with Israel based on certain interests.

- 1. He gives the example of Jordan.
- 2. If Israel can positively influence Jordanian public opinion, the population will be more supportive of Israel, and this will satisfy Jordanian leaders who will establish or agree to closer ties with Israel.

Internal

- 1. Israel has no formal policy about Judea and Samaria
 - a. In addition, Israel does not have democratic partners in which to make peace.
 - b. Israel needs to create its policy and then explain it locally and to the world.
- 2. Israel does not fully address its alleged human rights abuses against the Palestinians.
 - a. Many in Europe see Israel's treatment of the Palestinians as human rights abuses, and Israel does not have a comprehensive policy in which to address this issue.
 - b. Many, for instance, see Israel as a South Africa during its apartheid period.
 - c. Dr. Hendel chairs an organization that promotes human rights inside the Territories. He said that many of the existing human rights organizations mix politics and human rights which creates problems with Israel.

On both of these issues, Dr. Hendel explained that the reality is not as black and white as the international community would like to paint it. Israel, in addition, needs to do a better job at explaining its current policies and showing journalists the Israeli perspective in an attempt to change the course of the discussion.

Dr. Hendel also says that there are three issues that need explaining to the international community and to the pro-Palestinian movement in Israel and the Territories:

1. The reality is not black and white.
2. Israel is not *just* the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israel is a thriving democracy amidst an autocratic region with many technological developments.
3. Israel has no other option than to deal with the current reality.



National Security Council Visit with Dr. Eran Lerman

Date: 11/6/2013.

Time: 14:30 PM.

Location: NSC Office.

Overview: On the 11th of June the group toured the offices of Israel's National Security Council offices in Jerusalem. During the visit we met and spoke with Dr. Eran Lerman, Deputy Head of the NSC for International Affairs who gave an hour long lecture on the different roles the NSC plays in policy-making and provided a brief but thorough overview of the geo-political situation in the Middle East. The purpose of the visit was to expose the fellowship members to this crucial yet new body in the Israeli Government and to let them compare it to its U.S counter-part. Although the visit was a short one, and was arranged after several delays, it was very informative and gave a real insight on the way the Israeli government sees the different events unfolding around it. Dr. Lerman stated the due to the dramatic events in the Arab world, especially in Egypt and Syria the policy being taken is one of caution and restraint whilst trying to influence the different regional leaders to take "Logical and Practical" decisions. Due to Mr. Lerman busy schedule we were not able to ask any questions but we were given his E-mail for further connections.

Aviram Bromfman

Maintaining:

- **The talk with Dr. Lerman:** Dr. Lerman's knowledge both on current events and on their historical background is very extensive. On future programs an effort should be made to meet with him again – one should bear in mind that due to his hectic schedule the visit needs to be both planned well in advance and flexible to changes.
- **Location of the Talk:** The actual talk was conducted inside the NSC office in Jerusalem. Even though there wasn't much to see, I believe that the location gave an added effect to the talk.

Improvement:

- **Time Planning:** The time allocated to Dr. Lerman's talk was a full hour during which only one question was asked. On future meetings there should be at least half an hour marked for questions, which the fellowship members obviously had.

Adam Campus

On 11 June, the Fellowship toured the Israeli National Security Council in downtown Jerusalem and attended an hour-long discussion with Dr. Eran Lerman. The NSC is the official body which “coordinates, integrates, analyzes and monitors” strategic issues to the nation of Israel, and provides their professional opinion to the Prime Minister. It is a relatively new organization, having been founded in 1999, and its initial few years were rocky; three of the previous heads of the NSC were removed

by the PM. Additionally, it deals with such issues as energy strategy and Bedouin resettlement, which differs from the US NSC, in that the latter has a focus on foreign affairs and military/civilian intelligence coordination.

We were initially struck at the laid back atmosphere of the office, especially in comparison to government offices in the US; people wearing tank tops and jeans, and the office itself looked similar to a typical office building, with small cubicles and cubbyholes. We met Mr. Lohman, Deputy for International Affairs, who began with a very quick overview of the NSC, and explained some of the day-to-day taskings, such as putting together the Poland briefing book for the PM’s trip, and updating country profiles. He also explained the danger of the military having too much influence with foreign affairs, and the NSC is a tool to balance out the power structure. There is an importance of having a direct line of communication to the PM in order to provide independent input and ensure that different perspectives are expressed, with the Yom Kippur War being a prime example of the dangers of collective consensus.

Dr. Lerman’s discussion was fascinating, delving into a myriad of subjects that affect Israel. He discussed the waning influence of al-Qaeda, the rise of state conservatives in the region, and Middle East monarchical power struggles. Concerning Egypt and the Muslim Brotherhood (MB), he explained that they currently do not engage or provide a reply to most of the more rhetorical speeches by Brotherhood figures, but they push situations to expose hypocrisy and force them to make rational decisions. In the recent operation in Gaza, the threat of a ground invasion was to force the MB to finalize a deal, otherwise risk either looking weak by not intervening (which elements of the MB threatened) or direct action against the Israeli military. The Israeli policy is to avoid meaningless engagements, but find situations that will force the MB to either make rational decisions or risk massive losses, whether military, economic or political, all the while maintaining civil relations with the Egyptian military and engaging, when possible, with liberal Egyptians.

Dr. Lerman's speech was incredibly informative, incorporating global historical interactions (at one point referencing an Andrew Wyatt painting and the role of the Dutch colonies in Indonesia on imperialism). However, he did stress that Iran remained the primary foreign affairs issue of Israel, and made interesting references to European indifference to Iranian global terror cells, yet outrage at internal human rights issues during the Green Revolution. He discussed the timeline of Iranian enrichment, putting the red-line of them getting the bomb and armed intervention at the „month“ level, a much-discussed issue in the media.

Dr. Lerman was an incredibly engaging speaker that provided the Fellowship with a vast amount of insight as to the Israeli foreign policy perspective. Unfortunately, he had another meeting and we were unable to ask questions, but he offered to answer anything we had via email.



Abu-Gosh Village Visit & Hike

Date: 14/6/2013.

Time: 08:30 AM.

Location: Abu-Gosh Village.

Overview: On the 14 of June the fellowship conducted its final tour of the program. The tour was designed to be an educational and outgoing experience rather than a strictly informative one. The trip started early with a visit to the Dominican Monastery inside the village of Abu-Gosh, which resides a few miles from Jerusalem, there we met Monk Oliver who has been living in the monastery for the past 36 years. Oliver was kind enough to give us a full tour of the monastery and a brief rundown of its history from the time of the Crusades up until this day and age. Oliver also explained his personal special relationship with Israel in general and with the IDF specifically as he regularly gives free tours to various IDF units and has received various commendations for it. The highlight of the tour was a visit to his personal insignia room in which he keeps all of his IDF unit tags and insignias which were given to him over the years.

Following the monastery tour we began a short hike to a nearby spring called "*Ein-Kfira*", there we sat and eat our bowls of humus from the famous Abu-Shukri restaurant. After a short meal and a dip in the spring we hiked back to eat traditional treats and coffee before heading back to the Rothberg School.

Maintaining:

- Visit & Talk Monk Oliver: The general consensus among the fellows was that Oliver is a fascinating and interesting character and person. His personal account of life as monk in Israel was very interesting and provided a different outlook of life in Israel, especially inside and Muslim Village.
- "*Ein Kfira*" Hike: The hike to the spring was short and not very taxing on the fellows. In future events, while planning the final event, an effort should be made to incorporate short and interesting hikes to enrich and create an outgoing atmosphere.

Improvement:

- Attendance: Due to scheduling problems two of the six fellows were not able to attend the final trip. This was unfortunate because the tour was the last for this year's program and due to the already small amount of participants their absence was noticed.

