

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT
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International Security Program



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EXPERIENCE

Senior Fellow, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 2006 - present. Specializing in Middle Eastern affairs, US Middle East policy, Israeli national security strategy and decision making processes. Published book on Israeli national security decision making processes (Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy, Cornell Press, 2012). Now completing book on Israeli national security strategy, anticipated submission December 2015. Concomitantly, **Adjunct Professor** 2006 - present, at Harvard, NYU, Columbia, IDC Herzliya and Tel Aviv Universities, teaching graduate and undergraduate courses on Comparative National Security of the Countries of the Middle East, Arab-Israeli Conflict, Israeli National Security Strategy and Decision Making, and National Security Decision Making Theory.

Deputy National Security Adviser, Israel National Security Council, 2000 - 2005. Initiated and conducted broad spectrum of inter-agency policy reviews, including diplomatic, economic and security aspects of relations with countries such as US, Russia, India, Turkey, Syria/Lebanon, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, and on impact of war in Iraq for future of the Middle East. Was also deeply involved in issues related to the peace process and WMD proliferation. Participated in senior decision making forums and variety of bilateral strategic dialogues, led meetings with senior foreign officials, ongoing contacts with foreign governments and NGO's.

Senior Analyst, Ministry of Defense, 1993 - 2000. Specialized in regional and strategic issues.

Adjunct Professor, Department of Political Science, Tel Aviv University, 1993-1999.

In addition to full time position at Ministry of Defense, taught 1-2 undergraduate and graduate courses each semester on national security decision making theory and practice, in Israel and abroad.

Executive Director, Zahavi Association, 1990 - 1992.

Directed volunteer organization dealing in lobbying, educational, cultural and mass consumer purchasing programs, on behalf of large underprivileged families. Initiated new social, educational and commercial programs and fostered close ties with government ministries, local authorities and other public institutions. Directed network of hundreds of activists and tens of branches.

Policy Adviser, Minister of Economic Planning and Communications, 1987 - 1990.

Staff director for Ministerial Committee for Electoral Reform, chaired by minister, preparing position papers and reform proposals. Adviser to minister in areas of foreign and defense affairs and diaspora relations. Coordination with other ministries, Jewish organizations, foreign governments and institutions, speechwriting.

Executive Director, Golda Meir Association, 1984 - 1987.

Founded and directed new fund raising ("American Friends") organization in United States, for parent organization in Israel. Developed and directed network of activists and donors throughout the U.S., initiating PR, educational and fund raising programs.

Delegate, Israel Mission to the United Nations, 1982 - 1983.

Delgate on U.N. Economic and Financial Committees. Economic and Social Commission, and Commission on Disarmament. Speech writer for ambassador.

Israel Defense Forces, 1977 - 1982.

Discharged with rank of captain, reserve major.

EDUCATION

Ph.D., Columbia University, 1986 - 1992.

Specialization in International Relations, Department of Political Science, focusing on decision making processes in foreign and defense affairs and on U.S. foreign and defense policy. Doctoral dissertation: national security decision making in Israel and ramifications of the establishment of a National Security Council. Advisor - Professor Robert Jervis.

M.Phil., Columbia University, 1983 - 1985.

Major in International Relations, Department of Political Science.

M.S., Tel Aviv University, 1978 - 1983.

Major in Organizational Behavior, Faculty of Administration. Thesis topic: "Innovation and Creativity in Israeli R&D Firms".

B.A., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1973 - 1976.

Major in political science, minor in psychology.

MEDIA

Have appeared as a commentator for ABC, CNN, NPR, El Jezira, CCTV and various US, Israeli and foreign radio and TV stations, and been quoted in the NY Times, Jerusalem Post and other media.

VOLUNTEER

Member of the Board, Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs 2015-

Member of Advisor Council, United Against Iran (UANI) 2013-

Founder, US-Israel Academic Exchange, 2011

Member, Executive Committee, Movement for Quality Government in Israel, 2005-2008.

PERSONAL

Born in New York, 1955.

Immigration to Israel, 1969.

Israeli and US citizenship.

AWARDS

President's Award, Harvard University, 2006

2014 annual book prize, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), foremost think tank in Israel, for book Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy, Cornell press 2014.

PUBLICATIONS

Academic - Books

Israeli National Security: A New Strategy for an Era of Change – anticipated submission December 2015 (Oxford Press)

Israel and the Cyber Threat – now in writing, co-authored with Matthew Cohen and Gabi Siboni, anticipated submission – mid 2016

Zion's Dilemmas: How Israel Makes National Security Policy, Cornell, Ithaca, 2012

Academic - Articles

Modelling Delegitimization: The Israeli Case, submission September, 2105, co-authored with Matthew Cohen

Israel and the Cyber Threat, submitted for publication, July 2015, co-authored with Matthew Cohen and Gabi Siboni

Countering the Cyber Threat: Four Big D's and a Little r, submitted for publication, June 2015, co-authored with Matthew Cohen and Gabi Siboni

Israel's Counter-Terrorism Policy: How Effective?, Terrorism and Political Violence, v34 #2, 2015, pp. 117-132

Military Decision: Why Can't Israel Win Anymore?, Survival, v57 # 2, April-May 2015, pp. 79-92.

Israel: National Security Decision-Making in a Leaky Political Fishbowl, Comparative Strategy, v34 (2), May 2015

Israel and the Campaign of Defamation and Delegitimization; Diplomatic Warfare, Sanctions and Lawfare, Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs, v9 #1, 2015, co-authored with Matthew Cohen

Breakdown and Possible Restart: Turkish-Israeli Relations under the AKP, v 8 #1, January 2014, pp. 39-55, Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs, co-authored with Matthew Cohen

National Security Decision-Making in Israel: Improving the Process, Middle East Journal, v 67 #2, Spring 2013, pp. 257-266

Striking Iran: the Debate in Israel, Survival, v 54 #6, December 2012-January 2013, pp. 93-106

Getting it Wrong in Lebanon: Invasion 1982, Withdrawal 2000, War 2006, Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs, September 2012

Decision Time in Jerusalem, Journal of International Security Affairs, V. 18, Spring 2010, pp. 55-63

National Security Decision Making in Israel: Processes and Pathologies, Middle East Journal, V. 60 #4, Autumn 2006, pp. 635-663

Policy Studies

The Armageddon Scenario: Israel and the Threat of Nuclear Terrorism, BESA, April 2010, Mideast and Policy Studies #85

The US, Israel and Iran: Defusing an "Existential" Threat, Arms Control Today, November 2008

The Right Return: A Proposal To Begin Resettling Palestinian Refugees, The American Interest, v.4 # 1, September/October 2008

Speaking about the Unspeakable: The US-Israeli Dialogue on the Iranian Nuclear Program, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, December, 2007

Dilemmas of Israeli Policy After the Hamas Victory: From Disengagement to Consolidation? A Jerusalem Issue Policy Brief, Vol. 5, No. 21, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 30 March 2006.

Book Reviews

Israel's Death Hierarchy: Casualty Aversion in a Militarized Democracy, by Yagil Levy, Perspectives on Politics, v12 #1, March 2014

Pathways to Peace: America and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, edited by Daniel Kurtzer, Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs, v7 #2, 2013

The Periphery Doctrine, by Yosi Alpher, Rowman & Littlefield, served as external reviewer for book, June 2013

Fortress Israel: The Inside Story of the Military Elite Who Run the Country and Why They Cannot Make Peace, by Patrick Tyler, Fathom Magazine, April 26, 2013

A High Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism, by Daniel Byman, Middle East Journal, v66 #1, winter 2012

Op-Eds

The President's Speech: Choosing Between Mom and Dad, Yediot Aharonoth August 6, 2015

Only the Defense Strategy Remains Unchanged, Haaretz, August 4, 2015

Iran Deal is the Least Bad Option for Israel, Huffington Post, July 21, 2015

A Good Deal for Israel, New York Times, July 20, 2015

Endangering Israel's Security, Jerusalem Post, July 20, 2015

"The Experts Assess the Iran Agreement of 2015: Chuck Freilich", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, July 17, 2015

It's Actually Good for Israel, Yediot Aharonoth, July 15, 2015

Netanyahu Prepares for a Gunfight, Haaretz, April 14, 2015

Netanyahu Undermines Battle Against Nuclear Iran, Haaretz, February 17, 2015

A "Big Bang" in Israeli Politics, The American Interest, January 2015,

From Decisive Defeat to Restraint, Haaretz, December 24, 2014

“But Is It Good for the Jews “?, The Jerusalem Post, November 26, 2014

The Hard Truth: Iran Will Remain a Threshold Nuclear State, the National Interest, November 26, 2014 November 26, 2014

Towards a Nuclear Agreement, Haaretz, November 11, 2014

A Generational Challenge, The American Interest, September 22, 2014

Can Israel Solve its Gaza Nightmare, The National Interest, August 5, 2014

Death From Above: Israel’s Hamas Nightmare Continues, The National Interest, July 12, 2014

The Middle East Heads Toward a Meltdown, The National Interest, June 26, 2014

Mismanaging a Vital Relationship, Jerusalem Post, June 26, 2014

Why the Palestinians Must Recognize Israel As a Jewish State, the National Interest, April 3, 2014

US-Egyptian Relations on the Brink? The National Interest, March 19, 2014

A Good Agreement for Israel, Haaretz, December 6, 2013

The Other Iranian Breakthrough, Al Monitor, December 3, 2013

Netanyahu’s Finest Hour – or Not, The National Interest, November 27, 2013

A Bad Deal on Iran?, The American Interest, November 15, 2013

Iran: Deal in the Making, or Persian Carpet Ride?, The National Interest, November 14, 2013

What Is Good for Obama Is Good for Us Too, Haaretz, October 5, 2013

Syria Deal: As Good As It Gets?, National Interest, September 14, 2013

Egypt: Balancing Values over Interests, National Interest, August 20, 2013

Closing Window for a Two State Solution, Jerusalem Post, July 29, 2013

Egypt Second Chance Act Democracy, LA Times, July 17, 2013

How to Make the Red Line Mean Something, American Interest, May 22, 2013

Options for Action in Syria, LA Times, May 9, 2013

Renewing Dialogue with Israel, Jerusalem Post, March 20, 2013

Proceed with Caution, American Interest, March 13, 2013

J St. is a Dead End, Jerusalem Post, February 24, 2013

Abbas and Netanyahu in Wonderland, Jerusalem Post, December 10, 2012

Renew the Mideast Peace Process? Not Now, LA Times, November 23, 2012

US Should Stay out of Israeli-Palestinian Peace Efforts, for Now, GlobalPost, November 17, 2012

Iran: No 'Loose Cannon' in Jerusalem, Jerusalem Post, October 30, 2012

Russia, China on 'Wrong Side of History' in Arab World, Diplomat, October 29, 2012

Inside Bibi's Bunker, Foreign Policy, October 4, 2012

Never Again, Jerusalem Post, October 3, 2012

Too Soon... Too Soon... Too Late!, Jerusalem Post, September 4, 2012

Security Guarantee Now, Haaretz, July 30, 2012

Managing the Endgame in Syria, Diplomat, July 29, 2012

The Least Bad Option on Iran, LA Times, May 23, 2012

Egypt with Dread, Jerusalem Post, May 23, 2012

A Tale of Three Capitals, Jerusalem Post, April 29, 2012

The Bitter Truth about Iran, Jerusalem Post, April 15, 2012

Beating a Dead Horse, BitterLemons, February 20, 2012

Israel's Profound Choice on Iran, LA Times, February 2, 2012

Keep the Peace Between Israel and Egypt, LA Times, September 14, 2011

Much Ado About Very Little, BitterLemons, June 9, 2011

Waiting for the Tsunami, Foreign Policy, May 23, 2011

Focus on Iran, Belfer Center for Science and Technology, April 11, 2011

The Sparks that Light the Fires, BitterLemons, Middle East Roundtable, Issue 24, December 26, 2010

A Three State Solution?, Huffington Post, November 30, 2010

Inscrutable Face of Egypt's Future, Washington Times, July 23, 2010

Armageddon and the Threat of Nuclear Terrorism, InFocus, Summer 2010, issue 2, volume IV

Prime Minister Bibi, Jerusalem Post, June 15, 2000

Missiles, Missiles Everywhere, BitterLemons-International.org -- Middle East Roundtable, May 6, 2010, issue 8, volume 11

Israel Must Prepare for Nuclear Terror Threat, Haaretz, April 28, 2010

Playing with Fire, BitterLemons, December 21, 2009

AIPAC, J Street, or JDate?, Jerusalem Post, October 12, 2009

Bibi's First Hundred Days, Jerusalem Post, July 13, 2009

Bibi Answers Obama, Human Events, June 16, 2009

What Are They Smoking, BitterLemons, May 14, 2009

Engaging Iran Effectively, BitterLemons, December 4, 2008

A Parting Word of Thanks, Jerusalem Post, November 11, 2008

US-Iranian Tango, Jerusalem Post, September 2, 2008

Peace With Syria?, Human Events, July 8, 2008

A Disastrous Attack on Iran?, Jerusalem Post, June 26, 2008

Six Ways Not to Deal With Hamas, Foreign Policy, March 2008

Disavowing the Iran NIE: Smoke Screens or Smoking Guns?, Human Events, February 20, 2008

A Post-Annapolis Breakthrough Proposal, Jerusalem Post, February 18, 2008

Bush's Middle East Trip, Washington Times, January 7, 2008

Iraq Do Over, Boston Herald, October 15, 2007

Attacking Syria: Focusing on Iran, Human Events, 18 September, 2007

Teheran's War by Proxy, Human Events, July 10, 2007

Olmert: Doing Herod Proud, Human Events, June 20, 2007

Peace In Our Time? Human Events, June 13, 2007

A Palestinian Refugee Camp?, Human Events May 29, 2007

Olmert's Failure, Human Events May 2, 2007

Iraq: Consequences of Withdrawal, Human Events, March 21, 2007

Saddam's Last Hurrah?, BitterLemons.org-Palestinian-Israeli Crossfire, no. 2, January 15, 2007

Death of the Mideast Peace Process, The Boston Globe, December 1 2006

Hizballah in Lebanon: The War Was Not Supposed to End This Way, Jerusalem Viewpoints, Policy Brief 546, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, September 2006

Confronting Iran: A US Security Guarantee for Israel?, BitterLemons-International.org, Middle East Roundtable 4, no. 25 (6 July 2006), with Richard Rosecrance

The Pentagon's Revenge or Strategic Transformation: The Bush Administration's New Security Strategy, Strategic Assessment, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies 9, no. 1 (April 2006).

Disengaging from the West Bank - An Appropriate International Quid Pro Quo, Yediot Aharonot, 14 March 2006.