

Geopolitical Security Environment of Israel and its Identical Policy

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Abstract

This paper by implicit reference to hypothesis about the characteristics of internal constructive discourse of Israel, based on identical elements and how to create identical others at this society, by using constructivism theory and looking in to relations between these elements and promised land, has been considered the role of geopolitical security environment of Israel due to special historical and geographical situation of this political unit to intensification other building in Israel and its ruling identical discourse and in this regard has overview to Israeli others in region and its security politics, and also has been considered its influence on foreign policy of this regime. According to being special and close society of Israel which is under domination of separated and disjunctive ideological radical Judaism, the main question of this paper is: how the security environment has been influenced on its disjunctive and isolating identity? And how has this effect been? The hypothesis of this paper is although the special security environment of Israel has not been play the main role in decisions and behaviors of other-making of Israel, but it has influenced on reinforcement of these kind of behaviors and has resulted in appearance of special behavior of Israel in foreign sphere and special foreign policy decisions making. Although the theoretical framework of this paper is constructivism theory but it also uses realistic guidelines. The method is used in this paper is analytical-historical.

Keywords: Israel, Security environment, Geopolitics, Other-making, Constructivism.

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Introduction

Due to the assumed of the paper's authors that consider Israel society as a close and special society because of some reasons like ethnicity which is the result of special ideological discourses based on Jew ethnicity and race, feeling being special has hegemonic supremacy and it is arising from a fairly long history, full of ambiguity which is derived from myths and somehow interests of some their leaders, later these interests have survived in the form of modern Zionism and creation and fix a political base in Palestine land which is matched with "*Promised Land*"¹, and it is mentioned in Jew holy books is prioritized by Zionists. So the separation between "self" and "others" non-Jewish and non-Israeli has been created which result in incidence of specific behaviors of Israel government in opposite of "others". And this government is by "others" at unsecured environment that short history of Israel approves it (Faghihzaeh Gorji, Eslmai; 2017: 241-271).

That's why the question is proposed by this article is: how the security environment of Israel has influenced on making other identity? And what has it been? To answer this question, our hypothesis in this paper is although the special security environment of Israel is not the main factor in other making behavior of Israel, but it has an important role in other making behaviors and decisions of Israel. Accordingly, we will consider security environment of Israel and its characters and will bring some exemplified Israel's behaviors that have originated from security environment and other making identity, also we will consider the challenges which Israel have been face them and their influences on its existence. Furthermore, we will hint about the possibility of change and flexibility in foreign policy of Israel toward the ideas about others which it might be useful to predict of foreign policy of Israel in future. Just as we know, foreign policy is a comprehensive plan developed by states to interact with external environment. The type and the nature of interactions between foreign policy and the external environment is a key issue to understand both of them (Salimi and others, 2017: 1).

About research background of this topic in constructivism perspective we can get some information and interesting ideas about the hypothesis of this

¹- Eretz Yisrael

paper by studying analytical and research texts. In following we have some of these resources:

The report of Middle East institute (Israeli) (MITVIM Institute: 2015) that it contains some of Israel security threatening challenges and some advices for Israel.

The article of Alon Ben-Meir with title " Israel's National Security: Delegitimizing the Legitimate" which is published in Huffington Post. He considers the possibility of change in dominant and inflexible discourses in Israel from constructivism perspective but his examples are old.

The article of Itmar Rabinovich " ISRAEL AND THE CHANGING MIDDLE EAST" from Brookings institution (Rabinovich: 2015) which is considered some of security challenges and concerns.

The article of Shoghig Mekaelian " Israeli Security Doctrine between the Thirst for Exceptionalism and Demand for Normalcy" is published by CEJISS (Mekaelian:2010) which is briefly hint to reasons Israel has for tendency to being differences from others has built.

The book "The economic Strategy of Israel in Middle East" is written by Jamil Helal and is translated by Seyed Hassan Seyedi and Amir Salmani Rahimi. (Helal: 2002) which is more about economic views of Israel in region but most of content has been old.

The article of Seyed Jalal Dehghani Firooz abadi "Asymmetric War between Lebanon and National Security of Israel (Dehghani Firoozabadi: 2007) which considers objective facts of Israel's security with a journalistic view.

The article "The Jew Identity and evolution existence of Israel" is written by the writers of this paper (Faghihzadeh Gorji and Eslami: 2017) which is focus on elements of Israel's identity maker based on constructivism theory but it does not consider the role of geopolitical security environment of Israel and we want to consider it in this paper.

This paper has more focus on security environment of Israel and the influence of geopolitics on resonance of Israeli other making and its expression on Israel foreign policy in order to constructivism approach.

The Theoretical Framework of Research: The outlook of constructive Approach to Security and Security Environment of Israel

Constructivism is an approach that at the same time attention to structures and the role of agents in order to identity and interests and also it considers identities have been built. This approach is appropriate for this research due to try be out of regular realistic frame. From the perspective of constructivism, it is not possible to access the world independently and immediately without intermediary. All actions of human are form and mean in society and this meaningfulness is that make the world real less or more. To a statement the social world is interpretative networks that have been form by individuals and groups. In other word, constructivism is start by acts. It means, what is done, the actions that are took place and the words that are said (Hadian, 2003: 919). Based on critical constructivism, the representations are made from security and threat to define "who are we and others" whose "we" need support against them (Mack Donald, 2013: 122).

Constructivism is attentive to narratives. "In fact, what is leading to change in political and diplomatic discourses among countries, it has root in identical changes in subnational, national and transnational actors." (Shirdel, 2005: 3) That's the same identifies the security. Therefore, "rational and normative structures and countries mutually strengthen each other" (Feyzi & Farajollahi, 2011: 83). and here we can see distinction between self-identity and other identity and as Tajik said "Political system is based on rough sentence about distinction between friend and enemy, inside (self) and outside (other)"(Tajik, 2005: 86). In security issue it can be said "The security is more than relies on material factors of power, it relies more on common understanding actors from each other" (Abbasi Ashlaghi & Farrokhi, 2009, 71-95). Bradley Klein in *strategic studies and global order: deterrence global politics* hints to this point without foreign threats, fears and dangers, as regards the legitimacy is the basis of security for government, the existence and legitimacy of government will be questioned.

David Campbel encourages reader to understand accepting dichotomies like inside/outside and internal/external respectably are based on territorial boundaries of government and ethical boundaries citizenship and national identity. He believes that these separating and boundaries at the big level have create and survived by identity making mechanism of government(Tajik, 2005: 93). In this regard, it can be said the security

essentially is a subjective issue. It has a direct link to intellectuals and people's perception from vulnerability and threat and on the other hand it has been influenced by their presuppositions and a-priory about issues like "national interest", "national values", "national benefits" and "national power" (Tajik, 1998: 115). In practice, Constructivism is seeking for cultural changes. (Faghihzadeh Gorji, 2016: 64) Peter J. Katzenstein who is a constructivist, the main theme of his book titled National security culture is national interest is define by actors who answer to cultural factors (khani, 2004: 184).

With the respect to the constructivism view of this paper's authors to Israel and its mutual relations between identity constructs, actions and reactions and its security environment, so we will be open more discussion about security environment of Israel. "The Middle East countries identical groups are undergoing a period of revolutionary change" (Mosallanejad, 2018: 23). It is important to consider semantic elements of identity maker. It is interesting in Israel the priority has been given to religion (Jew) not Israeli nationality. So, the role of identical issues in considering Middle East subject is completely clear (Mousavi & Tooti, 2013: 119-138). With due attention to reputed cases, please see next page apparent about Interactions of Identities, Cultural environment and Israel behaviors in the basis of Katzenstein view (Faghihzadeh Gorji: 2018: 54).

.Such security environment always is including some threats and opportunities which national unites use them depend on their positions.

The external security environment of each political unit is undeniable influenced by functional nature of two elements "time" and "place" in the international system that consequently at any time of history of international relations has own production quantitatively and qualitatively and certainly has influence on national states (Minaei, 2009:3). On the subject of Foreign Policy it can be said that Foreign Policy of the main Actors of a region as an institution, define another institution called regional system, and the constructed regional system impacts on the defining, planning and execution of foreign policies of the main actors (Salimi and others, 2017:1).

Geopolitics, Security Environment and Judaism

Geopolitics and Security Environment

When we speak about security environment what our mind is engaged to that is locative and geographical aspect especially geopolitics. Addressing to geopolitics definition is out of chance in this paper and of course we should keep in mind that the security environment has not only locative aspect but the geopolitics is very important and its importance has remained despite of advancement of technology. For example, Barry Buzan hints to influence of low area and population on power' insufficiency. Therefore, the geopolitics of each regional actor has important effect on its behavior and it's foreign and security policies. Being flexible and tolerance in facing others or being inflexible and rigid with them is under effect of geopolitics and security environment of actor.

Geopolitics and Judaism

In Israel the geopolitics and security environment factors show off more when they link to Judaism. So, being Jew and the mission which God put on their shoulders have the main identical role in Israel security programs and also these are good excuses for them to territorial development and making others. "In Torah, there is talk about promised land with Abraham migration which starts from Ur to Canaan: and he said to him I'm God and bring you from Ur to give you this earth. (Torah, 15: 7) This granting of Jewish God, later in the covenant with Isaac (Torah, 14: 28) and finally it emphasizes by Moses exodus. Of course fulfillment to this covenant is providing Isaiah

obeys God. Promised land is so important in holy book and it is introduced as the first step in Jews identification. Israel has not still specified territorial boundary and one of reason for it can be believers' belief to territorial boundary which is in the holy book"(Shirdel,2005: 2).

The lands which are earned by Israeli army's during war 1967, were so closed to the boundaries which in some of Torah' notes, had identified as promised land (Shirdel,2005: 2). "Restoration Sinai desert to Egypt after war 1973, provoked a dispute among religious camp. Because this place was part of Israel's land where the Torah had been revealed on Moses.

Israel' Security Perspective

Israel' politics- both in relation with Palestinian and other countries- have ideological aspect and it increases the complexity behavior of Israel(Barzegar & Ghasemi, 2013: 171). Disrespect to Palestinian rights and expansionism mood (that caused many crises like Intifada¹), deadlock in solving problems and great decision making with neighbors and even opposition with retreat from occupied territories are some of examples of religion effect on security understanding and security politics of Israel. Some of Radical currents in Israel believe that the war is the only solution for different problems. Thus, Israel is not a home country as regular in nationalism and modern term but it's identity has root in Jewish scripture and they are ready to kill themselves and others to preserve this identity. (Shirdel, 2005: 2) "The clash between Arab and Israel is certainly the clash over the sacred and civilization"(Even& Granit,2015: 11). "Historically, Israel' security doctrine is based on this hypothesis that Israel involves in effort to survive. This perspective does not only compare with Arab perspective towards Israel, but it also reminds us national awareness and refers us to historical Jewish predicament and them continues plural efforts to survive"(Mekaelian, 2010: 178). "The Jewish culture that the feeling insecurity has been prevailed over it" (Helal, 2002: 79).

Victory of Likud party by leadership of Menachem Begin in 1977 made huge changes in Israel's security thought and the genesis idea of "great Israel" which is historical and religious land of Jews was raised. The Likud

¹- 31 years ago in 9 December 1987, the first Intifada began. This Palestinian rising embraced all over occupied territories for six years and finally recognized by both PLO and Israel (Euronews, 2017: 1).

severely followed build of big townships at West Bank and dismissal of Palestinian inhabitants due to solve some of demographic composition (Broom, 2007: 3). All Israeli' settlement are illegal even in terms of United Nation (Genem & Rosen, 2011: 16). Israel society has a perfect security culture. [In this regard the security theory of Israel said] the enemy and opponent must be attack in depth of his / her land. Feeling insecurity has created a special situation for Israel. From 1948 till today Israel is living in continues threat (Sabet, 2014: 2). Lafitte said: " Israeli' doubts about Arab unfriendly intentions is the most obvious reason in persistence of Israel' security theory over the past years (Helal, 2002: 79). It can be seen the Zionism ideas are the main threatening factors in Israel's environment.

Geopolitical position superiority classically and traditionally has a special place in all types of political systems including Israel. Israel claimed preemptive attack initiative is necessary. With all this, since there is no always chance for Israel to attack preemptive, so Israel must have defensible borders. In this regard, former foreign minister Aba Eban names the borders before 1967 " Auschwitz border". (Broom, 2007: 7) Ariel Levite (Jaffee *Center for Strategic Studies*) believes that Israel' security concept has founded based on three basic hypotheses:

- 1) Naturally confronting Arabs: the sum of this hypothesis is that Israel is facing annihilation because of Arabs intention to do it.
- 2) The world has indifferent position about its existence, So Israel must be enough powerful to provide its security.
- 3) Israel is unable to be a victor in Arabs-Israel war by military tool. Ultimately what Israel can do is preserving the status quo (Helal, 2002: 77-78).

The security environment of Israel is complex and in some ways is unique. A long history of strife, the problems in procurement weapons (both in imports and production), the unprecedented role of US' military assistance (annually 1.8 Milliard dollars during 1991-1995) and other factors participate in this complexity (Steinberg: 1998:91-SIPRI.Singh.04). This regime because of Ghetto thought has special definition of security and its survive. Yitzhak Rabin who was that used the term "silence war" to describe the relation between Israel and Arabs. In viewpoint of Israel' leaders this phrase and others (like low intensity war) shows the lack of

clear borders between battle mood and peace mood. The term "silence war" gives almost the license to the Israel' governing body to absolute freedom action in destroying Arabs needless to emphasis on attackers' intentions(Helal, 2002: 69).

A little bit of natural strategic depth and having long and vulnerable borders with neighbors and limitation of water resources are some of important factors for Israel. At the beginning, Israelis decided if the war will be happening, it must be happening in enemy' territory. Defense must be happening fast and in short term and it should be only a transitional phase to prepare for attack (Eslami, 2014: 225). Given what has been said feel threatened arising from" low area and lack of strategic depth that encourage Israel to emphasis on military development." (Even & Granit, 2015: 245) and it clears that Israel' security environment is an aggravating factor in other making and threat display for Israel is in an interactive mode with internal other making actions. Regarding this point that there is no successor or peer for Israel in preserving its superiority both in traditional or nontraditional weapons for unlimited period, so Israel remains out of any contract which limits its weapons like Non-Proliferation Treaty (Helal, 2002: 29). "The Lebanon War deepened the political and Ideological polarization in Israel. It contributed to the radicalization of political opinions of Jews and Arabs, and within the Jewish population it widened the split between the left and the right wings (Cohen- Almagor, 1991: 15). Israel regarding to the consideration of this environment introduces Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad as the terrorist groups and emphasizes on confronting with them (Obeidi, 2015: 3). So the securing of such entity is based on army equipments and using military force"(Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2007: 81).

The Influences of Security Environment and Geopolitics of Israel on Other Making

Israel is in the hostile environment of the Middle East, it has always feeling multiple insecurity and consequently security issues are on top of political-military plans (Civcik: 2004: 9). But this insecurity largely extracted from Israel's look and behavior about rest of players. Authors of this article noticed to this fact who Israel identity has constructed "others" as alien and so Israel expedient confronted to them. consequently this conditions has

produced reactions for others against Israel. The next page chart maybe expressive for Israel's sensation:

- + Rough and Unstable environment of Israel and threats toward it
- + Lack of Strategic Depth



To feel Danger and standing Fear



- * Militarism
- * Armed peace

* Attention to Ulterior Countries but meantime search for Collaboration with summit of neighbors

(Faghihzadeh Gorji: 2018: 150)

Israel' Military Force

Due to the nature of military-security of society and government of Israel, army and military forces have monopolized and strategic role. There is close relationship between military and Israel establishment. Military force in state building, nation building process and continue the life of these two had a primary role. The army is existential cause of Jew state also it is the reason of it' survive (Dehghani Firoozabadi,2007 :81).

The military expenses of Israel are almost 9.5 Milliards dollars and its 20 percent of the total budget of Zionistic regime. Due to western countries' supports specially US military industry, Israel' army is one of the most advanced army in the world (Soveydan, 2011: 340). 178000 full time soldiers and 437000 reservists are in Israel' army (Soveydan, 2011: 340). Based on statistics and other stories " The strategy of Israel is based on three key elements:

- 1) Great and advanced air force with advanced alertness;
- 2) Ground force limited (177500);
- 3) Big armored force and reservist force (427000).

"The reservists are able to respond to call warning in short time and if the danger situation will be reminded they are ready to confront the enemies"(Steinberg: 1998: 91-SIPRI.Singh.04)

On the other hand, all the Israel' areas are in gunshot of its enemies. For compensate of a little strategic depth Israel has done a lot of work like increasing military and nuclear power, creating a safe margin towards global

and regional coalitions and transferring war to enemy' territory(Steinberg:1998:91-SIPRI.Singh.04). Israel has a special military doctrine based on nuclear deterrence, missile defense, military qualitative superiority in region, strategic balance and an offensive approach to defense. Nuclear deterrence is 180-200 bombs (Ghelich, 2012: 3). Although the structure of decision making of Israel in some ways is similar to industrial and democratic states but the decision making process in procurement of weapons strongly influenced by pressure groups and domestic political considerations (Steinberg:1998:91-SIPRI.Singh.04).

Israel' Security Intelligence agencies

Security and intelligence services have the main role in using of historical opportunities. Therefore, the intelligence services do not act only in war and battle, but they are helping to political parts and are helping political authorities to take advantage of opportunities in best way possible (Even & Granit, 2015, 121). In recent years " by notable changes which are happened in Israel' external environment, the security challenges for Israel are also become larger and has influence on Israel' security doctrine because the role of security services has been increased especial in important and sensitive missions at security and war fronts. In other words, intelligence services have the most presence in wars (Even & Granit, 2015, 123). In Israel there are three intelligence agencies:

- 1) Military intelligence service known as Aman which was found in 1953 and have 7000 employees. Based on law, this agency is the main responsible for preparing strategic report for state so based on that the general policies of Israel will be determined especially about conflicting with Arabs.
- 2) Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations known as Mossad which was found in 1951. The Mossad is responsible for collecting information and secret operations like targeted killing and militia operations outside of Israel. Now the Mossad manages under direct supervision of prime minister.
- 3) Israel' internal security service known as Shabak or Shin bet and although it is the smallest intelligence service in Israel but it is the most influential in political and military decision making processes. Other Israeli' security services are police security service, prisons affairs, synagogue special force(Soveydan, 2011: 343-350).

About Israel "the term national security thought refers to the thought of secure community which it is not merely influenced by security considerations. This community is form by set of military forces, security services, former military authorities, security services cadre, political leaders who are relate to security issues, and Israeli' academics who are experts in national security issues (Broom, 2007: 3). On the other hand, "becoming important the role of security services is the consequences of hostility with others" (Even & Granit, 2015: 120). The control of others is on the top of Israel's program. Specially, " the agenda of national security of Israel has been form by hostility with the big part of Arab countries"(Rabinovich: 2015:1). Of course others are not only including Arabs. For example, "there are lots of Iran studies and Shiaa studies centers in Israel and every year they hold many conferences with subjects Iran or Shiaa and pay attention scrupulously to issues in these contexts" (Soveydan, 2011: prelude).

Israel' Foreign Policy Approach

Israel' biggest goal in foreign policy is "establishing its existence, maintaining and expanding its territorial integrity" (Barzegar & Ghasemi, 2011: 171). Israel' foreign policy is influenced by geographical conditions, Jewish religion, the ideas of different parties, military and synagogue. Regional controversial environment where the Israel is located in it along with strategic relations with the United States and its political-economical supporting of Israel are important parts in study of Israel' foreign policy. Israel' strategy in its adaptation with regional problems and difficulties like hostility with Arabs and considering to international powers is leading to the appearance of aggressive military policy and somehow has changed the foreign policy of Israel to defensive security policy (Dehghani Firoozabadi, 2007: 81).

Some look to the security of Israel from point of Realism view and believe that: "the most problem of Israel' security is locating in tumultuous strategic environment."(Mousavi & Tooti, 2013: 119-138) Ben-Gurion-the first prime minister of Israel- based on peripheral alliance believed that "Israel' foreign policy must be relying on peripheral and non-Arab countries" (Hojjatshamami, 2009, 34). The subject of new Middle East that Shimon Peres has suggested it is actually an economical approach to Middle

East which is focused on Israel and its goal is region' unidentified-which is the favor of Israel (Ranjbar, 2003: 237). "Generally in Israel' national security strategy (special in recent years) the economic power is very important." Shimon Peres in conversation with some of experts in 1989 claimed the power of Israel does not determine by the size or power of army but scientific and technologic positions have notable role with emphasis on in today world the economic is more important than strategy. Increasing Israel' economic power follows weakening the economic power of other regional countries like Iran at the same time (Even & Granit, 2015: 246).

By these explanations clears for us that Israel' security environment has an important role in its other making behaviors. But this role is an interface role. In the other words, the role of Israel' security environment in other making is not the main role and this other making security environment is the result of mythical and ideological ideas of radical Judaism and Zionism. But an important issue is to see if this security condition has the ability to change or it is a rigid and inflexible situation. Referring to some changes and themes are useful in this paper. Despite some Likud's ideological expansive operations, Israel for the first time in Camp David Accords in September 1977, gave right to Palestinians to have self-determination in a formal manner. The first Palestinians Intifada happened in 1987 and it took three years (and according to other speeches six years) and created a lot of change in Israel' security thoughts (Broom, 2007: 4). "The Intifada de - legitimizes Israel and lowers its position in the international arena. It raises important questions of law and order not only in the territories (especially regarding the behavior of settlers toward Arabs) but also within the Green Line" (Cohen-Almagor, 1991: 23). Alongside of stone revolution, one passive resistance performed in occupational territories. This passive resistance was including boycott of Israel: products, abstention for tax payment and organizing the general strike" (Euronews, 2017: 1).

It can be said the Oslo Accords process is one of the effects of Intifada on Israel' security thoughts. The failure of Oslo in 2000, and consequently the starting second Intifada has a deep influence on Israel's national security thoughts. This idea that to end conflicting with Palestinians we must be set a permanent agreement highlights in public opinion so the public opinion and most of the strategists believe that two states formula can provide Israel' national interests. They believe that close relationship with Palestinians and

lack of clear borders with them are imminent danger for Israel' security. Changes in thought of people like Ariel Sharon is the sign of Israel' political society' need in formation of Palestine state. It is worth mentioning that peace for land issue has always been followed by Labor party (Broom, 2007: 4). The Palestinians uprising in December 1978 that known as Intifada exploded the great ideological crisis for Likud based on its obligation to "promised land" (Rynhold & Waxman: 2008: 17-18). In veiw of the vulnerability of the IDF (Israeli Defense Force) , and the growing legitimisation of the PLO, new hopes emerged in the Palestinian camp(Cohen- Almagor,1991: 14), "The Intifada Darkened the Israel' picture strongly." (Rynhold&Waxman: 2008:20) And does not only hurt to Israel' international legitimacy but it also mess up its democratic feature. The Intifada led to the maximization of land revisionist clearly in oppsite with the need to Zionism and democracy be in competition (Rynhold & Waxman, 2008: 21).

Unilateral withdrawl from the south of Lebenan in 2000, is a reflection of main changes in Israel' security thought. The intention of Israel in whthdrawl from Lebenan was determining international borders and its approve by international society (Broom, 2007: 4). Israel is worry because there is unbalance between Jews-Arabs population. The most important thretening factor for Israel especial in long term is demography. Israel wants to preserve "Jewish and democratic" country and feels danger about Jews minority, as we know the Palestinians birth rate is high. We can respect to an expand interpretation of Israel' national security. An interpretation that considers to both physical and non physical factors; physical factors like potential threat and threats debugger and non physical factor like Israeli' identity. That way there is a social tendency and sensivity towards to identical threatening factors (Broom, 2007: 5). Therefore, the formation of Palestine state in order to sepration between Palestinians and Jews be considered. So Israel' security thought has reached a point that disengagement with Palestinians is one of the most important principls in security interests. Now the formation of Palestine state is an inevitable nessecity in Israel' security thought (Broom, 2007: 5).

The collapse of neigboring states, the appearnce of regional powers are signs of new threats and opportunities for Israel" (MITVIM Institute, 2015: 2). The main and quick porpuse of Israel in security issues in 1948 and after

that have been physical security of land and Jewish people but its long time purpose have created the natural and peaceful link with Arab neighboring countries (Ganem-Rosen, 2011: 16). "Now Israel can only influence on Egypt and Jordan' politics based on common law on peace agreements. Although neither Egypt nor Jordan are not the most influential powers in the Middle East (MITVIM Institute, 2015: 3). The Arab spring caused tension in the region among Arabs and Muslims so it was promising for Israel. (Podeh & Goren: 2013: 1) Benjamin Netanyahu and other radical politicians draw a very rough picture of Arab spring. The votes show most of Israelis tend to this approach. Even Israeli' peace organizations and institutes do not consider these movements as demand for democracy. These organizations and institutes react passively to these movements like Israel' state. These processes in Israel' discourse is the result of traditional approach that Israel has to the Middle East. Israel has negative view to Islam and Arabs and this view is one of the most important factors that Israel has over war (Podeh & Goren:2013: 2). In other analysis based on Bakhtin¹ view, it can be said the emphasized monologue of Zionism regime and avoiding to have dialogue with others and the result of this is more insecurity for it. Although the change method of this regime toward Bakhtin dialogue has danger for its existence and it is unlikely Israel submits it. Though, A minimum level of mutual understanding, mutual trust, and political will, and less intervention by outsiders are among necessary preconditions for peace (Khani, 2018: 280).

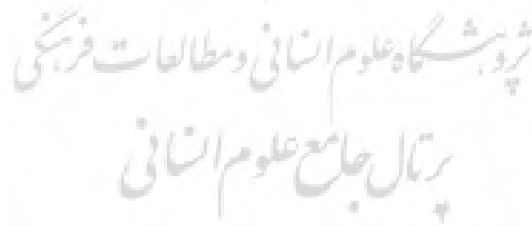
Conclusion

This paper was tried based on constructivism theory and considering to historical and mythical sources of Judaism, explain the relation of Israel' identity elements and land especially *promised land*, also explaining Israel' security view based on its other making behaviors, furthermore based on existing facts in Israel' security and military indicators and decision making in its foreign policy based on constructivism approach to be explained and hint to some of Israel' behavioral changes. It became clear to us Israel' geopolitics condition and its security environment strengthen *other making*. Although security environment has not the main role in other making but it can be a potential factor to boost this process. Insecurity largely extracted

¹- Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin

from Israel's look and behavior about rest of players. Authors of this article noticed to this fact who Israel identity has constructed "others" as alien and so Israel expedient confronted to them. consequently this conditions has produced reactions for others against Israel.

Infact, Rough and unstable environment of Israel and threats toward it and lack of Strategic Depth, causes to feel danger and standing fear for Israel. Consequently, Israel com to militarism and armed peace and it's attention to ulterior countries, but meantime search for collaboration with summit of neighbures in some cases. However, Israel really needs to have a normal relations with internal and external others and it must shows more flexibility to get out of isolation, but it seems there is no enough courage to overcome on radicalism in Israel. It's been a long time Israel knows the necessity of dealing with others in lands issue and it has been seen some of temporary changes in Israel' behaviors and politics. With all this believing in flexibility in Israel' foriegn policy is far from reality.



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