Toward an Understanding of Polarizing Leadership:
An Operational Code Analysis of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

Alexander A. France

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Dr. Nukhet Sandal, Thesis Advisor

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this project is to examine the dynamics of leadership and contribute to the international relations literature. Through the use of operational code analysis, my intent is to determine the philosophical and instrumental beliefs of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the implications of these beliefs for Middle East politics. Because of Israel's continued centrality in the Middle Eastern security landscape, its occupation of disputed territories, and its increasingly strained relations with the United Nations, enemies, and allies alike—a trend that is noticeably worsening under Netanyahu administration—I argue that this is a timely study. Examining first-hand accounts of his politics and policies, I attempt to build a profile describing Netanyahu's general belief system while taking into account lessons learned in the realm of psychology. For the purposes of further exploring the subject and expanding the utility of operational code analysis, this study introduces a new source of data: social media. It also applies facial recognition software analysis, a method gaining traction in psychological study, to compare to traditional operational code analysis results. I hope to combine all of these factors into a more complete understanding of Benjamin Netanyahu than previous approaches can provide, thus expanding our knowledge about polarizing leadership.

A Case for Leadership Studies

The popularity of studying leadership waxes and wanes over time in academia. Whereas the analysis of individuals in power was highly regarded in the 1930s, the

study of individual leaders fell into disfavor during the Cold War when foreign policy analysis focused more upon state and system attributes (Hudson 2007, 37). Regardless of the systemic constraints and the limits of individual behavior at the time, the lack of leadership studies left a critical gap in our understanding of domestic and international politics. Currently, academia is recovering from this gap. Government agencies and academic disciplines, such as psychology and political science, addressed leadership more thoroughly in recent years as crises in areas such as Iraq and North Korea helped to show the power a singular leader is capable of wielding (Hudson 2007, 37). The less predictable nature of leaders in these crises should not be surprising given that economics research has asserted that humans have limited rationality, being unable to process all information at once (Lipman 1991). Psychology and communications research have also both provided a plethora of evidence that human beings make multifaceted decisions with limited processing capability (Payne 1976) and that processing systems can differ, thereby affecting how people remember (and thus utilize) information (Lang 2000). The way each person handles these limitations can vary, mostly stemming from personal factors that then skew rational choice. In short, one cannot assume a leader will be a rational actor within a standard framework, but instead must comprehend their unique world view in order to predict their actions. Work by psychologists and government officials, as well as recent events, have come together to prove that leadership does matter. It should now be a priority to identify where and when leadership matters and ultimately how leaders function and make an impact.

There is a wealth of scholars who write about modern-day leadership, as well as some who focused on the subject before it fell out of favor during the Cold War era. Some works provide striking portraits of just how critical leadership can be. In democracies and dictatorships alike, the influence of a leader can be pervasive and defining. Work by Jervis, Young and Pappas help to illuminate some areas where political science mostly neglected leadership throughout the Cold War.

Post-Cold War international politics is no longer defined by a bipolar balance of power. Shortly after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Jervis observed this change and hypothesized about what effects it would have in the international political sphere. He argues that the bipolar system reduced the choices available to various actors, especially the two superpowers, because the primary objective was always to avoid nuclear war and protect oneself and one's allies. In a multipolar world, actors are now presented with greater freedom in possible paths of decision making, and face greater pressures to tend to issues that took a backseat in the Cold War era. Not all of these issues can be reconciled effectively under one set of values, forcing some to take priority. Jervis argues that this greater range of decisions now available to international actors makes leaders more significant. Whereas actions were previously constrained, countries are now provided with a wealth of options and it will be up to the leaders to prioritize them and choose a course of action. He explains that though he doubts leadership is a "magic wand" capable of producing immediate peace and stability, it clearly can create significant change, using Gorbachev's role in the dissolution of the USSR as an example (Jervis 1994). Up to this point, these

predictions have proven to be accurate. The absence of a clear-cut challenge to United States a singular superpower in the international sphere leaves both the US and other countries with a much wider range of options and objectives. Leftover tensions from the Cold War era continue to produce power struggles in Eastern Europe and areas of the Middle East. Though the degree of power and control held by different leaders throughout the world varies, it is clear that their individual psychologies and mindsets are currently of greater impact than they could be during the Cold War. This makes a powerful argument for the resurgence of leadership studies.

One area in which leadership can have great impact on international relations is through its role in promoting (or preventing) successful institutional bargaining. Young explores this topic in depth, describing the barriers to institutional bargaining, the solutions to or reductions of those barriers that leaders provide, and the types of leaders that are involved in these negotiations. He explains that institutional bargaining is plagued by issues stemming from collective action and that these problems create an opportunity for leadership to emerge. Though it cannot solve all issues facing collective action, Young asserts "leadership does raise the probability of success, often dramatically" (Young 1991, 285). This claim makes sense in that a large population is unlikely to collectively summon the interest necessary to come to agreements, let alone settle unanimously on the terms. Leadership helps to reduce the variables involved while providing enthusiasm for a cause and a more harmonious view of a possible bargain. The leadership forms involved in institutional bargaining are diverse. Young identifies three categories of leadership to discuss in order to help

classify leaders and understand their interactions (Young 1991, 287). Rather than remain at that basic level, this thesis will focus on a specific case to truly understand the subtleties of individual perspectives. Young's conclusion that leadership's role in institutional bargaining suggests that it is worthy of study to better understand international society serves to motivate this project.

The way leaders choose to frame issues may also have significant effects on the actions of their constituencies. Pappas contributes to the understanding of this phenomenon, investigating how political elites can motivate mass movements to radical action in democratic countries. He argues that specific framing choices by the leadership of movements are a key element in their growth and development. In fact, Pappas proposes that radical mass movements cannot be explained without comprehension of the intentional framing of an issue by a leader or leadership group and that a leader's charismatic abilities are necessary to the success of one of these movements. He illustrates this point with case studies of occurrences of radical mass movements in Greece, Yugoslavia and Venezuela as well as non-occurrences in Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Romania, Columbia and Ecuador (Pappas 2008). This research is particularly impactful because it suggests that even democracy, a form of government assumed to be "by the people," is susceptible to staggering levels of influence from a leader, especially given the right conditions. Pappas concludes that adopting a losses-based framing strategy is more likely to result in mass radical action (Pappas 2008, 1120). Therefore, it is logical that leaders attempting to frame issues in this manner are worthy of greater international and academic interest because of their potential to have

a more powerful destabilizing influence. Similarly, Pappas' conclusions suggest that in the presence of massive radical movements, a wise researcher will investigate the leadership to find a source of the unrest. This potential impact of leaders and particularly of charismatic leadership provides yet another reason why leaders of countries central to current international disputes are worthy of in depth analysis.

Within the realm of political science, this literature produced by authors like Jervis, Young, and Pappas serves to reinforce the assertion that leadership is indeed important and highlights some of the areas in which this is the case. For the purposes of this thesis, the work of these scholars and others done to show that leaders are integral parts of group action is accepted and attention is turned to international politics with this in mind. As such, the intent of this paper is to contribute to the investigation of an under-studied but equally important question: how do world leaders operate? Answering this question not only serves to further the study of leadership, but would also assist in making sense of the international system through a better understanding of its primary actors. Given that identifying and analyzing all key modern leaders is beyond the scope of one project, this paper instead aims to contribute by selecting one influential leader whose approach to his role is analyzed in the hopes that it will enrich leadership discussion and understanding, improve comprehension of important international politics, and serve as a model for further research.

Determinants of Leadership Influence

In order to pick one leader for a more in depth analysis, one must establish how to determine the importance of a leader. For the purposes of this project, influence over one's country and government in combination with influence in international affairs was equated to importance on a world stage and therefore worth as a case study. Many studies have already hypothesized or established factors that affect a leader's influence as well as those that are likely to increase reliance on preconceived notions and belief systems rather than situational elements. These factors come together to generate a litmus test for the influence of an individual and the aspects that make up his or her leadership.

The works of Hudson and Hermann both provide a wealth of potential factors that can determine the extent of a leader's influence. This thesis utilizes these indicators as selection criteria to help choose the case of study. First and foremost of these factors is that leaders are more or less influential based upon their regime type. Greater restraints on power can be assumed to lead to lower levels of individual decision making and therefore lesser influence (Hudson 2007, 38). A leader with more restrained power can attain greater influence and overcome constrains through various means, such as strong rhetorical skill, however, constraints will still serve to dampen potential for unilateral control. Furthermore, being a predominant, powerful leader can leave one's predispositions largely unchecked (Hermann 1980, 44), making their personality and beliefs more important in final outcomes. Another key factor, leaders with a greater interest in foreign policy are assumed to have greater influence in

international politics (Hudson 2007, 38-39). This is understood to be a result of such a leader's more frequent and thorough activity in making foreign policy, giving them greater opportunity to shape it in the image of their own world view (Hermann 1980, 13). A leader will also often experience greater centralized power and be compelled to be more involved in decision making during times of crisis (Hudson 2007, 38-39). In a similar fashion, high levels of uncertainty or ambiguity can also create space for a greater leadership impact (Hudson 2007, 38-39). The amount a leader's individual characteristics affect political outcomes relies not only on power, but also on personal factors. For example, diplomatic training can reduce reliance on underlying psychology, such as biases, because a leader can instead rely on a more enlightened understanding of how to approach international relations, reducing the personal impact of a leader and increasing situational influence (Hermann 1980, 14). Finally, leadership style can also play a role. A hands-on leader is more likely to produce a greater personal influence than one who is less involved (Hudson 2007, 38-39).

Other indicators of influence surely exist. However, these are sufficient and well-researched enough to comprise an effective test. By considering the constraints, interest in foreign policy, state of crisis, state of ambiguity, diplomatic training, and leadership style relevant to given leaders, it is possible to estimate how defining their leadership can be, at least in comparison to others.

The Rational Actor Approaches: Possibilities and Challenges

Some schools of thought trivialize the role of a leader regardless of personal factors in favor of focusing on circumstance. Despite the case made earlier for leadership studies, others still believe that situational influence is the dominant force in politics and international relations. This understanding includes theories involving the "rational actor" who will respond accordingly to the circumstances provided. Thus, in this capacity, leaders are largely understood as decision makers and their role is to take information in from a situation and generate the appropriate decision. The situation is assumed to be the most important factor because a rational actor should approach it the same way, coming to a decision based upon the same system. In this way, it is possible to determine a probable decision based upon the circumstance. This line of thinking then yields attempts to mathematically model the decisions an actor would make in a given situation.

One early example that still garners much attention is expected utility theory, championed by scholars such as Bueno de Mesquita. This method, originating as a theory in economics, attempts to explain decision making based upon the utility offered by possible outcomes of an action considered in conjunction with the probability that each of those outcomes may occur. The intensity of an actor's preference for any one outcome is what determines its utility and is often gauged by relative gains or losses, but may include other considerations. The products of the probabilities of various possible outcome and their associated utilities yields the expected utility of an action. Expected utility theory assumes that decision-makers are

rational, and therefore the course of action they will take will be the one with the highest expected utility (Bueno de Mesquita 1988, 629-652). However, the theory has its shortcomings that revolve around the assumption that actors are rational in the sense that the theory defines it. It also assumes that the expected utility of a decision is always best described as a product of its possible outcomes and associated probabilities. The theory also requires a comprehensive understanding of actors in order to gauge what value they place on various outcomes, but offers neither a method of gathering that understanding, nor a strong system of quantifying any values that may be understood. This makes it difficult to put the mathematical modelling method into action accurately.

Based upon some of these shortcomings, expected utility theory faced criticism before even making much of a crossover into political science. One notable rebuttal comes in the form of prospect theory, first developed by Kahneman and Tversky (1979) and subsequently widely utilized in other disciplines. Kahneman and Tversky identified inconsistencies between actual behavior and the behavior that would be expected in a given situation by expected utility theory and use these inconsistencies to form the concepts of prospect theory. People consider more than the expected utility of a given decision calculated under expected utility theory, sometimes bringing in new considerations under certain circumstances. Circumstances that altered people's behavior from what expected utility theory predicted included the certainty effect and the reflection effect, among others. In essence, the two observed phenomena suggest that the presence of a sure choice or a high level of certainty can significantly alter the

preferences an actor will have between multiple decisions in a way that is independent from the calculated expected utility of the sets of possible actions. For this reason and others, prospect theory assumes there are two phases to the decision making process, a first that edits and simplifies the options, and a second that evaluates the options and picks the one of the highest value (Kahneman and Tversky 1979). This process is also not independent of outside influence and Kahneman and Tversky address this with the possibility of shifts of reference—changes in perspective caused by recent previous events that may affect how one evaluates risk (1979, 286-87). By adding these considerations, prospect theory aims to be a more accurate system that completely models the decision making process.

Prospect theory is a reaction to the "rational actor" assumption that does not take important elements of human reasoning into account. Beyond Kahneman and Tversky's considerations of how humans weigh various mathematical situations with different significance than predicted in expected utility theory, it also recognizes individual differences in determining utility. Levy explains that in a real-world situation, rather than an experiment, "probabilities and utilities of outcomes…are not given but instead are judgments and values of political leaders" (Levy 1997, 98). This is an important distinction putting much more emphasis on the individual. Taking that into account, prospect theory is intended to consider the effects of how decision makers frame a situation, an issue that plagues expected utility theory (Mercer 2005, 1). Yet, despite these greater focuses on the decision maker than expected utility theory provides, prospect theory is still more concerned with context of a decision

than the individual. Additionally, it does not consider many traditional personality theory aspects (McDermott 2004, 290-93) which sometimes leaves its conclusions lacking. Much of this is due to prospect theory's intention to model behavior, rather than explain it and improve interaction. Prospect theory may be an accurate and effective modelling tool, but its focus solely on that function is a drawback to be further discussed later.

Overall, prospect theory represents an improvement upon expected utility theory in many aspects, but falls victim to some of the same shortcomings. In the realm of politics and international relations, it is not always simple to quantify the utility of specific outcomes. Furthermore, prospect theory only describes a greater likelihood to prefer one option over another, but fails to account for the group of people who, though significantly less commonly occurring, do violate its assumptions. In order to have any chance of predicting a leader in an accurate and subjective way, a more in depth understanding is required. Prospect theory fails to provide a method to collect information for that understanding. As a result, there remains a hole to be filled in applying prospect theory to leadership studies. Therefore, methods of this nature still benefit from being combined with more in depth psychological and political study.

Another popular rebuttal to the expected utility theory is the poliheuristic choice theory championed by Mintz. Poliheuristic choice theory was developed with the decision making process of leaders in mind and argues that decisions are made in neither a holistic nor a compensatory fashion; unlike expected utility theory which

assumes the decision making process is both. Instead, decisions are made in a two-step fashion, first narrowing options down through the use of heuristics and then later fully evaluating the remaining options (Mintz 2004, 3-13). The theory assumes that previous experiences and personality characteristics will affect judgment heuristics present in an individual, causing them to rule out certain types of decisions nearly immediately and often without conscious thought. It then proposes that the remaining options are considered more carefully with important consideration given to what option best maximizes benefits and minimizes risks. Along with this, Mintz asserts that actions effecting a leader's political survival will be of the greatest importance to their decision making process, meaning costs in that realm may outweigh even great benefits in others (2004, 6-7). While discussing this theory, Mintz himself admits to the beneficial nature of utilizing multiple methods to research the same situation (2004, 10). This is a great point and opens up the floor for use of other methods even if one subscribes to poliheuristic choice theory. It also gives reason to identify the flaws in this theory in order to try to utilize another method that fills those deficits.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the method is that it limits itself to one small aspect of the rich psychological information that can be present in how a leader operates and makes decisions. While heuristics are an important psychological concept, there are other factors that can impact an individual decision such as recency effects, outside pressures, and stress, to name a few. Its assumption that political survival is of the greatest importance is also potentially a downfall. By ignoring more detailed psychological understanding of someone's background once again,

poliheuristic choice theory risks overlooking leaders who have greater priorities than their own immediate political survival. Though this is probably a safe assumption for many or even most leaders, it may prove misleading for those who hold genuine and strong convictions about certain issues.

Filling the Gaps: Towards a Holistic Model

Having surveyed a variety of decision making modelling techniques, a few common themes seem to appear as flaws. Perhaps most notable is the difficulty in producing external validity with any method of that nature. Prospect theorists for example, struggle to determine the way an actor frames a problem (Mercer 2005, 4) and as a result it can be difficult to apply the method to real world situations. Levy's observation that probabilities and utilities are not given (1997, 98) is also key because assigning mathematical values to something as abstract as a person's thought process is difficult. In addition, attempting to do so from afar without the subject's input can be a near impossible task, especially without a determined method of in depth study to comprehend the subject. Prospect theory and other decision making models can survive these obstacles and make accurate predictions in many cases, but are not always adequate because they all suffer from a basic problem outlined by Glad: "Game or strategic decision-making models…are apt to be quite misleading if used to describe actual decision making processes," and this holds even greater truth in decisions holding important values in the balance (1989, 35). There are simply too many factors going into a decision left out of the mathematical decision making

models available. By utilizing only one of these methods to study leadership, a wealth of useful information is left behind.

Recognizing that decision making models are clearly lacking information, one must identify what is flawed in order to fill the holes. What are the obstacles to gauging outcomes based upon external context? Simon presents one great example of why one must consider the individual through the concept of bounded rationality. Bounded rationality describes the limited capability of people to respond optimally to complex environments because not all information is necessarily available, and a person can only process a limited amount of information at one time. For this reason, a decision maker's problem representation—the way an actor understands a problem—rather than the entire problem is what is relevant to the final decision (Simon 1991, 132). To deduce what choice a person will make in bounded rationality conditions, one must know that person's goals, their available information and resulting problem representation, and any preconceived notions, inferences, or other underlying psychology they have that may apply to the situation (Simon 1984, 294). Others have also recognized similar limitations. Voss, Wolfe, Lawrence and Engle describe the necessity of simplification in the face of a large amount of information. A person faced with a complex situation will condense it, paying attention to what they deem most important. In a similar fashion to the concept of bounded rationality, this process leads even experts to have widely varying opinions on a subject because of differences in goals, beliefs, perception, interpretation and values that change the simplification process (Voss et al. 1991). These concepts help to show that a "rational choice" can

vary widely and that one model considering mostly external factors is insufficient. Internal factors of individuals demand a greater level of consideration.

What internal factors are so defining of a more individual rationality, then? There are many possible aspects, but some studied include personality, emotion, belief system, stability and flexibility, as well as what they ultimately join to form, leadership style. Personality can constrain information processing, the beliefs and attitudes one holds, and the advice one solicits or to which one listens (Post 2003). Personality can also be the cause of cognitive distortions as well as choices that are seemingly against one's best interest (Glad 1989). Emotion enhances these effects and greater emotional valence tends to increase reliance on personality in decision making (Glad 1989, 58). McDermott, a proponent of prospect theory, even recognizes that it falls short in assessing the potential impact of the key factor, emotion (2004, 306). Humans' belief systems helps to provide them with a "cognitive map" of the world around them according to George (1969, 200). This map helps to guide their behavior and chosen reactions to any context they find themselves in. A given set of beliefs also effects other potential beliefs because they tend to strengthen each other and build a coherent overall belief system. Information and ideas contrary to this system may be shut out in resistance to cognitive dissonance (Holsti 1977). Of course, being closed to information will ultimately impact available decision options. As such, it can also be of importance to know how flexible a leader is, for one more willing to confront their own beliefs and face cognitive dissonance will make different decisions and interactions with others than one who is unwavering in their beliefs (Falkowski 1979).

A more stable leader, on the other hand, will generally be consistent regardless of the context (Hermann 2003). Hence, flexible leaders may fit in with a rational actor model more often than stable ones. Stable leaders may also be more resistant to losses of perspective, removing their actions from the context of a larger plan. Flexible leaders may stray from an expected outcome because they are less bound to a plan and therefore may make decisions without a plan when impeded (de Rivera 1968, 98-99). All of these aspects combine to make up parts of an overall leadership style. By determining this leadership style, political scientists are then armed with a much more extensive understanding of an actor than a simple prediction of decision making.

Ultimately, probability-based decision making theories account for decisions made by a majority of people, but any one leader could be part of the minority group that responds unexpectedly. These aspects can help to explain why an actor would behave in a seemingly "irrational" way. In the case of world leaders, who may be able to influence states of war and peace, economic prosperity, and the general well-being of large populations, we cannot afford to leave analysis at a level of general trends. Though a useful tool, political scientists must move beyond abstract mathematical models of behavior in favor of more in depth and personal study. Once extensive understanding of an actor is accomplished, only then can a return to decision making models with new insight on said actor possibly be sufficient. Furthermore, there are many important aspects to studying a leader besides predicting relevant decisions that are overlooked when considering mostly the circumstances and not the individual. These aspects leave gaping holes in analysis where a more personal examination of a

leader will not. Therefore, it is the responsibility of those studying leadership to utilize a more complete and effective method.

Towards a Well-Rounded Leadership Analysis

If decision making models are insufficient for studying leadership, what more is necessary? To figure out what is required of leadership studies, it is best to consider its purpose. In its most basic form, leadership studies is intended to provide useful information to those who will interact with leaders (Post 2003) or lead themselves. Given this, one must then ask "What is useful to know when interacting with a leader?" and "How does one get that information?" Decision making predictions are one aspect of that, but there is more to politics than predicting and reacting to others' decisions. Other subtleties include promoting productive dialogue, building alliances and influencing others' actions. To accomplish this, one needs to know much more than the probable course of action a leader will take. Luckily, there are scholars who have already begun the work of identifying what information can be important and how to attain it in the necessary depth.

Barber contributes a typology of the characters of United States presidents involving four different classifications. He ranked these presidential characters in terms of effectiveness and also used them to explain and predict presidential action (Barber 1992). Barber identified a great number of useful aspects worthy of study, many of which were mentioned earlier in the gaps in decision making modelling discussion. However, he also advocated for one particularly important additional

factor. He argues that a critical aspect of leadership style is early development. A good political scientist should study a leader's early successes because these same strategies repeat themselves as the leader continues to rely on them. Assuming the strategy continues to work, it will reinforce itself and its associated beliefs, thereby ingraining itself as a habit (Barber 1977-78). Habit formation can then produce predictable patterns in a leader. As such, early political strategies are a good indicator of what a leader may do, especially in uncertain situations when they need something to fall back on or feel comfortable utilizing.

Post reiterates this focus on early development, also suggesting study of early leadership successes as they will guide future actions with exaggerated importance (2003). There are other background aspects that he suggests researching as well. Identifying who a leader views as a mentor can be telling about what they aspire to and value. It can also be valuable to find a leader's "dream"—their main political ambition that they chase through their leadership. Finally, Post suggests finding a pattern of ego defenses (2003). Ego defenses are unconscious reactions intended to reduce anxiety and become especially pronounced under stress. Consistent ego defenses will have an impact on a leader's actions without them even realizing it and thus can create important patterns of behavior. Post utilizes his own technique called anamnesis in order to research these aspects and others of leaders. Because it is not widely used or studied, this technique is not well suited for this project, but it includes many promising elements. For this reason, this thesis adopts some of Post's suggestions for areas of focus into its own understanding of a strong leadership study.

Hermann contributes extensively to the field of leadership studies with work spanning decades. Her experience in the field and numerous studies make her suggestions for developing a method of approaching leadership studies paramount advice worthy of strong consideration. Hermann makes three particularly important points about what makes up a well-rounded analysis. First, study should be primarily focused on spontaneous material because leaders have no chance to prepare full responses, yielding a response that is more heavily influenced by personal characteristics (Hermann 2003). This assertion is reinforced by studies such as Schafer and Crichlow's work analyzing former United States President Bill Clinton. The pair's findings "suggest that spontaneous comments are more sensitive, and therefore more accurate, in terms of capturing responses to a changing environment" (2000, 570). However, the second important point from Hermann is that a study should consider materials of varying spontaneity and time period in order to help determine the stability of a leader's profile. Finally, a satisfactory analysis can be created by examining at least 50 interview sources of at least 100 words in length (Hermann 2003). These guidelines for what makes up a proper assessment of a leader are heavily considered in the design of this project. However, the guidelines are modified slightly to adapt to modern developments, which will be discussed in later sections.

One well-tested and widely discussed method of research that provides ample opportunity to address both the holes in decision making theories and the aspects of study the aforementioned scholars suggest is operational code analysis. Walker argues for these virtues, explaining operational code makes it possible to accommodate the

correct expectations of a traditional rational actor explanation of leadership behavior, while also accounting for and explaining the exceptions to rational actor predictions (1990, 407). Given its long history of use, robust development, and that it has many cases for comparison, it makes an ideal instrument for studying world leaders. Operational code also fits into the greater context of political psychology by studying cognitive, affective and developmental aspects of political leadership (Walker 1990, 416) thereby allowing for the application of proven social science concepts to the study of leaders from afar. For these reasons, operational code analysis was chosen for the purposes of this project.

Case Selection: A Closer Look at Netanyahu's Leadership

In this thesis, I investigate Prime Minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu. Netanyahu drew my attention as a leader who has been influential within his country for decades. Besides twice serving as Israel's Prime minister (1996-99 and 2009-), he has maintained an extended presence in the Israeli parliament since 1988 and held influence still beforehand, serving in multiple ambassador positions (Encyclopædia Britannica Online 2015). He is also noteworthy as a leader whose time as prime minister represents a period of perceived aggression and oppression in the international sphere (George 2014; Volsky 2015) and in some cases at home as well (The Jerusalem Post 2015; Harel 2015). His hawkish domestic and foreign policy arguably challenged Israel's capacity for successful international relations, even with traditionally close Western allies such as the United States. More damning still, his

recent re-election was enough to prompt one author to question whether or not Israel is "losing its soul" (Shavit 2015). His governance in Israel also provides a fascinating angle on the study of leadership as a democracy situated in the Middle East, a region that arguably does not have widespread strong citizen participation in government (The World Bank 2011).

Politically, Netanyahu serves as an important case study because although favorable international opinion garnered through moderate policies is expected to advantage the political objectives of dovish figures (Sandal and Loizides 2013, 416), the Israeli elections of March 2015 tell a different story. Amidst international pressure and criticism, discord within Israel itself, and polls predicting different results that proved to be flawed, Netanyahu's Likud party won a total of 30 seats in the legislature, beating their closest rival, the Zionist Union party, by six seats (Haaretz 2015). This represents a significant margin in the Israeli Knesset, made up of 120 total seats. It is also a shocking result given that many polls predicted a close race between the two parties and, in many cases, even forecasted that a greater proportion of seats would be awarded to the Zionist Union party (Israel Election 2015). Following the 2015 election, the Israeli Right achieved 54 seats, needing only 7 more votes from more moderate legislators to form a majority coalition and therefore marginalizing potential centrist influence. Though it is true that most polls suggested results that favored the Israeli Right, and therefore another term for Netanyahu, the prominence of his own party—and the Right in general—in the midst of controversy and polarization remains surprising.

All of this suggests that Netanyahu and his leadership strategy in Israel constitute a case worthy of further investigation. Understanding his operational code may serve both to better international relations interactions with Israel and to ease tensions in the Middle East. It is hoped that this study will also be beneficial to political scientists' understanding of both how polarizing leaders set the political agenda for a country and how they maintain power in a democratic society.

To achieve these ends, this thesis is structured to thoroughly investigate Netanyahu. Chapter 2 will introduce the chosen method of leadership analysis, operational code, and detail its history, development and utility. In chapter 3, use of this method to analyze Netanyahu quantitatively begins through VICS coding of interviews, speeches, and social media. Results are then broken down further to interpret their meaning, compare them to another study, and finally attempt to triangulate the results utilizing facial recognition software. Chapter 4 will investigate the subject further, beginning a qualitative analysis of Netanyahu based upon George's original method of operational code analysis: his philosophical and instrumental questions. Chapters 5 and 6 attempt to apply the qualitative understanding of Netanyahu gained in chapter 4 to specific issues through case studies of his operational code as it applies to Iran and Palestine. Finally, chapter 7 will conclude by reviewing and comparing the results, using lessons from these studies to recommend improvements to current methods, identifying limitations, and proposing future directions for research.

II. Operational Code - An Overview

This paper utilizes operational code framework as a tool to analyze a leader's belief system, which influences the decision making process alongside many other leadership functions. Operational code, a term originally devised by Merton (1940), was then first utilized in the analysis of world leaders by Leites in his work *The Operational Code of the Politburo*. Leites' work was an elaborate study of the Politburo including some psychoanalytic theory elements that made it somewhat difficult to approach for many political scientists (1951 and 1953). Thus, the method remained mostly dormant until George revived operational code by separating it from the psychoanalytic components included by Leites and outlining both the theory and the method with which it should be applied more clearly (George 1969). George proposed that this framework can serve as a useful connection to psychology from political science, allowing for a method of inter-disciplinary study of the unconscious and conscious aspects of belief systems and their effects on politics. Furthermore— and perhaps more importantly to the method's wider appeal—his work split operational code into two parts: philosophical and instrumental beliefs. He then broke these two categories down further into five questions that define each and together make up the belief system the method is attempting to determine (George 1969, see Fig. 1). George's preliminary work made operational code more user-friendly and allowed it to enter into broader usage in the field of leadership studies where it has since continued to develop.

Operational code has been further legitimized by wide-spread usage and with this usage came new styles of analysis. This development is well-documented by Walker in a review article titled "The Evolution of Operational Code Analysis" (1990). One early notable development is the contribution of Holsti, who took the questions formulated by George and used them to break leaders down into six political belief systems. Holsti identified two "master beliefs" which determined whether a subject falls into belief system typology A, B, C, D, E, or F, namely: "What are the fundamental sources of conflict?" and "What is the fundamental nature of the political universe?" (Holsti 1977). The intersection of answers to these two master questions and their resulting typologies are displayed in Fig. 2. Holsti's typology draws on the concept of cognitive consistency, suggesting that beliefs reinforce one another to form a consistent belief system, and that beliefs restrict the choices an actor considers and therefore the final decision (Walker 1990, 409). Therefore, this typology provided implications about the rest of subjects' belief systems through these two "master beliefs" and inferences about their decision making processes could be made by their respective classification.

George's Operational Code Questions

Philosophical Questions

1. What is the "essential" nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponents?

2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects the one and/or the other?

3. Is the political future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?

4. How much "control" or "mastery" can one have over historical development? What is one's role in "moving" and "shaping" history in the desired direction?

5. What is the role of "chance" in human affairs and in historical development?

Instrumental Questions

1. What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?

2. How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?

3. How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled, and accepted?

4. What is the best "timing" of action to advance one's interest?

5. What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one's interests?

Fig. 1. – George's Operational Code Questions, taken from "The 'Operational Code': A Neglected Approach to the Study of Political Leaders and Decision Making" (George 1969).

	What is the fundamental nature of the political universe?	
What are the fundamental sources of conflict?	Harmonious (conflict is temporary)	Conflictual (conflict is permanent)
Human Nature	A	D
Attributes of nations	B	E
International Systems	C	F

Fig. 2. Operational code belief system typologies described by Holsti (Holsti, 1977, p. 158).

Following work analyzing John F. Kennedy that suggested that Kennedy held beliefs from multiple of the Holsti types (Stuart 1979), it became clear that there was more work to be done classifying belief systems. Walker addressed this issue with a revision of the Holsti typology that acknowledged overlaps in the system and attempted to correct them. This revision can be seen in Fig. 3. However, upon testing by Walker and Falkowski in a study of U.S. presidents and their respective secretaries of state examining their bargaining tactics, the authors found that their results matched neither the original Holsti typology, nor Walker's revision (Walker and Falkowski 1984). This suggested that perhaps belief systems did not rely on cognitive consistency and necessitated further investigation. Researchers began to discover greater nuance. Herrmann provided one notion as to the next step in investigating belief systems, suggesting that cognitive consistency theory be replaced with new

understandings stemming from advances in cognitive psychology (Herrmann 1988). In

the coming years, operational code analysis would undergo continued investigation

and change searching for answers.

Revised Holsti Typology

Type A

Philosophical: Conflict is temporary, caused by human misunderstanding and miscommunication. A "conflict spiral," based upon misperception and impulsive responses is the major danger of war. Opponents are often influenced by nonrational conditions, but tend to respond in kind to conciliation and firmness. Optimism is warranted, based upon a leader's ability and willingness to shape historical development. The future is relatively predictable, and control over it is possible. **Instrumental:** Establish goals within a framework that emphasizes shared interest. Pursue broadly international goals incrementally with flexible strategies that control risks by avoiding escalation and acting quickly when conciliation opportunities arise. Emphasize resources that establish a climate for negotiation and compromise and avoid the early use of force.

Type B

Philosophical: Conflict is temporary, caused by warlike states; miscalculation and appeasement are the major causes of war. Opponents are rational and deterrable. Optimism is warranted regarding realization of goals. The political future is relatively predictable, and control over historical development is possible. **Instrumental:** One should seek optimal goals vigorously within a comprehensive framework. Control risks by limiting means rather than ends. Any tactic and resource may be appropriate, including the use of force when it offers prospects for large gains with limited risk.

Type C

Philosophical: Conflict is temporary; it is possible to restructure the state system to reflect the latent harmony of interests. The source of conflict is the anarchical state system, which permits a variety of causes to produce war. Opponents vary in nature, goals, and responses to conciliation and firmness. One should be pessimistic about goals unless the state system is changed, because predictability and control over historical development is low under anarchy. **Instrumental:** Establish optimal goals vigorously within a comprehensive framework. Pursue shared goals, but control risks by limiting means rather than ends. Act quickly when conciliation opportunities arise and delay escalatory actions whenever possible; other resources than military capabilities are useful.

Type DEF

Philosophical: Conflict is permanent, caused by human nature (D), nationalism (E), or international anarchy (F). Power disequilibria are major dangers of war. Opponents may vary, and responses to conciliation or firmness are uncertain. Optimism declines over the long run and in the short run depends upon the quality of leadership and a power equilibrium. Predictability is limited, as is control over historical development. **Instrumental:** Seek limited goals flexibility with moderate means. Use military force if the opponent and circumstances require it, but only as a final resource.

Fig. 3. Revised Holsti typology (Source: Walker, 1983, 1986)

Up to Walker's 1990 article, no one had utilized quantitative content analysis to examine operational codes and verify or refute Holti's classifications (Walker 1990, 410). Since that time, quantitative content analysis has jumped to the forefront of operational code analysis studies. This new approach and its accompanying methodologies add greater depth to operational code. Furthermore, it provides researchers with new assumptions, some unexpected at the time when qualitative discourse analysis reigned supreme.

This shift began with the work of Walker, Schafer and Young (1998), who developed the Verbs in Context System (VICS). This work will not cover the details of how VICS works due to space constraints, but Renshon (2008) provides a summary with the basic details necessary to understand its utility, which is emulated for the purposes of this study.[1] At a basic level, VICS operates in two stages, first taking sentences containing verbs and determining them to be positive (cooperative) or negative (conflictual) and assigning them a level of intensity broken up into *deeds* and *words*. Whereas *deeds* are indicative of action and exercising of power, *words* are a promise or threat of action, or supporting or opposing statements regarding an "other" group. Intensity ranges from -3 (*punish)* to +3 (*reward)*. The second stage centers on the attribution of verbs. Sentences referring to oneself of the "in group" are considered to represent a person's instrumental beliefs. Sentences referring to an "other" are considered indicative of the subject's philosophical beliefs (Renshon 2008, 13-14; Schafer and Walker 2006, 32). VICS creates somewhat of a change in the method of

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[1] A full explanation can be found in Walker, Schafer, and Young 1998; Shafer and Walker 2006.

operational code analysis in this way in that it reclassifies philosophical beliefs as being focused upon an "other" whereas instrumental beliefs focus upon the "self." Previous qualitative uses of operational code analysis did not break down the categories in this fashion. The results are averaged from a wide range of sources in order to get final figures that represent the overall trend of a subject's operational code. Since its introduction, this method of operational code analysis has become the preferred method of investigation for many researchers.

The VICS method of analysis and operational code analysis in general have been extensively used to investigate whether or not beliefs change and how they do so. To this point however, little generalizable information is available and political scientists are left to study subjects on a case by case basis, providing non-generalizable insights. What is clear is that beliefs can change in two directions: reinforcement and reversal. Hypotheses as to what causes these changes fall into two research categories: evolution over time, and the influence of specific major events. Other research focuses less on change and more upon overall belief systems for the purposes of political forecasting. Interestingly, most research utilizing VICS seems to refute the cognitive consistency model, instead suggesting that belief systems need not be coherent and may be conflictual. This represents a major change from the original concepts of George and Holsti's incarnation of operational code analysis, but also an expected progression given advancements in understanding of both operational code and cognitive psychology. This inconsistency is one major reason why in-depth study

of single subjects remains crucial because the existence of one set of beliefs does not

necessarily indicate the existence, or lack thereof, of another.

Crichlow (1998) put forth an analysis of the change in operational codes of

Israeli politicians Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres between the 1970s and 1990s

utilizing VICS. Crichlow chose these two subjects because of their vast influence on

Middle East politics and their roles in the Arab-Israeli peace process—reasons similar

to why I have chosen Netanyahu to be my subject, though his influence on peace is

arguably contrary to that of his counterparts in Crichlow's study. In the article, he

explains that both Rabin and Peres show significant changes in predictable areas of

their operational codes that allowed them to play a part in the peace process where

they may have been previously hostile. This supports the hypothesis that time can

facilitate belief change. However, also of note is that Peres displayed a greater change

than Rabin. Crichlow explained this by classifying each politician's leadership style,

arguing Rabin was an idealist and therefore always predisposed to a cooperative

approach, whereas Peres was only a pragmatic idealist, therefore he was more

influenced by his environment (1998). These two leadership styles were part of a

typology he presented made up of five classifications that can be seen in Fig. 4. This

typology suggests the need for nuance information about leaders that may not be

available through VICS statistical analysis alone, making room for qualitative analysis

alongside quantitative research. It also attempts to classify leaders in a way that

suggests cognitive consistency, which may oversimplify the actual beliefs and

thinking processes of a leader in an attempt to find patterns.

Crichlow's Typology of Leaders

1. Idealists – Leaders who approach politics in a cooperative manner, regardless of their environment, and are not affected by changes in it. Understanding their approach to politics is key to understanding their behavior.

2. Pragmatic Idealists – Leaders who approach politics in a cooperative manner, but for whom the degree of their commitment to this approach varies with their environment. Understanding their approach to politics and their view of the nature of the political universe is key to understanding their behavior.

3. Pragmatists – Leaders who pursue either a cooperative or conflictual approach to politics, reciprocating the nature of their environment. They are predisposed to neither cooperative nor conflictual strategies. Understanding their view of the nature of the political universe is key to understanding their behavior.

4. Pragmatic Realists – Leaders who approach politics in a conflictual manner, but for whom the degree of their commitment to this approach varies with their environment. Understanding their approach to politics and their view of the nature of the political universe is key to understanding their behavior.

5. Realists – Leaders who approach politics in a conflictual manner, regardless of their environment, and are not affected by changes in it. Understanding their approach to politics is key to understanding their behavior.

Fig. 4. Crichlow's Typology of Leaders (Source: Crichlow, 1998).

In a separate study, Marfleet (2000) investigated the effects of the events of the Cuban Missile Crisis on John F. Kennedy's operational code. Through use of private rhetoric that became available around the time the article was authored, he was able to determine more about the internal change and challenges Kennedy faced than otherwise may have been possible given only public rhetoric. Marfleet found that Kennedy's private rhetoric suggested his belief system remained fairly consistent throughout the crisis, though previous assumptions based on public rhetoric suggested that he made larger changes during the process (2000). However, in opposition to this, work by Renshon (2008) investigating George W. Bush indicates that traumatic events

can change key beliefs, sometimes in major ways. These changes can be extreme in the short term, but may mellow over time.

He and Feng (2013) provide an example of the comparative use of operational code for the purposes of political strategy and forecasting. In one article, they compare Xi Jinping, the president of China, to Hu Jintao, his predecessor with the intent of determining whether Chinese foreign policy will change or maintain the status quo. The comparison ultimately yields the conclusion that the two leaders have similar operational codes and therefore Xi would likely be a status quo leader. However, it does identify that Xi is more assertive than his predecessor, suggesting that he could respond differently to various external pressures. This difference, though seemingly small, can be an essential piece of information regarding the foreign policies of countries interacting with China because a more assertive leader may pursue his goals more aggressively. He and Feng note this and suggest that states—and, in particular, the United States—take this into account (2013). Such a small variation may be overlooked by a more general classification of leaders. This lends more legitimacy to the importance of individual study, though it does not negate the utility of broader classifications for their descriptive capabilities.

Given the substantial evidence that these examples provide, some of which conflicts and almost all of which yields diverse results based on the subject, political scientists are left to conclude that a subject's operational code and belief system are highly individualized. Though comparisons may be drawn between individuals of similar dispositions or in similar circumstances, it is too premature to assume that the

actions of one individual are indicative of what others will do. Though this is disappointing from the perspective of trying to create a comprehensive cognitive model, or a typology that can be applied to leadership, it does support the continued need for operational code analysis. In the future, perhaps greater data will lead to the identification of trends previously unidentified. Until then, an individualized operational code analysis of a subject remains as one of the most complete methods of comprehending leadership style. And though patterns are not always easily apparent, it often helps to identify the range of probable responses a subject will consider. By identifying this range, an actor may be able to change the outcome of a situation to one that is less probable without intervention (Walker and Murphy 1981-82). Given the climate of the contemporary international system, in which actors seek knowledge about allies and opponents alike in an attempt to strengthen their own position or maintain stability, information of this nature remains valuable.

III. Quantitative Analysis

Learning from the history and methods set forth in chapter 2, this chapter seeks to apply the operational code analysis method to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in order to contribute to the literature on Middle East studies and Israeli foreign policy. To do so, it begins with the modern quantitative approach of the verbs-in-context system (VICS). The sample included 54 speeches and interviews given by the prime minister in addition to the entire collection of posts he has made in English on Twitter. The preference for spontaneous materials in operational code analysis based on the belief that they convey a more accurate picture of a background though process is recognized by this study. For this reason, interviews comprise a majority of the texts in this sample (32 total). However, to exclude speeches is to limit potential data that may otherwise give a fuller understanding of a leader's operational code. Though speeches may be planned, practiced, and generally thought out to a fuller extent thereby disguising initial thought, they still reveal critical aspects equally important to a leader's operational code. Not all decisions are spontaneous and not all positions one holds on a matter are fully developed in an immediate response. In fact, an ideal leader would consider all options whenever time permits. The more thorough nature of speeches provides an enriching perspective on the breadth of issues a leader is considering and the method with which he or she would like to approach them. Ultimately, the sample also includes 22 speeches and comparing the isolated VICS results from speeches to those of interviews revealed remarkably similar patterns.

Additional concerns about speeches may include the possibility of influence by speechwriters. However, materials that may be written by speechwriters can still be considered functionally representative of what the leader wishes to convey. Crichlow explains this well, saying that speeches are legitimate subjects of study because "it would be naïve to believe that a leader will allow a speechwriter's artistic preferences, much less his or her personal foreign policy predispositions, to greatly influence policy statements made by the leader" (Crichlow 1998, 690). Thus, even if a leader does not personally write all of the policy statements he or she makes, it can be assumed that the general pattern of his or her operational code will still be present. This same concept is applied to the posts on Netanyahu's verified Twitter page. Though he does not sign those which he writes himself, this study considers all of the posts ("tweets") on Netanyahu's page to be demonstrative of his operational code for the purposes of this study. All tweets sampled from the page (@netanyahu) were publicly posted for over four months. The assumption is the following: Were tweets to be against Netanyahu's wishes or viewpoints, he could easily remove any of them, and if anyone managing his social media presence consistently misrepresented the Prime Minister, they would surely be replaced.

This novel method of including social media in this study provides an opportunity to examine leaders and leadership through a new and modern source largely ignored by other analyses up to this point. Twitter provides an especially challenging yet promising source for information from the point of view of operational code analysis because it provides the author with only 140 characters to get a point

across. In this constrained method of communication, the speaker is forced to express a message concisely, getting to the point of the matter. Thus, the hypothesis was that Twitter (or at least those tweets with substance) will provide a good indication of what information, strategies and stances are important to a leader. Furthermore, in a VICS analysis, it was believed that it may show a more concise representation of philosophical and instrumental beliefs because they may be less muddled among "filler" speech.

I prepared for the VICS analysis by isolating only what Netanyahu said in speeches and interviews, removing interjections by others. Any abbreviations in Twitter posts were also edited into full words so that they would be recognized in the analysis. Each text was then processed through Profiler Plus software designed to generate values for operational code analysis with VICS. Each individual text was then averaged together as a whole, and averaged into separate groups for comparative analyses to come later. This method of coding was used in an attempt to model an overall operational code, compare traditional speech and interview analysis to an analysis of social media, determine to what extent Netanyahu adjusts his statements to his audience, and map changes in Netanyahu's operational code over periods of time.

VICS analysis follows a standard format, as discussed earlier. Sentences containing verbs are identified and then assigned values based on their positive or negative message, the intensity of that message, and the group (self or other) to which the sentence refers. The software performing this analysis then produces an output of a group of values representing philosophical and instrumental beliefs based upon (but

perhaps not as all-encompassing as) George's Operational Code Questions. These questions and the meanings of the outputs are explained in Fig. 5 and Fig. 6, taken from an article by MacDonald and Schneider (2015). On a basic level, P1 and P2 as well as I1 and I2 range in score from -1 to 1. As a score is more negative, a leader is considered more hostile, pessimistic, and conflictual. Conversely, a more positive score indicates greater friendliness, optimism, and cooperation. P3, P4, and P5 regard predictability of the political future, one's control over historical development, and the role of chance in historical development respectively, each of which is ranked on a 0 to 1 scale with 0 being the low score and 1 being the highest possible. I3-I5 are slightly more complicated, however I3 involves risk orientation, I4 focuses on timing of action and is split into two parts, and I5 details the perceived utility of means, splitting into six possible leadership actions performed in speech. These are further detailed in Fig. 5 and the interpretation of their somewhat different scoring methods on the scale of 0 to 1 is explained in Fig. 6.

With this information it should be possible to interpret the data output from the VICS analysis of 55 total texts collected from Netanyahu. All of the results from the texts were compiled to determine mean values for each output. These combined values then represent the overall operational code of Prime Minister Netanyahu. The results can be found in Table 1.

Philosophical Beliefs

	Elements	Index	Interpretation
P1	NATURE OF THE POLITICAL UNIVERSE	Percentage Pos − Percentage Neg Transitive Other Attributions	+1 friendly to -1 hostile
P2	REALIZATION OF POLITICAL VALUES	Mean Intensity of Transitive Other Attributions divided by 3	+1 optimistic to -1 pessimistic
P3	POLITICAL FUTURE	1 minus Index of Qualitative Variation for Other Attributions	1 predictable to 0 uncertain
P4	HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT	Self or Other Attributions divided by (Self plus Other Attributions)	0 low control to 1 high control
P5	ROLE OF CHANCE	1 minus Political Future x Self Attributions/(Self + Other Attributions)	1 high role to 0 low role

Instrumental Beliefs

	Elements	Index	Interpretation
I1	APPROACH TO GOALS	Percentage Pos − Percentage Neg Self Attributions	+1 high cooperation to -1 high conflict
I2	PURSUIT OF GOALS	Mean Intensity of Transitive Self Attributions divided by 3	+1 high cooperation to -1 high conflict
I3	RISK ORIENTATION	1 Minus Index of Qualitative Variation for Self Attributions	1 risk acceptant to 0 risk averse
I4	TIMING OF ACTION	1 minus Abs. Value (Perc. X- Perc. Y Self Attributions)	1 high to 0 low shift propensity
	a. Coop. vs. Conflict Tactics	Where X=Coop and Y= Conflict	
	b. Word vs. Deed Tactics	Where X=Word and Y= Deed	
I5	UTILITY OF MEANS	Percentage for Exercise of Power Categories A through F	1 very frequent to 0 infrequent
	a. Reward	a's frequency divided by total	
	b. Promise	b's frequency divided by total	
	c. Appeal/Support	c's frequency divided by total	
	d. Oppose/Resist	d's frequency divided by total	
	e. Threaten	e's frequency divided by total	
	f. Punish	f's frequency divided by total	

Fig. 5. MacDonald and Schneider Explanation of Verbs-in-Context System methodology. Presidential Risk Orientation and Force Employment Decisions: The Case of Unmanned Weaponry, 2015. Pg. 10.

	Risk averse	Risk acceptant
I3	0.5−1	0−0.5
I4a	To conflict 0.5−1	To conflict 0−0.5
I4b	To doing too much 0.5−1	To doing too much 0−0.5

Fig. 6. MacDonald and Schneider Interpretation of Risk Measures. Presidential Risk Orientation and Force Employment Decisions: The Case of Unmanned Weaponry, 2015. Pg. 11.

Table 1. The overall operational code of Prime Minister Netanyahu according to the mean values of VICS analysis of all 55 texts.

Overall Results	
Measure	**Score**
P1: Nature of the Political Universe	0.065
P2: Realization of Political Values	-0.026
P3: Predictability of the Political Universe	0.107
P4: Control Over Historical Development (Self)	0.210
P5: Role of Chance	0.976
I1: Approach to Goals	0.324
I2: Pursuit of Goals	0.137
I3: Risk Orientation	0.316
I4a: Timing of Action (Cooperation vs. Conflict Tactics)	0.526
I4b: Timing of Action (Word vs. Deed Tactics)	0.447
I5a: Punish	0.1
I5b: Threaten	0.042
I5c: Oppose	0.196
I5d: Appeal	0.465
I5e: Promise	0.063
I5f: Reward	0.133

The average values determined through this analysis provide critical information. On both P1 and P2, Netanyahu receives scores very near to 0. On the scale ranging from -1 to 1, this suggests a neutral stance. According to this data, he would neither consider the political universe wholly friendly, nor wholly hostile (P1). He also has no strong tendency to be either optimistic or pessimistic in the likelihood of the realization of his political values (P2). Given this, the data would suggest that Netanyahu is likely flexible about how he views a situation based upon the facts. Continuing on with his philosophical beliefs, Netanyahu scores only about a .1 on the predictability of the political future (P3), suggesting he does not view it as particularly predictable. He receives a .21 rating on his perceived control of historical development

(P4), suggesting he also does not feel highly in control or influential. Finally, Netanyahu displays a great deal of belief in the role of chance in political development (P5) registering at almost .98. These numbers suggest that Netanyahu is a leader of a relatively neutral disposition who has little certain insight into the future, limited control of events around him, and who is guided greatly by chance rather than those actions of his own and others. This seems counterintuitive given the general perception of the Israeli Prime Minister, and deserves further analysis.

Netanyahu's instrumental beliefs continue to be puzzling. He scores .32 in his approach to goals (I1), suggesting a tendency for cooperation over conflict on the -1 to 1 scale. His pursuit of goals (I2) score is approximately .14, not far from neutral, but indicating a slight tendency for cooperation as well. His general risk orientation (I3) suggests he is risk acceptant, totaling a .32 and falling squarely between the 0 to .5 limits. He is narrowly risk averse to conflict (I4a) at .53, and narrowly risk acceptant of doing too much (I4b) at .45. He also seems to view the positive means as more effective in leadership—having a frequency of .66—than negative means—frequency of .34—when comparing the utility of means (I5a-f). Altogether, according to this VICS analysis, Netanyahu's instrumental beliefs seem to be positive and cooperative, if only by a small margin.

These results are initially perplexing, especially to those who are familiar with Netanyahu's discourse on the Middle East politics. Common perception of Netanyahu would not suggest that he is a particularly neutral figure, but rather a polarizing one because he possesses realist tendencies. However, analysis of a great body of texts he

produced yields seemingly middle of the road results. Rather than the conflictual, pessimistic, and hostile leader with staunch and steadfast opinions that he is often portrayed to be in the media and in public opinions (Plitnick 2015), Netanyahu appears fairly balanced, or even positive, in this analysis. What is more, he seems unsure of his ability to predict the political universe and his ability to assert control and influence. On the surface, this does not match up with what one would expect to find regarding the controversial leader. However, when considering that this study encompasses statements on a wide variety of issues, not just the conflict that Israel faces, it begins to make sense. Furthermore, the results begin to speak to and describe Netanyahu's nature more when lined up with studies of other leaders.

When compared to analyses of other Israeli leaders, such as Crichlow's 1998 analysis of Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres, Netanyahu shows similarity to the philosophical beliefs observed in the leaders during the 1990s, however some instrumental belief similarities also exist to the leaders' 1970 incarnations. The comparison can be seen below in Table 2 (values taken from Crichlow 1998). Juxtaposing the two sets of data suggests similarities between Netanyahu and 1990s Rabin and Peres in philosophical categories P1, P2, and P3. However, in I1 and I2, he compares closely to 1970s Peres. The Crichlow study indicated that both Rabin and Peres had developed into more dovish figures in the approximately 20 years between the two samples, meaning Netanyahu compares in many ways to "softer" Israeli leadership of the 1990s in his philosophical beliefs, but may share some of the hawkish tendencies for which 1970s Peres leadership was known.

Table 2. Netanyahu's overall VICS results from this study compared to results for Rabin and Peres in the decades of the 1990s and 1970s. Values bolded for comparison emphasis. Data taken from Crichlow, "Idealism or Pragmatism? An Operational Code Analysis of Yitzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres," 1998.

		Comparative Results			
Measure	Netanyahu	Rabin 1990s	Peres 1990s	Rabin 1970s	Peres 1970s
P1	**0.065**	**.04**	**-.06**	-.48	-.60
P2	**-0.026**	**-.05**	**-.03**	-.36	-.47
P3	**0.107**	**.16**	**.04**	.23	.30
P4	0.210	.72	.66	.69	.39
P5	0.976	.88	.98	.84	.90
I1	**0.324**	.53	.68	.71	**.34**
I2	**0.137**	.40	.40	.47	**.11**
I3	0.316	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
I4a	0.526	.42	.34	.28	.70
I4b	0.447				
Punish	0.1	.09	.08	.07	.24
Threaten	0.042	.10	.06	.04	.05
Oppose	0.196	.03	.03	.03	.10
Appeal	0.465	.21	.34	.28	.24
Promise	0.063	.25	.22	.28	.07
Reward	0.133	.32	.27	.30	.29

In this context, the results of VICS analysis of Netanyahu begin to make more sense. His rise to political prominence began in the 1990s in the time of the second sample of Rabin and Peres, possibly shaping his philosophical beliefs—or at least the discourse he provides about them. It follows that the type of rhetoric involved in expressing this type of philosophical beliefs may be a successful formula in Israeli politics. The similarities to 1970s Peres, a notably hawkish figure, in instrumental beliefs also indicates that Netanyahu's positive scores on these indices do not preclude an aggressive nature. The comparison to Peres in the 1970s invites more familiar characterization of Netanyahu in which he can be seen as conflictual in tendency.

Still perplexing, however, is Netanyahu's especially low score in his perceived control over historical development (P4) as it does not match up well with either of the other two Israeli leaders in either time period. Apart from this result, it seems that Netanyahu believes he plays a great role in the development of history as the leader of Israel. He references many things to be discussed in detail in later chapters that suggest he may feel in control, both in his approach to diplomacy and in his confidence that Israel will prevail in its conflicts. Yet, on a scale of 0 to 1, he only scores a .21. This strange deficit in perceived historical control given the bigger picture of how Netanyahu communicates is difficult to reconcile, until one considers political tactics and Netanyahu's style of speech. By reducing the certainty in his own speech, might Netanyahu be able to justify more aggressive actions? Could a more conflictual nature be hidden by rhetoric intended to shift the blame for issues in the Middle East? It seems that this is possible, and thus, this thesis first turns to divisions of the source materials into groupings that may provide more detail.

Spoken vs. Social Media		
Spoken	**Measure**	**Twitter**
0.067	**P1**	-0.04
-0.025	**P2**	-0.11
0.108	**P3**	0.07
0.210	**P4**	0.17
0.975	**P5**	0.988
0.325	**I1**	0.27
0.139	**I2**	0.07
0.321	**I3**	0.09
0.523	**I4a**	0.73
0.445	**I4b**	0.54
0.099	**Punish**	0.15
0.041	**Threaten**	0.1
0.197	**Oppose**	0.12
0.466	**Appeal**	0.41
0.062	**Promise**	0.1
0.134	**Reward**	0.12

Table 3. Comparing VICS data from Netanyahu's spoken texts to those from his social media presence on Twitter.

First, I turned to Netanyahu's social media outlet, Twitter, to try to get a better sense of his true nature. As mentioned earlier, Twitter allows its users only 140 characters to convey a point. Thus, I propose that the shortened format may often force Netanyahu to express himself concisely and therefore he may more directly reveal his operational code in order to communicate that which he felt important. I hypothesized that this shortened format would produce VICS data indicating a more conflictual operational code closer to the nature it is often assumed that Netanyahu possesses. Comparing the resulting figures from VICS comparison of spoken texts and Twitter (Table 3), it appears my hypothesis may hold some weight. Most notably, Netanyahu displayed a negative shift in his understanding of the nature of the political

universe (P1, -.107 change), his ability to accomplish his political values (P2, -.085 change), his approach to goals (I1, -.055 change), and his pursuit of goals (I2, -.069 change), among others. It should be noted that, because Twitter is treated as only one source, significant differences among these values were not investigated through statistical analysis. Regardless, they provide evidence of the possibility for a more conflictual operational code. These results are visualized in Figs. 7, 8, and 9, displayed as bar graphs.
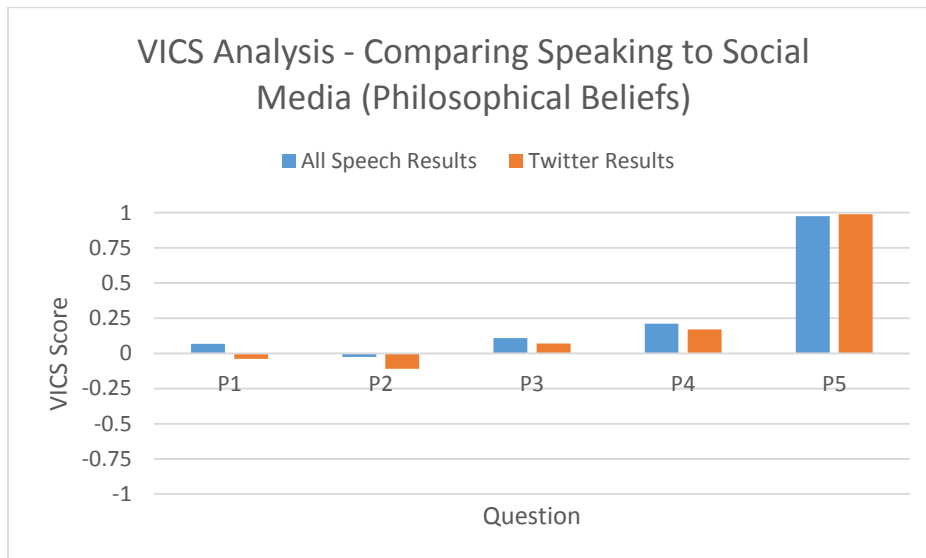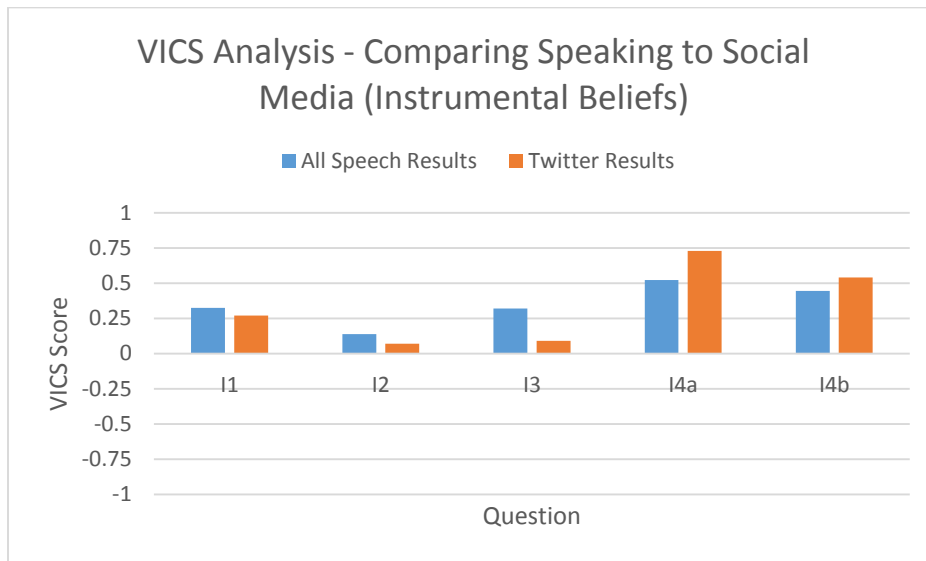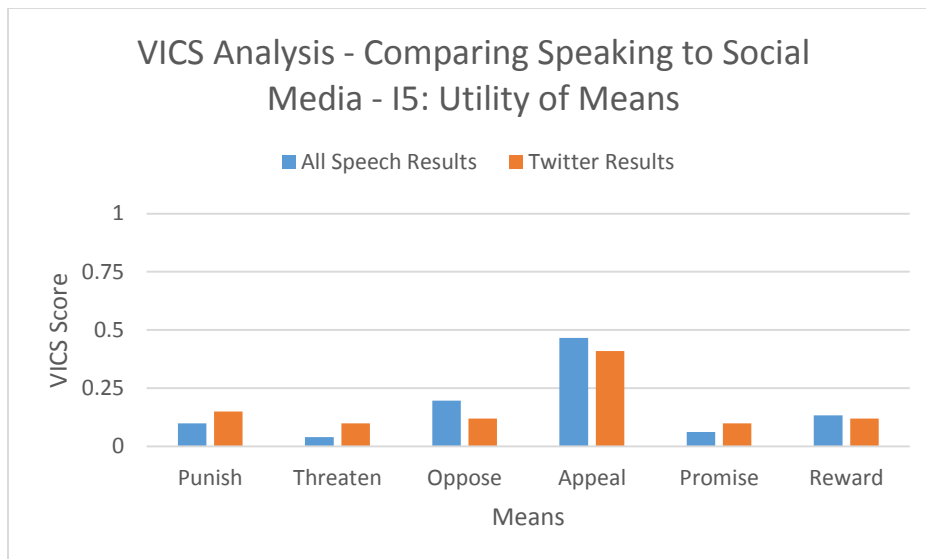

Fig. 7.

VICS Analysis - Comparing Speaking to Social Media (Instrumental Beliefs)

■ All Speech Results   ■ Twitter Results

VICS Score

Question

Fig. 8.

VICS Analysis - Comparing Speaking to Social Media - I5: Utility of Means

■ All Speech Results   ■ Twitter Results

VICS Score

Means

Fig. 9.

Though it did show some differences, this comparison between speech and social media presence did not display the type of large changes in VICS output that it was hypothesized may occur. Netanyahu received slightly more negative scores, but still remained relatively neutral seeming. However, Twitter provided a second opportunity that would have been much more difficult to achieve in the given period of time for this thesis for the collection of spoken texts: tweets could be divided into
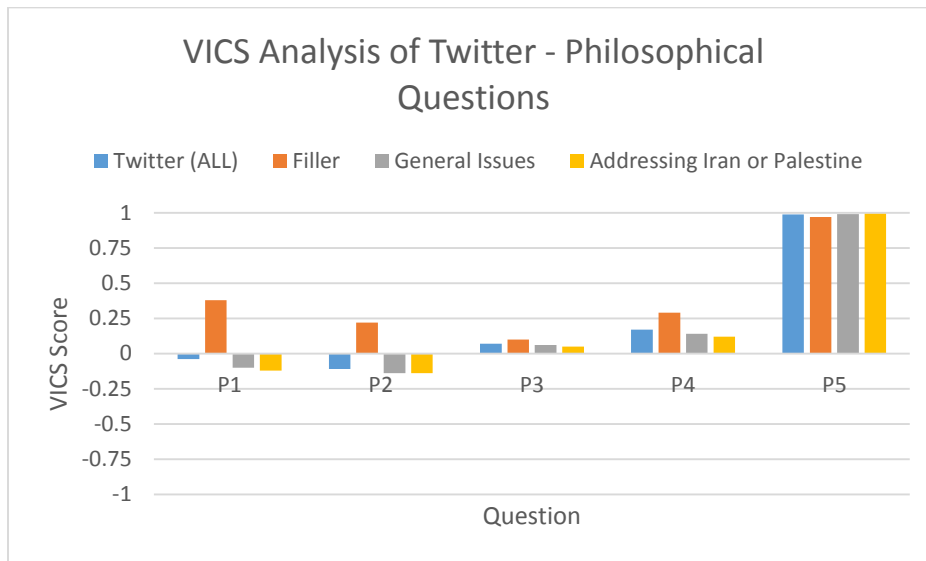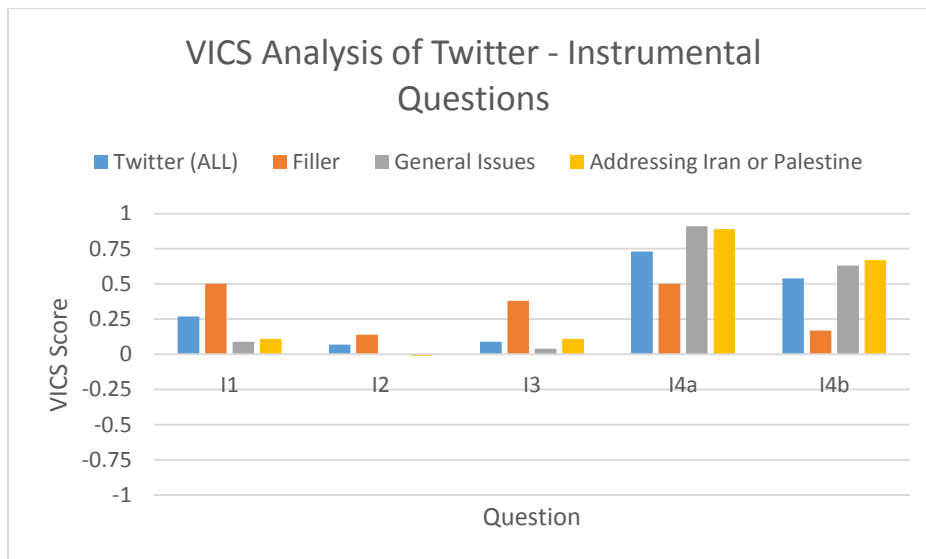
subject categories. Thus, this project divides all of Netanyahu's English tweets into three categories: filler, general issues, and tweets addressing issues of Palestine or Iran.

The tweets were divided so that those with little to no political value on any contended issues (such as wishing everyone a "Happy Hanukkah" or saying thank you to the soldiers) were rated as *Filler*. Those tweets addressing any general issue, such as elections or protests, were designated *General Issues* tweets. Any tweet specifically directed toward issues regarding Palestine or Iran (usually denoted by specifically mentioning either, their leaders, or terrorism) were determined to be *Palestine/Iran* tweets. It should be noted that some tweets in the *All* section encompassing all English tweets did not make it into any category, often because they were unclear in meaning or too heavily abbreviated. It is also important to note that all tweets in the *Palestine/Iran* category were also considered tweets that spoke to general issues of Israel and therefore also placed in the *General Issues* category. After classifying the tweets, the collections of text were run through VICS analysis once more. The results are shown in Table 4.

The deeper analysis of Netanyahu's Twitter presence revealed that his *Filler* tweets do indeed produce a highly positive skew on much of what VICS perceives as his operational code. However, the difference between the average values associated with all of his tweets and specifically those in the *Palestine/Iran* category is more muted. Nonetheless, observing how Netanyahu approaches these two key subjects through VICS analysis reveals an increasingly negative and conflictual operational

code once again. The changes are most notable and descriptive in P1, I1, and I2. These

changes can be seen in Figs. 10 and 11, which depict the different categories with bar

graphs.

Table 4. Breaking down tweets into subcategories and re-running VICS analysis.				
Twitter: Deeper Analysis				
Measure	**All**	**Filler**	**General Issues**	**Palestine/Iran**
P1	-0.04	0.38	-0.1	-0.12
P2	-0.11	0.22	-0.14	-0.14
P3	0.07	0.1	0.06	0.05
P4	0.17	0.29	0.14	0.12
P5	0.988	0.971	0.992	0.994
I1	0.27	0.5	0.09	0.11
I2	0.07	0.14	0	-0.01
I3	0.09	0.38	0.04	0.11
I4a	0.73	0.5	0.91	0.89
I4b	0.54	0.17	0.63	0.67
Punish	0.15	0.08	0.17	0.19
Threaten	0.1	0	0.11	0.07
Oppose	0.12	0.17	0.17	0.19
Appeal	0.41	0.67	0.31	0.41
Promise	0.1	0.08	0.09	0
Reward	0.12	0	0.14	0.15

VICS Analysis of Twitter - Philosophical Questions

Twitter (ALL) ■ Filler ■ General Issues ■ Addressing Iran or Palestine

Fig. 10.

VICS Analysis of Twitter - Instrumental Questions

Twitter (ALL) ■ Filler ■ General Issues ■ Addressing Iran or Palestine
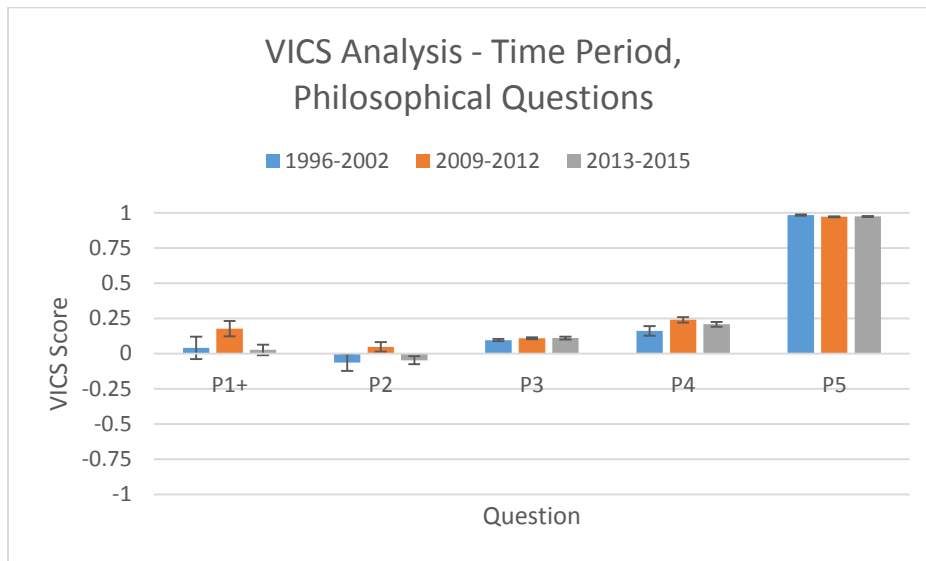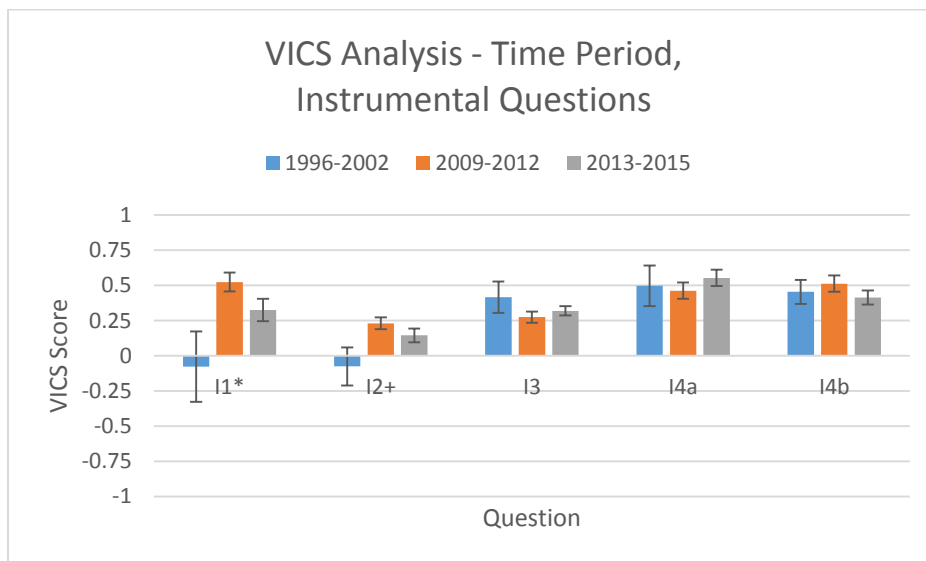
Fig. 11.

With these differences emerging, it became apparent that Netanyahu may have more to his operational code than the surface persona found by a general VICS analysis of a wide array of texts. This suggests that a more in-depth study, perhaps a qualitative analysis could be beneficial to better understanding the true nature of the Israeli prime minister. However, before exploring that further, this project intends to determine what other aspects of Netanyahu's operational code could be described by
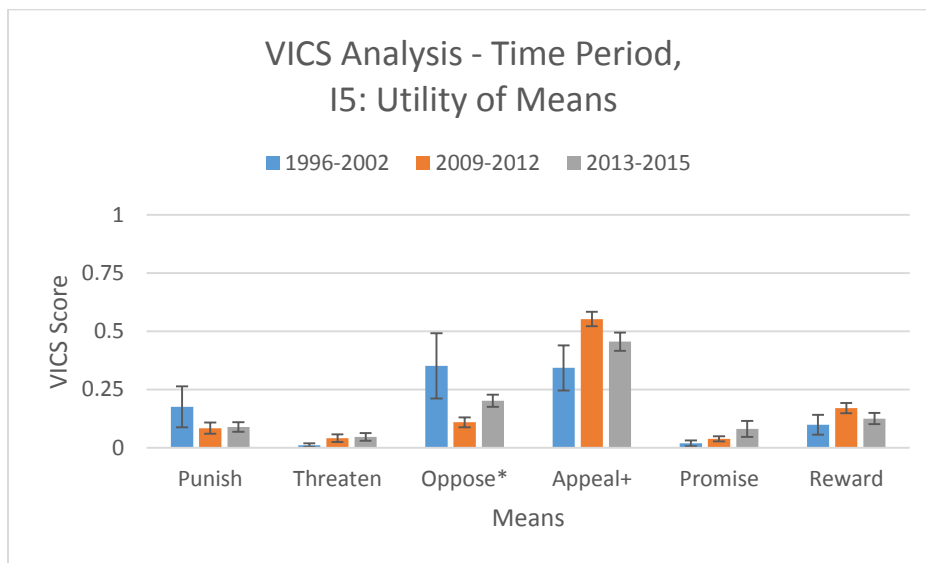
quantitative study. Many studying leadership suggest that a leader's operational code could be influenced by his political environment, or that it could possibly change over time. To examine this, VICS analysis of the spoken texts sample provided the opportunity to compare Netanyahu in three different time periods and apply statistical tests to check for significant differences. The texts were divided into distinct time periods based upon what, on the surface, appears to be different phases in Netanyahu's leadership. 1996-2002 encompasses Netanyahu's first term as prime minister and the interviews he gave after that time as a public figure. 2009-2012 includes Netanyahu's second term as prime minister, a time period where his politics seemed to shift towards cooperation, possibly in pursuit of popular support, illustrated by his 2009 Bar Ilan speech, among others. 2013-2015 begins a new time period because 2013 featured new international efforts to negotiate and work with Iran, an issue that may have caused another shift in Netanyahu's political approach and operational code.

The spoken texts from the sample were combined into the three time periods described above, and their VICS outputs were then averaged for each operational code question. One-way Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) were then conducted to examine mean scores on each of the operational code questions across the three time periods (1996-2002, 2009-2012, 2013-2015). Significant main effects of time period were then examined using follow-up T-tests to determine difference between each of the time periods. As shown in Table 5, results of these ANOVAs revealed significant main effects for I1 ($p<.05$) and Oppose ($p<.05$), and marginal effects ($p<.10$) for P1, I2, and Appeal. Follow-up analyses of the I1 and Oppose main effects revealed

significantly lower scores for 1996-2002 versus 2009-2012 (p<.05) and 2013-2015

(p<.05). Follow-up analysis of the marginal main effect for P1 revealed significantly

lower scores for 2013-2015 than 2009-2012 (p<.05). Follow-up analysis of the

marginal effect for I2 revealed significantly lower scores for 1996-2002 versus 2009-

2012 (p<.05) and 2013-2015 (p<.05). Follow-up analysis of the marginal effect for

Appeal revealed significantly lower scores for 1996-2002 than 2009-2012 (p<.05).

Table 5. Netanyahu's Operational Code as Described by VICS over various time periods. + p<.10; *p<.05. [a, b, c] Columns with different superscripts represent significant differences (p≤.05) on post-hoc analyses. Values bolded to emphasize relevant data.		
Change Over Time		
Measure	**1996-2002**	**2009-2012**	**2013-2015**
P1+	0.041	**0.177***	**0.026***
P2	-0.063	0.046	-0.047
P3	0.096	0.109	0.110
P4	0.161	0.24	0.208
P5	0.984	0.973	0.975
I1*	**-0.077[a]**	**0.524[b]**	**0.325[b]**
I2+	**-0.076[a]**	**0.231[b]**	**0.145[b]**
I3	0.417	0.274	0.320
I4a	0.497	0.463	0.553
I4b	0.454	0.513	0.415
Punish	0.176	0.084	0.089
Threaten	0.011	0.041	0.047
Oppose*	**0.351[a]**	**0.109[b]**	**0.202[b]**
Appeal+	**0.343***	**0.553***	0.455
Promise	0.019	0.039	0.081
Reward	0.099	0.17	0.125

Fig. 12.

VICS Analysis - Time Period, Philosophical Questions

1996-2002 · 2009-2012 · 2013-2015

Fig. 13.

VICS Analysis - Time Period, Instrumental Questions

1996-2002 · 2009-2012 · 2013-2015

VICS Analysis - Time Period, I5: Utility of Means

Fig. 14.

These significant differences (which are visually represented in Figs. 12-14) suggest that Netanyahu's political strategy and operational code have evolved over time. This is important because it supports the notion that a leader's belief system and decision making changes. It also is valuable to this particular study because it suggests that there may be a wealth of information to be found in more in-depth study. In the 1996-2002 time period, Netanyahu displayed a more conflictual tendency in I1 and I2 results than in 2009-2012 or 2013-2015. In the same period, he displayed greater oppositional speech than in 2009-2012 or 2013-2015, and lessened appeal speech compared to 2009-2012. The 2013-2015 time period also showed significant decline in faith in the friendliness of the political universe compared to 2009-2012. It seems that 2009-2012 may have indeed been the height of Netanyahu's optimism and cooperation. These numbers confirm that the Israeli leader indeed expresses more conflictual and pessimistic tendencies during some periods when compared to others, leading to the question: what leads to this more negative tendency? It is possible that

certain events change his feelings or cause him to reevaluate his strategies. Alternatively, he may be reacting to the Israeli political climate in an attempt to be re-elected. If this is the case, might he be masking a more realist operational code? Do Netanyahu's words betray his intentions in a way that people can perceive more effectively than a VICS analysis, thus leading to a hostile reputation that does not line up to his relatively neutral results? This alone would be warranting of qualitative investigation. However, before conducting this investigation, I wanted greater evidence of this possibility and a method of triangulating these findings. Given that VICS coding had struggled to indicate the realist tendencies many would assert that Netanyahu displays, it is important to pick up on data not analyzed in VICS. Thus, I sought to find a new method to apply to operational code analysis that utilized different queues. This study finds its answer to this dilemma in the work of another discipline interested in deciphering human thought, psychology. To add new information to the quantifiable analysis of Netanyahu and search for clues of underlying realist tendencies, it may be beneficial to utilize facial recognition software.

Therefore, utilizing iMotions software, this study analyzed a sample of 11 videos of speeches by Prime Minister Netanyahu and 10 videos of speeches by United States President Barack Obama. Obama was selected for comparison to Netanyahu as a sort of baseline for comparability in role, speech audiences, policy interests (terrorism and the Middle East especially), time periods of leadership, and forms of governance in their respective countries (both considering themselves democracies

with economic systems based upon capitalism). Additionally, the United States is considered a close ally of Israel, meaning that the two leaders' concerns may often be intertwined.

The iMotions software monitors the subject's facial affect throughout a video recording and automatically codes the intensity of seven expressions of basic emotion (*joy*, *anger*, *surprise*, *fear*, *contempt*, *sadness*, and *disgust*) based on automated coding of 19 facial action units from the Facial Action Coding System (Ekman and Friesen 1978). Expressions are also sorted into aggregate groups of *neutral*, *positive*, or *negative* affect. Affect is rated on a scale of intensity for each measure and the number of times the intensity of any affect breaks a set threshold is recorded. For the purposes of this study, thresholds are set to the manufacturer-suggested intensity threshold of 0.5 which should indicate a distinct expression of the aforementioned affects, as well as a threshold of 1.0 to monitor more extreme expressions. Intensities beyond this value were relatively rare, probably in part due to the social demands of political speech constraining expression. The number of times each affect threshold was broken were then divided by the total number of expressions sampled in a speech order to arrive at the proportion of time each leader expressed a certain affect. Following this, the proportions for each leader were averaged, establishing a mean proportion of the occurrence of the observed aspects in each leader's speaking.

The working hypothesis was that Obama, generally viewed as a fairly levelheaded speaker, would proportionally display more *positive* and/or non-negative (*neutral* and *positive*) expressions of emotion and fewer *negative* expressions of

emotion than Netanyahu. Thus, some of the initial results (reference Fig. 15 and Fig.

16) were surprising. Netanyahu did exhibit a lower proportion of *joy* (at both 0.5 and

1.0 thresholds), but not by a wide margin. Furthermore, both *anger* (at 0.5 and 1.0

thresholds) and *contempt* (at the 0.5 threshold) occurred at notably lower rates in

Netanyahu's speaking than Obama's. After running T-tests on the results, Netanyahu

exhibited significantly less *anger* at both thresholds ($p<.05$), and less *contempt* at the

0.5 threshold ($p<.01$). Netanyahu did not exhibit significantly less *joy* than Obama at

either threshold. However, a pattern also emerged in which Obama expressed all

affects at higher rates than Netanyahu except one. Obama exhibited significantly

higher *surprise* ($p<.05$), *fear* ($p<.01$), and *sadness* ($p<.01$) at both thresholds. When

looking at the overall pattern, Obama distributes his expressions fairly evenly. By

comparison, Netanyahu expressed only *disgust* more often within his speeches than

Obama, however, the frequency with which he did so was alarming. At the 0.5

threshold, Netanyahu expressed *disgust* almost one fourth of the time in the sample.

His *disgust* expression trumps his second most frequent expression by more than a

multiple of four at the 0.5 threshold and still towers over all others at the 1.0 threshold.

Netanyahu displays *disgust* significantly more than Obama at the 0.5 threshold ($p<.01$)

and marginally more at the 1.0 threshold ($p<.10$). Whereas Obama is fairly level (with

joy being his most common expression), Netanyahu displays a clear tendency to

display *disgust*. This could be a key in why many feel he is divisive and conflictual

while the VICS system does not seem to pick up on it as heavily. It is also

hypothesized that it may be a hint toward a more realist-leaning operational code that
is yet to be uncovered quantitatively.

Proportion At 0.5 Level							
	Joy	**Anger***	**Surprise***	**Fear****	**Contempt****	**Disgust****	**Sadness****
Obama	0.071	**0.062**	**0.047**	**0.028**	**0.037**	**0.008**	**0.026**
Netanyahu	0.052	**0.016**	**0.018**	**0.002**	**0.014**	**0.238**	**0.004**

+ p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01. Values bolded for emphasis.
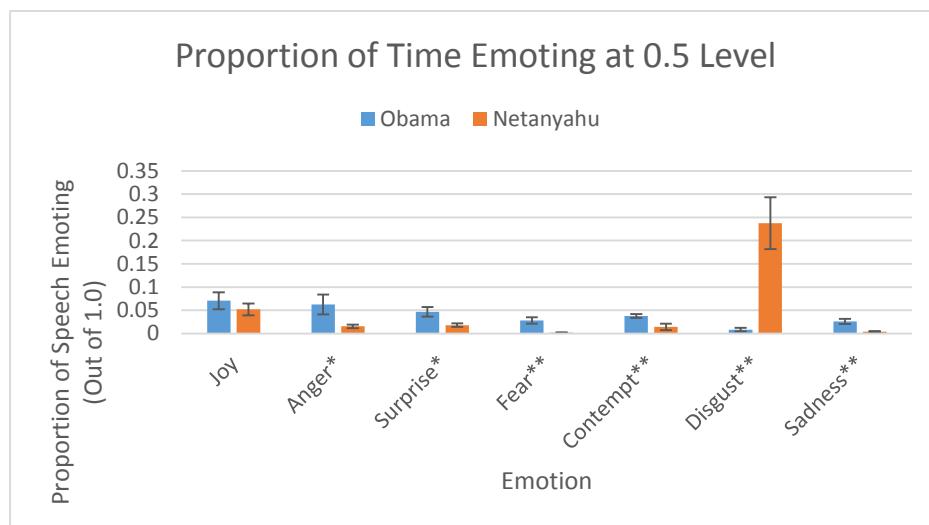
Fig. 15. Comparison of each leader's specific facial affects during speeches at a 0.5
threshold.

Proportion At 1.0 Level							
	Joy	**Anger***	**Surprise ***	**Fear****	**Contempt**	**Disgust +**	**Sadness ****
Obama	0.029	**0.027**	**0.022**	**0.004**	0.007	**0.001**	**0.004**
Netanyahu	0.016	**0.004**	**0.007**	**0.000**	0.004	**0.049**	**0.000**

+ $p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$. Values bolded for emphasis.

Fig. 16. Comparison of specific facial affects during speeches at a 1.0 threshold.
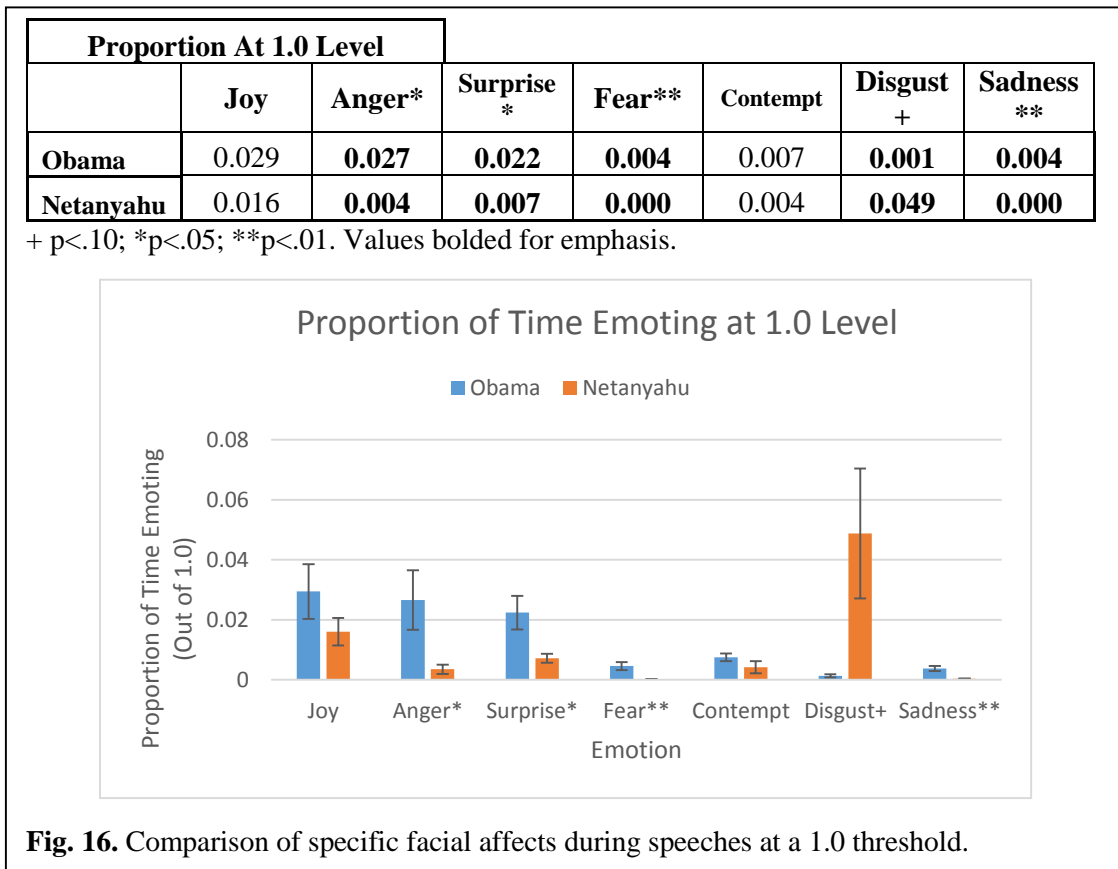
To investigate the possibility of underlying negativity that may indicate undetected realism further, this investigation then used aggregate classifications of expressions, comparing Netanyahu and Obama on *neutral*, *positive*, *negative*, *adjusted negative*, and *positive + neutral* displays of emotion (seen in Fig. 17 and Fig. 18). The categories of "*adjusted negative*" and "*positive + neutral*" do not exist in iMotions software, rather they were created in the process of this study to better display factors that are important to understanding the comparison of these two leaders based upon criticisms of Netanyahu's leadership. Whereas the *negative* classification encompasses *anger*, *fear*, *contempt*, *disgust*, and *sadness*, the *adjusted negative* classification is the sum of *anger*, *contempt*, and *disgust* results at each threshold. These three qualifications address emotions that may be more commonly felt by an aggressive
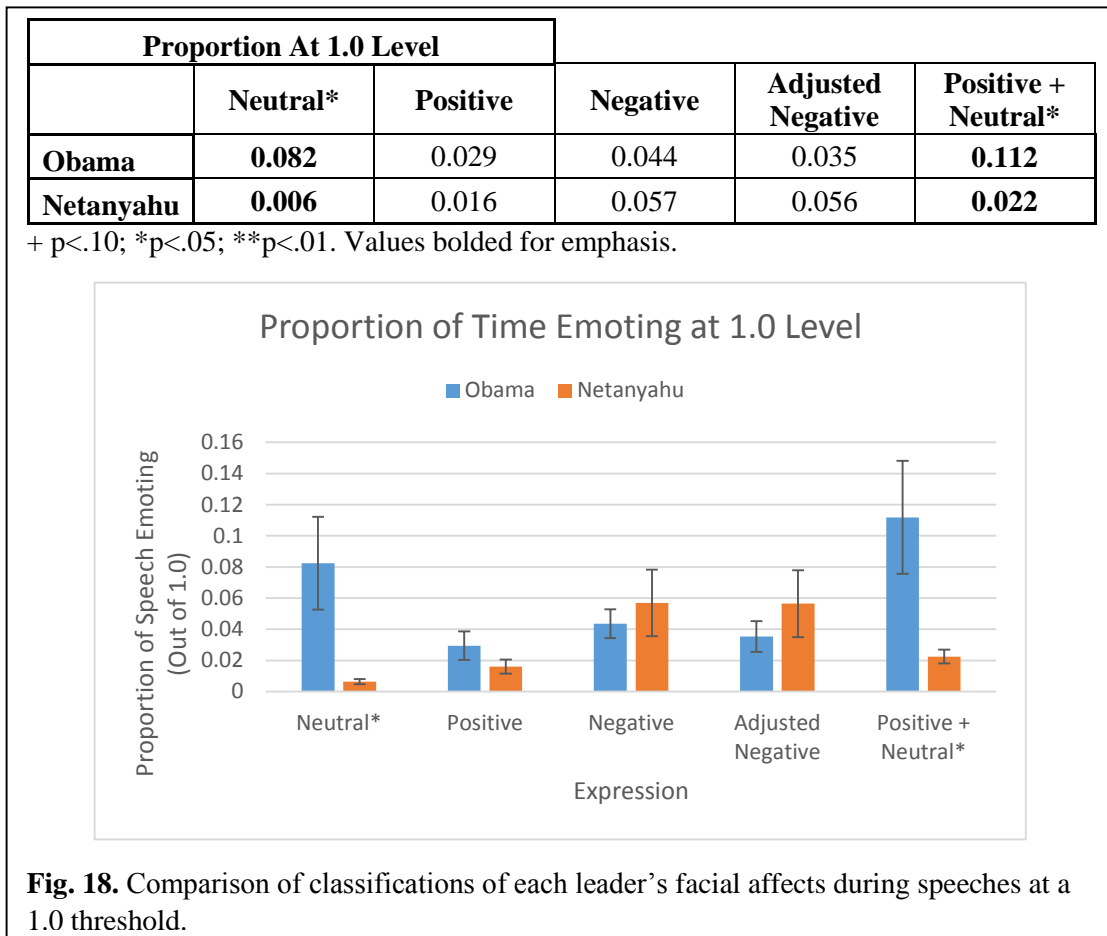
realist and that they also encompassed some of what Netanyahu is accused of displaying, especially toward Iran and Palestine. The *positive + neutral* classification is simply the sum of the *positive* and *neutral* classification results and is intended to show the frequency of non-negative expressions. The driving belief of this classification is that if frequent *negative* expressions may contribute to public perception of one's persona as conflictual and divisive, frequent non-negative expressions should have a dampening effect on that perception. This is supported by the fact that Obama clearly displays a large amount of *neutral* expressions. Despite displaying more *negative* expressions than *positive* ones at both thresholds, Obama displays more *neutral* expressions than either at both thresholds as well. It follows that this may be an important part of his balanced persona.

T-tests comparing Netanyahu and Obama were run on these classifications as well. Comparing only the frequencies of each classification of expressions, Netanyahu displays significantly fewer *neutral* expressions than Obama at the 0.5 threshold (p<.01) and the 1.0 threshold (p<.05), shows no significant difference in *positive* expressions at either threshold, and expresses marginally more *negative* affects at the 0.5 threshold (p<.10), significantly more *adjusted negative* affects at the 0.5 threshold (p<.05), and significantly fewer *positive + neutral* affects at both thresholds (p<.05). Once again, Netanyahu begins to show patterns that may contribute to the difference in perception by those who watch him speak and by VICS software that analyzes only the text of his speeches. Expressing less neutrality and greater negativity also

continues to support the notion of underlying emotion (and therefore possibly other data to support a different interpretation) undiscovered by VICS analysis.

Finally, differences between Netanyahu and Obama were investigated by ratios of the aggregate expressions they expressed. Should a speaker express all affects more than another, they may still seem more balanced than a speaker that is generally less expressive, but centered around one. A speaker centering around one particular aggregate expression may also reveal their underlying thinking. Based upon this line of thinking, Netanyahu and Obama were compared based upon their ratios of *positive* to *negative* expressions, *positive* to *adjusted negative* expressions, *positive + neutral*
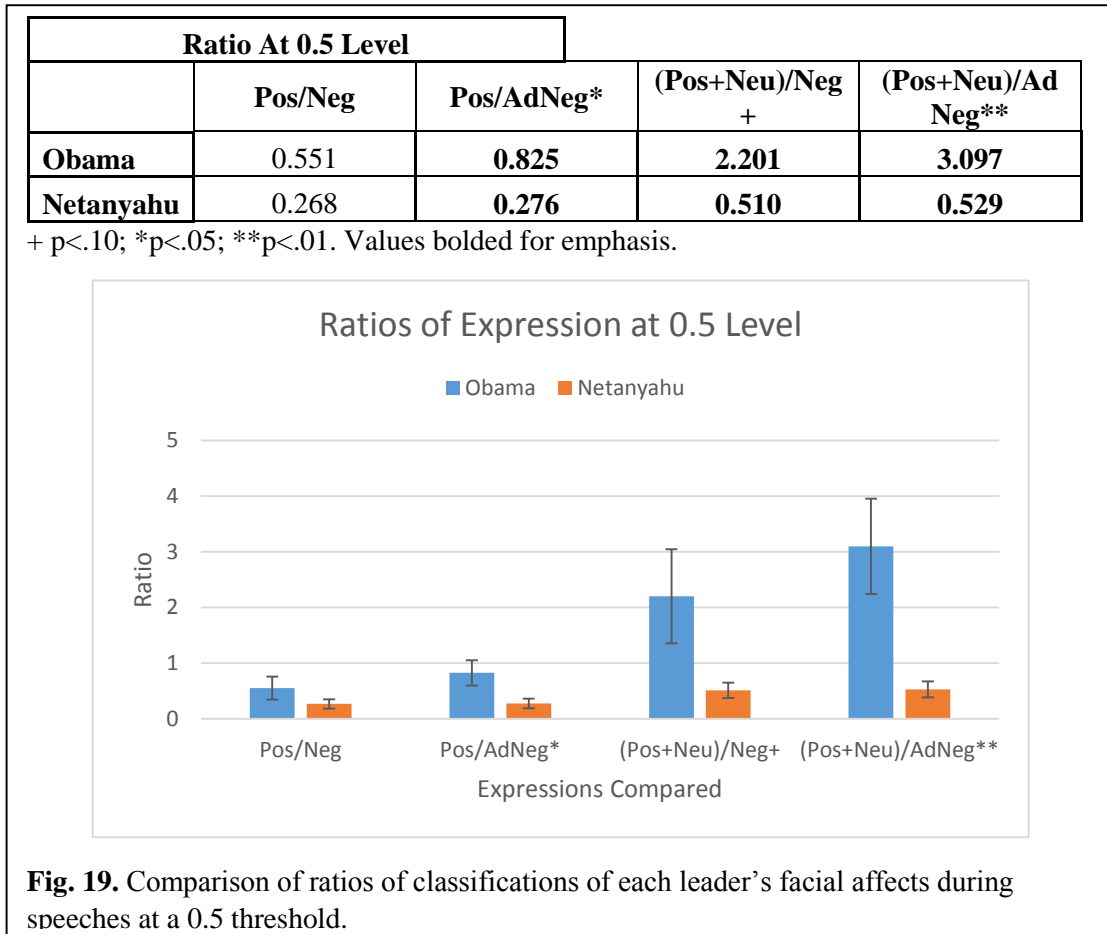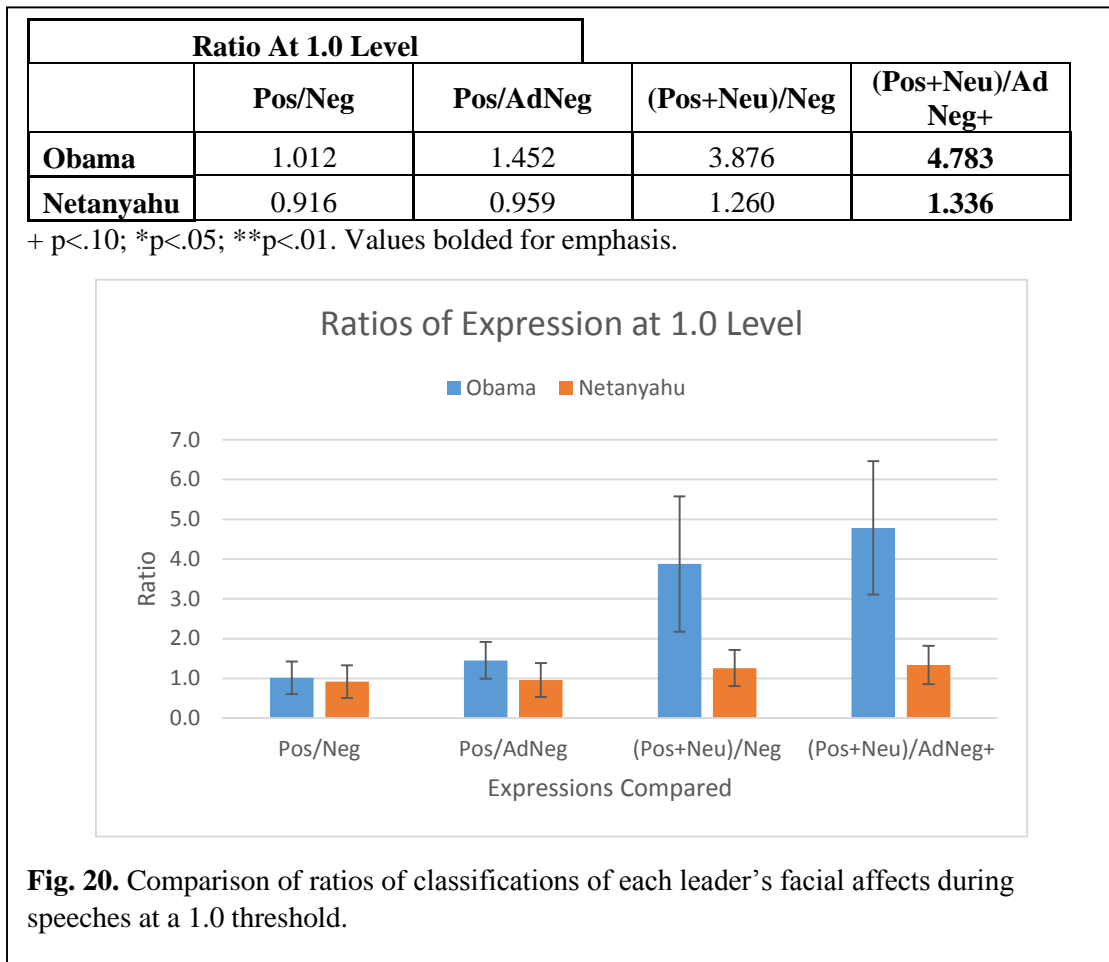
Proportion At .5 Level					
	Neutral**	Positive	Negative+	Adjusted Negative*	Positive + Neutral*
Obama	0.202	0.071	0.160	0.109	0.272
Netanyahu	0.047	0.052	0.271	0.267	0.099

+ p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01. Values bolded for emphasis.

Fig. 17. Comparison of classifications of each leader's facial affects during speeches at a 0.5 threshold.

Proportion At 1.0 Level					
	Neutral*	**Positive**	**Negative**	**Adjusted Negative**	**Positive + Neutral***
Obama	**0.082**	0.029	0.044	0.035	**0.112**
Netanyahu	**0.006**	0.016	0.057	0.056	**0.022**

+ p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01. Values bolded for emphasis.

Fig. 18. Comparison of classifications of each leader's facial affects during speeches at a 1.0 threshold.

to *negative* expressions, and *positive + neutral* to *adjusted negative* expressions

(reference Fig. 19 and Fig. 20).

When comparing these ratios, a general trend emerges that is clearly illustrated

by the bar graphs: Netanyahu displays much fewer *positive* or non-negative

expressions in relation to his *negative* and *adjusted negative* expressions than Obama.

In fact, Obama had a higher ratio in all four categories at both thresholds. By applying

a T-test, one can see that these results are significant for the *positive* to *adjusted*

negative ratio (p<.05) and the *positive + neutral* to *adjusted negative* ratio (p<.01) as

well as marginal for the *positive + neutral* to *negative* ratio (p<.10) at the 0.5

threshold. At the more intense 1.0 threshold, only the *positive + neutral* to *adjusted*

negative ratio was marginal (p<.10). However, the 1.0 threshold is intense enough that it does not occur often in political speech. Hence, the results at the 0.5 threshold are enough to see an importance in the pattern. Furthermore, this observed pattern fits the general perception typical to Netanyahu.

Ratio At 0.5 Level				
	Pos/Neg	**Pos/AdNeg***	**(Pos+Neu)/Neg +**	**(Pos+Neu)/Ad Neg****
Obama	0.551	**0.825**	**2.201**	**3.097**
Netanyahu	0.268	**0.276**	**0.510**	**0.529**

+ p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01. Values bolded for emphasis.

Fig. 19. Comparison of ratios of classifications of each leader's facial affects during speeches at a 0.5 threshold.

Netanyahu's greater frequency of *negative* expression occurrences is especially pronounced in these results. This may be indicative of why an observer could perceive Netanyahu's operational code as more realist than the VICS analysis initially run in this study. It seems that VICS may be excluding an important piece of information that

Ratio At 1.0 Level				
	Pos/Neg	**Pos/AdNeg**	**(Pos+Neu)/Neg**	**(Pos+Neu)/Ad Neg+**
Obama	1.012	1.452	3.876	**4.783**
Netanyahu	0.916	0.959	1.260	**1.336**

+ p<.10; *p<.05; **p<.01. Values bolded for emphasis.

Fig. 20. Comparison of ratios of classifications of each leader's facial affects during speeches at a 1.0 threshold.

may change how a leader is perceived. This exemplifies how difficult it can be to quantify thought, especially in the case of a complicated system such as an operational code. At this point, a reasonable amount of doubt has been established in the validity of Netanyahu's VICS results as they stand on their own. It appears there could truly be a more to Netanyahu's operational code that the results failed to uncover. Therefore, I hypothesize that Netanyahu's less positive affect ratio, and especially the highly disproportionate amount of *disgust* that he displays may be indicative of underlying conflictual, hostile and pessimistic aspects of a realist operational code not easily detected by VICS analysis. Thus, the necessity of adding a qualitative approach to

operational code analysis of Netanyahu is increased further in pursuit of either affirmation of the initial quantitative results from the VICS analysis or revelation of a more intricate understanding not portrayed in earlier numbers. In the next chapter, these possibilities are explored through the classic qualitative approach of George, answering the Philosophical and Instrumental Questions in his framework.

IV. Qualitative Analysis

Given the perplexing and conflictual nature of some of this study's quantitative results, it turns to a qualitative analysis to shed light on the operational code of the subject, Netanyahu. This qualitative approach is intended to uncover detail and nuance unexplained by earlier findings. Netanyahu himself gives political scientists reason to be optimistic about the prospects of achieving this goal, as he suggests that he can be effectively studied by operational code analysis through words of his own. In a 2013 interview, he declared, "I've decided, you know, just say it like it is" (2013 interview by Inskeep). His statement implies that he chooses to speak his mind rather than promote a party line. Because of Netanyahu's own insistence, his quarrels with members of his own party (JNi.Media 2015), and the general abrasive and confrontational nature of many of his public statements, one likely would be inclined to believe that Netanyahu is indeed professing his own thoughts. Furthermore, those statements that he makes that amount only to political lip service are generally identifiable when compared with his actions.

Netanyahu seems to be remarkably consistent over time in his operational code regarding political rivals, adapting his statements only when forced to do so by political pressures. Even when confronting new information or mandates from the international community, the adjustments he makes to his stated opinions and strategies are minimal. It is clear that he views the Middle East as threatening, and that many of the circumstances of the region make it nearly impossible to produce a true or lasting peace for Israel. In terms of Holsti's "master questions," most would assert that

Netanyahu sees the nature of the political universe as conflictual due to human nature (especially due to fanatical religious conflict), but is there more to his view? It seems clear that he is not an idealist, but is he a pragmatist, or is he a realist? The answers to George's questions below—and further analysis to come later—drawn from Netanyahu's own speeches, interviews, writings and social media, are intended to comprise an accurate account of his belief system, and will help to elucidate some of these questions.

This project approaches this qualitative analysis without regard for previously detailed quantitative results so as not to bias the findings of the qualitative component. Comparisons between the two analyses will be made in the concluding chapter.

Philosophical Belief Questions

Netanyahu is fairly simple to read in terms of his philosophical beliefs because they center on his opinions about others, a subject upon which the Prime Minister is quick to speak candidly. He bluntly describes his viewpoints on most Middle Eastern issues, and is especially harsh when discussing Iran. There is little question that he does not view Iranians as current or potential allies, but does this extend to all of his Middle Eastern neighbors? He takes a hard stance on terrorism, and seems to quarrel with anyone he believes is threatening to his security concerns. What lies behind his hostility? Is there a way to counter his staunch opposition to cooperation with most other governments in the region? George's philosophical questions help to reveal

Netanyahu's deeper feelings about his political surroundings and thus may provide hints to help to answer some of these crucial questions.

P1. What is the "essential" nature of political life? Is the political universe essentially one of harmony or conflict? What is the fundamental character of one's political opponents?

In Netanyahu's belief system, the essential nature of the political universe is that of conflict. Netanyahu manages to claim that he wants peace and suggest that he is seeking it, while simultaneously implying that it is not possible. He provides many reasons to support this assertion, many of which have to do with resistance to Western influence and general unrest in the Middle East. Among his claims are that the Middle East is plagued by dictatorships and anti-democratic sentiment (1996 speech to US Congress) and that the lack of democracy in the area leads to instability (2012 interview by Wallace). Furthermore, Netanyahu believes that the governments of his opponents in the region are driven by radical Islam—especially Iran—(2012 speech to United Nations General Assembly), and that it is in the nature of radical Islam to hate the West and its values (2012 interview by Gregory). These assumptions make the basis of why he characterizes the political universe, or at least his universe in the Middle East, as plagued by conflict.

Netanyahu rejects the idea that one could strive to make harmony in the region, instead sticking to the suggestion that Israel resides in a dangerous area and always in need of additional security measures. He portrays his opponents as irrational, and not

controllable by containment strategies (2012 interview by Gregory). For this reason, he feels diplomacy efforts are futile, particularly with terrorist groups. Because he characterizes so much of the Middle East as being controlled by terrorism and radical Islamic sentiment, it seems he does not feel harmony is achievable and attempting it would be foolish. Netanyahu often berates deals made by the international community in the Middle East as bad and too soft on Israel's enemies. He believes any concessions—which he perceives as weaknesses—will be exploited to attack Israel, a stance he takes relating to the danger of dealing with Iran often (2015 interview by Schieffer). As such, the contributions of the international community to attempt to bring peace to the region are of no help in Netanyahu's mind. Worse still, the international community often tries to force peace while ignoring atrocities committed against Israel (2011 speech to US Congress), a phenomenon caused by the United Nation's distorted focus (2010 interview by Mansbridge) that results from backwards leadership (2011 speech to United Nations) that is influence by anti-Semitism. Negotiated "peace" does not help bring security to Israel, but rather heightens the danger inherent in this conflictual region.

Additionally, Netanyahu fears that the political universe poses great danger of brutality and violence. Reasons for this background thinking seem to include both the continued influence of the Holocaust on the Jewish people, and the consistent threat of terrorism. The Holocaust is referenced frequently in Netanyahu's statements throughout the years and is used as a rhetorical device not only domestically, but also abroad (2009 speech to United Nations). The common theme among these statements

seems to be a history of powerlessness of the Jewish people (2010 speech to AIPAC) that led to mistreatment at the hands of many countries and ultimately to an attempted extermination by the Nazis. Netanyahu refuses to relive the lessons of the Holocaust (2012 speech to AIPAC), drawing on the impact of the collective trauma of the Jewish people to justify his obsession with garnering ever greater relative power in the Middle East. The feeling of powerlessness still seems to impact the collective consciousness of Israel, and preventing it is a central purpose of the state in Netanyahu's belief system. This becomes especially important because concerns about a second genocide against his people are reawakened by threats of annihilation, which he often references (2014d interview by Schieffer) when coming from Iran or terrorist groups. Because of these threats, Netanyahu commonly equates militant Islam to Nazis in his speaking and likely his own beliefs (2014 speech to United Nations). He fears that anti-Semitism is resurgent (2015 speech to Global Forum for Combatting Anti-Semitism). These conditions make Netanyahu—and much of Israel—feel threatened and in need of stringent defense measures.

Terrorism creates more threat of conflict. Netanyahu considers terrorism against Israel to be fueled by hatred and militant religious values, Islam specifically (2001 statement to US Government Reform Committee). In this type of environment, not much can be done reduce terrorist sentiment. There are no negotiations to be had if the reason an opponent is warring with you is based on hatred and religious conviction. Therefore, the conflict will rage on until either those who hate Israel are eliminated, or they succeed in destroying Israel. Israel is embroiled in constant conflict

because Israel's enemies want a Holy War that will bring power to radical Islam (2012 speech to United Nations). He has no means of preventing his country's slaughter but to fight. And defense is necessary because he is surrounded by hostility. Israel is situated among many tyrannical countries, which he believes breed terrorism (2002 speech to US Senate). According to Netanyahu, "Israel has been subjected to the most unprecedented continuous terror attacks in history" (2002 interview by Frost). This fact reinforces his earlier stated held beliefs and is enough to prove to Netanyahu that he faces a world of conflict and danger.

However, Netanyahu denies the inevitability of Huntington's clash of civilizations[2] saying that rules keep competition in check (2013 interview by Inskeep). He describes this view in the context of East versus West, more specifically the clash between China and the United States. Netanyahu states that he does not believe Huntington's hypothesis is even likely. Initially this is somewhat surprising, because his assessment of terrorism being a consistent threat based upon religious differences seems consistent with the clash of civilizations theory. Therefore, Netanyahu's reliance on rules here, but not in the context of the Middle East suggests a few possibilities. He may believe China and the US are rational actors, whereas hostile groups in his region are not, in fact he makes a qualifying statement about Iran that suggests this is his view. He may face a contradiction in his belief system in which he believes rules will work on a world scale, but will not work to prevent conflict in his region. Or, he may simply be making a political statement in which he chooses to try

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[2] Referring to the hypothesis developed by Samuel P Huntington and described in his 1996 work *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*

to avoid instigating unnecessarily. It seems that all three possibilities have merit and a combination of beliefs about rationality of opponents, somewhat of a conflict in his own beliefs, and a political maneuver may very well all be in play. This highlights one of the most difficult to decipher aspects of Netanyahu's belief system: that he professes aspirations for harmony, but consistently speaks and acts in ways that suggest it is unattainable in his situation.

Regardless of Netanyahu's professed faith in possible harmony on a larger scale, it is clear that locally he feels entrenched in conflict. He believes that his political opponents are the source of that conflict, and that they are solely the ones who should be held accountable, for which he consistently assaults their character. He berates political opponents for refusing to stop terrorism and therefore choosing terrorism over diplomacy (1996 speech to US Congress), or even worse in the case of Iran, for sponsoring terrorism directly and therefore preventing Israel from making peace (2010 interview by King). He insists that those perpetuating this terrorism are not doing so over frustration regarding stagnation in the peace process, but rather because they oppose Israel's very existence (2015 speech to 37th Zionist Congress). For this reason, he holds the countries surrounding Israel responsible for the clash with Palestine because they fuel this sentiment, and demands that they take responsibility for their part in making peace with Palestine by making peace with Israel (2014 speech to United Nations).

It seems that Netanyahu has little faith that he is likely to find peace anywhere in the region soon, despite his requests for it. He alleges that Israel faces opponents

with medieval doctrines, and that radical Islam is both anti-Semitic and West-hating (2014 interview by Hannity). Furthermore, the Middle East itself is riveted by religious hatred (2014 interview by Gregory). Those who are fueling this religious extremism, militant Islamists, want regional and then world domination (2014c interview by Schieffer) thereby leaving no room for Israel's existence. If he truly believes that this is the type of doctrine he faces, it logically follows that there is no hope of cooperation or peace. And the futility of peace that he describes matches this assumptions as he accuses Muslims of being unable to create peace even amongst themselves (2015 speech to 37th Zionist Congress). He even justifies his argument that creating a peace is futile by pointing out that the Jewish people have faced attacks by inhabitants of the Middle East since ancient times and that the conflict should be understood as nothing new, but instead a continuation of religious aggression for which Israel is not responsible (2015 speech to US Congress).

One might hope that strong leadership could bring an end to this fighting, but Netanyahu has no faith in the leaders of his region. He accuses them of being untrustworthy, inflammatory, libelous, and impossible to work with. In the cases of Palestine and Iran, his two biggest foreign policy issues, he believes both constantly violate agreements and that therefore there is little point in talking to them. He references failings of the Oslo process for Palestine (2001a interview by Frost), and often points out that talks with Iran fails to stop their misdeeds, aggression, or nuclear ambitions (2012 interview by Wallace). Even if he were more open to talking, Netanyahu's belief system suggests that it would do no good. He calls for talks with

Palestine, but insists they refuse to talk to him and continue to make new conditions in order to meet (2010 interview by Mansbridge). In fact, even when offered agreements favorable to them, Palestine will refuse them (2011 speech to United Nations). On the other hand, Iran shows no signs of stopping their consistent threats toward Israel and according to Netanyahu, "Somebody who calls for our destruction, my destruction, is unfortunately not a partner for peace" (2010 interview by King). He feels that opposing figures dislike him and his country and therefore spread lies and aggression against them, an accusation that he will make in front of international audiences (2012 speech to United Nations). As will be investigated further moving onward, in these conditions, Netanyahu feels an adequate peace is unattainable.

For this reason, he disparages international attempts to intervene and impose a peace in the Middle East between Israel and others. He accuses the United Nations (U.N.) of being soft on terrorism and giving terrorists immunity with by expecting Israel not to retaliate (2009 interview by Blizter). He so dislikes the United Nations' intervention that he describes the name of the U.N. Human Rights Council as "an oxymoron" and blames them for spreading anti-Semitism (2014 speech to United Nations). This indicates a paranoia that begins to be apparent and underlies much of Netanyahu's belief system. He distrusts those who stand in the way of his political ambitions. In the case of the U.N., he insists that they and the greater international community cause more problems for solving the conflict and fall for the "assault on the truth, [and] campaign of defamation and slander" created by Israel's political opponents (2015 speech to 37th Zionist Congress). Thus, even with outside help, there

seems to be little chance for harmony in his belief system, because the rest of the world does not understand the problem the way Netanyahu does.

Netanyahu consistently blames the persistence of conflict entirely on his political opponents, whose character he consistently calls into question. In contrast, he neglects to recognize any failures on his part or the part of Israel. In fact, he consistently describes Israel idealistically and shows that he holds himself in high regard. Reading Netanyahu's statements, it is difficult to miss the "city on the hill" type imagery that he consistently employs. He makes a point of mentioning that Israel is the "only true democracy in the Middle East" (2010 interview by Mansbridge). This is technically true, although many would be quick to point out that he denies voting rights to many Palestinians that he nonetheless holds under his control—a clear conflict in his belief system between the importance of democracy and the greater importance of maintaining a Jewish state, which will be covered more later. He also represents Israel as the anchor of stability in the Middle East (2011 speech to US Congress) and suggests that it is defending the whole world as the frontline against religious fanaticism (2015 speech to United Nations), implying that not only is Israel not causing conflict, but possibly keeping it from getting worse. Perhaps most important to his belief system—and most concerning—is how he describes Israel in relation to its surroundings, saying "In a dark, and savage, and desperate Middle East, Israel is a beacon of humanity, of light, and of hope" (2015 speech to AIPAC). This statement reveals an obvious sense of superiority that comes through in his consistent belief that he stands on the moral high ground. This moral contrast and the resulting

opinions he holds on who is responsible for Israel's continued conflicts is essential to understanding how the rest of Netanyahu's belief system is formed. Interestingly, he is convinced that his views are not racist, and that they attract some Arab support (2015 interview by Mitchell). In this case and many others, Netanyahu appears to accept all of his beliefs as factual, rather than confronting them to address inconsistencies.

P2. What are the prospects for the eventual realization of one's fundamental political values and aspirations? Can one be optimistic, or must one be pessimistic on this score; and in what respects one and/or the other?

Netanyahu's most fundamental political value is maintaining the security and existence of Israel as a Jewish state. He describes the primary objective of Israel as being a "Jewish state set up to defend Jewish lives, and we always reserve the right to defend ourselves" (2010 interview by Wallace). This is rooted in collective trauma related to the Holocaust, as mentioned earlier, but clearly also is contributed to by Israel being situated in an area where Netanyahu feels surrounded by enemies. Regarding Israel's prospects for maintaining security, Netanyahu seems to maintain a balance of optimistic and pessimistic views, but is overall optimistic for the future.

Optimistic viewpoints encompass the survival of the state and the maintenance of its Jewish identity. He believes that Israel will not let Iran develop nuclear weapons (2010 interview by Mansbridge) saying that he has no doubt that Iran's nuclear ambitions will be defeated (2011 speech to US Congress). On a larger scale, he praises Israel's great power to defend itself and pledges that it will do so if necessary,

ensuring that those who seek to destroy Israel will fail (2014 speech on Holocaust

Remembrance Day). These statements suggest that he has confidence in Israel's

defense systems and the Israel Defense Forces to maintain the safety of Israel under

the pressure of Middle Eastern conflict. Ultimately, his promise that Israel "will never

be uprooted again" and that fanaticism will be defeated (2012 speech to United

Nations) encompass the prospects he sees for maintaining the Jewish state. However,

in the same speech, he expresses some doubts about the safety of individual people

along the way.

Israel's (in)ability to protect individual citizens from violence is the main

source of Netanyahu's pessimism on the security front. This pessimism is likely

formed in response to sporadic terrorist attacks that continue to afflict Israel despite

stringent security measures. However, on a larger scale Netanyahu fears for the safety

of Israelis as well, warning of high costs of inaction against Iran (2011 speech to

Congress). He feels that by not keeping Iran in check as he would prefer, they are left

to be more aggressive and will likely increase their sponsorship of terrorism (Times of

Israel 2015b). He also fears the possible repercussions of an Iranian nuclear weapon,

and he does warn about them, but because he intends to stop that from occurring,

Netanyahu seems less concerned about the immediate danger of that possibility. It is

worth noting that Netanyahu's professed concern about terrorism affecting Israelis

could be a political move to increase the appeal of his security-based leadership. There

is reasonable reason to believe that he plays to this issue in order to make himself a

more appealing candidate, but this analysis concludes that his concern remains

genuine. Netanyahu mentions the dangers of terrorism consistently throughout this study, not just around election cycles. Moreover, those who have visited Israel have almost certainly noticed the security measures taken throughout the country. If terrorism was not a concern, funds necessary for such security could be redirected to other pressing security issues.

Netanyahu is far less optimistic about his second professed political value, the pursuit of peace, than he is about maintaining Israel's security and identity as the Jewish state. To his credit, he does speak optimistically about his intentions, and up until late 2014, at least professed an interest in negotiating with Palestine. He points out that Israel is capable of working with groups of historical conflict, using Jordan as an example of peaceful coexistences that can be achieved (2002 PBS interview). Netanyahu also has made some comments that are key to getting a peace process with Palestine started, most notably in his 2009 Bar Ilan speech in which he declared that he wanted to negotiate with Palestine, recognized the need to give Palestinians rights, favored a two state solution, and wanted to work for peace. Crucially, he claims that he is prepared to compromise with opponents if they will compromise as well (2013 interview by Inskeep). He has previously stated that he believes achieving peace within his lifetime is possible (2010 interview by King) and, were he to stick to some of these statements, there is reason to believe it possibly could even be achieved within his tenure as Prime Minister. However, Netanyahu's paranoia takes hold in the form of his pessimistic beliefs about achieving peace and seems to effectively block

the possibility of achieving it with Palestine or other Arab states in opposition to
Israel.

Perhaps the key belief that prevents Netanyahu from being more proactive and
positive about achieving peace in the Middle East or for Israel is that peace cannot be
achieved while there is terror in the Middle East (1996 speech to US Congress). In
fact, it appears that he believes that trying to achieve peace in the presence of terror
only brings more terror, decreeing that "to get a political solution you must defeat
terrorism and that you can only do militarily" (2002 interview by Frost). His
confidence in this position seems to strengthen over time as he assimilates new
information to match his current beliefs. For instance, he cites Israeli withdrawal from
Gaza which he believes brought more terrorism and certainly failed to bring peace
(2009 speech to United Nations). Given this, he does not trust any terms of peace that
are maintained only by an agreement and not by some form of policing, saying that
peace is impossible as long as people who want to destroy Israel are involved with the
process (2014a interview by Schieffer). Netanyahu perceives anti-Israel sentiment to
be widespread and therefore a peace must seem near impossible. Perhaps initially he
believed others would accept a peace based mostly on his terms, but as time went on
Netanyahu's pessimism seemed to grow and his paranoia has failed to subside.
Recently, he expresses fears about the nuclear deal with Iran causing war (2015
interview by Forbes) and that he feels that conditions in the present day make peace
with Palestine unachievable (2015 interview by Inskeep). As peace is a secondary goal

to maintaining security, hopes to achieve it seem to have been smothered by Netanyahu's defense ambitions and requirements.

P3. Is the political future predictable? In what sense and to what extent?

It appears that Netanyahu does believe the political future is indeed predictable, as he constantly makes predictions. This is a consistent feature of his discourse throughout the sample. Many of these predictions are morbid possibilities that he believes will occur if he abandons his aggressive operational code. On the Palestinian front, he predicts that concessions to Palestine or other opposition will not help to bring peace, but rather encourage escalation of conflict (2001a interview by Frost). Netanyahu also believes that United Nations intervention and condemnation of Israeli actions encourage terrorists and that if he were to yield to U.N. pressure, Israel would experience increased terrorism (2009 interview by Blitzer). In the same line of thinking, he predicts that conflict in the Middle East will not be ended through any Israeli concession (2012 interview by Gregory), but instead requires others to be willing to recognize and make peace with Israel. His predictions are no less negative for Iran. Netanyahu does not foresee any peaceful talks occurring with Iran under their current regime (2010 interview by King). He believes that Iran would be an existential and undeterrable danger to Israel if it were to acquire nuclear weapons (2011 speech to US Congress). And he makes morbid predictions based upon making a nuclear deal with Iran including Iranian acquisition of nuclear weapons and greater funding for terrorism (2015 interview by Dickerson) as well as an increased likelihood of war in

the Middle East (2015 speech to United Nations). In some cases, his predictions are positive, like when he predicted that the United States-Israel bond will continue to strengthen (2015 speech to AIPAC). However, the context of this prediction is not positive for peace as it involves a suggestion that he may consider aggression against Iran. It seems that most of his predictions justify his aggressive strategies, which should not be surprising given that those are the strategies that he tends to pick.

To give legitimacy and reason to his predictions, Netanyahu looks to his interpretations of history. He justifies the futility of concessions to Palestine by saying that Israeli concessions are equivalent to World War II appeasement (a concept closely related to the Holocaust, another of his justifications for aggressive defense strategies). Just as appeasement failed to stop war, so will Israeli land concessions. He validates this further by pointing to the failings of the Oslo Accords (2001a interview by Frost). He also highlights the futility of foreign condemnation of Israel and of Israeli attempts to make peace by pointing out that Jewish and Western struggles with radical Islam go far back into history and involve core values (2012 interview by Gregory). The attacks have occurred since ancient times, and as such he believes they are a continuation and not a recent phenomenon (2015 speech to US Congress). His concern about Iran is reasonable in his mind because the most notable previous anti-Semitic group with a great amount of power and capability were the Nazis and that resulted in the Holocaust (2011 speech to US Congress). Once again, he finds himself using collective trauma in the prediction of future aggression against the Jewish people. The nuclear deal he believes to be similar to the deal formed with North Korea, and he

points to the bad outcomes resulting from negotiating with their regime (2015 interview by Dickerson). In Netanyahu's view, Iran is equally irrational and dangerous as North Korea, so he sees a pattern. Finally, Netanyahu predicts that U.S.-Israel relations will continue to grow even if he decides to act aggressively toward Iran in defiance of the United States because the United States and Israel's alliance has not previously been hindered by Israeli defiance of U.S. wishes (2015 speech to AIPAC). Whether or not one agrees with them, Netanyahu has clearly thought out his predictions and reinforced them within his own belief system.

Netanyahu's predictions do serve a political purpose by encouraging the actions or feelings he wishes to cultivate. However, they seem to align with and explain much of the rest of his operational code. Thus, I am inclined to believe that though Netanyahu may make predictions with intended results, and though he may exaggerate at times, he does believe the general idea of the things he is supposedly foreseeing. Therefore, Netanyahu does believe that he can see into the political future and predict general repercussions for various actions.

P4. How much "control" or "mastery" can one have over historical development? What is one's role in "moving" and "shaping" history in the desired direction?

Netanyahu seems to believe one can have great control over historical development in the sense that he sees himself as the person charged with standing up to militant Islam and terrorism in the Middle East. He chooses to portray himself as a champion or the voice of the Jewish people when speaking, implying that he is there

on their behalf. This is not entirely untrue, given that he is Prime Minister of Israel, a state that considers itself Jewish, the only one of its kind in the world. However, there are many disparate voices within the Jewish community, and rather than acknowledge them, Netanyahu typically only allows space for his own, thereby trying to shape history in his image. On several occasions, he has also altered historical information for the purposes of trying to shape it into a story more convenient to his position. One recent example came in a speech to the 37th Zionist Congress in which he claimed Hitler was convinced to exterminate the Jews by Haj Amin al-Husseini and had not intended to beforehand (2015). This alteration of history placed greater blame for the Holocaust—a central image of collective trauma that he often uses to garner support— on Arabs, presumably with the intention of getting greater sympathy for his policies that are sometimes accused of being anti-Muslim. Not only does Netanyahu attempt to shape the future, he tries to rebrand and utilize the past to his advantage.

Netanyahu thinks he can control historical development enough to prevent nuclear proliferation. Though often unclear about the methods he intends to employ in order to ensure this promise, he has proclaimed that Israel will not allow Iran to get a nuclear bomb (2010 interview by Mansbridge). This is a great amount of historical impact, especially in Netanyahu's mind, given the nightmarish scenario of which he warns should Iran succeed in developing weapons of mass destruction. He proclaims that his primary duty is to prevent a second Holocaust (2014 speech on Holocaust Remembrance Day), implying that he believes his actions can have an intense impact. This goal aligns with his greater intentions to end terrorism altogether, something that

he believes can be achieved not through diplomacy, but only through military means (2002 interview by Frost). He seems to believe that the choices presented to an Israeli Prime Minister may result in very different outcomes depending on the direction one takes and leadership style. Netanyahu believes the leader of Israel has great influence over historical development in the Middle East, and he has confidence that he is the right man to maintain the Jewish state in the face of the associated challenges.

Netanyahu believes he is the person charged with being the champion and voice of the Jewish people and state, and that part of this is standing up to militant Islam. He references that he represents the opinions of the majority of Israelis (2015 interview by Acosta)—although his party only represents a plurality, holding power by building a coalition—and even when he was between his terms as prime minister, he displayed great confidence in having Israeli support necessary to take power (2001a interview by Frost). Because he believes he serves this purpose, he is then bolder in his actions. He claims he will not allow Jerusalem to be re-divided (1996 speech to US Congress), a contentious issue, but one that he feels he can control. He also has referred to himself as the "last line of defense" for Israel (Times of Israel 2015a). It is clear to see that he has a big ego, and as such he feels he has a big part to play in the development of history. However, he does not view his purpose to be so grand as to try to expand the power of Israel—or at least does not admit it—instead describing his work as Prime Minister as being "an obstacle to terror, which is the true obstacle to peace" (2002 PBS interview). Overall, it seems evident that he believes his role in history is

primarily to be the eradicator of terror through force, not the promoter of peace in the region.

P5. What is the role of "chance" in human affairs and in historical development?

This particular question is rather difficult to apply to Netanyahu, but he seems to display little belief in the role of chance regarding human affairs and historical development. He instead seems to believe political developments are the direct consequences of actions taken by actors in leading roles in the international system. Should something go wrong, it is the fault of those who did not foresee it, or who were foolish enough to enter into a situation with a possible outcome of that nature. This is evidenced in his criticism of opponents and international actors such as the UN described in Question 1. In this way, continued conflict in the Middle East that Israel experiences is not due to chance based upon how the countries are juxtaposed and forced to compete. Instead, conflict continues because outside forces will not come together to put a stop to it—ironic because they try to, but he resists those efforts because they do not match his own conception of what should happen to achieve peace.

<center>**Instrumental Belief Questions**</center>

Netanyahu's instrumental beliefs are less obvious than his philosophical ones because they typically have to do with his own strategy, something that he likes to keep somewhat guarded, especially in terms of military action (2012 speech to AIPAC). However, he often discusses past actions and his rationale for those choices

which is a good start for analysis. Furthermore, Netanyahu will occasionally make hypothetical suggestions of what he believes could be done about a problem. It is also assumed the actions that he asks for other countries to take are part of his instrumental belief system. This leaves a few situations where Netanyahu is still consistently vague on what he feels is a proper course of action, which this thesis attempts to fill in with what is known about him and his historical actions. Of course, this vagueness is an intentional strategic move and part of Netanyahu's operational code as well.

I1. What is the best approach for selecting goals or objectives for political action?

When selecting goals or objectives for political action, Netanyahu considers the survival of Israel as the Jewish state as his first priority. It is important to recognize both "survival" and "Jewish" as key concepts in that framework as he believes that his political opponents wish to remove Israel from the map and he is unwilling to surrender the Jewish identity and majority of the country. He states this viewpoint quite directly many times, implying that his obligation as Prime minister is to ensure the future of both the Jewish people and state (2014 speech to United Nations). Because of his philosophical beliefs, particularly those in P1, he fears Israel is in constant danger of conflict, and because he views a government's first obligation to be the protection of its people (2014 interview by Hannity), he then turns to the security of Israel as a focal point.

Security and other forms of hard power are the primary methods of achieving the survival of the Jewish State. Therefore, Netanyahu selects goals or objectives

primarily with the intention of increasing defense capabilities or other national security. As established earlier, Netanyahu does not believe in political solutions to terror. (2002 speech to US Senate) So instead, he considers combat options immediately in response to terrorist attacks. There is some inconsistency here because he also claims that he expects Palestinian leaders to curb terrorist attacks on Israel. However, it appears that his intended meaning is that extremist ideals are not extinguished through political attempts for peace and must be put down with force. Perhaps he wishes for Palestine to take responsibility for that force, but it is clear that in any case he believes forceful action is the proper remedy.

It is clear that Netanyahu feels threatened because of Israel's location in the Middle East, as P1 described. Examples of his concern are plentiful. He perceives Israel as "the only country on Earth threatened with annihilation" (2010 interview by Mansbridge). He believes that the size of Israel makes it naturally vulnerable to nuclear attack, but also to attacks from bordering countries (2010 speech to AIPAC). And given these facts and that he carries the weight of a collective trauma shared by the entire nation, he declares "the primary duty of the Prime Minister of Israel" to be ensuring that "there will never be another Holocaust" (2014 speech on Holocaust Remembrance Day). Because this is what he considers his primary duty, the power, violence, and military force of neighbors—especially Iran—appears to be a threat (2015 speech to AIPAC), possibly an existential one. As a result, he feels the need to maintain a defense advantage through whatever means available to him, which includes holding onto buffer zones that may happen to also be Palestinian land. To

Netanyahu, this is justified, because "Israel always reserves the right to defend itself" (2011 speech to US Congress) and should be able to do so.

Netanyahu also works to maintain Israel as a Jewish state by putting the onus of conflict upon others. It seems that his goal selection is often guided by the question: How can Israel deflect criticism and maintain allies? To answer this, he seems to think it is best to go on the offensive about his opponents. For instance, since his 1996 speech to Congress, Netanyahu has continually insisted that the Palestinians are falling short of what they must do in order to make peace possible (1996 speech to US Congress). Furthermore, he wishes to take the path of least responsibility and cost for his own government when possible. As such, he seems to try to agitate issues between his allies and his rivals in order to make Israel's position look better and possibly increase the aid countries like the U.S. provide in accomplishing his goals. Iran seems to function as a convenient scapegoat for this purpose, although his concern about Iranian terrorism and acquisition of weapons does still seem genuine. Finally, to appear less aggressive, Netanyahu also disguises the tendency that he has for retaliation by claiming that his actions are necessary or attempting to maintain the peace. However, the tone of statements such as "We do not let those actions of aggression against Israel go unpunished" (2015 interview by Zakaria) reveal that his mindset is less focused upon preventing more violence and more upon attaining retribution and justice.

I2. How are the goals of action pursued most effectively?

In Netanyahu's belief system, the most important method of pursuing one's goals is to maintain a strong image. He directly stated the conviction that seems to underlie this system of running the state by saying, "Nobody makes alliances with the weak, and nobody makes peace with the weak" (2015 interview by Pletka). Netanyahu feels he must make Israel look powerful in order to maintain the respect of his opponents and thereby the security of his country. To pose a legitimate threat to others is to force them to negotiate or face a worse fate. On the other hand, if he chooses to make concessions and the first moves, he feels that signals weakness. Thus, Netanyahu chooses to use hard power and give ultimatums with legitimate threats. His push for a "red line" for Iran is a classic example of this kind of thinking (2012 interview by Gregory). Ironically, this conflicts with his belief that Iran is neither rational, nor deterrable, which he even claims in the same interview that he discusses a "red line" strategy (2012 interview by Gregory). It is possible that he fails to see this misstep in his calculation, or he may believe that military intervention is just an eventual necessity. In summation, Netanyahu is steadfast in his insistence that the Jewish people will not remain passive in the face of threats (2015 speech to AIPAC). He will instead prove Israel's strength.

One method he chooses to display Israel's strength is proving its willingness to use force. He explains that taking no counter action against terrorists gives them immunity (2014 interview by Hannity) and therefore is a weakness he is unwilling to accept. Instead, he intends to restore sustainable security by damaging terrorist

capability (2014 interview by Hume) which he accomplishes through military force. Continuing the trend of counter-terrorist action, he refuses to make concessions to violence or terrorism. Netanyahu insists that "the falsehoods of Oslo…have been swept aside" (2002 PBS interview) and it is now clear that acknowledging Palestinian attacks as a form of political protest and trying to make peace in response is unsuccessful. He believes one cannot make any consideration of terrorists' causes, as it will only serve to embolden them (2001 speech to US Government Reform Committee), and he is determined not to make that mistake and make Israel appear weak again.

In order to further pursue his goals, Netanyahu seeks support from allies, primarily the West and especially the United States. His plan for maintaining allies, especially the U.S., seems to be largely based upon an effort to reach out and speak to them often. Netanyahu gives many speeches and interviews in the United States (as well as a few in Canada and other places). He also often makes a point of speaking in English, rather than Hebrew. Additionally, Netanyahu likes to point out that he meets with President Obama more than any other foreign leader (2014c interview by Schieffer), something that he seems to believe gives him influence. As has been pointed out earlier and will be throughout this analysis, Netanyahu also tends to deny responsibility for or a role in his region's troubles. Instead, he places the blame on surrounding states, opposing forces, and religious extremism. By insisting that others do not do enough to make peace and that Israel is under attack, Netanyahu attempts to paint Israel as the victim of the region. He may believe this is the case, but it could

also be advantageous in receiving foreign aid and preventing outside forces from interfering with Israel's defense affairs.

Finally, Netanyahu seems to believe his goals of action are best served by not revealing his plans. Netanyahu often remains vague about what military options he is considering. This is no secret, as he is intentionally ambiguous (2015 interview by Greene) and sometimes makes a point of saying he will remain as such (2012 speech to AIPAC). It appears he may be trying to maintain a tactical advantage over opponents who do not necessarily know what Israel is capable of, considering, or what will cause them to react with force. However, it may make allies similarly uncomfortable. It appears Netanyahu is comfortable with this tradeoff, valuing the security advantage over a diplomatic advantage.

I3. How are the risks of political action calculated, controlled, and accepted?

Netanyahu clearly realizes the potential risks of political action. He often warns others that the consequences of the wrong choices could be the use of nuclear weapons by Iran. With that said, he seems to feel that the nature of leading is to make risky, and often difficult decisions, saying, "Political leadership involves always choosing between bad and worse" (2015 interview by Pletka). He later admits there are sometimes choices between good and bad options, but those are easy. If it is true that he is hyper-focused on negative outcome decisions, he may overlook possible positive options in favor of ones with noticeable downsides in order to avoid the small risk of a larger security catastrophe that might be associated with an otherwise much

more preferable option. The "last line of defense" for Israel (2015a Times of Israel)

type of thinking seems to come into play here again. It appears that in Netanyahu's

mind he must often choose between a poor international reputation and potential

backlash or reduced security. In these cases, reduced security is considered the worse

option. Once again, maintaining security is placed as the number one priority, even at

great expense to other priorities.

Netanyahu often relies on an argument centered on the idea that Israel is

geographically small (2010 speech to AIPAC). For this reason, he believes it is in

need of buffer zones and extreme defense measures to protect it from the surrounding

areas by which he feels threatened. These function as important risk mitigators. He is

unwilling to relinquish these security precautions because he believes Israel would be

left unprotected. In his mind an unprotected Israel is a danger to the Jewish state

because it can only be secure in that state if he trusts other actors in the region and that

trust proves to be well-founded.

Netanyahu shows no signs of developing that trust. It seems that trust is a

commodity he believes is too valuable to risk. He talked about rolling back the Oslo

Accords even when he was not prime minister of Israel (2002 PBS interview). This

shows that, even when he was not in charge, his aspirations were to take as much

control as possible into Israel's hands. He felt that Israel had compromised too much

of its security and placed too much trust in Palestine. He claims that Palestinian

President Abbas does not try to assist Israel in finding peace and instead partners with

Hamas (2014 speech to United Nations). Netanyahu further asserts that Abbas

glorifies killers and incites violence (2015 speech to 37th Zionist Congress). Whether

these claims have any veracity to them or not, they are not indicative of a willingness

to trust Abbas at all. The Prime Minister harbors a similar distrust for Iran's

leadership, who he designates as liars. He makes a constant point of insisting that Iran

wants nuclear technology to make weapons and not for power purposes (2014

interview by Hume) and he often expresses distrust for specific individuals within

their leadership. His accusation of President Rouhani of Iran shedding "crocodile

tears" about terrorism and of using negotiations as a façade to advance Iran's

aggressive agenda (2014 speech to United Nations) is a shining example of this.

The hesitance and paranoia even takes a toll on Netanyahu's ability to trust his

closest allies. It seems strange that placing significant trust in allies would be

considered a large risk, however Netanyahu seems to calculate it as such and control

this risk by separating himself from the obligation to act upon his allies' policies. In

various interviews and speeches, he points out that he does not plan to leave Israeli

issues to the United States. It appears he does not always believe the U.S. has Israel's

best interest in mind. This has been especially true in recent years with President

Obama. Though Netanyahu does his best not to condemn U.S. efforts, he avoids the

subject at times and neglects opportunities to express confidence in American support

(2014 interview by Zakaria). This tendency is especially concerning because if he

continues to lose faith in his own allies, Netanyahu may be left to act alone. Without

an incentive to maintain good relations with the international community, Netanyahu's

tendencies to utilize hard power and attempts to subjugate those who endanger Israel

could increase in intensity. Without the need to mitigate the risk of losing support, his pattern of escalation may progress further. However, his likelihood of utilizing military options against opponents could still be mitigated by the risk of losing favorable popular opinion among the populace that elects him and also is enlisted in mandatory service to the IDF.

What is clear is that, due to his lack of trust, the risks of trying to remain peaceful are high in Netanyahu's mind. In fact, despite his constant insistence that he and Israel want peace, his actions suggest that he is almost completely unwilling to take any of the necessary risks to achieve it. Netanyahu believes that capitulating to any of the demands of his political opponents is to accept risk for Israel, rather than to increase stability. This stance is well encompassed by his belief that if one accepts "Peace at any price, you pay all the price and you get no peace" (2002 PBS interview). Though most negotiations do not require Netanyahu to pay "any price" in order to attain peace, he seems to think that any concession leads down the road to giving up everything. He is unwilling to trust political opponents for fear of opening his country up to attack. This fear is somewhat warranted in that if Iran or another opponent were to renege on an agreement then Israel would be in a subprime situation strategically. However, while refusing to trust others, he demands that they trust him in order to make peace. It seems that to some degree Netanyahu has accepted that there will be no peace through diplomatic means. Instead, he relies upon hard power to maintain security, preferring the risks to the budget from military spending to the risks of greater violence against his people. Perhaps he hopes that he can reduce opponents' power and significance

enough to subdue them into peace, or perhaps that mutually assured destruction will force a respect that makes peace a default. What is clear is that Netanyahu is unwilling to accept a peace that relies on trust in others. For this reason, the Palestine issue is a sticking point. He claims he supports a two state solution, but places great restrictions on this such as the demilitarization of the state (2009 Bar Ilan speech). He also was unwilling to relent with Iran when they began to negotiate the recent nuclear deal. Instead, he insisted that pressure needed to be maintained and built on Iran so that they would comply with Western demands and be held to stringent standards (2015 interview by Raddatz). These are not actions in pursuit of peace, they are displays of force intended to impose his will upon the Middle East.

One time that Netanyahu seems to be willing to accept risk is not for the prospect of peace, but rather when fighting for his principles. He will not gamble on the actions of others, but often is willing to take chances on himself. He makes a point of risking ruffling the feathers of his allies when he makes statements such as: "Even if Israel has to stand alone, Israel will stand" (2015 speech to US Congress) when addressing relations with Iran. But to Netanyahu, unity with the world is less important than maintaining Israel's principles, most notably its security. Seems to be willing to risk any other consequence in the name of retaining security. States he is willing to defy others in the name of defense (2015 speech to United Nations). He also implies that he is unworried by the prospect of defying the U.S. (2015 speech to AIPAC) though at that time he suggests that the risks of doing so are low and that he believes the alliance between Israel and the U.S. would continue to build. Whether or not he is right about

that point, this is a particularly important statement because it implies that Netanyahu will not compromise and intends to push his agenda relentlessly until the end.

I4. What is the best "timing" of action to advance one's interest?

Netanyahu makes attempts to advance his viewpoint on Israel's international concerns almost relentlessly. When it comes to defense, the best time for action is always immediate. This is obvious in the consistency and urgency with which he discusses the same basic issues, incorporating little change in opinion over the sample of about two decades. The main split in his belief system regarding timing is that in the case of Iran and other enemies action must be taken right away, whereas when it comes time for Israel to take action or confront the Palestine issue, his stance switches to "not yet." He expects others to be quick to confront issues in the Middle East, but is less eager to play his part.

Netanyahu seems to take notice of his political surroundings and adjust his rhetoric and focus accordingly, but his overall goal seems consistent. He uses specific events as opportunities to highlight the issues he wishes to address and distract from those he would like to avoid. Examples of this tendency include his tendency to address Palestine more often during the conflict with Gaza in 2014. During that time period (mostly July and August of 2014), the Prime Minister was far more vocal about Israel's issues with Palestine, most notably about the roadblocks to peace that Palestinians were creating. It appears he chose to face the topic more directly in an effort to spread the narrative he wants: that Israel is under attack, rather than that Israel

is oppressing the Palestinians which often puts him in hot water. Conversely, the general trend of his current stint as Prime Minister (barring that brief period in 2014) seems to be lessened focus on Palestine when unforced to address the topic in favor of making Iran the more prominent issue. The intensity of Netanyahu's focus upon Iran seems to increase around negotiations or potential deals as it did in 2015, but, even omitting that period, his tendency to focus upon Iran is clear. Netanyahu continually frames Palestine as part of a greater issue with Iran, radical Islam, and terrorism (2014 interview by Hannity), moving the conversation away from Israel's part in the conflict and towards the influence of other actors.

This evidence suggests that though Netanyahu lobbies for immediate change in his surroundings, he prefers to maintain the status quo within his own country as long as possible. This should not be terribly surprising as currently Israel is (it is assumed, though much is undisclosed) better armed and therefore powerful than Iran. Furthermore, Israel maintains control of Palestine and thus keeps the buffer zone Netanyahu desires. At this point in time, Netanyahu has the security advantages that he desires. Having this advantage, from his perspective the time to exercise power and weaken one's opponents is now, whereas the time to achieve peace or make negotiations can be pushed further and further down the road. When possible, Netanyahu attempts to have allies maintain the advantage Israel enjoys for him so that he need not expend his own resources. For the same reason, he makes efforts to stall deals with both Palestine and Iran.

I5. What is the utility and role of different means for advancing one's interests?

The primary means of advancing one's interests according to Netanyahu's operational code is through defense capabilities and use of hard power. He applies hard power to almost any issue that he encounters. In the case of terrorism, he has spent the past two decades insisting that military action is the necessary Israeli response (2002 interview by Frost). Netanyahu's general viewpoint on defeating terrorism seems to be well summed up in his argument that one must defeat opponents in their ideals, but to do so one must first defeat them in the physical world (2015 interview by Pletka)—read: combat or warfare. He genuinely believes that he must take a tough stance against opponents (2015 interview by Greene) in order to maintain the security of Israel and prevent opponents from taking advantage of his country. Thus, hard power displays such as blockades, sanctions, and threats or use of military force are common and quick reactions to perceived threats under Netanyahu's leadership. His concerns for the survival of the Jewish state—survival being a word he chooses often, revealing his mindset—combines with his paranoia toward other world leaders, especially opponents, to back Netanyahu into a corner with few options other than to continually fight to increase or maintain security measures.

Diplomacy has different uses in Netanyahu's operational code depending on with whom he is interacting. This is best explained by comparing how he interacts with allies to how he interacts with opponents. When interacting with allies, he utilizes diplomacy to maintain allies and get aid, or in many cases simply to keep others out of Israel's affairs. Netanyahu consistently talks positively about the U.S.-Israel

relationship and how important it is (2014 speech to AIPAC). He also attempts to maintain western alliances through consistent appeals to the United States, Great Britain, and Canada in the form of interviews and speeches. Netanyahu portrays Israel as a country defending itself and its homeland (2014 speech to United Nations). Though he likely believes this, it also gives him a sympathetic edge if Israel appears to be under attack rather than the aggressors. He also often speaks on the fight against resurgent anti-Semitic feelings (2015 speech to Global Forum Combatting Anti-Semitism) which he feels is an issue worldwide, but especially in the Middle East. This also helps Israel's sympathetic appeal. By portraying Israel as a country in conflict not because of its occupation of disputed lands, but because it faces hatred over its ethnic heritage, Netanyahu's defense measures seem more reasonable. It is much more difficult to argue against his force-first approach when he advances this narrative. Therefore, it can help to garner support for Israel or at least to keep others out of Israeli affairs.

In contrast, Netanyahu is only willing to work diplomatically with opponents on his terms and spends no time on political pleasantries or reaching out to opposing countries. From 1996, with his assertion of the necessary "Three Pillars of Peace," Netayahu has outlined what others must do for him to consider negotiating with them (1996 speech to US Congress). In fact, even the Bar Ilan speech, the noted two-state solution benchmark, is still full of conditions for Palestine that Netanyahu claims he will not negotiate without having in place (2009). To negotiate with Iran, he insists they must "act like a normal country" (2015 speech to US Congress). Netanyahu

delegitimizes the state actions of Iran and constantly suggests they are irrational and at fault for violence. Therefore, for him to trust them, they would have to give in to all of his terms. Of course, if Iran gave in to all of Netanyahu's terms, he would not need to trust them at all because they would not be able to militarily threaten Israel. Basically, Netanyahu wishes to make Iran dismantle their own power or force them to face his pressures and hard power displays. In both cases, Netanyahu makes it clear that he does not need cooperation from the other side because he will make sure to get the outcome he wants regardless. Thus, with this power imbalance, he tries to get his opponents to submit to his demands in pursuit of peace while he taunts them with derogatory statements. Though he may not see it quite the way it is described here, even Netanyahu would agree that he is a tough negotiator. Whether or not he is fair could be a matter of opinion and viewpoint, but to Netanyahu parity is irrelevant, security is the end goal.

Overall Impressions

It is worth noting that both the answers to George's questions here and the overall tone of his public statements lead to the conclusion that Netanyahu is best described as a pragmatic realist or perhaps even a realist in Crichlow's (1998) classification. However, despite being on an extreme end of Crichlow's typology, he is still not entirely one-dimensional. Netanyahu may be quarrelsome, and he is certainly consistent in his overarching message and goals (save for a few explainable deviations), but he displays great lapses in the cognitive consistency of his belief

system. Furthermore, he does not change his overall conflictual style of leadership in response to his political environment, but the approach he chooses within his realist framework varies based upon outside pressures. Netanyahu is aware of his political surroundings and adjusts to them accordingly, attempting to maintain favorable situations and the advantages of Israel's alliances. Yet even this political maneuvering takes a backseat to his security concerns when he feels there is an existential threat to his country or people.

The nuances discovered here illustrate the necessity of qualitative analysis to better understand the depth of information available about Netanyahu's belief system. Given the current violence in the Middle East, the complex political unrest that is a reality of the region, and Israel's history of conflict with its neighbors, such detail could prove crucial to successful prediction of future events and methods of influence. This thesis has begun this qualitative analysis through the use of George's operational code questions above. With these answers as guides, the intent of this project is now to analyze Netanyahu's belief system and actions as they relate to two of his most important political focuses both domestically and abroad: Iran and Palestine. His chosen leadership strategies pertaining to each will be considered in the context of the passage of time, major events, and American/Western interaction and support. All results will then be compared to the earlier quantitative methods of operational code analysis in chapter 7 to identify similarities and differences, and draw more well-rounded conclusions. This method is intended to provide a more informative profile of

leadership than traditional qualitative or quantitative analysis alone that will prove

especially worthwhile in the study of crucial figures and complex situations.

V. Case Study - Iran

Benjamin Netanyahu and Israel are highly visible in the politics of the Middle East. In the region, through both his speech and his actions, Netanyahu has made it clear that the two most prominent issues from Israel's perspective are Iran and Palestine. The international community seems equally concerned with Israel's involvement in both areas. For this reason, both Iran and Palestine have been selected as case studies for an in-depth analysis of Netanyahu's operational code as it pertains to specific issues. Because both the issues of human rights and security are heavily involved in each case, they hold value to both the international community and to Israel. This thesis aims to better understand Netanyahu's perspective on both Iran and Palestine in order to assess the motivations in his leadership, to facilitate better dialogue on each subject, and to make predictions for the future.

For the purposes of analyzing the operational code of Prime Minister Netanyahu as it applies to specific issues and opponents, case studies (chapters 5 and 6) are approached in a method slightly different than that which was utilized for his overall operational code, being George's questions. Instead, to create more coherent sections, this analysis takes a holistic approach rather than breaking the assessment down into multiple categories. Thus, the Assessment sections function as an understanding of his related philosophical beliefs, the Main Objectives sections serve as an outline of Netanyahu's instrumental beliefs regarding a specific opponent, the Changes Over Time section investigates changes in belief system and possible relevant world events, and the Overall Impressions and Adherence to Netanyahu's

Greater Operational Code section describes impressions to be drawn from the information and how a particular case fits into Netanyahu's world view. This method of analysis is meant to create a coherent overview of Netanyahu's operational code as it pertains to each case study, removing "noise" from important information, and minimizing overlap that can result from dividing information under many questions.

To better detail Netanyahu's evolving (or stagnant) assessment of specific opponents and his corresponding operational code, his assessment of his opponents is divided into three time periods: Early (1996-2002), Middle (2009-2012), and Contemporary (2013-2015) Samples. This method helps to show what issues he chose to highlight at different times and any changing level of concern about opposing forces and leaders. As for his main objectives, they are addressed differently in each case study in order to study key aspects of his operational code. In the case of Iran, Netanyahu's main objectives are broken into various strategies he professes. For Palestine, his objectives are instead divided into optimistic and pessimistic actions and outlooks. The rationale for each is described in their respective sections.

IRAN:

Assessment of Iran's Leadership and Goals

Early Sample (1996-2002)

There was not a large amount of sources in the sample from the early stages of Netanyahu's development. However, in those statements that were available to find, Netanyahu presents a belief system regarding Iran that seems steadfast and developed. At the start of the sample in 1996, Netanyahu was already adamant that Iran "has wed

a cruel despotism to fanatic militancy" and he warned against allowing them to

acquire nuclear weapons (1996 speech to US Congress). He warned that Iran was an

important player in terrorism both regionally and worldwide. He spread this view after

the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York by insisting that Iran's

support for terrorism was key in making terrorism possible (2001 speech to US

Government Reform Committee). He made a point of blaming Iran for supporting the

9/11 attacks and others, including many in Israel and throughout the Middle East. At

this time, Netanyahu made a point of holding Iran responsible for terrorism and

professed the belief that they use it as a political tactic.

This early criticism of Iran will become the basis for a growing concern about

Netanyahu's rival country to come. His distrust of the Iranian regime seems to stem

from terrorism ties that he perceives at this time. Beginning in 2009, the year he began

his second term as Prime Minister of Israel, and escalating from that point, Netanyahu

becomes increasingly vocal and public in his criticism of Iran. His concerns continue

to encompass terrorism and nuclear proliferation, but he begins to introduce new

arguments about why Iran is a concern.

Middle Sample (2009-2012)

Entering the middle point of the sample, one common talking point for

Netanyahu is to consistently criticize Iran for not honoring talks, saying they continue

their misdeeds while engaging in dialogues and negotiations (2012 interview by

Wallace). It is immediately clear when analyzing his statements that he feels that no

trust can be placed in Iran's leadership at all. He believes they subvert those who try to negotiate with them. Thus, Netanyahu feels justified in his own preferences to utilize hard power.

Netanyahu continues to show concerns about Iran producing a nuclear weapon. He claims that Iran would be the world's greatest threat if they develop nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the Prime Minister believes that Iran wishes to destroy Israel and allowing them to get this capability would therefore threaten Israel's existence (2010 interview by Mansbridge). He is especially worried by the possibility of Iran procuring weapons of mass destruction because of how he views the state's leadership. Netanyahu insists that Iran is run by irrational actors (2010 interview by Wallace). As such, he fears that should they get a nuclear weapon, they would not be deterrable and containment in the region may be impossible (2012 speech to United Nations). Netanyahu also insists that Iran is moving closer to nuclear weapons (2010 interview by Wallace), thus warranting his concern. He constantly raises the alarm about this although it appears that Iran is never as close as Netanyahu believes.

Netanyahu also attacks Iran's character based on their involvement in terrorist activities, justifying his distrust and concern. He consistently insists that Iran uses Hamas and Hezbollah as terror proxies. Furthermore, Netanyahu does not think Iran will ever recognize Israel and seek peace under this regime, so he has no intentions of talking or negotiating with them (2010 interview by King). He fails to see his own culpability in this situation however, instead insisting that he does not block Israeli peace with other countries and groups, but that it is Iran's leadership getting in the

way of peace not only between their two countries, but others as well (2010 interview by King). He supports this belief by blaming Iran for making Gaza and Lebanon "terror strongholds" (2012 speech to United Nations) suggesting that they are responsible for the attacks on Israel and political instability in the regions. Furthermore, he seems to believe that terrorism is a central value of the Iranian leadership. He insists that Iran is motivated by fanatical faith and that they believe they will be victorious in Holy war, bringing power to radical Islam (2012 speech to United Nations). These statements suggest very little intention or space to work with Iran to find a peace. He displays no trust in the Iranian state at all.

To further reinforce his views on Iran, he points out atrocities the Iranian government carries out against its own people. He asserts that Iran kills opponents to its government's tyranny and "impose[s] a backward regimented society where women, minorities, gays or anyone else not deemed to be a true believer is brutally subjugated" (2009 speech to United Nations). In Netanyahu's view, Iran as a state not only fails to protect its own people, but endangers them and submits them to violence. He cannot work with a group that inflicts violence on its own people; they would only subject his people to worse. Netanyahu believes that Iran stands in opposition of Western values and democracy (2011 speech to US Congress) in these actions. The state itself fights against the same values that he wishes to protect in Israel including democracy, religious freedom, and equal rights for people of all races, sexes, and sexual orientations. While Netanyahu's success in maintaining these values within his

own country may be debatable, it is clear that he faults Iran for much more extreme

violations.

Finally, the middle sample uncovered instances of a comparison that

Netanyahu will make more within the modern sample, but that likely may underlie

much of his belief system throughout. He seems to harbor connections between Iran

and Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, often through shared anti-Semitic sentiments of

modern day Iran and World War II-era Germany (2010 speech to AIPAC). This

constitutes a link to what is arguably the most significant collective trauma of the

Jewish people. Such a connection can cause extreme (and in some cases violent)

reactions, but assuredly brings with it strong emotional undertones.

Contemporary Sample (2013-2015)

The contemporary sample begins to bring to the forefront new concerns from

Netanyahu based upon the same convictions and suspicions, as he begins to rally

against negotiations with Iran. Early in this sample period, world powers began talks

with Iran in an effort to increase cooperation and lessen conflict in the Middle East. It

is clear that Netanyahu disagrees with this approach. He makes it clear that he does

not trust Iranian negotiations, claiming they use peace and calm to advance their

weapons programs. Netanyahu believes that Iranian diplomacy efforts are simply a

trap, intended to get the international community to leave them alone while they

continue operating the same way (2013 interview by Inskeep). This is contributed to

by the fact that he believes Iran does not play by or respect the rules that international

relations are predicated upon (2013 interview by Inskeep). For instance, he references Iran's tendency to subvert inspections by international officials (2015 interview by Schieffer). His belief that negotiations with Iran will not bring peace seems deep-seated. Perhaps there is regional rivalry behind this, but it is clear that there are fears of violence and deception at play as well.

As talks progressed, Netanyahu continued to fight against any form of negotiation or cooperation with Iran. His contention appeared to be that he felt the deal being negotiated was not strict enough on Iran. He began to contend that Iran was lying to the world in an attempt to get relevant powers to agree to a bad deal (2014a interview by Schieffer). To Netanyahu, nothing that Iranian officials say in the interest of cooperation can be interpreted as genuine. Thus, he accused Iranian President Rouhani of shedding "crocodile tears" about terrorism and professing disingenuous intentions (2014c interview by Schieffer). This suspicion and opposition then returns to a basic argument that he has made throughout the sample: Iran wants nuclear weapons.

It seems nothing can sway Netanyahu from the basic belief that Iran does want nuclear weapons and cannot be trusted. He states that they should be judged by their actions, not their words, and makes humorous, but telling comments such as: "To say that Iran doesn't practice terrorism is like saying Derek Jeter never played short stop for the New York Yankees" (2014 speech to United Nations). This paranoia leads him to believe that Iran will take all of the leeway given to them and use it for aggressive purposes (2015 interview by Raddatz). Thus, he does not think any leeway can

reasonably be given to Iran at all. As the nuclear deal continued to develop, he spoke

to the United States Congress to try to convince them that Iran intends to use the deal

to pave the way to nuclear weapons and will only increase in aggression once they

have that at their disposal (2015 speech to US Congress). He is emphatic when

describing how seriously he takes this threat. In fact, he feels dealing with Iran is so

detrimental to the world (or at least his interests) that he compares the recent nuclear

deal with Iran to the troubled one made with North Korea (2015 interview by

Dickerson).

Netanyahu continues to attack Iran's character in order to try to persuade

others as to why they cannot be trusted, revealing his belief system that considers them

dangerous, violent, and irrational. He accuses Iran of being a state based upon radical

religious fervor. He says the main Iranian motivation is fanatical faith and their basis

of government is "radical theocracy" (2015 speech to United Nations). Thus, by

Netanyahu's estimation, Iran presents the danger of merging medieval doctrines with

modern weapons (2014 interview by Hannity). He makes it his mission to combat this

threat. To Netanyahu, Iran is essentially on par with militant Islam and ISIS, both as

threats and in their intentions to achieve regional and then world domination (2014c

interview by Schieffer). The comparisons do not end there, as he describes Iran as the

"preeminent terrorist empire of our time" (2014 interview by Hume). In fact, he makes

clever plays on words to display his contempt subtly as well, such as his choice to

refer to Iran as "the Islamic *State* of Iran" rather than their official title: the Islamic

Republic of Iran (2014 speech to United Nations). What could easily be dismissed as

a mistake is quite likely actually an intentional reference to the terrorist group ISIS in order to further debase his opponent and suggest terrorist ties. Such discursive tactics and jokes are common in his arsenal, but serve to reveal his underlying beliefs as well. Another item he points to when supporting his beliefs is the Iranian constitution and the intention to spread written into it. In an address to Congress, he stated that Iran is threatening and openly aggressive, which should be unsurprising given that their "founding document pledges death, tyranny, and the pursuit of jihad" (2015 speech to US Congress). These types of statements that he utilizes as evidence seem to bolster his belief in the danger of Iran.

Netanyahu also continues connecting conflict with Iran to collective trauma of the Jewish people in this sample time period. He expresses that he feels Iran is equivalent to Nazi Germany as a threat to the Jewish people and often does so by comparing the two or juxtaposing them close together in his speech intentionally (2014 speech for Holocaust Remembrance Day). When discussing Iran, he will often use Holocaust imagery to evoke feelings and concerns related to this important collective trauma of the Jewish people (2015 speech to US Congress). Beyond the inherent violent threat that he seems to feel Iran poses Israel, Netanyahu references specific anti-Semitic feelings that he believes motivates the conflict. He points out that Iran—and especially its leadership—frequently makes anti-Semitic displays and denies the Holocaust (2015 speech to Forum Combatting Anti-Semitism) and he fears that allowing a group of that nature to gain power will result in the same way that the rise of the Nazis did.

Overall, it seems that the simplest description of Netanyahu's feelings on Iran is that they are an enemy of peace (2015 interview by Greene). As such, he does not believe they will respond to peaceful negotiation. He suggests instead that Iran will respond to displays of hard power and increased pressure by making more concessions and negotiating a better deal if the P5+1 will just have patience and outwait the Iranians (2015 interview by Acosta). The nature of Israel's (and the world's) relationship with Iran is bound to be conflictual, and he wishes to treat his rival as such. This brings the study to his objectives and strategies.

Netanyahu's Main Objectives and Strategies Regarding Iran

Netanyahu's objectives and strategies regarding Iran do not seem to change in dramatic ways over the course of time. Instead, they seem to adapt to the political climate and current events. Thus, this project chooses to analyze the ways Netanyahu wishes to confront Iran individually. Rather than examine the development of his strategy over time directly, the main objectives and strategies listed together are focused upon the central idea behind them. Because his strategy is often adaptable to specific events of the time, however, many of these strategies will naturally sort themselves into time periods.

One of Netanyahu's most central strategies to achieve his goals is to denounce any type of cooperation with Iran. As such, he condemns anyone talking with or listening to Iran (2009 speech to United Nations). He claims that by working with Iran, others are encouraging conflict within the Middle East. He supports this by blaming Iran for the lack of peace in the Middle East and consistently deflects possible

blame on his own state (2010 interview by Mansbridge). In this way, he establishes an "us versus them" mentality initially, leaving little room for reconciliation or negotiation. He claims that his intention in doing this is to "name and shame" Iran so that others will see them for what they are (2012 interview by Wallace). It is clear that defamation of Iran is a central part of Netanyahu's strategy.

Netanyahu's main objective in regards to Iran is clearly stated in almost any instance that he speaks. He intends to prevent Iran from gaining nuclear weapons (2011 speech to US Congress) and ultimately to prevent their proliferation throughout the Middle East by first preventing their development in his rival state (2014 interview by Hume). He reiterates this intention over and over throughout all stages studied. Netanyahu advocates for giving Iran a "red line" (2012 interview by Gregory) so that other countries will apply force if Iran chooses to cross it, preventing them from making a nuclear weapon. He implies that Israel will act alone to enforce this measure if necessary (2012 interview by Gregory) and that, by establishing a red line, war can be avoided (2012 speech to United Nations), both concepts that will be addressed further later. However, they tie into the idea that he insists that attempts to curb Iran's aggression and nuclear weapons cannot be allowed to remain at levels of talk, but must escalate into strong demands and the use of hard power (2013 interview by Inskeep). He believes this is necessary because a basic part of his operational code states that "the crucial thing is not to trust Iran" (2014a interview by Schieffer). This background paranoia mentioned when discussing Netanyahu's assessment of Iran (his philosophical belief components) is the motivating factor to reduce Iran's nuclear

capabilities by any means possible. As such, he continues fighting to take away all of

Iran's nuclear enrichment capabilities and centrifuges (2014 interview by Zakaria)

even when it appears the rest of the world is inclined to be more lenient.

Netanyahu's diplomatic approach to achieving his main objective seems to

center on keeping powerful allies on his side. He discourages world powers from

regarding Iran as an ally over similar interests like combatting ISIS. He claims that

Iran will pursue things like this that are mutually beneficial to both Iran and others

dealing with them without being rewarded (2014c interview by Schieffer) and thus

there is no reason to view it as a reason to form alliances. This is a strategic choice

seeming to match his tendency to want to close all possible associations with Iran

rather than finding common ground. Instead, he would like to encourage conflict

between Iran and world powers, especially the United States.

For this reason, when negotiations with Iran on the nuclear deal escalated,

Netanyahu began to campaign for tougher treatment of Iran and for a more robust and

punitive deal. He insisted that the P5+1 (and especially the United States, who he is

mostly talking to) must maintain pressure on Iran—or even build it—until they will

agree to a "good deal" rather than a bad deal for Israel and the West. He said he would

prefer accomplish this peacefully, but while doing so he implied that he knows it may

not work and could escalate (2015 interview by Raddatz). Previously in 2012,

Netanyahu made the point that diplomacy does not work with Iran and that sanctions

failed to work in a speech that made military action sound necessary (2012 speech to

AIPAC). Ironically, at this time in 2015 he would praise the success of sanctions in an

attempt to keep them in place when the nuclear deal came into play. Netanyahu very well may want to escalate as far as he possibly can get others to consent to with Iran in an attempt to minimize the threat they pose to Israel. This seems likely because he consistently calls for harsher treatment of Iran, regardless of the level of hard power currently being applied (2015 interview by Zakaria). Some speculation exists that his alarm about Iran and resulting tough stance against the country is a political move to solidify his own position. His appeal directly to the United States Congress in which he asked for the U.S. to get tougher with Iran (2015 speech to US Congress) is often used an example of this tactic as it occurred in the thick of Israeli election season. However, he later explained his behavior at this time saying it was not an election tactic for his own country of Israel, but rather that he is speaking out to try to kill a bad deal (2015 interview by Todd). His political ambitions are not to be ignored, but his genuine concern about Iran's nuclear capabilities is also likely. His diplomatic strategy reflects this concern.

Netanyahu is also not shy to exercise Israel's military might or at least threaten to do so when necessary. He believes Israel has great power and is willing to use it in the interest of defense (2014 speech for Holocaust Remembrance Day). He makes a point of not talking about specific future strategies, especially militarily, but he often gives the impression that he would be willing to use force with his tone and aggressive comments (2014c interview by Schieffer CBS Face the Nation 10/5/14). This tone continues building up to the Iran nuclear deal (2015 interview by Raddatz) but seems to subside in aggression somewhat after a little time has passed since the deal was

agreed upon (2015 interview by Pletka). By focusing instead upon strategy to try to make sure Iran is not breaking the conditions of the deal, Netanyahu is able to portray himself to an American audience in a less aggressive manner. It is of my opinion that he would still consider force in the event that he believes Iran is presenting a greater threat to Israel and his rhetoric will likely intensify once again in the future.

Netanyahu's predisposition to utilizing hard power to achieve his objectives in combination with his insistence that he will act alone if necessary make military action seem to be an option he considers at the very least. He has made the statement that "Even if Israel has to stand alone, Israel will stand" (2015 speech to US Congress), denoting a stubborn, and potentially conflictual, approach to foreign relations. He makes a point of asserting that Israel will "take whatever measures necessary to defend [itself]" (2015 interview by Greene) and he is clear that those measures include defying others (2015 speech to United Nations). Perhaps most concerning, he has not backed down on that statement even with his most essential ally, the United States. Netanyahu admits openly that he holds disagreements with the United States and President Obama on how to deal with Iran, and at times he implies that he will undermine the U.S. if he feels it necessary in order to maintain Israel's security (2015 speech to AIPAC). Ever a politician, he is careful not to say this directly, but the hints are heavy-handed.

Fortunately, it appears that such rhetoric is not an indefinite ultimatum, but rather an indication that he feels threatened. Most of these threatening statements led up to the nuclear deal with Iran. A few months after the nuclear deal was in place,

Netanyahu asked for greater international surveillance and pressure on Iran in addition to greater support for Israel (2015 interview by Pletka), but did not seem quite as panicked or aggressive. In contrast, in the immediate aftermath of the deal, he berated it and called it "a stunning and historic mistake" that makes the world more dangerous and he was quick to point out that Israel does not consider itself bound by it (Times of Israel 2015b). His initial backlash in the form of strong emotions—particularly anger—suggests genuine fear about Iran as well as possibly some feelings of betrayal toward the United States and others. It is likely that in the moment, a military response against Iran seemed like a legitimate strategic option. There is reason to believe he would still consider it if threatened. However, as Netanyahu moves toward a more calculated reaction, it is clear that he is aware that he still needs U.S. support and that there are ways of minimizing the threat to his country. It is tough to determine how much of this is politics, how much is emotion, and how much is change through time and the revealing of facts. To decipher this more, this analysis looks to changes in Netanyahu's approach over time and any spikes in activity or intensity of his speaking about Iran. Adding some basic context of world events and Israeli politics, perhaps some patterns will be revealed.

Changes Over Time

In the early sample Netanyahu seems concerned about Iran, but is not as extensive in attacking them. He then gradually picks up momentum and focus regarding Iran starting in 2010. This really seems to intensify in 2013, followed by a lull in July and August of 2014 around the time of greater conflict with Hamas in

Gaza. Finally, Netanyahu fiercely attacks Iran and dealing with them in late 2014 and especially 2015 which is a particularly Iran-heavy year rhetorically when speaking abroad.

Netanyahu's intensity and subject changes seem to play more to the room than they do to his feelings, with the exception of rare occasions when he seems to be frustrated, such as immediately after the Iran nuclear deal (Times of Israel 2015b) or when working with the United Nations. The more Netanyahu feels an audience will be responsive to his message, the more extreme his claims are. It appears that his deeply held beliefs are likely some of the more aggressive and paranoid ones which he seems to feel comfortable expressing to the right audiences. However, some of his most extreme statements are likely also political in nature, attempting to fire up a base and feeding off the energy of more conservative audiences. Netanyahu's independent operational code may not be quite as extreme as these instances indicate, but he certainly does harbor a reasonable amount of paranoia and hostility toward Iran. This explains his increased hostility towards opposition groups coinciding with the 2015 Israeli elections that subsequently partially subsided.

Overall Impressions and Netanyahu's Adherence to his Greater Operational Code

In general, an analysis of Prime Minister Netanyahu's operational code as it pertains specifically to Iran is consistent with what this thesis suggests to be his operational code as a whole. He focuses on the same basic points and gravitates to the same general courses of action. Security remains a major concern and he consistently

talks about the protection of the Jewish people and risk of a second Holocaust-type event. Netanyahu continues to move toward hard power quickly and fights against making deals in favor of maintaining the status quo. He places the blame on other actors for the problems facing both Israel and the Middle East, redirecting criticism toward Iran and the United Nations, among others. Finally, Netanyahu displays paranoid tendencies, distrusting Iran's leadership, but also suggesting he puts little trust in the Middle East as a whole or Muslims. In fact, he will not even trust international actors that he perceives as allies, as is seen in his statements about the United States and President Obama. For this reason, though he looks to secure Western support, he also claims he is willing to act alone.

Still, despite this consistency when applied to Iran as compared to his larger operational code, Netanyahu's belief system is contradictory within itself. Notable examples include his confidence that escalating force against Iran in the present will deter them from producing nuclear weapons or being aggressive, but that once Iran gets a nuclear weapon they will lose that quality of a rational actor and be incapable of being deterred. He also claims that he does not think most Muslims are radical, but often turns around to describe the Middle East as violent and barbaric. His contradictory confidence levels in Israel's security capabilities are also puzzling. Netanyahu simultaneously boasts that Israel is strong enough to defend itself and will intervene if necessary, yet he also professes that they should be scared of a powerful Iran, implying that Israel is weak enough to be threatened by such a situation. These contradictions are not altogether surprising as operational code analyses have

commonly failed to show that people adhere to a model of cognitive consistency, as

the introduction to this thesis describes. However, they do highlight central issues in

Netanyahu's combative nature and help to define the reasons why he seems

impossible to satiate regarding the limiting of Iran's power.

VI. Case Study - Palestine

Assessment of Situation, Leadership, and their Goals:

Early Sample (1996-2002):

Despite a small amount of sources available for the early sample, Netanyahu's stances toward Palestine are still well-defined. Even as early as 1996, Netanyahu was adamant that the Palestinian Authority is to blame for not stopping terrorism. As a result, he insisted that the Palestinians needed to achieve what he described as the "Three Pillars of Peace" so that peace could be achieved (1996 speech to US Congress). This shifted the onus to the Palestinians rather than reflecting on Israel's role in the conflict, a theme that pervades Netanyahu's early sample stance on the Palestinian issue. Of course, the nature of "achieving peace" includes giving many rights to many Palestinians that they are currently denied, something that he chooses not to speak about, and may rarely consider.

It seems that Netanyahu's basic position is that Israel's hand is forced by Palestinian leadership that will not take control of their populace and negotiate peace. He blames Arafat for the fighting and casualties (2002 interview by Frost). Furthermore, Netanyahu blames the Palestinians not only for the inability to move forward on future peace processes, but also for the failure of previous attempts. Netanyahu believes that the Palestinians killed the Oslo process and, in so doing, showed that concessions to their demands are parallel to World War II appeasement tactics and thus will only bring escalation (2001a interview by Frost). As such, he refers back to the collective trauma of the Jewish people to justify his current steadfast

position, a key tactic which creates a more emotional reaction touched upon in the Iran case study as well.

Perhaps most interesting is that Netanyahu seems to have little reflection upon the faults of Israel in this conflict during this time period. He seems to believe that his stances would not be guilty of violating the Oslo Accords because Palestine is in violation, despite his own direct contradictions to the terms of the agreement (2002 PBS interview). In the same interview, he claims he is optimistic for the future between Israel and Palestine because people now see the failings of Oslo (2002 PBS interview). Presumably, he hopes that will convince people that Israel must be stricter with Palestine and create a peace through displays of power that cause Palestine to concede. And it does seem that he considers it a need to force the Palestinians to concede because Netanyahu believes he faces opponents who do not want a state alongside Israel, but rather are intent on having no state of Israel exist at all (2002 PBS interview). The way he talks about the conflict, it sounds more like a war than a conflict between one organized state with a strong military and a disorganized people that feel they comprise their own nation and who fight for their own country.

At this time, Netanyahu also begins to reveal his disdain for the international community's input and intervention into the Palestinian issue. Netanyahu believes the international community often steps in and takes away Israel's right to defend itself (2002 speech to US Senate) and, in so doing, encourages terrorism and violence rather than peaceful dialogue. This will be a recurring theme in his argument that Israel must be allowed to deal with this issue autonomously.

Middle Sample (2009-2012)

The middle sample pertaining to Palestine is particularly interesting because Netanyahu appears to change his tone somewhat as to how he addresses the peace process, but he continues to shift responsibility for making things happen and blame onto the Palestinians and their leadership. The shift is more noticeable in his professed strategic objectives (his instrumental beliefs) which will be addressed later, but it seems to barely change his assessment of Palestine and its leadership (considered his philosophical beliefs). As he did before, Netanyahu consistently suggests he believes Israel is not the aggressor in this situation and that Palestinians need to show a want and effort for peace. Even in what was arguably his most pro-two-state speech, the 2009 Bar Ilan speech, where he admits that Israel needs to recognize Palestinian rights and allow them to govern themselves, he insists that Israel cannot be expected to agree to a Palestinian state without strict requirements of Palestine. These requirements include a demilitarized state, no Palestinian control of airspace, and a restriction on Palestinian dealings with groups and states that are adverse to Israel (such as Iran). Essentially, even in his most progressive speech regarding the Palestinian issue, Netanyahu seems unwilling to trust the Palestinians enough to give them true autonomy. In the same speech, he professes that he does not believe Israeli settlers in Palestine are an obstacle to peace (2009 Bar Ilan), demonstrating a complete denial of a need for true compromise. The Bar Ilan speech and other statements of this time do demonstrate a greater optimistic tone that a peace will be achieved, which suggests that perhaps Netanyahu felt he was more likely to find a receptive audience in

Palestine. However, this should not be mistaken as an increased trust for his neighbors.

As if to confirm that he still is suspicious of Palestinians, Netanyahu continues to accuse Palestinian leaders of sabotaging peace during this time period. In one instance, he charged Abbas with purposeful delaying of peace with Israel for the purposes of incitement of unrest and attaining greater Israeli concessions (2010 speech to AIPAC). Netanyahu further blames the conflict with Palestine on problems with radical Islam that have existed since ancient times based upon religious differences as well as current issues with the West's core values (2012 interview by Gregory). This is detrimental to his ability to see a possibility of partners for peace within Palestine. Instead, he continues conflict under the assumption that Palestinians—and those in Gaza in particular—are aggressive toward Israel and thus his counterterrorism measure are justified and forced (2009 interview by Blitzer). This aggression toward Israel is built into Palestinian culture according to Netanyahu's perception. He claims that Palestinians are taught to hate Israel as children and that they resist a Palestinian state because negotiating one would necessitate the acceptance of a Jewish state alongside it. These anti-Semitic feelings are to blame for fueling the conflict and Palestine's ties with terrorist groups like Hamas (2011 speech to US Congress) in Netanyahu's belief system, not Israeli occupation and subjugation of Palestine. Returning to his comparison of concessions to appeasement that he made in the early sample, he points out that withdrawing from Gaza brought more terrorism rather than peace (2009 speech to United Nations) thereby reinforcing his feelings.

Netanyahu also continues to show contempt for international intervention in this situation, particularly with the United Nations. He believes that the United Nations' objections are misguided and invalid, largely because the U.N. is biased against Israel. His understanding is that by getting in the way, the U.N. is effectively helping terrorists (2009 speech to United Nations) because they receive protection from Israeli retaliation. He fears that by removing the fear of retaliation, terrorists will be emboldened to increase their attacks and thereby threaten even more Israeli lives. It is also likely that he does not care for others dictating what he can or cannot do as a leader of a sovereign country. Furthermore, international pressure tends to attempt to persuade him to give up land that he currently controls in an expeditious fashion, regardless of whether he receives the safeguards he requests. Each of these aspects do not seem to sit well with him.

However, international actors may feel the need to step in because Netanyahu certainly harbors a lot of bias that causes him to favor Israeli standpoints over Palestinian ones when weighing their comparative merits. Some of this is attributable to nationalism displayed in this statement he made describing a two state solution: "Palestinians will go to the Palestinian state. Jews can come to the Jewish state. That's the kind of solution that I'm looking for" (2010 interview by Mansbridge). This statement is consistent with Netanyahu's goal to make sure Israel remains a Jewish state, but certainly suggests segregationist tendencies. It seems that Netanyahu's preoccupation with maintaining a primarily Jewish state may color his judgment at times. This very well could cause him to unfairly distrust and mistreat Palestinians and

Muslims in general. And yet, although he clearly favors Jewish issues and is occupying an area of land inhabited mostly by Muslims who he does not grant full rights or citizenship to, Netanyahu believes that Israel is not a colonial country. Instead, he insists that Israel and all of the land it controls is the Jewish homeland and that the Jewish people have a right to maintain their presence there (2010 speech to AIPAC). This is key to many of his actions that he feels are justified because the Jewish people are not "occupiers" but rightful inhabitants.

Finally, in this issue, as in many others when understanding Netanyahu, it is important to remember the role that Iran plays in his decision making. While addressing the United Nations during this period, he stated that the blame for the threat Gaza poses to Israel is squarely placed upon Iran (2012 speech to United Nations). This influence, real or perceived, is an essential aspect of Netanyahu's reasoning that prevents him from negotiating more with the Palestinians. Concessions to Palestine, when framed this way, are victories for Iran from which they can continue to build anti-Israel sentiment. While achieving a peace is a preferable outcome, strengthening Iran's influence and terrorist reach is unacceptable in Netanyahu's operational code. Thus, in his line of thinking, he is paralyzed to act to solve the conflict without reducing Palestinian autonomy so much that it is almost nonexistent.

Contemporary Sample (2013-2015)

In many ways, the modern sample is more of the same. However, though functionally Netanyahu's assessment of Palestine did not change much over the other two periods, the contemporary sample is markedly less optimistic about the possibility

of a achieving a peace and a two-state solution than the middle sample was. This pessimism only seems to grow as the sample progresses. One important feature of this pessimism is that Netanyahu continues to blame Abbas for conflict in this period, accusing him of supporting terrorism (2014 speech to United Nations). These accusations include claiming that the Palestinian leader glorifies terrorists (2015 speech to 37th Zionist Congress). Netanyahu's paranoia about making peace with Palestine seems to mount until he made a statement in a 2015 campaign speech that suggested he had lost faith in a two-state solution and reverted to instead planning to maintain a single state (2015a Times of Israel). This campaign statement brought Netanyahu a lot of scrutiny from the media and becomes an important talking point from this time forward.

In opposition to this campaign speech in which he declared that he will not allow a Palestinian state, he denies ever being against a two-state solution when asked about the statement internationally (2015 interview by Kelly). Yet, in spite of claiming he will not prevent a two-state solution like many believed he said he would in his campaign speech, he does not profess much hope that one will materialize. Instead, he says that the circumstances will not currently allow a two-state solution and this is what he meant in his speech (2015 interview by Kelly). Regardless of backtracking on his extreme statement while campaigning, this new stance still implies that he sees no Palestinian state occurring under his leadership. This is far less optimistic than Netanyahu was during the time of his 2009 Bar Ilan speech, but is consistent with the results of his time as Prime Minister so far. It is questionable whether Netanyahu is

willing to entertain the idea of two states at all as it is clear that he does not trust the Palestinians or their leadership. Furthermore, despite his increased anti-Palestine rhetoric at home in 2015, Netanyahu continued to attempt to give very little international attention to Palestine, suggesting that he may be more concerned about Iran, but also that he would rather sweep the issue under the rug.

His tendency to sweep the issue under the rug reflects Netanyahu's inability to see Israel's—or his own—culpability in the conflict. When violence breaks out, he shifts the blame to terrorists and argues that he is left with no other options but to respond with military force (2014 interview by Hannity). To fail to do so would threaten the security of his country and people in his mind, which the earlier, broader analysis revealed to be one of his most central concerns. Netanyahu justifies his actions by saying that Israel does the same as any other country would do in the same situation (2014a interview by Schieffer). Considering Western intervention in some other areas of the Middle East, this standpoint may not be unreasonable, but it also shows that Netanyahu does not consider alternatives. He does not seem to believe peace can be reached with diplomacy, and he fails to see that he plays a role in perpetuating the violence.

Because he does not feel Israel is culpable for violence between his country and Palestine, Netanyahu harbors especially harsh feelings toward outside critics of Israel's security measures. He considers criticisms of Israel as part of a "propaganda war" that it faces. It is central to his belief system that Israel is not actually at fault, but instead being made to look bad and that the United Nations is assisting in perpetuating

the anti-Semitism behind this propaganda (2014 speech to United Nations). This returns to his consistent disdain for international intervention. As he feels greater pressure however, it seems that he only allows his negative feelings to build, rather than considering alternative viewpoints. As such, Netanyahu views the Boycott, Divest and Sanction (BDS) movement as an extension of this propaganda war and anti-Semitism. He goes further to claim that it actually hurts the possibility of a two state solution because it encourages those on the Palestinian side who use violence to promote their viewpoint to continue (2014 speech to AIPAC). The merits and problems involved in the BDS movement are beyond the scope of this paper. Yet, Netanyahu's dismissal of an entire group as anti-Semitic does much to describe how little he considers alternative viewpoints or their possible complexity.

This same ignorance of alternative viewpoints may contribute to the fact that Netanyahu often says that peace with Palestine is important, but the reason he gives is constantly that he and his country are sick of violence and loss. He sometimes follows this with personal anecdotes that reference his own injuries in combat and the death of his brother (2013 interview by Inskeep). In contrast, he rarely—never other than the Bar Ilan speech—seems to acknowledge the importance of Palestinian rights as a reason that peace needs to be achieved. He does not seem to care about the lack of rights given to Palestinians and weighs them as far less important than the security of Israel. This is true if his strategic decisions are of any indication, however, it also is likely a tactical choice because to admit that Palestinians are denied rights and that it is a problem would be to back himself into a corner quickly. If he acknowledges the

importance of those denied rights, he will be unable to maintain the security he deems

necessary for long, because he is ultimately the one denying Palestinian rights by not

agreeing to allow them to separate. In the same fashion, Netanyahu generally refers to

his goals regarding Palestine as achieving a peace rather than forming two states. In

this way, he can succeed by simply maintaining peace rather than separating the two

nations. Because separation may threaten security and peace is his ultimate goal,

Netanyahu can then justify his stringent conditions and continued occupation of

Palestine within his own rhetorical structure. This leads us into his greater objectives

and strategies regarding the Palestinian issue.

Netanyahu's Main Objectives and Strategies Regarding Palestine

Netanyahu has spent a lot of time professing interest in solving the Palestinian

conflict with a two-state solution. Though the two-state solution he puts forth is

arguably not providing enough freedom to Palestine, it does suggest that he is willing

to start somewhere at the bargaining table when negotiating with Palestine. At the very

least, Netanyahu seemed hopeful for peace at the beginning of his second stint as

Prime Minister of Israel, and one might assume that was reason to be optimistic about

the chances of achieving a diplomatic solution. In fact, despite his recent less hopeful

opinions on an Israeli-Palestinian peace, some still point to Netanyahu's 2009 Bar Ilan

speech as an optimistic point where the two-state solution seemed like a possibility of

the near future. But was the prospect of peace really all that optimistic looking at that

time? The next section separates Netanyahu's talk of objectives and strategies

regarding Palestine into categories defined by an open stance and optimism, and by a closed stance and pessimism. Such a division quickly reveals that, despite his hopeful and diplomatic sounding rhetoric, there was rarely any reason to believe Netanyahu had any intention of making a fair peace with Palestine. The Prime Minister may have genuinely believed he could form a peace, but was it really a diplomatic one, or one he intended to force with the greater power of Israel?

Open Stance, Optimistic

The most notable optimistic gesture that Netanyahu makes occurs during his 2009 Bar Ilan speech. In that speech, Netanyahu advocates for a two-state solution and recognizes the importance of granting Palestinians rights that they are denied under the current system. Notably however, this is only under strict requirements of Palestine and specific conditions for the situation (2009 Bar Ilan). Despite these lofty requirements, the fact that he acknowledges the need to give Palestinians rights is unusual. There was no other instance of this in any other text from the sample. This recognition of the importance of giving rights to those in the Israeli-occupied territories puts the discussion in a frame that is apart from the usual security and peace centric one that Netanyahu utilizes. It represents an instance where he acknowledges and considers the other side's concerns and grievances, concluding they are substantiated. Though this speech still contained strong security overtones, this was a major change of pace for Netanyahu.

Also early on in his second stint as Prime Minister, Netanyahu continued to talk about a two-state solution as possible and he expressed an interest in negotiating with Palestine and Abbas, but that they are responsible for delaying and blocking any talks. At this point he also insisted that he was trying to promote cooperation through other means such as forming an "economic peace" with Palestine (2010 interview by Mansbridge). It seemed at the time that perhaps he really was interested in increasing positive ties between Palestinians and Israelis.

The only other notable optimistic feature of Netanyahu's instrumental beliefs concerning Palestine that could be identified in the sample was his confidence at various times that a peace could be reached within his lifetime or even his term as Prime Minister. Though this is not particularly concrete, it does suggest that he may have been intending to work toward a peace and that he hoped the Palestinians would respond positively to, or at least accept, his conditions.

Closed Stance, Pessimistic

In direct contrast to a rather scarce amount of optimistic outlook on Palestine leading to being open to peace and negotiation, there is a wide array of evidence that Netanyahu is actually closed to the possibility of a true compromise with Palestine and therefore pessimistic about the possibility of peace. One prominent issue that he takes a non-negotiable stance on throughout the sample period is how to deal with Jerusalem. Referring to allowing the Israeli capital to become partially Palestinian property once again, he stated that "There will never be such a re-division of

Jerusalem. Never" (1996 speech to US Congress). This is central to any negotiation

Netanyahu is willing to have it seems. Though he claims he is willing to concede a

Palestinian state, he insists that Jerusalem will remain in Israeli possession in its

entirety. He never seems to waiver on this point, though he does avoid the subject in

2010 (interview by Wallace), before reasserting it later on in examples from 2011

forward (2011 speech to US Congress, 2012 speech to AIPAC, 2015a Times of

Israel). Though alone it seems like a possibly small demand, it actually headlines a

long list of concessions Netanyahu is unwilling to make. As he moved forward further

into his time as Prime Minister after being elected in 2009, he continued putting forth

demands required before making a peace with Palestine that would create two states.

These demands are accompanied with a refusal to be pushed out of the Jewish

homeland (2011 speech to United Nations). By refusing to be removed from the

Jewish homeland, Netanyahu responds to the most extreme of opinions against Israel,

making the situation appear to possibly involve removing the Jewish state entirely.

This stance is much more different than the two-state solution than most of the

international community is seeking. This fanaticized view of what would happen if

Palestinians were given autonomy becomes Netanyahu's argument for why he cannot

negotiate without so many required conditions. Because of this unwillingness to

negotiate on a long list of conditions, Netanyahu indirectly blocks any potential for

peace.

Ironically, Netanyahu often makes a point of asserting to the world that Israel

wants peace (2010 interview by King), but that Iran is blocking that peace through

terror proxies such as Hezbollah (2010 speech to AIPAC) and Hamas (2011 speech to US Congress). He makes this case while simultaneously putting Israel in a more favorable light, often using the "city on the hill" type rhetoric mentioned in P1 of his operational code according to George's questions. In order to justify his security demands that infringe on Palestinian autonomy, Netanyahu consistently pushes the explanation that Iran is behind security threats to Israel stemming from the Palestinian conflict. He blames Iran for making Gaza a "terror stronghold" (2012 speech to United Nations) and generally gives the impression that Israel is under siege by a powerful enemy. By doing so, Netanyahu puts the onus of the advancement of peace on others. He continues this trend when he insists that better relationships with surrounding Arab states would facilitate a Palestinian/Israeli peace, rather than functioning the other way around (2014 interview by Zakaria). This argument that Iran is influencing Palestine and placing terrorist groups within it also furthers his argument that Israel is not doing anything wrong. Netanyahu believes that he is not threatening Palestine's sovereignty by occupying the territory because he is, in fact, preventing Iran from threatening it (2014 interview by Zakaria). Of course, this argument fails to recognize that he could both be taking away Palestine's sovereignty while preventing it from being threatened by another state, but he appears not to recognize or struggle with that paradox.

Netanyahu associates Palestine closely with terrorism that comes from within it. As such, his strategy toward Palestine mirrors much of his strategy involving terrorism and many times he fails to differentiate the two. For instance, he makes it clear that he will make no consideration of terrorists' causes because he fears it

encourages them, something he refuses to do (2001 speech to the US Government
Reform Committee) and when he feels the Palestinian leadership is contributing to
terrorism, his interest in peace wanes. Instead, he turns to the only method he believes
can be used to defeat terrorism, military engagement (2002 interview by Frost). He
repeatedly shows he is willing to use this military force in Gaza and the West Bank,
sticking to his assertion that "There can never be a political solution for terror," (2002
speech to US Senate) and instead opting to use blunt force.

Netanyahu often tries to convince others of his view that Israel's actions are
not unlike those of other countries fighting terrorism by painting all terrorists as the
same. He insists that in all cases the issue is radical Islam-motivated irrational actors
(ignoring other terrorist groups, including Jewish ones), and likens ISIS to Hamas
(2014 speech to United Nations). By doing so, he dismisses the idea that there might
be rights-based disputes motivating these attacks in favor of the religious conflict
dialogue. Irrational actors driven by religious fervor do not seem like candidates for
negotiation, whereas those who are violent in pursuit of political rights may be
satiable. If Netanyahu does not like what it would take to satiate what may be
politically-based paramilitaries, it is in his best interest to make them seem like
irrational actors that must be eliminated.

Also of great indication that he is closed to the concerns and plight of
Palestinians is that Netanyahu never accepts any Israeli responsibility for civilian
casualties in conflicts with Palestine. He instead chooses to cite Israel and the Israel
Defense Forces (IDF) taking of great pains to avoid harming civilians (2014 interview

by Hannity). He holds Hamas responsible for civilian deaths in conflict and accuses them of intentionally creating them for the purposes of martyrdom and blocking peace (2014 interview by Wallace). He feels he has to attack the rocketeers attacking Israel and that, even though they hide amongst civilians to try to make Israel look bad, he cannot let the terrorists win and will therefore "take whatever necessary means we need to take" (2014 interview by Hume). He fails to see that by not retaliating he may serve to hurt the terrorists' agenda, believing that the better course of action is to pursue justice and eliminate terrorists. Conversely, though Netanyahu feels his government cannot be held accountable for civilian casualties, he often blames Palestinian leaders for terrorist attacks on Israel, even though the terrorists are not in direct control of the Palestinian Authority. The contradictions in Netanyahu's belief system are clear and at work in this aspect of his leadership. Netanyahu always claims that the goal of Israel's use of military action is to ultimately stop violence (2014a interview by Schieffer), meaning to convey that Israel must remove the terrorists preventing peace, but at the same time he seems to fail to see the irony in the idea of preventing violence through violent intervention.

Further conflict within his own belief system becomes apparent in how strictly Netanyahu holds others to agreements while seemingly viewing them as inapplicable to his own actions. He often reneges on commitments while blaming Palestine for doing the same, as displayed in his insistence upon scaling the Oslo accords back while still somehow claiming he was willing to work within it in the same interview (2002 PBS interview). Whereas much of his strategy is forced or in response to

untrustworthy adversaries, he fails to see that Palestine may be facing the same

dilemma.

Despite talking often about a two-state solution, Netanyahu's reluctance to the

concept becomes increasingly clear over time as he reveals more and more reasons

why Israel needs security and he cannot give in to Palestinian demands. One such

example is the argument he often brings up that Israel is a very small country in which

he says that the size of the country puts it in danger if it does not maintain a buffer

zone. Furthermore, he becomes much more negative about and aggressive toward

Palestine when speaking to Israeli audiences, as exemplified by his speech to the 37th

Zionist Congress (2015) in which he characterizes Palestinians as angry over Israel's

existence and accuses Muslims of being hypocritical in their criticisms of how Israel

treats them. This more aggressive stance culminates in his claim in a campaign speech

that he would not allow a Palestinian state (2015a Times of Israel). However, that may

be mostly a political tactic to rally those conservatives are receptive to a unitary state

stance. In 2015, despite his aggressive language regarding Palestine at home,

Netanyahu seems to shut down suggestions that he wants to maintain occupation of

Palestine when speaking abroad before switching the subject to focus on Iran. When

asked about his campaign statement, he denies wanting a unitary state (2015 interview

by Zakaria) though he does admit that he does not believe it is possible to have two

states in the current situation, blaming Palestine and Abbas for the friction and threats

to security (2015 interview by Kelly). He then usually turns to the argument that any

lands surrendered to a Palestinian state would ultimately be taken over by Iran (2015

interview by Todd) effectively steering the conversation away from the subject of Palestine—and simultaneously suggesting that there is nothing to be done—reverting back to Iran, which he would rather talk about.

This is particularly troubling because it appears that Netanyahu wants Palestine to be ignored and treated like an afterthought. In this status, Palestine is unlikely to gain independence or political rights of any kind in the near future. Meanwhile, Netanyahu continues to deny that settlements or building in Palestine are contributing to conflict (2015 interview by Inskeep) and there are reasons to believe that he intends to keep building. He views these settlements as a way to stop progression toward Israel proper (2015a Times of Israel), claiming larger and larger areas of the West Bank through facts on the ground. Netanyahu may honestly see a two-state solution as the proper course of action eventually, but his actions at the moment suggest he would like for Israel to take as much advantage of the status quo as possible before relinquishing control. Overall, it appears he may be more interested in bullying Palestine into accepting more favorable conditions for Israel than negotiating any form of peace. His noteworthy statement that "Nobody makes peace with the weak," (2015 interview by Pletka) rings true in his actions. Denied rights and held under the control of another nation, the Palestinians are certainly weak at this point in history. It seems that those who do not make peace with the weak include Netanyahu, lest Israel become weak too, he fears.

Changes Over Time

Netanyahu's approach to speaking on the Palestine issue seems to be much more flexible than his approach to Iran. Though the overall effects of his strategy are ultimately consistent, the tone he takes toward Palestine changes a decent bit. In terms of change over time, Netanyahu talks about Palestine fairly often early on in the sample (1996-2002) and even in 2009, but then he seems to avoid the subject more and moves from demands and talks of reducing concessions (fairly extreme standpoints), to Palestinian failures to negotiate which functions as an excuse for a lack of progress. In 2014, terroristic attacks and fighting with Hamas in Gaza brought new criticism of Palestine and defenses of Israel from Netanyahu in order to try to promote his viewpoint internationally. However, his focus quickly subsided from Palestine and returned to Iran. Clearly Netanyahu is increasingly pressured to stop delaying the process as time drags on and as his hard stance fails to make progress. As such, he has not abandoned his hard stance, but instead appears to try to shift blame onto uncooperative Palestinian leadership and Iranian influence.

Evidence suggests that Netanyahu is more condemning of and aggressive toward Palestine in speeches to the domestic audience (2015 speech to 37th Zionist Congress, 2015a Times of Israel)—fellow Israelis, and particularly conservatives—in comparison to speaking with international audiences. It seems as though he may wish to keep international (and domestic, though to a lesser extent) focus on Iran while recognizing that Palestine is issue but suggesting that this is not the time to handle it. Domestically, Netanyahu works on general fear and distrust of Iran in conjunction

with nationalism and safety-based arguments that stem directly from the Palestine issue. However, internationally other states do not feel they would be put at any personal risk by Palestinian liberation, they are too far removed, and as such Netanyahu must put greater focus on Iran and its expansionist goals.

Netanyahu rarely discusses why he is unwilling to make peace, rather than why he is unable to due to the actions of others. Yet, it was a more prominent feature of his rhetoric around the time when the failings of the Oslo Accords were more solidified in recent memory and he was not the Prime Minister of Israel. At this time he probably felt greater support for his anti-concessions viewpoints and less pressure from the international community because he did not have the ultimate say on the issue. However, in 2014 it reappears again around surges of violence involved with fighting with Hamas. At that time, it seems that because he felt Israel was under attack, it was fair to suspend the idea of peace, instead claiming he was acting in pursuit of a "sustainable quiet" (2014a interview by Schieffer). In all cases though, even when saying he does not think peace can be achieved or is the goal, Netanyahu tends to shift blame to another regional power, Iran, to portray the conflict as one between two powers and therefore a legitimate threat to Israel, rather than one involving a strong Israel and a much weaker subjugated people.

Finally, it is important to note that in contrast with his 2009 Bar Ilan speech, by the end of 2015 Netanyahu's concern about Palestine and their sovereignty seemed very weak. Furthermore, his comments on the subject have become especially negative about the prospects for peace. If he ever envisioned a two-state solution, it

certainly seems he is not willing to support one right now. It remains to be seen if being re-elected or greater international pressure will lessen his pessimistic tone and spark new progress.

Overall Impressions and Adherence to Greater Operational Code

This deeper analysis of Netanyahu's belief system as it relates to Palestine reveals two possible interpretations of how it relates to the greater operational code put forth in this thesis as it relates to George's questions, one that is consistent and one that is inconsistent. If one believes it is consistent, they may notice that he continues to take a security-first approach that employs quick use of hard power. This might be supported by the fact that Netanyahu seems to be more concerned about the idea of making Palestine independent when his people are threatened—as he seems to believe they are starting in 2013 when international negotiations with Iran began, or periodically as fighting breaks out with terrorist groups. Netanyahu also suggests that security may truly be his main concern with his consistent insistence of his responsibility to protect the Jewish people and state as his first priority. It is conceivable that he views key components of doing this as linked to control over Palestinian affairs. He also continues to display a distrust of Muslims/Arabs and some racist tendencies combined with a paranoia about the intentions of others, such as the United Nations and the Palestinian Authority. Finally, Netanyahu maintains the status quo by failing to talk and negotiate with others while blaming them for the lack of dialogue or peace.

Alternatively, if one looks for inconsistencies with Netanyahu's operational code as it was presented with George's questions earlier, there is evidence to support a new theory. It is possible that Netanyahu's obsession with Iran is intended to move focus away from Palestine and that his ultimate goal is to maintain a unitary state with continued Jewish supremacy, rather than to achieve optimum security. This would suggest that Iran is less of a threat to Israel and more of a scapegoat, rather than the narrative that Netanyahu puts forth that Iran is a genuine threat to the Israeli people and Palestine is unfortunately caught in the middle of the conflict. However, to assume this, one has to believe that Netanyahu is able to so consistently avoid speaking his mind and instead substitute propaganda intended to further his political agenda.

It seems likely that the truth falls somewhere in the middle of these two possible assumptions. It is fairly obvious that Netanyahu does not want to relinquish the land and resources associated with Palestine, but he is especially concerned about the defense consequences that could come with losing control of the region. Furthermore, it is to be expected that he is legitimately concerned about Iran as a threat, as evidenced by consistency on his viewpoints toward his Iranian rivals versus the occasional flip-flop on Palestinian issues. Netanyahu may truly have idealistic beliefs involving giving independence to Palestinians, but his realist tendencies, paranoia, and focus centered on Jewish issues prevents him from being the leader promoting a two-state solution that some hoped he would be after the 2009 Bar Ilan speech.

Just as Netanyahu's belief system suffered from inconsistencies when examining Iran, it contradicts itself relative to Palestine. These contradictions are evidently the source of confusion to the point that a case study of Palestine could be construed to indicate that Netanyahu is not following an operational code driven by realism, security concerns and rivalry with Iran, as the answers George's questions seemed to suggest. Netanyahu seems to believe he can somehow be the Israeli leader that brings a two-state solution and peace between Israel and Palestine by continuing to subjugate Palestine until they give up. This is evidenced in his odd notion that peace can be achieved through military action. This seems to be based on his belief that one cannot defeat terrorism with politics and that terrorism is what threatens peace for Israel. However, Netanyahu has also cited the need for democracy to defeat terrorism and promote peace, suggesting that at least part of him is aware of the power of political action to end violence. By continuing to hold terrorists and ultimately Palestine as a whole responsible for violence while not bearing any Israeli responsibility, Netanyahu in essence is creating a constant loop of conflict. Furthermore, he seems to believe it is reasonable to continue to blame the Palestinian leaders for not playing by the rules while refusing to recognize his own aggressions against the possibility of finding an agreement. With these actions, even if some idealistic part of the Prime Minister is truly in favor of a two-state solution, Netanyahu effectively blocks peace. For this reason, though one may be inclined to believe that Netanyahu's direct intention may not be to subjugate the Palestinians, it is still clear

that his belief system will not give him the ability to allow a two-state solution in the

current political climate, regardless of his rhetoric implying that it is a hope and a goal.

VII. Conclusion

At the outset of this thesis it was established that the purpose of the project was to examine the dynamics of leadership and contribute to literature in international relations. This goal was to be attained through a case study of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Through operational code analysis, this thesis set out to determine Netanyahu's philosophical and instrumental beliefs and what they may mean for Middle East politics. Combined with the traditional methods utilized, the plan included the addition of two novel components—social media analysis and facial recognition—to create a more well-rounded profile of leadership, incorporate advances from other disciplines, and bring operational code analysis up to speed with modern developments. With hopes that this approach would yield a greater understanding of polarizing leadership and help to clarify the workings of the controversial Israeli leader's belief system, I embarked on this study.

Having established the importance of leadership studies, demonstrated why Netanyahu is a prudent subject, and explained the evolution and use of operational code, the narrative then turned to the central question of this thesis: what is Benjamin Netanyahu's operational code? It was hypothesized that the answer would involve conflictual tendencies, hostility, and pessimistic outlook—in other words, he would be classified as a "realist" in Crichlow's typology (Crichlow 1998)—but this is a broad question that is difficult to pin down. Thus, to answer this larger question, it was broken down into more acute questions and areas of study.

First, the study approached the central question by examining Netanyahu's operational code through the common modern method known as VICS. It analyzed a total sample of 55 texts, including speeches, interviews, and social media usage with the intent of determining whether or not the values VICS coding produced from these sources matched the hypothesized operational code for Netanyahu warranting a realist classification. The data generated suggested a surprising amount of neutral, middle of the road results for both philosophical and instrumental beliefs given an informed hypothesis about Netanyahu's nature. However, without context, it was clear that the results may not be particularly descriptive.

To mitigate the difficulty of the results being interpreted without context, it was then asked how they would compare with other notable Israeli leaders. Netanyahu displayed similarities to 1990s incarnations of Rabin and Peres in philosophical beliefs, suggesting a more dovish nature that appeared unusual. However, Netanyahu also displayed instrumental belief similarities to 1970s Peres who was noted for his hawkish policy. Thus, Netanyahu seemed like a hybrid, perhaps adapting to the political landscape he finds himself in.

Though comparisons provided a reference point that mitigated some concerns about Netanyahu's operational code appearing surprisingly neutral, most would still be unconvinced that the initial VICS analysis fully illustrated the realism that was expected at the outset of this project. Thus, it was hypothesized that Twitter, with its 140 character limit on tweets, would force Netanyahu to express his points more concisely and thus limit any ability to conceal any realist tendencies. Accordingly,

sources were divided into speaking texts and social media texts and observed

regarding differences in VICS results with an expectation that the Twitter results

would suggest greater hawkish or realist tendencies. The analysis of Twitter did garner

some results toward the lower end of the scale for relevant philosophical and

instrumental beliefs, as expected.

However, despite the results of the Twitter analysis suggesting more realist

tendencies than the speaking analysis, they remained in fairly neutral territory. Thus,

the question arose whether so-called "filler" tweets could be influencing the results.

Netanyahu's tweets were then divided into *filler*, *general issues*, and *Palestine/Iran*

categories and re-ran them through the VICS operational code analysis software. It

was found that *filler* tweets certainly showed a general trend of being much more

idealistic than those about Palestine or Iran, but that there was little difference between

the *general issues* and *Palestine/Iran* categories. More importantly, this breakdown

showed that Netanyahu's Twitter presence related to political issues was indeed more

realist in tone than the entire collection of his English-language tweets. Though the

differences were still fairly muted in terms of showing definite realism overall, they

suggested that there may still be more to Netanyahu's operational code behind his

crafted personal persona. This began to build a case for a more in-depth, qualitative

study.

Before moving to qualitative study, this project utilized the advantages of the

quantitative system to explore the idea that leaders can change in their operational

codes over time either due to political pressure or personal evolution. It was

hypothesized that by splitting sample texts into three time periods, one would see differences in Netanyahu's operational code according to VICS analysis and statistical testing, thus indicating adaptation possibly stemming from environment, personal development, or both. Statistically significant results were found suggesting that Netanyahu's operational code (or at least the one represented in his public persona) changes over time. The data indicated that 2009-2012 was arguably Netanyahu's most idealistic period, with 1996-2002 demonstrating more realist tendencies in various measures, some at significant and some at marginal levels. 2013-2015 also displayed marginally more realist tendencies than 2009-2012 in the P1 measure. These results indeed indicate some kind of adaptation. Alone, this result lends importance to a more in-depth study because it suggests there may be knowledge about how and why a leader changes in their operational code to be gained. However, it also raised a new question: could Netanyahu be masking more realism-based operational code in response to the political climate?

In order to answer this new question, it was clear that VICS coding of the texts of Netanyahu's speech was insufficient. The text of his speeches itself lacked a degree of depth and this thesis developed a way represent some of that missing depth quantitatively through facial recognition software. Thus, the study set out to gauge whether or not Netanyahu displayed facial affect suggesting emotional responses that could be indicative of negative, conflictual, or hostile thoughts. To do so, a control to gauge Netanyahu's speeches against was needed, which was found in United States President Barack Obama. It was hypothesized that Netanyahu would display greater

proportions of *negative* expressions and fewer proportions of *positive* and/or non-negative (*neutral* and *positive*) expressions than Obama. Furthermore, fairly dramatic differences were initially expected that would possibly indicate a much more realism-centered emotional response in Netanyahu. The results of facial expression tracking included some initially surprising data, but ultimately indicated that expectations that Netanyahu would be more negative were correct. Netanyahu displayed a grossly disproportionate amount of *disgust* and this carried over into significantly more *adjusted negative* expression than Obama as well as ratios comparing both *positive* and *positive + neutral* expression frequencies to *adjusted negative* expression frequencies that were significantly lower than the ratios suggesting the possibility of more idealistic tendencies displayed by Obama. With facial recognition software, this study found an indicator pointing more definitively to the negative tendency of which Netanyahu is often accused. Though it gave no conclusive evidence that Netanyahu masked a realist operational code, it was indeed evidence that perhaps there is a fair bit of information that VICS coding neglects. Accordingly, it was time to look at the sample from a more holistic, qualitative point of view.

In order to achieve a more informative qualitative analysis, George's operational code questions that make up the standard upon which VICS coding was built were then utilized. For this reason, it is convenient to compare results between the quantitative and qualitative analyses. Furthermore, George's questions as they were originally devised allow for a greater depth of understanding that was missing in the earlier quantitative work. It was believed that a separate qualitative analysis of this

nature might reveal an operational code for Netanyahu that would be classified as having more realist characteristics than the VICS results indicated. Overall, it appears this hypothesis was correct. Netanyahu indeed showed greater perception of hostility and conflictual tendencies as well as a pessimistic attitude toward peace. Having presented both quantitative and qualitative analyses, this conclusion will now compare them and assess where results differed and where they converged.

In contrast to the fairly neutral result that VICS analysis produced for P1, addressing George's full P1 question from a qualitative perspective produced a viewpoint that was much more suggestive that the political universe is conflictual. This conclusion was largely produced by Netanyahu's main stances on the international issues that Israel faces. Rather than pursue peaceful solutions side by side with his rivals, Netanyahu displays a clear interest in maintaining a security advantage at their expense. It appears that an underlying paranoia may be part of what fuels this pattern. It is possible that VICS may have missed this information largely because Netanyahu often speaks in terms of how Israel and the Middle East can make peace, however, he is quick to qualify that with security and hard power measures that must be taken to bring it about.

The VICS coding for P2 seems to line up better with the qualitative assessment in that the qualitative assessment identified both optimistic and pessimistic tendencies in the Netanyahu texts that were analyzed, thus possibly appearing neutral. However, the qualitative analysis classified his tone as overall optimistic for the future, whereas VICS suggested that he was almost exactly neutral with slight pessimism. This

difference likely lies in Netanyahu's tendency to justify his world view and security focus with doomsday type predictions. The qualitative assessment picked up on this tendency determining that Netanyahu's insistence that Israel will stand for itself, maintain its land, and other defiant statements indicated an optimistic point of view about the power of Israel, overriding his pessimistic predictions. However, without a system of ranking his political ambitions (of which it seems power is first), it is easy to see how Netanyahu's concern about terrorist attacks and the futility of attempts for peace could make him appear fairly balanced between outlooks. It should be noted, however, that the qualitative understanding does continue to fit in with the realist theme, because he has little hope invested in peace (a source of pessimism).

It was surprising to see such a low value for P3, the predictableness of the future, in the VICS data in relation to qualitative results. Netanyahu makes consistent predictions, though many of them may be conditional (i.e. Iran will use nuclear weapons *if* we do not stop their nuclear program). He also regularly refers to the past in a "history repeats itself" motif. From a qualitative perspective this seemed sufficient to suggest he believes he has a strong sense of political foresight, but it appears VICS searches for differing clues that were not as apparent.

Because of the grandeur inherent in much of how he describes his leadership and the lack of space he seems to provide for views other than his own, qualitative analysis suggested that Netanyahu displayed strong belief in his ability to shape historical development (P4), however this study's VICS data seems to disagree. This was puzzling given the higher values Crichlow found in his study of Rabin and Peres

(Crichlow 1998). Netanyahu goes so far as to attempt to change past history to serve his agenda, as he did when he fabricated information about the origins of the Holocaust (2015 37th Zionist Congress). Though unsuccessful, this does not seem like the action of someone who doubts his influence. Thus, this study concludes that Netanyahu's P4 score would be more representative were it higher.

The final philosophical value, the role of chance (P5), also shows a great divide between quantitative and qualitative results. In this case, however, Crichlow's 1998 study also resulted in VICS data that had high values for P5 and so one could conclude that a high P5 score is not unusual. This study's qualitative understanding of chance and the VICS definition of chance seem to differ in this area.

Instrumental questioning in the style of George proved to be beneficial as well, revealing a wealth of detail that is not easily described by VICS data. For I1, the approach to selecting goals for political action, it was far more descriptive to be able to identify what priorities are highest in Netanyahu's mind. After establishing that his main goal is to maintain the survival of the Jewish state, it follows logically why security is of the utmost importance to him and also why he fails to take Palestinian rights into account much of the time. Because of his philosophical beliefs, his only method of procuring survival is to seek power, and because he wishes to maintain a *Jewish* state, he cannot grant citizenship to the mostly Muslim Palestinians. He selects his goals based on how to best promote Israeli power and the prosperity of the Jewish people. Thereby it is almost inevitable that his actions will be conflictual with other groups. Thus, to the qualitative analysis, Netanyahu once again appeared to be a

realist, but he did not score as expected on the VICS scale, instead falling on the cooperative side. This is mitigated by his I1 score being comparable to Peres' in the 1970s (Crichlow 1998), Peres being a particularly hawkish figure himself. However, Crichlow ultimately classified Peres as a Pragmatic Idealist, and thus these results still seem to not be descriptive. Once again, by focusing more on the basic text of his speech (much of which includes interest in peace and talking with other leaders) it appears VICS coding overlooked the stronger message underlying what Netanyahu says.

I2 also provided the opportunity for greater depth, explaining specifically how Netanyahu chooses to pursue his goals. Once again, the qualitative analysis suggested his main intention is that of a realist: to maintain a power advantage. He also attempts to do so utilizing hard power whenever possible. Alternatively, VICS data suggested that Netanyahu is weakly cooperative. Once again, it seems that his claims to want peace and of interest in sitting down with rival leaders may have played a part in this result. However, Netanyahu also takes time to speak positively about his relationships with allies and this may have been a factor as well. Quantitative analysis indicates that Netanyahu is less worried about these alliances than he is about the power advantage they provide (he seems to jeopardize them when he feels they do not provide this), thus continuing his realist theme and suggesting greater conflictual nature than VICS coding suggested.

The qualitative and quantitative assessments differed once again in terms of the acceptance of risk (I3). Whereas qualitative analysis suggests Netanyahu is risk

averse, especially in areas involving security, the quantitative data suggested that he is risk acceptant. This is another case where this study's qualitative understanding of risk acceptance and VICS definition of that variable diverge. Because the qualitative analysis provides a chance to determine priorities and notice that Netanyahu often hedges his bets (peace talks under the condition of very high levels of security, for instance), I contend that the clear choice was to classify him as risk averse, in line with qualitative analysis' suggestion that Netanyahu has paranoid tendencies. However, VICS coding may have picked up on this variable in a different sense, leading to its conclusion.

I4 is operationalized somewhat differently between VICS coding and George's original questions, with VICS utilizing it as another category of risk acceptance, whereas this thesis project qualitatively understood "timing" as somewhat of a measure of urgency and strategy. However, I4b seemed to be in sync with the qualitative understanding of I4 as a whole regarding Netanyahu's international policy. He did indeed seem risk acceptant of doing too much (as VICS coding shows) outside of his borders because he wishes to act with urgency and make changes to things that hurt Israel's power advantage. By acting so quickly, he accepts the possibility of overkill. He is willing to escalate to hard power to stop possible disaster, even if it might turn out that only soft power is necessary. In this way though, Netanyahu's I4a value in the VICS analysis suggesting that he is risk averse to conflict was unusual. However, because of the effect of domestic issues, where Netanyahu seems to prefer

the status quo, one can see where both values may have been altered and indeed both I4a and I4b are close to 0.5, the neutral value.

Quantitative impressions of I5 suggest that Netanyahu utilizes more positive means for advancing his interests (*appeal, promise, reward*) than negative means (*punish, threaten, oppose*). In fact, VICS coding placed the ratio of use of positive means to negative means at almost 2:1. This study does not dispute that in Netanyahu's speaking this tendency exists. Surely, the quantitative analysis more accurately recorded these features than a human brain is able to in the qualitative analysis. However, what stuck in the mind when doing a qualitative analysis was Netanyahu's use of negative means. Perhaps he utilizes these negative means with greater enthusiasm, and he certainly seems to utilize them often in his actions. Overall, the qualitative approach seemed to be more descriptive of his operational code in terms of the utility of means in action, but VICS data may have provided some useful insight into Netanyahu's speaking strategy. In fact, these quantitative results in contrast with their qualitative counterparts help to build the case suggested throughout this project that part of Netanyahu's strategy may be to disguise his aggression within his persona and communications.

Thus, through this comparison, this thesis comes to the conclusion that VICS coding alone does not give a full understanding of a leader. As a system of operational code analysis, it misses nuances that a human working on a qualitative analysis will perceive. Furthermore, by utilizing only text, it removes human elements including facial expression, tone, and other emotional factors that give meaning to words.

However, moving on to the case studies, it becomes apparent that VICS coding can still be descriptive of trends in a useful way.

Though the general idea of the case studies of Netanyahu's operational code regarding Iran and Palestine remained that he displays realist thought patterns (something not well indicated in VICS coding), the results did reinforce the idea put forth by statistical analysis of Netanyahu's VICS data that his operational code has changed over time. In the case of Iran, this change seems to have been an escalation of concern over time. This alone does not perfectly mesh with VICS output suggesting that 2009-2012 was Netanyahu's most cooperative and idealistic period, however it fits as one might expect if observing the political climate. In the 1996-2002 sample, Netanyahu seemed more concerned about Palestine (the second case study) than Iran. Perhaps he did not view Iran as the same level of substantial threat to his power, or perhaps he was too preoccupied with Palestinian issues. By 2010, it seems that Netanyahu is escalating in concern about Iran compared to the earlier sample. This concern spikes around 2013, the time that Iran began nuclear talks with the international community, and results in even greater hostility. The raised level of aggression towards Iran continues throughout the 2013-2015 period as talks continue and ultimately a deal is made, likely contributing to VICS results that seem more realist or hawkish in nature.

Considering his stances on Palestine, 1996-2002 represents a period where Netanyahu is particularly blaming of the Palestinian leadership for a lack of peace. At the time, the Oslo Accords were crumbling (or had crumbled in recent memory), and it

appears that frustration was high. Terrorism continued to be an issue in the collective mind of Israelis it seems, and Netanyahu fed on that frustration, making strong demands of the Palestinians. He made it clear that he wished to be stricter with Palestine and that only displays of hard power would prevent their aggression in this time period. However, 2009-2012 represents somewhat of a rebirth in Netanyahu's approach to the Palestinian issue. He could still hardly be described as a dovish figure, but his rhetoric turned more toward peace and negotiations. The 2009 Bar Ilan speech even included a mention of the need to recognize Palestinian rights. Upon closer look, Netanyahu still displayed strong security concerns that blocked much prospect for a fair deal, but this was a leap from his 1996-2002 persona. For this reason, despite raised concern about Iran (which may have been used at least partially as a new political scapegoat to justify his security-first leadership), it follows that 2009-2012 would be more dovish in nature. 2013-2015 brought with it much greater alarm about Iran, but also new frustration with Palestine. Netanyahu displayed markedly less optimism about the prospect of peace in this time period, continuing to blame Palestinian leadership. As such, raised hostility toward both Iran and Palestine suggest a more hawkish stance once again that was reflected in VICS coding results of the sample texts.

In the end, however, both case studies made it clear that Netanyahu is generally consistent in being uncooperative at best, and hostile and conflictual at worst in the Middle East. This result was also well represented in VICS coding as the changes were sometimes significant over time, but not so dramatic that they precluded

an overarching theme. Overall, it seems that 1996-2002 was the time period in which

Netanyahu most expressed his hawkish and realist attitude. This may have stemmed

from political inexperience and in his time away from the office of prime minister, he

appears to have become savvier. Perhaps successes in 2009 through a more dovish

approach have indeed become important foundations for Netanyahu's continued

communications strategy. Nonetheless, though his professed operational code has

changed to be more attractive (as VICS results reflect), his underlying beliefs cling

many of the same polarizing elements which were exposed in qualitative analysis both

through George's questions and through case studies.

Insights and Discoveries

Moving forward, it is my hope that this study provides a variety of useful

insights and discoveries. First and foremost, this analysis of Benjamin Netanyahu

compiles a vast amount of information about his operational code. The overarching

conclusion drawn was that, as a general theme, he is indeed hawkish and shows realist

characteristics. However, there is a large amount of nuance in his decision making and

world view described and revealed in qualitative analysis. Case studies showed that

Netanyahu's discourse about both Iran and Palestine has changed somewhat over time,

but that his general tendencies and feelings seem to have not. Also, and perhaps most

intriguingly, it was discovered that Netanyahu's professed operational code disguises

much of his nature. In his speaking, and to a lesser extent in his social media,

Netanyahu manages to portray himself and his strategies as pursuant to peace. In

reality, they may bring order and quiet, but are not likely to create sustainable peace. This characteristic is particularly interesting, as it may relate to the appeal of polarizing leadership in general. Perhaps it resonates with a constituency to hold up high ideals, but deny their possibility, thus leading followers to accept a more rational—maybe better read as "conflictual"—approach. It is possible that Netanyahu really does wish to have peace, but feels that only order and quiet are attainable. This would fit his realist tendencies as well as some of the conflicts within his own operational code. Knowing this for sure may be outside of the realm of what can be achieved by observing a politician from a distance, however, functionally speaking, this study can confirm that power is the main language that Netanyahu seems to understand.

This study also included new frontiers for operational code analysis. By including social media analysis and facial recognition software, the information available to political scientists has grown and operational code can begin to adapt to contemporary communication and technology. Social media proved to be a success. Netanyahu's Twitter profile provided a wealth of political insights and allows him to keep a running dialogue of day to day events. By allowing communication at all times, social media provides leaders with the opportunity to react quickly to world events and share their views. This information is entirely different data than that which can be collected from interviews and speeches. Facial recognition software showed preliminary promise as a method of bolstering quantitative analysis of leaders. By augmenting VICS coding of Netanyahu with data on his affect throughout speeches,

this study was able to identify an affective trend that seemed out of place with the text-based results. Ultimately, it served to add a depth of understanding about how Netanyahu communicates at the very least, and possibly revealed more about how he thinks. Though this is an aspect humans can detect in interaction, VICS is unequipped to quantify it. Facial recognition software may be the answer to perceiving those intuitions that come naturally to humans and quantifying them for comparison.

Finally, results of this study reaffirm the continued need for and utility of thorough qualitative study. Just as this thesis began by detailing why decision-making models fail to adequately study and model leadership, VICS, too, displays shortcomings in its attempt to reduce human thought into mathematical expressions. Though VICS provides a useful tool for assessing a leader at a glance and for comparison purposes, it fails to capture the depth and complexity inherent in an operational code. Analysis through George's questions and through investigations of specific cases continues to provide insights into this depth that quantitative analysis alone, or even with brief qualitative overview, cannot yet provide. However, I anticipate quantitative understandings will continue to evolve as new tools are devised or borrowed from other disciplines, such as this application of facial recognition software that incorporated lessons from psychology and communications studies.

Limitations

Though informative, these results are limited by various factors. Analysis and understanding of an individual from deliberate and personal interaction continues to be

an imperfect science. As such, it is to be expected that operational code analysis, which can observe only impersonally and from a distance, cannot decipher all of the workings of a leader's mind. In practice, political scientists hope to understand leaders to a greater degree of certainty. Furthermore, quantitative models of human thought and behavior are not exact. They can be skewed and also are open to various types of interpretation, just as qualitative analysis is. This project demonstrated the imperfections of quantitative modeling itself by contrasting qualitative and quantitative results. This was representative of one limitation of VICS coding in that it only reads text based on a formula, missing other dimensions both in style of speech and in emotional context not well expressed in writing. By adding another dimension of quantitative modeling using facial recognition software to monitor affect, this study hoped to better triangulate the VICS results and eliminate some of these oversights. However, as this is the first use of facial recognition software in operational code analysis known to the author, its utility and consistency are still largely unproven. Human error, as always, also has the potential to influence results at all stages of data collection and interpretation.

Next Steps

This study has laid the groundwork for further advancement in the field of leadership studies. Its thorough investigation of one leader central to Middle Eastern controversy and conflict provides a blue print for further studies. Furthermore, advancements in international relations may be attainable by studying other Middle

Eastern leaders similarly, thus better understanding the paranoias, power concerns and other roadblocks to peace that plague the region. This type of treatment might be best suited to those other leaders who are polarizing or extreme figures in the pursuit of finding common ground or useful tendencies. Continued study of polarizing leadership would be particularly interesting for the purposes of investigating whether or not it adheres to similar patterns displayed here by Netanyahu. It would be particularly interesting to investigate whether or not Netanyahu's tendency to profess idealistic goals while portraying them as seemingly unreachable and thus turning to realism-based solutions is generalizable to the larger population of polarizing figures.

Lessons learned from this study can also be applied to many areas of leadership study, especially the use of operational code analysis. Social media represents a new frontier for operational code analysis; one that will help to preserve its relevance. Not only does social media represent a source of data that is underutilized, but it provides an entirely new insight into a leader's thought process. Whereas speeches and even interviews are planned and follow events by hours at the least, sometimes days, weeks, or longer, social media allows a leaders to react and reach out in real time. Thus, as communication methods throughout the world evolve, so do the communication strategies of leaders and, as political scientists, we must do our best to keep up. I hope and believe that expanded interest in social media will provide great new insights for years to come. This study also represents an introduction of new technology and forms of communication into this method of leadership analysis that has evolved over decades. Facial recognition software offers

the opportunity to provide a more informative range of quantitative information that includes lessons learned from psychology and communications studies. I hope to see it utilized in the future and developed further as we begin to better understand what links exist between unconscious communication and underlying emotions as well as what emotion suggests about operational code. Finally, given the limitations of VICS observed in this thesis, a strong case has been made for the need to develop more extensive profiling of leaders to study operational code. It is thus an expectation that new methods of study and analysis will be introduced to reduce these limitations, the facial recognition software modeled in this study included. Finally, this study's results reinforce my hope to see a resurgence of greater qualitative analysis in conjunction with quantitative results in operational code analysis in order to capture greater nuance, enhance accuracy, and guard its methodological advantages over decision-making models and other more one-dimensional forms of study.

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