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NEW PUBLICATIONS

BRIG. GEN. (RES) DR. ZVI SHTAUBER TO HEAD JCSS

Former Israeli Ambassador to the UK and Senior Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Ehud Barak Succeeds Dr. Shai Feldman who ends Seven-Year Term



Dr. Zvi Shtauber, left, listens as TAU President Prof. Itamar Rabinovich announces his appointment as Head of JCSS on January 4, 2005. At right is JCSS Research Fellow, Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir.

Dr. Shai Feldman will end his seven-year term as Head of JCSS on January 31, 2005. He will soon assume the post of Director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University, which opens officially in April 2005. Brig. Gen. (res) Dr. Zvi Shtauber, who has been named to replace him, was most recently Israel's ambassador to the UK. Previous to that he was a senior policy advisor to Prime Minister Ehud Barak, held senior positions in the intelligence and strategic planning branches of the Israel Defense Forces, and was Vice President for External Affairs at Ben-Gurion University in the Negev. TAU President Itamar Rabinovich, in announcing the appointment, said that Dr. Shtauber was selected after an intensive search process and that his unique background in diplomacy, the military, academia, and management made him an ideal successor for Shai who, in turn, has left very solid ground for Dr. Shtauber to build on.



A PARTING LETTER

Leaving the Jaffee Center after having served for more than seven years as Head of the Center is not easy. This is particularly so because the Center was the focus of my entire professional career: twenty-seven years ago, I was a firstborn child of the Center, the first young researcher recruited by its founder, General Aharon (Ar'ale) Yariv. As such, my departure comes with the mixed feelings associated with any closing of a long chapter and any ending of a remarkable journey. At the same time, I am leaving the Center with a great sense of achievement. I feel that my colleagues and I have met most of the goals I set for the Center when I began my term as its director in November 1997. Despite its relatively small budget, the Jaffee Center has become a major player in the international discourse on the Middle East. It produces basic research that meets the highest academic standards. At the same time, it has gained considerable access to Israel's opinion-making and decision-making circles, allowing it to affect the public debate and governmental deliberation of most issues related to Israel's national security. In addition, during my tenure, we initiated two policy-oriented venues: *Strategic Assessment* and *Tel Aviv Notes*. By their nature, these publications necessarily involved us, time and again, in critically important debates of current policy issues. The strategic dialogues initiated during my term with the Center's counterparts in the US, Germany, Britain, France, Poland, and Greece, as well as with China, Japan, and South Korea, provided us with unique perspectives on world affairs. The dialogues allowed us numerous opportunities to gain insights into security issues in other regions, to appreciate how other governments and societies view Israel's policies and predicaments, and to affect, even if only minimally, these perceptions. Probably even more fascinating has been our frequent involvement in Track-II talks – informed meetings with our counterparts in the Middle East, from Rabat to Tehran. The familiarity achieved with many among these neighbors has enabled us to gain insights

into our region's dynamics that cannot be approximated by any number of texts, no matter how classified. Through these talks, we ascertain our neighbors' policies and threat perceptions, we understand how they view our policies and capabilities, and, on occasion, we discuss with them possibilities for bridging our differences.

In addition to my sense of gratitude for the opportunity to engage in and sometimes orchestrate the Center's diverse, fascinating activities, I am also deeply indebted to those whose generosity enabled the many JCSS pursuits. These individuals – primarily though not only the members of the Center's International Board – have shown remarkable commitment to the Center and interest in its workings. On more than one occasion, I have been touched by the care they took to ensure that we in Tel Aviv would have the means necessary to meet the JCSS goals and fulfill its aspirations.

But most of all, I was privileged during my years at the Center to work with a remarkable group of people – members of the Center's research and administrative staff. This is a team of true patriots: over-worked and underpaid, they have dedicated themselves to their country's security and survival. Their commitment and unity of purpose is unique among public institutions. Not only am I grateful for their help and cooperation and for their contribution to the Center's success; I salute them for who they are.

So, as I leave to assume my next assignment, I am filled with a sense of pride about the Jaffee Center's accomplishments that is tinged with a measure of sadness that for me, a truly remarkable journey has come to an end. I am confident, however, that under a new leadership my colleagues will achieve additional and even greater gains, taking the Center into new spheres of activity and influence. For their own professional fulfillment and for the State of Israel, I hope they will further the legacy of the Jaffee Center's legendary founder, Ar'ale Yariv, which is the legacy that has motivated and governed my directorship over the past seven years.

SHAI FELDMAN
RAMAT AVIV
JANUARY 2005



Appreciation from Itamar Rabinovich, President TAU

I regret Shai Feldman's departure as Head of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University for many reasons. It is the end of another chapter, the third, in the evolution of the Jaffee Center.

Maj. Gen Aharon Yariv founded the Center with, among other considerations, the lessons of the surprise of the Yom Kippur War in mind.

He endowed it, built its core team, and, not less significantly, created a place in the academic world for strategic studies. Zeev Maoz linked JCSS to the realm of social studies, himself having come from the field of political science. As a distinguished social scientist, he added significantly to the academic prestige of the Center.

Shai, during these past seven years in which he has served as Head of JCSS, brought several special assets to the task: his own profound knowledge of security studies and a deep understanding of Israel's national security universe; his rich contacts in the academic and policymaking communities, particularly in the United States; and a great deal of enthusiasm, devotion, and leadership.

He built a new cadre of experts, developed a series of very significant international dialogues with academic and national security establishments in countries important to Israel, and cultivated a large group of lay leaders.

In the latter capacity he not only enhanced the Jaffee Center in many ways, but built a model for others at the university to emulate.

Shai thus leaves a very important legacy at JCSS, and it is hardly surprising that the search for a successor was a difficult one, as is the task of the next head of JCSS. The assets left by Shai, however, will make the success of that person eminently more within reach.

TOWARD A NEW SECURITY AGENDA

Feldman: "Israel's Strategic Position has Never Been Stronger - A Time for Opportunity and Change"



Shai Feldman, right, welcomes Head of IDF Military Intelligence, Maj. Gen. Aharon Zeevi (Farkash), center, and Knesset Member Matan Vilnai to the post-seminar reception and dinner.

On January 4, 2005 a seminar titled "The New Security Agenda" was held to mark the end of Dr. Shai Feldman's seven-year term at the helm of JCSS. It was opened by Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, President of Tel Aviv University, who praised Shai's tenure at JCSS.

The first lecture was given by Prof. Graham Allison of Harvard University, who spoke on "Nuclear Proliferation and Nuclear Terror: Preventable Catastrophes." Based on his recent book, Prof. Allison addressed the urgent need for the West to confront – and thereby preempt – the possibility of nuclear weapons being acquired by terrorists. He was followed by Thérèse Delpech of the French Atomic Energy Commission, who spoke on Europe's security agenda. She noted that while there was room for skepticism regarding the EU's quest for a coordinated defense policy,

significant advances have been made in the logistical and civil administration spheres.

In his final public lecture as Head of JCSS, Dr. Shai Feldman addressed the dramatic changes in Israel's strategic environment over the past three decades. Shocked and bruised then by the surprise of the Yom Kippur War, isolated internationally, and confronted with a unified Arab world that enjoyed the support of the Soviet Union, Israel had lost its deterrence, was suffering from hyper-inflation, and experienced the powerful Arab-wielded weapon of oil that brought Israel's relations with the US to an all-time low.

In Dr. Feldman's view, Israel's

current strategic situation is "excellent," with Israel perceived by the Arab world as militarily, economically, and technologically superior. This situation offers Israel a new set of opportunities and challenges. Key threats to Israel are demography, Iran, and terrorism, more than any conventional conflict. The creation of a Palestinian state is in Israel's highest interest, notwithstanding the current breakdown of trust between the parties over the past four years. Dr. Feldman argued that movement on the peace process must involve third parties at this stage, and called on Israel to improve its relations with Europe while it maintains its excellent relations with the US. Finally he urged that more civilian control be injected into the formulation of Israel's defense policies and that these not be left exclusively to the judgment of the security community; rather, the Foreign Ministry and the National Security Council ought to wield significant influence along with the voice of the military command.

The seminar was followed by a reception and dinner in Dr. Feldman's honor.



From Left: Thérèse Delpech of the French Atomic Energy Commission and Professor Graham Allison of Harvard at the "New Security Agenda" seminar.

FORUM AMERICA: DEEPENING THE UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE ISRAEL-U.S. RELATIONSHIP



Forum America was launched in January 2004 with the idea of bringing Americans and Israelis affiliated with their respective policymaking communities into closer contact with each other. Chaired by former diplomat and long time US expert Zvi Rafiah, the Forum brings influential Americans visiting Israel to JCSS, joined by an invited audience of academics, government



Forum Chairman Zvi Rafiah with Congresswoman Jane Harman (top) and with the ADL's Abraham Foxman (below)



Joe Klein, author and journalist, addresses the forum

officials, members of the defense community, and journalists, for a dialogue aimed at understanding and deepening the dynamic US-Israel relationship.

Guests over the past several months included Joe Klein of *Time Magazine* and author of *Primary Colors*, Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, Senator Sam Brownback, a Republican from Kansas and member of the Senate's subcommittee on the Middle East, and Congresswoman Jane Harman, Democrat of California and ranking member of the Congressional Intelligence Committee who was on a whirlwind trip through the Middle East. Attending the Forum on the day Yasir Arafat's death was announced, Congresswoman Harman expressed optimism that this might be a watershed in the peace process. Discussion centered on what the implications of Arafat's death were for the region, with some questioning Ms. Harman's view that this was an ideal opportunity for the United States to reengage in the peace process.

Congresswoman Harman also spoke at length about the need for intelligence reform legislation in the United States, which at the time appeared highly in doubt. She predicted that in his second term President Bush may turn out to be more bi-partisan than in his first, focusing on the Republican legacy that he hopes to leave. Congresswoman Harman then heard from the Israeli participants on their perspective of internal Israeli politics and the geo-strategic situation.

Three Win Tshetshik Prize for Strategic Studies

This year's Lt. Col. Meir and Rachel Tshetshik Prize for Strategic Studies on Israel's Security has been awarded to three individuals: Dani Asher for his book *Breaking the Concept*, Ministry of Defense Publishing House, Tel Aviv, September 2003; Avi Kober for his book *Coalition Defection: The Dissolution of Anti-Israeli Arab Coalitions in War and Peace*, Praeger, Westport, Connecticut, London, 2002; and Arnon Sofer, *Israel Demography 2000-2002, Risks and Opportunities*, part of an ongoing series published by Haifa University.

Dr. Asher served as a colonel in IDF Military Intelligence and is a military historian who teaches at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Dr. Kober, a previous winner of the prize for his work on conflict determination, teaches political science at Bar-Ilan University; and Prof. Sofer is a member of the Departments of Geography and Mathematics at Haifa University.

The prize of US \$10,000 is awarded annually by a committee chaired by JCSS Deputy Head Dr. Ephraim Kam. The committee received and reviewed some 25 submissions.

JCSS Deepens its European Program



French delegation from Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique headed by Dr. François Heisbourg at JCSS

In the context of its Israel–Europe security project, the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies held three strategic dialogues with European counterparts during 2004. In March, the Center hosted a delegation from the Paris-based Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique. At this meeting, Israeli and French researchers exchanged perspectives on the aftermath of the war in Iraq, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (focusing on Iran), the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, terrorism, Euro-Israeli relations, the growing Muslim presence in Europe, and the evolving trans-Atlantic agenda.

The same questions dominated the second annual strategic

dialogue with the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, which took place in May with the support of the Portland Trust. The expertise in the Middle East Programme at Chatham House also enabled Jaffee Center researchers to probe and gain more insight into specifically British perspectives on certain regional matters such as developments in Saudi Arabia and the prospects there for political reform.

In June, a Jaffee Center delegation traveled to Berlin for the annual German-Israeli dialogue, hosted by the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). The meeting, the sixth of its kind, involved political leaders, government officials, and media personalities from both countries. It was marked by in-depth discussions not only on regional strategic issues, but also of domestic developments and the special relationship between Israel and Germany.

The strategic dialogues provide an invaluable opportunity for Jaffee Center researchers to deepen their understanding of analytical perspectives and political currents, and in the case of Europe, in a part of the world whose importance for Israel is certain to grow in the coming years. Ongoing JCSS research studies and other programs similarly focus on the Israel-Europe strategic relationship. Following the expansion of the European Union in 2004, in which ten new member states were added, the Center hopes to establish dialogues with its counterpart institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. Support for the JCSS's European Program was provided by the Harold Grinspoon Foundation.

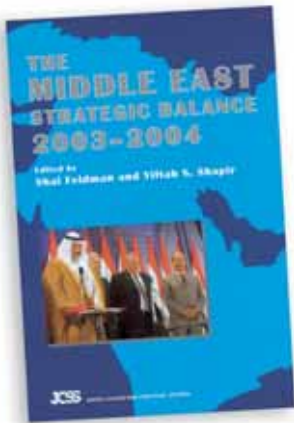
Dr. George Perkovich at JCSS on Universal Compliance on Nuclear Security

On Tuesday, September 28, 2004, the Jaffee Center hosted Dr. George Perkovich, Vice President for Studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. Dr. Perkovich discussed a draft report of which he is principal co-author, *“Universal Compliance – a Strategy for Nuclear Security,”* to be published by Carnegie in 2005. The meeting was chaired by JCSS Research Associate Dr. Ephraim Asculai.

Perkovich focused on the rethinking of the international nuclear nonproliferation regime in light of the many disclosures of violations of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in recent years. He also discussed what he considers an innovative approach to non-proliferation issues by the current US administration.



JCSS ON THE MIDDLE EAST OF 2003-2004, IN PRINT AND IN PRESS



The Middle East Strategic Balance 2003-2004, this year's volume of the Jaffee Center's flagship publication, was released in October 2004. Edited by JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman and Yiftah Shapir and published by JCSS with Sussex Academic Press, the book includes nine analytical chapters on the year's strategic developments in the region and a state-by-state review of the region's military forces.

The book opens with an overview of the Middle East in transition, and quickly focuses on the issues that dominated the regional and international agenda. Predictably, the book devotes much attention to Iraq in the aftermath of the 2003 war, specifically the regional aftershocks, the international diplomatic ramifications, and the connection to the global war on terrorism. Although no weapons of mass destruction have been found in Iraq, the war drew heightened attention to concerns regarding proliferation and strategies of control, issues that comprise a chapter in the book. Other regional issues are probed in *The Middle East Strategic Balance*, chief among them Israel in the wake of several years of violent conflict with the Palestinians. Israel's strategic position and options, including the consensus on the need to separate from the Palestinians and the disengagement plan, receive much attention. Also reviewed is the disintegration of the centralized Palestinian political and security apparatus, even before the death of Arafat, and the challenge this poses for Israel and the Palestinians. A net assessment of Israel joins a chapter on Middle East economies and an analysis of the buildup within the Egyptian armed forces.

At a press conference in Tel Aviv announcing the publication of the book, JCSS researchers presented their assessment of the year's developments. They contended that over 2003-2004



From Left: Yiftah Shapir, Shlomo Brom, Shai Feldman, Ephraim Kam, Meir Elran, and Yoram Schweitzer present the 2004 Strategic Balance.

Israel scored significant strategic achievements, particularly in the war against terrorism, but it also did not pursue important opportunities during this period, including the possibility of serious peace talks with Syria that, if successful, could curtail Hizbollah's ability to threaten Israel. Israel's overall strategic standing has continued to improve, as has Israel's relative strength in the region's conventional balance of power.

Other major points touched on Iraq and Iran. While the removal of the Saddam regime in Iraq has strengthened Israel's

strategic position, ongoing instability and deepening US entanglement in Iraq incur certain dangers. The weakening of America's standing in the region, Iraq becoming a base for international terror, and the increased strength of radical elements underlie these dangers. As for Iran, the year saw ominous developments in Iran's nuclear program, particularly in the realm of uranium enrichment. Iran is now closer than ever to the production of fissile material, but global attention to Iran's nuclear program, particularly from Europe, could be effective in limiting the scope of the Iranian program.



Saban Forum Inaugurated: A New US–Israel Dialogue

Defending Democracy in an Age of Terror

In December 2004, the Jaffee Center, together with the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, inaugurated the Saban Forum, an annual US–Israel dialogue of distinguished individuals from mixed disciplines. This year’s dialogue was titled “Defending Democracy in an Age of Terror” and was held on December 3–4 at the Evermay Estate in Georgetown, Washington, D.C.

The meeting was the idea of Haim Saban, pictured above, to create a format to examine the US–Israel relationship, assess the threats that challenge it, and chart a course for furthering the common interest in fighting terror, advancing democracy, and promoting peace and security. The bilateral nature of the program that Saban had in mind made a partnership between JCSS and the Saban Center at Brookings a “natural” arrangement.

US Deputy Secretary of Defense Dr. Paul Wolfowitz opened the program with an overview of the state of Israel–US relations. A panel titled “Two Societies in an Age of Terror,” chaired by Dr. Martin Indyk, director of the Saban Center at Brookings, included Professor Shlomo Avineri of the Hebrew University and William Kristol, editor of *The Weekly Standard*. A second afternoon panel discussion, chaired by Dr. James Roche, Secretary of the US Air Force and led by Dr. Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS and James Timbie, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of Arms Control and International Security, focused on the issue of fighting the spread of nuclear weapons.

In a session chaired by Professor Itamar Rabinovich, President of Tel Aviv University, former secretary of state Dr. Henry Kissinger gave a wide-ranging world view with clarity and displaying a memory for fine detail over dinner. Presentations from US Senator (Dem-NY) Hillary Clinton and Israeli Justice Minister Tzippi Livni on the essence of the US–Israel relationship followed. The final



TAU President Itamar Rabinovich exchanges views with Senator Hillary Clinton and Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the Saban Forum.

session of the day, chaired by Haim Saban, included a lively debate – despite the lateness of the hour and the day’s intense program.

The next day opened with a panel discussion chaired by former IDF chief of staff and deputy prime minister, Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, on fighting the war on terror. He was joined by J. Cofer Black, former coordinator of counterterrorism in the US State Department, Maj. Gen. (ret) Giora Eiland, Israel’s national security advisor, and California Congresswoman Jane Harman, ranking member of the House Intelligence Committee. This panel was followed by the session “Civil Rights and Security: Maintaining a Balance,” chaired by James Steinberg of the Brookings Institution and including Justice Stephen Breyer of the US Supreme Court, former Israeli justice minister Dan Meridor, and Abraham Sofaer of the Hoover Institution as participants.

The meeting closed with a lively and frank discussion on the Middle East, Israel, and the peace process. Former president Bill Clinton, recovering from his recent heart surgery, found the time and energy to spend almost two hours with the group. The event was attended by 55 invited participants from both Israel and the United States and next year will be held in Jerusalem. It was organized jointly by Martin Indyk and Hirsh Goodman, a Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center. Proceedings of the event will be published in 2005.



At left, JCSS International Board Chairman, Jeffrey Stern and his wife Susan meet with President Clinton at the Saban Forum. At right, the former President greets JCSS Head Shai Feldman.

WHAT MAKES A SUICIDE BOMBER?

A Meeting of Experts

On October 12 and 13, 2004 the Jaffee Center held a closed seminar on the phenomenon of suicide terrorism. The conference was organized by JCSS Research Associate Yoram Schweitzer, an expert on international terror, and focused on profiling suicide bombers, understanding their motives, and assessing their psychological make-up.

The opening session, given by Schweitzer and Dr. Sari Ferber of Tel Aviv University – with whom he collaborated on a research project on al-Qaeda – concentrated on the internationalization of terror. The forum also heard from Arjuna Gunawardena, an expert on Sri Lankan suicide bombers. Mr. Gunawardena said that unlike in the Middle East, those behind the phenomenon of suicide terrorism in his country were generally secular and politically, not religiously, motivated.

At the second session, the deputy head of Israel's General Security Services gave a detailed presentation on Palestinian suicide bombers, their organizational affiliation, and their operational methods. He was followed Dr. Yigal Carmon, the director of MEMRI – Middle East Media Research Institute, which follows and translates Arabic media into Hebrew – who spoke on the religious nature of the phenomenon of Palestinian suicide bombing. Dr. Shaul Kimhi from Tel Hai College and Dr. Shmuel Even of JCSS presented their joint work on profiling Palestinian suicide terrorists, and Nichole Argo of MIT presented the results of her research based on interviews with suicide bombers who were either preempted or who decided to give themselves up before attempting their missions. The meeting was rounded off by a panel of experts that included Danny Arditi, the prime minister's advisor on terror, former GSS deputy head Dr. Nachman Tal, now at JCSS, and Dr. Reuven Paz of the Herzliya Interdisciplinary College. The panelists addressed the challenges posed by suicide bombers and possible ways of stopping them.



Project Director Yoram Schweitzer with guest speaker Arjuna Gunawardena discuss suicide terror.

MEDIA STRATEGY:

Toward a Doctrine for Israel

In March 2004 the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Program on Information Strategy at JCSS organized a round table discussion to flesh out the problems of writing a doctrine for an Israeli media strategy. The exchange of views in the formal presentations and the brainstorming session that followed suggested that establishing an Israeli information policy may not be possible, given the diversity of government coalitions where ministers from different parties, and sometimes within the same party, have divergent views on national issues and air them in the media in the name of the government. A very turf conscious bureaucracy that has torpedoed any attempt at reform of Israel's information policies in the past poses an additional formidable challenge.

Arnon Pearlman, former spokesman for Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, discussed the nuts and bolts of how media policy works in real life and real time. Gideon Meir, deputy director-general of the Foreign Ministry and in charge of Israel's overall information policy, spoke on planned reforms to the system based on the State Comptroller's criticism of the poor coordination among the competing entities charged with delivering Israel's message, which at times leads to their undermining one another.

Hirsh Goodman, director of the Bronfman Project, offered a broad overview of media strategies in other countries, concentrating on South Africa, where the post-apartheid era has generated an entirely new information policy; Canada, where reforms were made to an existing system; and Australia, which has recently been confronted with image problems in the wake of its harsh immigration policies.

The conclusions of the meeting, previous seminars, and ongoing research in the field will be compiled into one study, "Toward an Information Doctrine for Israel," scheduled for future publication by JCSS.

FORGING NATIONAL SECURITY DOCTRINES: NET ASSESSMENTS AND THE FORMULATION OF DEFENSE POLICES

On May 9-10, 2004, JCSS held a workshop at the Ma'ale Hachamisha Hotel outside Jerusalem on the process of net assessment and how it impacts on the formulation of defense policy. Organized by JCSS Senior Research Associate Brig. Gen (ret.). Shlomo Brom and Tamar Malz, also of JCSS, the workshop was designed as an in-depth exchange of ideas on different approaches to the formulation of security and defense policies, based on participants' theoretical knowledge and practical experience.

The workshop's focus spanned three principal topics: assessments of future strategic realities, by viewing the formulation of security policies as a strategic planning process; net assessment, defined as an analysis of the balance of power between two parties; and a review of national experiences in formulating defense policies. The meeting was opened by Dr. Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS, who chaired the first session on the Israeli experience in formulating defense policies. Lectures by National Security Advisor Maj. Gen. Giora Eiland; Dr. Ariel Levite of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission; Dan Meridor, former justice minister, finance minister, and head of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee; and Maj. Gen. (ret.) Gideon Sheffer, a former deputy National Security Advisor, comprised the opening session and

touched on many of the core issues of the conference.

Among those from abroad who addressed the conference were Professor Steven Weber of UC Berkeley, who spoke on scenarios as a tool for strategic planning, and Dr. Bruce Bennett, a senior analyst at RAND, who examined how defining capabilities can serve as an alternative to scenario writing.

Exploring the challenges and potential of net assessment were Dr. Martin Libicki, a senior policy analyst at RAND, and Professor Paul Bracken of Yale University, who gave an "uninhibited sales pitch" for net assessment. They were joined by conference organizer Brom, who questioned the value of scenario writing, and Dr. Shmuel Gordon of the Hebrew University, a retired IAF colonel, who presented an innovative model for assessing military power.

The final session concentrated on formulating defense policies and the national experiences of countries abroad. Group Captain John Harrison, the deputy director of policy planning at the UK Ministry of Defence, spoke on the UK's adjustment of its strategic planning processes in the post-Cold War era, and Col. Pertti Olavi Salminen, director of the Department of Strategic and Defense Studies at the National College in Helsinki, presented the Finish experience in formulating defense policies.



Participants at international JCSS workshop on Net Assessment and National Defence Policies.

STATE OF THE NATION 2004:

A TURNING POINT IN THE WAR WITH THE PALESTINIANS?

The annual Yariv memorial conference on the State of the Nation marked the tenth anniversary of the death of JCSS founder, former cabinet minister, member of Knesset, and head of IDF Military Intelligence, Maj. Gen. Aharon (Ar'ale) Yariv. The conference, held on June 21 at Tel Aviv University and attended by an audience of over 600 people, focused on Israel's national agenda for 2004. It opened with greetings from JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman, followed by an appreciation of General Yariv from Maj. Gen. (ret) Shlomo Gazit, himself a former head of IDF Military Intelligence. The first session, chaired by Gazit, was devoted to attempting to understand where the Israel Palestinian conflict was headed. Brig. Gen. (ret) Shlomo Brom, a JCSS Senior Research Associate, spoke on the complications inherent in Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's plan to disengage unilaterally from Gaza; Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir of JCSS evaluated Israeli society as a result of the protracted conflict; Col. (ret) Ephraim Lavi of Tel Aviv University analyzed what was happening within Palestinian society; and Dr. Dore Gold, a former ambassador to the U.N. and now head of the Jerusalem



From Left: Ephraim Lavi, Yehuda Ben Meir, Shlomo Brom, Shlomo Gazit and Shai Feldman address the State of the Nation 2004.

Institute for Policy Studies, spoke on the subject of the US, Iraq, and the Palestinian crisis. The second session dealt with how to prevent Palestinian terror. Former commander, Southern Command, Maj. Gen. (ret) Doron Almog, deputy state attorney general Shai Nitzan, and Shaul Arieli, former head of the Prime Minister's Peace Coordinating Council, tackled the issue from different angles: Almog assessed the balance in Israel's fight against Palestinian terror, Nitzan looked at the legal aspects of the fight against terror, and Arieli discussed the implications of the security fence. The final session looked outward from Israel's vantage point. Brig. Gen. (ret) Uzi Eilam of the Jaffee Center spoke on Israel's international defense ties; Dr. Ephraim Kam, Deputy Head of JCSS and organizer of the conference, spoke on the Middle East and the crisis in Iraq, and Yoram Schweitzer of the Jaffee Center spoke on the expected surprise of the September 11 attack and its consequences. The day was rounded off by Dr. Shai Feldman who discussed Israeli risks and opportunities in the context of a changing Middle East.

JCSS ON CHINA: UNDERSTANDING THE MUTUAL POTENTIAL

In October 2004 a delegation of the Jaffee Center went to China for a series of discussions with academics and officials as part of the Center's ongoing dialogue with the Beijing-based China Institute for International Strategic Studies, which is affiliated with the Chinese Ministry of Defense. Meetings were also held with the China Institute, attached to the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Shanghai Institute for International Studies. Discussions focused on the general strategic environment, Israel-China relations, threats to stability in the Middle East, and the global threat of terrorism.

On November 22, 2004, JCSS held a well-attended forum on the state of Israel-China relations. The program, organized by Senior Research Associate Dr. Anat Kurz, was particularly pertinent coming but a few weeks after a JCSS delegation returned from a strategic dialogue in China with colleagues from China's Institute for International Strategic Studies.

The first speaker, China expert Professor Aharon Shai of Tel Aviv University, addressed the historical and cultural ties that link Israel and China, and some of the vital differences between them. He warned that it would be wrong to listen to the seemingly pro-democracy rhetoric coming

from some senior officials in China in recent years and assume that China would give up its core values. While for tactical and business purposes, and with the 2008 Olympics and the internal trade fair scheduled for 2010 in Shanghai in the background, the current talk may sound like pluralism, what is actually meant is strict adherence to traditionalism.

Dan Catarivas, deputy director-general of the Finance Ministry, who served in Hong Kong and in China, reviewed the Chinese economy, specifically in context of Israel's potential role in that economy. Israel has successfully exported much in cultural and technology spheres, but imports still

exceed exports. Among the 60,000 conservative state-owned companies are 239 Israeli companies currently based in China, but most have been hurt by a lack of understanding of the local and business culture.

Ron Prozor, the director-general of the Foreign Ministry discussed Israel's recent – albeit belated – awareness of China's immense potential as a commercial partner. He was followed by Dr. Ephraim Asculai of JCSS, who discussed the gap between China's overt

policies on nuclear non-proliferation and its covert role as an indirect supplier of nuclear sensitive technologies.



JCSS delegates (front row, second from left) Ephraim Asculai, Anat Kurz, and Shai Feldman, with members of the China Institute for International Strategic Studies in Beijing, October 2004

ARMS CONTROL: IRAN AND OTHER CURRENT CHALLENGES

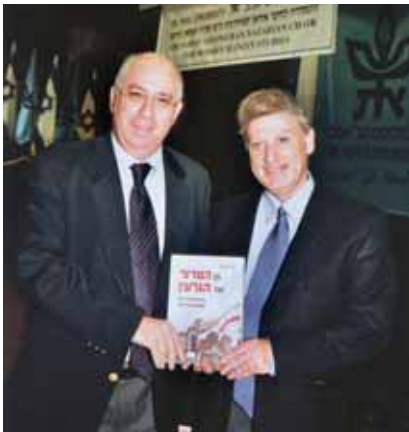
JCSS, in conjunction with the Israel Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC) and the Foreign Ministry, sponsored a seminar on arms control, the first in what is scheduled to be an annual event. The seminar, organized by Dr. Emily Landau, a senior research associate at JCSS, and Ram Erez, also of JCSS, was designed to bring together the relatively small group of practitioners who deal with the subject in Israel to exchange ideas and together understand what major developments have taken place in the realm of arms control regimes in recent months.

Held in January at Neve Ilan in the Jerusalem hills, the seminar was dedicated to the memory of Hanan Bar-On, a veteran Israeli diplomat and one of the architects of Israel's policies on arms control. Gideon Frank, the director-general of the IAEC, paid tribute to Bar-On and noted that though Bar-On had little formal education, he was one of the wisest and most sensible people he had the privilege to work with. Frank also lectured on some of the current problems related to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), especially in context of Iran, and the global nuclear network.

At a session titled "The Second Nuclear Age: Arms Control in Crisis," Dr. Ariel Levite of the IAEC addressed the immediate challenge of dealing with the nuclear threat. Conference organizers Landau and Erez spoke on unilateralism in a multi-lateral world, from the perspective of United States and European policies. Dr. Ephraim Asculai, also of JCSS and formerly a senior member of the IAEC, examined the problems of verification regarding adherence to nuclear treaties.

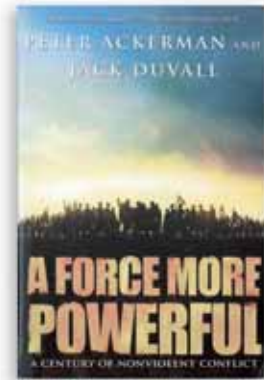
Shmuel Limone of the Defense Ministry opened the session "Arms Control Regimes: Challenges and Opportunities" with a discussion of the chemical weapons convention. Brig. Gen (ret) Shlomo Brom of JCSS spoke on new opportunities for regional arms control in the wake of the war in Iraq; Alon Bar of the Foreign Ministry discussed supplier regimes; and Dr. Eitan Barak of the Hebrew University outlined the challenges of advancing the subject of arms control as an academic discipline.

The final session was a round table discussion among JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman; Prof. Yair Evron of Tel Aviv University, Zeev Schiff, Defense Editor of *Ha'aretz*; and Dr. Ephraim Kam, JCSS Deputy Head. They debated the implications of a nuclear Iran, the value of Israeli deterrence, and diplomatic avenues to meet the Iranian threat.



Dr. Shai Feldman (left) and Dr. Ephraim Kam, Deputy Head of JCSS, on the occasion of the publication of Dr. Kam's latest book: "From Terror to Nuclear Bombs: The Significance of the Iranian Threat."

INTERNATIONAL CENTER ON NONVIOLENT CONFLICT: SUGGESTIONS FOR NEW STRATEGIES



On November 16, Dr. Peter Ackerman, chair of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, visited JCSS with several members of his staff. In an impressive presentation Dr. Ackerman pointed out that nonviolent conflict does not mean conflict resolution or passivism, rather what means to use when fighting a war that is asymmetrical between those who possess weapons and those who do not. Nonviolence, he continued, is an effective way to win wars when there are no other means. Ackerman cited the example of Serbia, where the student movement played a vital role in effecting regime change, and suggested that a similar mechanism might be productive in countries such as Iran. Like any other strategy, nonviolence has to be planned, and does not just happen randomly. At its core lies the use of means to erode the loyalty enjoyed by the institutions and individuals that allow repressive regimes to stay in power. Demonstrations, economic measures, and other forms of protest and resistance are all effective weapons in a nonviolent war.

Ephraim Kam

From Terror to Nuclear Bombs: The Significance of the Iranian Threat

Tel Aviv, JCSS and the Ministry of Defense Publishing House, 2004
(Hebrew)

Dr. Kam's comprehensive work on Iran traces the origin, evolution, and future trends of the Iranian threat and explores its many dimensions, particularly the danger it poses to Israel and to Western interests. Kam concentrates his approach on the thinking behind Iran's strategic decisions and an analysis of Iran's military buildup, in its conventional and non-conventional dimensions. The nuclear threat, which today looms as the most ominous, is studied carefully. Kam then considers Iran's strategic calculations regarding each of the countries in the region, examines Iran's role in international terror, and its policy toward the United States and Israel. Also analyzed are the efforts, led principally by the United States, to halt the Iranian threat since the Islamic Revolution. The heavily documented work is a major contribution to understanding the ongoing Iranian threat. The introduction to the work was written by Maj. Gen. Aharon Zeevi (Farkash), Head of IDF Military Intelligence, who notes that Iran has become a key to the region's future. For those who deal with Iran and its neighbors, he writes, Kam's book is an invaluable resource.



Zaki Shalom

Between Dimona and Washington: The Development of Israel's Nuclear Option 1960 – 1968

Tel Aviv, JCSS and Ben-Gurion Research Center of Ben-Gurion University Press, 2004 (Hebrew)

Dr. Shalom's book examines documentation, much of it recently declassified, on the American-Israel dialogue over the development of Israel's nuclear option during the 1960s after the administration learned of Israel's secret reactor in Dimona. Among the new many sides to the story that Shalom brings to light is the intricate set of understandings that led to many influential US circles' tacit acceptance of Israel's nuclear activity.

Shalom's book is heavily supported by documentation recently released by national archives in Israel, the US, Britain, and France, and the Kennedy and Johnson presidential archives. In a related dimension to the subject, papers retrieved from the archives of Israeli political parties in power at the time – Labor, Ahdut Ha'avoda and Mapam – reveal the depth of the internal debate over the project in Israel at the time. Fears of nuclear proliferation were joined by concern over the huge economic costs involved and the potential damage the nuclear option could inflict on Israel's international relations in general and its relations with the American administration in particular. Ultimately, however, the Ben-Gurion initiated policy to develop a nuclear option carried the decision-makers.



JCSS Memoranda

Ephraim Asculai

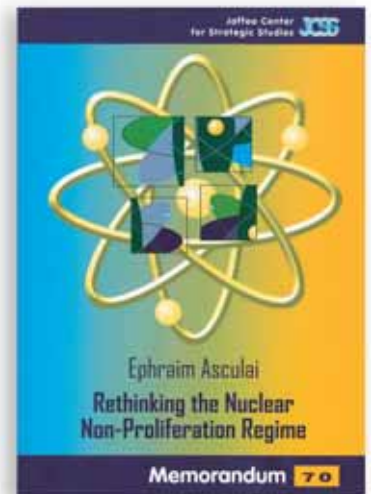
Rethinking the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime

Memorandum No. 70

In this study, Ephraim Asculai, who worked for the Israel Atomic Energy Commission for over forty years and is now a JCSS research associate, addresses the serious violations of the nuclear non-proliferation regime in recent years. Though the challenges of Iraq and Libya have been resolved, Iran and North Korea have shown grave violations and now present a serious challenge to the world at large.

In response to these violations and the failure of the international community to correct the mechanisms that allowed them, Dr. Asculai proposes a modification of the current nuclear non-proliferation regime to make it more practical, effective, and comprehensive.

Concentrating on the treaty provisions and the verification mechanism, Asculai proposes that the current regime circumscribe its overtly general focus. He urges a modified regime that would target materials that are inherently dangerous, and not merely associated with potentially dangerous activities. Asculai outlines a possible method of transition from the current regime to a modified version, and using Iran as a test case, shows how a new regime of the sort proposed in his study would provide more protection in an increasingly nuclear world.



Anat Kurz, ed

Thirty Years Later: Challenges to Israel since the Yom Kippur War

Memorandum No. 71

In October 2003 JCSS hosted a full day conference to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the Yom Kippur War. Dr. Anat Kurz, who organized the conference, collected, edited, and wrote the introduction to the presentations that constitute this memorandum.

The study includes essays that adopt a critical approach to some of the changes in Israel over the past thirty years. Among the issues central to this collection are the challenges to the intelligence community, emerging initially in light of the failure at the time of the war and evolving over time in accordance with the shifting intelligence challenges. Other essays dwell on Israel's greater political and diplomatic environment at the time of the war and in the aftermath, particularly in its relations with the United States, the Palestinians, and the greater Arab world. Israel's current strategic environment and the issues at the heart of its strategic agenda are tested against the environment of thirty years ago. The memorandum also includes essays that comment on Israeli society, from the social and cultural expressions in response to the war to the questionable viability of the myths that were at the foundation of the country.



Aviezer Yaari

Civil Control of the IDF

Memorandum No. 72

A challenge to any democracy is the relationship between a country's elected and judicial institutions and the military. Aviezer Yaari's study examines how the Knesset, the government, and the State Comptroller's office exert any oversight vis-à-vis the military legal system.

Maj. Gen (ret.) Yaari was head of the defense oversight section of the State Comptroller's office from 1987 to 2000. This memorandum, in large measure a product of his experiences, lays out in detail what oversight mechanisms are now in place and what should be done to improve them. Among his recommendations are clearer definition of the status of the chief of staff, his responsibilities, and his relationship with the government, particularly the prime minister. This relationship has never been legally formalized, and Yaari advocates a basic law to entrench mechanisms for civilian regulation of the defense establishment, including a clearer role for the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee in overseeing the defense establishment. In addition, Yaari argues for a more defined and formal relationship between the State Comptroller's office and the Knesset Foreign Affairs Committee and for legislation that would formalize the status of the National Security Council and strengthen its position to provide the government with independent assessments of the security situation.



Shaul Kimhi and Shmuel Even

Who are the Palestinian Suicide Bombers?

Memorandum No. 73

After the September 11 attacks, the phenomenon of suicide terrorism assumed a greater strategic dimension. This volume attempts to understand the phenomenon among the Palestinians who have turned it into an effective and poignant weapon against Israel over the last four years of conflict. The volume focuses on the question of who are the suicide bombers, what motivates them, and why they are prepared to sacrifice themselves on behalf of the Palestinian cause.

Suicide bombings are a strategic weapon that requires not only individuals prepared to sacrifice themselves but a strong logistical infrastructure as well that supplies intelligence, training, motivation and technical assistance to make it happen. According to authors Drs. Shaul Kimhi and Shmuel Even, those who are prepared to be suicide bombers fall into four categories: religious fanatics; nationalist fanatics; those seeking revenge; and those who have been exploited. Each type of bomber undergoes a different indoctrination process. Rather than a universal approach to win over the minds of those who would be suicide bombers, they argue, each group has to be addressed individually. Similarly, operative methods to fight against suicide terrorism must be tailored to the different types of terrorist.



Paul Rivlin and Shmuel Even

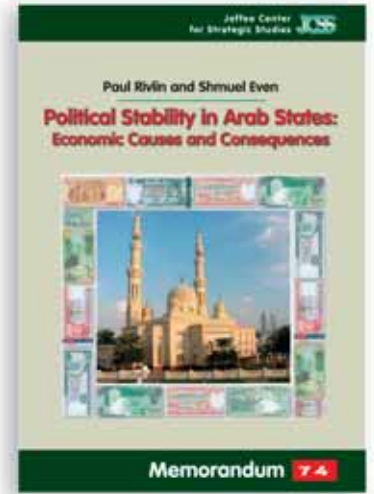
**Political Stability in the Arab States:
Economic Causes and Consequences**

Memorandum No. 74

This work includes two essays that analyze some of the strengths and weaknesses of Arab states from an economic perspective and examines the way in which Arab regimes have responded to acute socio-economic problems.

Paul Rivlin surveys the economic structure of the Arabs states and shows how the rental incomes, which are the backbone of the state's finances, allowed the regime to dominate state economics and why the regime harbored no interest in economic reform. Shmuel Even explores the connection between the economic policies and the stability of Arab regimes in the cases of Syria, Jordan, and Egypt.

Dr. Paul Rivlin holds a joint appointment at the Jaffee Center and the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East and African Studies. Dr. Shmuel Even is an economist and a Research Associate at the JCSS.



Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS (left), offering a toast to two JCSS senior researchers who recently completed their doctorates: Anat Kurz (center) studied the institutionalization of popular struggles. Her forthcoming book, *Fatah and the Politics of Violence: The Institutionalization of a Popular Struggle*, is based on her dissertation and will be published soon by Sussex Academic Press. At right is Emily B. Landau whose doctorate on arms control is soon to be published as the book *Arms Control in the Middle East: Cooperative Security Dialogue and Regional Constraints* (Sussex Academic Press).

Keep Informed



Tel Aviv Notes



Strategic Assessment

JCSS
Memoranda



are available at www.tau.ac.il/jcss/



Tel Aviv University
Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv 69978, Israel
Tel: 972-3-640-9926
Fax: 972-3-642-2404
<http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/>

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