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From the Head of JCSS



My first seven months at JCSS coincided with critical developments in Israel's external strategic environment and perhaps even greater challenges to Israel from within. The United States' ambitious agenda of encouraging democratization witnessed several developments that are indications of a new spirit in the Middle East air.

Yet no doubt it is the unilateral disengagement from the Gaza Strip and northern Samaria that has dominated the Israeli strategic agenda of the past several months. The disengagement, an historic moment for Israel, acknowledges recognition by the majority of the Israeli public of the need to separate from the Palestinians in order to maintain the State of Israel as a Jewish democratic entity. How Israel goes forward after the disengagement, both in political terms with the Palestinians and within itself vis-à-vis the sectors that comprise the fabric of Israeli society, is perhaps the biggest challenge of the immediate future.

At this critical juncture in Israel's history, the Jaffee Center's role in enhancing the public debate on national and international issues related to Israel's security is particularly urgent. As part of its efforts, JCSS researchers have met with political and defense officials and have participated in government committees. Recent JCSS publications that explored ramifications of the disengagement received coverage in the press and recognition from leading decision-makers. These publications have been joined by much other JCSS work on key issues relating to Israel's national security.

Following an intensive review, the Jaffee Center is also poised to leap forward as it broadens its research horizons and expands its contribution on issues of Israel's national security. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the JCSS staff and the friends of JCSS for their support of the Jaffee Center and our shared commitment to Israel's domestic and international well-being.

As we approach the New Year, it is my hope that we will see a bridging of gaps and a new spirit of unity within Israel.

With best wishes for a happy, healthy, and peaceful New Year,

Zvi Shtauber
Head of JCSS

JCSS Bulletin

No. 31, September 2005

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Graphic Design:

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Yiftah Shapir

Printing:

Kedem Printing Ltd., Tel Aviv

Cover photo:

JCSS trip to the security barrier in the greater Jerusalem area

ISRAEL'S CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN WARTIME



Dov Weisglass, special advisor to Prime Minister Sharon

The exchange between the military and political levels is of the utmost importance, [with open discourse that allows free thought and expression], even as the military is subject to the authority of the political level. The discourse between the military and political levels must be continuous and ongoing.

Former IDF Chief of Staff **Moshe Ya'alon**

Former chief of staff Lt. Gen. Moshe Ya'alon delivered the opening lecture at the second conference in memory of Prof. Amos Perlmutter, "Civil-Military Relations in Context of Israel's Military Conflicts." Held on June 28 at Tel Aviv University, the conference focused on the dynamic between the civil and military sectors in specific military conflicts, including the low intensity conflict with the Palestinians. Against the background of the dominance of Israel's defense establishment in political situations, and with the intense friction hovering around the IDF's role in the civilian aspects to the disengagement, the conference raised many penetrating questions and yielded poignant insights.

The lectures reflected contrasting approaches to the appropriate balance between the influences of the civilian and military levels. An instrumental approach views the army as a tool in the hands of political decision-makers. In contrast, a relationship with a certain degree of reciprocity might exist, whereby the military becomes more of an active partner to the political level. This is the kind of relationship that Lt. Gen. Ya'alon argued would be most constructive for Israel, even as he acknowledged that the military in Israel has at times played too dominant a role in political decision-making. His model of successful political and military interface is one where the political echelon represents the initiating directive, which is ultimately translated by the military into operational alternatives, which in turn are presented to political decision-makers for their approval.

The conference's second session explored civil-military relations in Israel's wars since 1967, with the final session devoted to the delicate relationship between these levels in the war on terror. Member of Knesset Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amram Mitzna looked back at the first intifada, while the former head of the General Security Services Maj. Gen. (ret.) Ami Ayalon discussed some of the intricacies from an operational standpoint.

(cont. on pg.16)



l-r: Maj. Gen. Ami Ayalon, Ofer Shelah of Yediot Ahronot, Ha'aretz defense editor Ze'ev Schiif, and MK Amram Mitzna

A Meeting of Minds at Airlie House



l-r: MK Ronnie Bar-On, Dan Margalit of Ma'ariv, Prof. Shai Feldman, director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies and former Head of JCSS, JCSS senior research associate Dr. Anat Kurz, Lt. Gen. Moshe Ya'alon, JCSS Head Dr. Zvi Shtaubler, Dr. Martin Kramer of the Moshe Dayan Center at TAU, and Ze'ev Schiff of Ha'aretz

The Jaffee Center, Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University were the three institutes participating in the US-Israel Strategic Dialogue on Middle East Security this past June. Also present at the three-day strategic dialogue at Airlie House in Warrenton, Virginia were leading US academics and government experts on the Middle East, including members of the State Department and the Department of Defense and former ambassadors, among them Samuel Lewis, Martin Indyk, and Dennis Ross. The dialogue was sponsored in part by the Goldberg family of Toronto, Canada.

Profiling the United States' involvement in the Middle East, discussants contended that the administration's main priority in the region is the concerted effort toward social and political change. The driving principles behind this effort recognize that political and economic democratization can be encouraged by outside influences, but must ultimately be rooted in internal

forces and emerge from them. At the same time, the distinguishing cultural and social qualities of each state must be identified and addressed, and there is no sweeping formula for democratization and strategic change. Iraq, a litmus test for this overall effort, remains a high priority for the



l-r: Alina Romanowski of the US State Department, former US ambassador Barbara Bodine, and Prof. Robert Art of Brandeis University



l-r: MKs Yosef Lapid and Ronnie Bar-On



l-r: Ze'ev Schiff of Ha'aretz, Dr. Steve Miller of the Belfer Center, Prof. Stephen Van Evera of MIT, and Prof. Robert Art of Brandeis

administration at the same time that it proves to be a more complex, problematic challenge than had been anticipated. Security difficulties continue to pose a major obstacle, casualty numbers mount, there are insufficient American troops in Iraq, and Iraqi forces are being trained at a much slower rate than had been anticipated. Largely because of this ongoing comprehensive engagement in Iraq, the US is not expected to invest more heavily in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and has in fact appeared receptive to the idea of some – though limited – European involvement.

Indeed, the sense at the dialogue was that the Israeli-Palestinian issue figures as a low priority on the Bush administration agenda, and therefore there has been little serious thought given to post-disengagement strategies beyond the standard allegiance to the roadmap. There

is a possibility of an American effort to broker an agreement between the two disputing parties on how to interpret the roadmap. Any pressure by the administration on Israel, which might include pressure to launch a dialogue with Hamas, would likely be leveled only after the disengagement is completed. Israeli attempts to block American efforts in this regard would be a mistake, participants felt, especially since Israel-US bilateral relations are still recovering from the recent crisis over defense exports.

For the Israelis and Palestinians, the most important immediate challenge is to maintain security so that the calm can be institutionalized and the moderate political path may become a more tangible reality. While Abu Mazen remains a weak leader with questionable intentions and capabilities regarding any active dismantling of terror infrastructures, he is officially at the Palestinian helm, and Israel should try to strengthen him as much as possible. There was also some discussion of modeling a Hamas disarmament after the IRA's disarmament in Northern Ireland.

Additional topics explored at the dialogue were the Iranian threat and developments in Syria and Lebanon. With Iran, Europe has been leading the diplomatic efforts, and one proposal was that the US would agree to refrain from toppling the regime in Iran in exchange for Iran's suspension of uranium enrichment for at least five years. Iran itself does not seem to be quelled by the threat of an American military attack, and the regime appears to be striving for some arrangement where it can maintain its civilian nuclear program with its inherent military potential. Iran and Hizbollah remain a problem for Israel, and therefore panelists argued that an agreement with Syria, though unlikely at the moment, would provide Israel with some buffer against Hizbollah, Iran, and any alliance between them.

JCSS Head Dr. Zvi Shtauber led the Jaffee Center delegation, accompanied by deputy head Dr. Ephraim Kam and JCSS senior research associates Brig. Gen. (ret.) Shlomo Brom and Dr. Anat Kurz. They were joined by members of the JCSS Board and a group of prominent Israeli public officials, including Knesset opposition leader Yosef Lapid, the former IDF chief of staff Moshe Ya'alon, Knesset member Ronnie Bar-On, and commentators Ze'ev Schiff of *Ha'aretz* and Dan Margalit of *Ma'ariv*.



clockwise, from top: Dr. Geoffrey Kemp of the Nixon Center and former US ambassador Samuel Lewis; Dr. Robert Satloff of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy; Alina Romanowski and Dr. Dennis Ross of the Washington Institute

MATHEWS: THE WORLD NEEDS MORE INTERNATIONAL RESOLVE

JCSS ANNUAL ARMS CONTROL CONFERENCE

As the international community focuses on Iran's response to the demand to cease uranium enrichment activities, and as forums worldwide assess the danger of nuclear proliferation and non-conventional terrorism, the threat of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), among both state and non-state actors, has assumed greater urgency over the last few years. These issues are also the focus of the JCSS Arms Control and Regional Security Project.



l-r: Dr. Jessica Tuchman Mathews, Dr. Emily Landau, Dr. Ariel Levite of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission

At a time when the nuclear non-proliferation regime has witnessed violations by signatories to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and is threatened by potential proliferation among non-state actors, the world must act with more international resolve and more international cooperation than in the past. This was one of the key points made by Dr. Jessica Tuchman Mathews, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, who delivered the keynote address at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies second annual arms control conference, sponsored by the Jaffee Center in cooperation with the Israel Atomic Energy Commission and the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and with the support of the Office of Public Affairs of the United States embassy.

Mathews called for a new universal compliance strategy on nuclear security that was drafted at Carnegie and published in revised form following its preliminary circulation to officials in twenty countries worldwide. Based on a six point framework, the strategy calls for a balance of obligations and quality performance by all countries in order to create defensive depth for nuclear security. Its leading principles are: measures to make non-proliferation irreversible; devaluation of the political and military currency of nuclear weapons; the securing of all nuclear materials; a halt to illegal transfers; a commitment to conflict resolution; and the resolution of the three non-NPT states [India, Pakistan, and Israel] issue.

Mathews' lecture was given at the final session of the two-day conference, "New Trends in WMD Arms Control," held on February 8-9 at the Ma'ale Hachamisha hotel outside Jerusalem. The conference was organized by Dr. Emily Landau, JCSS senior research associate and director of the JCSS Arms Control Project; Dr. David Friedman, visiting researcher at JCSS; and Ram Erez, JCSS

researcher. Dedicated to the memory of Hanan Bar-On (1924-2003) in recognition of his extensive involvement with Israel's arms control policies during his career in the Foreign Ministry, the conference was designed to bring together select members of the Israeli arms control community from government, the military, academia, and the relevant industries. Topics covered this year were bioterrorism, WMD in the hands of terrorists, and a review of WMD in the so-called "axis of evil" states.

In this year's particular attention to the biological threat, specialists from the United

States arms control community attended and addressed the forum, including Michael L. Moodie, president of the Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute of Washington, DC. Lecturers dwelled on the nature of the biological threat, which has become more potent in recent years, in part because of major advances in the life sciences. Indeed, the biological threat, according to Moodie, is less about the substances themselves, many of which are dual use materials, than about thorough knowledge of their potential. To combat the risks

(cont. on pg.16)



l-r: CBACI director Michael Moodie, Dr. Manfred Green, director of the Israel Center for Disease Control, Dr. Meir Oren, CEO of Hillel Yafie Hospital, Eileen Verginio of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and Dr. David Friedman of JCSS

"We at JCSS have created an important forum for members of the Israeli arms control community from the security establishment, think tanks, and academia. The goal is to maintain a medium for a frank exchange of ideas that encourages professional critical debate on issues of arms control, non-proliferation, and regional security that are particularly urgent for the Middle East."

Dr. Emily Landau, Director of the JCSS Arms Control Project

ISRAEL AND THE NPT

JCSS co-sponsored a conference with the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at the Hebrew University on June 22, 2005 on the feasibility of Israel's becoming a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Mr. Jozef Goldblat, vice president of the Geneva International Peace Research Institute and an expert on the NPT, was the featured speaker. He was joined by Prof. Gerald Steinberg of Bar Ilan University and Prof. Yair Evron of JCSS in a panel that explored some of the strategic considerations regarding the issue.

The 2005 NPT Review Conference

Reporting on the failed 2005 NPT review conference, Dr. Rebecca Johnson, executive director of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy in London, advised that the NPT "is sick and is weakening fast," and is further threatened by "cumulative erosion." In a visit to JCSS in August, Dr. Johnson described the danger of a cascade of proliferation, and outlined the alternatives that she saw: collapse of the regime or disarmament, which in part depends on successful devaluation of nuclear weapons. Based on extensive academic work and involvement in the non-



l-r: JCSS senior researcher associate Dr. Emily Landau, Dr. Rebecca Johnson, and JCSS Head Dr. Zvi Shtaubert

proliferation field, Dr. Johnson's contention is that while nuclear weapons states have become an irreversible fact, a strengthened regime can indeed block escalation.

The IDF, the Media, and the Challenges of the Palestinian Conflict

The Andrea and Charles Bronfman Program on Information Strategy at JCSS convened a seminar on May 25 focusing on the media challenges of the intifada. Days before Brig. Gen. Ruth Yaron's retirement as IDF spokesperson, the seminar addressed the question of the IDF's responsibility to the media and the particular challenges it faces in a low-intensity conflict typical of the Israeli-Palestinian violence of the last several years. Conducted in densely-populated areas in an advanced technological age where comprehensive and reliable news reports are expected in real time, this type of sub-warfare situation presents particular demands and difficulties. How well the IDF Spokesperson's Unit successfully met the challenges of the war was the subject of the conference, organized by Bronfman Program director Hirsh Goodman.

What kind of media environment has surrounded the IDF over the past five years? At a session chaired by veteran IDF spokesperson Nahman Shai, Professor Gadi Wolfsfeld, professor of communications and political science at the Hebrew University, took issue with the popular theory that the media decides the battle. In his view, the media is reactive, and what dominates more than the story is the political consensus surrounding the story. If any one side is lagging in the political consensus battle, especially in international terms, this will contribute to losing the media war. Nonetheless, stressed Brig. Gen. Moshe (Chico) Tamir, one cannot engage in warfare anymore without journalistic accompaniment – and any attempt to do so will end in failure. For Israel, the lessons of the war in Lebanon and the first intifada are enough to remind military planners that any attempt to keep reporters out of the picture is doomed to fail.

In the central session of the conference, Brig. Gen. Yaron presented a model she and her staff devised for the Spokesperson's Unit. It reflects an imperative for proactivism and trained specialists to handle the media front, along with the indisputable need for accountability and credibility. Her philosophy dictated that it was important to present the IDF's story within the modern, technologically-advanced society that is engaged in warfare different from its traditional, conventional predecessors. Whereas the IDF may once have enjoyed much greater social legitimacy, it no longer is granted this legitimacy automatically, and instead needs to earn it. Therefore, the IDF must define its audience and the perception that it wishes to instill in its audiences, and then create the appropriate work force to reach these audiences with comprehensive, credible information. This can only

be done through careful strategic planning that incorporates the Spokesperson's Unit as one of the formative units within the armed forces.

Participants in the panel discussion that concluded the seminar presented the challenges they encountered in working with the Spokesperson's Unit and accepting its story over the years of the



l-r: Bronfman Program director Hirsh Goodman and former IDF spokesperson Brig. Gen. Ruth Yaron

intifada. Along with their divergent understandings of the public role of the Spokesperson's Unit was the agreement that the IDF, now more responsive than before to modern media needs, must further its media openness.



Charles Bronfman (second from right) visited JCSS and shared thoughts on regional developments with members of the research staff.

l-r: Ze'ev Schiff of Ha'aretz, Hirsh Goodman, TAU president Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, and (far right) Dr. Mark Heller, Director of Research at JCSS



l-r: Dr. Orna Sasson-Levy, Dr. Anat Kurz, and Mira Tzoref

Dying for Equality?

JCSS Conference on Women Suicide Terrorists

As young women joined the ranks of Palestinian suicide bombers during the second intifada, and when they were matched by increasing numbers of women suicide bombers worldwide, especially in Chechnya, anti-terrorism strategists, the media, and the public were called on to consider whether these women constituted their own category of terrorist. Did they represent a phenomenon essentially different from that of their male counterparts, or were they rather the familiar Islamic suicide terrorists who perchance happened to be women.

This was the central question explored in the JCSS conference "Female Suicide Terrorists: Dying for Equality?" held at Tel Aviv University on May 30. Academics and media experts specializing in terrorism debated the phenomenon of female suicide bombers. Specifically, are there certain motives that figure most prominently among women that drive them to suicide terrorism? Are they driven by aspirations for equality in an otherwise chauvinistic hierarchical society, or are they driven largely by a personal need for atonement, to cleanse themselves of some social stigma or aberration?

The lectures included a general discussion of suicide terrorism by Yoram Schweitzer, followed by a review by Reuven Paz, director of PRISM (Project for the Research of Islamist Movements), of the idea of women fighters according to Islamic doctrine. Dr. Orna Sasson-Levy of Bar Ilan University discussed the prevalent ideological connection between nationalism and the military, and then questioned how women

(cont. on pg.16)

The conference took place in the framework of the JCSS project on terrorism. Suicide terrorism is the subject of intense study by the conference's organizer, JCSS research associate Yoram Schweitzer, who also conducts much research with would-be Palestinian suicide bombers whose missions were aborted and suicide terrorists' operators who are jailed in Israeli prisons.



l-r: Conference organizer Yoram Schweitzer, JCSS deputy head Dr. Ephraim Kam, PRISM director Reuven Paz, and Israel Radio correspondent Avi Issacharoff

WHAT ROLE SHOULD EUROPE PLAY TO FACILITATE A SUCCESSFUL DISENGAGEMENT?

Annual Dialogue with SWP, Germany



Christoph Moosbauer and Martina Doering, both of SWP

On May 23-24, 2005, the researchers from the Jaffee Center hosted colleagues from the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the Berlin-based Institute for International and Security Affairs. The two-day dialogue, sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert

Foundation, was the seventh annual meeting between the Jaffee Center and SWP.

Leading the discussions on the regional strategic agenda was the disengagement between Israel and the Palestinians, and specifically, what role should Europe play to facilitate a successful disengagement. Europe's support of the disengagement is based on the assessment

that the disengagement will contribute to Israel's security, the political process between Israel and the Palestinians, and a more productive use of European funds. At the same time, according to the SWP researchers, the success of the disengagement depends on Israeli



l-r: Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir of JCSS, Martina Doering of SWP, and Deputy Minister of Defense Ze'ev Boim



l-r: Deputy Minister of Defense Ze'ev Boim, JCSS Head Dr. Zvi Shtauber, JCSS board member Hermann Reich, and Christoph Moosbauer of SWP

coordination with the Palestinians and its commitment to additional moves that would advance a political solution. The international community must play an important role in ensuring Gaza's economic viability and growth after the Israeli withdrawal.

Indeed, Europe has a major role to play in the Middle East, largely because of its proximity and the growing number of Muslims living in Europe. Like Asia, the Middle East represents a part of the world marked by the absence of regional security arrangements. Democratization efforts

in the Middle East must continue, despite the inherent difficulties of the objective.

Iraq and Iran were among the other topics debated. One central positive development in Iraq is the understanding that the United States is not planning a hasty withdrawal, and therefore even some opponents to the American presence are taking steps to integrate themselves into the institutions under construction. At the same time, there should be no expectation that Western democracy will emerge in Iraq. As for Iran, the Europeans feel, based on their meetings with Iranian leaders, that Iran is unwilling to compromise on the issue of uranium enrichment and that the direction of compromise would have to be full supervision of Iran's nuclear activity. Iran's nuclear aspirations are related to



l-r: Dr. Christoph Bertram of SWP, Prof. Mordechai Tamarkin of TAU, and Dr. Mark Heller of JCSS

technological and economic advancement; recognition of Iran as a regional superpower; security guarantees; and the ability to address its threatening surroundings. Europe can help Iran with regard to the first two of these interests. However, only the United States can help Iran with regard to security. It is therefore important to create a framework for regional talks. Such a framework would help all parties, including Israel, the United States, and Europe.

Looking at Iraq's northwestern neighbor, Syria, the assessment at the dialogue was that the regime is faltering. Bashar al-Asad's legitimacy is increasingly challenged, and many of the state's strengths he inherited from his father, such as control over Lebanon,



National Security Council director Giora Eiland

relations with France, and relations with other Arab states, have ebbed under his presidency. Indeed, developments in Lebanon are less a function of the war in Iraq than of Syrian mismanagement. Because negotiating with Israel is a step that can strengthen Bashar's political standing, assessments are that he is serious about negotiations.

The dialogue opened immediately after Chancellor Schroeder announced new elections, and so speculation was also given to Germany's forthcoming political makeup and the repercussions for Israel. A new government in Germany would most likely cause a change in Germany's Middle East policy, even if only a minor change. This is because it would be unreasonable to think that there could be a foreign minister more empathetic and supportive of Israel than Joschka Fischer.



l-r: Dr. Muriel Asseburg of SWP, Yiftah Shapir of JCSS, Dr. Volker Perthes of SWP, and Shlomo Brom of JCSS

The Jaffee Center Looks Ahead

On an introspective note, JCSS undertook a lengthy process of organizational review and strategic planning. Appointed by JCSS Head Dr. Zvi Shtauber, a committee of five led by Brig. Gen. (ret.) Meir Elran studied and refined the Jaffee Center's goals and operational methods. The committee on organizational planning finished its work and compiled an extensive report, replete with analysis and recommendations, which include added emphasis on certain research areas, such as intelligence; social resilience and national security in Israeli society; and defense economics, part of the Chais Program on Economics and National Security.

New Program in Intelligence Studies

The Jaffee Center is launching a new program in intelligence studies, designed to initiate and encourage research and enrich the public debate on the central intelligence issues. No academic institution in Israel has a program of this sort, which JCSS sees as an important resource for intelligence communities in Israel and elsewhere, senior decision-makers, and strategic and military planners. The core group of the program will be the JCSS researchers who served in senior level positions in the Israeli intelligence community, some of whom have already published studies on intelligence issues. Other veterans and members of the intelligence community, as well as experts from academia, will be invited to join this core group. To inaugurate the program, the Jaffee Center plans to sponsor a conference on new challenges to intelligence.

Forum for Researchers

JCSS inaugurated a "Forum for Researchers," a new enrichment program for the research staff. Designed and initiated by JCSS researchers Tamar Malz and Ram Erez, the idea of the forum is to introduce the research staff to leading experts whose fields interface with the research conducted at JCSS but are not directly represented at the Jaffee Center.

JCSS at a New Regional Dialogue



Forty researchers from twenty-eight institutes in twenty countries met in Amman in early August at the inaugural meeting of the Regional Network of Strategic Studies Centers, a forum sponsored by the National Defense University of Washington DC and its

Jordanian counterpart. Brig. Gen. (ret.) Meir Elran represented JCSS at the three-day meeting, where he was joined by colleagues from the entire region, from Morocco in the west to Bangladesh in the east, including representatives from Egypt, Iraq, the Palestinian Authority, and Afghanistan.

The forum is designed to promote interaction and dialogue among the regional partners. The plan is for annual plenary sessions, complemented by three main working groups that focus on: the war on terror; democratization and governance in the Middle East; and non-traditional strategic issues, including education, economics, infrastructures, and social services. Attributing great importance to the forum, Dr. Zvi Shtauber indicated that there would be one JCSS representative at each of the working groups, in the hope of advancing discussion and solutions to regional issues.

New JCSS Board Members

Welcome to five new members of the JCSS International Board: Stephen Rubin; Yosef Hackmey; Sir Trevor Chinn; and Lord David Alliance, from the UK; and Leo Rosenberg from the US. Welcome to new members of the JCSS Israel Board: Dan Propper, CEO of Osem, Ltd.; Michael Federmann, CEO of Federmann Enterprises; and Dr. Joshua Rosensweig, Chairman of the Board of Beinleumi Bank.

Out in the Field



• The JCSS staff visited Israel Aircraft Industries and was briefed on developments in the company as well as advances in UAVs (unmanned airborne vehicles) and satellites.



• Col. (res.) Shaul Arieli, a member of the Council for Peace and Security, guided the JCSS staff on a tour of Jerusalem and the security barrier in the Jerusalem area, exploring different alternatives to resolving the dispute over the future of the city.

JCSS Visitors



l-r: Dr. Horst Köhler, Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, Dr. Zvi Shtauber

Dr. Horst Köhler, president of the Federal Republic of Germany, visited Tel Aviv University in February. Upon his request, he was briefed by members of the JCSS research staff at the office of TAU president Prof. Itamar Rabinovich.

Yossi Maiman, chairman of the JCSS Israel Board, hosted a dinner for twenty of Israel's leading businesspeople and industrialists. The guest speaker was Peter Mandelson, Commissioner for External Trade of the European Union.

l-r: Dan Propper, Dr. Zvi Shtauber, Peter Mandelson



l-r: Dr. Ephraim Kam, Antoine Halff, Dr. Zvi Shtauber

The JCSS research staff met with Antoine Halff, formerly of the International Energy Agency. Mr. Halff spoke on the international oil market and the regional implications of vacillating oil prices.

The Jaffee Center resumed its practice of meeting with the diplomatic corps, as a way of strengthening the ties with ambassadors and other diplomats in Israel. At the July 7 meeting, the main topics discussed were the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in light of the disengagement; the Iranian threat; and developments in Syria and Lebanon.

Brig. Gen. Udi Dekel, head of Strategic Planning in the IDF, briefed the JCSS research staff on some of the assessments within the IDF for the post-disengagement situation.

Comings and Goings at JCSS

JCSS Head **Dr. Zvi Shtauber** was appointed by the Ministry of Defense to lead the Israeli delegation to the US to iron out difficulties that arose regarding Israel's security relations with the United States • In the wake of the controversy, JCSS research associate Brig. Gen. (ret.) **Uzi Eilam** was appointed to draft a proposal for supervision and control of Israel's military exports • Brig. Gen. (ret.) **Shlomo Brom** will spend the coming academic year in Washington as a senior fellow at the United States Institute for Peace • **Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir**, psychologist, attorney, former Knesset member, and former deputy minister of foreign affairs, has returned to the JCSS research staff to head the public opinion and national security project • Prof. **Zaki Shalom** of the Ben-Gurion Research Institute at Ben-Gurion University is now also affiliated with the Jaffee Center • **Dr. Roni Bart** joins the JCSS staff as a researcher specializing in Israel-United States relations. • Former IDF spokesperson **Nahman Shai** joins the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Program on Information Strategy at JCSS • Brig. Gen. (ret.) **Moshe Sharvit**, an expert in operations research, will join the Jaffee Center.



Zaki Shalom

Israel's Nuclear Option: Behind the Scenes Diplomacy between Dimona and Washington

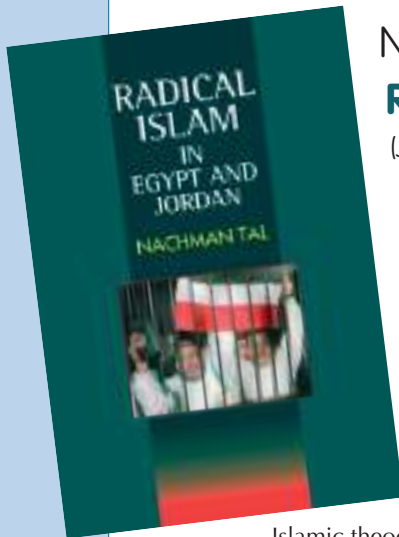
(JCSS and Sussex Academic Press, 2005)

In the early 1950s, Israel secretly launched a project designed to achieve a nuclear option. Initially supported by France, this daring project stood to engineer a dramatic change in Israel's strategic position vis-à-vis its neighboring Arab states and the wider international community. A nuclear program was driven by the firm conviction of David Ben-Gurion that Israel's existence could be guaranteed only with the aid of such a deterrent. The ensuing nuclear defense strategy was upheld by successive Israeli governments.

Engaged in intensive, determined efforts to stem the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the United

States pressured Israel vehemently to submit what became known as "the Dimona project" to external monitoring. Adamantly opposed to America's request to allow external supervision of its nuclear activity, Israel labored to avert a potentially disastrous rift with its one superpower ally. *Israel's Nuclear Option* recounts the dialogue and related diplomatic activity that took place during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and the Ben-Gurion and Eshkol premierships. The intense and often difficult discussions eventually produced a set of formal and informal strategic understandings regarding Israel's nuclear deterrence.

Based on extensive documentation, much of it recently declassified, Prof. Shalom's book reviews the diplomatic history surrounding the development of the nuclear option and offers important insights on Israel's contemporary nuclear policy.



Nachman Tal

Radical Islam in Egypt and Jordan

(JCSS and Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

The rise of the Islamic fundamentalist movement as a social and political force is a formative development in the modern Arab world. The radical Islamic movement in Egypt and Jordan assumed both violent and non-violent forms, with all groups aspiring to replace the existing regimes with Islamic theocracies.

Based on extensive research and discussions with Islamic activists as well as with statesmen and

academicians in Egypt, Jordan, and Israel, Dr. Tal explains the growth of radical Islam in Egypt and Jordan and details the success of the regimes' fight against Islamic fundamentalism. Much of the momentum that allowed radical Islam to flourish emerged from the social problems rife in both countries. Radical Islam offered basic social services, professional support systems, and political power buttressed by ideological theology as vibrant substitutes to the failed social programs of the regimes. Egypt and Jordan responded firmly to the growth of radical Islam, quashing terrorism and maintaining tight reins on political activism, but both regimes understand that it is beyond their power to eradicate Islamic radicalism, and they stand to face its challenge for a long time to come.



Uzi Eilam
**L'Europe de la
 Défense**

JCSS Memorandum No. 75

Brig. Gen. (ret.) Uzi Eilam studies the changing face of Europe's security and defense concept, particularly as Europe adjusts to its new identity as a unified entity and to the newly-expanded European Union. Europe relies on the European Union's defense capabilities and NATO, and defines its strategic defense needs accordingly. Priorities are the ability to manage intra-European conflicts; European security interests; and the global war on terror.

Of particular interest to Eilam is Israel's connection to Europe in security and defense dimensions. European states have so far allocated relatively small budgets to defense research and development, which paves the way for outside parties to market their expertise. To



Israel, Europe offers many opportunities and a potentially lucrative market, both in arms exports and cooperation in the war on terror. Particularly valuable is the technological edge that Israel has built up, and this, joined with its experience in combating terror, presents important strategic links with Europe. Recognizing this opportunity, Israel must devise a strategy that will allow it to become a closer defense ally of Europe and strengthen the general ties between them.



Yoram Schweitzer & Sari
 Goldstein Ferber
**Al-Qaeda and the
 Globalization
 of Suicide Terrorism**

JCSS Memorandum No. 76

Islamic suicide terrorism has proliferated over the last few years and assumed epidemic proportions, largely because of the efforts of al-Qaeda and its affiliates. Bin Laden instilled the goal of self-sacrifice as a religious and organizational ideal within his own nuclear organization, and has successfully exported and



implanted this ideology into the numerous terrorist groups and networks that function independently but have strong philosophical links to al-Qaeda, as well as those with various degrees of operational and organizational affiliation.

Written by Yoram Schweitzer and Dr. Sari Goldstein Ferber, this study examines al-Qaeda from its organizational and operational standpoints. This dual perspective furnishes an insightful view as to how the organization initiates, plans, and executes a suicide attack, which then became a model for affiliate jihad organizations around the globe. It is al-Qaeda that is responsible for suicide terrorism's transformation from a local to an international phenomenon. Examining the organizational culture behind the showcase operations, the study advises that the key to successful combating of the suicide terrorism ideal is its replacement with another ideological alternative, advanced and promoted by Muslim clerics and authoritative Islamic leaders.

JCSS Memoranda, Strategic Assessment, and Tel Aviv Notes are available online at the JCSS website, <http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/publications.html>.

Civil-Military Relations

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The final lecture, delivered by Mr. Dov Weisglass, special advisor to Prime Minister Sharon, examined some of the constraints that limit political decision-making in the war on terror. These include operational exigencies; legality and international legitimacy; the media and public opinion; and the timing of certain political events. Tracing a change in the United States' reactions to Israel's anti-terrorism operations that may have involved civilian casualties, Weisglass observed that the standard response has become less critical than before, one that regrets the loss of innocent life yet affirms that "Israel has the right to defend itself." This superpower response is likewise a contributing factor in the matrix of civil-military relations.

Women Suicide Terrorists

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interface in nationalistic movements. Are their main roles to be determined principally by the military? The implications are clearly caught up with Palestinian women who vow their determination to die as martyrs for the sake of the Palestinian nationalist movement. Mira Tzoref of Ben-Gurion University and Bar Ilan University examined the coincidence of women martyrs with the second intifada, and concluded that socio-political developments in Palestinian society of the 1990s prepared the ground for the emergence of women suicide terrorists of the second intifada.

Along with the lectures was the screening of *Banat* ("Girls"), a documentary by Israel Radio correspondent Avi Issacharoff. Attempting to understand what drove them to their extreme actions, Issacharoff interviewed Palestinian women in Israeli jails, including young mothers, who were involved in suicide terrorism missions that for one reason or another were aborted. Complementing their personal disclosures on their involvement in suicide terrorism was Issacharoff's ideas on the respective Israeli and Arab journalistic perspectives. Israeli journalism has tended to emphasize the aberrant nature of the women suicide terrorists, ascribing all sorts of motives relating to a dysfunctional social background, such that terrorism was the only option that remained for these women's rehabilitation – even if posthumous – in Palestinian society. Arab reports, in contrast, have tended to glorify the feminist nature of the suicide mission and portrayed the terrorist as an equal partner in the jihad enterprise.

Arms Control Conference

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of biological substances, a multi-faceted response is necessary, ranging from international cooperation and norms-building to preemption of biological weapons development to bio-defense preparedness.

Other topics covered public health dimensions to non-conventional threats, the actual versus psychological impact in the use of non-conventional weapons, and the threat of non-conventional weapons by non-state actors. Questioning the notion that non-conventional terrorism is almost certainly "the next step" of terrorist groups, Dr. Anat Kurz of JCSS contended that while availability of non-conventional weaponry is a challenge for terrorist organizations, a primary reason it has not been more widespread is the danger it poses to organizational survival. Most organizations, including sub-state groups, are highly protective of their organizational core, and international reactions to the use of non-conventional weaponry might spell their own demise. Finally, one session of the conference reviewed the leading would-be proliferators, Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, as well as the implications of nuclear networks.

