

Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies



6

Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom at a Bronfman Program workshop



9

Former Prime Minister Ehud Barak speaking on civil-military relations



10

TAU President Itamar Rabinovich with GSS Head Avi Dichter at Yariv memorial conference



13

Senator Ron Wyden at Forum America

JCSS Hosts Irish Foreign Minister Brian Cowen

In his first foreign visit since Ireland assumed the presidency of the European Union, Irish Foreign Minister Brian Cowen delivered a speech at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies on January 15, 2004.

Cowen expressed hope that Ireland's recent experience in peacemaking might benefit the search for peace in the Middle East, although he cautioned against drawing direct parallels.

Stressing the affinity between Ireland and Israel, Cowen said that criticism of Israeli policy was rooted in a belief that it would not lead to lasting peace: "Honesty is a requirement of any worthwhile friendship," he stated. He called for "mutual respect and honest intent" in resolving differences. Cowen also underscored European commitment to the area, noting both strong bilateral ties and a multilateral relationship within the EU EuroMed arrangement. Addressing concerns on European views on Israel, he replied, "If Europe says something that Israel does not like, it does so to a considerable extent out of concern for Israel, not out of hostility."



JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman (left) with Patrick Hennessy, Irish Ambassador to Israel (center) and Irish Foreign Minister Brian Cowen

Cowen referred to a strong Israel-Ireland link, noting that Israel's sixth president, Chaim Herzog, was born in Belfast and grew up in Dublin, where his father was Chief Rabbi of Ireland. He also remarked that both countries benefit from the support of strong diaspora communities.

In the wake of his discussions with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom earlier in the day, he signaled that the European Union might revise its policy regarding the roadmap: "It may be that the initial steps demanded in the roadmap are too steep to be taken in one go. If so, we must endeavor to reach agreement on a package of small but concrete and visible steps, which can be implemented at once and in parallel."

“THIRTY YEARS AFTER”

JCSS Conference Marking 30 Years to the Yom Kippur War

In October 2003, JCSS held a conference marking the thirtieth anniversary of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, “Thirty Years since the Yom Kippur War: Challenges and Efforts toward Answers.” The conference focused on the Yom Kippur War as a watershed in Israeli history, examining changes to the country’s institutions in the aftermath of the war and the challenges that confront Israel today.

Opening the conference, JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman noted three significant changes in Israel in the thirty years since the war. There have been important developments in thinking on deterrence, there is a better understanding of the strategic environment in which Israel operates, and the discourse on security matters is now much wider than before the war shocked the country. However, he cautioned, much remains the same. Israel is still at war with Syria, and many of the lessons learned from 1973 have yet to be implemented. Despite calls for “plurality” of analysis, the IDF’s intelligence branch is still the dominant institution. There is no long-range national defense planning, and political leaders are unwilling to set clear policy goals to guide IDF operational programs.

The first panel discussion looked at intelligence aspects of the war from an Israeli perspective. JCSS Research Fellow Brig. Gen. (ret.) Aryeh Shalev, who in 1973 was Head of Research in IDF Military

Intelligence, described the strategic surprise Israel suffered with the outbreak of the war. The difficulties in analyzing conflicting reports regarding Egyptian and Syrian intentions is of critical importance to understanding the source of the surprise. JCSS Research Fellow Maj. Gen. (ret.) Shlomo Gazit, who was appointed Head of Military Intelligence following the war, described some of the measures he instituted to prevent similar instances of surprise attack, including the establishment of the “Devil’s Advocate” function in military intelligence analysis. Yet, he suggested, until there is an independent body to produce national intelligence assessments, such as the National Security Council, Israel will find it difficult to “think out of the box” and prevent further surprises. Dr. Uri Bar-Yosef, of the Department of International Relations at Haifa University, commented on some steps that Israel has yet to take following the 1973 war. For example, there is no official history of the Yom Kippur War, and thus no accepted understanding of the nature of the intelligence failure. Further,

he argued, the IDF’s force structure has not changed to fit new realities. Despite its overwhelming superiority, the IDF is unable to project force in a way that advances the state’s political objectives. JCSS Deputy Head Dr. Ephraim Kam closed the panel with a presentation on predicting surprise attacks. Although Israel has not experienced a surprise attack since 1973, there is no reason to assume that it could not happen again. However, he argued, with better analysis, better organization, and encouragement of thinking that challenges the “common wisdom,” it is possible to reduce the likelihood of strategic surprise.

The second panel was built around a regional outlook. Ehud Ya’ari, Arab affairs commentator for Channel 2 News, described 1973 as the last comprehensive Arab-Israel war. Since then, not withstanding their rhetoric, the Arab states have largely withdrawn from regional conflict and have similarly disengaged from the Palestinian struggle. Paradoxically, Israel’s most recent



Brig. Gen. Aryeh Shalev speaking at the conference’s opening panel. Seated, l-r: JCSS Deputy Head Dr. Ephraim Kam, Dr. Uri Bar-Yosef, Maj. Gen. Shlomo Gazit, and Brig. Gen. Shlomo Brom

opponents, the Palestinians and Lebanon, were historically deemed its weakest enemies. Dr. Mark Heller, JCSS Principal Research Associate, considered the 1973 war from the perspective of the PLO. He suggested that in the immediate aftermath of the war, there was a missed window of opportunity for negotiations between Israel and the PLO. JCSS Research Associate Prof. Abraham Ben-Zvi discussed the Yom Kippur War in the context of US-Israel relations, and argued that 1973 represents a significant starting point for the current dynamics of US involvement in peace efforts in the region.

The third panel featured three speakers who addressed the impact of the Yom Kippur War on Israeli society. Prof. Oz Almog of the Jezreel Valley Academic College discussed the shift in Israeli society from one based on common ideology to greater pluralism and individualism. This process, he argued, was not a result of the

dealing with dead enemy soldiers. The lack of literature from the war, he noted, was a result of the inability to ask the kind of questions necessary to write meaningfully about it. It was a war whose meaning Israel remains unable to internalize and understand fully.

The fourth panel centered on the search for responses to current challenges. Dr. Ariel Levite of the Israeli Atomic Energy Agency discussed the changes in Israel's strategic environment from facing the combined armies of the Arab world to the asymmetric challenge of terrorist organizations. Maj. Gen. Giora Eiland, Head of the IDF General Staff Plans and Policy Directorate, depicted the optimal IDF force structure to meet the challenges of changing patterns of military conflict. This requires adequate responses to conventional warfare, to low-intensity and guerilla warfare, and to attacks on civilian populations. Prof. Ze'ev Tzohar, President of Sapir College, also citing 1973 as end of the founding era, examined the impact of this transition on the collective values that the founders represented. The final speaker, Prof. Avishai Braverman, President of Ben-Gurion

University, discussed the economic challenges facing Israel thirty years after the Yom Kippur War. Sustainable economic development, he argued, will only come by synthesizing the technological skills and talents of the young generation with the collective values that underpinned Israeli society until 1973 and were seemingly rejected after the war.

The conference closed with a lecture by Maj. Gen. (ret.) Uri Saguy, former Head of Military Intelligence. He suggested that Israel has not yet learned the critical lessons of the Yom Kippur War. The arrogance that characterized the period before the war is still evident in military and political thinking. Further, proactive policymaking and long term planning remain as deficient as they were in 1973. At the same time, positive developments have appeared in the Middle East in the past thirty years: all players have agreed that use of force is unlikely to bring a sustainable result; they have concluded that arguments based on historical justice are of purely symbolic value; and there is a consensus that agreements will only be reached by dialogue. Nonetheless, the existential threat to Israel is paradoxically greater now than ever before.

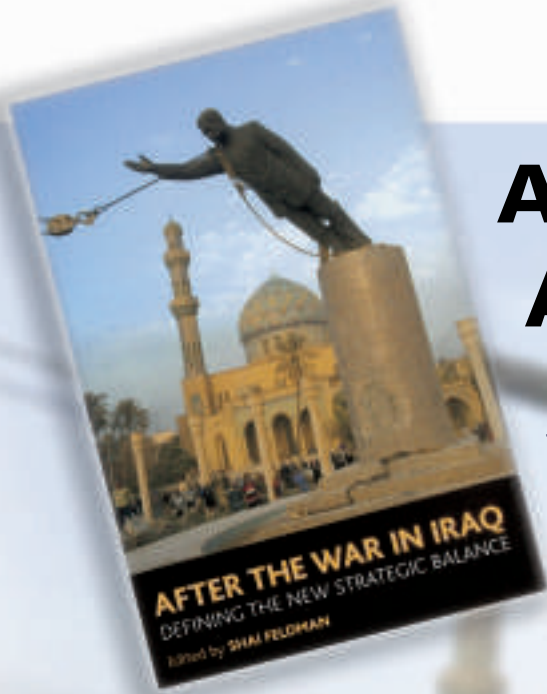


Maj. Gen. Giora Eiland (right) with television commentator Shlomo Ganor

war, but was strengthened and accelerated by it. Dr. Tamar Hermann of Tel Aviv University's Tami Steinmetz Center for Peace Research described 1973 as the point at which protest became an accepted part of Israeli political culture. With the end of the "founders' generation," it grew increasingly permissible to question their values, particularly the role of the IDF at the center of society. The final speaker, poet Haim Be'er, described his personal role in the 1973 war as part of the Military Rabbinate unit responsible for



Conference organizer Dr. Anat Kurz introducing the second panel. Seated, l-r: Dr. Mark Heller, Prof. Abraham Ben-Zvi, and Ehud Ya'ari



AN INITIAL ASSESSMENT

JCSS Scholars Explore the Implications of the War

“The fall of Saddam’s regime and Iraq’s strategic decline have weakened the radical countries in the Middle East and are likely to buttress the region’s moderate states.”

In an important publication first published four months after the official end of the 2003 Iraq War, the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies research staff examines the critical questions raised by the war. Is United States unilateralism successful foreign policy? Did the 2003 Iraq War contribute to the war on terror? What will arms control look like in the emerging strategic environment? Can states be democratized if their regimes are deposed from the outside? Does the war mark a new stage in the development of the so-called Revolution in Military Affairs? Have Israel’s security threats changed in the aftermath of the war? Does the new regional balance warrant a shift in Israel’s home front defense policy? How did the Pentagon’s media policy reflect the importance policymakers attributed to military–media relations?

After the War in Iraq: Defining the New Strategic Balance, published with Sussex Academic Press in English and with the Ministry of Defense Publishing House in Hebrew, focuses on many different dimensions to the war launched in March 2003 by the

United States. The book’s chapters present concise and penetrating analyses of the campaign, and explore the major implications of the war and their strategic, political, military, and economic contexts. The book includes both a chronology of the international inspection regime in Iraq 1991-2003 and the full text of the US National Security Strategy, which constituted the basis of the Bush administration’s strategic rationale for the war in Iraq.

The International Dimensions

Part I of the book opens with an examination of United States foreign policy and the international system both before and in light of the Iraq War. Four chapters delve into different aspects of US foreign and defense strategy, including arms control policy, and chart the evolution of the Bush administration approach that led to the military campaign. September 11, 2001 in particular was a watershed in the formation of current US defense strategy. The four chapters that follow analyze various other global ramifications of the war. The connection between the Iraq War and

the campaign against international terrorism, and the war’s impact on the global oil market are assessed. Also included is an analysis of the military lessons of the war, which focuses on the dramatic military operation in light of the Revolution in Military Affairs. The final chapter of this section reviews the press coverage of the war, its strategic connection with policymaking, and the Pentagon’s policy of media embedding.

The Middle East Dimensions

The six chapters of Part II explore issues related specifically to Israel and its strategic environment. How Saddam’s fall impacts on Iraq, the region at large, and the prospects for Israeli-Palestinian peace are examined, along with the regional strategic balance in the wake of the war. The case of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, controversial both before the war and in its aftermath, is the subject of one chapter. On the Israel front, there is a survey of the Israeli public’s behavior before and during the war and a review of Israel’s home front defense policy.

The book can be ordered online from Sussex Academic Press, <http://www.sussex-academic.co.uk>.

WEIGHING STRATEGIC OPTIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In September 2003 the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies released its flagship publication, *The Middle East Strategic Balance*. Formerly *The Middle East Military Balance*, the new format of the annual publication provides an extensive analysis of strategic developments and a brief account of the region's military forces. The change of emphasis from previous volumes, which included detailed data on military forces, reflects the understanding that readers are increasingly interested in an assessment of strategic developments in the region.

Middle East issues dominated the global agenda in 2002-2003, among

them events leading up to the war in Iraq, the United States war on terror that is inextricably linked to the Middle East, and the Israeli-Palestinian crisis, which in its present unresolved state looms as a major threat to regional peace and bears significant international ramifications.

The book is divided into two sections:

Part I contains eight analytical chapters that focus on regional developments and issues that are particularly related to Israel's strategic options. Chapters include a strategic survey of the Middle East, a closer analysis of developments in Iraq and



Iran, and a review of the military balances of the Middle East, including the Arab-Israeli balance, the balance in the Gulf, and the balance of non-conventional weapons. Other topics analyzed are the post-September 11 environment with regard to counterterrorism challenges; the Arab-Israeli arena, primarily the crisis with the Palestinians; a portrait of the Israeli society with an emphasis on Israeli public opinion on issues of national security; an assessment of Israel's economy as it struggled with the slowdown in the global economy and the burden of the Palestinian conflict; and the particular challenges that Israeli Arabs present to the State of Israel.

Part II, compiled by Yiftah Shapir, offers an overview of the region's military forces, including the major changes in the orders of battle and the key components of their force structures. This is the basis for the detailed data on military forces that is now available online on the JCSS website, www.tau.ac.il/jcss/balance and is updated on a regular basis.



JCSS press conference in September 2003 announcing the publication of *After the War in Iraq and The Middle East Strategic Balance 2002-2003*. Seated, l-r: Yoram Schweitzer, Brig. Gen. Shlomo Brom, JCSS Deputy Head Dr. Ephraim Kam, Dr. Ephraim Asculai, and Yiftah Shapir

BRONFMAN PROGRAM ON

In the framework of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Program on Information Strategy, dedicated to examining Israel's communications strategy, JCSS held three workshops for JCSS research staff and the program's consulting group. The group is comprised of experts from academia, government, the military, journalism, and the communications industry, and meets periodically to debate strategic communications issues.



Bronfman Program Director Hirsh Goodman (left) with Gideon Meir (center) and Prof. Gadi Wolfsfeld

The most recent workshop, which took place in November 2003, examined two current issues in government communications policy.

The first was Israel's decision to suspend relations with the BBC in the summer of 2003. The decision, triggered by the BBC film on the Israeli nuclear project, led to a five-month hiatus in relations. The practical ramifications were that no official Israeli spokespeople were interviewed by the BBC, nor were journalists invited to briefings or updates. During Prime Minister Sharon's visit to London in the summer of 2003, the BBC was not granted access to his press conferences.

Gideon Meir, the Foreign Ministry's Deputy Director General for Press and Public Affairs, discussed the decision to suspend relations with the BBC in the context of growing opposition to Israel in the media. In response, Professor Gadi Wolfsfeld of the Hebrew University argued that negative press coverage reflects public opinion on Israel, and does not itself create the hostile environment. Despite suggestions to the contrary, the media remains the "tail," and it does not "wag the dog."

Dr. Ephraim Asculai, JCSS Research Associate and former Director of External Relations for the Israeli Atomic Energy Committee, commented on the challenge of media relations while maintaining Israel's policy of nuclear ambiguity. He was followed by JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman, who provided an overview of international opinion on Israel's nuclear potential.

The second issued addressed in the workshop was censorship. Brig. Gen. Rachel Dolev, the IDF's Chief Military Censor, discussed the role of censorship in the modern communications era as a balance between the demands of national security and those of freedom of expression.

**DECISION TO SUSPEND
RELATIONS WITH THE BBC**
**The role of censorship in the
modern communications era**
**The policy
of EMBEDDING
National security versus
freedom of expression**
**Factoring media considerations
into policymaking**

Referring to the Supreme Court decision *Schnitzer vs. the Chief Military Censor*, she argued that the physical survival of the state is a prerequisite for the realization of those democratic values that sometimes seem suspended. Thus, despite efforts to release as much information as possible, the demands of national security must take precedence. In response, Prof. Yoram Peri of Tel Aviv University argued that the issue is not one of national security versus freedom of expression, rather national security versus freedom to criticize. The censor rarely has had to obstruct leaking harmful operational details, but has instead used its power to prevent legitimate questioning of government policy. It is time, he suggested, that the archaic Emergency Defense Regulations, in effect since Israel's independence, be replaced with new legislation.

The keynote speaker was Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom, who described the need for factoring media considerations into policymaking. He announced that he would be seeking greater coordination in government communications,



Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom was the keynote speaker at the November 2003 workshop

with the Foreign Ministry as the lead agency. He also called for increased public consulting, and said he would work to establish a public commission with input from communications academics and professionals.

The workshop of July 2003 projected the impact of the International Criminal Court on Israel's communications strategy (ICC). The new court necessarily fosters different dynamics between the press who want



Evaluating the role of the media in the Iraq War were (seated, l-r): Hirsh Goodman, Prof. Yoram Peri, Shalom Kital, Carmit Guy, and Dr. Moshe Zuckerman

A DELICATE BALANCE The Media and the War in Iraq

On April 14, less than a week after the conquest of Baghdad, the Jaffee Center and Tel Aviv University's Chaim Herzog Institute for Media, Politics and Society held a workshop on the relationship between the media and the allied commanders during the Iraq War, and how Israeli officials handled media policy here.

The panelists for the discussion included Shalom Kital from Channel 2 News, Kol Yisrael's Carmit Guy, Dr. Moshe Zuckerman from Tel Aviv University, and Dr. Khalil Rinnawi from the College of Management. Prof. Yoram Peri, Director of the Herzog Institute, introduced the subject while Hirsh Goodman, Director of the Bronfman Program on Information Strategy, closed the panel.

The panelists debated the efficacy of the US policy of

embedding journalists with combat units, the difficulty of analyzing round-the-clock coverage of war from the front line, and the need for a "national spokesman" such as Maj. Gen. Amos Gilad, who held the position in Israel during the war.

The policy of embedding resulted in overwhelmingly positive coverage of the war in the US and European media, and in fact, embedded journalists seem to have found it hard to report objectively on the war. The constant barrage of news updates from the field made it difficult for news organizations to provide analytical coverage of the war. Concerns were also raised about Israel's appointment of a wartime "national spokesman," whose authority exceeded that of the IDF Spokesperson and the Foreign Ministry's Press and Public Affairs department.

to document a story and soldiers in the field who fear possible prosecution.

Attorney Irit Kahan, head of the International Law Department at the Ministry of Justice, discussed the concept of universal jurisdiction. Israel has traditionally been one of the principal proponents of international law as a remedy for crimes against the international community. The Nazis and Nazi Collaborators (Punishment) Law, which is extraterritorial, retroactive, and without a statute of limitations, is a good example of such legislation. However, the new court, as well as the move to try Prime Minister Ariel Sharon for war crimes in the Belgian courts, illustrates the danger of political interests interfering with principles of universal jurisdiction. Because of such interests, Israel, along with the US, has removed its signature from the Rome Convention, which established the ICC.

Colonel Daniel Reisner, Head of the International Law Department at the Military Advocate General's office, and Colonel Erez Katz, a senior field commander in the Gaza district, discussed the difficulties of ruling whether military operations conform to the laws of war. In many cases, precedents do not exist, and both commanders and legal experts have to apply existing law to new circumstances.

The final speaker, IDF Spokesperson Brig. Gen. Ruth Yaron, noted that the responsibility for the IDF's actions must be borne by the government. The IDF executes policy, but does not initiate it. Thus, the task of informing about military operations, especially if they are controversial and expose commanders to the risk of prosecution, must fall to political leaders rather than to military commanders.

The first meeting, held in November 2002, addressed the relationship between the media and government, particularly in the context of the ongoing war with the Palestinians. Then British Ambassador to Israel Sherard Cowper-Coles opened the meeting with some observations on media-government relations, and stressed the need for flexible tactical thinking and sound operational principles.

The second session looked at the theoretical background to government communications policies. Professor Tamar Liebes, Chair of the Department of Communications at Hebrew University, suggested that although narratives of suffering are easier for the international community to understand, Israel often describes the conflict in terms of rights and justice. Professor Gadi Wolfsfeld, also of

cont. on p.16

2003 TSHETSHIK PRIZE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES AWARDED



Former Police Commissioner Aryeh Amit (left) and Reuven Merhav, former director of the Foreign Ministry, now fellows at the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

Three works shared the annual Lt. Col. Meir and Rachel Tshetshik Prize for Strategic Studies on Israel's Security. The \$10,000 prize is awarded by a committee of senior Jaffee Center research staff to original works related to Israel's national security challenges. The winning works were Dr. Menachem Klein's *Breaking Taboos: Talks on Final Status Agreements on Jerusalem*,



JCSS Deputy Head Dr. Ephraim Kam (left) with, l-r: prize winner Dr. Menachem Klein, JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman, and Yehoshua Nevo, director of the Tshetshik Fund

Dr. Yitzhak Greenberg's *Warrior Nation*, and *Peace Agreements in Jerusalem*, written by a team of researchers from the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies. Following the award ceremony, Prof. Arnon Sofer of Haifa University lectured on the importance of the security fence to separate Israel from the Palestinians.

Civil-Military Relations in Israel



Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir at the opening panel of the Amos Perlmutter memorial conference. Seated, l-r: Imri Tov, Judge Amnon Strashnov, Ze'ev Schiff, and JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman

In March 2003, at the initiative of Ze'ev Schiff, Senior Defense Editor for *Ha'aretz*, the Jaffee Center held a one-day conference on the subject of Civil-Military Relations in Israel. The conference was dedicated to the memory of Prof. Amos Perlmutter, a distinguished scholar whose work covered the Middle East, US foreign and defense policy, and military sociology. In opening the conference, Schiff described Perlmutter's research on a wide range of subjects and his contribution to the understanding of Israeli security issues.

In the first panel discussion, Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir, JCSS Research Fellow and former deputy foreign minister, suggested that the military echelon is subordinate to the politicians, both formally and in practice. Historically, it is the political leadership of the country that has made the critical decisions, and the military's influence has been limited. The panel also considered legal and economic questions regarding civil-military relations. Retired District Court Justice and Chief Military Prosecutor Amnon Strashnov discussed the Supreme Court's role in sitting as the High Court of Justice. He suggested that there is now a far more interventionist approach to what were once considered internal affairs for the IDF. Imri Tov, JCSS Senior Research Associate and former Economic Advisor to the defense establishment, described the relations between the IDF, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Finance in the financial supervision of the IDF.

In the second panel, Maj. Gen. (res.) Aviezer Yaari, formerly director of the Defense Division in the State Comptroller's office, reviewed the mechanisms through which civilian institutions, including the government, the Knesset, the State Comptroller, and the Defense Establishment Ombudsman, oversee the IDF. These mechanisms improved in the 1980s, when the government accepted the need for overseeing even the intelligence and security agencies. Prof. Yoram Peri of Tel Aviv University's Herzog Institute for Media, Politics and Society described the way in which the media has developed from "media in the service of the state" to an investigative watchdog. He noted that this trend has reversed somewhat since the outbreak of the current wave of Israeli-Palestinian violence.

Closing the panel was Maj. Gen. (ret.) Uzi Dayan, former National Security Advisor, who called for a clearer distinction between the military and political leadership. It is in cases where this distinction is not clear that military matters are politicized, and politics are militarized.

The conference ended with an address by former Prime Minister Ehud Barak on the issues of civil-military relations as reflected in Israel's decision to withdraw from Lebanon in May 2000. Rather than a clear distinction between the military and the politicians, he argued that there is in fact much overlap between them, which will continue to exist. Nonetheless, the relationship is more one of dialogue than of tension.

The proceedings of the conference were edited by Ram Erez, and published in Hebrew in November 2003 as JCSS Memorandum No. 68, "*Civil-Military Relations in Israel: Influences and Restraints.*"



STATE OF THE NATION

THE 2003 YARIV MEMORIAL CONFERENCE

*“ Hamas is a strategic threat to Israel and an existential threat to the PA” -
General Security Services Chief Avi Dichter speaking at JCSS forum
in his first public address*

In July 2003 the annual conference in memory of Maj. Gen. Aharon Yariv, the first Head of JCSS, was held at Tel Aviv University. The conference, titled “The State of the Nation: Israel’s National Agenda in 2003,” attracted a capacity audience of 650 people.

The keynote speaker for the morning session was Avi Dichter, head of the General Security Services (GSS). In his first public appearance as head of the GSS, Dichter presented the conclusions to be drawn from the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian violence that erupted in September 2000.



GSS Head Avi Dichter opening the 2003 Yariv memorial conference

Dichter described the security fence under construction in the West Bank as one of the most effective tools for stopping terrorist infiltrations into Israel. Of 55 would-be Palestinian suicide bombers, only three were able

to cross the fence from Gaza into Israel. On the other hand, 124 bombers managed to cross into Israel from the West Bank. Despite strident PA objections to the fence, Dichter suggested that by reducing violence, the fence might even repair relations between the two.

Dichter confirmed reports released earlier by the IDF according to which Iran is the “world’s No. 1 terrorist state.” Iran fully controls the Islamic Jihad, and is increasingly burrowing itself into Hamas’s affairs. Following the closure of dozens of Islamic fundraising organizations across the



world after the September 11 attacks in the US, Hamas has sought alternative sources of funding and therefore is turning more and more, albeit reluctantly, towards Iran.

The conference's first panel explored developments within Israeli society. Referring to the decision of the Ministry of Education to establish a commission to investigate the disappointing educational achievements of Israel's high school graduates, former Director General of the Ministry of Education Dr. Shimshon Shoshani described the situation as "endangering the nation." In 1995, Israel was ranked 21 out of 41 countries in its mathematics performance, whereas in 1999, it had dropped to 28 out of 38. Technologically advancing countries like Thailand, South Korea, and Singapore, as well as Slovakia, Romania, and Cyprus, outperform Israel in these tests.

In a country that lacks abundant natural resources, he suggested, it is all the more important that Israel recognize the critical value of its human resources and place education at the top of its agenda.

Meir Sheerit, Minister without Portfolio (Finance Ministry), described the Israeli economy as having been on the brink of collapse, with the burden of an inflated public sector as the primary cause. The solution, he suggested, was to encourage a return to work, and to discourage a culture of reliance on welfare payments. Amir Peretz, leader of the Histadrut workers' federation and Member of Knesset, argued that social provisions should be universal, and improvements in the economy cannot be at the expense of the weaker sectors in society. Both speakers agreed, however, that progress in the



MK and Histadrut leader Amir Peretz (left) and Meir Sheerit, Minister without Portfolio, Finance Ministry, speak with JCSS Deputy Head Dr. Ephraim Kam (right)



Efraim Halevy presented the closing lecture of the conference; seated: JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman

peace process would bring significant economic dividends for Israel.

Dr. Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS, opened the second panel, which examined developments in the area of Israel-Palestinian relations. On the one hand, he suggested, Israel's strategic situation is stronger than ever, and its government's positions on key issues have been widely accepted abroad. Thus, Yasir Arafat has been increasingly sidelined, resumption of negotiations is conditional on the cessation of violence, and any final status agreements will be predicated on the disarmament of Palestinian terror groups. However, he added, there is also widespread acceptance that any such deal will require an Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 lines and the dismantling of settlements. Israel, he added, has not made its case persuasively for the need for a security

fence around Palestinian population areas.

Commenting on Palestinian developments, Col. Shalom Harari, former Advisor on Arab Affairs to the Ministry of Defense, pointed to a disintegration of civic society and a return of primary loyalty to the clan or extended family. There is, however, a sense of pride within Palestinian society in resisting continued attacks from Israeli forces.

Shlomo Brom, Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center, discussed the future of the Israel-Palestinian conflict. He suggested that following the Iraq War, there was another opportunity for the sides to negotiate a "final status" agreement. However, the US-sponsored roadmap was an imperfect tool and it was not clear that Prime Minister Sharon and then Prime Minister Abbas had both the will and the means

to implement it. This failure, suggested Brom, could result either in a continuation of the violence, or unilateral moves such as the completion of the security fence or the approval of an international intervention force for the region.

The third session of the day surveyed the wider arena. Professor Shlomo Avineri of the Hebrew University considered the implications of the September 11 terror attacks for the Arab world. First, he suggested, the attacks illustrated that the Arab world had remained largely unaffected by a steadily increasing global tendency towards democratization since the end of the Cold War. Furthermore, the internal dynamics of the Arab world had been considered of marginal significance by many in the West. However, the

cont. on p.16

Briefing on the Missile Technology Control Regime



Participants at the briefing given by Marius Handzlik, MTCR Chairman (seated at far left). The meeting was organized by Dr. Emily Landau.

In May 2003, Marius Handzlik, Chairman of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), addressed an arms control forum, that included JCSS research staff and select individuals from academia, the Foreign Ministry, and the security establishment.

Balkan region; an outreach program that provides information on the extent of the missile threat; an enlargement program, to bring in additional supplier states; and enhancing enforcement efforts. Handzlik also mentioned the attempt to use export control regimes in the fight against terrorism.

Handzlik opened with a review of major changes that have occurred in the global security environment since the Cold War. Among the problems he noted were the new non-conventional threats, and what he described as the crisis in international organizations. Thus, organizations are needed that better reflect current international realities, rather than the post-WWII global reality.

Handzlik provided a brief history of the MTCR and the problems that it faced from its inception. Current activities of the regime include: regional non-proliferation in the Korean peninsula, South Asia, the Middle East, and the



Dr. Mark Heller at a seminar announcing the English-language publication of *Germany and the Middle East: Interests and Options*. The May 2003 meeting at Tel Aviv University was attended by many of the book's contributors.

Israel-German Dialogue: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy

On May 24-26, 2003, the Jaffee Center hosted the annual Israel-German dialogue with colleagues from the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the Berlin-based German Institute for International and Security Affairs. With approximately 150 staff members, the SWP is the largest research institute of its kind in Western Europe.

The dialogue was the fifth of a series of meetings between the Jaffee Center and SWP, ongoing since 1998 and sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Discussions touched on the current state of German-Israeli relations, Europe and the Middle East in the aftermath of the Iraq War, and other issues related to Israel, including the threats posed by Syria, Iran, and Hizbollah.



Dr. Shmuel Harlap (left) with JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman (center) and Baruch Bina of the Foreign Ministry (right)



Maj. Gen. Amos Gilad (left) and JCSS Israeli Board Member Barry Swersky

Senator Ron Wyden at Forum America

“Israel can expect continued warm relations with the United States.”

Senator Ron Wyden, the senior senator from Oregon and member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, was the keynote speaker in December 2003 at the opening meeting of the Jaffee Center’s Forum America. Wyden considered the interplay between domestic politics,

and in particular the upcoming US presidential elections, and American foreign policy.

Wyden stressed that in addition to support within the current administration, Israel enjoys widespread support in the House of Representatives. Should the Republicans lose the presidency, Israel can expect continued warm relations with the United States.

Forum America, created by the Jaffee Center and directed by Zvi Rafiah, follows developments in US foreign policy in the Middle East and will hold working meetings with senior American foreign policy officials. Joining JCSS research staff in the forum are government officials, senior military figures, academics, and journalists.



JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman (left) with Senator Ron Wyden (center) and Zvi Rafiah, director of Forum America

JCSS Hosts Congressman Gary Ackerman

In February 2003, the Jaffee Center hosted Congressman Gary Ackerman (D-NY) and briefed him on developments in the Middle East. Congressman Ackerman, serving his eleventh term in the House of Representatives, is a senior member of the House International Relations Committee and is the ranking Democrat of the International Relations Subcommittee on the Middle East and Central Asia, which reviews US policy towards nations in the Middle East and Central Asia.



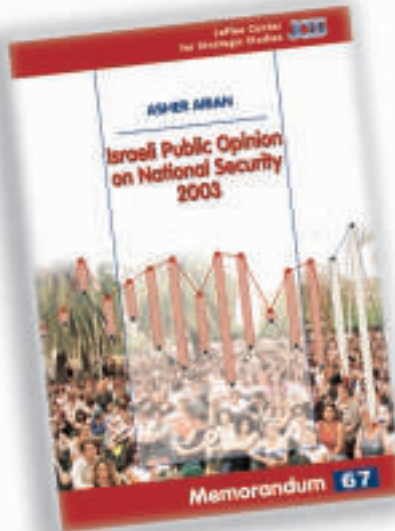
First Dialogue between JCSS and Royal Institute of International Affairs, London

In June 2003, a delegation of JCSS researchers led by JCSS Head Dr. Shai Feldman held a strategic dialogue with colleagues from the Royal Institute of International Affairs (RIIA) in London, also known as Chatham House. Over two days the researchers discussed the regional and international repercussions of the Iraq war, the prospects for developments on the Arab-Israeli front, Anglo-Israeli relations, and US policy in the Middle East.

Following the dialogue, the JCSS team met with researchers from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office’s

Middle East and North Africa (MENA) research group, and with the Ministry of Defence’s Directorate of Overseas Military Planning, where developments in the security and defense fields were discussed. The team also spent nearly an entire day with the BBC World Service. Journalists, editors, and producers from both radio and television met with Jaffee Center researchers in intense discussions. The JCSS team’s trip to London was supported by the Portland Trust.





Publications

NEW RULES OF THE GAME: ISRAEL AND HIZBOLLAH AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON

JCSS MEMORANDUM No. 69

Prior to May 2000, the possibility of a withdrawal of IDF troops from the “security zone” in southern Lebanon raised concerns within Israel’s defense establishment that the security situation would deteriorate, with a consequent rise in violence and without the buffer of the “security zone” to protect Israeli civilians from attack.

Daniel Sobelman’s study argues that rather than a deterioration of the security situation, ground rules emerged between the IDF and the Hizbollah, which have resulted in more than three years of relative quiet on Israel’s border with Lebanon. It considers the contrasting interests of the

four states who, in one way or another, have influence over Hizbollah – Syria, Lebanon, Iran, and Israel. As a Lebanese Shiite organization, Hizbollah is particularly attuned to its domestic constituency, and the study argues that it is the Lebanese imperative that has not received sufficient attention in most previous analyses.

Hizbollah’s relative restraint since the IDF withdrawal has, according to the author, been dictated by three principal rules of the game: acknowledgment of the UN Blue Line, with the critical exception of the Shab’a Farms area; use of Shab’a Farms as a legitimate arena for military operations; and reciprocity-based activity, along the lines of “an eye for an eye.” Professed support for the Palestinians has not led Hizbollah to escalate activity dramatically since the current Israeli-Palestinian violence erupted in September 2000, largely out of consideration for Lebanese interests and consequent adherence to the rules of the game.

ISRAELI PUBLIC OPINION ON NATIONAL SECURITY, 2003

JCSS MEMORANDUM No. 67

In October 2003 the Center published a detailed analysis of the results of its 18th annual survey on public opinion and national security, directed by Professor **Asher Arian**. The data produced by the 2003 survey – conducted between April 27 and May 23 – was first released in June 2003.

The poll showed that a growing majority of Israelis favored the establishment of a Palestinian state in the framework of a peace agreement, and generally felt more secure and open to compromise than they did in 2002. Fifty-nine percent of the Israeli public was willing to abandon all but the large settlement blocs, an increase from 50% the previous year. The number of those supporting the idea of separation from the Palestinians by withdrawing unilaterally, even if that meant abandoning settlements, increased from 48% in 2002 to 56% in 2003. The number of those supporting the conceding of the Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem in the framework of

BUILDING REGIONAL SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST: INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL AND DOMESTIC INFLUENCES

Discussions on regional security were initiated in the Middle East in 1992, as part of the Madrid peace talks. The collapse of the Oslo process, along with other regional developments in the latter half of the 1990s, diminished hopes that the initial gains made in regional security affairs might improve security relations in the area.

Edited by Prof. **Zeev Maoz**, Dr. **Emily Landau** (JCSS), and **Tamar Malz** (JCSS), the book is a collection of essays focusing on possible directions for getting regional security efforts back on track. In the window of opportunity opened by the post-Iraq period, yet against the



backdrop of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, this volume offers insights into past experiences with regional security structures, such as NATO's contribution to the pluralistic community in Western Europe, and factors that must be considered for launching future initiatives.

Published by Frank Cass as a book and also as a special issue of the *Journal of Strategic Studies*, the book features eight essays on security regime theory and practice. It presents analyses that argue that some form of regional security regime would constitute a positive development for the Middle East.

a peace agreement increased from 40 percent in 2002 to 43 percent in 2003.

Also significant is the heightened sense of security in 2003, far surpassing the low points recorded in the 2002 survey. For example: in 2003, 34% of respondents thought the chances were high or very high that war would break out in the next three years. This represents more than a 50% reduction from the 79% of 2002. Forty-three percent in 2003 predicted that peace would be strengthened between Israel and its neighbors in the next three years, a dramatic increase of more than 100% from the 21% of 2002.

A slight majority – 52% – thought that the end of the conflict would not be reached through the intervention of a third party and that the parties themselves must work out the details. Sixty-eight percent of the respondents opposed the idea of the United States imposing a solution on the parties (80% in 2002). This might be the reason why only 40% of Israeli Jews felt that the roadmap would end the Arab-Israeli conflict. Notwithstanding these positions, two-thirds thought that American security guarantees could be relied upon.

BETWEEN WARNING AND SURPRISE: ON SHAPING NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT IN ISRAEL JCSS MEMORANDUM NO. 66

Shlomo Gazit's study examines the quality of the strategic assessments provided by the Israeli intelligence community, assessments that must anticipate in a timely fashion the critical strategic developments in the area, both military and political, and from which political leaders must develop national policy.

Since the intelligence failure of the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the leaders of the intelligence community have tried to avoid any possible recurrence of such critical misreading of enemy intentions. Despite the efforts of the community and steps to reduce the danger of faulty intelligence assessments, however, no organizational solution has yet been found that will prevent such mistakes from being repeated.

The study describes the decisions taken by the government following the Yom Kippur War and as a consequence of the Agranat Commission's report. It looks at the organizational changes since 1974 in the intelligence community, which includes IDF Military Intelligence, the Mossad, the Foreign Ministry, and the General Security Service. It also analyzes the value of "pluralism" in intelligence assessment and the significance of the research units of the Mossad, the Foreign Ministry, and the General Security Services as a counterweight to Military Intelligence.

Finally, Gazit presents three principal recommendations: the creation of an Intelligence Advisor, who would report either directly to the prime minister or through the National Security Council; the creation of a national intelligence assessment authority that would report to the prime minister and be independent of any of the intelligence assessment bodies currently existing; and the recognition of the Foreign Ministry as the lead agency for providing political assessment and policy options to the government.

Bronfman Program

cont. from p. 8

Hebrew University, argued that public opinion is an increasingly important test for policy. Even strong parties must understand the value of the media, and if the critical domestic and international audiences are supportive of policy, positive press coverage will follow.

Three leading communications practitioners – representing the Foreign Ministry, the IDF, and the Prime Minister's Office – formed a panel on the realities of government communications. Gideon Meir of the Foreign Ministry welcomed the State Comptroller's report that was highly critical of the government's information policy, although it ignored the difficulties of communicating unpopular policy. He called for greater coordination across government agencies and a better understanding that different audiences require different messages. IDF Spokesperson Brig. Gen. Ruth Yaron described the efforts to improve the military's ability to communicate timely and accurate information. Soldiers designated as Operational Documenters will be responsible for conveying information from the front to the news outlets. The Prime Minister's foreign media advisor, Dr. Ra'anana Gissin, suggested that Israeli information professionals are placed in the unique position of not only having to explain policy, but also having to justify Israel's right to exist.

STATE OF THE NATION

cont. from p. 11

fact that all 19 of the bombers involved in the September 11 attacks were Arabs indicates that such issues can no longer be overlooked. Realization that the Arab world poses a fundamental challenge to international security was the key reason behind the US decision to go to war in Iraq.

MK and former Ambassador to Portugal Colette Avital described Israeli-European relations as "pull and push." Europe is Israel's most important trading partner, accounting for 40% of imports and exports, and Israel is the only non-EU country that participates in the EU's science and technology research projects. However, there is an increasing gap between Israel and Europe; in European eyes, Israel looks like the last remnant of colonialism, and has turned from the oppressed to the oppressor.

In the final speech of the conference, Efraim Halevy, outgoing National Security Council director and former head of the Mossad, said that Israel would not be able to tolerate the threat from Hizbollah on its northern border for much longer: "Missiles aimed at Israel is not a reality we can accept. The coming year will be marked by the removal of this threat by Israel, by one means or another.

There are other ways of neutralizing Hizbollah besides a frontal Israeli operation: there are sufficient international and regional levers that can wield a critical influence on the continued existence of the military capability held by Hizbollah."

Keep Informed



Tel Aviv Notes is a joint publication of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies and the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies. Edited by Dr. Mark Heller of the Jaffee Center, the publication provides timely updates on political and strategic affairs in the Middle East.

Strategic ASSESSMENT

Strategic Assessment, a quarterly publication initiated in 1998, presents four to six short articles that address subjects related to Israeli security. *Strategic Assessment* is published in Hebrew and English.

Tel Aviv Notes,
Strategic Assessment,
and
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/>

Text: Hirsh Goodman and Jonathan Cummings
Graphic Design: Yael Kfir,
TAU Graphic Design Studio
Photography: Michal Rosh-Ben-Ami
and Michal Kidron
Printing: Kedem Printing Ltd.