



JCSS

BULLETIN

JAFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES

*Newly
published:*



The **Middle East Military Balance 1999-2000** was published in December 1999. This is the first in the series to be published by MIT press for the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA) at Harvard University.

The opening chapters of the **Balance** this year analyze qualitative dimensions of land, air, and naval forces in the Middle East. The second part provides a detailed account of the military forces of all states in the region, based on a wealth of data from varied sources.

1999 Tshetshik Prize Awarded



Prof. Shai Feldman, head of JCSS, Maj. Gen. Doron Almog, Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz - IDF Chief of Staff, and Mr. Yaacov Lifshitz.

On September 21, 1999, the JCSS held the annual Tshetshik awards ceremony. The recipients of the prize this year – Maj. Gen. Doron Almog, Head of the IDF's Training and Doctrine Division and Mr. Yaacov Lifshitz, Chairman of the Board of Israeli Military Industries (IMI)–presented highlights from their research. The keynote speaker was Mr. Yaacov Peri, president of Cellcom and former head of Israel General Security Services who addressed the issue of Israeli-Palestinian disengagement.

Israel and the Palestinians

Prior to a Final Status Agreement

In October 1998, the Jaffee Center initiated a research project entitled "May 1999: Israel and the Palestinians Prior to a Final Status Agreement." The project's main aim was to contribute to the public debate and provide input to decision makers on two basic questions: first, the prospects of an extension of the five-year Israeli-Palestinian interim accords, which were to expire on May 4, 1999; second, the implications for the parties in the peace process should May 4, or any future interim accord deadline, pass before a final status agreement is concluded. The project is being financed by the Ford Foundation.

The project is being conducted with the help of a study group composed of Jaffee Center research staff members and other experts, including former government and senior IDF officials. The group held a number of one and two-day workshops at Neve Ilan and Ma'ale Ha-Hamisha outside Jerusalem, during which the security, political, economic and legal implications of a Palestinian

declaration of independent statehood were discussed. The participants examined the impact of such a declaration on Israel, the Palestinians, the United States, the European Union, Egypt, Jordan and Syria.

Following the decision to hold the Knesset and Prime Ministerial elections in mid-May (earlier than originally planned), the Jaffee Center decided to publish the first document of this project, entitled *Interim Agreement and the Israeli Elections*. This document explored Israeli, Palestinian and US perspectives regarding the expiration of the interim agreement, which coincided with Israeli national elections. The study focused on two questions: how would the election campaign affect the prospects of extending the interim period; and what should Israel's policy be until May 4, 1999? The study concluded that the Palestinians will refrain from unilateral action, and that the interim agreement would continue at least until the establishment of a new Israeli government.

After the May elections, the focus of the study shifted to the attempt to ascertain the optimal means of managing Israeli-Palestinian relations until a final status agreement is reached. As a consequence of additional workshops conducted since the elections, it is anticipated that by early 2000 the project will produce a report centering on the efforts to conclude a Final status Agreement between Israel and the Palestinians.



Prof. Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS
Dr. Ephraim Kam, Deputy Head of JCSS

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Strategic Dialogue with German Experts

On June 8-9, 1999, the Jaffee Center and Ebenhausen Germany's Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik inaugurated a dialogue on the security of Europe and the Middle East. The first meeting was funded with support from the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Discussions on the first day focused on the implications of the Israeli elections for advancing peace negotiations on



(l. to r.) JCSS head Prof. Shai Feldman, Dr. Christoph Bertram, Minister of Internal Security Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami, and Dr. Winfried Veit, head of Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

the Palestinian and Syrian tracks. One of the German researchers, Dr. Volker Perthes of Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, who spent time in Damascus before coming to Israel, provided his views on the atmosphere in Syria following the Israeli elections. The President of Tel Aviv University, Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, who headed Israel's delegation to the talks with Syria during the Rabin government, provided an assessment of the prospects of renewing Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations. Discussion in the afternoon focused on European security in the aftermath of the NATO campaign in Yugoslavia and the implications for the Middle East.

The second day began with a discussion of the Iranian and Iraqi threats of weapons of mass destruction. The two threats were

regarded as different, particularly in wake of recent developments in Iran. Subsequent topics of discussion were the role of Turkey, placed between Europe and the Middle East, and the differing US and European perspectives on the Middle East. The group of German researchers was led by Dr. Christoph Bertram, head of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik.

Additional participants were Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Christoph Moosbauer, a member of Germany's Bundestag, and Volkmar Wenzel, from the German Foreign Ministry. Also joining JCSS researchers in addressing the forum were Professor David Menashri, Tel Aviv University, who spoke about the domestic situation in Iran; Ambassador Alon Liel who presented his views on Turkey; and Zeev Schiff, defense editor of *Ha'aretz*, who discussed the peace process. A reception and dinner was held on the evening of the first day of discussions. MK Professor Shlomo Ben Ami, now Minister of Internal Security, presented a foreign policy agenda for the Barak government.



Minister Prof. Shlomo Ben Ami greets Maj. Gen. A. Tamir and Brig. Gen. (res.) A. Shalev (JCSS).



Prof. Asher Susser (Dayan Center) with JCSS researchers, Dr. Ephraim Kam and Brig. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Brom.

Dialogue with the German guests at JCSS conference room.



An international workshop on The Future of Military Doctrine was organized by the Jaffee Center and cosponsored by MIT's Security Studies Program, and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's JFK School of Government. The conference was devised and coordinated by Dr. Ariel Sobelman, Director of the Jaffee Center's project on Information Warfare and Ms. Tamar Malz, Senior Research Assistant.

The conference was held on March 16-18, 1999, at the Dan Caesarea Hotel in the ancient Roman port city of Caesarea. During the 3-day meeting, senior US and Israeli military officers joined Israeli and American defense scholars, as well as a group of participants from Britain, Russia and Sweden, for a debate on the future of military doctrine. The conference was designed to ascertain the future military doctrines of technologically advanced countries such as the United States and Israel. Participants stressed ways in which emerging information technologies are likely to affect military doctrines.

The conference was designed to be an intensive closed workshop. The first day focused on military theory and speakers discussed changes in doctrine over the last 20 years. The second day examined the future of military operations from the perspective of the military commander. The last day of the conference was devoted to plenary sessions and summaries.

The conference opened with a gala dinner and was addressed by two leading commanders. IDF Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz discussed the reorganization and strengthening of the military during its ten-year plan. The chief of staff reviewed the history of Israel's military and the changes required to adapt to the information revolution.

The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies expresses its deep gratitude to
Martin J. Whitman (New York)
for his support of this conference.

Lt. Gen. Robert Scales, commandant of the US Army War College looked further into the future. He addressed the US Army beyond the year 2010. In his speech, General Scales highlighted the *Army after Next Project* carried out under his command.

Other speakers noted the 25th anniversary of the 1973 Yom Kippur war and analyzed the impact of the war on military doctrines in the United States, Russia and Israel. US Army General Donn Starry; General Mahmut Gareyev, former Deputy Chief of Staff of the Red Army; and Israeli Brig. Gen (res.) Dov Tamari discussed their countries' perspectives.

The second session explored the art of military operations and the American conceptual revolution from two approaches. A theoretical approach was presented by Dr. James Blackwell from the Science Application International Corporation in Washington D.C. and a senior consultant for Andrew Marshall, director of the US Defense Department Office of Net Assessment. Lt. Gen. Don Holder presented the practical approach to revolutionizing operational art in the US Army. The third session of the day examined the nature of applying theories to practice in both the US and Israeli militaries. This issue was addressed by US Colonel Douglas Macgregor, director of the SHAPE Joint Operations Center in NATO headquarters in Brussels. Colonel Macgregor presented his work on designing a new land force for the 21st century in the US Army. Dr. Shimon Naveh, director of the Cummings Center at Tel Aviv University and

International Conference

The future of Military

director of the IDF's research group on operational doctrine, discussed the state of operational knowledge in the Israeli defense system.

The second day of the conference focused on the future of military operations. In an exciting series of



(l.to r.) Lt. Gen. Robert Scales, US Army War College Commandant, General Donn Starry, US Army and British Army Attache in Israel, Col. Euan Houston, exchanging ideas.

sessions, US and Israeli officers presented ideas and insights on the future of military operations in land, air, sea, low intensity conflict and information operations. The first pair of speakers was Maj. Gen. Doron Almog, head of the IDF Training and Doctrine Division, and Col. Euan Houston of the British Army. General Almog and Colonel Houston presented the land and air-land approach. General Almog described two types of concepts that concern IDF responses during war. The first is the "Carousel Effect", the effect of the military's response to land threats from Israel's first tier adversaries. The "Pendulum Effect" represents the

ture of Doctrine

IDF's capacity to move rapidly between fronts and theaters. This effect would apply to the air force, but would also include information operations.

Professor Williamson Murray of the Industrial College of the US Armed Forces and Colonel Amir Chodorov of the Israeli Air Force tackled the challenges of future air and air-land operations.

In the naval arena, Rear Admiral Yedidya Ya'ari, deputy commander of the Israeli Navy, stated his vision of future naval operations. He envisioned a navy that can rapidly transport soldiers via ships and submarines as well as deploy fighting vessels long distances from their base. Dr. Jane Holl, Director of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict addressed the challenges posed by low intensity conflicts. Dr. Michael Vlahos and Professor Robert Bunker highlighted the nature of conflict in the digital world and the mechanisms by which information warfare will fit into future military operations and doctrine.

The afternoon session was devoted to the challenges of designing and building a force structured along the concepts described during the morning discussions. Brig. Gen. Eival Gilady of the IDF Planning Branch and Professor Barry Posen of MIT's Security Studies Program presented two approaches. General Gilady presented the IDF concept of long term flexible planning, which, he argued, will allow significant adjustments to the ten-year plan. Professor Posen said the US army no longer focuses on Russian troops in Europe, and that today's mission is to

defuse conflicts around the globe. This, he emphasized, requires new thinking. The final day of the conference was opened by Dr. Cindy Williams, former Director of National Security at the Congressional Budget Office, who presented an approach to

estimating the costs of the expected revolution in military affairs. A general debate of the issues raised during the first two days of the conference followed. The debate was moderated by Prof. Shai Feldman, Head of the Jaffee Center, and by Prof. Stephen Van Evera of MIT.



TAU President, Prof. Itamar Rabinovich with Prof. Barry Posen (l.), and Prof. Stephen Van Evera of MIT

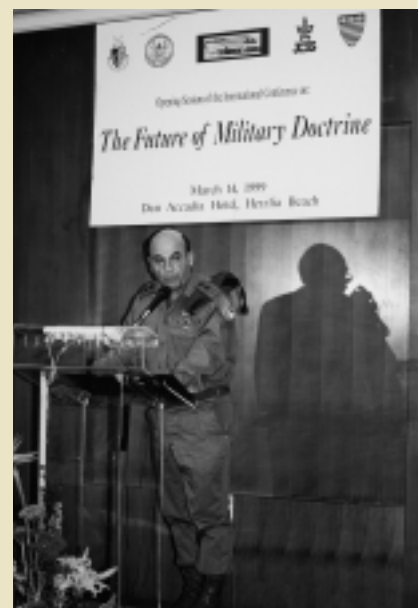


Dr. Ariel Sobelman, Conference Coordinator (l.) with Prof. Shai Feldman, head of JCSS.

Welcoming remarks by Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz, IDF Chief of Staff

It is my great pleasure to open this conference on the Future of Military conference, organized by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, together with important partners from the United States, which represents one of the largest and most comprehensive efforts we have seen to bring together such a large number of senior officers and military scholars from both the United States and Israel, to explore the ways in which advanced militaries like the US and Israel will develop new doctrines for the information age. I wish to thank and acknowledge the Jaffee Center and its American partners for the very important effort to make possible this conference. I am sure the results of the conference will contribute greatly to our understanding of many of the most important questions on today's security agenda. Among them are the future of military operations, information warfare, the process of military innovation, and leading doctrinal changes. These questions, and many others, are increasingly important on Israel's national security

agenda, and will have a dramatic impact on the way the IDF looks and fights in the future - 2010 to 2020. In a world, which is increasingly information based, information technologies are dramatically changing the ways in which the IDF will fight in the future. It is our duty to explore and examine these



questions in the IDF. This conference is one of the most important examples of this learning process, to which the IDF is committed. *DF Chief of Staff, Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz delivering the keynote address at the opening dinner.* The Jaffee Center, since its foundation by General Aharon 'Arale' Yariv, has been a partner in the strategic and security debate in Israel. Professor Shai Feldman, Head of the Center, is leading a policy of researching questions that have both academic value, as well as practical applications for Israel's defense community. The conference we are opening tonight is an expression of this policy led by Professor Feldman.

I wish also to acknowledge a young researcher at the Jaffee Center, Dr. Ariel Sobelman, who organized the conference. Dr. Sobelman's dedication and devotion to the cooperation between the IDF and the Jaffee Center have made this conference possible.

Finally, I wish to thank and acknowledge the many distinguished guests who have traveled a long distance to be with us at this conference. Among them, General Donn Starry, who is no stranger to Israel and has visited here many times. Mr. Andrew Marshall, director of the Office of Net Assessment at the Pentagon could not be with us tonight for personal reasons, but his senior staff is with us, and this also is a valuable expression of the friendship and alliance between the two security establishments.

In conclusion, on behalf of the IDF, I wish to once more thank the Jaffee Center, its distinguished partners, and the participants for joining us for this week of important discussions on the Future of Military Doctrine. I am confident that the fruits and products of this conference will make a very significant contribution to the security establishments of both countries, the US and Israel.

At Ceremony for new book
by Nachman Tal:

GSS Chief Ayalon warns of internal dissent

Israel's domestic intelligence chief issued a clear warning that Israel's divided society would find it difficult to withstand the growing threat of terrorism and nonconventional weapons. General Security Services (GSS) chief Ami Ayalon stressed that the country will have to close ranks to face these threats.

"We are entering a long-term conflict with terrorism and nuclear-biological-chemical threat that will require the entire Israeli society to recruit all of its energies," Ayalon said. He also emphasized that these threats must be faced primarily not by soldiers but by the society at large. "The more long-term the threat, the greater the need for cohesion. A long war divides society. The longer a society is subjected to this threat the greater the importance of cohesion."

Ayalon delivered the keynote address at a special event held in July 1999 to mark the publication of ***Islamic Fundamentalism: The Case of Egypt and Jordan***, a new book by Joffee Center researcher Nachman Tal. In a rare address by the GSS chief, Ayalon warned that the Islamic Palestinian opposition believes it can exploit the divisions within Israeli society. He referred to statements by Hamas leader Ahmed Yassin that a united Palestinian society can overcome the technological superiority of Israel.

Ayalon criticized Israeli officials for paying little attention to terrorism and

its threat to society. He recalled a recent government-sponsored seminar on national security doctrine. In the four days of discussions, he said, only 15 minutes were devoted to the issue. The GSS chief said prolonged terrorism and other threats have divided Israeli society. He said the country is split between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority as well as between Jews.



Shabtai Shavit, former Head of Mossad, Ami Ayalon, chief of GSS and Nachman Tal.

Ayalon said a large minority of Israelis does not recognize the basic symbols of the Jewish State. "Between 30 and 40 percent of the population in Israel will not stand or sing when the anthem is played," he said.

Tal's book traces the Islamic struggle for power in Egypt and Jordan. Tal, a former GSS senior official, said that the fundamentalists of the 1990s are younger and more educated than their predecessors. He said fundamentalism is rife in Cairo's sprawling new and unplanned neighborhoods, where services are virtually nonexistent and overcrowding is the norm.

The audience was also addressed by Hebrew University professor Matti Steinberg, a leading expert on Islam. Steinberg said the Arab intellectual elite is more prepared than the leaderships of their countries to experiment with democracy. He added that Arab regimes are scared that democracy will quickly lead to Islamic rule.

The rise of the Islamic movement as a political and social force is doubtlessly

the most important phenomenon to have developed in the Arab world in recent years. In his book "Islamic Fundamentalism" Tal describes how Egypt and Jordan have been coping with the wave of Islamic terrorism in the 90s.

In Egypt, Islamic fundamentalists set their main goals as harming heads of government, foreign tourists, and the Coptic minority. They caused great losses of life and damage to property, and occasional disruptions of the smooth conduct of daily life in the country.

Regarding the non-violent segment of the Islamic movement - the Moslem Brotherhood - Tal points out that it has deep roots in Egyptian society, with its identity rooted primarily in Islam and the Koran. The Brotherhood operates a wide-ranging system of education, along with welfare services for the weak sectors of Egyptian society. He describes the struggle by the Egyptian authorities against Islamic terror as similar to war, with the regime employing a strategy of "comprehensive confrontation" against the Moslem Brotherhood.

The challenge of fundamentalism in Jordan is less complex than in Egypt. Tal describes how the Hashemite regime has succeeded in uncovering and purging the attempts by fundamentalists at organized Islamic terrorism in Jordan, evidenced in the

kingdom during the 1990s, even before they had the opportunity to exact a toll in human lives or cause massive destruction of property.

The Moslem Brotherhood operates legally in Jordan. However, familiarity with the tactical philosophy of stages employed by the Brotherhood has enabled the Jordanian leadership to limit the organization's activities within a framework of "red lines." The Moslem Brotherhood is generally careful not to cross these lines.

Tal depicts the situation in both Egypt and Jordan as a vicious circle, which can be broken, only if the Islamic radicals decide to make an abrupt about-face and adopt the rules of democracy.

He explains that Egyptian and Jordanian authorities will not be able to eliminate the phenomenon of Islamic extremism in the foreseeable future. They will have to live with it, and continue fighting against it for a long time to come.



Nachman Tal addresses the audience on the rise of Islamic Fundamentalism.

Profile of a Researcher

Shlomo Brom



Brig. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Brom joined the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies as a senior research associate in November 1998 after a long career in the IDF. His last post in the armed forces was as Chief of the Strategic Planning Division in the Planning Branch of the General Staff. Before that, he was the Deputy Chief of the Strategic Planning Division for three years. During his six years in these posts Brig. Gen. Brom participated actively in the peace negotiations with the Palestinians, Jordan, and Syria. He also took part in the re-examination of Israel's defense policies and handled the strategic relations of the IDF with the US armed forces and other militaries. Previously, Brig. Gen. Brom served in different positions in Air Force Intelligence, until he reached the position of the Deputy Chief of the Air Force Intelligence for Research and Production. He was also the Israeli Defense attaché in the Republic of South Africa, and a member of the Strategic Group in the Prime Minister's office.

Israeli Public Opinion on National Security

The annual Survey of 1999

A new study by Prof. Asher Arian on Israeli public opinion on national security was published recently. This study is based on a survey conducted in the beginning of 1999 and comprised of representative samples of Israeli population.

Arian states in his study that a large majority of the respondents reported enhanced feelings of personal security since the beginning of the peace process. Two-thirds thought most Palestinians want peace. Only 19 percent, the lowest score reported in these surveys, thought all Palestinians have a negative orientation toward Israel. The percentage of those saying that Arabs aspired to destroy Israel and kill Jews was at an all-time low.

Two-thirds thought that the signing of peace agreements with appropriate security arrangements would bring an end to the Arab-Israel conflict. Willingness to return land for peace remained high; only one in five supported the notion of ceasing the peace talks even if that resulted in war. Support for a Palestinian state reached an unprecedented 57 percent. More than three-quarters thought there would be such a state in 10 years.

Were the Palestine Authority to unilaterally declare the establishment of a Palestinian state, the reaction of the Israeli public would not be extreme. More respondents than in the past were willing to discuss various issues with the Palestinians, and to return certain territories. Opinions had not changed about Jerusalem, however. A small majority favored unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon, higher than recorded in the past. Faith in the effectiveness of air strikes against targets in Lebanon rose; hope for seeking a political solution to the conflict in south Lebanon remained the same. There was no parallel softening of position regarding Syria or the return of the Golan Heights. Nonetheless, 54 percent thought that the heights would be returned within 10 years.

The relationship between perceived threat and support for a Palestinian state remained constant. The threat was down; support for a state, up. The development of non-conventional weapons by Iran and Iraq was perceived as very threatening. Fifty-eight percent supported the immediate use of the Israel Defense Forces to

prevent Iran and Iraq from developing such weapons.

The sense of a weakening of the army was again observed. The size of the group willing to pay more taxes for security was at an all-time low. Very large majorities rejected the idea of a volunteer army or the exemption from army service by university or yeshiva students.

The overall pattern of credibility for the political leadership has been in a downward direction. There has been a 23-percentage point drop since the question was first asked in the 1986 survey.



Defending Defense Economics

Two leading defense economists were the speakers this year at the annual event held in memory of the late Col. Simon Syrkin, in March 1999. The two speakers were Imri Tov, economic advisor to the Defense Ministry, who spoke on the defense sector as an economic organization, and Yaacov Lifshitz, chairman of the board of Israel Military Industries (IMI), who spoke on the future of US military assistance to Israel. Lifshitz provided an overview of the different types of assistance provided to Israel by the US, and pointed out that alongside the

advantages of such assistance, there are also some clear disadvantages. In this regard, thought should be devoted to Israel's position on US assistance.

Lifshitz discussed the three types of US assistance and described the changes that have occurred:

Military assistance: The US allows Israel to procure the most advanced weapons systems. This aspect of assistance has diminished in importance.

Political assistance: This type of assistance was proof of the support and commitment of the US to Israel's

existence as an independent state. The change here has been not in importance, but rather in content. While in the past it was directed to helping Israel deal with the arms race in the Middle East, today it is more in the form of a means to ensure the maintenance of political arrangements. **Economic assistance** as a means of financing. The amount provided has diminished in real terms; while the amount remains \$1.8 billion, there is an annual increase of about 10% in the cost of weapons systems.

Lifshitz explained that US economic

National Security Concept Revisited:

'Dado' Seminar caps 20 years of defense Conferences



MK Dan Meridor was this year's speaker at the annual gathering held in memory of Lt. Gen. David Elazar (Dado), which focused on the Israeli national security concept. During his career, Mr. Meridor (former Cabinet Secretary, Minister of Justice and Finance Minister) dealt extensively with security and defense issues. Currently serving as Chairman of the Knesset Committee on Foreign and Defense Affairs, at the time of the seminar MK Meridor was a member of the Defense Ministry's advisory committee for the reassessment of Israel's defense doctrine.

In his lecture, Mr. Meridor argued that the Israeli defense community has not managed to adapt traditional national security conceptions to the changing strategic circumstances. The current security doctrine was shaped during the 1950s and, Mr. Meridor maintained that the Arab-Israeli peace process is an indication of the success of this doctrine. But, Israel must reevaluate its doctrine amid the new strategic environment. The most significant change is the expansion of the circle of

threats, which now includes Iran and Iraq. At the same time, the level of existential threats to Israel has decreased. Mr. Meridor said the new circumstances require a comprehensive view of Israel's strength that includes such elements as economy, demography and education. Israel's superiority in some of these areas offsets its numerical disadvantage.

The 1999 annual conference held in memory of Lt. Gen. David Elazar (Dado) was the concluding event for this series of annual conferences conducted by the JCSS. The conference was jointly held with the public association for the commemoration of David Elazar. The series of conferences held annually over the past 20 years, hosted leading defense and military figures and served as a unique

forum to discuss various aspects of Israeli strategy. Some of the lectures in this series foretold public debate. For this concluding event, the JCSS has edited an index with full abstracts (in Hebrew) of all 20 volumes of lectures delivered in the framework of this series.



assistance has created certain distortions in defense expenditures; For example, the cost of weapons systems procured with this assistance was not taken into account, and this ultimately led to inflated defense procurements.

Imri Tov's perspective on defense issues is economic: He believes that all such issues can be analyzed and explained in economic terms. The economic perspective must be joined with the legal, military, and historical perspectives in order to foster a

comprehensive view that decisionmakers can integrate in order to provide a direction for their policy.

There are four areas that can impact the defense sector: the strategic environment; military-defense thinking; the economic environment; and the social environment. Addressing changes in these areas can have the advantage of creating a situation whereby instead of the system operating on the tactical level only, activity will be directed to achieving goals at the system and strategic levels.

This, when the ultimate goal is political, rather than strictly military or defense oriented.

Tov believes that, in the coming decade, several areas must be renovated: the role of the defense system as well as the division of labor; reexamination of the security perception, and revolution in military thinking; making defense production more cost-effective; and, finally, directing efforts to maintain a long-term economic-defense infrastructure.

The State of the Nation - 1999



The annual State of the Nation" conference held on February 1999 in memory of Maj. Gen.

Aharon "Arale" Yariv, opened this year with the introduction of the new book **Cautious Assessment**, a collection of articles written by Aharon Yariv, the head of JCSS for 16 years until 1993. This book contains 15 articles on a variety of strategic issues. Copies were presented to his widow, Nechama Yariv, and to his son, Safi.

The opening session of the conference focused on economic issues. Prof. Avishai Braverman, president of Ben-Gurion University, assessed the economic challenges Israel faces on the verge of the 21st century. He emphasized the importance for Israel in global economic trends; for this, Israel must be strong internally. Israel must deal with demographic weaknesses, defective urban planning, and problems of "brain drain." Prof. Ezra Sadan, former Director General, Ministry of Treasury, addressed Israeli and Palestinian economies.

Prof. Eli Ben-Raphael of Tel Aviv University opened the second session with a broad overview of both unifying and fragmenting factors at work in Israeli society. He emphasized that the model of collective identity that developed in the early years of the state is now facing challenges from a number of directions. He cited the ultra-Orthodox sector, which tries to

maintain its uniqueness while challenging the dominant identity, and some Sephardic communities that also strive to maintain their uniqueness as a separate group in society. An additional sector is that of Israeli Arabs who are going through a process of cultural "Israelization," in opposition to the "Palestinization" of their collective identity.

Col. (res.) Dr. Reuven Gal, director of the Carmel Institute, dealt with the changes that have taken place in the level of motivation for serving in the IDF. He presented different types of motivation for serving in the army, and drew a correlation between these different types and different periods in Israel's history. Motivation to serve in the first years drew on a combination of survival and ideology. In later years, the source of motivation was normative, and since the Intifada, it has become based on individualistic factors.

Dr. Yehuda Ben-Meir, formerly Deputy Foreign Minister, focused on "national strength" as a component in decision making. He explored the extent to which decisions on security and foreign affairs are influenced by factors on the domestic front. He examined different aspects of national strength such as

consensus building.

The third session focused on the security dimension. Mr. Carmi Gilon, former head of GSS, assessed the security situation between Israel and the Palestinians, on the basis of lessons learned in the five years since the Oslo agreement. The greatest achievement, he said, is the consensus that there is no way to resolve the problem between Israel and the Palestinians other than pursuing a political settlement. Such a settlement will ultimately enhance Israel's security.

Prof. Shai Feldman, (Head of JCSS, dealt with the peace process and Israel's security conception, defined as principles for mobilizing resources and the use of these sources of strength to fulfill national goals. He presented the basic insights relevant to the development of a security conception. First, such a conception must be based on a definition of political goals; second, a security conception must be continually updated due to changes in reality, resources and goals.

Maj. Gen. Amos Malka, director of IDF Military Intelligence, analyzed Israel's strategic environment. He listed the factors that significantly influence our arena, and then discussed the different circles of influence in this arena: the close circle of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan; the internal circle of the Palestinians whose influence will grow stronger; and the distant circle of Iran and Iraq. Gen. Malka also discussed regional issues: stability of regimes, terror as a growing strategic factor; NBC capabilities and surface to surface missiles; and the inter-Arab arena.

The closing lecture was delivered by Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz, IDF chief of staff who presented his views on the IDF in the year 2000, which, to his mind, will be a different force. The IDF's primary goal is the achievement of victory, working within the framework of limited resources.



Maj. Gen. Amos Malka, director of the IDF's Military Intelligence addresses the conference. Seated (r. to l.) Dr. Ephraim Kam, Mr. Carmi Gilon, and Prof. Shai Feldman.

SPECIAL STUDY

Israel and South Lebanon:

The Withdrawal at the End of the Tunnel?

Unless Israel signs a peace treaty with Syria, Israel's options in south Lebanon are limited to maintaining its troop deployment or withdrawing unilaterally, says a new report by the Jaffee Center's Brig. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Brom, former head of strategic planning in the Israel Defense Forces Planning Branch.

In his report, entitled "Israel and South Lebanon: In the Absence of a Peace Treaty with Syria," Brom says most of Israel's options in south Lebanon will not achieve the country's basic goal, with some of the measures dependent on Lebanese and Syrian cooperation. This includes any Israeli withdrawal in the framework of a partial settlement with Lebanon.

Therefore, until a peace treaty is signed with Syria, the options are limited to either the status quo or unilateral withdrawal. The advantage of the status quo, Brom says, is that it maintains security for residents of northern Israel, the main purpose of IDF deployment in south Lebanon. The disadvantage is the absence of any chance of dramatically reducing casualties, which impacts heavily on national morale. At the same time, this option contains some potential of escalation.

Brom says the advantage of unilateral withdrawal is that it contains hope for a solution. The hope is based on optimistic assessments regarding Hizbullah, Syria, and Iran. The disadvantage is in the option's risks. If these parties plan to continue their military campaign against Israel even after an IDF withdrawal, the threat against northern Israeli communities will become intolerable.

The Jaffee Center report urges the government to determine Hizbullah's intentions after an IDF withdrawal by

engaging in a dialogue with the Shi'ite organization. Such a dialogue will produce results if the participants understand that Israel does not intend to reach a partial accord with Lebanon and is prepared to stage a unilateral and unconditional withdrawal from the south. Israel should explain to these parties that its only objective in the dialogue is to know how they will respond to an IDF withdrawal. Anything more ambitious will torpedo the effort.

If such a limited dialogue fails then the risks of unilateral withdrawal are too great. A successful dialogue can allow the political leadership to endorse a unilateral withdrawal.

Brom says that Prime Minister Barak might decide on a unilateral withdrawal by July 2000 if efforts to engage Syria fail. In this case, the author recommends a one-stage withdrawal. A phased withdrawal would only invite failure.

Following a withdrawal, Brom says, Israel will have to maintain a cautious policy toward Lebanon. Even if the



main Shi'ite factions decide to refrain from any military activity, Palestinian groups might initiate attacks. Some Shi'ite guerrillas might break away from their organizations and continue their campaign against Israel.

To preserve its deterrence, Israel must warn of harsh responses to any attack, but in practice Israel should maintain restraint until it becomes clear that Hizbullah and the Lebanese government fail to maintain security in south Lebanon. Moreover, Israel must closely monitor the region for any change in policy by Hizbullah, Lebanon or Syria. An important signal is whether the Lebanese army is allowed to deploy in the south after Israeli withdrawal. This will also reflect Syrian intentions.

Guests from China at JCSS: discussing arms control

In December 28, 1998 the JCSS hosted Sha Zukang, Director General of the Department of Arms Control and Disarmament in China's Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Discussions with members of the JCSS staff focused on the global arms control agenda and Israel's position regarding various nonproliferation treaties.



Towards a Regional Security Regime for the Middle East

On March 23, 1999, JCSS hosted Dr. Peter Jones from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) for a seminar dealing with his report "Towards a Regional Security Regime for the Middle East: Issues and Options." The purpose of the seminar held at JCSS (as well as similar meetings held in Iran, Jordan, and Egypt) was to introduce the ideas raised in the report to a wider audience of regional arms control experts. Dr. Jones's initial talk dealing with the contents of the report was followed by a presentation by Dr. Ariel Levite who provided his experience as a participant in the meetings. Iran's interest in regional security arrangements was one of the focal points of discussion.



Emily Landau (JCSS) introduces Dr. Peter Jones

Bridging Cultural Gaps - The Strategic Perspective

The Jaffee Center organized a panel entitled "Security Dialogue in the Middle East: Cultural and Communicational Influences" in the framework of a four-day International Conference on Pragmatics and Negotiation held by the Faculty of Humanities at Tel Aviv University on June 13, 1999. Emily Landau, Research Associate at the Jaffee Center, coordinated the panel.

General Mohammad Shmaisani, senior researcher at the Department for Disarmament and Security Studies, Amman, addressed cultural aspects of security negotiations by providing a personal perspective on Jordanian-Israeli peace negotiations. This was based on his involvement in the peace talks, in which he served as head of the aviation committee and participated in meetings on security matters. General Shmaisani emphasized cultural differences that led to misunderstandings, and the importance of dialogue for breaking cultural barriers. In this respect, he said, the personal relationship between King Hussein and Yitzhak Rabin was extremely important.

Professor Gabriel Ben-Dor of Haifa University discussed cultural factors in the regional strategic dialogue in the

Middle East. He asserted that Arab and Israeli political leaders are absorbing a common global culture bound to facilitate negotiations. The danger, however, is that the gap between the political elite and the masses will grow, making it difficult to create a broad constituency for peace.

Professor Raymond Cohen of the Hebrew University focused on cultural and linguistic factors that have affected Arab-Israeli negotiations on security issues. Adding to the inherent difficulty of negotiating security issues is the failure of the parties to agree on the meaning of such core concepts as "land," "security," "normalization," and "peace." These differences are exacerbated by the differing ways the parties negotiate, he said.

Emily Landau devoted her presentation to the Middle East arms control and regional security dialogue over the past decade. Focusing on the cooperative framework of seminar diplomacy, which stresses learning over bargaining, she assessed the implications of multilateral communication, especially in terms of its ability to create mutual understandings that differ from preconceived interests.



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