



# ulletin

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#### ON THE AGENDA

DEFENSE ECONOMICS PROJECT LAUNCHED: Does defense spending need to be a burden on the national economy?

INFORMATION STRATEGY PROJECT: JCSS research aimed at writing a new doctrine on militarymedia relations for Israel



#### MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES:

- Scholars from JCSS and Harvard's Belfer Center meet on Middle East conflict resolution
- Ishi Lavi, a pioneer in defense technology, remembered
- Annual "State of the Nation" conference in memory of JCSS founder Aharon Yariv

**STRATEGIC DIALOGUES:** JCSS scholars meet with colleagues from China, US, Germany, and South Korea



#### **VISITORS TO JCSS**

- Anthony Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies visits Jaffee Center and outlines current US defense thinking
- Former Deputy Supreme
  Commander, Allied Powers Europe,
  General Sir Rupert Smith, discusses
  conflict in the modern era

#### NEW FACES AT THE JAFFEE CENTER:

- Uzi Eilam, 2002 Israel Security Prize laureate, joins JCSS to study European-Middle Eastern defense issues
- Dr. Ephraim Asculai, formerly of the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission, to research proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East
- Prof. Maj.-Gen. (Ret'd) Isaac Ben-Israel, formerly Director of Warfare Technology Development at the Ministry of Defense, joins the Jaffee Center as a Research Associate

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**NEW PUBLICATIONS:** Major new work on the origins of the US-Israeli alliance, and the results of the 17th annual survey on Public Opinion and National Security

#### CONFERENCE ON "ECONOMICS AND NATIONAL SECURITY"

# PROJECT ON DEFENSE ECONOMICS LAUNCHED

n November 2001, the Jaffee Center sponsored a three-day conference on "Economics and National Security." This was the first event in the framework of a newly launched project on Defense Economics, headed by Center Senior Research Associate Imri Tov, former Chief Economist of the Ministry of Defense. The conference was held at the Daniel Hotel in Herzliya Pituach.

Keynote speakers for the conference were Minister of Defense Binyamin Ben-Eliezer and Minister without Portfolio Dan Meridor. Other key figures from the IDF, the Ministry of Defense, and the Ministry of Finance, along with members of the defense and finance establishments, the defense industry, and academia, participated.

Attempting to understand the interrelationship between the economy and defense,

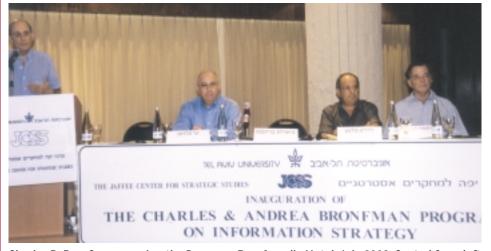
the conference focused on three central issues: Israel's defense budget, the implications of American military aid on the Israeli economy, and the future of the defense industry.

Opening the conference, Chairman Imri Tov presented a conceptual framework for analyzing the subject using a model that distinguishes between analysis on a narrow, sectoral level and on the national level. According to Tov, defense must be regarded as a product, and as a result of a defense capital build-up process.

In discussing Israel's defense budget, Director-General of the Ministry of Finance Ohad Marani stressed the fiscal constraints on the ability to meet competing national goals.

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## THE JAFFEE CENTER INAUGURATES THE ANDREA AND CHARLES BRONFMAN PROGRAM IN INFORMATION STRATEGY



Charles R. Bronfman opening the Program, Dan Accadia Hotel, July 2002. Seated from left to right: Prof. Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS; Project Director Hirsh Goodman; and Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, President, TAU. (See page 3)

#### **Defense Economics** (continued from page 1)

arani argued that since the government is under the limitation of a restrictive fiscal policy, the defense budget must be cut.

Major-General Dan Halutz, Commanderin-Chief of the Israeli Air Force, elaborated on the various means through which the air force has adopted more efficient modes of operation throughout the last decade. According to Halutz, the Air Force has nearly reached the point at which further cuts would mean compromising the IAF's operational capabilities.

The burden of defense expenditures on the Israeli economy was discussed on the second day of the conference. Prof. Zvi Zussman of the Tel Aviv Academic College, and a former Bank of Israel deputy governor, argued that the current high defense expenditures, in terms of their percentage of the Gross National Product (GNP), are damaging to the economy. The opposing view was argued by Dr. Yaakov Sheinin, president of Economic Models Ltd. Sheinin claimed that defense expenditures have contributed significantly to the Israeli economy. New technologies, as well as highly trained and experienced workers from the defense sector, find their way to Israel's state-of-the-art civilian industry, spurring economic growth.

A highly contested issue was the effects of US military aid on the Israeli economy. Kobi Toren, Co-Chair of the Board of El-Op, and David Boaz, former head of budgets at the Ministry of Finance, stressed the negative implications that US aid has on the Israeli market. They argued that due to foreign aid, local defense spending is shrinking, while the US dollar-denominated part of the defense budget is increasing. This means that the Government of Israel buys less from Israeli industries and more from American industries. According to



Project Director Imri Tov (right) speaks with Lt.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon

both Toren and Boaz, this process has negative implications for both the Israeli economy and its national security.

avid Vaish, the Ministry of Defense's Economic Advisor, presented a view favoring the continuation of American military aid. Vaish argued that termination of aid or indeed any reduction in its level would damage both the economy and security. While it is true that the local currency share in the budget is being cut, some of the purchases made in the US include off-set clauses, committing the US to purchase Israeli defense products, thus contributing to local defense industries.

Most speakers agreed that the Israeli defense industry must be made more efficient, and they offered several suggestions to achieve this, including the privatization of government owned industries, the reduction and consolidation of these industries, and the introduction of international strategic partnerships. An important issue raised concerned the need to consider the future of those currently employed within the industry.

Imri Tov pointed out the significance of the conference in creating a focal point around which defense industrialists, government officials, and researchers can sit together and discuss the issues at hand.

#### **DEFENSE ECONOMICS PROJECT HOLDS THIRD WORKSHOP**

he third workshop of the Defense Economics workshop was held on May 21st at the Green House, Tel Aviv University's faculty club. The event was chaired by program head and JCSS Senior Research Associate, Imri Tov.

The first session of the workshop examined the economic implications of intensification of the conflict with the Palestinians. The speaker was Dr. Michel Stravchinsky, deputy director of the Bank

of Israel's research department. Evaluating the cost of the continued fighting was done using an input-output model. The analysis shows a clear distinction between fighting on a country's sovereign territory, in which the economic impact is direct and negative, and wars which are fought on the enemy's territory, in which the damage is considerably smaller.

Professor Asher Tischler and Benny Mentin of the University's Faculty of Management then examined the structure of Israel's defense industry and its relation to the country's national security needs. Given the trend towards wholesale consolidation of American and European defense industries, in which there may only remain a single producer, there is a need to examine the Israeli aspect and articulate a model for future development in the local defense industry.

# FACTORING MEDIA INTO STRATEGIC PLANNING

## THE JAFFEE CENTER INAUGURATES THE ANDREA AND CHARLES BRONFMAN PROGRAM IN INFORMATION STRATEGY

n July 2 the Jaffee Center launched its new Information Strategy program designed to examine Israel's information doctrine and recommend ways of improving it. The program is supported with a grant from the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies.

Among its activities, the program will monitor and assess coverage of Israel in the international media; convene public forums with visiting experts; and sponsor brainstorming sessions, simulations, and presentations of case studies. The program will be guided by an interdisciplinary core group of government and defense officials, senior military officers, academicians, journalists, and media professionals. The ultimate goal is to propose a doctrine for managing media-military relations in Israel.

The need for the program has become increasingly apparent over the past two years as the current conflict between Israel and the Palestinians has escalated. In many cases, the role of the media has become a critical factor in the conduct of the war, yet not all of the top echelons of the IDF, Israeli government officials, and Israeli political leadership have fully understood this.

In addition to understanding the mediamilitary dynamic in Israel, the program will examine the experience of others in the field, particularly the United States and Britain, where much thought has gone into understanding media aspects of conflict and public policy since the Gulf War in 1991 and the campaign in the Balkans in the years that followed.

The first foreign expert to take part in the program was Mr. Martin Howard, Director General for Corporate Communications at the UK Ministry of Defense, who was one of the architects of Britain's information strategy in the field of defense.

The program was formally launched on July 2 with the all-day seminar, "Jenin: A Case Study in Israel's Information Strategy." The audience of 170 invited guests included information professionals, senior defense officials, and journalists, as well as junior diplomats and army officers ascending the ranks who will be decision-makers in the future.



The conference was attended by an invited audience of 170 information professionals, defense officials, army officers, and diplomats.

The goal of the seminar was to examine the importance of media considerations in the planning of military operations, particularly in the urban environment of Israel's current confrontation with the Palestinians.

Jenin was chosen as a case study because of the intense negative coverage by the international media, including claims – later proved groundless – of a massacre. By deconstructing what actually happened in Jenin and understanding why it was reported in the way it was, it was hoped that conclusions would be drawn both individually and institutionally by the participants.

An internal 11-point document summarizing the seminar and its main conclusions was sent to key decision makers in the government and the defense establishment. Some of the points made in the document were raised by Lt.-Gen. Moshe Ya'alon in his opening speech to the General Staff soon after

his appointment as Chief of Staff in July 2002, in which he stressed the importance of understanding the media in the context of Israel's current and ongoing conflict.

he next phase of the program is a series of brainstorming sessions devoted to understanding Israel's current information strategy, learning what others in the world have done in this regard, and continuing to analyze specific situations in order to draw operational, tactical, and strategic conclusions from them.

The program director is JCSS Senior Research Associate Hirsh Goodman, who was a Vice President of the Jerusalem Post (until 2000), founder (in 1990) of The Jerusalem Report, and a Strategic Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He is assisted by Jonathan Cummings, a research assistant at JCSS.

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# CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

n April 26-28, the Jaffee Center and Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs held a joint conference on "Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution in the Middle East."

It was held at the Airlie Conference Center in Warrenton, Virginia with the participation of scholars from both institutions as well as experts visiting from Egypt, Jordan, and the Palestinian Authority.

This meeting took place outside of the framework of the US-Israel strategic dialogue and was co-sponsored by the two institutions, with the help of a special grant from the Ford Foundation.

The conference was largely devoted to attempting to effect "positive thinking" – trying to draw a realistic policy roadmap that could lead the sides to reduce the intensity of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, if not resolve it altogether.

It was generally agreed that for any real movement to occur, there was a need for reform within the Palestinian Authority, a change in Palestinian leadership, more energetic and imaginative leadership from the United States, and greater flexibility from the Sharon Government.

While devoted primarily to various aspects of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, the participants also discussed regional issues and the role of Arab states in conflict resolution; what the Middle East policy of the US Administration should be; Hizbollah, Lebanon, and Syria; fighting terrorism; and the implications of a US strike on Iraq. Each subject was introduced by one or more prepared papers, followed by intensive discussion.

The meeting was attended by over 50 participants, including a number of members of the Jaffee Center's International Board.



The Annual "State of the Nation" Conference in memory of Aharon "Arale" Yariv, founder of Jacapacity audience. Among the speakers were Maj. Gen. Amos Gilad, Coordinator of Gover who spoke on the crisis with the Palestinians; Prof. Haim Ben-Shachar, who lectured on the Miltary Intelligence Maj. Gen. Aharon Zeevi, who ended the conference with an analysis of Is

# JCSS STRATEGIC DIA

#### **CHINA**



In October 2001 a senior delegation from the Chinese Institute for International and Strategic Studies visited the Jaffee Center as part of the ongoing dialogue between the two institutions. The delegation was headed by

Zhan Shiliang, a former Chinese ambassador to Cairo and Damascus who was on his first visit to Israel. Other members included Zhou Aiqin, the former Chinese military attaché to Poland and Russia, Wang Shixi, the former Chinese military attaché to Bangladesh and Sudan, and Li Jun, an expert on East-West relations. All are now senior fellows at CIISS.

In addition to holding extensive discussions with their counterparts from the Jaffee Center on issues pertaining to the Middle East and Chinese Middle East policy, the delegation visited Jerusalem, Haifa, the Galilee, and the Golan Heights. They were also hosted by the Chinese military attaché in Israel, Senior Colonel Luo Zongwu, and held discussions with officials from the Israeli foreign and defense ministries who co-hosted the delegation.

#### **US**



The fourth US-Israel dialogue on Middle East Security was held on November 30 – December 2, 2001 in Airlie Center, Virginia. The dialogue series is cosponsored by the Jaffee Center and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard

University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. The fourth meeting was held in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks, and as the Palestinian-Israeli violence that erupted in September 2000 entered its fifteenth month. The dialogue was supported with grants from the Goldberg Family Foundation and the Wallis Foundation, and arranged with the assistance of Jeffrey Glassman, a member of the Jaffee Center's International Board.

Some 14 Israeli and 19 American scholars, present and former practitioners, and business people took part in the dialogue. The discussions focused on the changes in the Middle East security environment resulting from the continuing Palestinian-Israeli violence and the September 11 attacks, and on the effects of these developments on US foreign and defense policy in the Middle East, as well as on bilateral US-Israeli relations.



Aharon "Arale" Yariv, founder of JCSS, was held on May 23rd before Amos Gilad, Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories, Ben-Shachar, who lectured on the Israeli economy; and Director of e conference with an analysis of Israel's strategic environment.

### WORKSHOP IN MEMORY OF YESHAYAHU (ISHI) LAVI

n March 19, 2002, the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies hosted a workshop entitled "Technology and National Power" marking the tenth anniversary of the death of Yeshayahu (Ishi) Lavi.

Lavi was one of the pioneers and founders of the Israeli telecommunications industry, specializing in the defense aspects of technology.

Lavi served the state in a number of roles as the IDF's Chief Communications and Electronics Officer, Director-General of the Ministry of Posts, Director-General of RAFAEL, the Israeli Weapons Development Authority, and Director-General of

the Ministry of Defense. Ishi Lavi was an Israel Defense Prize Laureate.

The keynote speaker was Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Shimon Peres. A roundtable discussion on the subject of "Technology - Promises and Constraints" featured one of Lavi's successors, Maj-Gen (Ret'd) Amos Yaron, current Director-General of the Ministry of



Keynote speaker Foreign Minister Shimon Peres with Tel Aviv University President Prof. Itamar Rabinovich

Defense, along with Ami Arel, the Chairman of the Board of the Electronics and Information Industry Association.

## EGIC DIALOGUES

#### **GERMANY**



The fourth annual dialogue between the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies and the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik

(SWP) took place in June 2002 in Berlin.

Five members of the Jaffee Center's staff were joined by Ehud Ya'ari, Middle East Commentator for Channel 2 News, and spent three days discussing the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians.

Discussions also included an evaluation of US and European policies towards the Middle East, the implications of a US strike on Iraq, and the current state of German-Israeli relations.

#### **KOREA**



In February 2002, the Center held a week long dialogue with colleagues from the Korean Institute of Defense Analysis (KIDA), a branch of the Ministry of Defense of South Korea. This was the

first strategic dialogue held by the two institutes. Four senior members of the Jaffee Center's staff, headed by Deputy Director Dr. Ephraim Kam, traveled to Seoul for the meeting.

The discussions included a strategic evaluation of relations on the Korean peninsula and the threat of weapons of mass destruction, the current state of the Middle East peace process, US policy after the September 11th attacks, and defense cooperation between Korea and Israel. The delegation also visited the Korean Defense Development Agency. The next meeting in the framework of the dialogue is scheduled to take place in Israel in the spring of 2003.

### **S**EARCH FOR

#### COMMON GROUND:

John Marks and Susan Collin Marks of Search for Common Ground met with the staff of the Jaffee Center on August 1 2002. Established 20 years ago, Search for Common Ground is now the largest and longest established NGO in the field of conflict resolution and prevention and has offices in 13 countries around the world. John and Susan have recently relocated to Jerusalem to oversee the efforts of the organization in the Middle East. ■

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# CORDESMAN UPDATE ON CURRENT US DEFENSE THINKING

nthony H. Cordesman, Arleigh Burke Chair in Strategy at the Washington D.C.-based Center for Strategic and International Studies, visited the Jaffee Center on May 21, 2002 in order to update the Center's staff on the changes in US strategy and defense planning.

As part of an evolving effort that will stretch over the next two decades, the United States is involved in a major revaluation of its defense planning. Two major studies, the Force Transformation Study and the Nuclear Posture



Review, together with the 2001 Quadrennial Defense Review, will shape the future defense plans of the United States.

Professor Cordesman stressed that the process of change depends on human factors such as organization, training, and education as much as it does on procurement of new weapons systems. In fact, he argued, existing "legacy" systems will largely remain in use, although in different roles. However, it will be changes in organizational culture that may prove critical in meeting the challenges of defense planning.

# GENERAL SIR RUPERT SMITH, FORMER DEPUTY SUPREME COMMANDER, ALLIED POWERS EUROPE, VISITS THE JAFFEE CENTER IN JULY 2002



General Sir Rupert Smith (left) and JCSS Head Prof. Shai Feldman at Sir Rupert's briefing

eneral Sir Rupert Smith, the recently retired Deputy Supreme Commander of Allied Powers Europe, visited the Jaffee Center on July 30, 2002. In the final posting of a forty year career, General Smith's time at Supreme Allied Headquarters Europe included commanding NATO's Balkan operations and overseeing the development of the European Defense and Security Identity.

Speaking to the Center's staff and invited guests, he discussed five characteristics of modern warfare. First, in using military power, "deployment is strategic, use of force is tactical" and the aim of achieving victory through the destruction of the opposing force has been replaced by the desire to establish a new "condition," generally peace and stability, that can be maintained without further intervention.

Second, conflict increasingly takes place among the people. Modern communications means that there are "no dark places on the earth" and commanders have to be aware of, and develop responses to, the highly visible nature of their operations. This is particularly true in fighting in the midst of large non-combatant populations.

Third, General Smith suggested, operations are timeless. Modern warfare is increasingly aimed at creating a new condition rather than a definitive result, such as surrender of the enemy. Such a result is harder to verify and may require an open-ended period of deployment and monitoring.

ourth, military force is increasingly used "on the understanding that it will not be lost." This goes further than the commander's desire to keep his troops alive. In modern armies, troops are often "borrowed" from the national economy in times of crisis. This is particularly true when economies are no longer geared up to produce fighting troops or materiel in large quantities. Further, complex and evolving coalition operations, such as the NATO operations in the Balkans, make it difficult to present to domestic audiences a readily understandable justification for committing troops to combat.

Finally, suggested General Smith, modern warfare requires the difficult task of fitting existing materiel, including human resources, into new scenarios.

# ISRAEL DEFENSE PRIZE FOR JCSS SENIOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATE BRIG-GEN (RET'D) UZI EILAM FOR LIFETIME CONTRIBUTION TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY

n June 2002, Brig-Gen (Ret'd) Uzi Eilam, currently a Senior Research Fellow at the Jaffee Center, was awarded the Israel Defense Prize for lifetime achievement. The ceremony took place at the President's Residence and was attended by President Moshe Katsav, Minister of Defense Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, Director General of the Ministry of Defense Amos Yaron, and then Chief of the IDF General Staff Lt-Gen Shaul Mofaz.

Eilam was awarded the prize for his work in developing the research and development policy of Israel's defense establishment. The citation noted "his work in the IDF weapons development sphere as Head of Research and Development, as Chairman of the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission, and as Chief Scientist and Head of Research and Development at the Ministry of Defense, which were a central contribution to



Israel's achievements in the field of defense research and development."

The prize committee, headed by former

IDF Chief of Staff Lt-Gen (Ret'd) Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, cited a number of projects developed under Eilam's leadership, including the Python 4 air-to-air missile, the Popeye air-to-surface missile, the Barak naval missile, the Ofek satellite initiative, the Arrow missile, and the Homa anti-surface-to-surface missile protection program.

The committee also noted that Eilam had paid great attention to the development of "human capital" and cited his decision to establish the Talpiot program that identifies young talent in computer sciences and mathematics and trains them for military duty.

Eilam, who joined the Jaffee Center in February 2002 after completing a term as the Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Defense Mission to Europe, is an expert in European-Middle Eastern relations in the defense sphere.

#### NEW FACES AT THE JAFFEE CENTER



#### Dr. Ephraim Asculai, Research Associate

r. Ephraim Asculai worked for the Israel Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC) for over 40 years. In 1986, he was appointed to the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, and worked on issues of radiation protection of the public. In 1990-1991 he served

as the Scientific Secretary of the International Chernobyl Project. In 1992 he returned to Israel and participated in the Geneva deliberations leading to the conclusion of the Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), and following its approval, its verification mechanism. His final post was as Director of External Relations at the IAEC.

During 2000-2001 Dr. Asculai spent his sabbatical leave as a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS) in Washington, D.C., which culminated with the publication of his book *Verification Revisited:The Nuclear Case.* 

Dr. Asculai retired from the civil service in 2001. In 2002 he joined the JCSS as a Research Associate and is working on issues related to the proliferation and control of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East.

#### PROF. MAJ-GEN (RET'D) ISAAC BEN-ISRAEL, RESEARCH ASSOCIATE

aj-Gen (Ret'd) Prof. Isaac Ben-Israel served in a number of roles in the operations, intelligence, and research and development fields in the Israeli Air Force. In 1990, he was appointed head of IDF Research and Development, and in 1998 as Director of the Technology Warfare Development Division at the Ministry of Defense.

Prof. Ben-Israel has been awarded the Israel Defense Prize twice, in 1972 for his work on ord-

nance systems for the F-4 Phantom, and in 2001 for his work on the future battlefield. He was also awarded the IAF Prize in 1976 for work on developing computerized command and control systems.

Isaac Ben-Israel sits on the board of Israel Aircraft Industries, the Fisher Institute for Air and Space Strategic Studies, the advisory board of the Samuel Neeman Institute at the Technion, and the management team at the Interdisciplinary Center for Technology Analysis and Forecasting at Tel Aviv University, and is a member of the Council of the Israeli Space Agency. He has published two books, *Dialogues on Science and Intelligence* (Maarachot, 1989) and *The Philosophy of Intelligence* (Laor, 2001), as well as numerous papers and articles on various aspects of intelligence and national security.

In addition to his appointment as Research Associate at JCSS, Prof. Ben-Israel has joined the teaching staff of the Department of Philosophy and of the School of Government and Policy's Security Studies Program at Tel Aviv University.



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#### **NEW JCSS Publications**

#### THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN-ISRAELI ALLIANCE

John F. Kennedy and the Politics of Arms Sales to Israel, Abraham Ben-Zvi (London: Frank Cass, 2002)

ohn F. Kennedy and the Politics of Arms

Sales to Israel focuses on the decision to sell the Hawk missile to Israel. Drawing on documents from the Kennedy Presidential Library and the Israel State Archives, many of which have only recently been declassified, Professor Ben-Zvi studies the evolution of the American-Israeli alliance. In a challenge to existing scholarship, Ben-Zvi asserts that the real watershed in the relations between the two countries

was not marked by the June 1967 Six-Day War, as many commentators have concluded. In fact, the change came some five years earlier. It was President John F. Kennedy's decision to sell Israel the Hawk short-range anti-aircraft missile system that "can in retrospect be seen as crossing the Rubicon," argues Ben-Zvi. Once the

precedent of selling advanced weapons systems to Israel had been established, it was easier for future administrations to supply the sophisticated weapons that Israel used to such dramatic effect in the

war that followed.

Abraham Ben-Zvi is a professor in the Department of Political Science at Tel Aviv University, Senior Research Fellow at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, and head of the Security Studies program at Tel Aviv University. His research seeks to elucidate various facets of American policy in the Middle East, particularly those pertaining to the formation and dynamics of the

American-Israeli alliance. Among his books are: The United States and Israel: The Limits of the Special Relationship (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993) and Decade of Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy and the Origins of the American-Israeli Alliance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).



#### Memorandum No. 61 – Israeli Public Opinion on National Security, 2002, Prof. Asher Arian

n July 2002 the Center published the results of its annual poll on public opinion and national security, conducted by Professor Asher Arian (*Israeli Public Opinion on National Security 2002*, Memorandum No. 61).

Results of the 2002 poll indicated that Israeli public opinion continued to shift to the right, as the terror campaign waged by the Palestinians since September 2000 escalated. Israelis were worried to an unprecedented degree both about their personal security and about the state of Israel's national security, with 92 percent of the respondents expressing fear that they or a member of their family would fall victim to a terrorist attack.

Both a perceived threat of war and anxiety about the ultimate aspirations of the

Arabs reached record high levels. At the same time, there was skepticism as to people's willingness to make sacrifices commensurate with the problems facing the country.

Fifty-seven percent opposed the renewal of negotiations with Yasser Arafat and supported expelling him from the territories, while 17 percent supported the renewal of negotiations with him and opposed expelling him from the territories.

The poll was conducted in the framework of the Jaffee Center's National Security and Public Opinion Project, initiated in 1984. This year's survey was conducted between January 29 and February 27, 2002 with a sample size of 1,264 adult Jewish citizens of Israel. The project is directed by Asher Arian, Professor of Political Science at the University of Haifa and Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

#### KEEP INFORMED



el Aviv Notes was established at the initiative of the President of Tel Aviv University in late 2000. Since then, almost fifty editions have been published. A joint publication of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies and the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv Notes is edited by Mark A. Heller of the Jaffee Center. It draws on the expertise of analysts in the two centers and, on occasion, of outside scholars, to provide periodic updates on political and strategic affairs in the Middle East. Tel Aviv Notes is concise at about 1000 words and is distributed by fax and e-mail.



trategic Assessment, initiated in 1998, is a quarterly, usually comprised of four to six articles, each no longer than five pages, which address subjects related to Israeli security. Strategic Assessment is published in Hebrew and English and is available in English at the Center's site www.tau.ac.il/jcss/sa/index.html

#### LEADERSHIP Briefing

eadership Briefing is a monthly analysis of current events in the Middle East. It is prepared for the United Jewish Communities: The Federations of North America by the Jaffee Center, and is devised to give international Jewish leadership a wider perspective of developments than that available from the daily media. The document is a team effort, incorporating the cumulative knowledge of the Center's senior staff in their analysis of the month's key issues.

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