

JCSS

BULLETIN

JAFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES



(l. to r.) Maj. Gen. Yom Tov Samia, Head of the IDF's Southern Command, Henny Justman, representative of the Tshetshik family, Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS

A Call for Updating Israel's National Security Concept

The 1998 Tshetshik Prize for Strategic Studies on Israel's Security was awarded to Maj. Gen. Yom Tov Samia (Head of the IDF's Southern Command) for his research on "The IDF Field Unit's Organizational Climate."

At the award ceremony, Maj. Gen. Matan Vilna'i delivered the keynote address, focusing on Israel's "security concept" towards the 21st century. Vilna'i recently retired from the IDF after a long and distinguished career that included three years as Deputy Chief of Staff. In his speech, Vilna'i emphasized that the Israeli Defense

Forces lack a written military doctrine. He stressed the need to update Israel's national security doctrine and pointed out that such an update has not been conducted despite the many dramatic changes that have occurred in Israel's threat environment over the years. He warned that "without clear rules formulated in the language we [the military] share with the political echelon, we will wander off in disparate directions."

Vilna'i also criticized the tendency of the political establishment to approve military budget cuts as a result of the peace process. He stressed that

while the peace process may postpone threats, it does not eliminate them. He stated that the success of the Middle East peace process relies entirely on the strength of the IDF. Vilna'i also warned that while in the past the IDF was qualitatively superior to the armies of Israel's Arab adversaries, today a decisive Israeli victory in the battlefield is not automatically ensured. He also mentioned that despite the fact that terror does not pose an immediate threat to the existence of the State of Israel, it does endanger individual citizens, and may become a strategic threat should it hold up the peace process. Vilna'i characterized Israel's

reactions to terrorism as "problematic," and expressed his regret that the Israeli society does not react to acts of terror as a strong society should.



Maj. Gen. (res.) Matan Vilna'i, former Deputy Chief of Staff of the IDF, delivers the keynote address at the ceremony awarding the Tshetshik Prize for Strategic Studies.

Inaugurating a new JCSS publication

Strategic Assessment

<http://www.tau.ac.il/jcss/quarterly.html>

In April, the first issue of the new JCSS publication, *Strategic Assessment*, was published in Hebrew and English simultaneously. Its full text was also placed on the JCSS website.

Strategic Assessment is published in the framework of the Jaffee Center's new Outreach Program. It is short and concise enough to be read by very busy people- only 16 pages. Each issue is intended to draw attention to 4-5 important issues. Its simultaneous publication in Hebrew and English is conditioned by the fact that it is provided as a service to Israel's policy and opinion making elite as well as the international professional community in defense affairs.

The first issue included articles on the strategic significance of Russia's efforts to reclaim a significant role in the Middle East, Israel's nuclear policy, the relationship between the American

Jewish community and Israel, and Islamic terrorism in Egypt. Two significant developments of recent months provided the backdrop for two of the articles in the second issue published in July - the Iraqi crisis of January-February 1998, and the nuclear testing in South Asia. The article on the Iraqi crisis focused on the lessons for Israel, while the one on the nuclear tests assessed the implications of these tests for the Middle East. The second issue also included assessments of terrorist-related developments on the dynamics of confidence-destruction in Israeli-Palestinian relations, and the extent of the "information revolution" in the Middle East.

The third issue, published in November, includes an assessment of the threat posed by Iran, an evaluation of the trends in oil production in the

Middle East, an analysis of the pros and cons of concluding a defense treaty between the U.S. and Israel, and an account of Israeli public opinion on issues related to Israel's nuclear policy.

Reactions to *Strategic Assessment* have been very favorable. Thus, Royal United Services Institute for Defense Studies (London) reprinted Emily Landau's "Change in Israeli Nuclear Policy?" (April 1998) in its *Newsbrief* (18:6, June 1998).



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

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Syrkin Lecture Series

Airpower on the Eve of the 21st Century

Maj. Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliyahu, Commander of the Israeli Air Force, was this year's speaker at the memorial gathering held in honor of the late Col. Simon Syrkin. Speaking on airpower on the eve of the 21st century, Ben Eliyahu referred first to the deep changes that the US introduced into its security doctrine after the breakdown of the Soviet Union. He elaborated on the function of US air power in the Gulf War, where real-time target intelligence played a crucial role.

Ben-Eliyahu stated that the most important change that has taken place in the Middle East strategic environment is the growing threat posed by ballistic missiles to Israel's home front. Hostile states such as Syria, Iran and Iraq are well on their way to acquiring new and improved ballistic missile capabilities. The range of these missiles will be greater, and will enable reaching Israel if launched from Northern Syria or Central Iraq. Hence, Israel must prepare itself to absorb missile attacks on its home front in the event that another war breaks out in the Middle



Maj. Gen. Eitan Ben-Eliyahu, Commander of the Israeli Air Force.

East. In order to meet this challenge, Israel must acquire the means for both passive and active defense, including the Arrow missile system.

Also, Ben-Eliyahu stated that the Israeli Air Force must adjust its structure to the new global and regional circumstances, and achieve the technological flexibility and capacity for immediate response. In order to do so, Israel is presently engaged in the development of advanced space technologies, as well as of methods and devices to obtain real time intelligence.

JCSS Board Convenes



JCSS Israeli Board of Trustees and Academic Advisory Committee convened on June for a joint session. At center, Israeli Board Chairman Mr. Melvin (Mel) Jaffee with TAU President, Yoram Dinstein.

NEW JCSS BOOK

Decade of Transition: Eisenhower, Kennedy, and the Origins of the American- Israeli Alliance

by **Abraham Ben-Zvi**

(Columbia University Press, 1998).

How did the close cooperation between the United States and Israel evolve? Did the Kennedy Administration represent a radical departure from Eisenhower's policies in the region as previously believed? Or did Ike lay the groundwork for the relationship that became a cornerstone of US foreign policy in the second half of the twentieth century? In this new book, resulting from extensive research conducted under the auspices of the Jaffee Center, Abraham Ben-Zvi provides a significant reevaluation of the nature and origins of the American-Israeli alliance and the shaping of the modern Middle East.

Challenges to Global a



(l. to r.) Ashton Carter, Harvard University, Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS, and Amb. Robert Blackwill, Harvard University.

A successful and timely international conference on *Challenges to Global and Middle East Security* was organized by the Jaffee Center and co-sponsored by the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs (BCSIA) at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. During the two days of the conference, held on June 15-16, 1998 at the Dan Accadia Hotel in Herzelia,

threats to global and Middle East security and ways of addressing these threats. The conference was attended by members of Israel's defense and intelligence communities as well as by scholars and journalists. It attracted much interest from the Israeli media who followed it closely, and significant coverage was awarded to several key issues addressed by the experts.

The opening session presented an overview of the major challenges to global security from four different perspectives — American, Russian, Western European and South Asian. **Graham Allison** (Director of BCSIA) stated that Russia should be our major concern in the post-Cold War era. The dissolution of the USSR has resulted in the erosion of the institutions that formerly controlled the country's weapons of mass destruction (WMD) arsenals, creating the problem of "loose nukes." According to Allison, the number one security challenge is how to handle the problem of nuclear "leakage" — stealing and selling of non-conventional materials — to rogue states and terrorist groups. **Andrei Volodine** (Moscow Public Science

Foundation) emphasized that Russian policy at the regional level aims to maintain stability and strengthen Russia's position vis-a-vis regimes that it perceives as crucial to its interests. Russian technology transfers are aimed at achieving this objective. **Vladimir Orlov** (PIR Center, Moscow) added that Russia is not the only potential source of nuclear proliferation. He stressed that problems of nuclear leakage to the Middle East exist from Western states as well.

A West European perspective was presented by **John Chipman** (Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)), who argued that the managing of global security today often entails intervening in the domestic politics of other countries. This is complicated by the "law of asymmetric interests," which relates to situations in which the willingness of a state to devote energy in pursuit of its interests is greater than the energy other states are willing to invest in frustrating these pursuits. As long as the US is left alone to manage global affairs, the effects of this law are more extensive. Therefore one should hope for greater European involvement in maintaining global security.



(l. to r.) Andrei Volodine, Moscow Public Science Foundation, and Shekar Gupta, India Express, New Delhi.

internationally noted scholars and experts from the US, Russia, the UK, India, Egypt and Israel debated the



Graham Allison, Director of BCSIA, speaking at the opening session.

CONFERENCE

d Middle East Security

Since the conference took place several weeks after the nuclear tests carried out in India and Pakistan, **Shekar Gupta's** (*India Express*) presentation specifically focused on the situation in South Asia. In his view, India strives to gain respect as a responsible nuclear power, and if the India-Pakistan dialogue is renewed, nuclear stability can still prevail in South Asia, even after the tests.

The afternoon session was devoted to the specific threats of nuclear anarchy, nuclear, biological and chemical (NBC) terrorism, and preventive defense. **Steven Miller** (Harvard University) pointed out that the acquisition of fissile material is the greatest obstacle for the attainment of nuclear weapons. Due to the large amounts of unsafeguarded fissile material in Russia, the problem of "loose nukes" is particularly acute. **Vladimir Orlov** agreed with Miller that there is a serious danger of nuclear leakage from Russia. He emphasized, however, that the problem is not lack of regulation — since Russia has improved its legal and export controls — but rather the failure to enforce them. Russia has enormous budgetary problems and is in dire need of resources with which to finance the physical protection of its nuclear facilities.

Richard Falkenrath (Harvard University) presented his views on NBC terrorism, relating both to the threat and to possible responses. He characterized NBC terrorism as a high consequence/low probability problem — it causes concern due to the high consequences associated with this threat, even though there is a low probability that this type of terrorism will be carried out. Since even a single attack using NBC weapons could have very profound consequences, there is a need for a long-term program in the

US to develop the operational capabilities to reduce the potential damage from such an attack.

Ashton Carter (Harvard University) presented a new strategy for post-Cold War US security policy. Today, the US faces no major security threat to its survival — nothing on its "A" list of threats. Its major objective is to prolong this situation for as long

as possible — to prevent "B" and "C" list threats from reaching the "A" list. The "preventive defense" strategy is meant to achieve this objective by pulling back from deterrence to *prevention*. The purpose is to identify problems — such as Russia as a possible source of WMD; the potential for NBC terrorism; and the global roles of Russia and China - and to address



(l. to r.) Ephraim Kam, JCSS and Geoffrey Kemp, The Nixon Center.



Gideon Frank, Director-General of the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission, addresses an evening session with conference participants from abroad.

them before they become a serious threat to the US.

The second day of the conference was devoted to perspectives on the Middle East. **Mark Heller** (JCSS) presented his views on the Middle East peace process, and explained why

claims regarding the death of the process are exaggerated. He argued that the policy implications entailed in pronouncing the process dead prevent leaders from doing so. Abandoning the process would raise the question of "what now?" — an issue neither side

wants to confront. **Itamar Rabinovich** (Tel Aviv University) spoke on "The Middle East: The Search for New Patterns," elaborating on the lack of governing principles that could provide order in the contemporary Middle East. He focused on Arab-Israeli negotiations, stating that aside from attempting to reach an agreement, the negotiations provide a means for dialogue management. For example, one important result of renewing negotiations with Syria could be the opportunity to discuss Israel's relations with Turkey.

On the question of "Iran as a Strategic Challenge," **Ephraim Kam** (JCSS) emphasized that the main Iranian threat is in the non-conventional realm — the combination of nuclear development with programs for long-range ballistic missiles, particularly the Shihab 3. While presenting a conservative view regarding the extent of the Iranian threat, Kam maintained that developments must be continually monitored over time. **Geoffrey Kemp** (Nixon Center), focused on the effectiveness of US policy towards Iran. Regarding assessments that dual containment is dead, he argued that one must distinguish between the different spheres: in the military and economic fields containment has been somewhat successful; in the political realm, however, the policy has failed. Kemp emphasized the importance of the energy issue; he maintained that improving relations with Iran should be of very high priority for the US, so that Iran does not interfere with US plans in the energy realm.

The afternoon session focused on the means of responding to threats in the Middle East. The first two presentations dealt with US responses. **Robert Blackwill** (Harvard University) pointed out that the US has three vital interests in the Persian Gulf: securing the energy flow; stemming the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and promoting the safety and security of Israel. He emphasized the importance of keeping these interests in mind when responding to the threats emanating from the region,

Meeting with Prime Minister Netanyahu

Following the conference, Maj. Gen. (res.) David Ivri, senior advisor on Strategic Affairs to the Minister of Defense, held a breakfast meeting with the conference guest speakers. Gen. Ivry surveyed the various strategic challenges facing Israel, and described the best ways of addressing them. He emphasized the growing threat of ballistic missile proliferation in the Middle East and the need to explore the possibility of destroying these missiles immediately after their launching (BPI – 'Boost Phase Interception').

Later that day, two mini-conferences were held for the benefit of Israel's top decision makers in defense affairs: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his senior advisors, and the top echelon of the

Ministry of Defense, headed by Director-General, Maj. Gen. (res.) Ilan Biran. The two meetings allowed the Prime Minister and General Biran to ascertain the main issues raised at the conference and to ask the experts questions.

In both meetings, discussions focused on the strategic challenges posed by Iran, the proliferation of threats emanating from Russia and the smaller republics of the CIS, and the best ways of reducing these threats. The two mini-conferences provided further demonstrations of the Jaffee Center's efforts to contribute to policy formation by compressing professional expertise into venues that accommodate the busy schedules of Israel's top defense leaders.



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu meets with conference speakers. In photo, with former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense, John White.

specifically the ambitions of Iran and Iraq, the threat of fundamentalist Islam, and the stalemate in the Arab-Israeli peace process. He also reviewed the measure of success that the US has met with in dealing with its operational objectives in the Middle East. **John White** (Harvard University), in his presentation on "Tailoring Forces to Threats: Roles and Missions," discussed the challenge faced by US military forces — how to change successful institutions that are no longer suitable for the post-Cold War military and budgetary considerations. This involves adjusting operations to the world as we live in it today; modernizing forces for the unknown future; and making institutions more adaptive and responsive than in the Cold War.

The final session of the conference was devoted to Israeli and Arab perspectives on the security dilemmas and challenges facing Israel and the Arab states. **Shimon Naveh** (Tel Aviv University) argued that from a systemic

or operational perspective, the current problems of Israel's security policy derive primarily from an incoherence in the structure of its strategy. Naveh highlighted the uniqueness of the operational art and emphasized that unless Israel cultivates an appropriate intellectual environment or a "scientific regime," it will not be able to approach the strategic dilemmas it faces, to examine them critically, and to work out a coherent solution. **Shai Feldman** (Head of JCSS) outlined the two levels of security in Israeli defense policy: the level of "current security" or Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) which refers to the day-to-day security problems, and the level of "basic security" that involves the threats posed by the conventional armed forces of states. While at the LIC level Israel once faced primarily the threat of politically motivated terrorism, it now increasingly confronts religiously motivated terrorism. With the exception of Syria, Israel's immediate neighbors no longer pose a basic

security problem. However, increasingly such a problem is posed by the "over the horizon" states: Iraq and Iran.

Moukhtar El-Fayoumi (National Center for Middle East Studies, Cairo) elaborated upon Egypt's perception of the challenges to Middle East security. El-Fayoumi stated that the most important regional challenge is the military capabilities which are being built up; Egypt is particularly concerned by the threat posed by Israel's nuclear weapons. The only way to address these problems is to resume the arms control and regional security (ACRS) dialogue, which should emphasize the risks of WMD proliferation in the region, and should include Syria and Iran, among other countries.

Graham Allison and Shai Feldman summarized the conference, both stressing the importance of devoting comprehensive thought to the security challenges outstanding on the eve of the 21 century.

Jaffee Center Celebrates 20th Anniversary



(l. to r.) Ambassador of Egypt, Mohammad Bassiouni, Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS, and General (ret.) Moukhtar El-Fayoumi, National Center for Middle East Studies, Cairo.

On June 14, a gala dinner was held to celebrate the 20th Anniversary of the Jaffee Center. Nechama and Safi Yariv, widow and son of the Center's founder, Maj. Gen. (res.) Aharon ('Ahra'le') Yariv, attended the dinner. Also present was the top echelon of

Israel's defense community, including the Head of Mossad, Ephraim Halevi; Foreign Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Netanyahu, Uzi Arad; the IDF's Deputy Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. Uzi Dayan; Head of the IDF's Planning Division, Maj. Gen. Shlomo Yanai; Head of the IDF's Logistics and Technology Division, Maj. Gen. Aharon (Farkash) Zeevi; the Commander of the IDF's Training and Doctrine, Maj. Gen. Doron Almog; and, the Assistant Head of Military Intelligence, Brig. Gen. Amos Gilad. The dinner also celebrated the opening of the conference on "Challenges to Global and Middle East Security," jointly held with Harvard University (see separate item).

Shai Feldman, Head of Center, opened the dinner

recalling the Center's establishment, when in late 1977 he was the first researcher recruited to help prepare for launching its operations. He noted the Center's renewed commitment to the two purposes that guided its founding: to conduct basic research in security affairs that would meet the



(l. to r.) Shabtai Shavit, former Head of the Mossad, Ephraim Halevi, Head of the Mossad, Maj. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Gazit, JCSS.



(l. to r.) Dr. Mark Heller, JCSS, Prof. Ariel Merari, TAU, and Prof. Richard Herrmann, Mershon Center.



Mrs. Raya Jaffee, a member of the Center's Board of Trustees, TAU Vice President, Yehiel Ben-Zvi, and former TAU President, Prof. Haim Ben Shahr.

highest academic standards and to affect the public and governmental debate on issues that are — or should be — at the top of Israel's national security agenda.

Maj. Gen. Uzi Dayan, the IDF's Deputy Chief of Staff, recalled his positive experience as a Visiting Fellow at the Jaffee Center (1981-1982). He emphasized the importance of subjecting national policy to review and deliberation by a research institute that is less exposed to the day-to-day pressures experienced by governmental bureaucracies.

Haim Ben Shahr, Professor of Business Administration, who served as President of Tel Aviv University when the Jaffee Center was established, also paid tribute to the Center's achievements. He expressed satisfaction that

the Center has met the objectives aspired by its creators: to become Israel's preeminent research institute in security affairs and to serve as the country's "strategic watchdog."

Mrs. Raya Jaffee, a member of the Center's Board of Trustees and wife of the Board's Chairman, Melvin (Mel) Jaffee, paid special tribute to the Center's founder, Maj. Gen. Aharon ('Ahra'le') Yariv. She noted Yariv's unique personality and emphasized the close relationship that she and her husband enjoyed with 'Ahra'le' and expressed her sorrow that he was no longer with us, to enjoy the Center's success.

Guest lecturers at the dinner were Graham Allison, Director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and Ashton Carter, Ford Professor at Harvard University and a former Assistant Secretary of Defense. Allison and Carter provided a synopsis of the talks they later delivered at the JCSS-BCSIA joint conference (see separate item), focusing on the strategic challenge posed by Russia and the need to adopt "preventive defense" measures to address this and other post-Cold War challenges.



(l. to r.) Maj. Gen. Uzi Dayan, IDF Deputy Chief of Staff, Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS, Maj. Gen. (res.) Israel Tal, Special Assistant to the Minister of Defense, and Maj. Gen. (res.) Meir Amit, former Head of the Mossad.

TRACKING NEW GROUND

Unofficial (Track II) Dialogues On Middle East Arms Control and Regional Security



Tamar Malz and Emily Landau

Interest in unofficial modes of international diplomacy has gained momentum in recent years, within both academic and policy-making circles. Recently, Track II dialogue has become one of the most intriguing forms of unofficial attempts to help resolve international conflicts. The Jaffee Center, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, is in the final stages of compiling a comprehensive database on Track II activity on arms control and regional security in the Middle East. The project is led by Emily Landau, and assisted by Tamar Malz.

The Track II database focuses on the many and varied unofficial conferences, seminars and workshops that have dealt with the prospects of arms control and regional security in the Middle East. These meetings, organized by non-government organizations, and often including the participation of officials in a non-official capacity, range from academic conferences to more focused and long-term working groups. The feature common to all these meetings is that they join together Israeli and Arab participants, and seek to promote better understanding of the notions of arms control and regional security, as well as their role in easing tensions in the Middle East. Track II meetings enable in-depth discussion in informal

and non-binding settings. They not only allow the participants to gain a deeper understanding of the complexities of the issues involved, but encourage them to explore innovative ideas, and establish channels of communication in a relatively relaxed environment. Understanding if and how these unofficial meetings may help facilitate official negotiations is very important. The first step toward such an assessment is to ascertain the scope and content of the initiatives that have already taken place.

The JCSS Track II database is designed to provide a unique source of information on these conferences. The data-base includes basic information on each Track II meeting held since the early 1990s: the stated goals of the organizers; summaries of the meetings (when available); and information regarding structural aspects of the various meetings — including information about the participants, and details regarding the frequency of meetings, and their continuity over time. Information is organized in a manner that allows users to quickly review the range of initiatives included in the database, as well as to conduct more detailed cross searches for specific research purposes.

This database is expected to support research on Track II diplomacy, including the relations between these activities and the official Arms Control and Regional Security (ACRS) working group which was active in the years 1992-95 within the framework of the Middle East multilateral peace talks.

In April, Egypt's Foreign Minister Amr Moussa invited Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS, for a private meeting in Cairo.

Their discussion focused on the Arab-Israeli peace process and the prospects for arms control in the Middle East.



Information Technology Forum

Launched

In March 1998, the JCSS Forum on the Information Era was inaugurated by Israel's Minister of Science, Michael Eitan. The Forum explores the possibilities for enhancing Israel's national security, as well as examining the new vulnerabilities entailed in Israel's transformation to an information and communication-based society and the manner in which these vulnerabilities might be reduced. Meetings held to date focused on a variety of issues relating

to Israel's national security needs in the information age. The speakers included Maj. Gen. Dr. Isaac Ben Israel, Directory of the IDF's Defense Research & Development, Prof. Adi Shamir of the Weizmann Institute of Science and a world acclaimed leader in the field of data encryption, and Arie Scope, the Director General of Microsoft, Israel.



Ariel T. Sobelman, director of the JCSS Information Warfare Project, with Minister of Science, Michael Eitan, at the first meeting of the Forum on the Information Era.



Maj. Gen. Isaac Ben-Israel, director of IDF's Defense Research & Development and Adi Shamir, of the Weizmann Institute of Science, both spoke at the first meeting of the Forum.



Nuclear Issues Discussed

Mohamed M. El Baradei, Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in Vienna, visited with a select group of arms control experts at JCSS on June 30th. (l. to r.) Gideon Frank, Director-General of the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission, Mohamed M. El Baradei, and Shai Feldman, Head of JCSS.

NEW MEMORANDA

1 Israeli Public Opinion on National Security

by Asher Arian

This memorandum provides an analysis of the most detailed public opinion survey conducted in Israel on issues related to national defense. The annual survey is conducted in the framework of the Jaffee Center's project on National Security and Public Opinion. The survey was carried out between January 26 and March 9, 1998. Talks between Israel and the Palestinian Authority had broken down. A crisis between the UN inspection team and Iraq was heating up. The US threat of air strikes on Iraq led many Israelis to prepare for a repeat of the 1991 Gulf War and Iraqi SCUD attacks.

The public continued to support peace talks with the Palestinian Authority, but also seemed to have accepted the much slower pace and the more prolonged tactics of the Netanyahu government.

The key findings of the survey include the following:

- * Two thirds felt that the peace process had enhanced feelings of personal security in the country. That rate was about the same under the Netanyahu government compared with the Rabin-Peres period after the signing of the Oslo accords.
- * Support for continuing the peace talks with the Palestinians was very high, but this was accompanied by

a hawkish shift in attitude regarding the contents of the talks. In 1998, 83 percent agreed that talks should continue, down from 89 percent in 1997. At the same time, there was erosion in the willingness to trade land for peace.

- * More than a third (37%) were firmly set against any further pullout from the territories, about a fifth (19%) favored a large "double-digit" pullout, while almost a half (44%) wanted a smaller initial withdrawal of Israeli troops from the territories before the opening of the "final status" talks.
- * A majority (56%) in early 1998 opposed unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon, compared with 59 percent in 1997.
- * In 1998, 92 percent supported the idea that Israel should develop nuclear weapons; most (but at lower rates than in the past) supported keeping those plans secret.



2 Partnership Under Stress: The American Jewish Community and Israel

by Abraham Ben-Zvi

Contrary to its historical role (which became fully evident in the 1970s) of constraining successive administrations and limiting the range of measures contemplated or implemented by the U.S. vis-à-vis Israel, the American Jewish community has become, in recent years, increasingly prepared to criticize and constrain Israeli Governments. It is also increasingly willing to support a more assertive American role in the peace-making process. This process of continued erosion of the core of the special relationship between the Israeli Government and the American Jewish Community has recently accelerated as the result of the conversion law initiative and the continued stalemate in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. This new reality implies that in future confrontations between Washington and Jerusalem, the Israeli Government will have to face the administration without at least part of its traditional base of domestic support in American public opinion.

3 Trends in the Global Energy Market: Implications for Israel

by Shmuel Even

Oil has influenced the world in the 20th century more than any other raw material. Israel is influenced by oil more than other consumers. Alongside its obvious significance to the country's economy, oil also affects Israel's security and foreign relations: it is the source of finance for the military capabilities of the Arab states and Iran, and, most important, it affects the foreign policy of many states well beyond the Middle East. The low prices in today's oil markets, and the political weakness of the Arab oil producers, create a convenient strategic environment for Israel. The question is whether this reality is likely to change in the long term and how. This future-oriented analysis evaluates the expected trends in the global oil market and their strategic implications for Israel.

GUESTS *at* JCSS



Barry Posen (second from l.), of the International Security Program at MIT, at a JCSS forum on military doctrine.



US Ambassador Edward (Ned) Walker (third from r.) in a meeting with JCSS research staff.



Jane Holl, Director of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (second from r.) at a JCSS forum on the use of force.



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