



## TOP ISRAELI ANALYSTS DISCUSS THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI WAR OF ATTRITION

Maj. Gen. Yaacov Amidror (outgoing commander of the IDF National Defense College), along with top Mideast analysts Zeev Schiff (Haaretz) and Ehud Yaari (Channel Two TV News), headlined a high-profile BESA Center political/military conference in March on "Israel and the Palestinians: Between Civil Uprising and Armed Revolt."

The conference sought to compare Palestinian and Israeli conduct during the "first" intifada of 1987-91 and the so-called "Al-Aqsa" intifada of 2000-2002. The conference took place before Israel launched Operation Defensive Shield in April.

"The first thing we have to recognize is that today's conflict is not an 'intifada' — a popular uprising — but a premeditated war; chapter two of the Palestinian war of independence," said Yaari who opened the conference. "The Palestinian state that Yasser Arafat is building will be a hostile state, for which the 1967 borders mean nothing. Palestinians today speak of reversing the results of 1948 and of absorbing Jordan."

Yaari said that Arafat is purposefully collapsing the state organs of the Palestinian Authority, which Arafat himself heads, making room for the new, emerging power in the West Bank and Gaza — a coalition between Hamas and the Tanzim. "This is not only a



From Intifada to Armed Confrontation. On stage: Israel TV2 Arab affairs commentator Ehud Yaari, BESA Center associate Dr. Amikam Nahmani, and Maj. Gen. Yaacov Amidror (l. to r.)

partnership in terror, but a long-term political coalition, with dangerous implications for Israel," said Yaari. "We finished-up with a draw in the first intifada. This time, a draw constitutes disaster. Israel must decisively win this round of conflict."

"In order to win this war, which is a classic war of attrition, the IDF must shape-up fast, and Israel will need to 'tighten its lines' of defense," according to Zeev Schiff. BESA Center associate Prof. Stuart Cohen noted that "the IDF

was not built for a static war of defense. IDF chief-of-staff Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz repeatedly has said that Israel *must* win this war, and that means taking the initiative." Settlement leader Yisrael Harel agreed, arguing that "the IDF must go on the offensive, not sit back and barricade itself behind beefed-up defenses. I am worried that ever since its hasty flight from Lebanon, IDF leaders have locked themselves into a losers' syndrome," warned Harel.

As for Schiff's call to 'tighten lines', a euphemism for the dismantling of isolated settlements, Harel called this "a recipe for political *hare kari*. To do so now, is to reward Palestinian terrorism with the biggest victory."

*continued on page 2*

## WHAT HAPPENED TO THE "PEACE PROCESS"? MARKING TEN YEARS TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE

When the BESA Center decided in mid-2000 to organize a December 2001 conference to mark the tenth anniversary of the Madrid peace conference, the invited panelists were asked to re-evaluate the Madrid effort and the subsequent Palestinian-Israeli Oslo process.

However, by the time the conference rolled around, Israel had become the target of a calculated and sustained wave of Palestinian terrorism. The question panelists inevitably kept coming back to was "what went wrong?"

U.S. Ambassador Daniel Kurtzer, one of the architects of the 1991 Madrid peace conference, delivered a keynote lecture at the conference. Kurtzer argued that the breakdown of Oslo could be traced to flawed planning and basic misperceptions in the original Oslo agreement negotiated by Shimon Peres and Yossi Beilin. "Had

the US been more involved in negotiations over Oslo, and in its implementation, the current collapse might have been avoided," he said.

Kurtzer also expressed regret that the multilateral track had not been pushed more aggressively after Madrid. "Some of the hatred found today in the Arab world might have been ameliorated had the multilaterals been kept working, providing more support and legitimacy for the Palestinian-Israeli talks," he said.

Yossi Alpher, a former Mossad official and strategic analyst, argued just the opposite. He noted that most Arab-Israeli agreements had been reached *without* direct US involvement, and pointed to the danger of Arab parties expecting the US to "deliver" Israel.

*continued on page 2*

## The Palestinian-Israeli War of Attrition 2000–2002 ..... from page 1

Predicting the IDF's April offensive, General Amidror warned that the IDF would never be able to effectively protect Israeli civilians from Palestinian terrorism unless a long-term re-conquest of Areas A was undertaken. "Ever since Oslo, terrorists have operated freely in these sanctuaries, moving operatives and weapons beyond our reach. The targeted assassination of leading terrorists, which the IDF has done with some success—is insufficient. The IDF must be able to operate freely in Area A in order to gather intelligence and to interdict terrorist planning in its earliest stages," he argued.

"Israeli society has no choice but to wait-out this long war of attrition with the Palestinians," argued BESA Center director Prof. Efraim Inbar. "Public opinion polls show that Israelis understand this. Most importantly, we must deny Arafat any diplomatic gains from this conflict, especially a return to discussion of Clinton's peace plans, and the attempt to post international observers or troops in the territories," he said.

The packed conference drew many senior military officers, foreign diplomats and students. It was co-sponsored by the IDF National Defense College, the Menachem Begin Heritage Center, and the Ministry of Education. ♦



Maj. Gen. Amos Yadlin, incoming commander of the IDF National Defense College, and Brig. Gen. (res.) Azriel Nevo, who was military attaché to Prime Minister Menachem Begin.



Zeev Schiff, Haaretz Defense Commentator, and Yisrael Harel, former chairman of the Council of Settlements in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, both speakers at the March conference on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

## What Happened to the "Peace Process"? ..... from page 1



US Ambassador to Israel Daniel Kurtzer (l.) and Maj. Gen. (res.) Uri Saguy. Kurtzer was an architect of US Mideast policy in the 1990s. His address emphasized the importance of a US role in mediation and of holding contracting parties to their commitments.

A conference highlight was the discussion about the possibility of an Israeli-Syrian peace treaty — was it ever within reach? Addressing this question were Yossi Ben-Aharon, director-general of Prime Minister Shamir's office, Maj. Gen. (res.) Uri Saguy, former chief of IDF Military Intelligence and Dr. Uzi Arad, who was deputy chief of the Mossad and a foreign policy advisor to Prime Minister Netanyahu.

Arad's fascinating address revealed previously unknown details of the negotiations between Netanyahu and Assad conducted indirectly in 1998-99 through Ronald Lauder, a former US ambassador and Jewish leader considered close to Netanyahu. In the course of talks about an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, Hafez el-Assad was willing to allow Israeli listening stations to remain on the Hermon mountain range — provided that the personnel manning the posts were not Israelis. "Assad was willing to consider 'pro-Israeli' foreigners, such as US Jews or others holding dual US-Israel citizenship," said Arad. Later that fall, the talks broke down over security arrangements, and were never resumed.

Three former director-generals of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs — Eytan Ben-Tzur, Yossi Hadass and Reuven Merchav — addressed the international implications for Israel of the Madrid process. Efraim Dubek, Israel's former ambassador to Egypt, painted a chilling picture of Egyptian attitudes towards Israel. "The treaty with Israel is a cornerstone of Egyptian foreign policy," he said, "but no peace could be colder, which is exactly what the Egyptians intend."

BESA Center associates Hillel Frisch, Shmuel Sandler, Mordechai Kedar, Gil Feiler, Barry Rubin and Eytan Gilboa also addressed the conference, as did professors Asher Susser (TAU) and Eli Podeh (HU). **The conference was supported by a grant from the Friedrich Naumann Foundation.** ♦



Marking "Ten Years to Madrid": Dr. Uzi Arad, former deputy director of the Mossad and foreign policy advisor to Prime Minister Netanyahu (at the podium); BESA Center associate Maj. Gen. (res.) Avraham Rotem; Yossi Ben-Aharon, former director-general of the Prime Minister's Office; BESA Center associate Dr. Mordechai Kedar; and Maj. Gen. (res.) Uri Saguy, former chief of IDF Military Intelligence (l. to r.)



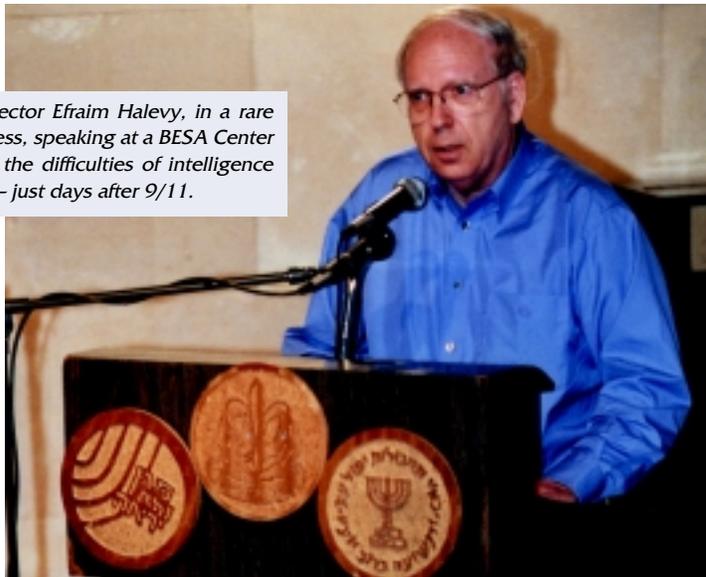
Is the peace with Egypt and Jordan stable? Yes, but at a very low temperature, according to Efraim Dubek, the former Israeli ambassador to Egypt (at left). To his right: Prof. Asher Susser of Tel Aviv U., and Dr. Gil Feiler of the BESA Center.

# MOSSAD DIRECTOR EFRAIM HALEVY SPEAKING AT BESA: WESTERN INTELLIGENCE NEEDS MORE HUMINT

Speaking at a BESA Center conference on “Intelligence and Peace in the Middle East” just days after 9/11, Mossad Director Efraim Halevy criticized Western intelligence for relying too heavily on sophisticated electronic methods of spying (known as Sigint, or signals intelligence). “Sigint has become the high priest of intelligence; the main supplier of intelligence and the scale by which the contributions of other major disciplines are measured,” warned Halevy in a rare public address.

“Many good people, including the man speaking to you now, stuck to this basic intelligence concept which led to the failures which we urgently need to be aware of,” continued Halevy, referring to the attack on the World Trade Center. “The events of the past weeks have impressed on me the... importance of the lone agent, who was the sole intelligence component in biblical times... The enemy knows our Achilles’ heel, the lack of Humint (human intelligence), and behaves accordingly.”

*Mossad Director Efraim Halevy, in a rare public address, speaking at a BESA Center seminar on the difficulties of intelligence gathering — just days after 9/11.*



*Gathering in memory of Eliyahu Ben-Elissar: (l. to r.) Arele Scharf, the legendary Mossad operative, former Mossad Director Maj. Gen. (res.) Meir Amit, and US Ambassador Daniel Kurtzer.*

The conference was convened in memory of Dr. Eliyahu Ben-Elissar — a veteran of the Israeli intelligence community, Israel’s first ambassador to Egypt who also served as ambassador to the US and France, a long-time Knesset member and a good friend of the BESA Center — who passed away in 2000. The conference was co-sponsored by the BESA Center and the Israeli intelligence community’s Center for Special Studies.

Other speakers at the conference: U.S. Ambassador to Israel Daniel Kurtzer, Haaretz defense commentator Zeev Schiff, Maj. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Gazit, and former Mossad director Meir Amit. BESA Center director Prof. Efraim Inbar moderated the evening. Dr. Ben-Elissar’s widow, Nitza, attended the event. ◆



*Mr. Muzi Wertheim, President of Coca Cola Israel and Bank Mizrachi (second from left), with his senior business executives, being briefed on Mideast developments by BESA Center associates Dr. Hillel Frisch and Prof. Efraim Inbar. Wertheim was an early and founding backer of the strategic studies center at Bar-Ilan U.*



*Zalman Shoval, who twice served as Israeli ambassador to the US and now is a foreign policy advisor to Prime Minister Sharon, spoke at the BESA Center in March on “US-Israel Relations”.*



*Prof. Efraim Karsh, director of the Mediterranean Studies Programme at King’s College London and editor of Israel Affairs journal, lectured at the BESA Center in January on “The Rise and Fall of Oslo.”*



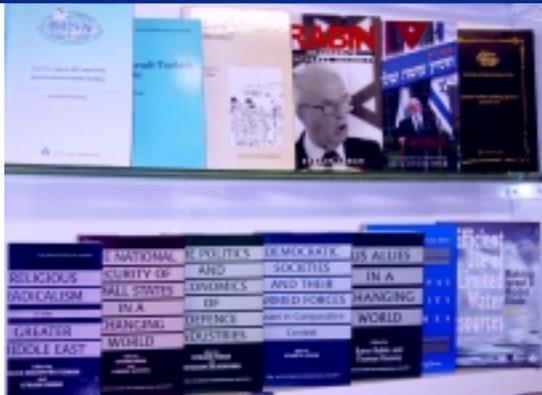
*Bret Stephens, the new editor-in-chief of The Jerusalem Post (second from left), delves into Mideast strategic issues with BESA Center associates Inbar, Kedar, Maghen, Sandler and Frisch.*

## COLLECTED STUDIES IN MIDDLE EASTERN SECURITY

David M. Weinberg, editor

This Hebrew-language volume presents 20 studies published over the past five years by the BESA Center. Topics include: the future of settlements, technology and warfare, the Israeli revolution in military affairs, Israeli national security doctrine, WMD in the Middle East, Egypt-Israel relations, Palestinian refugees, and the changing relations between the IDF and Israeli society. Authors include: Yehezkel Dror, Arnon Soffer, Uzi Arad, Yitzhak Ravid, Yitzhak Gat, Eliot Cohen and BESA Center associates Cohen, Inbar, Rotem, Sandler, Shoham and Steinberg.

Ramat Gan: The BESA Center, 2002, 488 pp., ISBN 965-90419-0-x. NIS 75.



## THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT TRANSFORMED: FIFTY YEARS OF INTERSTATE AND ETHNIC CRISES

by Hemda Ben-Yehuda and Shmuel Sandler

Integrating ethno-national theoretical literature into their Mideast analysis, the authors argue that ethnic-state disputes are the primary source for the failure of Arab-Israeli peacemaking.

Ithaca: SUNY Press, 2002, 320 pp., ISBN 0-7914-5345-x.

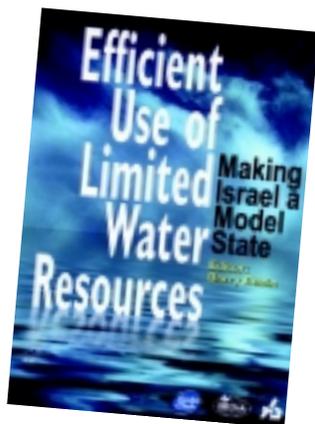
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## EFFICIENT USE OF LIMITED WATER RESOURCES: MAKING ISRAEL A MODEL STATE

Barry Rubin, editor

Six major research essays on the technical, scientific, political and economic aspects of Israeli water policy, and the "National Water Plan" developed by the BESA Center with the support of Soda-Club Ltd. Published separately in Hebrew and English. See story on page 7 of this Bulletin.

Ramat Gan: The BESA Center, 2001, 172 pp., ISSN 0793-1042. NIS 45.



## THE ISRAELI-TURKISH ENTENTE

by Efraim Inbar

The first broad study of the close political and military alliance that has developed over the past decade between Turkey and Israel; an alliance that has become a significant feature of the contemporary international dynamics of the Mideast. "This model short study, dispassionate and comprehensive, does not waste a word", writes Mideast expert L. Carl Brown in a review in *Foreign Affairs*.

London: King's College London Mediterranean Studies Programme, 2001, 86 pp., ISBN 1-897747-12-8. NIS 50.



## ARMED FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST: POLITICS AND STRATEGY

Barry Rubin and Thomas Keane, editors

A collection of lectures from a BESA Center/SAIS conference in 2000 on the mission, doctrine, training, equipment, and effectiveness as fighting forces, of the armies of Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Turkey and the Palestinian Authority. Particular focus is given to the role of the military in the politics of each country.

London: Frank Cass Publishers, BESA Series in International Security, 2002, 268 pp.,

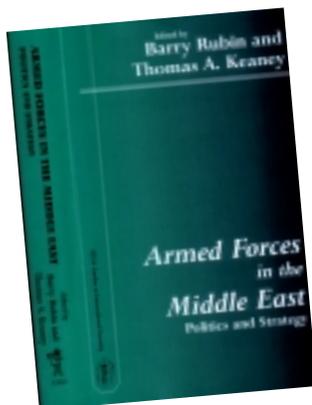
ISBN 0-7146-5255-5. NIS 136.

## EU DEFENSE POLICY: EVOLUTION, PROSPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS

by Klaus Becher

Text of the Madeleine Feher European Scholar Lecture for 2001 at the BESA Center. Delivered by Klaus Becher, the Helmut Schmidt Senior Fellow for European Security at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. Becher argues that the launch of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) is leading to "rapid progress" in definition of a common EU security and defense policy — which will lead unavoidably to an erosion of common perceptions between the US and Europe.

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► We wish to acknowledge **MR. BERNARD GERSON**, from Ohio, USA, for his support of BESA Center activities.

# BESA CENTER EXPERT ON CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS TAKES CENTER STAGE

Since the mid-1990's, BESA Center research associate Dr. Danny Shoham has warned in lectures and published papers of the developing biological and chemical weapons capacities of both Osama Bin Laden and Saddam Hussein. All of a sudden, everybody is listening.

The anthrax scare in the US, which followed the attack on the World Trade Center in New York last fall, has catapulted Dr. Shoham to global attention. He has been interviewed by almost every major news agency worldwide, and been called upon for consultations by many Western governments. Why? Because no one in the West knows more about Arab and Iranian bio/chem capabilities than he does.

Shoham is a veteran of the Israel Defense Forces Intelligence Corps with the rank of lieutenant colonel. He is a Ph.D. in biochemistry and a career research chemist with the Israeli Ministry of Defense. The BESA Center has published many of his studies on the non-conventional research programs and armaments of Arab countries, including *Chemical Weapons in Egypt and Syria: Evolution, Capabilities, Control* (Hebrew, June 1995); *Chemical and Biological Weapons in the Arab Countries and Iran: An Existential Threat to Israel?* (Hebrew, December 1999); and a detailed chronology and analysis of global biological and chemical terrorism (in English, available on the BESA Center website). He also has published on bio/chem weapons in Egypt and Saudi Arabia in *The Nonproliferation Review* and other professional journals.

As far back as 1999, Dr. Shoham pointed to Osama bin Laden as the "most actual and imminent threat of chemical and biological terrorism emerging from the Middle East, that may equally — and concretely — materialize against non-Muslim targets in the Middle East or elsewhere."

"Since 1993 at least, Western intelligence services and government officials have possessed substantial and very specific information on Bin Laden's chemical and biological weapons capabilities, including anthrax," Shoham charges.

"Of course, we do not know for sure, at present, that Bin Laden or Iraq are behind the attacks," asserted Shoham to a news agency in November. "But I believe it probable. The appearance of anthrax envelopes in the U.S. as a follow-up to the bombing of the Twin Towers doesn't really surprise me," he said.

In a 1999 study, Shoham noted that during the years 1993-1996 Bin Laden sojourned in the Sudan, participating in the Iraqi-Sudanese construction of chemical and biological weapons-oriented facilities. Bin Laden intensively tested methods of manufacturing and dispensing poisonous gases. Even after his move to Afghanistan in 1996, businesses associated with Bin Laden continued to purchase restricted, high-priced items for the Sudanese military, including dual use components for chemical and biological weapons.

In another paper, on the use of Mideast chemical and biological weapons over the past two decades, Shoham provides a long list of Palestinian Arab attempts to contaminate Israeli water sources and agricultural exports with chemical and biological agents. Among other, Shoham says that in 1999 Israeli security forces arrested a Hamas terrorist ring that was recruiting Palestinian biology and chemistry students, as part of a long-term attempt to build a biological and chemical weapons effort against Israel.

Dr. Shoham expresses concern that the anthrax attack on America might encourage the perpetrators or other terrorists with biological and chemical weapons to escalate the confrontation. "There are two avenues of escalation open to the terrorists: they could upgrade the agent of dispersion, or advance to the use of contagious biological agents," Shoham warns. Anthrax, he notes, is potent but not contagious. Pneumonic plague or smallpox, both of which are highly contagious, could wreak real havoc. As for more advanced means of dispersion, Shoham warns that the Iraqis are known to have purchased unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) specifically for this purpose. ♦



Biological and chemical weapons expert Dr. Danny Shoham

## NEW BESA CENTER RESEARCH ASSOCIATES



**DR. MORDECHAI KEDAR**

Mordechai Kedar (Ph.D., Bar-Ilan U.) is a lecturer in Arabic at Bar-Ilan U. He specializes in Arabic political discourse, mass media, Islam and politics, the Syrian domestic arena, legitimacy of Arab regimes, and state and society in Arab countries. For more than 25 years, Kedar served in IDF Military Intelligence, specializing in Arab societies and their mass media.



**DR. JONATHAN FOX**

Jonathan Fox (Ph.D., U. of Maryland) is a lecturer in political science at Bar-Ilan U. He specializes in international and domestic conflict, especially ethnic and religious conflict, and the quantitative analysis of separation of religion and state.

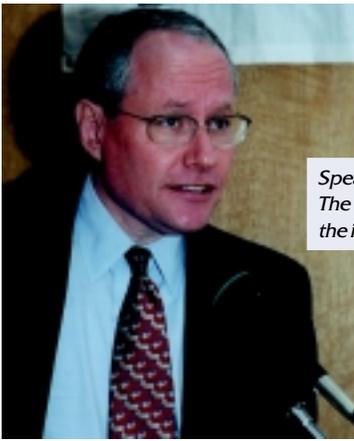


**DR. ZEEV MAGHEN**

Zeev Maghen (Ph.D., Columbia U.) is a lecturer in Middle East history and politics, and Persian language, at Bar-Ilan U. He specializes in Modern Iran, Shi'ism and medieval Islamic jurisprudence.

# STRATEGIC LINKAGES IN AN AMERICAN-DOMINATED WORLD

## EAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST



Speaking on "US Foreign Policy After 9-11: The Bush Doctrine": Bill Kristol, editor of the influential journal, *The Weekly Standard*.

What do Taiwan and Israel have in common? A long and robust relationship with the United States, based on common values and strategic interests. This understanding set the

stage for a fascinating trilateral conference at the BESA Center in March with senior thinkers and officials of the three countries.

Leading the Taiwanese delegation to the conference were Dr. Deng-Ker Lee of National Chengchi University, Dr. Holmes Liao of the Taiwan Research Institute, Dr. Jang-ruey Tzeng of the Taiwan National Defense University, Mr. Antonio Chiang of Taiwan's National Security Council, and R.T. Yang, Taipei Economic and Cultural representative in Israel. American participants included Dr. John Tkacik of the Heritage Foundation, Prof. Andrew Bacevich, director of Boston U.'s Center for International Studies, Dr. Eran Lerman, American Jewish Committee representative in Israel, and three senior officials of The Project for a New American Century: Bill Kristol, Gary Schmitt and Ellen Bork.

BESA Center associate Dr. Jonathan Rynhold noted at the conference opening that since September 11 the Bush Administration has placed a greater emphasis on common values in defining the strategic environment. As a result, the Administration has renewed its appreciation of Israel and Taiwan, while viewing in a more critical light America's ties to Arab states and the People's Republic of China.

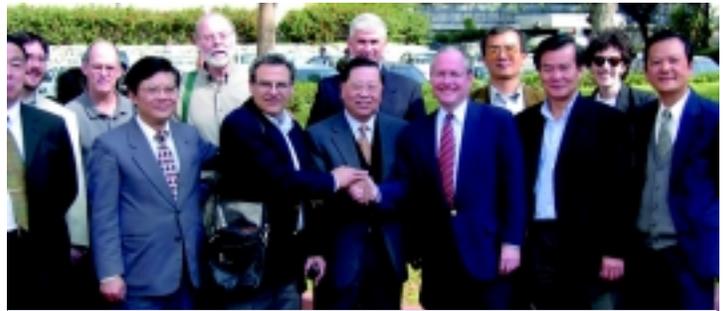
Echoing this theme was the conference keynote speaker: Bill Kristol, one of the most sought-after political commentators in the US, editor of *The Weekly Standard*, and President of The Project for a New American Century. In his talk, entitled "US Foreign Policy after 9-11: The Bush Doctrine," Kristol declared that "for the US, the world really changed on September 11."

"We are no longer prepared to rely mainly on negotiations, trade pressures, arms control regimes and international institutions in order to solve critical world problems. The Israeli operation against the Iraqi nuclear reactor in Osirak is our new paradigm. Time is not on our side. We need to act soon, act preemptively, and act alone if necessary. Osirak is now the model of how foreign policy *has* to be conducted," said Kristol.

"Indeed, today the US is committed to forcing regime change in Iran, Iraq, and North Korea," continued Kristol. "We will be much more aggressive in pursuing this goal; no longer are we content to wait for history to work things through. Unfortunately, Europe does not yet seem to understand our new world. They wish to return to pre-September 2001 rules."

"This new paradigm has long-term implications for US Mideast policy, especially towards Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria. Is the Wahabi regime in Riyadh promoting stability or exporting radicalism? Aren't Saudi Arabians also entitled to freedom? Do not assume that we will forever prefer dictators who keep the Arab street under control. Today, the US stands firmly with all brave people fighting for democracy in the Islamic world," said Kristol.

"I believe that the Bush Administration will focus ever more on containing the spread of weapons of mass destruction. As President Bush said in his State of the Union speech, we will not allow the worst regimes to develop the most dangerous weapons."



Participants in the "East Asia and the Mideast" seminar: Prof. Efraim Inbar, BESA Center director, R.T. Yang, chief Taipei Economic and Cultural representative in Israel, and Bill Kristol, editor of *The Weekly Standard*, shake hands in the front row.



Keynote dinner speaker: Antonio Chiang, deputy director of the Taiwan National Security Council.



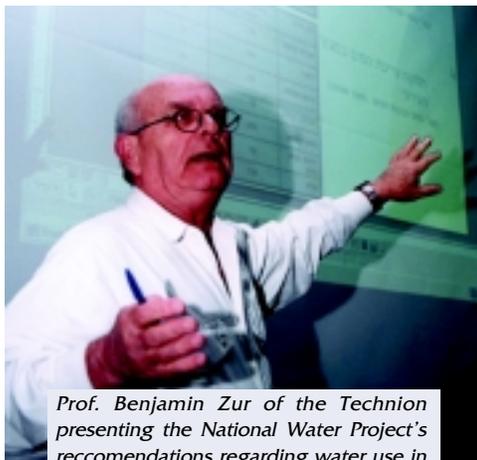
Dr. Yuval Steinitz MK of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, speaking at dinner on Israel's security challenges.



"East Asia and the Mideast" (l. to r.): Dr. Holmes Liao of the Taiwan Research Institute, Dr. Eran Lerman, Israel representative of the American Jewish Committee, Prof. Andrew Bacevich of Boston U., BESA associate Prof. Gerald Steinberg, and (at the podium) Prof. Yitzhak Shichor, former Israeli ambassador to China.

In conference dinner addresses, Antonio Chiang of Taiwan's National Security Council spoke of the similarities in the defense dilemmas faced by Israel and Taiwan, a theme often repeated by the Taiwanese participants to the dialogue. The Taiwanese also expressed concern about Israeli arms sales to China. Dr. Yuval Steinitz MK (Likud), a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, warned of the Egyptian military build-up, which in future, he said, could threaten Israel. ◆

# SOLVING ISRAEL'S WATER PROBLEMS



Prof. Benjamin Zur of the Technion presenting the National Water Project's recommendations regarding water use in the agricultural and urban sectors.

Parliamentarians from across the political spectrum have founded a political lobby to legislate the National Water Plan developed by the BESA Center.

With water levels in Lake Kinneret and underground reservoirs at an all-time low, the BESA Center

has crafted a six-point plan of action aimed at solving Israel's water crisis. Two dozen members of Knesset — including Minister of Infrastructure Avigdor Lieberman and Minister of Agriculture Shalom Simchon, along with Knesset Water Committee Chair David Magen — support the plan and are acting as a political lobby to translate the plan's recommendations into legislation and policy.

For close to two years, Israel's leading water experts met at the BESA Center, weighing important scientific and technological discoveries, strategic and international factors, and budgetary and political woes — all of which impact on Israel's water options.

Among the chief researchers who crystallized the water plan: professors Zvy Dubinsky, Barry Rubin and Hillel Frisch of Bar-Ilan U.; Gedaliah Shelef, Benjamin Zur and Avi Shaviv of the Technion; Arnon Soffer of Haifa University, Water Commissioner Shimon Tal, Pinchas Glueckstern of Mekorot, the national water company, and Joshua Schwarz of national water engineering company, Tahal.

The end-result: *Efficient Use of Limited Water Resources: Making Israel a Model State* — a 170-page book with six major research essays and "The National Water Plan" — was unveiled before the public at a high-profile conference organized by the BESA Center in December 2001. (The book was published separately in Hebrew and English, and can be purchased from the BESA Center for \$10 or NIS 45.)

Deputy Infrastructure Minister Naomi Blumenthal, and MKs Zeev Boim and Avshalom Vilan spoke at the conference, as did the water plan's main authors.

The comprehensive water study project was initiated two years ago by Soda-Club Ltd., a leading retailer in Israel and the Middle East, out of deep concern for the water dilemmas in Israel and the region. The company continues to support the project through the BESA Center as it now moves into legislative and policy-implementation stages.

"It is time for us to arouse Israeli policy-makers and push this pressing issue to the forefront of the Israeli public policy agenda," said Soda-Club CEO Peter Wiseburgh at the December conference. "Soda-Club is very pleased with the high-quality and comprehensive research on this matter conducted by the BESA Center team, and we are fully committed as partners in the effort to have the plan recommendations adopted into law."

Project director Zvy Dubinsky, the noted BIU oceanographer and environmentalist, feels that "The time



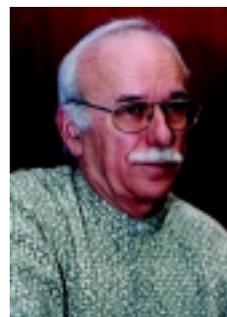
MK Avshalom Vilan (Meretz), a leading Knesset supporter of the agricultural sector, addressing the December conference.

is ripe for this initiative. The water crisis is real, and our work has convinced parliamentarians and government leaders that much can be done to stem the water waste and mismanagement that has characterized Israel for years."

Indeed, the broad support expressed in parliament for the Plan seems to support Dubinsky's contention. Many eyebrows were raised when the list of plan supporters was published in Israeli newspapers. It is not often that MKs Gideon Ezra, Zvi Hendel, Michael Kleiner, Shaul Yahalom of the political Right agree on any issue with Yossi Sarid and Avraham Shochat of the political Left, or with Yair Peretz of the Ultra-Orthodox Shas Party! ◆



Soda-Club CEO Peter Wiseburgh (l.) and his partner Conrad Morris (who is also chairman of the British Friends of Bar-Ilan U.) at the December water conference.



Water Project director Prof. Zvy Dubinsky of Bar-Ilan University.



The geographer and demographer Prof. Arnon Soffer of Haifa U., a key member of the Water Plan team.



Deputy Minister of Infrastructure Naomi Blumenthal (Likud) expressed support for the BESA Center/Soda Club National Water Plan.

## The National Water Plan

Developed by the BESA Center with the support of Soda-Club Ltd.



### 1 Implement Emergency Solutions

Significantly speed the building of water desalination plants and importation of water from Turkey, as already decided.

### 2 Preserve Agriculture as a National Interest

End water subsidies to agriculture. Instead, provide direct subsidies to farmers, providing an economic incentive to use water more effectively.

### 3 Utilize Waste Water

Implement new technologies in the reprocessing of waste water and effective capturing of rain and run-off water.

### 4 Price Water Realistically

Price water at its real market value to encourage conservation. Raise money for the steps needed to increase supply, including the costs of technological innovation. Encourage use of lower-priced reprocessed waste water.

### 5 Preserve Strategic Water Reserves

Desalination, importation, and reprocessing should allow for a decrease in pumping from reservoirs and aquifers, which need to be protected as a strategic reserve for future emergency situations.

### 6 Create Conservation Incentives

Fund additional R&D in conservation, and a serious program to educate the public in water conservation. Create conservation incentives for individuals, industrial companies, agricultural communities and cities.



## The BESA Center



The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University seeks to contribute to the advancement of Middle East peace and security by conducting policy-relevant research on strategic subjects, particularly as they relate to the national security and foreign policy of Israel. Founded by Thomas O. Hecht, a Canadian Jewish community leader, the Center is a non-partisan and independent institute dedicated to the memory of the late Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and the late Egyptian president Anwar Sadat.

### Founder & Chairman of the International Advisory Board

Thomas O. Hecht, Ph.D.

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# RESEARCH NEWS

◆ **Stuart Cohen** published "Dimensions of Tension Between Religion and Military Service in Contemporary Israel", in D. Maman, ed., *Military, State and Society in Israel: Essays in Honor of Moshe Lissak* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 2001); and edited a special issue of the journal *Democratic Culture*, devoted to "Military and Society in Israel", for which he wrote an introduction (Bar-Ilan U. Press and the Israel Democracy Institute, Vol. 4-5, Autumn 2001). He participated in the Israel-Turkey-Greece triologue held by the BESA Center and others in Athens last summer, and in an August 2001 seminar on the future of Israel's military reserve system sponsored by the Israel Democracy Institute.

◆ **Jonathan Fox** published "Civilizational, Religious, and National Explanations for Ethnic Rebellion in the Post-Cold War Middle East" in *Jewish Political Studies Review* (Vol. 13/1-2, Spring 2001); "Two Civilizations and Ethnic Conflict: Islam and the West" in *The Journal of Peace Research* (Vol. 38/4, July 2001); "Are Middle East Conflicts More Religious?" in *Middle East Quarterly* (Vol. 8/4, Fall 2001); "Religion as an Overlooked Element of International Relations" in *International Studies Review* (Vol. 3/3, Fall 2001); "Religious Causes of International Intervention in Ethnic Conflicts" in *International Politics* (Vol. 38/4, December 2001); and "Clash of Civilizations or Clash of Religions, Which is a More Important Determinant of Ethnic Conflict?" in *Ethnicities* (Vol. 1/3, December 2001). He lectured in February on "The Quantification of Religion for Cross-Sectional Analyses" at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard U.

◆ **Efraim Inbar** published "Israel's Strategic Environment in the 1990's" in *The Journal of Strategic Studies* (Vol. 25/1, 2002); and *The Israeli-Turkish Entente* (London: King's College, 2001). He lectured on "Rabin and Israel's Nuclear Policy" at Tel Aviv U.; on "The Western Response to Terror" at the Berlin Free University; on Israeli-Turkish Relations at the Middle East Technical U. in Ankara; on "Containing Palestinian Nationalism" at MIT; on "The Risks of Palestinian Statehood" at Tufts U.; on "Israel's War on Terrorism" at the ASAM-JINSA-BESA trilateral dialogue in Washington (January 2002); and on "Combating Terrorism" at a January BESA Center conference in Toronto. He also participated in several "Track Two" meetings with Arabs and Iranians.

◆ **Mordechai Kedar** lectured at a December Hebrew U. Davis Institute conference on 'Islamic Fundamentalism' and at a Sdeh Boker Seminar, on "The Culture War between the West and Islam: The Islamic View"; on "Suicide or Martyrdom — A Debate Among Islamic Legal Authorities" at a Bar-Ilan U. seminar on 'Jihad and Sacrifice in Islam'; and on "Assad's Negotiating Position at the Madrid Conference" at the BESA Center seminar "Ten Years to Madrid". He testified before the Inter-Ministerial Committee (headed by Minister Natan Sharansky) on the Future of the Shihab a-Din Mosque in Nazareth, and participated in a number of outreach activities aimed at the Israeli Arab community under the auspices of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Michael Melchior's "Forum for National Consensus".

◆ **Avi Kober** published "Low-Intensity Conflicts: Why the Gap Between Theory and Practice?" in *Defense Analysis* (Vol. 18/1, March 2002). He lectured on "Attrition in Modern and Post-Modern

War" at the November 2001 Michael I. Handel International Strategy Conference at the US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island; and on "Low Intensity Conflict" at a January symposium held by the Haifa U. National Security Research Center and the IDF National Defense College.

◆ **Jonathan Rynhold** published "Re-Conceptualizing Israeli Approaches to the Palestinian Question Since 1967" in *Israel Studies* (Vol. 6/2, Summer 2001); and lectured on "Cultural Shift and Foreign Policy Change: Israel and the Making of the Oslo Revolution" at the February 2002 Israel Association of International Studies conference. He also presented a series of lectures entitled "The Collapse of the Peace Process and Israel's Future Strategic Options" at the December "Limmud Conference" at Nottingham University, UK.

◆ **Shmuel Sandler** published *The Arab-Israeli Conflict Transformed: Fifty Years of Interstate and Ethnic Crises* (with Hemda Ben-Yehuda, Ithaca: SUNY Press, 2002); "Religion, Nationalism, and the State: Ideological and Political Aspects in Religious Zionism", in E. Don-Yehiya, E. Belfer and M. Chalamish, eds. *Studies in Religious Zionism and Hebrew Law*, (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan U. Press, 2001); and "The Importance of Cyprus" with Efraim Inbar in *Middle East Quarterly* (Vol. 8/2, spring 2001). He launched the Taub Foundation masters program at BIU in Democracy and Civics, for civics teachers in Israeli high schools; and participated in a European Union seminar in Brussels on the structure and functioning of the European institutions.

◆ **Danny Shoham** lectured on "The Preservation and Re-Circulation of Viruses" at a November international conference on 'Conservation and Transformation of Material and Energy in the Earth Cryosphere' held by the Russian Academy of Sciences; and spoke to hundreds of journalists worldwide about the anthrax attacks in the U.S. He published through the BESA Center a detailed chronology and analysis of global biological and chemical terrorism.

◆ **Shlomo Shpiro** published "Media Strategies of Intelligence Services" in *The International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* (Vol. 14/4, Winter 2001-2002); "Media and Terrorism" in *Internationale Politik* (Vol. 56/12, December 2001); "Intelligence, Media and Terrorism: Imperial Germany and the Middle East" in *The Journal of Intelligence History* (Vol. 1/1, Summer 2001). He was a guest scholar for six months at the German Council on Foreign Relations in Berlin.

◆ **Gerald Steinberg** published "The Peace Process in Domestic Politics" in *Israel at the Polls: 1999* (a special issue of *Israel Affairs*, Winter 2000/1); "Regional Security Frameworks in the Mediterranean — A Realist Perspective" in *Israel's Security Web* (Tel Aviv: Maarachot, Ministry of Defense, 2001, Hebrew); and "Israeli Landmine Policy" in *The Journal of Mine Action* (Vol. 5/3, April 2002), with Aharon Etengoff. He lectured on "Combating Terrorism" at a January BESA Center conference in Toronto and at a series of Bar-Ilan U. events in southern Florida; and at seminars in Canada at McGill University, Concordia University, Dalhousie University and St. Mary's University (Halifax). He is currently working on a special BESA Center report: *The Middle East Arms Control and Proliferation Report for 2000/1*.