







Israelis Overwhelmingly Reject Division of Jerusalem

I N S I D E



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A major BESA Center conference in April focused on the political future of Israel's capital; while a BESA Center poll clearly showed that Israelis reject a handover to Palestinians of Jerusalem's Old City and Temple Mount. Israelis are prepared for a long struggle to maintain Israeli sovereignty over the united city.



Defending Jerusalem on Al Jazeera

BESA Associate Dr. Mordechai Kedar Shocks the Moslem World:



Dr. Mordechai Kedar: "We don't need Arab permission to build in the capital of Israel!"

"Jews were in Jerusalem 3,000 years ago when your forefathers were drinking wine, burying girls alive, and worshipping pre-Moslem idols. This is our city and it will be our city forever!"

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Dr. Mordechai Kedar of the BESA Center sent shockwaves around the Arab world when he told Al Jazeera television in a live interview in early June that "Jerusalem is our city forever, and is not an issue for you, for Al Jazeera, or for anyone else. Period. Jerusalem belongs only to Jews."

In a heated debate with the Al Jazeera host, who attacked Israel for building apartments in eastern Jerusalem, Kedar declared in fluent Arabic that "we were here in our capital 3,000 years ago when your forefathers were drinking wine, burying girls alive, and worshipping pre-Moslem idols! This is our city and it will be our city forever... My friend, Israel is not counting the number of apartments that Qatar is building on the Qatar Peninsula so why are you doing so in Jerusalem? Jerusalem is our city forever and is not an issue for you, for Al Jazeera, or for anyone else. Period. Jerusalem belongs only to Jews."

"We don't need your permission to build in the capital of Israel," Kedar added. "Moreover, Jerusalem is not mentioned even once in the Koran! Jerusalem is a Jewish city." The Al Jazeera host

responded by quoting a verse from the Koran in which he thought Jerusalem was mentioned by name, but stopped in the middle upon realizing that it only refers to "the farthest place." Kedar retorted: "Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Koran even once. You can't rewrite the Koran on air on Al Jazeera!"

Kedar was chief of the Syria desk in IDF Military Intelligence for more than twenty years, and is an expert on the Assad regime, Lebanon, Hizballah and the

Palestinians. He is a research associate at the BESA Center and a lecturer in Arabic at BIU.

For his finale, Kedar invited the interviewer "To visit Jerusalem so you can see with your own eyes that it has become a flourishing city after it was in ruins under Arab rule until 1967. We rebuilt the city and opened it to Christians, Moslems and Jews equally, unlike under Moslem rule that prohibited other religions."



You Tube Kedar's Al Jazeera interview, with English subtitles, can be viewed on YouTube at: <http://youtube.com/watch?v=VHpMhAzj-Tk>

Israelis Reject Handover of the Old City and Temple Mount

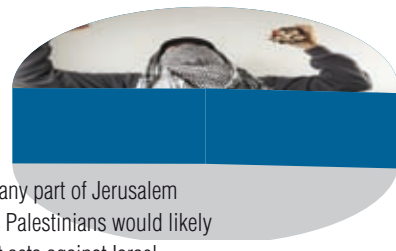
The BESA Center conducted a comprehensive survey of Israeli (Jewish) opinion on the political future of Jerusalem, timed for its April conference on this topic. The poll demonstrated that Israelis are deeply suspicious of the Palestinians: they don't believe that a deal in Jerusalem would end Palestinian claims against Israel, and they feel that any part of Jerusalem given to the Arabs would serve as a base for continued attacks on Israel. In fact, Israelis are prepared for a long struggle to maintain Israeli sovereignty over the united city.



71% of Israelis Oppose a Peace Deal that Would Entail Handover to Palestinians of Jerusalem's Old City and Temple Mount.



60% Do Not Believe that a Deal in Jerusalem Would End Palestinians Claims Against Israel or Bring an End to Palestinian Violence.



56% Believe that any part of Jerusalem given to the Palestinians would likely serve as a base for terrorist acts against Israel.



59% Believe that Olmert is Negotiating a Division of the City, Despite the Government's Denials.

Commenting on the poll results, the BESA Center director Prof. Efraim Inbar said: "The public feels that the Palestinians are after more than the Old City in Jerusalem, and fears that they will continue to attack Israel even if a deal over the city is reached. As such, there is little support for the Olmert government's negotiating effort. Indeed, Olmert does not have a public mandate for far-reaching concessions in Jerusalem. The poll also indicates that many Israelis are prepared for long term continued struggle in order to maintain Israeli sovereignty over the Temple Mount and Old City of Jerusalem."


Poll results include these additional findings:

1. 71% of respondents felt that the question of dividing Jerusalem should be brought to a referendum before any agreement with the Palestinians is signed.
2. 40% thought that in return for a final status agreement with the Palestinians

and a declaration calling for an end to the conflict with the Arab world, Israel should agree to hand over only the Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem to Palestinian control, *excluding* the Old City and the Temple Mount; whereas 38% were opposed to this.

3. 61% believed that there was very little chance that the Palestinians would cease to make demands upon Israel with respect to Jerusalem, even after an accord; 69% believed that there was no chance whatsoever or very little chance of a cessation in Palestinian terrorist acts against Israel; 51% believed that there was no chance whatsoever or very little chance that the Palestinians would safeguard the holy places sacred to all religions; 56% believed that any part of Jerusalem handed over to the Palestinians was likely or very likely to serve Palestinians as a base for terrorist acts against Israel; 44% believed that opposition to the agreement was likely or very likely to ignite violent confrontations across the country.

4. Among those opposed to a final status agreement between Israel and the Palestinians involving the transfer of Arab neighborhoods, the Old City and the Temple Mount to the Palestinian, 42% intended to express their objection at the ballot-box during elections or a referendum, 22% intended to show their objection by taking part in demonstrations and identification rallies without resorting to violence, and 20% intended to voice their objection in conversations and meetings with family and friends. One tenth of those opposed to the agreement (10%) intended to express their disapproval of the agreement by taking part in demonstrations and resorting to violence.

510 adult Israeli Jews were surveyed between March 19-27, 2008 by the "Ma'gar Mochot" polling agency headed by Prof. Yitzhak Katz, Prof. Baruch Mevorach and Dr. Amir Horkin. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 4.7%. 

Are We Truly Safeguarding Jerusalem?

Conference on the Political Future of Jerusalem



Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu: If the city is split, eastern Jerusalem will become an Iranian enclave.



Benjamin Netanyahu and Natan Sharansky: United Jerusalem means a strong Israel.

Sharansky served in his cabinet. "I want my friends in Shas to remember that as long as we stay loyal to Jerusalem we will be strong," Sharansky said. "When we play with this, we demonstrate weakness to the entire world."

The conference took a broad look at the city's demographic, social, legal, political and security dilemmas. The BESA Center's Prof. Hillel Frisch gave a fascinating presentation on the Arab residents of Jerusalem, noting that they mostly approve of the security



Religious Services Minister Yitzhak Cohen: Shas will quit the coalition if Jerusalem is negotiated.

fence that cuts through the city "because it prevents the Palestinian civil war between Hamas and Fatah from spilling into the city, and because it prevents West Bank Arabs from moving to Jerusalem and taking their jobs." Israel should do more, he said to introduce its educational curriculum into Palestinian schools in eastern Jerusalem and to allow eastern Jerusalem Arab neighborhood expansion in places that does not interfere with Israel's growth plans. "We are buying the quiet of Jerusalem's Arab citizenry, and they are eager to cooperate," he said.

Netanyahu: "Dividing Jerusalem would be a Moral and Historical Mistake"

Dividing Jerusalem would be a "moral and historical mistake," Netanyahu told the conference. "It is difficult to find states and peoples who are prepared to divide their capitals. It is particularly shocking in light of the historical connection between the people of Israel and their capital, Jerusalem. The result of the division of Jerusalem and the subsequent entry of Hamas into the city would be the formation of an Iranian enclave in the city, which would put the residents of Jerusalem at risk of daily attack, making their lives impossible and blowing up the conflict to dimensions we haven't seen until today." Netanyahu defended himself at the event, explaining how his policies prevented more significant withdrawals in the West Bank than those he implemented as prime minister. Olmert's government "had placed Jerusalem on the operating table," he said, and was making little effort to hide it, which proved the government's "feebleness, its abandonment of values and its moral and historic bankruptcy."

Sharansky: Barak Lied to me about Negotiations on Dividing Jerusalem

Former Minister for Jerusalem Affairs Natan Sharansky told a story about how then-prime minister Ehud Barak lied to him in 2000 about negotiations on dividing Jerusalem that were taking place when

Shas upped its threat to leave Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's government over the Jerusalem issue at a major BESA Center conference in April on the capital's future. The high-profile conference was headlined by former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (Likud) and former Deputy Prime Minister Natan Sharansky.

In past, the Orthodox Sephardic political party, Shas, has threatened to leave the Olmert government if a deal on Jerusalem was set with the Palestinians. Later, Shas upgraded the threat to rule out any negotiations on the capital. At this BESA Center conference, Religious Services Minister Yitzhak Cohen (Shas) raised the bar when he said that even "creating an atmosphere" that could lead to Jerusalem's division was a red line for the party. He was heckled by the audience when he said that he believed Prime Minister Olmert's promises that Shas would be informed if Jerusalem was raised in the negotiations.



From left: Prof. Efraim Inbar, Dr. Dore Gold, Gen. Yaacov Amidror and Nir Barkat.

Prof. Yossi Shilhav of BIU surveyed the city's demographics. Dr. Zvi Zameret, director of Yad Ben-Zvi, warned that Israeli schools and media were failing to sufficiently educate Israeli Jews about the Jewish people's historic connection to Jerusalem. Dr. Avi Bell of BIU and Dr. Itzhak Herzog of the Ono Academic College refuted international legal arguments against Israel's hold on Jerusalem. Ambassador

Dr. Dore Gold, president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, highlighted Israel's role as defender of the Holy Places – for all faiths. Nir Barkat, Opposition Leader in the Jerusalem Municipal Council, spoke of his campaign for a united and economically healthy Jerusalem.

Amidror: Only Israeli Physical Control of Jerusalem Can Ensure Security

Maj. Gen. (res.) Yaakov Amidror, former chief of research in IDF Military Intelligence, offered a comprehensive review of Israel's national security concerns in Jerusalem. Echoing Netanyahu, he said that "only our control of the geography in and around Jerusalem can ensure peace and security in the city. No 'alternative' security arrangements will suffice. Look at what happened to the Christians in Bethlehem since the Moslem Palestinian Authority took control of the city!" Amidror also attacked what he called the "laundering

of language" with regard to Jerusalem. "Newfangled terms such as the 'Holy Basin' are meant to obscure Israel's absolute rights in Jerusalem and grease the way towards massive and dangerous concessions to the PA," he warned. [🐦](#)



Conference sponsor Mr. Jerry Abraham of Toronto, Canada.



Prof. Henry Weinberg z"l

The conference on Jerusalem was held in memory of the late Prof. Zvi (Henry) Weinberg, who was a professor of French literature at the University of Toronto and at Bar-Ilan U, who later became a member of Knesset for Sharansky's immigrant political party Yisrael BeAliya.

"Zvi was both a renaissance man of world literature, culture and

Remembering Prof. Henry Weinberg

languages while simultaneously being an ardent Zionist and proud Jew," Natan Sharansky said at the conference. "He was the proof that there is no contradiction between being a man of the world and a real nationalist. He moved to Israel out of patriotism, and gave his children a deep Jewish religious and Zionist education."

Weinberg's close friends, Jerry and Gail Abraham of Toronto, generously sponsored the conference on Jerusalem. "Henry was quite a brilliant fellow," Jerry Abraham said at the conference opening. "He was fluent in English, Hebrew, French, Russian, German, Yiddish, Spanish, Italian and other

languages. He was a leader in the Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East; and was founder and the driving force behind the Canadian Academic Study Circle on Zionism."

Abraham also pointed out that Weinberg organized the first Canadian-Russian Cooperative Academic Study Circle for Israel and Zionism, which gave Russian Jewish scholars an outlet for Jewish identity and pride in Israel. "Later he was a key strategist of Yisrael BeAliyah's big electoral victory in 1996," said Abraham.

Prof. Weinberg's eldest son, David, is director of public affairs at the BESA Center.

Is the IDF Prepared for Tomorrow's Challenges?

BESA Remembers its Colleague Maj. Gen. Avraham Rotem

In November, the BESA Center held a major conference in memory of its esteemed colleague, Major General Avraham Rotem, who passed away in 2006. The conference, which was co-sponsored by the IDF National Defense College, focused on IDF preparedness for future wars. It was addressed by the Israeli defense minister and IDF chief-of-staff, and was attended by the most senior echelon of the IDF and Israeli defense establishment – including more than 25 serving and retired generals.



Defence Minister Barak (r.). The late Avraham Rotem is in the background.

Maj. Gen. (res.) Avraham Rotem was a decorated twenty-year veteran of the Israel Defense Forces. He was head of the army's training department and a member of the General Staff. In the 1973 war he was a leading tank commander on the Golan Heights, and received the IDF's highest award for bravery. After retirement from active duty, Rotem became director of strategic planning at Rafael, the Defense Ministry's weapons development authority. He was a senior research associate at the BESA Center, where he specialized in IDF force structure and the future Mideast battlefield.



IDF C-o-S Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi

Rotem - A Scholar-Warrior Par Excellence

"Rotem had a higher spirit that motivated and uplifted him, along with razor-straight honesty, morality, and responsibility," said defense minister and former IDF chief-of-staff Lt. Gen. (res.) Ehud Barak

at the conference. "He was extremely demanding, of himself and his officers, and daring without fear. All the while, he was compassionate and open to criticism, creative, always seeking to learn." Barak penned an introduction to the book of Rotem's essays in which he added: "Rotem was an outstanding officer, one of my mentors, a good friend, a scholar-warrior who I greatly miss." Lt. Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi, the current IDF chief-of-staff, similarly lauded Rotem as "a model for the ultimate IDF officer. He always was seeking to expand his horizons, and could be counted on for a fresh look at any problem," said Ashkenazi at the conference. "He was endearing yet still, for his modesty was as deep as his brilliance."

"Rotem's contributions to the BESA Center far exceeded his specific areas of expertise," said BESA Center associate Prof. Stuart Cohen at the conference. "He brought a world of military experience and earthy, old-style Zionist flavor to our roundtable discussions. He was a thinking soldier, never afraid to buck consensus, yet never arrogant and always loyal to his colleagues." Memorial reflections of Rotem were also offered by former minister Dan Meridor, and Rotem's widow, Tiki – who was instrumental in organizing the conference.

Fossilization of Thought in the IDF?

During the academic portion of the conference, a lively debate developed over the quality of training and intellectual horizons of IDF officers. Prof. Stuart Cohen of the BESA Center, one of Israel's top civilian experts on the IDF, referenced General Rotem, who was a sharp critic of "the fossilization of thought" he detected in the IDF. "Rotem was frightened by the way in which IDF commanders sanctified the current way of thinking about and doing things," Cohen said.



Commander of the IDF National Defense Colleges Maj. Gen. Gershon Hacohen

This perception was reinforced by BESA Center associate Dr. Avi Kober, who similarly charged that the IDF was insufficiently open to new and intellectual approaches. A former editor of the IDF

military journal *Maarachot*, Kober noted that few IDF officers understood English at a level that would allow them to significantly benefit from academic and foreign studies on military matters. He also said that fewer IDF officers were contributing to the academic literature of defense and security than ever before. In contrast, Maj. Gen. Gershon Hacohen, Commander of the IDF National Defense Colleges, derided the need for a more intellectual and academically-trained officer corps. "We train IDF officers on the job, in the field," he said. "Theoretical studies are secondary."



Defense Minister Barak greets BESA Center Founder Dr. Thomas Hecht

The conference also hosted a debate on IDF force structure and tactics, with detailed presentations from the BESA Center's Dr. Zeev Bonen, Maj. Gen. (res.) Emanuel Sakal, and Maj. Gen. (res.) Yossi Peled.



OC IDF Manpower Maj. Gen. Elazar Stern.

Maj. Gen. Elazar Stern, OC IDF Manpower, spoke at length about the IDF's recruitment difficulties, condemning the sectors of Israeli society that increasingly avoid the draft: both secular hedonists and the Ultra Orthodox. He also spoke with satisfaction about the more than 2,000 soldiers (mostly




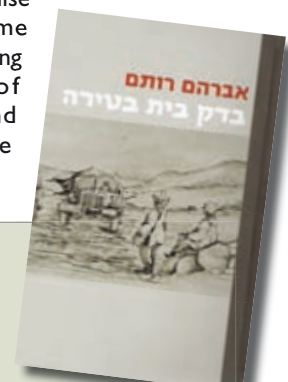
From left: Gershon Hacohen, Elazar Stern, Ehud Yaari, Dan Meridor and Ehud Barak.

women) who had undergone conversion to Judaism within the IDF. This he said was part of his policy of "educational imperialism," whereby the military "should militate for national ethos of service, sacrifice and identification with the people of Israel."

Arab affairs analyst Ehud Yaari of Israel's Channel 2 TV spoke of the new "Muqawama" doctrine, a military theology of Islamic resistance against the West, which has taken root in much of the Arab world and must be taken into account in Israeli planning. "While the various Islamic groups hate each other, they share a series of basic principles, including: their fight is mainly meant to bleed the enemy, not conquer land; they don't need to win every

battle but rather wear down the enemy; martyrdom is an asset; Arab states are failed states to be undermined; the ultimate goal is an Islamic caliphate spread across the region, if not beyond."

BESA Center founder Dr. Thomas O. Hecht of Montreal opened the conference with a passionate call to Israeli leaders for caution in negotiations with the Palestinians. Invoking the example of Neville Chamberlain, Hecht said that "those who promise peace in our time are underestimating the enmity of our enemies and misleading the public." 



Rotem's Collected Essays on Defense Issues Published

BESA Center director Prof. Efraim Inbar co-edited (along with Col. Hagai Golan) a volume of Rotem's collected essays on defense issues entitled *Dusting off the Castle: Rehabilitating the IDF*, published by Maarachot, the IDF publishing house (Tel Aviv, 2007, Hebrew). The book was launched at the BESA Center conference.

"Rotem's writings are ever relevant today," says Inbar. "Rotem's arguments for a radical reform of the structure of the General Staff and Chief-of-Staff's headquarters were proved correct by the Second Lebanon War. His insistence on the strategic importance of conquering and holding land – including the Golan and Judea and Samaria – similarly has been borne out over time. Rotem never bent to curry favor with intellectual or 'progressive' fads, and insisted on remaining true to clear-headed and long-term strategic thinking."

The Decline of Citizen Armies in Democratic States



In June, the BESA Center held a major international conference on the decline of citizen armies in democratic states. More than a dozen scholars from the US, Canada, England, Germany, the Netherlands and Turkey, alongside Israeli experts, participated in the high-level proceedings focusing on the move from conscript armies to all volunteer forces (AVF). This conference sought to learn from the experience of other countries and apply the lessons to the Israel Defense Forces. The conference was dedicated to the memory of the late Professor Charles Moskos (1934-2008) – the foremost military sociologist of our generation.

This conference discussed the intellectual, societal and operational origins of the notion of citizen armies; the causes for the shift away from citizen armies in the later part of the 20th century and the brakes on that process – in specific national contexts; the difficulties accompanying the shift away from citizen armies; and prospects for the future, specifically with regards to Israel.

According to conference organizer Prof. Stuart Cohen of the BESA Center, who has studied the IDF for decades, four themes were explored in depth: the political context for shifts to an AVF; operational incentives and disincentives of this move; economic costs and benefits of the transformation; and the societal and cultural ramifications of such change.

The need to serve in the IDF has become less obvious to many Israelis and fewer stigmas are attached by society to those who do not serve.

The societal and cultural dimensions of a shift to an AVF engendered much debate, including the question of how this shift impacts on the notion of citizenship (or, as one contributor noted, the impact of changing notions of citizenship on the viability of a ‘citizen army’). In this connection, special attention was paid to the possibility that civilian service might be

accepted as a moral equivalent to military duty.

Should Israel Move to an All Volunteer Force?

Clearly, the need to serve in the IDF has become less obvious to many Israelis and fewer stigmas are attached by society to those who do not serve. Furthermore,



Professor Stuart Cohen

the IDF’s increasing reliance on advanced weapons has led the IDF to greater investment in specialized and highly-trained personnel. It is no longer worthwhile for the army to invest resources in forcing the masses or the recalcitrant to serve. The economic pros and cons of a shift to an AVF were examined in depth in papers delivered at the conference by Dr. Beth

Asch of the Rand Corporation and Yaakov Lifshitz of the BESA Center. These and other experts generally agreed that, in purely financial terms, the savings involved in a move to an AVF vastly outweighed the costs, especially over the long term. This is an especially important consideration in the Israeli context, where the proportion of the GNP devoted to defense needs is in any case high.

Statistics presented at the conference indicate that some 50 percent of 18 year old Israeli young men and women are not enlisted. Most of those excused from service fall into one of four categories: Jewish women who declare that military service would conflict with their orthodox life-styles; ultra-Orthodox males who are registered in an academy of higher talmudic learning; Moslem Arabs; and persons considered physically unfit for the draft.

There also exists a small minority, comprised of young people who simply don’t care to serve and arrange an exemption of one sort or another; or are discharged by the army well before completing half the required two to three years of service.

This being the case, Prof. Cohen believes that Israel ought to consider ending the draft and creating an all-volunteer force. “Outstanding percentages of young Israelis are still motivated to serve, even in a culture which promotes self-fulfillment and the pursuit of wealth. In fact, IDF elite units have far more applicants than



Professors Mady Wechsler Segal, Chris Dandeker and Gabi Sheffer with Capt. (ret.) Yilmaz Aklar (l. to r.)

they can use and this same phenomenon usually extends to regular combat infantry units as well. Israeli society continues to accord respect and admiration to those who serve. Consequently, fears that a move to an AVF would strip the IDF of its manpower seem to be exaggerated.”

The BESA Center’s Dr. Avi Kober presented a series of operational considerations that, in his view, make it “difficult and unwise” for Israel to abandon conscription. Instead, he argued for a mixed system of “selective conscription” and volunteer assignments. “While it is very hard politically and societal for Israeli politicians to admit this, in practice this is exactly the system towards which we are moving,” he noted.

Dr. Reuven Gal, director of the Administration for National Civic Service in the Prime Minister’s Office and a former chief psychologist of the IDF, supported this contention by describing his office’s overall strategy for an expanded program of civic national service for broad segments of the Israeli public, as an alternative to military service. Professor David Segal of the University of Maryland, who participated alongside Gal in the concluding panel, likewise advocated the advantages of Israel’s pursuit of a “two-track” strategy

where military manpower policies are concerned.

Zakheim: “I don’t think that an Israeli AVF or more professional army means that your army will be less patriotic or willing to sacrifice for the homeland”

Many Boots on the Ground

IDF reserve major generals Emanuel Sakal and Yiftah Ron-Tal (both former senior ground commanders) strongly dissented from the talk of a move to an AVF, arguing that Israel’s acute security dilemmas and future ground battle needs will yet require large army manpower needs that can be met only by conscription. “The IDF has abandoned the talk of building a smaller and smarter fighting force since the Second Lebanon War,” Ron-Tal said. “We learned that the era of ‘many boots on the ground’ to conquer territory is not behind us.” Moreover, both generals felt that the nationalist-patriotic ethos of the country, were, to a large degree, held together by the conscript IDF,

and they were reluctant to forgo this “bonding force.”

Dr. Dov S. Zakheim, former US undersecretary of defense, and others, took sharp issue with the generals. “Mandatory military duty as a rite of citizenship and as a bonding force makes less and less sense in a society that is moving away from a unified Republican ethic. With 50% of young Israelis today shirking, or wiggling out of, or being dismissed very early from, IDF service, you have little reason to maintain the pretense of conscription,” he said.

“I also don’t think that an Israeli AVF or more professional army means that your army will be less patriotic or willing to sacrifice for the homeland,” Zakheim continued. “We find great competition and sense of national duty among recruits to our elite fighting units, and I suspect that you will too – even if you shift to an AVF”

Educating Officers

In recent years, the IDF has invested considerable efforts in establishing closer working relationships with the world of academe. More officers study at universities and a growing number of academics are invited to sit on IDF committees. Nevertheless, and as



Prof. Andrew Bacevich, Dr. Dov Zackheim and Prof. David Segal (l. to r.)

Prof. Gabi Ben-Dor pointed out in an extensive review of these contacts, the relationship is not always fruitful and sometimes resembles a “dialogue of the deaf.”

Ben-Dor’s comments were addressed by many of the scholars from abroad, who also addressed the issue of professional military education within the context of a shift to an AVF. Thus Prof. Andrew Bacevich of Boston U, Ronald Krebs of the U. of Minnesota, Dr. David Bercuson of the Center for Military and Strategic Studies at the U of Calgary and the Canadian Defense and Foreign Affairs Institute, and Dr. Leonard Wong of the US Army War College, all argued that their officer corps had increased in quality and level of education in the course of a move from conscription to an AVF.

“While this might be counter-intuitive, we have actually become more selective in our recruiting, more demanding in our training, and more sophisticated in our academic officer training. And we are attracting good quality recruits,” Bacevich said. The only problem, admitted the panelists, was numbers. “To meet the challenges of what the Pentagon calls ‘the long war,’ we need to triple the US Army from 500,000 to 1.5 million troops,” said Bacevich. “And that simply isn’t going to happen.”

The background to Israel’s adoption of conscription and the establishment of the IDF as a “people’s army” was analyzed by professors Stuart Cohen of the BESA Center and Yitzchak Greenberg of Beit Berl College. The societal pressures mandating change in that structure were explored in a paper on the challenges that Israeli society now poses to the IDF’s military autonomy given by Dr. Udi Lebel of Sapir

and Ariel Colleges. In Canada, the pressure to upgrade and reform the officer corps came from the political sector following revelations of abuse during a military mission in Somalia, explained Bercuson. In Turkey, the pressures to reform (and to allow more conscientious objection to military service) has come from the EU and the demands of the ongoing conflict with the Kurds, said Capt. (ret.) Yilmaz Aklar of the Turkish Navy.

Bacevich: “We have actually become more selective in our recruiting, more demanding in our training and more sophisticated in our academic officer training”

In the Netherlands, the pressures to reform and move to an AVF were mainly economic and political, explained Prof. Jan Hoffenaar of the Netherlands Institute of Military History. According to Lt. Col. Peter Wittenbruch of the German Federal Ministry of Defense, it is precisely the absence of any such pressures that permit the German Republic to maintain the present system of conscription, with an alternate of compulsory civilian duty. By contrast, the situation in the UK is entirely different. As Prof. Chris Dandeker of the Department of War Studies at King’s College London pointed out, although relationships between British society and its armed forces are undoubtedly undergoing substantial change, the armed forces remain a separate professional entity with an ethic that is very much their own.

Integration of Women in the Military

Two papers presented at the conference specifically addressed the impact of a change in force structures on gender relationships in the armed services, on the propensity of women to volunteer for military careers, and on their integration into the officer corps.

Prof. Martin Van Creveld of HU argued vociferously against the growing integration of women into the militaries of Western countries, including the IDF. “It degrades military efficiency,” he declared. But Prof. Mady Wechsler Segal of Maryland U and Dr. Orna Sasson-Levy of BIU presented studies that contradicted Van Creveld, and pointed to other societal benefits begot by greater gender equality in the military.

Mr. Tamir Libel, a Ph.D. candidate at the BESA Center, pointed to a growing gap in educational standards in the IDF between middle and senior level officers who serve in the regular army and those who are reservists. The latter, which comprise the far more numerous component, lag far behind their professional colleagues in their educational horizons. To help remedy this, Bar-Ilan University recently opened a master’s study program for IDF reserve officers at the battalion level, paid for by the IDF.

The conference was supported by the Embassy of the Netherlands in Israel and the American Embassy Public Affairs Office. 

OPINION

Israel's Moral War against Hamas

In June, Israel agreed to an Egyptian-brokered “calm” agreement on its southern border, bringing about a lull in the conflict with the radical Islamic movement Hamas, which took the Gaza Strip by force a year earlier. In an oped article published in *The Jerusalem Post* in March, BESA Center director **Prof. Efraim Inbar** argued that a broad-scale Israeli military operation against the Hamas is necessary, inevitable and moral – and he still believes so today.



Over a quarter of a million Israelis in the south are subjected to a daily rain of Kassam and GRAD rockets. Some Jewish towns around the Gaza Strip have suffered over 4,000 rocket attacks in the past seven years. No state can tolerate a situation where a large part of its population is being terrorized by continuous rocket and mortar fire. The first obligation of any state is to provide security to its citizens. Therefore, Israeli military operations in Gaza are an imperative designed to prevent the launching of rockets into Israeli population centers and are clearly an act of self-defense sanctioned by international law.

“Civilians in Gaza cannot claim immunity to the consequences of the war that their leadership is conducting against Israel”

It is important to note that the Palestinians have continued their terrorist attacks in recent years despite the complete Israel withdrawal from Gaza in 2005. Instead of seizing the opportunity to engage in state-building and in improving the standard of living for Gazans, the Palestinians acted upon their hatred and continued to attack Israeli civilians, which is in itself a war crime.

In contrast, Israeli military activities have never targeted civilians. Civilians are hurt occasionally in urban warfare, particularly when Hamas cynically places missile launchers or weapons stockpiles in the heart of a civilian area. These sites are, nevertheless, lawful military objectives. Under the Geneva Conventions, the responsibility for civilian casualties arising from the “shielding” lies with the party that deliberately placed civilians

at risk. Moreover, Israeli military units do their best to minimize the collateral damage when attacking military targets in the midst of civilian concentrations. The officers in the field are so instructed and they have great leeway even to abort missions in case the lives of too many civilians are at stake. More than once, IDF officers have risked their own troops to prevent Palestinian civilian casualties.

Israel follows strict legal standards for military procedures. Legal authorities are invariably consulted before the approval of military operational plans and all military actions are subject to stringent judicial review by the Israeli High Court of Justice - an institution with impeccable credentials.

The often-aided charge of disproportionate use of force by the Israeli military betrays ignorance of international law or plain desire for Israel-bashing. The proportionality of the damage done in the course of military action is measured in relation to the goal to be achieved by the use of force. The legitimate amount of force for the removal of the rocket threat from a quarter of a million Israelis is the true test of proportionality. Causing the death of any number of armed Hamas terrorists is obviously a proportionate course of action. Even hundreds of Gazan civilians hurt in a defensive battle as collateral damage are worth the lives of hundreds of thousands of Israeli civilians.


Moreover, the civilians in Gaza cannot claim immunity to the consequences of the war that their leadership is conducting against Israel. Hamas was popularly elected in 2006 and every public opinion poll continues to indicate substantial support by Gazans for Hamas, as well as for terrorist attacks on Israel. Unfortunately, killing Jews is popular among the Palestinians. We should not forget that the essence of war is a competition of

inflicting pain in order to change patterns of behavior. Actually, pain may have a positive value in affecting the learning curve of the warring sides. Exacting a high cost from Hamas and the Palestinians may lead them to more peaceful behavior. It is true that it is difficult to influence the learning process of large collectives, but this has occurred before.

“We should not forget that the essence of war is a competition of inflicting pain in order to change patterns of behavior”

For example, it took a lot of suffering in World War I and World War II to transform German society into becoming less militaristic and less belligerent. While advocating such an approach is not politically correct, it might be the recipe for turning the Palestinians into peaceful neighbors.

Unless Hamas stops harassing Israeli civilians, Gaza and Israel are on a course of armed conflict. Israel owes its citizens relative security and it is only a question of time when Israeli troops will take over large parts of Gaza and apply the same type of treatment the West Bank received in March-April 2002.

A large-scale Israeli military operation to destroy the Hamas terrorist infrastructure is inevitable. The world should be prepared for the cynical use of civilians by Hamas and the subsequent casualties. The moral responsibility for these losses clearly falls on the Islamists of Hamas. 

Whither American Zionism?

The BESA Center held an international conference in May to focus attention on the symbiosis between American Jewry and Israel; on the contribution of American Zionism to the history and development of the Jewish State; and on the impact that Israeli policies have on American Jewry, U.S.-Israel relations, and Israel-Diaspora relations – now and into the future.

Relations with the United States have always been of vital importance to the wellbeing of the State of Israel and have therefore deservedly attracted much attention. One aspect of this relationship however, the story of American Zionism, has suffered from comparative neglect, especially in academic discourse -- something that this conference sought to remedy.

The initiative for the conference came from Mr. Jacques Torczyner, one of the long-time leaders of American Zionism. He was president of the Zionist Organization of America in the crucial post-war years leading up to Israel's establishment, and was key player in the effort to draft global support for the 1947 UN partition resolution.

For a Rejuvenated American Zionist Youth

Keynoting the conference was Prof. Ruth Wisse of Harvard U. In a heartfelt address, Prof. Wisse argued for a rejuvenated American Zionism that would combat the growing voices of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism disguised as anti-Zionism. "We need an American Zionist program that will task Jewish youth for a few years of 'national service' in pro-Israel activism, akin to the years of military service completed by Israeli youth," she said.



Moshe Arens

Moshe Arens, former Israeli defense minister and ambassador to the US, spoke

to a lunch session. He lamented the fact that relatively few American Zionists have made aliyah over the past 60 years. "If ten thousand American Jews had come to fight with us in 1948, instead on one thousand, it would have made all the difference," he said. "If one hundred or two hundred thousand American Zionists had come to Israel since then – this could have made all the difference in our history," he added. Overall, he said the low aliyah rate from the West is directly connected to Israel's demographic dilemmas. "Judea and Samaria could have been retained, had we had more aliyah."

Arens: "If ten thousand American Jews had come to fight with us in 1948, instead on one thousand, it would have made all the difference"

Eckstein: Evangelical Support for Israel Sincere and Non-Threatening



Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein

Ambassador Dr. Dore Gold, president of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, offered a critique of the Walt-Mearsheimer book on the pro-Israel lobby's "pernicious" influence in America. Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein, president and founder of the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews gave an



Prof. Ruth Wisse delivering the keynote address.

impassioned defense of his organization's work with Christian Evangelicals, noting that Evangelical support for Israel was "sincere, rock solid and non-threatening." He spoke bitterly of those Israeli and Jewish leaders – including the Ultra-Orthodox and the political left-wing – who reject and seek to undermine the Evangelical-Israel connection.

Rubin: Obama is a Danger to the Security of Israel, America and the Entire World



Prof. Barry Rubin

One of the most interesting sessions at the conference discussed the current American Presidential race. Prof. Barry Rubin, director of the GLORIA Center, launched a broadside attack on Democratic presidential candidate Barack Obama, warning that he would be "the most anti-American president in US history, and his presidency would be a danger to the security of Israel, America and the entire world." Obama, he explained, "never mentions power



politics or the importance of strength; and never mentions what he would do if his high talk of negotiations with the world's dictators fail. He doesn't understand the danger that radical Islam poses to the free world." For this reason, Rubin said, Egyptian, Jordanian and Saudi leaders fear an Obama presidency, "while the Iranians and Syrians would welcome an Obama win."



Gary Rosenblatt

Gary Rosenblatt, publisher and editor of *The New York Jewish Week*, demurred from Rubin's analysis, noting that Obama's record on Israel and anti-terrorist legislation was solid, and that significant pro-Israel community figures are involved in his campaign. Similarly, Prof. Robert Lieber of Georgetown U contented that whoever wins the elections will be constrained by long-term fundamental American obligations to protect and defend Israel.



Prof. Bob Lieber



Prof. Eytan Gilboa

However, the BESA Center's expert on American politics and US-Israeli relations, Prof. Eytan Gilboa, concurred with Rubin's unease about the direction

of American politics on defense and security issues, noting that the insistence of public opinion on winding down the war in Iraq would have significant, long-term implications for Israel. He noted Obama's lack of experience in high level policymaking, particularly in defense and foreign affairs, and his campaign promises to "fix the world." He questioned whether Obama could successfully negotiate "with tough and obnoxious authoritarian leaders such as Mahmoud Ahmadinejad or Bashar Assad."

Rubin: "Egyptian, Jordanian and Saudi leaders fear an Obama presidency, while the Iranians and Syrians would welcome an Obama win"



Dr. Jonathan Rynhold

Pluralistic Solidarity with Israel

Several panels took a socio-political look at American Zionism today. Dr. Jonathan Rynhold of the BESA Center said that "in general, most American Jews remain close to Israel. But since the late 1980s political divisions among US Jews reflect the same divisions here, making it more difficult for the Israeli government to mobilize them politically for their diplomatic policies 'right or wrong'. This has been reflected in the rise of lobbying by American Jewish groups on the Left and the Right who have lobbied against the policy of Israeli governments in

the 1990s." Rynhold pointed out, however, that this trend has been mitigated since the collapse of the Oslo process because most American Jews strongly believe that the Palestinians are responsible for the collapse of the peace process. He called this "pluralistic solidarity".



Prof. Chaim Waxman

Other speakers at the conference included Prof. Leonard Saxe (Brandeis U), Prof. Chaim I. Waxman (JPPPI), Prof. Ira Sheskin (U of Miami), Prof. Gerald Steinberg (BESA Center), Prof. Allon Gal (Ben-Gurion U), Prof. Zohar Segev (Haifa U), Prof. Natan Aridan (Ben-Gurion U), and Dr. Mira Katzburg Yungman (Open U). The Dorothy and Harold Greenwald Foundation funded the conference, which was co-sponsored by the Argov Center for the Study of the Jewish People at BIU. 

SEMINARS

Russia and the Middle East

Russian Middle East policy under Vladimir Putin and his successor president Dmitry Medvedev often seems an enigma to Western observers. In particular, the Russians have every reason to fear the growth of radical Islam in Asia and the Mideast, yet they seem reluctant to cooperate with Washington and the West in confronting this challenge. In an attempt to better understand Russian thinking, the BESA Center hosted a group of Russian intellectuals and former diplomats close to Putin. Prof. Sergey Kurginyan, president of the Moscow Experimental Creative Center (ECC), Dr. Yuri Byaly, vice president of the ECC, and Dr. Alexander Nagorny of the ECC explained that Moscow is “resentful” of the way in which Washington treats Moscow. Russia is wary of the growth of radical Islam – and of China too – but is less than motivated to assist Washington in checking radical Islam because of “superpower” competition. They also minimized and downplayed



Dr. Uri Petrushevsky of the BESA Center, Dr. Yuri Byaly, and Prof. Sergey Kurginyan (l. to r.)

the danger of a nuclear Iran. “We don’t believe that the Iranians are anywhere near reaching a nuclear bomb,” said Kurginyan.

The Kosovo Problem

In September 2007, the BESA Center took a look at the emerging Moslem state in Kosovo. Ambassador James Bissett of the Lord Byron Foundation for Balkan Studies warned that the emergence of an independent Moslem Kosovo was an “assault on the Westphalian order.” Mr. James Jatras of the American Council for Kosovo went a step further, arguing that US policy in the Balkans was “irrational and a disaster in the making. Washington is shamefully pandering to the Islamic world by supporting a radical Islamic movement in Kosovo, which will yet spill over into other Balkan countries,” he said. Other speakers at the conference included Dr. Raphael Yago (TAU), Dr. Srdja Trifkovic (Rockford Institute),



Ambassador James Bissett of the Lord Byron Foundation for Balkan Studies (l.) and James Jatras of the American Council for Kosovo.

Prof. Raju Thomas (Marquette U), Prof. Raphael Israeli (HU), Prof. Amikam Nachmani (BESA) and Dr. Mordechai Kedar (BESA).

Violence in the World of Islam

In October, the BESA Center convened a conference to consider unconventional warfare, terrorism, civil wars, and low intensity conflict in the Islamic world. The conference was co-sponsored by the Menachem Begin Center for the Study of Underground and Resistance Movements in the Department of Middle Eastern History at Bar-Ilan U, directed by Prof. Michael M. Laskier. One key question discussed throughout the conference was: Is violence in the Moslem world culturally connected or a merely question of politics and circumstance? Prof. Ofra Bengio of BIU, for example, discussed the “essentialist” school of thought in Iraq, which “accepts” the fact that violence is deeply embedded in Iraqi culture dating back thousands of years to Mesopotamian times. Prof. Raphael Vago, of TAU, and Col. (res.) Dr. Shaul Shay, deputy director of the National Security Council, took similar approaches to their analyses of violence



Prof. Michael Laskier, Dr. Deborah Tor, Dr. Joseph Mann, and Prof. Yaacov Lev (l. to r.)

and Islamic terrorism in the Balkans. Dr. Yehudit Ronen of Bar-Ilan U. offered a mesmerizing and discouraging account of the war in Sudan between the Moslem Arab north and the animist-Christian south of the country, and among Moslems in the Darfur region. Other presentations included Bar-Ilan University specialists Dr. Deborah Tor on the Origins and Significance of Non-Governmental Jihad in Islam, Dr. Joseph Mann on the Use of Force by

the Ismailis, Prof. Yaacov Lev on Salah al-Din in Egypt and Syria, Dr. Ronen A. Cohen on the Mojahedin-e-Khalq and its Struggle against the Islamic Republic of Iran, Prof. Michael M. Laskier on 'Salafiyya-Jihadiyya' & 'Takfir' Groups in the Maghreb and European Union; and Dr. Meir Litvak (TAU) on Failure of the Islamist Insurgency in Algeria, and Prof. Barry Rubin (GLORIA) on Palestinian Warfare against Israel.

State and Religion in Turkey

Three prominent Islamic academics from Turkey headlined a one-day BESA Center seminar in December on “State and Religion in Turkey.” This unique Turkish-Israeli dialogue, involving religious Moslem and religious Jewish academics, focused on religion, theology and statehood in Turkey and the Middle East. The Turkish guests: Prof. Sinasi Gunduz of Istanbul University, Prof. Yasin Aktay of Selcuk University, Dr. Burhanettin Tatar of Dokuz Eylul University, and Mr. Cemal Usak of the Turkish Journalists Association, discussed the growing influence of Islam within the ruling AKP Islamic Party of Turkey and on Turkish campuses. The balance between Islam and democracy, secularism and multiculturalism, and



Prof. Sinasi Gunduz, Prof. Yasin Aktay, Dr. Burhanettin Tatar, and Mr. Cemal Usak (l. to r.)

security and freedom, dominated the discussions. “With religious elements becoming more central to politics in Turkey, this dialogue is clearly needed,”

explains BESA Center director Prof. Efraim Inbar. The seminar was supported by the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

LECTURES



Dr. Emanuele Ottolenghi

of the Brussels-based Transatlantic Institute lectured in March on "Iran's Nuclear Dossier: What Can the EU Do?" He charged that Western companies are selling Iran dual-purpose technologies

that are being used to repress its own citizens, to bully its neighbors, and to destabilize the entire region.



Prof. Benjamin Miller

of Haifa U spoke in January about his new book *States, Nations and Great Powers: The Sources of Regional War and Peace* (Cambridge University Press), relating this to the current American

administration's efforts for an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal in 2008.



Mr. Yoram Ettinger

of the American-Israel Demographic Research Group lectured in March on "Palestinian Demography: Myth or Reality?" arguing that the demographic threat to Israel from Israeli and Palestinian Arabs

is greatly exaggerated and even declining.



Maj. Gen. (res.) Yitzhak Brik

lectured in November, warning that Israel was at risk of losing the Galilee to an Arab majority that could connect with West Bank Arabs and pose a strategic threat to Israel.



Brig. Gen. Klaus Wittman

Director of Academic Planning and Policy at the NATO Defense College in Rome, lectured in December on "NATO Whereto?"



Prof. Ioannis Mazis

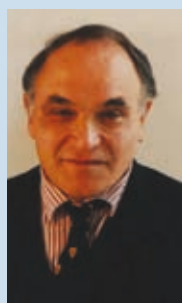
of Ionian University in Corfu delivered the Annual Madame Madeleine Feher Lecture at the BESA Center in September 2007 on "The Radical Islamist Threat in the Southeastern

Mediterranean." He warned that Pakistan was exporting radical Islam to the eastern Mediterranean.



Prof. Daniel Sibony

of the University of Paris lectured in November on "Elements of Arab-Islamic Psychology."



Prof. Moshe Maoz

of the Hebrew University lectured in May on "The Shiite Crescent: Myth and Fact."



Mr. Jonathan Paris

lectured in January 2008 on "How Stable is Pakistan?" predicting that the US is likely to continue to support the Pakistani Army, hoping that Musharraf can somehow "engineer a soft landing" despite his challenges.

NEW BOOKS

BESA research associates published five books this year with Routledge Press



Israel's Strategic Agenda

edited by Efraim Inbar

296 pages, ISBN: 9780415413602, \$125
BESA Studies in Intl. Security series

This volume examines political and economic factors in the global strategic environment including the approach of US and EU foreign policies towards

Israel, global trends in the field of defense industries and the energy sector and their implications for the Middle East and Israel. A second part focuses on Israel's strategic agenda as reflected in its military force design and doctrine, the dilemmas the country has faced in the course of fighting its wars of attrition, civilian-military relations, the struggle against Israel on the part of non-governmental organizations, Israel's Palestinian challenges, and national grand strategy.



Radical Islam and International Security: Challenges & Responses

edited by Hillel Frisch and Efraim Inbar

240 pages, ISBN: 9780415444606, \$125

BESA Studies in Intl. Security series

This volume seeks to understand the Islamic challenge in broad comparative and historical terms; deals with specific regional case studies which seek to identify patterns of uniformity and variation in radical Islam across a wide swathe of terrain; and suggests possible responses to the Islamic challenge. The contributors include distinguished researchers from Europe, North America and the Middle East.

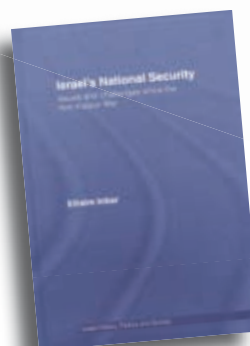


Israel and its Army: From Cohesion to Confusion

by Stuart Cohen

208 pages, ISBN: 978-0-415-40049-7, \$125

This definitive study tracks the IDF's major programs of structural reform, technological adaptation and doctrinal revision, and explicates them in the context of massive shifts in both Israel's external strategic landscape and in the country's domestic and cultural environments.



Israel's National Security: Issues and Challenges since the Yom Kippur War

by Efraim Inbar

320 pages, ISBN: 9780415449557, \$125

A comprehensive analysis of Israel's security challenges in a changing strategic environment – from the 1973 war all the way through to the Second Lebanon War and the Iranian nuclear challenge.



The Palestinian Military: Between Militias and Armies

by Hillel Frisch

240 pages, ISBN: 978-0-415-39532-8, \$140

A first-of-its-kind analysis of Palestinian attempts to create an organized military force, from 1936 through the Oslo Accords and current security reforms. Provides lessons from the Palestinian experience that can be applied to the promotion of healthy civil-military relations within political entities located in major conflict zones.



BESA PERSPECTIVES PAPERS

No. 33

The False Crisis in Military Recruitment: An IDF Red Herring

Stuart Cohen

According to figures released by the IDF, 25% of Israeli male youth are shirking military duty. However, the statistics simply do not support this: Israeli enlistment remains at extraordinarily high levels. Why then the hysteria? The IDF is cynically seeking to legitimize its budget demands by creating the aura of crisis.

No. 34

The Threat of al Qaeda and its Allies in Lebanon

Shaul Shay

Clashes between the Lebanese army and the al Qaeda-affiliated Fatah al Islam organization in Nahr al Bared in north Lebanon, and similar attacks against UNIFIL forces in south Lebanon, reflect the challenges of radical jihadi Sunni Islam on the stability of the country and the region. The Lebanese government's ability to face the challenge of al Qaeda appears limited, with the degree of its success largely dependant on international support and the consent of local power brokers such as Hizballah and the Palestinians.

No. 35

U.S. Kosovo Policy Is Bad for Israel

James Jatras and Serge Trifkovic

The creation a new state in Kosovo awards part of a nation's territory to a violent ethno-religious minority; futilely hopes to curry favor with the Islamic world through appeasement; effectively gives a fresh impetus to the ongoing growth of Islamic influence in Europe; and denies the fact that the putative state's leaders are tainted by terrorism, criminality, and well-documented links with global jihad. Most importantly, it betrays a cynically post-modern contempt for all claims based on the historical rights and spiritual

significance of a land to a nation. American support for the independence of Kosovo is thus detrimental to Israeli interests.

No. 36

The Mideast Axis of Destabilization

Ely Karmon

The Iran-Syria-Hizballah-Hamas alliance has acted during the last 15 years as an "axis of destabilization" in the Middle East, achieving major strategic victories at the expense of moderate Arab states, and US, European, and Israeli interests.

No. 37

How Stable is Pakistan?

Jonathan Paris

Pakistan's future is exceedingly difficult to predict; the state may fail or fragment. Questions abound: the uncertain ability of President Musharraf to maintain his power, the unpredictability of the election cycle, the untested judgment of the new Army Chief of Staff Ashfaq Kayani, the shift of global jihadi volunteers from Iraq to the northwest border sanctuaries of Pakistan, and the security of Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Faced with few other options, the US is likely to continue to support the Pakistani Army and to hope that Musharraf can somehow engineer a soft landing.

No. 38

Gaza: Risks and Opportunities

Efraim Inbar

The breach by Hamas of the Egyptian-Gaza border has strengthened Hamas' standing in Gaza and increased the current security challenges to Israel, as terrorists and arms cross the porous border and rockets

continue to fall on Israeli cities near Gaza. Egypt is forced to play a role in the new situation, and finds itself caught in a dilemma – showing solidarity with the Palestinians in Gaza while simultaneously preventing Hamas' influence in internal Egyptian politics. Could this be the catalyst for Arab states taking responsibility over the Palestinian issue?

No. 39

France, the European Union and the Middle East in the Sarkozy Era

Tsilla Hershco

Sarkozy's policy represents traditional French aspirations to play a prominent role in the international arena in general and in the Middle East in particular, while adopting new energetic methods and activism adapted to Sarkozy's style and worldwide vision. He aims to increase France's influence and promote French interests in the Middle East by strengthening the European Union's global role and by advancing initiatives such as the Common European Foreign and Defense Policy and the Mediterranean Union.

No. 40

Shelve the Shelf Agreement

David M. Weinberg

The Olmert-Livni "shelf agreement" concept for Israel-Palestinian peace is strategically illogical and tactically ill-considered. It has no foundation in negotiation theory; and incautiously assumes best case scenarios regarding the Palestinians. A shelf agreement would not end the conflict because the Palestinians would proceed to bargain with Israel for additional concessions as the price of implementation, and Israel inevitably would be forced to forgive the Palestinians on the needed governmental and security reforms even as the PA unilaterally proclaims statehood.



No. 41

Iran's Deceptive Commercial Practices

Emanuele Ottolenghi

Sanctions against Iran focus on nuclear and ballistic missile technology, drawing a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate trade. But a closer look at Iran's commercial practices proves that Iran is systematically abusing its access to Western technology. Technology it is acquiring for civilian projects or for legitimate policing activities is being diverted in order to bolster Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps and its overwhelming economic role in Iran; and also for the development of Iran's clandestine nuclear activities.

No. 42

Israel at 60 Remains a Success Story

Efraim Inbar

In a sixtieth birthday review, Inbar declares Israel a vibrant and prosperous democracy with strong social cohesion. Its mighty military machine is able to meet all regional threats. In parallel, Israel's international status has improved, while support for Israel in the US, Israel's main ally and the hegemonic power in world affairs, remains high.

No. 43

A Hopeful Iraq: Two Dangers Averted

Max Singer

Opponents of the war in Iraq have long warned that the removal of Saddam Hussein would have two extremely negative consequences: that Iraqi Shiites would impose a radical religious regime on the country, and that Iran would effectively come to control the country. However, an examination of the actual facts reveals that neither of these horrors has come to be. While the struggle is not yet over and these dangers exist, the likelihood of Iraq becoming radically religious or Iranian-dominated seems considerably lower than it did in 2003.

No. 44

UNRWA: Barrier to Peace

Jonathan Spyer

The United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA) perpetuates the Palestinian refugee issue, and therefore serves as a major obstacle toward resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Like no other UN body, UNRWA's definition of refugees includes not only the refugees themselves, but also their descendents. Moreover, refugees keep their status even if they have gained citizenship. UNRWA employs teachers affiliated with Hamas and allows the dissemination of Hamas messages in its schools. UNRWA should be dissolved and its services transferred to more appropriate welfare organizations.

No. 45

The Failure of the Oslo Process: Inherently Flawed or Flawed Implementation?

Jonathan Rynhold

Liberals argued that the Oslo process collapsed because it was not implemented properly; especially the failure to implement economic integration and to build mutual trust. In contrast, from a Realist perspective, the Oslo process was flawed from the outset. Israel and the Palestinians were ripe for negotiations but not for conflict resolution because the parties remained too far apart on core issues. No amount of trust could overcome this problem. Attempts at integration actually made matters worse by increasing friction. The key to conflict management is not integration but physical and political separation.

No. 46

Sarkozy's Presidency: A New Era in Franco-Israeli Relations?

Tsilla Hershco

Has Sarkozy's presidency ushered in a new era in Franco-Israeli relations? Despite the tightening of bilateral and strategic relations, and the improvement of both ambiance and tone in the relationship, substantial political disagreements – regarding the PA, Syria, Lebanon and more – remain between Sarkozy's France and Israel.



Stuart Cohen published *Israel and its Army: From Cohesion to Confusion* (London: Routledge 2008), which summarizes Cohen's decade-long research into the changing relationships between the IDF and Israeli society, in a variety of contexts: international, societal and operational. He lectured in the spring at Georgetown and Princeton Universities, and at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington DC.

Hillel Frisch published *The Palestinian Military: Between Militias and Armies* (London: Routledge 2008) and co-edited (with Efraim Inbar) *Radical Islam and International Security: Challenges and Responses* (London: Routledge, 2007). He lectured on "Why the Palestinians Relatively Succeeded in the First Intifada and Failed in the Second" at the annual meeting of the Israeli Political Science Association, on "Israel and its Arab Minority from an International Security Perspective" and on "Iran and Hamas" at Hebrew U.

Eytan Gilboa published "The Public Diplomacy of Al-Jazeera" in P. Seib (ed.) *New Media and the New Middle East* (Palgrave 2007); "The US and the Iranian Nuclear Challenge" in U. Rabi (ed.) *Iran Time* (Center for Iranian Studies, Tel Aviv U, 2008); "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy" in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (616, March 2008); and "Media Diplomacy" in W. Donsbach (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Communication* (International Communication Association/Blackwell Publishing, 2008, Vol. VII). He presented papers at the University of London, and at the 2008 International Studies Association meeting. He was appointed member of the international editorial boards of *Media, War and Conflict*, *International Journal of Media and Foreign Affairs* and *Communication Studies*.

Tsilla Hershco published "Les Institutions Françaises en Terre Sainte", in: Dominique Trimbur, Ran Aaronshon (eds), *De Baljour à Ben Gourion*, Editions CNRS, mars 2008; and «La France, la Shoah et la Création de l'État d'Israël», Perspectives n.8, mai 2008, *Editions de l'Edat*, Paris. She lectured in February 2008 on "France, the EU and the Middle East in the Sarkozy Era" at the Israeli Association for the Study of European Integration; on "Soixante ans de Relations Franco-Israéliennes, Mythe ou réalité" at Tel Aviv U.; and on "La France, la Résistance Juive et l'Aliya Beth" in June in Paris.

Efraim Inbar published *Israel's National Security: Issues and Challenges since the Yom Kippur War* (London: Routledge, 2008); *Radical Islam and International Security: Challenges and Responses* (London: Routledge, 2008, co-edited with Hillel Frisch); *Abraham Rotem, Dusting off the Castle: Rehabilitating the IDF* (an edited, posthumous Hebrew collection of articles written by Maj. Gen. Avraham Rotem, Tel Aviv: Maarachot, 2007, co-edited with Hagai Golan); and *Israel's Strategic Agenda* (ed., London: Routledge, 2007). He lectured at Columbia and Princeton on "The Rise and Demise of the Palestinian Option"; and at Claremont College, FPRI, and the University of Pisa on "The Iranian Nuclear Challenge."

Mordechai Kedar published (with Irwin J. Mansdorf) "The Psychological Asymmetry of Islamist Warfare" in *Middle East Quarterly* (15:2, spring 2008); "Gap of Values: Gender and Family Issues as a Source of Tension between Islam and the West" (Herzliya, 2006); and "The Clash of Values: Islamists and the 1994 UN International Conference of Population and Development in

Cairo", in Meir Litvak (ed.), *Middle Eastern Societies and the West: Accommodation or Clash of Civilizations?* (Dayan Center, 2006).

Avi Kober published "The IDF in the Second Lebanon War: Why the Poor Performance?" in *The Journal of Strategic Studies* (31:1, February 2008), for which he received the Amos Perlmutter Prize for best essay in the prestigious *Journal of Strategic Studies*; and "Targeted Killing during the Second Intifada: The Quest for Effectiveness" in the *Journal of Conflict Studies* (27:1, Summer 2007).

Amikam Nachmani published *Europe and its Muslim Minorities* (Sussex Academic Press, forthcoming 2008); edited (with Nimrod Goren) *The Importance of Being European: Turkey, the EU, and the Middle East* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 2007); and "Turkey: a Shift in Focus" through the European Forum at the Hebrew University (No. 1, May 2008). He lectured in October on "Greek, Turkish, Israeli Interactions and Images" at the University of Crete; on "Mirror Images: Civil Wars in China and Greece" in November at Simon Frazer University in Vancouver; on "Europe, Jews and its Muslim Minorities" in April at the TAU Minerva Institute for German History; on the "Greek Position Towards the Independence of Israel, 1947-1948" in May at the Institute of International Economic Relations in Athens; on "Europe and its Moslem Minorities" in May at the Israel Association for Middle East and Islamic Studies annual conference; on "Turkey: Army, State and Democracy" in May at the TAU Herzog Center; and on "The Lack of Anglo-American Cooperation in the Mideast in 1948" in June at Haifa U.

Jonathan Rynhold published "Ideological Change and Israel's Disengagement from Gaza" (with D. Waxman) in *Political Science Quarterly* (123:1, 2008); "Cultural Shift and Foreign Policy Change: Israel and the Making of the Oslo Accords" in *Cooperation and Conflict* (42:4, 2007); "Realism, Liberalism and the Collapse of the Oslo Process" in Guy Ben-Porat ed. *The Failure of the Middle East Peace Process* (Palgrave, 2008); "British Policy towards the Middle East since the End of the Cold War" in E. Podesh and Z. Levey eds. *Britain and the Middle East* (Sussex Academic Press, 2008) (with J. Spyer) and "Britain in the Arab-Israeli Arena 1973-2004" in the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (34:3, 2007, with J. Spyer). He lectured on "US-Israeli Relations" at SOAS, University of London in March 2008; and on "Why Oslo Failed: An Integrated Theoretical Explanation" at the *International Studies Association* annual conference in San Francisco in March 2008.

Dany Shoham published "How Will Iran Retaliate to a Strike on its Nuclear Facilities?" in *Contemporary Security Policy* (28:3, 2007); and a Hebrew version in *Nativ* (20:1, January 2008).

Gerald Steinberg published "Israel at Sixty: Asymmetry, Vulnerability, and the Search for Security" (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, June 2008); "60 Jahre Israel" in German in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, "Europe's Hidden Hand: EU Funding for Political NGOs in the Arab-Israeli Conflict" (NGO Monitor Monograph Series, 2008); and op-ed articles in *The Wall Street Journal*, *Jerusalem Post*, *Washington Times*, and *Montreal Gazette*. He lectured in May on "Politics of Human Rights in the Arab-Israeli Conflict" at Ottawa U; in Geneva on "What to Do About Durban II?"; and at the Institute of International Relations and Political Science, Vilnius University.

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.

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