



SPECIAL ISSUE

Iran: A Growing Menace

This issue of the BESA Bulletin takes a close look at the mounting dangers coming from Iran and what might be done to counter the developing threats.

Ze'ev Maghen on the
**Dangerous New Leadership
Coterie in Teheran**

Uzi Rubin on Iran's **Ambitious
Satellite Program**

Gil Feiler on Iran's **(In) Ability
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Efraim Inbar on the **Imperative
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Europe and the Middle East: Complicated Relations



EU Ambassador Ramiro Cibrian

In January, the BESA Center hosted a conference on the complicated relations between Europe and the Middle East, co-sponsored by Le Cercle, an association of French Jewish businessmen seeking to support democratic values and peace in the Mideast.

scientific research framework – something that is worth hundreds of millions of euros a year to Israel. And Israel is a member of the EU's broad-ranging Galileo satellite project. In short, the EU-Israel relationship is a privileged relationship," said Cibrian.

But Ambassador Harry Kney-Tal, Israel's former ambassador to the EU and currently in the Hague, disagreed. "Yes, the EU-Israel relationship is good, but it could, and should, be even better," he said. "The bilateral agenda is not ambitious enough. There are some within the EU who purposefully hold the expansion of Israel's trade relationship with the EU hostage to progress in Middle East peacemaking." Kney-Tal also expressed concern that the older generation of European leaders – who felt a visceral and personal tie to Israel stemming from the Holocaust – was passing on. "Few of the younger European leaders ever have worked on an Israeli kibbutz or view Israel through the prism of its heroic, pioneering days."

Dr. Emanuel Ottolenghi of St. Anthony's College at Oxford University warned that Israel suffers from the deep anti-Americanism sweeping across Europe. "Moreover, the long-term intellectual trends

that one is exposed to in European universities today are hostile to Israel, even to its very right of existence. Even the Holocaust is fading as a central motif in European consciousness," he said.

Prof. Daniel Sibony of the University of Paris spoke about psychological aspects of European positions on terrorism and the Middle East. Dr. Tsilla Hershco of the BESA Center reviewed French-Israeli relations.

Prof. Amikam Nachmani of the BESA Center discussed the tense relationship between Europe and Turkey. He said that today Europe was less willing than ever to accept Turkey into the EU, mainly because of cultural and economic differences. Dr. Jonathan Rynhold, also of the BESA Center, reviewed British policy towards Israel. "The British foreign service is known to be pro-Arab," he said. "On the other hand, those British defense and other officials who deal with security, and many strategists, are much friendlier to Israel."

The program was chaired by Mr. Fabrice Chiche, president of Le Cercle.



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The BESA Center's conference on Europe and the Middle East was headlined by Ambassador Ramiro Cibrian, Head of the European Commission's Delegation to Israel. Cibrian painted a rosy picture of EU-Israel relations.

"We are pro-Israeli security, pro-Palestinian statehood, and pro-peace all at the same time. The EU is Israel's largest trading partner. Israel is one of only three non-EU countries (the others being Norway and Switzerland) that is part of the EU the



Prof. Amikam Nachmani and Dr. Tsilla Hershco of the BESA Center, with Mr. Fabrice Chiche, chairman of Le Cercle (l. to r.)



Ambassador Harry Kney-Tal, Dr. Jonathan Rynhold of the BESA Center, and Dr. Emanuel Ottolenghi of St. Anthony's College at Oxford University (l. to r.)

BESA Center Conference

Strategic Aspects of Israel's Space Activities



Col. (res.) Aby Har-Even, long-time director general of the Israel Space Agency, has joined the BESA Center as a research associate. He organized a unique conference which offered a rare and highly-revealing look at Israel's activities in space.



Conference organizer Col. (res.) Aby Har-Even of the BESA Center, former director general of the Israel Space Agency

BESA Center associate Col. (res.) Aby Har-Even, former director general of Israel Space Agency, organized a December conference on "Israel's Space Activities." Headlining the conference were Uzi Rubin, the former head of Israel's Arrow Missile Program (see page 7 for a summary of his remarks), Maj. Gen. (res.) Eitan Ben-Eliahu, former commander of IAF, Col. (res.) David Polak, president & CEO of Spacecom, Brig. Gen. (res.) Haim Yifrah of Image Sat, and Mr. Yair Ramati, general manager of the Israel Aircraft Industries MLM (Satellite) Division.



Uzi Rubin, the former head of Israel's Arrow Missile Program

Har-Even reviewed the development of Israel's space activities, from the Shavit launcher through the eight Ofeq, Eros and Amos commercial and military satellites, five of which are operational today. He also discussed Israel's participation in the French Venus project, and the EU Galileo satellite program.

Ben-Eliahu described Israel's "widening strategic orbit and potential confrontation zone." "We need to have the ability to pinpoint targets on the other side of the Mideast; to be able to destroy enemy targets with 100 percent accuracy without dispatching ground forces; and thus the importance of our satellite, missile and long-range air strike programs," he said.



Maj. Gen. (res.) Eitan Ben-Eliahu, former commander of Israel Air Force

Polak of Spacecom explained Israel's strategic advantage in the production of satellites. "Satellites and space activity are a natural fit for Israel," he said, "because we are a small country with little capacity for mass production but with a high-tech edge. Satellites do not need to be mass produced in order to be cost effective, unlike the Lavi jet."



Haim Yifrah of Image Sat

Yifrah of Image Sat, who was a former IDF chief intelligence officer and former IDF attaché in France, outlined Israel's place in the world of commercial photographic satellites. "There are only five companies in the world selling high resolution satellite photos, with the three largest being American, and they dominate the market," he explained. "These photos remain very expensive, and the market for these photos is not what everybody expected. There aren't enough buyers. The commercial, civilian market still relies on aerial photos taken by airplanes. Our company, Image Sat International is about to launch its second commercial satellite, built by IAI and launched from Russia."

Ramati of IAI, whose division built both of Image Sat's satellites as well as the Arrow missile, provided a detailed look into the world of rocket launchers and missile payloads.



BESA Report Refutes Palestinian Demography

Palestinian Population Figures are Wildly Inflated

An in-depth study of Palestinian demography, sponsored by the BESA Center and published in February, ravages the Palestinian Central Bureau of Statistics (PCBS), finding that its population statistics and predictions are tendentious, politically-motivated, misleading and unreliable. The central finding of the BESA Center report is that the Palestinian population of the West Bank stands at 1.4 million; not the 2.4 million claimed by the Palestinians.



The groundbreaking report subjects Palestinian demography to rigorous analysis and harsh critique. Using evidence gathered from multiple Palestinian agencies, including the PA Ministries of Health and Education and the PA Central Elections Commission, the study finds that the 1997 PCBS population survey (used as the basis for all subsequent studies) inflated numbers by over 50 percent by including hundreds of thousands of overseas Palestinian not resident in the West Bank and by double-counting Jerusalem Arabs. Other PCBS studies also built-in unrealized birth forecasts, included assumptions of mass Palestinian immigration that never occurred, and disregarded significant Palestinian emigration from the territories to Israel and neighboring Arab countries.

The 80-page study, "The Million Person Gap: The Arab Population in the West Bank and Gaza," was written by three American researchers – Bennett Zimmerman, Roberta Seid and Michael L. Wise, assisted by an Israeli research team which included Brig. Gen. (res.) David Shahaf (former head of Israel's Civil Administration in the West Bank, who directed Israel's last demographic survey of the West Bank in 1990).

"This study leads to several general conclusions about population dynamics in the region," explains BESA Center director Prof. Efraim Inbar. "Israeli concerns about demographic pressure from the West Bank and Gaza evidently have been exaggerated. In fact, the demographic threat to Israeli society has not quantitatively changed since 1967. This is important, because the false PCBS figures have driven critical decisions in Israel, have influenced infrastructure planning including water and land use, and have been the basis for American and international foreign aid to the PA. Many

of these decisions and policies require reexamination in light of these lower population figures for the West Bank and Gaza."

"It is particularly important to note that Western governments and international humanitarian aid agencies have accepted the inflated population numbers without question and, essentially, have ended up spending their money on Palestinians who were never born or not resident in the West Bank and Gaza."

In their conclusions, the authors argue that "given the magnitude of the errors in the PCBS Model – its 2004 population figure was inflated by over 50 percent – demographers and state agencies would be wise to correct figures for the current population and growth rates before

continuing to make any forecasts about the Palestinian population. In all future studies, data sources should be explicitly documented, since today many estimates use the information released by the PCBS without noting the source."

The authors of the study contend that their research also demonstrates the need to consider a fuller range of population scenarios when prognosticating for the future. "In the past, many researchers just presumed that Arab and Jewish growth rates would always move in tandem, up together or down together. But there are clearly other realistic possibilities. In order to be comprehensive, forecasts should

Olmert Takes the Helm in Israel

The new "centrist" party, Kadima, founded by former prime minister Ariel Sharon and now led by Ehud Olmert, won Israel's March election and leads the

new government in Jerusalem. Olmert (depicted above in a caricature from Nekuda magazine) says that he intends to bulldoze many Israeli settlements in the West Bank as part of a second disengagement plan. BESA Center associate and Israeli electoral expert Prof. Shmuel Sandler says that Kadima's electoral success may represent a deeper socio-political shift in Israel away from the ideologies of the Left and Right wings and towards a new centrist consensus that neither believes in peace with the Palestinians nor in holding onto all parts of biblical Israel.



consider a complete range of potential developments, including changes in migration patterns at international borders. The future demographic balance in the area may depend on what happens with the Jewish majority, which has maintained its demographic weight through rising birth rates and immigration, while the Palestinian population actually has experienced high, but declining, birth rates and emigration."

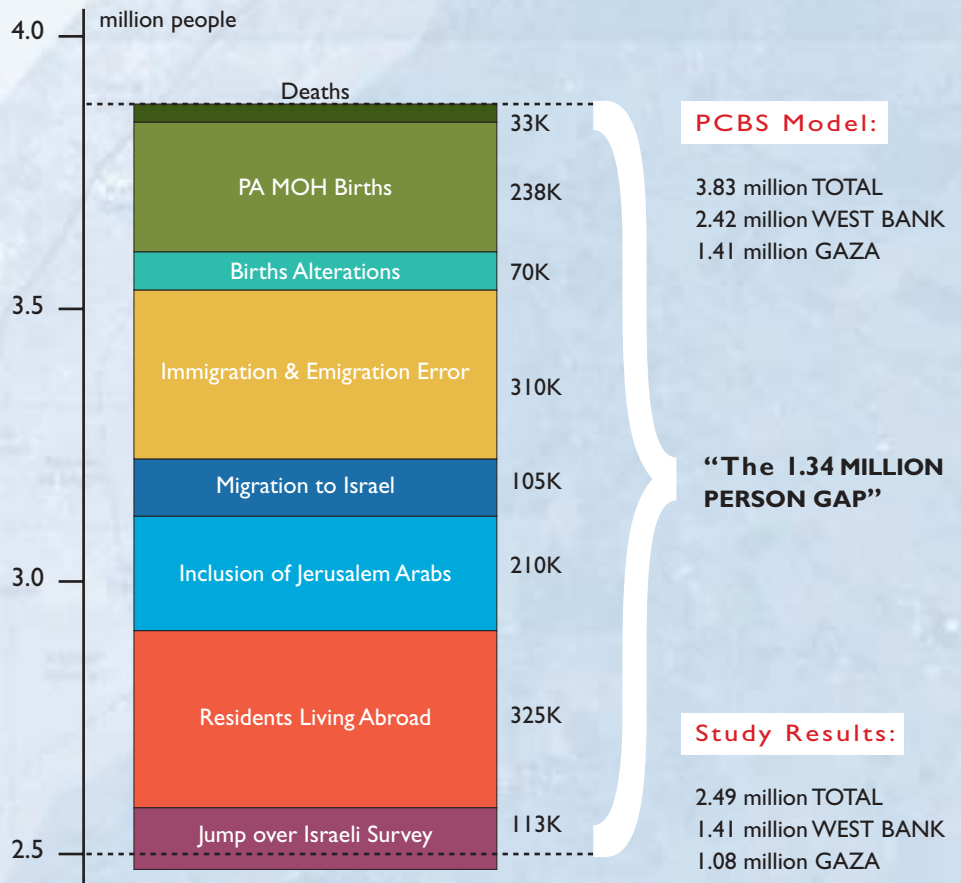
The new study has received significant attention. It has been the focus of conference sessions at the Herzliya Conference on Israel's National Security and the American Enterprise Institute. It has been formally presented to, and debated by, the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Security Committee, the Knesset Government Operations Committee, and the Middle East Subcommittee of the U.S. House International Relations Committee.

The complete study, with charts, tables and sources, is available on the BESA Center website at www.besacenter.org



Studying the Security Fence

In January, BESA Center associates toured the Jerusalem security fence, guided by Commander Levi Amitai, Chief of the Israel Border Police Jerusalem District (in photo above, pointing). The fence is 180 kilometers in length around the northern, eastern and southern borders of Jerusalem, of which approximately 130 kilometers are completed. Amitai said that since 2003 (when major parts of the fence were completed), 43 terror bombings have been blocked by the fence; the terrorists or their booby-trapped vehicles were arrested or exploded along the fence or near one of the border crossing points. He also warned about massive illegal Palestinian building over the past ten years in and around Jerusalem. Indeed, there are more than 1,000 illegal housing starts a year in Palestinian areas of Jerusalem; and these areas, said Amitai, have become hotbeds of criminal and terrorist activity.





BESA Center associate Dr. Ze'ev Maghen, an expert on Iran.

Dr. Ze'ev Maghen:

“A Dangerous Leadership Coterie Has Taken Control in Teheran”

BESA Center associate Dr. Ze'ev Maghen, an expert on Iran, says that Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and his cohorts are a coarser and more violent breed than their predecessors. Each of the new Iranian cabinet ministers has had direct involvement in killing people.

"I am very concerned about the leadership that took control of Iran in the June 2005 elections," says Ze'ev Maghen. "The people who make up the current government are cut from a completely different cloth than the previous Iranian administration."

"Of course, President Khatami's government was no slouch in its Islamic fundamentalism nor was it friendly with the West, contrary to occasional appearances," says Maghen. "But almost every single member of the Ahmadinejad government grew-up in the 'Basij,' a policing wing of the Revolutionary Guard, or in the intelligence services of various government ministries. Almost every one of them has killed people with his own hands or supervised executions."

The Basij, explains Maghen, is known for its rigorously ideological nature and its rough edges. It is involved in the moral policing of the country and in eliminating enemies of the regime. "Ahmadinejad and his close associates have participated in the mass execution of opponents during the Iran-Iraq war, and directed assassinations within Iran and abroad. Ahmadinejad himself was directly involved in the execution of political prisoners – and he does not hide this. It is on his unofficial resume."

"I find this both interesting and frightening," says Maghen. "Clerics with beards and turbans – who dominated the previous government – may inhabit a radical metaphysical and theological universe, but ultimately they remain bookish. In fact, Khatami's crowd was quite intellectual, even effete, and was familiar with Western literature and thought – even while

condemning it. Ahmadinejad's people, however, are much more simplistic and brutal. They have seen war firsthand and don't mind it."

"Ahmadinejad also believes in himself and his path in grand messianic, revolutionary terms. Consider, for example, his description of the 'Divine halo' he says he experienced when he spoke at the UN. Thus, when he says 'Israel should be wiped off the face of the earth', he doesn't mean this as an allegory. He thinks he can make it happen."

"The new leadership in Teheran clearly wants the nuclear bomb in order to secure Iran's role as a regional superpower and major world player, and to reassert Iran's preeminence as the flagship of the global Islamic revolution. That doesn't mean they'll push the button labeled 'Tel Aviv' right away, but they'll threaten Israel, and might even share the nuclear technology with terrorist groups under their tutelage," Maghen warns.

Maghen has one more warning to share: that Teheran and its proxies (such as Hezbollah) will retaliate on a vast global scale for any Western military attack on Iran's weapons program. "Hezbollah's global terrorist network is extensive, primed and ready. Teheran also has patience. It will choose to retaliate 'at a time and place of it's choosing', making sure that real pain is inflicted; just like the current insurgency in Iraq against the US – which was well planned and is well financed by Iran."

Maghen adds that "the use of tactical nuclear weapons against Iran in order to halt its nuclear drive – an idea that is being bandied about more and more these days – is pure insanity."



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Uzi Rubin, former head of Israel's Arrow missile program.

Uzi Rubin:

“Iran’s Ambitious Satellite Program Threatens Israel and the US”

Uzi Rubin, former head of Israel's Arrow Missile Program, warns that Iran is developing an ambitious satellite launching program using ballistic missiles, in order to spy on Israel and the United States.

Uzi Rubin, the former head of Israel's Arrow Missile Program, warned at a BESA Center conference on "Israel's Space Strategy" in December that Iran was “developing an ambitious satellite launching program, based on the use of multi-stage, solid propellant launchers, with intercontinental ballistic missile properties.”

“With enough money and a concerted drive – both of which the Iranians now have – the Iranians could launch a 300 kilogram satellite within two years, that would pose a strategic threat to both Israel and the U.S.,” Rubin said.

“And after seven years or so of stagnation, Teheran is clearly heading into an aggressive, wide-ranging effort to launch communications and observation satellites,” Rubin added. “To support this, Iran is apparently moving from a reliance on North Korean-based liquid-propellant launch platforms to Chinese-modeled solid propellant, multi-stage rocket launchers. This will give Teheran the ability to launch satellites as large as 300 kilograms – and heavier missile warheads too, and to photograph Israel or the US from above at will.”

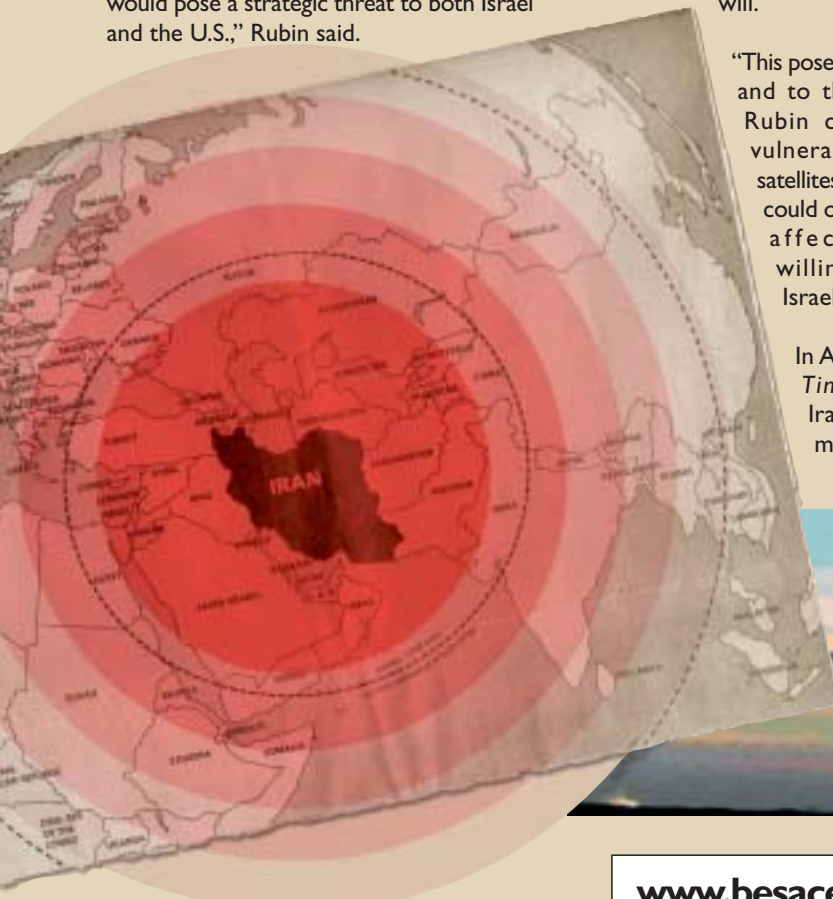
“This poses a threat to Israel, and to the U.S. as well,” Rubin continued. “U.S. vulnerability to Iranian satellites, and even ICBMS, could over the long-term affect America’s willingness to back Israel,” he said.

In April, *The New York Times* called the Iranian satellite and missile programs

“potentially worrisome.” That month, Iran said it had launched a new rocket that could carry multiple warheads and elude radar.

Teheran’s effort to build a fleet of rockets, and to buy and make satellites, has received technical help from not only Russia but China, India, Italy and North Korea. Iran now has missiles that can reach about 1,000 miles (or 1,600 kms), or as far away as Israel, according to Rubin. American intelligence has estimated that Iran might field an intercontinental missile by 2015.

In April, IDF Military Intelligence chief Maj. Gen. Amos Yadlin said that Iran had purchased BM-25 surface-to-surface missiles from North Korea with a range of 2,500 kilometers, some of which had already reached Iran. With this purchase, he said, the Iranians have leap-frogged over their Shihab-3 and planned Shihab 4 missiles with a range of 2,000 kilometers.





BESA Center associate Dr. Gil Feiler, an expert on Mideast economies

Dr. Gil Feiler:

"Ahmadinejad's Economic and Foreign Policies Won't Hold Under Western Sanctions"

BESA Center associate Dr. Gil Feiler, an expert on Mideast economies, says that Ahmadinejad's economic and diplomatic policies are likely to incur significant economic damage to Iran, and that Iran will have a hard time overcoming a rigorous Western regime of economic sanctions.

Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has repeatedly asserted that the West needs Iran more than Iran needs the West. Dr. Gil Feiler says that Ahmadinejad's flippant remarks have little basis in reality and that his economic and diplomatic policies are likely to incur significant damage to his country.

"Ahmadinejad's bravado is misplaced," says Feiler. "While Iran is the second-largest oil producer in OPEC, it is neither an economic nor a military superpower. International sanctions would hamper Iranian technological progress. Iran's oil industry is not in good shape. Without Western assistance, Iran's stated goal of doubling its oil output to 8 million barrels a day by 2020 will not be realized. Iran's ability to pump oil, and hence its ability to hold its economy together, is contingent on reliable maintenance of its infrastructure."

In an analysis published in the "BESA Perspectives" series in March, Feiler explains that Iran's oil industry has not entirely recovered from the damage wrought during the Iran-Iraq war to oil installations, electric power plants, bridges, manufacturing plants, and other elements of its infrastructure. Moreover, to realize its full potential revenues from its oil reserves, Iran needs to carry through its stated plans of diversifying through investing in petrochemical and profitable crude oil derivatives.

"Moreover, Iran is a net importer of refined oil products, including gasoline! According to the latest Iranian estimates, gasoline imports are expected to cost the country

US\$4.5 billion in the current Iranian fiscal year, which ended in March 2006. In the previous year, the figure was US\$3 billion. These imports are expected to continue, and consumption of oil products is set to grow by at least five percent per annum. Iran's total gasoline refining capacity is 40 million liters a day; its gasoline consumption is estimated to exceed 64.5 million liters a day. Thus, sanctions that bar Iran from importing refined oil products might lead the Iranian economy to a halt. This situation will have the potential to undermine the political standing of President Ahmadinejad."

"Thus, the US-imposed boycott has not stalled Iran's oil industry, but it has inflicted an economic price. International sanctions – if effectively upheld – will inevitably have an even more severe effect," says Feiler.

Feiler adds that on the grassroots level, most Iranians are not feeling any economic boom. Fifty percent of Iran's 70 million people are under the age of 25. Iran must create almost one million new jobs every year in order to keep its unemployment rate at the present level of about 11 percent. "In all likelihood, the actual unemployment rate is much higher."

"Iran's per capita income in 1977 was equivalent to that of Spain before the revolution. At the time, Iran pumped six million barrels of oil a day. Today, Iran's real per capita income is a third of what it was then, oil production is two-thirds of the 1979 level, and the middle class has been hit by spiraling inflation, inadequate employment opportunities, and wages that are decreasing in value. According to official

estimates, average living standards have dropped by 20 percent since the revolution. Moreover, these are economy-wide averages. There is a growing gap (worsened by pervasive corruption) between a wealthy minority and vast impoverished majority. Taking into account the unequal income distribution, the poorest and middle-income groups have suffered an even greater decline than indicated by the national averages, while the wealthiest elites have become even richer."

"President Ahmadinejad's intent to expand the public sector and to crowd-out foreign investment is extremely risky, and unlikely to improve the average Iranian's standard of living. Moreover, Ahmadinejad's strategy of relying on China and on anti-American regimes in South America and North Korea, is likely to prove to be of limited value. He is overstretching himself both diplomatically and economically in the international arena."

Feiler concludes that should an effective international regime of sanctions be imposed on Iran, it would have very adverse ramifications for the Iranian economy – from which it would take Teheran years to recover.





BESA Center director
Prof. Efraim Inbar

Prof. Efraim Inbar:

"It is Imperative to Use Force Against Iranian Nuclearization"

BESA Center director Prof. Efraim Inbar says that military action against Iranian nuclear installations has many risks and is complicated, but that the difficulty of a military strike is exaggerated, and inaction is bound to bring about far worse consequences.

"A nuclear Iran constitutes a serious threat, not only to Israel and the Middle East, but also to the entire world," says Prof. Efraim Inbar. "Diplomatic efforts have failed to halt Iran's nuclear program. As the Iranian acquisition of a military nuclear ability nears, the threat of using force, or the actual use of force, seem to be the only viable preventive measures," says Inbar.

In an analysis published by the BESA Center in December, Inbar explains that, for Israel, the tripartite combination of a radical Islamic regime, long-range missile capability and nuclear weapons is extremely dangerous. "The Iranian nuclear program is primarily designed to provide a strategic response to American hegemony in world affairs. Teheran wants to be able to continue to oppose American policies and to deter possible American action against the radical Islamic regime."

"At the same time, its nuclear program threatens regional stability in the Middle East. The emergence of a nuclear-armed Iran would inevitably have a chain-effect, generating further proliferation in the region. Mideastern leaders, who invariably have high threat perceptions, are unlikely to look nonchalantly on a nuclear Iran. States such as Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and, of course, Iraq would hardly be able to resist the temptation to counter Iranian influence by adopting similar nuclear postures. Such a multi-polar nuclear Middle East would be a recipe for disaster."

Inbar dismisses the possibility of Israel learning to live with a nuclear Iran, in some sort of 'balance of terror', modeled on the

relationship between the two superpowers during the Cold War, where the two sides deter each other. Such a 'balance', he says, cannot be easily emulated in the Middle East. It would be very hard for Israel to maintain the second strike capabilities necessary to maintain such a balance. Furthermore, the sensitivity to costs and the attitude to human life held by Iranian leaders hardly conforms to Western values. "Iranian leaders have said that they are ready to pay a heavy price for the destruction of the Jewish state. Such an inclination raises questions as to the effectiveness of Israeli nuclear deterrence."

Inbar also says that Israel's defensive measures against Iranian attack – such as the Arrow anti-missile system – are inadequate. "While the Arrow does hit its target, no defense system is foolproof. And indeed, those who developed the Arrow do not claim a one hundred percent interception rate. Moreover, it is not clear how the Arrow will function if enemy missiles are equipped with countermeasures."

"In sum, the uncertainties regarding Israel's ability to establish stable deterrence and the technological uncertainties of a defensive system lead to the inescapable conclusion that Israel's security is best served by denying Iran a nuclear bomb. Teheran's military nuclear program must be stopped," concludes Inbar.

"Neither sanctions nor other forms of indirect pressure on Iran are likely to deter the new leadership in Teheran from proceeding with its nuclear arms program.

Which leaves us with the military option. Many experts exaggerate the difficulties in dealing a severe military blow to the Iranian nuclear program," says Inbar.

"While it is probably true that intelligence services cannot provide military planners with an exact and comprehensive picture of the locations of all Iranian nuclear installations, what we know seems to be enough to allow the destruction of a large part of the country's nuclear program. Partial destruction would be enough to cripple Iran's ability to build a nuclear bomb in the near future. Moreover, no large-scale invasion is needed in order to do the job, but only surgical air strikes combined with limited ground operations conducted by special forces."

"Of course, any decision to use force must take into consideration the Iranian reaction to a military strike and prepare for it. The Iranians can influence the flow of oil from the Gulf, launch a counter-attack with ballistic missiles (with conventional warheads), and/or use proxy terrorist organizations to attack the US and its allies, in particular Israel. But in my estimation, the West – including Israel – can bear the limited 'cost' likely to be exacted by conventional missile attacks and terrorism."





BESA Center associate Prof. Gerald Steinberg

Prof. Gerald Steinberg: "Iran is Bluffing When it Threatens Massive Retaliation"

BESA Center associate Prof. Gerald Steinberg believes that a big gap exists between Iranian threats of "massive retaliation" and its military capabilities. Iran is posturing, he says.

As the international pressure on the Iranian regime grows, officials in Teheran are issuing increasingly shrill threats of dire consequences in retaliation for an attack on their nuclear weapons facilities. The verbal threats against the U.S. and Israel ('the Zionists' or 'the Jews') are often accompanied by announcements of some breakthrough in the development and testing of a new and devastating missile.

Iranian television recently broadcast footage allegedly showing parts of the missile tests. Such activity is designed to deter the feared preventive attacks that would stop Iran's illicit nuclear weapons procurement short of the finish line.

"Such threats are not automatically credible," says Steinberg. "The Iranian leaders, from President Ahmadinejad and the supreme leader, Ayatollah Khameni, appear to be overplaying a weak hand."

"In the case of Iraq, Saddam Hussein greatly exaggerated his military capabilities in the years prior to the 2003 war that removed him from power. The Iraqi dictator maintained the façade of a chemical and biological weapons capability, and made references to such non-existent weapons in phone conversations, knowing that U.S., Israel and other intelligence services would pick them up. It turned out that this was all a bluff that failed – the threats of massive retaliation did not prevent the attack, but rather hastened it."

"Evidence to support the 'bad bluffer' theory in the case of Iran is provided by the video footage and exaggerated claims that have accompanied the missile tests and war games being conducted by the Revolutionary Guards. In early April, Rear

Admiral Mohammad Ebrahim Dehqani boasted of having successfully tested a new Iranian-made 'air-to-sea-and-ground missile capable of being fired from planes and helicopters, which can evade anti-missile missiles.' This 'top secret' high-speed torpedo was described as so sophisticated that 'no submarine or warship can escape!'

Steinberg further notes that a few days later, the Iranian government media announced the successful test of yet another new land-to-sea missile, described as a "medium-range Kowsar missile capable of combating electronic jamming systems" and destroying warships on impact. The announced range of this missile was claimed to be just enough to bring the strategic Straits of Hormuz within its capabilities. In the effort to increase the strategic impact, the head of the Revolutionary Guards, Gen. Yahya Rahim Safavi, declared that the United States must recognize Iran as a big, regional power, warning that if pressed, Iran could use control of this vital access point to Gulf oil shipments. Repeating the claim that Iran could defend itself against any invasion, he added: "I advise Americans not to move toward a military strike against Iran."

Steinberg says that "on closer inspection, the Iranian technological achievements are less impressive than advertised. The 'super fast torpedo' looks very similar to a Russian weapon, developed many years ago, with a small range and limited effectiveness. The anti-ship missile is also not much of a breakthrough, and the third missile test – involving a surface-to-surface system capable of carrying different warheads – also had a limited range, and did not reveal a new capability. Indeed, Iran has not done very well in developing the long-range Shahab 3 missile, based an old North Korean

adaptation of the Soviet on Scud-B. More than half of the tests have ended in failure, and the pace of progress is slow."

At the same time, Steinberg says that "the gap between the Iranian regime's shrill claims and the limited evidence of serious military capabilities should not be taken to mean that Iran will never succeed in producing nuclear weapons or reliable missiles capable of striking New York, Moscow or Paris. Unlike Saddam, who had to rely almost entirely on imported engineers and technology, the Iranian technical experts have considerable talent and know-how. Eventually, they will be able to make considerable progress, particularly in developing nuclear weapons and delivery systems."

"However, for now, the threats of advanced weapons to deliver crushing blows to anyone who would attack the installations being built for the nuclear weapons program appear to be overstated. On this basis, military planners and political leaders looking at Iran's rhetoric of mass destruction may logically conclude that a preventive strike in the short term is the least dangerous course. Why should they wait and give the Iranian regime enough time to develop the weapons that would enable it to fulfill these threats?"





LECTURES

Ewa Kulesza, deputy director of international affairs at the Center for International Studies and Research (CERI) in France, lectured last November at the BESA Center on "The EU as an International Actor in the Aftermath of the 2005 Referenda: The Power of the Powerless?" She reviewed the current stage of EU unification and the ability of the EU to adopt a coordinated and effective foreign policy. Kulesza's lecture was the Madame Madeleine Feher European Scholar lecture for 2006.



Dr. Kenneth Levin of Harvard Medical School lectured in February at the BESA Center on "The Hamas Challenge: Overcoming the Psychological Legacy of Oslo." Levin, who authored *The Oslo Syndrome: Delusions of a People Under Siege*, said that because of their history as a minority, Jews are more susceptible than others to self-delusion. "They desire to be loved, and tend to blame themselves for the bad things that happen to them. This partially explains the fact that in the Oslo process, Israelis and Jews everywhere were slow to discern the Palestinian war against Israel and the PA attack on the legitimacy of Israel as a Jewish state," he said.



Dr. Gamze Güngörmüş Kona, a strategist in Istanbul, lectured in March on "The Foreign Policy of Turkey's Islamic Government". She analyzed the determinants of Turkish foreign policy, pointing to continuity in AKP policies. She also discussed the impact of Turkish domestic priorities and Turkey's changing strategic environment.



Prof. Sir Lawrence Freedman of King's College London lectured in April on "Terrorism as a Strategy of the Weak." Freedman, who is a member of the BESA Center's International Academic Advisory Board, said that historically most organizations employing terrorism have failed. Some terrorist groups have proven effective by creating an anticipation of repeat attacks; something, he said, Al Qaeda has failed to do. Freedman also discussed the "life cycle" of terrorist organizations, by which terrorist groups fall apart, with some members becoming political figures while others turn to crime.



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PUBLICATIONS

BESA Mideast Security and Policy Studies

No. 64

Changing Civil-Military Relations in Israel: Towards an Over-Subordinate IDF?

Prof. Stuart Cohen (Hebrew)

No. 65

The Million Person Gap: The Arab Population in the West Bank and Gaza

Bennett Zimmerman, Dr. Roberta Seid and Michael L. Wise

No. 66

An Antithesis on the Fate of Iraq's Chemical and Biological Weapons

Dr. Dany Shoham

No. 67

The Need to Block a Nuclear Iran

Prof. Efraim Inbar

BESA Perspectives

No. 11 (November)

British Policy Towards the Middle East

Dr. Jonathan Rynhold

No. 12 (December)

The Imperative to Use Force Against Iranian Nuclearization

Prof. Efraim Inbar

No. 13 (January)

The Hamas Takeover Serves Israel's Interests

Dr. Hillel Frisch

No. 14 (March)

Iran and the West: Who Needs Whom?

A Look at the Consequences of Ahmadinejad's Economic and Foreign Policies

Dr. Gil Feiler



Stuart Cohen is continuing his research into "The Rediscovery of Warfare in Contemporary Jewish Law," an innovative study of the ways in which contemporary rabbis in Israel are confronting the challenges posed by Israel's military experience (funded by a grant from the Israel Science Foundation). In this context, he published "The Changing Jewish Discourse on Armed Conflict: Themes and Implications" in *Terrorism and Political Violence* (17, 2005); "Unlicensed War in the Jewish Tradition" in *Journal of Military Ethics* (4, 2005); "The (Re-)Discovery of Dinei Tzavah U-Milkhamah in Modern Israel" (Hebrew) in *Iyyunim Bilkumat Yisrael* (15, 2005); and "Changing Civil-Military Relations in Israel: Towards an Over-Subordinate IDF? (Hebrew) in *Ma'arabot* (404, Dec. 2005). He lectured in February at the U.S. Joint Services Conference on Professional Military Ethics in Washington DC, and addressed a meeting of the Carnegie Council in New York on "The Quest for a Jewish Military Ethic."

Gil Feiler published "A View from the Ground of Economic Cooperation between Israel and Jordan and Israel and Egypt" (Tel Aviv University: The Institute for Diplomacy and Regional Cooperation); with Simon Lassman, "The House of Asad's Capitalism of Convenience" in Eli Poded and Asher Haufman (ed.), *Arab-Jewish Relations, From Conflict to Resolution?*, (Sussex Academic Press, 2005); "Communications and the Internet in the Arab World" in Amnon Cohen (ed.) *Democracy, Islam and the Middle East* (The Harry S. Truman

Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, 2005). He lectured on "Middle East Economic and Strategic Position in Light of the Rising Oil Prices" at Tamkang University in Taiwan.

Jonathan Fox edited (with Shmuel Sandler) "Religion and World Conflict", as a special edition of *Terrorism and Political Violence* (17:3); and "Separation of Religion and State in the 21st Century: Comparing the Middle East and Western Democracies", in *Comparative Politics* (37:3, 2005). He also published "Paradigm Lost: Huntington's Unfulfilled Clash of Civilizations Prediction into the 21st Century" in *International Politics* (42:4); "The Clash of Civilizations", and "Civil War", in Martin Griffiths ed. *Encyclopedia of International Relations and Global Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005); and presented "Separation of Religion and State in Democracies: Myth or Misconception?" at the April 2005 Midwest Political Science Association convention in Chicago.

Eytan Gilboa published "The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations" in *Political Communication* (22:1); "Global Communication and Foreign Policy: Debating the CNN Effect" in *International Studies Perspectives* (6:3); "Media-Broker Diplomacy: When Journalists Become Mediators" in *Critical Studies in Media Communication* (22:2); "Effects of Global Television News on U.S. Policy in International Conflict" in P. Seib (Ed.), *Media and Conflict in the 21st Century* (New York: Palgrave, 2005); "Media and International Conflict" in J. Oetzel & S. Ting-Toomey (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Communication: Integrating Theory, Research, and Practice* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006). In fall 2005-2006 he was Visiting Professor of Public Diplomacy at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California and was appointed editor of the *USC Public Diplomacy Annual*. He lectured in New York, Honolulu, Washington, D.C., College Park, MD, San Diego, Los Angeles, and Amsterdam.

Rami Ginat published "India and the Palestine Question: the Emergence of the Asia-Arab Bloc and India's Quest for Hegemony in the Post Colonial Third World" in *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 6; and "The Reopening of Gordon College: A Layer in the Anglo-Egyptian Struggle for Hegemony in Building the Sudanese Educational System, 1943-1946", in Ami Ayalon and David Vasserstein (eds.), *Madrasa: Education, State and Religion in the Middle East* (Tel Aviv: Dayan Center, 2005).

Tsilla Hershco published "Le Muphti Haj Amin El Husseini a Paris" in *Controverses, Editions de l'Éclat* (Paris, 2006). She lectured on "France and the Creation of Israel" at the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) in Paris, and on "French-Israeli Relations in the 21st Century" at the BESA Center conference on the EU and the Mideast. She is completing a paper for the BESA Center on "French Policy on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict During the Second Intifada 2000-2005."

Efraim Inbar published "The Resilience of Israeli-Turkish Relations" in *Israel Affairs* (October 2005); and "The Need to Block a Nuclear Iran" in *MERIA* (March 2006). He lectured on "Indian-Israel Defense Ties" in September at IDSA in New Delhi; in November on "The End of the Palestinian Option" at Johns Hopkins U. and the Middle East Studies Association; in February on "The Post-Sharon Security Challenges" at Oxford and SOAS; and on "The Iranian Nuclear Challenge" at IFRI in Paris.

Avi Kober published "Does the Iraq War Represent a Phase Change in Warfare?" in *Defense and Security Analysis* (21:2); and "Great Power Involvement and Battlefield Success in the Arab-Israeli Wars, 1948-1982" in *Journal of Cold War Studies* (8:1, Winter 2006). He lectured on "Targeting Killing during the Second Intifada: Was It Morally Justified and Effective in Fighting Terrorism?" at the September 2005 BESA-IDSA strategic dialogue in New Delhi.

Shmuel Sandler published "Land and State in Zionist Foreign Policy" in Don Yehiya, E. (ed.) *Between Tradition and Innovation: Studies in Judaism, Zionism and the State of Israel* (BIU Press, 2005); with J. Fox "Separation of Religion and State in the 21st Century: Comparing the Middle East and Western Democracies" in *Comparative Politics* (37:3, April 2005); and with J. Fox "The Question of Religion and World Politics" in *Terrorism and Political Violence* (17:3, Summer 2005).

Dany Shoham published "An Antithesis on the Fate of Iraq's Chemical and Biological Weapons" in the *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* (19:1, 2006); "The Technology of Chemical, Biological and Radiological Warfare as a Force Multiplier in the Future Battlefield and in Acts of Terror" (Hebrew) in *Nativ* (18:3, June 2005); and "Natural Ice as Regenerator of Influenza Type A Viruses and its Possible Contribution to the Dynamics of Current 'Avian Flu' Strains" (with Rogers, S. and Gilichinsky, D) in *International Conference on Alpine and Polar Microbiology* (March 2006).

Shlomo Shpiro published "Intelligence Services and Political Transformation in the Middle East" in *International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence* (17:4); and "Communicating Security: Terrorism and Security Policy as Campaign Issues in Germany and Israel", in Baron Britta (ed.), *Von Grüblern und Frühaufstehern* (Bonn, 2006). He was awarded a research grant by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation for research on the security aspects of the Israel-EU Action Plan. In June 2005 he lectured to the NATO Parliamentary Assembly at its Naples meeting on "The Roles of Intelligence Services in the Middle East Peace Process"; and at the annual International Intelligence Studies Association conference in Amsterdam on "Cold War Radar Intelligence: Israeli Intelligence Sharing with NATO."

Gerald Steinberg published "Realism, Politics and Culture in Middle East Arms Control Negotiations" in *International Negotiation* (10, 2005). He was a keynote speaker at UNIDIR's 25th anniversary session in Geneva, speaking on "First Do No Harm: A Critique of the Human Security Approach to Arms Control." He organized the conference on "Academic Freedom and the Politics of Boycotts" at BIU; spoke at Columbia University on the Iranian nuclear threat; addressed a seminar at the European Parliament on Middle East developments; and participated in the conference on "Postcolonial Theory and the Middle East" at Case Western Reserve University.

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