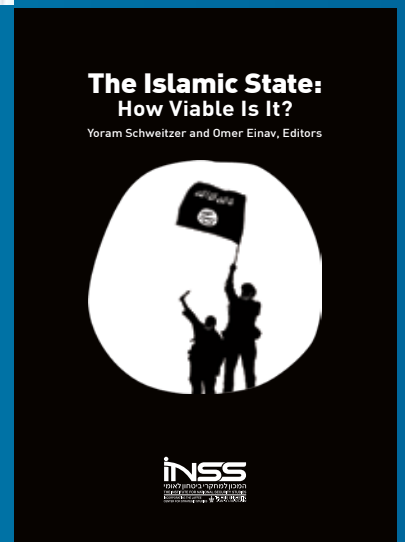




THE INSTITUTE  
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY  
STUDIES





# M

## MISSION

The Institute for National Security Studies launches and engages in innovative, relevant, high-quality research that shapes the public discourse of issues on Israel's national security agenda, and provides policy analysis and recommendations to decision makers, public leaders, and the strategic community, both in Israel and abroad. As part of its mission, it is committed to encourage new ways of thinking and expand the traditional contours of establishment analysis.

INSS researchers are guided by the four core values of professionalism, relevance, intellectual independence, and teamwork. Adhering to the highest standards of research and analysis, they are engaged in exploring the most pressing issues of Israel's national security, and contribute through creative and innovative thinking to national security policymaking. Professional integrity and intellectual rigor underlie their work at INSS, as they seek to share ideas and learn from one another while retaining their belief in the value of their own ideas.



# ABOUT INSS

The Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) was established in 2006, incorporating the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies founded at Tel Aviv University in 1977 by Major General (ret.) Aharon Yariv, former chief of Military Intelligence (1964-72) and Minister of Information for Prime Minister Rabin (1974-76). As an independent, non-partisan professional think tank operating outside the governmental political and security establishment, INSS is excellently positioned to analyze Israel's strategic situation and devise creative policy approaches.

Conceiving of strategy as a dynamic interdisciplinary field that involves intellectual, political, military, economic, and social resources, INSS focuses on the strategic challenges facing the State of Israel. The research conducted at INSS enriches the public debate of issues related to Israel's national security, which in turn endows governmental deliberations with a greater awareness of public opinion on these fundamental matters. By probing

issues that are already part of the public discourse and those that portend future importance, INSS both responds to and helps shape the national security agenda.

Through its policy-oriented research, INSS aims to inform and influence Israel's decision makers and contribute to sound decision making processes that integrate knowledge, assessments, and new ways of thinking. INSS activity includes publications, conferences, seminars, war games and simulations, strategic dialogues, government and military briefings, briefings to the media and to the diplomatic corps, and consulting activity. INSS is also a primary resource for individuals and organizations dealing with Israeli national security strategy.

The Institute's greatest asset is its researchers, most of whom have rich backgrounds in foreign affairs, security, international relations, and policymaking. Encompassing renowned academics and practitioners alike, many among the staff have held senior positions in various public



institutions, including the IDF, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Israel Atomic Energy Commission, or have served as scholars in distinguished academic institutions in the United States and in Europe, as well as in Israel.

Operating as an independent nonprofit public benefit company, INSS is defined as an external institute affiliated with Tel Aviv University, with full research, budgetary, and administrative autonomy. Through its association with Tel Aviv University, INSS enjoys the benefits of working with specific academic programs at the University with which it has common research interests, among them the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, the Blavatnik School of Computer Science, and the Buchmann Faculty of Law.

INSS is the only Israeli institute ranked among the world's leading think tanks and listed as one of the world's fifty leading institutes in the field of security and international affairs.



## POLICY-ORIENTED RESEARCH

While it is debatable whether the State of Israel has ever enjoyed a quiet period, experts agree that the immediate challenges on Israel's national security agenda are qualitatively different from previous predicaments and demand new strategic approaches. There is an urgent need to reassess Israel's current strategic environment and propose how Israel might best navigate the challenges it confronts. This is precisely the role of INSS, where basic research complements analysis of issues of the day. The practical application of INSS research takes the form of “out of the box” thinking and the design of policy options for decision makers in government, the defense establishment, the strategic community, and the private sector.

The most pressing issues related to Israel's national security selected by the Director of INSS as principal research fields for the coming period include: the Iranian nuclear threat, revolutionary changes in the Arab world, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and new paradigms to attain a two-state reality, US-Israel relations and the future of the “special relationship,” the delegitimization of Israel, and cyber warfare.

INSS research rests on pluralism and a free exchange of ideas among the researchers. The heterogeneous research staff ensures that INSS does not assume either a particular political viewpoint or unified ideological outlook.

# B OARD OF DIRECTORS



The Institute's Board of Directors is chaired by Frank Lowy, AC, of Australia, co-founder and chairman of the Westfield Group and Chairman of the Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia). The Board includes eleven other members with backgrounds in academia, diplomacy, foreign affairs, security, and business:

- Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, Vice Chairman
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# B INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The International Board of Trustees comprises a group of distinguished individuals, renowned in their fields, who support INSS as part of their commitment to the national security of the State of Israel. The Chairman of the Board is Jonathon Jacobson of Boston, Massachusetts, founder, Chief Investment Officer, and CEO of Highfields Capital Management LP. Jeffrey Silverman is the Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees. The other members of the Board of Trustees are:

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INSS sponsors events abroad for members of the Board of Trustees and friends of INSS, and Trustees are invited to the Institute's conferences and many of its strategic dialogues.



# ISRAELI BOARD OF TRUSTEES



In September 2014 INSS launched an Israeli Board of Trustees, formed to support the Institute's efforts to enrich the public debate in Israel and abroad on issues relating to Israel's national security. The Board is made up of leading figures from Israel's business community committed to the active enhancement of Israel's welfare and security. Pinchas (Pini) Cohen, Chairman of America Israel, one of Israel's leading real estate development and investment companies, is the Chairman of the Israeli Board. The other members of the Board are:

- Alfred Akirov
- Gideon Argov
- Danna Azrieli
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- Dudi Weisman





# PUBLICATIONS

## Principal INSS publications:

**Strategic Survey for Israel**, an annual book that surveys major developments that impact on Israel's strategic environment and suggests how Israel might navigate current and prospective national security challenges.

**Memoranda** are monograph-length analytical studies of timely issues with policy relevant implications.

**Strategic Assessment**, the INSS quarterly journal, publishes essays on recent events and ongoing trends related to Israel's strategic situation.

**Military and Strategic Affairs** is a journal published three times a year on Israel's military challenges.

**INSS Insight** is issued as an e-publication to provide a quick response to timely events.

## Recent INSS books:

Yoram Schweitzer and Omer Einav, eds., ***The Islamic State: How Viable Is It?***

Gilead Sher and Anat Kurz, eds., ***Negotiating in Times of Conflict***

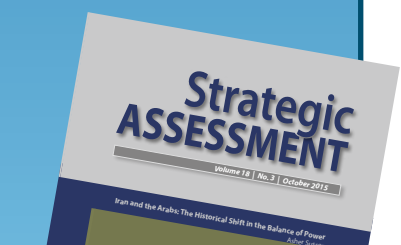
Eliav Liebllich with Owen Alterman, ***Transnational Asymmetric Armed Conflict under International Humanitarian Law: Key Contemporary Challenges***

Anat Kurz and Shlomo Brom, eds., ***The Lessons of Operation Protective Edge***

## Recent INSS memoranda:

Arik Rudnitzky, ***Arab Citizens of Israel Early in the Twenty-First Century***

Zvi Magen and Tatyana Karasova, eds., ***Russian and Israeli Outlooks on Current Developments in the Middle East***



# LOOKING BACK

As a reaction to the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Tel Aviv University decided sometime in 1975 to establish a center for security studies. A number of individuals within and outside the University community posited that one possible reason for Israel's thorough surprise on October 6, 1973 was that no institution outside the Israeli "establishment" had assumed the responsibility of evaluating the premises on which government policy was based – premises that also guided the planning and conduct of Israel's defense establishment. Had such a research institute existed prior to the 1973 War, it might have questioned the assumptions leading to the intelligence assessment that war was unlikely.

The effort to establish such a center began in earnest in late 1976 when Prof. Haim Ben Shazar, then president of the University, and Prof. Zvi Yavetz, then dean of Humanities, heard that Major General (ret.) Aharon (Ahrare) Yariv had decided to abandon his brief career in Israeli politics. Yariv was known to combine military experience with statesman-like instincts. He was also extremely charismatic and charming – an embodiment of "an officer and a gentleman." With his uncompromising honesty and integrity, he felt unfit for the demands of political life.

The University delegation worked diligently to persuade Yariv to help realize the University's efforts to study national security affairs. In response to the overture, Yariv insisted that the newly established

institute be completely independent, and on that basis the Center for Strategic Studies was launched in early 1978. In 1983, the Center was renamed the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies.

A number of decisions about the Center's structure were made from the outset. The most important of these was that the Center would not be structured along "country desks" that corresponded to Israel's neighboring states. Instead, the Center adopted a thematic structure, built on the principal issues that it proposed to address: the Middle East military balance, US policy in the Middle East, international terrorism, and public opinion and national security. These were supplemented in later years by additional long term projects, such as regional security and arms control, and many research projects of more limited duration devoted to specific issues.



The road to serious recognition of the Jaffee Center in the Israeli military and academic scene proved to be an uphill battle. While Yariv, as the founder and first head of the Center, enjoyed huge personal prestige, as an institution the new Center had yet to prove that it should be granted



a place in Israel's security debate. Within a few years, however, the Center began to acquire a reputation for groundbreaking and taboo-breaching studies of key aspects of Israel's national security. These included Aryeh Shalev's book *The West Bank: Line of Defense*, which focused on the territorial dimensions of Israeli security, Shai Feldman's book *Israeli Nuclear Deterrence*, on Israel's nuclear policy, and Mark Heller's book *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel*, which analyzed the ramifications of establishing an independent Palestinian state.

Governmental resistance to the Center's involvement in security-related deliberations gradually diminished, and the Center became increasingly perceived as "neutral ground" by different arms of the Israeli defense establishment. By the late 1990s, the Center supplemented its books, monographs, conferences, and brainstorming sessions with additional forums for analysis and evaluation. Beginning in early 1998, *Strategic Assessment* was launched as the Center's quarterly. In the beginning of the 2000s additional publications and research activities joined the list, and helped the Center attain its standing as Israel's foremost research institute in national security affairs.

# LOOKING AHEAD

## THE NEUBAUER RESEARCH ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

The Neubauer Research Associates Program was launched in 2006 by the Philadelphia-based Joseph and Jeanette Neubauer Foundation. The Neubauer Program was created to engage distinguished doctoral candidates embarking on an academic career. These part-time appointments are suitable for researchers working on their dissertations in subjects related to security studies. Affiliation with INSS allows students to complete the dissertation process while acquiring experience in their areas of specialization as research assistants to INSS senior research fellows. Since its inception, seven Neubauer associates continued at INSS in a research capacity, while others have continued their careers in the National Security Council; academic institutions in Israel; and government offices.



## THE NEXT GENERATION PROGRAM

To further facilitate the recruitment, training, and mentoring of the next generation of researchers and policy experts, INSS has launched the Next Generation Program. The addition of researchers at earlier stages of their careers to the more experienced INSS research staff will help build a stronger staff, both for INSS and for future policymaking offices in Israel. Some of these entry and mid-level researchers may continue their careers at INSS; others who assume positions in government or elsewhere in strategy-related fields will be able to strengthen the connection between INSS and the decision making establishment. The program thus creates a framework at INSS for an evolving research staff and the regular injection of new conceptual approaches, research methodologies, and analytical tools. Particularly in light of the significant changes in the Middle East as well as in the global system, the perspective of a new generation of thinkers is especially important to the Institute, and represents a vital element in any national security policymaking.



# RESEARCH PROGRAMS



## **Iranian Nuclearization: The Ramifications for Israel**

### **Arms Control and Regional Security Program**

The ramifications of Iranian nuclearization for Israel, the region, and the world at large form a current thrust of the INSS program. Research focuses on sanctions efforts, the feasibility and consequences of a military strike on Iran, the larger threat of Iran's hegemonic ambitions, and the threat of nuclear proliferation in the region should Iran attain military nuclear capability. These and other issues are explored in the articles compiled in the recent monograph *Arms Control and National Security: New Horizons*.

## **Jumpstarting the Israeli- Palestinian Process: A Call for New Paradigms**

### **Program on Israeli-Palestinian Relations**

The Palestinian issue, at the heart of Israel's strategic posture and security agenda, appears frozen, with few prospects for a political breakthrough, despite intense US efforts. The program focuses on creative measures with which Israel might approach the current impasse in the negotiations in order to secure its future as a democratic Jewish state. Hamas and the Gaza situation were the subject of the collection of essays *The Lessons of Operation Protective Edge*.

## **International law and Asymmetric Warfare**

### **Program on Law and National Security**

The legal system is increasingly involved in national security decision making, and more and more state actions on the international plane are examined in light of legal considerations. Consequently, it is imperative to weigh the legal aspects of security decisions. The goal of the program is to study legal issues relating to national security and policy, including the use of force, the laws of armed conflict, the implementation of security measures, cyber security, and the law of the sea.

## **The Center for Applied Negotiations (CAN)**

CAN was established within INSS to promote innovative and pragmatic approaches for tackling some of today's most pressing challenges in the regional and global diplomatic arena. Relying on senior practitioners who were directly involved in major negotiations and dispute resolution processes, the center strives to develop creative research and practical tools in the field of conflict resolution and negotiation. "The Israeli-Palestinian Negotiation File," compiled by CAN, has become a key resource for the most senior decision makers in Israel.



## Cyberspace: The Newest Warfare Domain

### Program on Cyber Security

Israel's national security is in large measure a function of its ability to defend its critical systems from cyber attacks. The program addresses cyber-related threats and opportunities, and aims to draft guidelines for a national policy in cyber security and a doctrine of warfare in the cyber realm. Leading experts in cyber security appeared at the INSS-CSFI conference "Defensive Cyberspace Operations and Intelligence."



## Terrorism, Politics, and what Lies Between Them

### Program on Terrorism and Low Intensity Conflict

Palestinian militancy, Hizbollah, and other manifestations of Islamic terrorism and global jihad continue to confront Israel with an ongoing security challenge. The INSS program studies the impact of the "Arab Spring" on terrorist groups, al-Qaeda activity, and the political power of non-state actors. The program also studies the complex issue in Israel of redeeming captives and the possibility of instituting binding national guidelines for the future, and launched a conference series on the subject.



# R

## RESEARCH PROGRAMS (cont.)



### The Home Front under Fire

#### Program on Homeland Security

Operation Pillar of Defense was Israel's most recent battle waged to attain security for its civilian population. The INSS program deals with the diverse aspects of the Israeli home front and its preparedness for civilian crises, wars, and large scale terror activities, as well as natural disasters. In collaboration with the Ministry of Defense, INSS hosts an annual conference on the preparedness of the home front.

### The Military Component of Israel's Security Concept

#### Program on Military and Strategic Affairs

Changes in Israel's strategic environment demand a thorough review of the military component of Israel's security concept. The program studies the principles underlying IDF force development and force deployment, and their impact on the military's ability to provide an appropriate response to the range of threats facing the country. INSS researchers work closely with units in the IDF to tackle the relevant questions, and the *Military and Strategic Affairs* journal is published within the framework of the program.

### Middle East Military Balance Project

The Middle East Military Balance Project constitutes a computerized database of twenty-two Middle East armed forces, defense infrastructures, and arms transactions. The database, published in full on the INSS website, is one of its kind, and is a vital tool for research on the military aspects of the challenges that exist in Israel's greater strategic environment.

### Looking Eastward

#### Program on Israel-China Relations

China's involvement in the Middle East has grown steadily over the past two decades, posing both challenges and opportunities before Israel. China's booming economy and newly acquired technological capabilities, along with its direct contact with regional leaders, make it an increasingly important actor in the area. The program, in collaboration with the Israel Institute, aims to enhance the knowledge about China's involvement in the Middle East and provide Israeli decision makers with policy recommendations regarding China.





## The Arab Minority in the Jewish State

### Neubauer Program on Israeli Arabs

The status of the Arab minority in Israel poses a political and social challenge to the state, bearing on Israel's overall national security. In addition, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has a direct impact on the Israeli Arab population. This program studies the basic undercurrents of Israel's Arab population in general and the sector's particular segments, exploring what can be done to foster a favorable atmosphere and positive relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority.

## How Much Can Money Buy?

### Neubauer Program on Economics and National Security

Economic prospects in Israel influence national security and the capacity to attain strategic goals on issues ranging from the defense budget and the financial cost of conflicts to the political consequences of sanctions and boycotts and the impact of economic growth on stability in the neighboring Arab countries. With the understanding that economics constitute a major component of strategic analysis, the program focuses on the interface between economy, society, politics, and national security.









# E EVENTS

INSS sponsors both public conferences and closed seminars dealing with key issues on Israel's national security agenda and the stability of the Middle East. Most are held at INSS and feature leading experts and invited professionals from Israel and abroad.

Among the recent INSS events:

- "Security Challenges of the 21st Century," the major INSS annual international conference; in 2015, President Reuven (Ruvi) Rivlin opened the conference.
- "Defensive Cyberspace Operations & Intelligence," an annual conference in conjunction with the Cyber Security Forum Initiative; in 2015 the joint conference took place in Washington, D.C.
- "The Islamic State: Characteristics, Challenges, and Possible Responses," on the threat posed by an increasingly powerful non-state actor.
- "Increased US Pressure on Iran? Implications of the Sanctions Legislation on the Nuclear Talks and on US-Israel Relations" and "Developments in the Nuclear Talks with Iran: The Policy of the Obama Administration and Implications for the Middle East," two recent conferences on the Iranian nuclear challenge.
- "The Palestinian Arena: Twists and Turns," on approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in light of the frozen political process.
- "The Economic Ties between Israel and China," in cooperation with the Israel Institute, part of the INSS program on the development of Israel-China relations.





# EXECUTIVE TEAM



## AMOS YADLIN, Executive Director of INSS

General (ret.) Amos Yadlin assumed the position of Director of INSS in November 2011. Following a term as head of Military Intelligence, he retired in 2010 from the IDF after more than forty years of service. Among his previous positions, he served as deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, Israel's military attaché in Washington, and commander of the IDF Military Colleges and the National Defense College. He participated in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for the Galilee, and Operation Tammuz – the destruction of the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. General (ret.) Yadlin has written on national security, force development, intelligence, civil-military relations, and the military ethics of fighting terror.



## UDI DEKEL, Managing Director

Brig. Gen. (res.) Dekel was head of the negotiations team with the Palestinians in the Annapolis process. His last post in the IDF was head of Strategic Planning in the Planning Directorate of the General Staff. At INSS his research focuses on decision making processes in Israel; the peace process; and strategic trends in the Middle East.



## ORLY HAYARDENY, Deputy Director for Finance and Development

Ms. Hayardeny has extensive experience in the financial and business sector. Before coming to INSS she served as Chief Financial Officer at FIBI Holdings Ltd, which holds the First International Bank of Israel (FIBI). She also serves as a director in public and private companies.



## ANAT KURZ, Director of Research

Dr. Kurz has lectured and published widely on insurgency-related issues, sub-state political organizations, and terrorism as a strategy of warfare. Her research focuses on sub-state conflict resolution and the Palestinian national movement, and she is active in Track II talks on the Middle East peace process. She co-edited the annual *Strategic Survey for Israel* series (2009-2015).

# RESEARCH TEAM



**Owen Alterman**

Fields of Expertise: US-Israel relations; arms control



**Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir**

Fields of Expertise: civil-military relations; Israeli public opinion; Israeli security policy



**Dr. Alex Altshuler**

Fields of Expertise: Israel's civilian front; social resilience



**Dr. Benedetta Berti**

Fields of Expertise: Syria; Lebanon; Middle East regional processes; Islamic fundamentalism



**Liran Antebi**

Fields of Expertise: military technology; low intensity conflict



**Brig. Gen. (ret.) Shlomo Brom**

**Head of the Program on Israel-Palestinian Relations**

Fields of Expertise: Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Middle East regional processes; Israeli security policy; military balance



**Dr. Ephraim Asculai**

Fields of Expertise: nuclear weapons; Iran; arms control



**Daniel Cohen**

Fields of Expertise: military strategy; cyber security; information warfare



**Omer Einav**

Fields of Expertise: Syria; Lebanon; Israeli-Palestinian conflict



**Prof. Yair Evron**

Fields of Expertise: deterrence; nuclear policy; arms control; Israeli security policy



**Brig. Gen. (ret.) Meir Elran**

**Head of the Program on Homeland Security**

Fields of Expertise: Israel's civilian front; social resilience; socio-military relations; intelligence



**Dr. Sarah Fainberg**

Fields of Expertise: Russia in the Middle East; Israel-Russia relations; France-Israel relations



**Dr. Oded Eran**

**Head of the Program on US-Israel Relations**

Fields of Expertise: US-Israel relations; Europe-Israel relations; China; Jordan; Israel's energy and water resources



**Abraham H. Foxman**

Fields of Expertise: US-Israel relations; delegitimization of Israel



**Avner Golov**

Fields of Expertise: Iran; Middle East regional security; arms control; deterrence



**Dr. Shmuel Even**

Fields of Expertise: defense economics; intelligence; information warfare; Israel's energy and water resources



**Dr. Yoel Guzansky**

Fields of Expertise: Gulf States; Iran; Middle East regional processes; Arab world





**Dr. Mark A. Heller**

Fields of Expertise: Middle East regional processes; regional security; Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Arab world



**Dr. Gallia Lindenstrauss**

Fields of Expertise: Turkey; Azerbaijan; ethnic conflicts



**Dr. Zipi Israeli**

Fields of Expertise: media and public diplomacy; socio-military relations; public opinion



**Amb. Zvi Magen**

Fields of Expertise: Russia in the Middle East; Israel-Russia relations; Middle East regional processes



**Dr. Ephraim Kam**

Fields of Expertise: Iran; Middle East regional processes; Egypt; intelligence



**Dr. Kobi Michael**

Fields of Expertise: Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Middle East regional processes; Israeli security policy



**Dr. Emily B. Landau**

**Head of the Arms Control and Regional Security Program**

Fields of Expertise: arms control; Iran; nuclear policy and proliferation; Middle East regional security; Egypt



**Maj. Gen. (ret.) Yair Naveh**

Fields of Expertise: Israeli security policy; military strategy and doctrine



**Brig. Gen. Assaf Orion**

Fields of Expertise: China; military strategy and doctrine



**Orit Perlov**

Fields of Expertise: Arab social media; public opinion in Arab states



**Former MK and Minister Gideon Sa'ar**

Fields of Expertise: Israeli decision making; Israeli security policy



**Yoram Schweitzer**

**Head of the Program on Terrorism and Low Intensity Conflict**

Fields of Expertise: terrorism; global jihad; Islamic fundamentalism; war on terror



**Prof. Zaki Shalom**

Fields of Expertise: US-Israel relations; Israeli security policy; Israeli nuclear policy; civil-military relations



**Yiftah Shapir**

**Head of the Middle East Military Balance Project**

Fields of Expertise: IDF; military balance; weapons proliferation; Arab military budgets and industries



**Col. (ret.) Pnina Sharvit Baruch**

**Head of the Program on Law and National Security**

Fields of Expertise: international law and national security; legal dilemmas of conflict resolution; Israel's international stature; delegitimization of Israel



**Prof. Gabi Sheffer**

Fields of Expertise: civil-military relations; socio-military relations; ethnic conflicts



**Col. (res.) Gilead Sher**

**Head of the Center for Applied Negotiations**

Fields of Expertise: conflict resolution; Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Middle East regional processes; decision making processes



**Dr. Gabi Siboni**

**Head of the Program on Military and Strategic Affairs, and the Program on Cyber Security**

Fields of Expertise: military strategy and doctrine; civil-military relations; information warfare; cyber security



**David Siman-Tov**

Fields of Expertise: intelligence; cyber security



**Amb. Shimon Stein**

Fields of Expertise: Europe-Israel relations; arms control; US policy in the Middle East



**Dr. Carmit Valensi**

Fields of Expertise: military strategy and doctrine; low intensity conflicts; Middle East regional processes



**Dr. Ofir Winter**

Fields of Expertise: Israeli-Palestinian conflict; Islamic fundamentalism; Syria; Jordan



**Prof. Eran Yashiv**

Fields of Expertise: defense economics



**Einav Yogev**

Fields of Expertise: Israel's international stature; delegitimization of Israel

**Visiting Fellow**

**Dr. Itamar Radai**

**Neubauer Research Associates**

**Michal Hatuel-Radoshitzky**

**Adam Hoffman**

**Carmit Padan**



## Executive Team

**Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amos Yadlin,**  
Executive Director

**Brig. Gen. (res.) Udi Dekel,**  
Managing Director

**Orly Hayardeny,** Deputy  
Director for Finance and  
Development

**Dr. Anat Kurz,** Director of  
Research

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Shuki Golan

**Director of Publications**  
Moshe Grundman

**Editor**  
Dr. Judith Rosen

**Director of the Information  
Center**  
Yoel Kozak

**Social Networks Manager**  
Yaniv Shlamberg

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Keren Aviram

Youval Bitner

Shani David

Feya Hillel

Hadas Klein

Galia Lavi

Kim Lavi

Danielle Levin

Liran Ofek

Tali Rotschild

Deborah Shulman

Dafna Tadmor

## Finance and Human Resources

Smadar Glikman

Gal Gabay

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Deborah Oppenheimer

## Administration

Orna Gudai

## Building Manager

Kobi Pinhas



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