JCSS BULLETIN

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES ✡ TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

Ben-Gurion and the IDF

At the annual Simon Sirkin Memorial Lecture, held on February 19, 1987, Prof. Yoav Gelber (University of Haifa) spoke on David Ben-Gurion's personal contribution to the establishment of the IDF. The subject of the lecture was chosen in the framework of events marking the 100th anniversary of Ben-Gurion's birth.

Prof. Gelber began by focusing on the security debates that took place among the political and military elites in the pre-state period, and stressed two issues that were especially problematic: 1) The different views as to the nature of the threat facing the Yishuv — Ben-Gurion thought this threat to be very serious, while Haganah leaders felt that Ben-Gurion's concern was largely unbased; and 2) the nature of the army's integration into the country. Ben-Gurion sought to bring the Haganah under the control of state institutions, a view not always accepted by Haganah leaders. Ben-Gurion advocated the establishment of one army, under one state authority, acting according to law.

As defense minister from July 1948, Ben-Gurion was able to act according to his convictions. Prof. Gelber contended that Ben-Gurion's stand was definitely not influenced by narrow political party concerns. Ben-Gurion was finally able to overcome most of the opposition to his ideas and to contribute in a number of ways to the IDF. Thus Ben-Gurion is credited for:1) convincing the military elite of the serious threat facing Israel, and the need to deal with it; 2) introducing strict military discipline; 3) charting the IDF's role in times of relative peace; and 4) the depoliticization of the military.



Maj. Gen. A. Ben-Shushan, Commander of Navy; Lt. Gen. D. Shomron, Chief of Staff; and Maj. Gen. Y. Peled, Northern Command, attend the conference on Lebanon.

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Lebanon War 1987 Perspective

A JCSS Conference on the Lebanon War of 1982, coordinated by Shemuel Meir, was held on June 1, 1987. The conference looked at the war from a five-year perspective. It focused on the background to the war; aspects of the war itself including the decisionmaking process, the role of the media, and the attitude on intellectuals toward the war and the situation in Lebanon following the war.

Former Deputy Foreign Miniser Yehuda Ben-Meir analyzed the decisionmaking process during begin's terms as prime minister, and particularly during the Lebanon War. He argued that what waslacking in this process was a national security advisor to the prime minister. Ben-Meir claimed that the decisionmaking process reflected the work-style of Begin, whose complete trust in his Cabinet ministers made him dependent

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Defense and Offense in Israeli Strategy

The conference on Defense and Offense in Israeli Strategy, which took place on November 25, 1986, was the fifth in a series of closed one-day conferences, dealing with various aspects of Israeli strategy, organized by Dr. Ariel Levite of JCSS in collaboration with RAPHAEL. The lecturers came from academia, the defense establishment, the military industries and the armed forces.

Maj. Gen. Moshe Bar-Kochva ("Brill") opened the session with a lecture on the operational and tactical aspects of defense. He claimed that defense has an important role for the IDF — it can provide the basis not only for a tactical victory, but for a strategic one as well. He spelled out the reasons why defense is considered the strongest type of battle (assuming the defender has adequate estimates of the enemy's offensive forces).

The success of defense rests on the implementation of certain principles of warfare: interservice cooperation, reserve forces and conservation of forces. As for offensive warfare, Bar-Kochva pointed out the difficulties it entails in terms of both logistics and adverse public opinion. He then turned to a discussion of the basic factors that should direct Israel in its development of offense. He concluded that the IDF will have to make some adjustments in its offensive warfare doctrine.

Dr. Ariel Levite (JCSS) took a look at elements of innovation and conservatism in Israel's military doctrine. His major contention was that the cultivation of an offensive doctrine in Israel has come at the expense of the IDF's defensive skills. The specific constraints that Israel currently faces — political problems involved in employing offensive strategy, the great expense of a frontal assault as an opening maneuver, the dependence on the arrival of reserve forces on the battlefield (meaning a certain reliance on defense), and the difficulty in carrying out strategic outflanking — leave the country no choice but to augment its defensive capabilities. While Dr. Levite expressed pessimism about the possibility of instilling change, he emphasized that reliance on the military alone to initiate change would not do — there must be massive political support for initiative for reform and innovation in the IDF's doctrine.

Trends in the development of the Arab countries' military doctrines, on the strategic, operative, and tactical levels, were discussed by Brig. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilboa. On the strategic level, the Arab aim has been generally offensive in nature, their objective being to gain political victories. Yet, these objectives have changed over the years — from the desire to totally destroy the IDF and Israel (before 1967) to the more realistic and limited objective of attrition (after 1967). On the operative level, since 1973 there has been a conversion to advanced western weapons systems, with Israel losing its lead in this respect. On the tactical level, the general trend is to acquire continuous warfare capability. In sum, while Arab strategic objectives have become more limited in nature, there have been corresponding advances in weapons systems. Thus, the gap between objectives and abilities has been trimmed down to realistic dimensions.

General Israel Tal delivered a lecture on the contradictions between the doctrines of defense and offense, and their implementation in Israel. His major thesis was that Israel's security doctrine was, and should remain, based on an operationally offensive strategy. In this context he focused on aspects of preemptive warfare, the principle of quality vs. quantity, and the advantages of short wars. Colonel Uri Dromi discussed the nature of innovation and conservatism in military doctrines in the world at large.

The question of whether modern technological advances provide an advantage for defense or offense was explored by Dr. Ze'ev Bonen (RAFAEL), who also presented the basic assumptions necessary for building military power that fully utilizes the contribution of technology. Prof. Yehoshaphat Harkavi examined strategic and historic aspects of defense and offense. Finally Lt. Gen. (Res.) Mordechai Gur closed the session with a look toward the future — at Israel's strategic considerations in choosing a defensive or offensive doctrine for future warfare. Assuming there is another war, this choice will be directed primarily by Israel's needs for survival.

JCSS BULLETIN

Maj. Gen. (Res), Aharon Yariv, Head of JCSS
Joseph Alpher, Deputy Head of JCSS

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Head of JCSS, Maj.Gen.(Res.) Aharon Yariv had the unprecedented honor of presenting visiting researcher Marshall Michel with his commission to the rank of Colonel in the United States Air Force. In keeping with military tradition, Col. Michel had requested that his current superior formalize his promotion. Maj.-Gen. Yariv read out the presidential decree in an informal ceremony at the Center.Michel, who is spending 1986-87 at JCSS as a Pentagon exchange research associate, is writing a study entitled "The Quest for Air Superiority."

Guest Speakers

Maj. Gen. Avraham Ben-Shushan, *Commander of the Israeli Navy, appeared before JCSS's Security Forum and lectured on the Navy's goals in the next ten years and the resources currently at its disposal. He also discussed budgetary limitations and possible alternative acquisition plans.*

At a research staff meeting at JCSS in January 1987, the US Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Planning and Resources, ***Dov Zakheim,*** *discussed the Pentagon's opposition to the Lavi fighter project, and how the US views Israel's approach to the issue.*

In February 1987, JCSS's research staff met with ***Avraham Tamir,*** *Director-General of the Foreign Ministry, who surveyed developments in the peace process since the 1979 peace agreement with Egypt, with special emphasis on problems associated with an international peace conference.*

Book Review

The West Bank: Line of Defense

The West Bank: Line of Defense, by Brig. Gen. (res.) Aryeh Shalev, was published by Praeger in 1985. It is the only in-depth research available to the public on the significance of the West Bank for Israel's security. *Foreign Affairs* (Fall 1985), the first to review the book, stressed that it performs "an excellent service in confronting the problem in precise terms.... Shalev is realistic in his estimate of what kinds of settlement might be acceptable to the Arab side."

Orbis (Fall 1985) described the book as "The most complete, exhaustively detailed geographical, topographical, and military analysis of the West Bank available so far in English."

The *Middle East Journal* (Spring 1986) review, by Michael Collins Dunn, stated that "Shalev's book is a breath of fresh air.... There has to date been no better or more balanced assessment of the real security considerations involved — for both sides — in negotiating the future of the Palestinian hill country."

In Brief

• In January 1987 a group of JCSS researchers visited the Israel Aircraft Industry to learn about the Lavi project. They met with Moshe Keret (IAI Director General) examined the Lavi on the ground, and toured the IAI engineering department. After the tour, the group met with the team of Lavi project experts and discussed the future of the IAI.

• A group of JCSS researchers visited the Northern Command in October 1986; command officers reviewed current security problems, and the Southern Lebanon Security Zone Coordinator, Brig. Gen. Agmon, explained the situation in Southern Lebanon. The group also toured the Israel-Syria border and the Golan Heights. Finally, the commander of the Northern Command. Maj. Gen. Yossi Peled, discussed the Command's missions in light of current threats.

• With the arrival of the MICROVAX II computer at JCSS, a communications system was installed to enable researchers to link up with the computer, external data bases, and electronic mail services. JCSS has also purchased a laser printer that will help the Center print camera-ready studies without the assistance of outside printing services.

• In the course of a visit to England and the US, JCSS Researcher Dr. Ariel Levite presented a review and critique of Israeli military doctrine at the Cornell Peace Studies Program, the Department of Strategy at the US Naval War College, the University of Maryland Department of Government and Politics, and the IISS in London. He also delivered a talk on Intelligence and Surprise at the US Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

• In the framework of an academic tour, Director of the Information Center Moshe Grundman attended a conference and exhibition — Infobase 87 — in Messe Frankfurt in May 1987. He also visited the Frankfurt Peace Research Institute and the Main office of Interavia S.A., Geneva.

Technology and Strategy: Future Trends

"Technology and Strategy: Future Trends" was the subject of an international conference held in Neve Ilan, outside Jerusalem, on March 21-24, 1987. The conference was conceived, planned and organized by Dr. Shai Feldman, a senior research associate at JCSS. It was cosponsored by the Center for Foreign Policy Options in Los Angeles. Dr. Ariel Levite of JCSS helped coordinate conference administration.

The four-day conference was devoted to the interaction between strategy and new conventional weapons technologies, and to the effects of this interaction. The impact of emerging military technologies on offensive and defensive doctrines, on maneuver operations, on deterrent strategies, and on general stability, were analyzed in detail.

Some 20 guest speakers from the United States, Canada, and four NATO countries came to the conference; they were joined by 150 Israeli scholars, members of the defense industries, officers of the Israel Defense Forces, and military correspondents.

In the opening session, R. James Woolsey, former U.S. Under-Secretary of the Navy and former member of the Scowcroft and Packard Commissions, addressed the sources of innovation in weapons technologies, emphasizing the key role of small groups operating in environments that are relatively secluded and protected from institutional and bureaucratic pressures.

Dr. George Friedman, Vice President of Northrop Corporation, emphasized the potentially revolutionary nature of emerging conventional weapons technologies: the ability to acquire the means to deliver highly accurate destructive fire at tolerable economic costs. Maj. Gen. (Res.) Avraham Rotem, former Chief of Training of the IDF, stressed two important effects of these new technologies: the ability to provide combat commanders with the capacity to observe the battlefield over the horizon, and the ability to destroy targets by accurate fire anywhere in the Forward Edge Battle Area.

Dr. Richard Garwin of IBM addressed the implications for the conventional battlefield of technologies developed in the framework of President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. Garwin found these applications to be extremely limited. Dr. Steven Canby, President of C & L Associates, seconded Dr. Garwin's opinion, stressing the irrelevance of SDI technologies to the European battlefield. Dr. Canby was generally skeptical of the notion that technology might provide the key to Europe's defense.



Head of JCSS Aharon Yariv (far right) opens conference. Seated (l. to r.): B. Navon, R.J. Woolsey, S. Feldman, and H. Lane.

Dr. Pierre Lellouche, associate director of Institut Français des Relations Internationales, emphasized that political obstacles make it impossible to acquire new conventional weapons systems for the European battlefield in sufficient numbers.

Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense, Dr. Lawrence Korb, stressed the impact of emerging weapons technologies on manpower and organization. He emphasized two different problems: the requirements for adequately skilled manpower to operate highly sophisticated systems, and the danger that overemphasis on the acquisition of technical skills would come at the expense of more important education in the art of war: tactics, operations, and strategy.

Brig. Gen. Klaus Naumann, Chief of Staff of the Planning Division of West Germany's Ministry of Defense, addressed the need to provide a conventional response to the Soviet threat to Europe, notwithstanding the existence of the nuclear umbrella. General Naumann stressed the complex nature of this challenge, requiring the adoption of appropriate strategies, operations and tactics; a policy of weapons development, acquisition and deployment that is well integrated with them; and finally, proper organization and training.

Dr. Stephen Van Evera, managing editor of Harvard University's *International Security*, analyzed the considerations involved in choosing between offense,



Conference participants (l. to r.): E. Levite, JCSS; S. Canby, Defense Consultant; and A. Platias, Helenic Strategic Institute, chat over coffee.



Conference participants (l. to r.); J. Roche, Northrop Corporation; E. Luttwak, CSIS; and S. Carus, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, relax during a break.



(L. to r.): N. Levy, Elta Corp.; O. Erez, Defense Consultant; and M. Keret, IAI Director-General, clarify a point.



Brig. Gen. K. Naumann (l.), FRG Armed Forces, talking with Maj. Gen. Ben. A. Binun.

defense, and deterrent strategies. Dr. Barry Posen, of the Smithsonian Institution's Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, discussed the relationship between technology and escalation, focusing on the potential use of conventionally armed ballistic missiles in Europe.

Other guest speakers and discussants included Dr. Mary Kaldor, of Great Britain's Sussex University; Dr. Edward Luttwak of Georgetown University's Center for International and Strategic Studies; Dr. James Roche of Northrop Corporation; Dr. Athanasios Platias of the Hellenic Ministry of Defense; Prof. Mathew Evangelista of the University of Michigan; Dr. Karl Lautenschlager of the Los Alamos National Laboratories; and Dr. David Jones, of Canada's Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia.

Israeli speakers included Maj. Gen. (Res.) Benjamin Peled, President of Elscint Corporation and former commander of the Israel Air Force, and Brig. Gen. (Res.) Yiftah Spector, of Elbit Computers. Both stressed the need to rethink the future of air operations. Dr. Ariel Levite, a senior research associate at JCSS, pointed out the need to question the over-emphasis placed on offensive operations in Israel's military doctrine.

Former Minister of Defense and current Minister without Portfolio, Prof. Moshe Arens, stressed the role of technology in Israel's defense. Prof. Arens

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Technology and Strategy: Concluding Remarks

In the final session of the conference, Dr. Shai Feldman noted the main conclusions that evolved from the three days of discussions. He emphasized the need to regard emerging weapons technologies as a menu of potentials from which choices must be made. Dr. Feldman then stressed the need to ensure the integration of weapons technologies with adopted strategies, operations, and tactics. He also noted the need to recognize that technology is not the dominant factor in force effectiveness. Mastering the art of war will continue to be more important than the latest developments in weaponry.

Dr. Feldman pointed to the ample evidence indicating the potentially revolutionary effect of new weapons' accuracy. However, converting this potential capacity to military capability will depend on the availability of means for target acquisition. The bottleneck in this realm continues to be our ability to provide these weapons with precise data on the location of worthy targets.

Another central conclusion reached was that the human factor will not only continue to be important, but its role will surely increase. Improved weapons effectiveness will force greater dispersal of military assets, requiring that the fighting unit be smaller. The unit's communication means might become more vulnerable, forcing it to fight more independently of the higher echelons. This will require even greater initiative and skill on the part of junior and middle-level officers.

Finally, Dr. Feldman stressed the imperative of controlling the cost of new weapons systems. He emphasized that if the cost factor is not brought under control, new technologies will not be developed and deployed in sufficient volume to affect the outcome of the battle.



Conference speakers view demonstration of Merkava II.



Shimon Erem, Brig. Gen. Efraim Sneh, Lawrence Korb and Shai Feldman. In the background Jordanian soldiers man their checkpoint.

Conference Speakers Visit the IDF

Following the conference on Technology and Strategy, our guests from abroad were invited to a two-day trip hosted by the Israel Defense Forces' Central and Northern Commands.

The trip began with a briefing at the Central Command, by its Chief of Staff, Brig. Gen. Uzi Ben Yizhak. He explained the challenges facing the command, placing particular emphasis on the implications of the qualitative improvement of the Jordanian Armed Forces. The group continued to the Allenby Bridge and was briefed on the volume and nature of traffic across the bridge connecting Jordan and the West Bank. Brig. Gen. Efraim Sneh, Head of Civil Administration in Judea and Samaria, explained recent developments in the territories and Israel's mode of coping with these challenges. He emphasized Israel's main dilemma: how to ensure security in the territories while adhering to the imperatives of its democratic and moral values.

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Profile of a Researcher



Joseph Alpher

Joseph Alpher has been Deputy Head of JCSS since the summer of 1986, when he completed five years as Executive Editor of the Center. In his current position he continues to oversee the editorial and production aspects of all of JCSS's publications, while also carrying out a variety of administrative duties and filling in for the Head of Center in his absence.

Alpher was born in Washington, D.C. in 1942, graduated Columbia University (cum laude) and immigrated to Israel in 1964. He completed four years service in IDF Intelligence as a first lieutenant, then moved to civilian intelligence, where over a period of 12 years he filled a number of operational, liaison and research positions and reached senior department head, prior to joining the Jaffee Center.

Since leaving government service, Alpher has published and lectured widely on strategic issues pertaining to Israel and the countries of the Middle East periphery. His articles have appeared in such journals as *Foreign Affairs* and *The Washington Quarterly*, as well as the Israeli press; he is a contributing editor to *Moment*; and he has edited five books in English and Hebrew, including an encyclopedia, *History of the Jewish People*, in addition to his editorial role regarding all of JCSS's publications.

Joseph Alpher is married and has two sons and a daughter. His wife Irene directs the English language program at Israel's only music and arts high school. His hobbies are tennis, gardening, and "puttering around" his house in Ramat HaSharon.

JCSS Deputy Head Meets with Foundation Directors

Joseph Alpher, Deputy Head of JCSS, visited the United States in February 1987, where he met with the directors of programs in international security of several of the major philanthropic foundations there. The meetings were designed to explore the possibility of applying for research grants for some of the Jaffee Center's planned projects. The trip itself followed upon a process of identifying and contacting those foundations whose sphere of activity appeared to offer the possibility of collaboration.

As a result of the meetings, the Center has tentatively designated a number of research projects for prospective foundation financing. The next, and critical step, will be applying. For JCSS, which has relied hitherto on an endowment fund created by the contributions of generous individuals, the interaction with the major foundations presents a key challenge toward securing and enhancing the Center's financial and professional status.

JCSS In Action

writing...

Shai Feldman's article "Pollard: How They Almost Forgave Us" was printed in *Hadashot*... "In Spite of it All: Good for the Jews" was the subject of a piece by ***Ariel Levite*** in *Yediot Ahronot*... **Joseph Alpher's** "South Lebanon: Backdoor to Iran" appeared in *Moment*... *Ma'ariv* published an article on the Iran arms scandal by **Aharon Levran** entitled "The U.S. Had No Choice" ...**Shemuel Meir's** "The Syrian Threat: A Strategic Time-out" was published in *Ha'aretz*... **Ze'ev Eytan's** "Chemical Warfare in the Middle East" was the topic of an article in *Yediot Ahronot*... "The Iran-Iraq War at the Crossroads" was the subject of an article by **Efraim Karsh** in *The World Today*....

being quoted...

...The military balance and the future of the Lavi were among the subjects that JCSS Head **Aharon Yariv** discussed with both Israeli and foreign press... *Yediot Ahronot* turned to **Ariel Merari** for his reaction to publications on the PLO's reported financial assets... **Joseph Alpher** was cited in a discussion of US-Israeli relations in *U.S. News & World Report*... *BaMachane* interviewed him on strategic events in the past year, while Israeli T.V., the *Boston Globe, Miami Herald* and others quoted him on Irangate... *Davar* discussed the potential for U.S. involvement in Lebanon with

JCSS Study Published in Japan



***InTer 85*, the international terrorism yearbook prepared by JCSS's Project on International Terrorism and published in mid-1986 by The Jerusalem Post and Westview Press, made its Japanese debut in early 1987. It is published in Japan by The Jiji Press.**

Dore Gold... "Public Broadcasting News" interviewed **Ze'ev Eytan** on Israel's arms exports... Israel's intelligence community was the subject of an interview with **Ariel Levite** which appeared in *Corriere Della Sera*. Ariel Levite was also interviewed about the Pollard affair for CBS TV and was quoted in the *New York Times and Christian Science Monitor*... **Shai Feldman's** views on Israel's nuclear posture were quoted in the *New York Times*... Israeli TV news interviewed **Aharon Klieman** on Israel-South Africa military relations... **Dore Gold** discussed American military options in Lebanon on CNN's evening news program...*Davar*, the *Jerusalem Post*, *Ha'aretz*, and others carried reports on the JCSS Conference on Technology and Strategy that took place in March 1987.

speaking out...

...**Ariel Merari** presented a lecture entitled "Readiness to Kill and Die: Suicidal Terrorism in the Middle East" at a conference sponsored by the Wilson Center; he also lectured on state-supported terrorism at the Deutsches Strategic Forum... "The Political/ Administrative situation in Judea and Samaria" was the subject of **Aryeh Shalev's** presentation at the Van Leer Institute's Symposium on Israeli policy in Judea, Samaria and Gaza... **Ariel Levite** appeared before the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee to express his views on Israel's military doctrine.

JCSS — A Weapon in the Iran-Iraq War

On December 30, 1986, the Iraqi News Agency distributed a report that passengers on a flight from Vienna to Amman said that a "Zionist military delegation" headed by Head of JCSS Aharon Yariv had left Vienna for Tehran. The delegation was reportedly invited to Iran by the Iranian Chief of Staff for discussions on the transfer of "Zionist" equipment and know-how to the Iranian Armed Forces.

In fact, on that very day, Aharon Yariv and the research staff met at the Center with Shibly Talhami, an assistant professor at the University of Southern California.

JCSS has prepared and published several studies dealing with the Iran-Iraq War. Now it has been introduced as a weapon in the psychological war between the two countries.



Head of JCSS, Aharon Yariv, Speaking at JCSS-Elazar Memorial Association Conference on the Six-Day War—20 Year perspective.

JCSS Scholar's Book on Intelligence

Dr. Ariel Levite, a Senior Research Associate at JCSS, recently completed a book entitled **Intelligence and Strategic Surprise**. It was published by Columbia University Press in March 1987.

The book challenges conventional orthodoxy in the field of intelligence and national security decisionmaking. It offers a new explanation of strategic surprise based on the characteristics of warnings available to the surprise target. Dr. Levite determines that surprise need not be an inevitable result of human and organizational deficiencies; his close analysis reveals that high quality intelligence warning can overcome supposedly insurmountable barriers to receptivity by policymakers.

Prof. Alexander George (Stanford Univ.) describes the book as a "fresh, sophisticated analysis of the difficult problem of avoiding strategic surprise," and former Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Admiral Bobby Inman (USN-Ret.) calls it "a superb book... a must for those who wish to understand the uses of intelligence."

Source Unknown?

On December 11, 1986, **Al-Nashra Al-Istrategia** (London) published an article on the Gulf War's impact on Israel.

When Brig. Gen. (Res.) A. Levran read the Hebrew translation of the Arabic article, he immediately detected a surprisingly likeness to a chapter he himself had written for the JCSS *Middle East Military Balance 1985* that was published in July 1986.

After carefully comparing the texts no doubt remains that the article was adopted from a section of Part II of the 1985 **Military Balance** entitled "The Implications of the War for Israel," pp. 326-328.

This follows upon a number of earlier instances in which the Arab press and publishers reprinted our material (usually without attribution). Imitation, too, is a positive form of dialogue.

Lebanon/Cont. from p. 1

on them. He also asserted that Begin never paid much attention to policy evaluation techniques; he was more interested in the ideological aspect of policy.

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Avigdor Ben-Gal, who led a key armored force in the war, claimed that Begin adopted the maximalist plan to send the IDF all the way to Beirut about a year before the war. In his opinion, the failure of the war was due to poor administration on the part of senior level IDF officers, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, and the government. The IDF had planned well in advance for a war deep into Lebanon, but the government decided on a limited operation of 40 km. The ultimate goal of the war was known only to the defense minister and IDF chief of staff; field commanders were confused about the final goals.

Gen. Amir Drori, who was OC Northern Command during the war, commented from the audience that the military failure of the war was attributable to the fact that the chief of staff held troops back. While the troops were prepared for their missions, they were not given the authorization to advance, and when they were authorized to continue, it was too late.

Other lecturers included **Ha'aretz** military commentator Ze'ev Schiff, Prof. Y. Yovel of the Hebrew University, and prominent spokesmen from academia and the IDF.

Major portions of the conference were later broadcast by Israel Radio and IDF Radio.

Tecnology/Cont. from p.4

emphasized Israel's need to develop weapons technologies indigenously, so that it can continue to spring technological surprises upon its adversaries periodically. He stressed the deterrent effect of this capacity and its positive effects in war avoidance.

The conference was closed by Maj. Gen. (Res.) Aharon Yariv, Head of JCSS, who emphasized the contribution of civilian theorists to the discussion of technology and strategy. Yariv pointed out two advantages of such theorists: they can devote much more time to thinking, and their status as outsiders releases them from the bureaucratic pressures suffered by their counterparts within the establishment institutions.

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Conference/Cont. from p.5

The group then toured the Jordan border security system, and the headquarters of the I.D.F. division positioned in Eastern Samaria, where it was briefed by the division's deputy commander. The geo-strategic attributes of the territory and their ramifications for Israeli security were stressed.

The second day began with a detailed briefing given by Chief of the Northern Command, Maj. Gen. Yosi Peled. The ways in which the command copes with two very different challenges — a major conventional threat from Syria and a multi-faceted terrorist threat from Lebanon — were elaborated.

The group then surveyed the Golan Heights, including a visit to a Merkava tank battalion. It observed a demonstration of the tank's maneuverability and was briefed on the battalion's missions. The commander of the IDF division in charge of security along the Lebanese border discussed the chaotic nature of the Lebanese scene. The conference guests ended their tour with an inspection of the security system along Israel's border with Lebanon.

During a later visit to the headquarters of the IDF division facing Lebanon, the difficulties evolving from the nature of the Lebanese scene were stressed, and the division of labor between the IDF and the South Lebanese Army in South Lebanon was clarified.

JCSS BULLETIN

Current and Forthcoming Publications

1986 Subscription Series*

Study no. 5 Abraham Ben-Zvi, *The American Approach to Superpower Collaboration in the Middle East, 1973-1986.*
Study no. 6 Ariel Merari and Shlomi Elad, *The International Dimension of Palestinian Terrorism.*
Study no. 7 Saul Cohen, *The Geopolitics of Israel's Border Question.*
Study no. 8 Yehuda Ben-Meir, *National Security Decisionmaking: The Israeli Case.*

1986 Annuals*

Aharon Levran, Zeev Eytan, *The Middle East Military Balance 1986,* edited by Aharon Levran.
InTer 86 A Review of International Terrorism in 1986.

1985 Subscription Series*

Study no. 1 Nimrod Novik, *Encounter with Reality: Reagan and the Middle East During the First Term.*
Study no. 2 Anat Kurz and Ariel Merari, *ASALA: Irrational Terror or Political Tool.*
Study no. 3 Efraim Karsh, *The Cautious Bear: Soviet Military Engagement in Middle East Wars in the Post-1967 Era.*
Study no. 4 Shemuel Meir, *Stategic Implications of the New Oil Reality.*

Books

- Zvi Lanir, ed., *Israeli Security and Economics in the 1980s* (Ministry of Defense Publishers, 1985) (Hebrew).
- Aryeh Shalev, *The West Bank: Line of Defense* (New York: Praeger, 1985).
- Ariel Merari, ed., *On Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism* (Frederick, Md: UPA, 1985).
- Joseph Alpher, ed., *War by Choice* (HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 1985) (Hebrew).
- Nimrod Novik, *The United States and Israel: Domestic Determinants of a Changing US Commitment* (Boulder: Westview, 1986).
- *The Middle East Military Balance.* An annual, published for JCSS by The Jerusalem Post and Westview Press. 1984, 1985, Mark A. Heller, ed.*
- *InTer 85 A Review of International Terrorism in 1985.* Ariel Merari, Tamar Prat, Sophia Kotzer, Anat Kurz, Yoram Schweitzer.*
- Ariel Merari and Shlomi Elad, *The International Dimension of Palestinian Terrorism* (HaKibbutz HaMeuched 1986) (Hebrew).

Memoranda**

No. 14 Shai Feldman, *US-Israeli Relations During the Second Reagan Administration* (Hebrew).
No. 15 Asher Arian, *Israeli Public Opinion and the War in Lebanon.*
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No. 17 Shai Feldman, *The Future of American Aid to Israel: Ramifications of the Gramm Rudman Act* (Hebrew).
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