

# JCSS 10<sup>th</sup> ANNIVERSARY

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES  TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

## Measuring the Impact...

Has JCSS Made a Difference?



The JCSS research team: (around the table, clockwise from far left) Dr. Ariel Merari, Anat Kurz, Prof. Aharon Klieman, Prof. Abraham Ben-Zvi, Col. (res.) Dr. Zeev Eytan, Dr. Dori Gold, Shemuel Meir, Maj. Gen. (res.) Aharon Yariv, Head of Center, Joseph Alpher, Deputy Head of Center, Brig. Gen. (res.) Aryeh Shalev, Moshe Grundman, Dr. Ariel Levite, Dr. Ephraim Karsh, Brig. Gen. (res.) Aharon Levrant, Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir. Absent on sabbatical leave are Dr. Shai Feldman and Dr. Mark Heller.

One of the central questions posed to us from time to time, by friends and critics alike, is whether we can pinpoint cases — beyond our overall

**4** December 1987

**Inside:**

- \* A decade of JCSS activities
- \* Complete publication list 1978-1987

input to the process of recognizing and analyzing developments of strategic importance to Israel—in which the Center's activities have had a direct impact on national decisionmakers or on the decisionmaking process. On a number of occasions we do indeed feel that we have "made a difference" by initiating policy relevant activity. For example...

- A memorandum by Shai Feldman on the implications of the Gramm-Rudman Act regarding cuts in US aid to Israel, triggered a process of reappraisal and reevaluation in the Ministry of Defense. Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin sent

JCSS a letter of thanks for its rôle in stimulating discussion.

- The series of symposia on the Lebanon War and its aftermath that have been held over the years by JCSS were designed to involve the public in debate over key related issues. Thus the latest such conference, held in 1987, and Ariel Sharon's subsequent lecture explaining his analysis of events before and during the war, were especially significant in reopening the debate surrounding the decisionmaking process. Sharon's lecture was widely covered in the world press.

(Cont. on p. 3)

# Ten Years—Looking Back, and Ahead

by Major-General (res.) Aharon Yariv, Head of JCSS



**J**CSS's first ten years have presented an uphill struggle, both financially and academically. Only a determined and persistent fundraising effort, spearheaded by Mel Jaffee's most generous and exemplary contribution and sustained by the warmhearted support of some 200 contributors, could bring us from our initial modest endowment in January 1978 to our present position. But special mention should be made of those contributors who supported us right from the beginning, and without whose foresight and understanding, we would not have been able to start. Our annual budget supports some 42 full and part-time personnel, as well as a broad slate of activities. Yet it remains small by the standard of similar think tanks internationally. While our fundraising progress has shielded the Center from grave consequences due to sharp drops in interest rates and heavy cuts in matching funds, we have had to make serious and continuous efforts to cut expenses, so as to avoid deficits. Certainly experience has shown us that the "strategy" of building a solid endowment fund was a correct one.

Academically, the first ten years have produced a rich crop of publications—papers, studies, memoranda and books—that have been placed at the disposal of decisionmakers and opinionmakers in Israel and abroad, mainly in the United States. Conferences, symposia, etc., have accompanied our research throughout

the years and have enabled us, together with the media, to apprise the public of important national security issues—one of the Center's main missions.

Concurrently, we have had to struggle to ensure an appropriate balance between strategic matters and those of a purely political science nature. In so doing, a simple but solid methodology in conducting research, from the initial proposal to the final publication, has been developed and fine tuned.

Over the years, as the Center has become better known, more and more people have shown an interest in its activities, and progressively more people have sought positions with us. We are thus able increasingly to be selective in our choice of research staff, and also to expand the range of our research to cover a wider spectrum of topics.

In the future, our fundraising efforts must continue, lest our attempts to deepen and broaden our research activities be frustrated. Thought must be given to the idea of constructing a building tailored to the Center's needs. And we must protect the endowment fund against the vagaries of the international investment market, and currency fluctuations.

Looking ahead, I see the necessity of bringing about ever closer coordination between the Center's activities, especially research, and policy-relevant recommendations regarding urgent issues. Initial steps in this direction have already been undertaken. We

must strive to foresee important national security issues, and to propose solutions—through research as well as symposia, conferences, and seminars. We must also endeavor to ensure that all our publications are issued in both English and Hebrew. Withal, the expansion of our activities should under no circumstances come at the expense of depth, thoroughness, and research methodology.

We have acquired the necessary computer equipment for the Center, and must now make sure that it is utilized properly and efficiently so as to maximize its benefit. We have also expanded our cooperation with strategic research institutions abroad, recently launching our first joint research project. One effort that requires continued input on our part is the cultivation of a younger generation of researchers, in order to ensure well-balanced continuity.

These, then, are the foundations—the fruits of ten years endeavor—upon which the Center hopes to continue to develop in the future.

*A. Yariv*

**JCSS BULLETIN**

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

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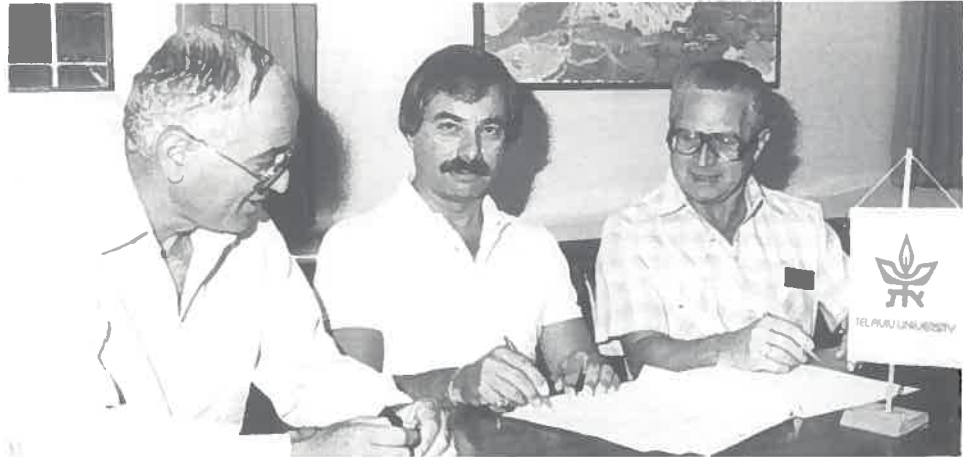
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# Brainstorming— JCSS Style

One of the unique features of life and work at JCSS is its style of in-house meeting. Over the past ten years, the JCSS Monday morning staff meeting has become known throughout Israel and beyond as a free and informal—but exacting—forum for the presentation and discussion of new ideas and theories. Drafts of research are regularly picked apart by the staff in the presence of their authors, who are subsequently instructed by the Head of Center regarding the requirements of their next, improved versions. New developments of strategic import are presented by interested researchers for analysis and broader understanding. “Volunteers” from outside JCSS—military, government and academic personnel—arrive to present their policy ideas for the staff’s scrutiny and suggestions. And scholars and officials from abroad are dutifully led in by their embassy staffs to brief—and be briefed.

About five years ago a consensus developed among the JCSS staff that, in certain instances, the staff meeting fell short of our requirements in terms of the guests we could entertain, and the scope and depth of the closed audience. Thus developed the Security Forum. Three or four times a year, a



**Adding the “J” to “CSS:” Mel Jaffee (center) formalizing his generous contribution to the Center. He is flanked by then TAU President Haim Ben Shachar (left) and Head of JCSS Aharon Yariv (right).**

very high level Israeli official—the minister of defense, IDF chief of staff and IDF chief of intelligence, and coordinator of administered territories are all recent speakers—addresses the Forum, which is made up of former senior officers and officials in the IDF and security establishment, Tel Aviv University scholars of political science, and the JCSS staff. The ensuing exchange of views and opinions is, like the conversation at JCSS staff meetings, completely confidential. Yet in informing both sides of new and different views, the Security Forum fulfills its function as a unique meeting place for opinion molders on strategic issues, who might otherwise not get together.



**Deputy Head of JCSS Joseph Alpher (left) conferring with former deputy head Aryeh Shalev and Tova Polonsky, Administrative Assistant to the Head of JCSS.**

(Cont. from p.1)

- In a related vein, following a recent terrorist act on a highway in Northern Israel, Ministry of Commerce and Industry Sharon claimed that there had been a rise in terrorist activities, and called for a stronger hand in dealing with terrorism. In response, MK Ran Cohen challenged Sharon’s statistics on the basis of data published in JCSS’s InTer 1986, that portrayed an opposite trend.

- A JCSS memorandum on Israeli naval doctrine generated a call within the IDF and by the Knesset’s Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee, for a reassessment of the “Sa’ar 5” missile boat project. And a discussion of the Lavi project held by JCSS’s Security Forum (that comprises some 50 high-ranking former IDF officers, directors of military industries, and members of the defense establishment) stirred debate over the pros and cons of continuing the project, and stimulated military industries in the anti-Lavi camp to voice their positions publicly.

- Even more recently, media coverage of pronouncements by JCSS staff concerning the dangers involved in any continuing Israeli “tilt” toward Iran in the Gulf War, have been influential in bringing about a revised, and more balanced, official Israeli position concerning the war.

- As for recognition abroad, we can point to a letter of thanks received from US Vice President George Bush for the Center’s assistance in providing data on world terrorism to the special task force for combating terrorism headed by Bush. And when the US State Department’s Robert Murphy appeared before Congress in October 1985 to persuade it of the extent of the Syrian military threat to Jordan, he quoted the JCSS *Middle East Military Balance*.

## Background Profile of JCSS Research Staff, 1977-1987

Status	Background			Total
	Academic	Military	Government/ Media	
Permanent researcher	15	8	4	27
Research fellow	2	3	1	6
Total	17	11	5	33



# Fruitful Cooperation with the Establishment



IDF Chief of Staff Lieut. Gen. Moshe Levi at the JCSS Security Forum.

- Close ties with "Rafael" (Israel's Weapons Development Authority) commenced in 1985. This has touched upon two main areas—basic research, and the organization of symposia. Thus, Rafael has provided financial and professional support for the study of strategic and security-related issues, and for conferences on Israel's security policy, including an international conference on Strategy and Technology in March 1987.

- Over the years the JCSS staff has conducted two tours of the Israel Aircraft Industries, in which it has been briefed on research and development in new weapons production and future technology. These visits have led to fruitful cooperation in a wide range of areas—especially conferences and seminars on military technology, the future of the Lavi combat aircraft, and the future battlefield.

- JCSS cooperation with the IDF has frequently taken the form of high level meetings with our research staff and Security Forum. IDF chiefs of staff, regional commanders, and heads of intelligence, the air force and the navy have all participated in these encounters. In addition, the JCSS staff has visited and toured various military installations, including the Northern and Central Commands, an Air Force base in the Negev, and the Navy base in Haifa.

**I**n order to be able to develop research freely and maintain complete academic freedom, JCSS as a rule has avoided soliciting government contract work. The Center has however been prepared from time to time to respond to requests for special reports from government agencies, and has also agreed to participate in government-sponsored "brainstorming sessions" when invited. In accordance with these guidelines, JCSS has undertaken thus far two long-term projects commissioned by government agencies.

Since 1981, the prime minister's advisor on combating terrorism has commissioned work at JCSS related to Israel and international terrorist activities and organizations, and has assisted in the organization of international conferences on these issues. In 1985 the director-general of the Prime Minister's Office commissioned a major JCSS report on the entire scope of global and regional strategic factors that are projected to impact upon Israel's strategy for the solution of the Arab- Israel conflict toward the year 2000.

Additional, general cooperation with government agencies, the defense industries, the defense research community and the IDF, has been wide and variegated:

- In 1982 JCSS submitted to the Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee (at the committee's

request) a report on the trends and implications of the peace agreement between Egypt and Israel.

- In 1983 JCSS participated in a "war game" on the alternatives Israel faced with respect to the redeployment and/or withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon. This was undertaken at the initiative of Moshe Arens, then minister of defense.

- In early 1987 JCSS contributed to the work done by the Knesset Subcommittee on National Security Doctrine that was established to examine Israeli security doctrine.



(left) Minister Moshe Arens delivering the concluding address at a JCSS international conference. To his right, conference organizer Shai Feldman from JCSS. (right) MK Eliyahu Ben Elissar speaking at an early JCSS seminar. To his left, Shmuel Katz and Uri Avneri.



# Publishing: from Square One to the Tel

by Joseph Alpher, Deputy Head of JCSS

**T**he Jaffee Center was conceived as an institution that would not merely research strategic issues—it would also, indeed primarily—bring before the public the results of its inquiries. It would inform, educate and involve the public in Israel-related strategic affairs. To do so, it would have to publish.

The need to publish was thus built into the Center's *raison d'être*. And the realities of publishing were to prove a formidable challenge. While the very first year of the Center's activity witnessed the publication of no less than three CSS Papers—one of them near-book length—it would take far longer to understand, define and rationalize the parameters of what we might call "strategic publishing"—producing strategic research and getting it to the people who are interested in reading it—and their interrelationship with the research process.

These problems, as we have come to understand them over the ensuing years, are relatively unique to JCSS. They may be grouped under several headings. First, **target audience**: The potential readership of research on strategic issues is not large. Yet, unlike some of our sister "think tanks" in the world, who write and publish for a single, well-defined audience, we assessed that the fruits of JCSS researchers' work should reach several publics: fellow academics and strategic thinkers; Israeli military and strategic planners, and interested laypersons; world Jewry; the media; and political decisionmakers and their advisors, primarily in Israel and the United States.

Satisfying these diverse publics brought us to a second cluster of problems: **language**. Obviously, the Israeli public could only be served in Hebrew; yet the additional target audiences outside of Israel required versions in English and perhaps other languages. Gradually, we recognized that different research topics tended to require alternative language priorities. For example, a policy-prescriptive work directed toward Israeli decisionmakers should be published first, perhaps only, in Hebrew, while most works on international terrorism favored an international, English-reading audience.



Senior Researcher Yehuda Ben Meir discusses his study on Israeli national security decisionmaking with speakers at a JCSS symposium on the subject: Foreign Ministry Codirector-General Yossi Beilin (left) and Cabinet Secretary Elyakim Rubinstein (right).

Then there was the **researcher**: what language could he write in; indeed, what should be the relationship between his own research preferences, and the Center's perception of its priorities in terms of addressing the pressing strategic issues?

Finally, we gradually learned to deal with the **logistic, administrative and financial details**. For example, the problems of translating and editing works in the realms of military and political science have proved awesome. Then too, we discovered that willing publishers and distributors of strategic research, both inside Israel and worldwide, do not exactly grow on trees. Our target readership, too, at times proved elusive...

We began by establishing a basic set of formats—one which has survived our first ten years admirably: books for extensive and comprehensive research; memoranda for short, policy-oriented pieces that reacted to current events of strategic impact; and papers—later lengthened to studies of short book length—for monograph-length manuscripts.

Our first books were the products of years of research and writing at JCSS, and appeared only in 1982-1983, over four years after the Center's founding. They broke new ground in fields of academic and strategic interest not

(Cont. on p.11)

## JCSS Studies

**J**CSS's unique role in Israel's academic community has found expression in the publication of research studies that deal with a wide range of strategic subjects. The series—27 CSS and JCSS Papers, followed by (to date) eight JCSS Studies—is in many ways the Center's "calling card." The papers/studies constitute perhaps the most concentrated effort of JCSS researchers in their first ten years of activity. As such, they have provided a forum for JCSS to make its mark on the international academic scene, as well as a means for broadening debate surrounding Middle East-related strategic subjects.

The topics covered by JCSS in this series are a reliable reflection of the central strategic issues that concern decisionmakers and public opinion in Israel. Here we can mention but a small portion of them. For example, several JCSS papers and studies relate to Israel's security arrangements. Aryeh Shalev and Saul Cohen have both written on this subject.

Analysis of strategic developments in the Middle East, and their implications for Israel, are a central aspect of JCSS

# Aviv-Jerusalem-Boulder Triangle



**Profile of Publications**  
 10 books (five in both Hebrew and English)  
 35 Papers and Studies  
 20 Memoranda

**Annuals**  
 4 Middle East Military Balances  
 (two in both Hebrew and English)  
 3 InTer

research work. Mark Heller's paper on the Iran-Iraq War, and Dov Shafir's work on the strategic impact of Arab naval forces in the Mediterranean, both belong to this category.

Another perspective on regional issues is the unique role of oil as a strategic component in the complex of Middle East inter-state and global relations, and its implications for the arms race between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Works by Uzi Arad and Shemuel Meir have dealt with this issue.

The war in Lebanon and the Middle East peace process have both been covered in depth in JCSS research.

The dominant role played by the United States in the search for political settlement in the Middle East over the past ten years is also reflected in JCSS publications. Nimrod Novik, who set up the Center's Project on American Foreign and Security Policy in the Middle East, focused on the Reagan

administration's first term approach to the region. In 1981 Yair Evron discussed a proposal to establish a military pact between Israel and the US. And Abraham Ben-Zvi wrote no less than three papers and a study on American-Middle East issues, including one that examined the US government's attitude toward the PLO, and analyzed patterns of cooperation between the superpowers concerning possible solutions to the Arab-Israel conflict.

Nor does the Center ignore the role of the USSR in our region. Relevant papers and studies include those of Ephraim Karsh on patterns of Soviet military involvement in the region and Soviet arms sales policy, and that of Amiram Nir on strategic cooperation between the USSR and Syria.

Research on international terrorism has also been featured prominently in the JCSS series. Among the studies and papers published are those of Ariel

Merari and Shlomi Elad on Palestinian terrorism and the USSR's connection to world terrorism, and Anat Kurz and Ariel Merari's study of Armenian terrorism, which aroused considerable interest in the professional literature.

## Memoranda

The JCSS Memoranda series has become the Center's principal vehicle for putting forward policy prescriptive recommendations to the government and defense establishment, as well as for generating real-time analyses of rapidly developing events that might not be covered in the Center's longer-term studies. Its regular audience includes members of the Israeli Cabinet, the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the various branches of the Israel Defense Forces, and the military correspondents of the Israeli press.

Subjects of memoranda have been widely varied. Two months after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Mark Heller produced one of the earliest assessments of Soviet motivations (CSS Memorandum no. 2), that has since become a point of reference for students of Soviet behavior in this region. Nimrod Novik's *Weapons to Riyadh* figured prominently in the congressional debate in Washington over the Reagan administration's sale of AWACS aircraft and assorted support equipment to Saudi Arabia in 1981. Shai Feldman's *The Raid on Osiraq* (CSS Memorandum no. 5) raised some difficult strategic issues posed by Israel's destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, that may have been overlooked by analysts who were overwhelmed by the tactical brilliance of the operation.

(Cont on p. 12)



# The JCSS Annuals: ME Military Balance, and InTer

JCSS's *Middle East Military Balance* had its beginnings in a modest individual JCSS Paper, no. 7 (February 1980), by Yehoshua Raviv, entitled *The Arab-Israeli Military Balance (in view of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty)*. An update was planned, as a thin paper of some 75 pages, for the first Papers series in 1982; but before it could be completed, the war in Lebanon had generated the need for a far longer, full-fledged book.

Now in its fifth year, the *Balance* has gone on to become the object of pirate translations into Arabic, emulation by an Egyptian sister-institution, endless quotation, and testimony in the US Congress. Middle East correspondents rip off the cover so they can carry it with them inobtrusively in Syria and Iraq; and the Arab countries and PLO regularly purchase several score copies.

Considering its somewhat experimental origins, the *Balance* has retained a remarkably stable format. Under the editorship of Mark Heller and later Aharon Levrant, its contents have been divided roughly into two functional spheres: written summaries and analyses, and factual data. The first sphere comprises a survey of strategic developments in the Middle East during the year covered, followed by analyses of major military balances and developments, and descriptions of important developments in primary regional armed forces.

The second sphere, which has been composed by Zeev Eytan since its inception, presents—in the form of a data base, charts, maps and a glossary—a very large quantity of accurate data on the military and strategic capacity of every country in the region, and the Palestinian organizations. With the 1986 edition, we distributed a Hebrew "mini-balance" that comprised those analytical chapters deemed most relevant to the Israeli reader.

## Critics and Compliments... A Sampling

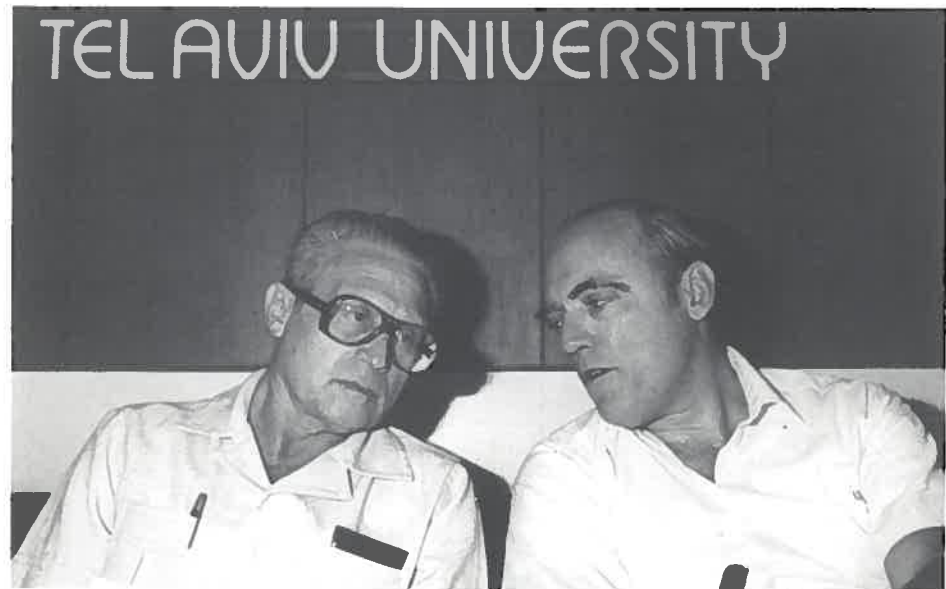
—The *Middle East Military Balance* is "an invaluable reference work on the military aspect of Middle East politics without peer in any language.... The descriptions and analyses are straightforward, clearly expressed, and entirely free of cant. One hopes this volume will achieve the distribution it deserves."  
**Orbis**

—"It is rare that one finds a truly scholarly work on terrorism nowadays.... most of the literature has aimed at scoring points rather than at advancing knowledge... [ASALA: *Irrational Terror or Political Tool*] is a welcome exception to the general rule.... a major contribution to our understanding of one of the most fascinating and deadly terrorist groups in the world."  
**Middle East Review**

—*The West Bank: Line of Defense...* is educational, informative and thoughtprovoking. Its outstanding characteristic is the attempt to divest the subject of extra-military considerations and, particularly, of ideological arguments.... The problems themselves are presented with precision... in an effort to deal fairly with all arguments and counter-arguments."  
**HaAretz**

*InTer: A Review of International Terrorism*, has emerged from similar modest beginnings to be translated into Japanese and quoted worldwide. Its format, too, is divided between written analyses of important trends and events, and extensive tables and chronology—all compiled, computerized and analyzed by a team of researchers in JCSS's Project on International Terrorism, headed by Ariel Merari.

The immense writing and editing effort required by both annuals, with their heavy content of facts, figures and charts, accelerated JCSS's entry into the computer age—specifically the relatively new realms of desk-top publishing and the transfer of data-base material into a wordprocessing mode. Today, virtually all JCSS works are written, edited and printed in a computer-compatible environment.



**Close collaboration: Head of JCSS Aharon Yariv with then US Ambassador Samuel Lewis at a JCSS conference.**

**The American Embassy in Tel Aviv collaborates closely with the Jaffee Center. The American Cultural Center supplies material relevant to JCSS research. Embassy Counselor for Public Affairs Howard Lane and his staff have assisted JCSS in mounting conferences and seminars with American participants. American scholars and official visitors are brought to the Center for discussions and briefings. A US Air Force officer, Colonel Marshall Michel, spent the 1986-1987 academic year at JCSS as a guest scholar, with Embassy support and assistance. And JCSS researchers have been assisted by the Embassy in visiting the United States and American installations in Europe.**

# To Think with other Tanks...

In the course of its ten years of operations, JCSS has endeavored to develop ties with strategic research centers abroad. This has taken the form of joint conferences and symposia, assistance in research, and the exchange of researchers and publications. The Head of JCSS, Maj.Gen.(res.) Aharon Yariv, has represented the Center at conferences around the world, and serves on the advisory boards of a number of academic research institutions, including the IISS in London.

The following are but a few examples of JCSS's international collaboration activities:



At JCSS International Conference on Domestic Determinants of US Policy in the Middle East (cosponsored with Dayan Center and USIA): (left to right) Raymond Wolfinger, Nelson Polsby, Aharon Yariv, Elaine Kamark and Gary Orren.

## Joint Conferences

- "Challenges in the Middle East: Regional Dynamics and Western Security" was the subject of a conference sponsored by JCSS and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, in May 1980. In two days of meetings in Washington, conference participants brought new perspectives to issues facing the western world in the Middle East. Speakers included Ambassador (ret.) R. Newman and Israeli MK Abba Eban, as well as the presidents of both universities. Head of JCSS A. Yariv and four JCSS researchers presented papers. The conference proceedings were published by Praeger in 1981.

- In 1980 JCSS and UCLA held a joint symposium on "Western Security and the Middle East," under the auspices of the American Friends of Tel Aviv University.

- In March 1981, JCSS was host to Rand Corporation researchers at a symposium on "Israel's Strategic Situation in the mid-1980s." Lectures and discussions centered on threat issues; adversary operations, doctrine and tactics; and Israeli capabilities and force structure. The closed seminar was organized and conducted in cooperation with the IDF. Lecturers included Head of JCSS A. Yariv and Dr. Ze'ev Eytan, as well as IDF officers.

- In July 1986 the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and the Israel Military Correspondents Association organized a conference in Jerusalem on "Strategy and Defense in the Eastern Mediterranean" in coordination with JCSS and the Dayan Center.



At the Technology and Strategy Conference: Pierre Lelouche (France) with Defense Commentator Zeev Schiff.



At JCSS International Conference on Technology and Strategy: (left to right) General Klaus Naumann (FRG), William Kincade (USA) and keynote speaker James Woolsey (USA).

## Guest Speakers

Over the last ten years, JCSS has been host to many distinguished speakers from abroad whose presentations have enriched the Israeli academic community. Among the more memorable...

...Maj. Gen. John Keegan, USAF Chief of Intelligence, visited the Center and lectured on "US Strategic Posture."... "The Role of the US Community in Foreign Policy Decisionmaking" was the subject of a presentation by Dr. Ray Cline of CSIS.... Malcolm Toon, former US Ambassador to the USSR, spoke on "The Middle East Situation Seen from Moscow."... "Changing Strategic

Concerns in the Middle East" was the topic of a lecture delivered by Prof. Geoffrey Kemp... Prof. Nadav Safran of Harvard presented a lecture on "The Situation in the Middle East."

...JCSS was host to Dr. Jeanne K. Kirkpatrick (former US Ambassador to the UN) who spoke on "The Delegitimization of Israel at the UN."... Dr. Robert O'Neill, Head of IISS, was the guest speaker at a seminar on "The East-West Military Balance."... "After the Summit: Prospects of US-Soviet Relations and Arms Control" was the subject of a lecture given by Prof. Richard Gardner of Columbia.... Dr. Henry Kissinger was the guest speaker for a seminar on "US Policy and the Peace Process in the Middle East."

# Israel's Security and Strategy— Symposia Series

A couple of years ago JCSS initiated a forum for the discussion of security issues in Israel. Over the course of several meetings, the forum has provided a platform for stimulating debate of a kind unprecedented in the Israeli defense community. In these symposia JCSS has succeeded in raising central security issues that are beyond the immediate press of day-to-day concerns, yet are of utmost importance for the understanding of Israel's security needs in the long run.

This initiative has been facilitated by a greater openness for debate within the Israeli defense establishment, and has been characterized by the integration of practical aspects of a given security issue into more general theoretical and historical frameworks of analysis. The outcome is a unique confrontation involving active senior ranking IDF officers and top echelons of the defense industries and defense research community, together with retired military personnel and academics. In effect, JCSS serves as a neutral meeting ground that enjoys the respect of all "sides" to the issues, and allows them to discuss complex topics of mutual professional interest in an atmosphere free of professional pressures.

Four symposia along these lines have taken place in the past two years, coordinated by Dr. Ariel Levite of JCSS; three more are scheduled for 1988. The symposia have been held in collaboration with "Rafael" (Israel's Weapons Development Authority) and Ma'arachot (the IDF publishing house).

The first conference in the series, in September 1985, dealt with aspects of Israel's security. Lectures focused on offensive doctrine and its origin in the IDF, conventional deterrence in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the relationship between political and military aims in war, and theoretical considerations in a two-front war situation. The keynote address, delivered by Minister of Police Lt.Gen.(res.) Haim Bar-Lev, dealt with Israel's preemptive wars of 1956, 1967, and 1982.

This first symposium was closely followed by a second, on airpower and the modern land battle, held in December 1985. The third conference

in the series, held in April 1986, considered the political and military aspects of strategic envelopment. The Head of JCSS, Maj.Gen.(res.) Aharon Yariv, delivered the opening remarks in which he reviewed the constraints and principles that affect the use of strategic envelopment, and considered the implications of the adoption of a strategic envelopment concept for the IDF. In a closing lecture on political aspects of envelopment, Minister of Commerce and Industry Ariel Sharon considered examples in which it was employed by the IDF in past wars.

The latest symposium in the series (November 1986) focused on defense and offense in Israeli strategy. The JCSS security symposia have succeeded in highlighting and refining a number of key strategic issues—to the benefit of the IDF, the defense industries and research establishment, and Israeli defense planners in general.

## International Conferences

In view of the success of JCSS's first international conference, on terrorism, in July 1979, the Center embarked on a series of such conferences, covering a variety of fields of strategic interest in Israel and abroad.

- "Defense and National Economy in the 1980s" was the subject of a four day JCSS conference in December 1981. The lectures and discussions focused on the problems involved in formulating a national defense concept in view of economic constraints in states which are not members of alliances, with an emphasis on Israel. Lecturers included Prof. Klaus Knorr, Dr. Richard Garwin and Dr. Pierre Lellouche. The conference proceedings were later published in book form in both Hebrew and English.

- "Current Trends in World Terrorism" was the theme of an international conference cosponsored by JCSS and

the Office of the Prime Minister's Advisor on Combating Terrorism. More than 150 experts on terrorism from over 15 countries attended the four-day conference, held in July 1985. Conference papers dealt with major terrorist phenomena around the world, including Islamic terrorism, Jewish terrorism, and terrorism in Europe, the USA and Latin America. State-sponsored terrorism, future trends, and potential ways of combating terrorism were discussed in detail. Dr. Peter Janke, Dr. Paul Jureidini, and Dr. Hans Josef Horchem were among the internationally renowned lecturers at the conference. This was the second international symposium on terrorism sponsored by JCSS's Project on International Terrorism; the first was held in 1979.

- "Technology and Strategy: Future Trends" was the subject of an international conference held in March 1987. It was sponsored by JCSS and the Center for Foreign Policy Options in Los Angeles, and was designed to examine the interaction between strategy and new conventional weapons technologies. R. James Woolsey, former US Under-Secretary of the Navy, opened the conference with a lecture on the sources of innovation in weapons technologies. Some 20 guest speakers attended the conference, including Dr. Lawrence Korb, Dr. Richard Garwin and Dr. James Roche. Israeli speakers included Maj.Gen.(res.) Benjamin Peled, Brig.Gen.(res.) Yiftah Spector and Dr. Ariel Levite (JCSS). In the final session Dr. Shai Feldman, who organized the conference, summarized the main points covered in the 26 lectures presented. The guest speakers were then invited on a two-day trip to the IDF's Northern and Central Commands.

### JCSS International Conferences and Symposia 1977-1987

10 international conferences  
26 one-day symposia

# The War in Lebanon: Five Conferences

Since the problem of the PLO in Lebanon began to take on strategic proportions in 1981, JCSS has held no less than five symposia on Lebanon and related issues—not to mention the publication of two studies and three memoranda.

This volume of activity attests to the Center's involvement in initiating activities related to significant and current events of strategic interest in Israel and the Middle East.

The first JCSS symposium on Lebanon was held in May 1981, as one of the JCSS series of "Dado" lectures. In many ways it anticipated the coming storm, which was to begin shortly thereafter in the form of artillery exchanges between the IDF and the PLO that summer. A second symposium, in November 1982, dealt

with various aspects of the war of summer, 1982. A third was held in February 1984. A fourth, which took place in 1985, included lectures on security arrangements in Lebanon, and addressed the question of consensus in Israel regarding the war. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin concluded this conference with a lecture on Israel's security goals along the northern border.

Finally, a June 1987 symposium examined the Lebanon War from a five-year perspective. Lecturers evaluated the decisionmaking process immediately preceding and during the war; the role of the media; the attitudes of intellectuals toward the war; and the situation in Lebanon following the war. Major portions of the conference were later broadcast by Israel Radio and IDF Radio.



First Sirkin Lecturer, General John R. Galvin (now Commander-in-Chief of NATO), flanked by Minister Ezer Weizman (left) and Maj.Gen.(res.) A. Ben Gal.

## Simon Syrkin Lecture Series

In 1985 an endowment fund was established to hold an annual Simon Syrkin Memorial Lecture concerning Israeli security issues. This fund was made possible by a generous contribution from Paul and Annie Yanowicz of New York. The lecture series commemorates the late Col. Syrkin, who served in the IDF from 1948-1973.

The inaugural lecture, held in April 1985, was delivered by General John Rogers Galvin—then prospective commander of the US Southern Command, currently commander of NATO forces in Europe. Its subject was "Generals and Generalship on the Modern Battlefield," and it portrayed a fascinating picture of the "computerized battlefield." The second lecture in the series (February 1986) was delivered by Amnon Yogev and concerned "A Future Security Model for Israel." Yogev, a professor of physical chemistry at the Weizman Institute, argued that in order to ensure a qualitative advantage for the IDF in future warfare, a new security doctrine must be adopted in which new technologies play a crucial role.

The topic of the third lecture held thus far (February 1987) was chosen in accordance with the 100th anniversary celebrations of the birth of David Ben-Gurion. Prof. Yoav Gelber considered Ben Gurion's personal contribution to the establishment of the IDF.

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previously explored in depth by researchers in Israel and elsewhere. They also proved that we could appeal to first-rate academic publishers on a strictly commercial basis: Mark Heller's *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel* was accepted by Harvard University Press, and Shai Feldman's *Israeli Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1980s* was published by Columbia University Press. Aryeh Shalev's *The West Bank: Line of Defense* was to become our "best seller" in Hebrew; it is now in its third printing. Five of our first eight books were published in English and Hebrew.

We entered into a partnership with HaKibbutz HaMeuchad Publishers, whose *Kav Adom* series will soon

feature its seventh JCSS book.

Yet the Papers/Studies series also proved highly problematic in terms of distribution. Here we tried a number of solutions until, through trial and error and endless inquiry and consultation with colleagues, we succeeded in the years 1981-1984 in putting together a triangular business relationship of a lasting nature: JCSS would write and edit these monographs (they have grown in length from 40 to 130 pages on average over the years), the Jerusalem Post would print them, and the Post and Westview Press of Boulder, Colorado would distribute them—dividing "the world" between the Post's own extensive international and Israeli readership, and Westview's largely academic target public. Here the foresight and understanding of Ari Rath and Erwin Frankel of the Post, and

Fred Praeger of Westview, proved crucial. In their infinite wisdom, they were actually prepared to agree in advance, sight unseen, to advertise and publish the research that JCSS promised to carry out. There are very few publishers anywhere who accept works they have not read; the Jerusalem Post and Westview accepted entire series of works that were not yet even written! Their trust was essential in allowing JCSS to undertake the establishment of an annual series of publications that is now in its seventh year.

One of the keys to the relative success of these series has been the inclusion in them of two JCSS annuals that have made their (and our) mark upon the world: the *Middle East Military Balance*, and *InTer: A Review of International Terrorism*.

# The JCSS Information Center

**T**he JCSS Information Center was born virtually simultaneously with JCSS itself. Research, even initial research, could hardly be carried out without an efficient means of obtaining source material. Thus the primary role of the Information Center has always been to supply JCSS researchers with material relevant to their work. In order to meet this challenge, work at the Information Center focuses on: (1) building an infrastructure of information in accord with the Center's areas of interest, and (2) providing the researchers with information on an ad hoc basis, either at their request, or periodically, at the Information Center's instigation.

The JCSS Information Center also serves military institutions, government offices, researchers, reporters, students, and others. Over the years it has come to be recognized throughout Israel as a unique source of strategic research tools for the public at large.

The interdisciplinary nature of research work at JCSS imposes upon the Information Center the difficult task of locating, gathering, distributing and filing material from a wide range of areas: political science, international relations, contemporary history, international law, new military technology, military geography, psychology, etc. To this end, there are two primary channels through which we generally obtain material relevant to our work: we subscribe to numerous specialized publications on a regular basis; and we collect material from professional libraries throughout Israel—in universities, research institutions, government departments, and foreign embassies—where we photocopy and borrow publications regularly. In addition, we maintain publication exchange agreements with over fifty strategic research institutions and libraries all over the world.

A program to computerize the entire Information Center is in progress. We will use JCSS's Digital Microvax II, which was installed in May 1987, in order to integrate our files with those of the Center's computerized data bases.



At work in the Information Center: (left to right) Shemuel Meir, Amira Rosenfeld, Heda Rechnitz-Kijner, Dori Gold, Ariel Levite—all of JCSS.

## STARTING OUR SECOND DECADE

### The 1987-88 JCSS Subscription Series

*The Middle East Military Balance 1987*  
Aharon Levran, Zeev Eytan  
Ed. by A. Levran

*InTer 86: A Review of International Terrorism in 1986*  
by Ariel Merari and members of the JCSS Project on Terrorism.

JCSS Study no. 9. *The Guardian of Israel: National Security and Public Opinion*, by Asher Arian, Ilan Talmud, and Tamar Hermann

JCSS Study no. 10. *Statecraft in the Dark: Israel's Practice of Quiet Diplomacy*, by Aharon Klieman

JCSS Study no. 11. *CENTCOM, the Gulf, and Israel: Changing Patterns of US Military Interaction and their Regional Implications*, by Dore Gold

JCSS Study no. 12. *Offense and Defense in Israeli Military Doctrine*, by Ariel Levite.

A JCSS Special Study. *U.S. Mideast Policy: The Domestic Setting*, by Shai Feldman.

### CONFERENCES

December 1987 • "The Threat to Israel's Rear Echelon" (day-long seminar)

January 1988 Tenth Anniversary Festive Evening

March 1988 • "Scenarios for the Conclusion of the Iran-Iraq War" (day-long seminar)

September 1988 • "The Iran-Iraq War" (three day international conference)

### (Cont from p.7)

The Head of JCSS, Aharon Yariv provided a balanced assessment of the effects of the War in Lebanon on Israel's strategic situation in February 1983, long before Israel completed its troop withdrawal from most of that country. The problem of Lebanon continued to preoccupy subsequent JCSS memoranda: Amiram Nir examined alternative lines of withdrawal in Memorandum no. 11, *The Awali Line*. Aharon Levran took a new look at the role of UN forces in any future security arrangements along Israel's northern border. And Joseph Alpher brought together Israel's leading academic and military experts on the Lebanese situation in an effort to develop a realistic and stable model for Israeli-Lebanese relations in the aftermath of the war.

With the beginning of President Reagan's second term of office, Shai Feldman accurately anticipated the administration's basic policy toward the Arab-Israeli peace process in Memorandum no. 14. Dore Gold alerted the Israeli government to the possibilities of enhancing the US-Israeli strategic relationship in his memorandum on the US Strategic Defense Initiative. As the peace process appeared to have become stalled in late 1986, Aryeh Shalev considered a proposal raised at times by both of Israel's main political parties—that Israel unilaterally set up an autonomy regime in Judea and Samaria; Shalev provided sober analysis questioning the wisdom of this commonly raised alternative to a negotiated settlement of the Palestinian problem.