JCSS BULLETIN

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

40 Years of Security in Retrospect

"Yom Dado," the annual JCSS-Elazar Memorial Association Conference, held on April 28, 1988, focused on Israel's security as reflected during the country's 40 years of independence. Lectures were devoted to a wide range of issues pertinent to Israel's security situation, including the nature of the Arab-Israel conflict, the problem of strategic surprise, weapons systems R&D, and education and morality in the IDF.

Major General Ehud Barak, who lectured on strategic surprise, claimed that Israel's deterrent capacity today is far superior to that on the eve of the Yom Kippur War, and that the chance of repeating the surprise of 1973 is slim. Nevertheless, absolutely reliable assessments are a virtual impossibility, and awareness of this limitation is a central element of Israel's security thinking. There is no one 'magic solution' to the problem of strategic surprise, either in terms of force deployment or absolute early warning capability. The solution is to be found in the combination of many factors.

Major General (res) David Ivri, Director-General of the Ministry of Defense, concentrated on aspects of research and development of weapons systems. A central theme of his lecture was that research and development policy should not be a function of long-term IDF programs — rather, it should be dependent upon the country's wider strategic conception. This, in direct contrast to the current policy guiding weapons production and IDF weapons acquisition, which *is* dependent on IDF programs. For it is R&D that determines the nature of the future battlefield.

One of the sessions of the day was a panel discussion in which participants related to Israel's security in the coming decade: Major General (res) Shlomo Gazit, MK Ran Cohen, MK Dan Meridor, Major General (res) Meir Amit, and Brigadier General (res) Mordechai Zippori voiced their opinions on the central security challenges Israel will face in the next ten years.

That 'security' is not in itself a national goal, was emphasized by Shlomo Gazit. He pointed out that security problems interfere with the attainment of true national goals, such as strengthening Israel's position in the world. Israel must act on both the political and military planes in order to reconcile the existence of severe security threats on the one hand, with the need to encourage economic development on the other.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin concluded the day's lectures with a talk on Israel's security doctrine, in which he reviewed the security threats Israel faces (the military threat, terrorism, and the uprising in the territories), and the proper strategy for dealing with each. Rabin stressed that policy relating to the military threat should rest on a defensive strategy, albeit without excluding the possibility of a preemptive attack. Recent developments in the administered territories make it imperative to deal first with the violence, but Israel's policy must also be directed toward strengthening the local government and civil administration.



Minister Without Portfolio Mordechai Gur addresses the Elazar Memorial Conference. Seated to his right: David Ivri, Director General of the IAI, and Minister of Police Haim Bar-Lev.

5 June 1988

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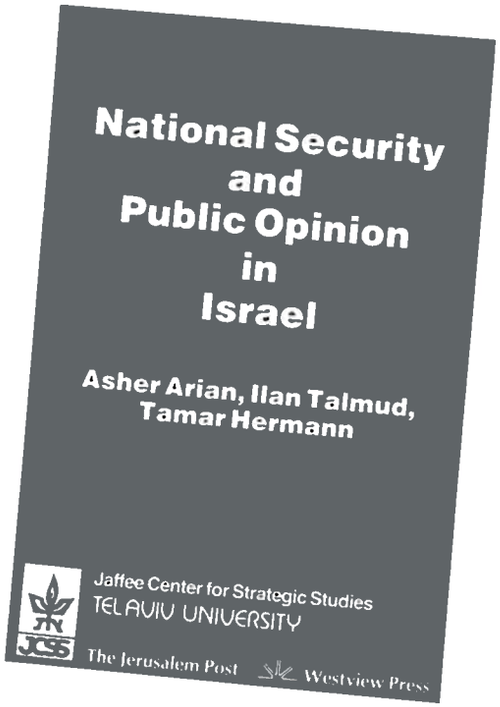
National Security and Public Opinion in Israel

New Study

A new JCSS Study on *National Security and Public Opinion in Israel* was published in May 1988. Number 9 in the JCSS Studies Series, the work undertakes, for the first time, to depict the patterns of public opinion in Israel regarding national security policy. Based on a representative sample of 1,172 Jewish respondents in January 1986, the survey shows that a large portion of the Israeli population experienced persistent feelings of being threatened, but felt that the country could withstand major threats. Other findings related to perceptions regarding the international environment; orientations toward war and the use of force; evaluations of military force, political flexibility and freedom of action in the international arena; and emotional attitudes regarding security and national destiny. The survey was conducted in the framework of the National Security and Public Opinion Project at JCSS, under the direction of Professor Asher Arian of Tel-Aviv University's Department of Political Science.

In order to update findings, a second survey was conducted under the direction of Prof. Arian in December 1987/January 1988. It found that while Israelis continued to believe, by a very large margin, that Israel would be successful in overcoming the security threats it faced, there was clear evidence of an erosion of that confidence over the past two years. Thus, 89% of the representative sample of 1,180 Jewish adults of the second survey expressed the belief that Israel's long term existence was assured, as compared with 96% in 1986; 74% (compared with 85% in 1986) assessed as non-existent or low the probability that the State of Israel would be destroyed.



The survey shows that in 1988, respondents viewed Arab goals in the Arab-Israel conflict as being more extreme. Syria was regarded as the most dangerous enemy of Israel, and the PLO was second. Yet when asked how war could best be avoided, with the choice limited to 'pressing for peace talks,' or 'strengthening Israel's military might,' two-thirds opted for peace talks. Two-thirds also felt that, under certain conditions, Israel should talk to the PLO, while one third of those surveyed were prepared to talk with the PLO unconditionally.

Regarding the administered territories, respondents were asked whether they advocate returning most of the territories in exchange for a peace agreement which would be acceptable to Israel and would ensure Israel's security, annexing the territories, or leaving the situation as is. Support for the status quo decreased from 47% in 1986 to 38% in the second survey. There is a steady increment in favor of annexation as the status quo alternative weakens. During the riots and demonstrations in the territories in 1988, a third of the respondents characterized the government's policy in these areas as 'just right,' 11% viewed it as too harsh, and 51% as too soft. In 1986, half thought it to be just right, while 5% perceived it as too harsh, and 45% too soft.

A dramatic finding of the survey was on the use of nuclear weapons. While in 1986, two-thirds of the respondents had deemed the use of nuclear weapons (if indeed Israel possesses them) unacceptable, in the 1987/1988 sample only 47% were of this opinion.

JCSS BULLETIN

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

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The **JCSS Bulletin** is published biannually by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, Ramat Aviv, Tel Aviv 69978, Israel. The Bulletin may be obtained free of charge from the Center.

Editors: Moshe Grundman, Emily Landau
Graphic Design: Amnon Katz
Photography: Michal Roche-Ben Ami, Boris Avezbakiev

Vulnerability of Israel's Rear Area



During a break at the conference (l. to r.): Brig. Gen. (res) Ran Pecker, IAF, Tat-Nitsav Asaf Hefetz, Israel Police, Brig. Gen. (res) Michah Cohen, Wales Co., and Brig. Gen. (res) David Cohen, Rafael.

Within the framework of a series of JCSS/Rafael symposia dealing with security issues in Israel, a one-day conference on the threats facing Israel's rear area was held on December 1, 1987. The seminar, with restricted participation, was coordinated by Dr. Ariel Levite of JCSS.

Brigadier General (res) Aharon Levran (JCSS) opened the symposium with a discussion of the strategic bombings in the Iran-Iraq War and their implications for Israel, and Dr. Uri Bialer (Hebrew University) and Dr. Ariel Merari (JCSS) related to the British and American experiences in strategic bombing in World War II.

These lectures were followed by four presentations of different perspectives on ways to counteract threats to the rear area. Brigadier General (res) Michah Cohen (General Manager of Wales Company) focused on the ATBM as a possible technological response. Colonel (res) Meir Meir (Ministry of Defense) discussed organizational aspects of preparation of the rear itself, and Yitzhak Ravid (Rafael) examined the overall policy for coping with the threat to Israel's rear area, based on Israel's cumulative experience.

Finally, Major General Avihu Ben-Nun, Commander of the Israel Air Force, concluded with an overview of possible responses to the threat, and priorities among them.

This conference was one of the most comprehensive general discussions on the subject that have been held in Israel. Participants included defense establishment policymakers and decisionmakers, army personnel, and members of Israel's defense-research and defense-industrial establishments who are engaged in planning innovative technologies for dealing with threats to the rear area.

Guest Speakers

Throughout early 1988, several JCSS research staff meetings were devoted to the Palestinian issue, and a variety of guest speakers were invited to present their views. In January the editor of the East Jerusalem newspaper *Al-Nahar*, **Othman Halek**, spoke in favor of a confederation between the West Bank and Gaza, and Jordan. At a second meeting that same month, **Uri Avneri**, editor of the Israeli *Ha Olam Hazeh*, claimed that PLO leader Yasser Arafat was striving for a Palestinian state to be established in the West Bank and Gaza, alongside Israel. Avneri based his assessment on his personal meetings with Arafat. In April 1988 the editor of the East Jerusalem *Al Fajr*, **Hana Seniora**, discussed the roots of the uprising in the territories. He proposed the establishment of a Palestinian state



Palestinian editor Hana Seniora (far left) speaks at a JCSS research staff meeting

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JCSS research staff meeting with Norwegian Foreign Minister Holst (far right). Next to him are (r. to l.) Deputy Head of JCSS Joseph Alpher, and researchers Aryeh Shalev, Anat Kurz, Shemuel Meir, and Efraim Karsh.

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alongside Israel, with proper security arrangements.

Professor **Uriel Reichman** (Tel Aviv University) presented a draft of his proposal for an Israeli constitution at a meeting in December 1987. In January 1988 Dr. **Lother Ruhl**, Director-General of the West German Ministry of Defense, discussed the situation of Europe in the aftermath of the INF treaty. Dr. **Hans Ruhle** Assistant for Planning to the West German Minister of Defense, visited the Center in May. Professor **Henry Rowen** of Stanford University, who was one of the drafters of the American Presidential Report on US Strategy toward the Year 2000, discussed the report at a meeting in February. Security and economics was the subject of a talk given by **Amos Rubin**, advisor to the prime minister on economic issues, in March of this year.

Profile of a Researcher



Brigadier General (res) Aryeh Shalev joined JCSS upon its establishment in January 1978, after having served in the IDF for 33 years. He began his military career as a company commander in the 'Golani' brigade during Israel's War of Independence. Following the war, he headed Israeli delegations to the Mixed Armistice Commissions with the Arab states. In 1963 he became IDF Spokesman, an appointment he held until after the Six-Day War. His next appointment was as Head of the Production and Estimate Department of the IDF Intelligence Directorate, a post he held until 1974. Brig. Gen. Shalev ended his military career after having served for two years as Military Commander of Judea and Samaria. In the course of his service, he studied at the 'Ecole Superieure de Guerre' in France.

Shalev wrote one of the first studies published by the Center. It concerned the security arrangements required by Israel in the Sinai, within the framework of a peace treaty with Egypt, and appeared in October 1978. In 1982, his book on the importance of the West Bank to Israel's security was published; the Hebrew edition — the first book published by JCSS — became the Center's all-time 'best seller' in Hebrew.

After serving a three-year term as Deputy Head of JCSS, in 1984 Aryeh Shalev took a one-year sabbatical leave as a research fellow at Columbia University. Upon his return to the Center, he completed a book, soon to be published, on the security aspects of Syrian/Israeli relations between the years 1949-1955. Currently, he is researching the importance of the Golan Heights to Israel's security.

Aryeh Shalev is married and has two sons.

JCSS 10t

JCSS's tenth anniversary celebrations included a special evening of lectures that took place on January 13, 1988. Guests from the government, academia, IDF, and defense industry, who have maintained working relations with JCSS throughout the years, were invited, as were past members of the Center's research staff.

First to speak were Knesset Chairman Shlomo Hillel, Tel-Aviv University President Prof. Moshe Many, and founder and Head of JCSS Aharon Yariv. All extended their congratulations to the Center on its tenth anniversary.

The three central lectures of the evening were delivered by prominent figures in the areas of law, government, and the military: Supreme Court Justice (ret) Moshe Landau, MK Abba Eban, and IDF Chief of Staff Dan Shomron.

Judge Landau, who served as head of a commission of inquiry that examined the activities of the General Security Services in 1987, appeared publicly for the first time since publication of the commission's report. It was thus natural that his talk centered on some of the central issues that arose during work on the report. Judge Landau stressed that adequate measures must be instituted for supervising the work of the GSS, while taking into account the need for secrecy. He also noted that the commission upheld the opinion of High Court Justice Barak, who maintained that the rule of law must be incorporated into the concept of national security.

MK Abba Eban spoke about Knesset influence over government decisions on defense matters, focusing specifically on the faulty functioning of the Knesset concerning the decision to enter Lebanon in 1982. He proposed the establishment of mechanisms for Knesset control.

IDF Chief of Staff Dan Shomron was originally scheduled to discuss Israel's security in the 1990s; but in light of the uprising in the territories—then entering its second month—he decided instead to focus on the issue of the uprising. Major General Shomron claimed that the uprising had been difficult to predict, as it was not planned in advance. He stressed that after order was restored, it was

h Anniversary Celebrations

Festive Lecture Evening at TAU



Panel at the 10th Anniversary Conference (l. to r.): MK Abba Eban, Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel, JCSS Head Aharon Yariv, TAU President Prof. Moshe Many, retired Supreme Court Justice Land u.

Prof. S. Abarbanel, former Rector of TAU; Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, Head of Dayan Center, and Prof. Moshe Many chat at the cocktail party following the conference.





At the gala dinner held in honor of JCSS in New York are (l. to r.) Mel Jaffee, JCSS Head Aharon Yariv, and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.



Taking a break between lectures are (standing) Dr. Ariel Levite, coordinator of the 10th Anniversary Conference, and (seated, l. to r.) Tova Polonsky and Shulamit Reich (JCSS administrative staff) and Anat Kurz, Coordinator—Terrorism Project.

important from the IDF's standpoint that what remained in the collective memory of the population was the heavy price it had paid for the violence.

Aharon Yariv, Head of JCSS, concluded the evening, stating that the Center viewed as its mission research into problematic aspects of Israel's security, and hoped to continue this activity into the next decade as well.

Following the lectures, guests were invited to a cocktail party to drink a toast to JCSS.

Gala Celebration in New York

On December 15, 1987, JCSS celebrated the tenth anniversary of its founding, in the good company of its American friends. Dr. Henry Kissinger addressed more than 500 participants at the gala dinner, as did Head of JCSS Aharon Yariv. Additional guest speakers included Lord Weidenfeld, Ambassador to the UN Benyamin Netanyahu, and TAU President Prof. Moshe Many. Ms. Lally Weymouth, President of the American Friends of Tel-Aviv University, also spoke. She, together with AFTAU Vice-President Jules Love, organized the evening.

The festive event was designed not only to honor JCSS, but also to generate support for Tel-Aviv University in general. This it did, with financial results fully justifying the effort for the benefit of the Center and the University.

The audience included prominent leaders of the New York Jewish community, many of whom are devoted supporters of JCSS. Raya and Mel Jaffee led a group of our supporters from California.

It is our pleasant duty at JCSS to thank all those connected with the event. It is now up to us to make the best possible use of the financial benefits by promoting research aimed at strengthening Israel's national security.

Iran-Iraq War Scenarios

The Iran-Iraq War will most likely not terminate in the near future, nor will the coming year bring about an absolute reversal in the course of the war or a change in the goals of the two countries. This was the prediction of Joseph Alpher, Deputy Head of JCSS, in the opening lecture of a one-day conference on scenarios for the termination or continuation of the Gulf War, that was held by JCSS on March 30, 1988. Alpher also suggested three broad probability categories for the continuation of the war, taking into account a wide range of possible developments in the region.

Speakers in the conference examined the implications of developments in the Gulf War in four areas: for the immediate war arena, for the Arab world, for the global system, and for Israel.

The foreign policies of Iran and Iraq, and the implications of the war for Arab countries in the southwest area of the Gulf, as well as for Turkey, were reviewed in the opening session. Dr. Mark Heller (JCSS) assessed that the greatest danger facing the Gulf countries would be an Iranian victory, for this would neutralize Iraq as a strong power in the Gulf and thus remove the major obstacle blocking the advance of the Iranian armed forces.

The effects on Syria and Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan, and the pan-Arab system constituted the focus of discussion in the second session. Dr. Yossi Olmert (Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University) noted that Syria would like to act as mediator in negotiations for a ceasefire in the Gulf War, as this would increase its prestige in the eyes of other Arab states and the world-at-large.

Professor Galia Golan (Hebrew University) presented the USSR's stand, focusing on its attitude toward the war, together with it strategic interest in the region vis-a-vis the United States. Prof. Golan stressed that the Soviet strategic interest is actually the determining factor in the USSR's stand on the Gulf War. While it would probably like to see the war come to an end, this would have to be at minimum cost to the Soviets. Thus a solution that caused a deterioration in Soviet relations with either side, or weakened the Soviets' political advantage over the US in the Gulf region, would be unacceptable.

Dr. Dore Gold (JCSS), in his analysis of the US attitude toward the war, claimed that the Americans are especially concerned by the escalation that has taken place in weapons systems. Gold's prediction that direct Iranian provocation was likely to be met by decisive and clear-cut US action was borne out by events in the Gulf scarcely a month later.

In the final session of the day, the implications of the war for Israel were debated. Brigadier General (res) Aharon Levran (JCSS) delineated the advantages to Israel that derive from the continuation of the Iran-Iraq War, and then analyzed the possibility of Iraq joining an Eastern Front in a future Arab-Israeli war, once the Gulf War terminated. While Iraq has reasons not to hurry into another war against Israel, there are also factors in favor of such action, including Iraq's 'unclosed account' with Israel over the bombing of Osiraq. Uri Lubrani (Coordinator of Activities in Lebanon) looked at the war's implications within the Israeli-Iranian, Arab-Israeli, and Lebanese contexts, and focused on three scenarios: continuation of the war, ceasefire, and a clear victory for Iran. He emphasized the current extreme threat that Iran, through its proxies in Lebanon, poses to Israel.

The conference was coordinated by Dr. Dore Gold of JCSS.

being quoted...

Al-Nashra al-Istrategia, a biweekly published in London, translated excerpts of an interview with Dr. Zeev Eytan, originally published in *Flight* magazine. In the interview Dr. Eytan dealt with the structure, organization, and acquisition policy of the Syrian Air Force in the past three years.

An article by Deputy Head of JCSS Joseph Alpher, published in *Skira Hodshit* (IDF monthly journal), that dealt with the military lessons for Israel of the Iran-Iraq War, was translated and quoted in various Arab newspapers. It first appeared in *Al-*

Cont. on p. 7

Publishing In Brief

In January 1988 JCSS published a memorandum (in Hebrew) by Abraham Ben-Zvi on *The International Conference as a Means for Resolving the Arab-Israel Conflict: Models, Attitudes and Prospects.* It deals with the approaches of the relevant global and regional actors to the idea of the international conference as a framework for negotiating peace.

Aharon Levran's memorandum on *The American Naval Involvement in the Gulf War* (in Hebrew), which was published in January 1988, presents the background to the US presence and involvement in the Persian Gulf, and the developments during the first months of this involvement. It includes a discussion of the implications for other relevant actors, and for Israel.

A JCSS book entitled *Contemporary Trends in World Terrorism*, edited by Anat Kurz, was published in the course of 1987 by Praeger/Greenwood. The volume offers a selection of papers presented at an international conference on trends in terrorism held in June 1985 at JCSS; together, these papers describe the phenomenon of contemporary terrorism from diverse angles, focusing on the description and analysis of related events and processes, and on political dilemmas posed to governments by terrorist activity.

Dr. Yehuda Ben-Meir's book, *National Security Decisionmaking: The Israeli Case*, was published in English (JCSS Study no. 8). A Hebrew version was published by HaKibbutz HaMeuchad in their *Kav Adom* series. Dr. Ben-Meir presents a framework for discussion of decisionmaking on national security issues, relates to the experiences of other western states (including the US and Great Britain), and then describes in detail the development of decisionmaking processes on national security issues in Israel, and possible means for improving this process.

Professor Henry S. Rowen of Stanford University was the guest speaker at the fourth annual Simon Syrkin Memorial Lecture, held on February 18, 1988. This year's topic was 'Intelligent Weapons — Implications for Offense and Defense.' The lecture is being printed and distributed directly by JCSS.

Computerizing JCSS

Research at the Jaffee Center in 1988 is increasingly computerized. As a rule, from first writing, through rewriting, editing and translating, to typesetting, a research work remains on the same diskette. Fully half the *Military Balance*, all of *InTer*, and all endnotes and tables are now produced camera-ready, in-house. This achievement reflects an ongoing effort over the past six years.

The introduction of computer and wordprocessing facilities at the Center began modestly in early 1982 with the acquisition of two Elbit 'Daisy' wordprocessors and a Diablo printer. As the Center's activities expanded, the need for additional computer facilities became apparent. In April 1982 the Center entered into an agreement with a local computer services firm, '2001.' The firm undertook to adapt its QDMS retrieval software for three databases to be established at the Center, to provide a remote hook-up of four lines to 2001's VAX computer, and to provide support services for the system. The first two databases, International Terrorism and the Middle East Military Balance, went into operation in late 1982. In 1985 a third database, the Bibliography of Israel's Security Affairs, was installed on the system.

By late 1985, we had begun to recognize that we were outgrowing existing computer and wordprocessing arrangements: our publications output was increasing beyond our wordprocessing capacity and our databases were increasing in size beyond 2001's ability to service them. After studying the possibilities, we elected to purchase a mainframe computer of our own, the Digital Microvax II, and a network of IBM PC compatibles. The Microvax would hold our databases; the network of personal computers would provide researchers and typists with access to the best wordprocessing programs available; and both would be hooked up to a Laser printer that could convert our output into near-book quality camera-ready print. By October 1987, after several months' running-in, we were able to officially 'inaugurate' our new equipment at the annual meeting of JCSS's Israeli Board of Trustees.

The Center has benefited from the installation of the Microvax II in many ways, including increased memory size, 16 ports (as opposed to only four previously) and 24-hour-a-day availability. Today, the Center's original three databases as well as the library's catalogue operate on the Microvax.

Similarly, the IBM PC compatibles have increased the availability of word processing equipment and the variety of programs used. In February 1988 a telecommunications line linking the compatibles and Tel Aviv University's CDC computer was installed. This telecommunications option provides us with direct access to other databases both in Israel and abroad, such as ALEPH and Profile Information. In addition, we are now connected to BITNET, the electronic mail system linking academic institutions throughout the world.

JCSS Staff on the Move

- The Head of JCSS, Major-General (res) **Aharon Yariv**, is on sabbatical leave at the US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, from May through September 1988.
- Deputy Head of Center **Joseph Alpher** spent January-February 1988 as a Research Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy in Washington DC.
- Dr. **Shai Feldman** is on a year's sabbatical leave until September 1988 as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow in Washington DC.
- Dr. **Ariel Levite** taught at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, from January through May 1988.
- Professor **Abraham Ben-Zvi** is on sabbatical leave at Cornell University from January through October 1988.
- Dr. **Mark Heller** returned in December 1987 from a year and a half at Cornell.
- Dr. **Efraim Karsh** was a guest of the USIA in a month-long tour of the United States in January 1988, devoted to Soviet studies.
- **Anat Kurz** and **Moshe Grundman**, Director of the JCSS Information Center, departed for similar tours, devoted respectively to terrorism databases and documentation processes, in June 1988.

Book Review

The International Dimension of Palestinian Terrorism

by Ariel Merari and Shlomi Elad

"Merari, Director of the Project on Terrorism at the Jaffee Center in Tel Aviv University, has established himself as perhaps the pre-eminent specialist on terrorism. A key to his success has been the project's extensive data base; by virtue of his access to the quantitative nature of terrorism activity, Merari has been able to transcend the limitation on specific details that plagues most students of the subject....This slim volume offers the best single source for information on worldwide PLO activities."

ORBIS (Winter 1988)

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Safir, and then in *Al-Amal* (both Lebanese publications). In September 1987 the article was once again cited in the Iraqi weekly (published in London) *Al-Tadamun*.

Radio Moscow in Hebrew quoted from a speech on the uprising in the administered territories, that was delivered at the JCSS tenth anniversary celebrations in Israel by IDF Chief of Staff General Dan Shomron on January 16, 1987.

Major New JCSS Project:

Options for a Political Settlement

Between June 1988 and January 1989, more than half the JCSS senior research staff will engage in an in-depth study of the strategic ramifications for Israel of the diverse options for a political settlement of the Palestinian issue. The research will culminate in a short book — scheduled for simultaneous publication in Hebrew and English in early 1989, and designed to place policy recommendations before the public and the incoming governments in Jerusalem and Washington.

The project reflects an assessment at JCSS that the Palestinian uprising, and the consequent political initiatives in Washington, require a major contribution on the part of the Jaffee Center toward producing a non-partisan definition and analysis of the issues at stake for Israel at this crucial juncture. The project is being funded with the generous assistance of the American Jewish Congress — whose executive director, Henry Siegman, was instrumental in its initiation.

Objectivity — and ultimately the interest and attention of the American policymaking community — will be ensured through the aegis of a nonpartisan Commission of Distinguished Americans.

JCSS will have complete academic independence in formulating its assessments and policy recommendations, which the AJC will distribute in the United States. Additional American research organizations may be integrated into the project. In Israel, JCSS will rely primarily on its own staff, but will also recruit the services of various experts outside the Center.

This strategic evaluation of options for a Palestinian settlement will be the most extensive team project undertaken by JCSS. It falls within the framework of an evolving JCSS permanent project dealing with issues concerning Arab-Israel peace. Other current research endeavors in this context are:

- Aryeh Shalev's study of Israel's security requirements on the Golan Heights in the event of a peace settlement with Syria.
- Shemuel Meir's study of the Israeli-Egyptian strategic relationship after ten years of peace.
- Mark Heller's study of changes in Soviet Middle East policy in the age of *glasnost*.
- Abraham Ben-Zvi's study of the history and possible models of an international conference for peace in the Middle East.

Current and Forthcoming Publications

1988 Subscription Series*

Study no. 9	Asher Arian, Ilan Talmud, Tamar Hermann, *National Security and Public Opinion in Israel*
Study no. 10	Aharon Klieman, *Statecraft in the Dark: Israel's Practice of Quiet Diplomacy*
Study no. 11	Dore Gold, *America, the Gulf, and Israel: CENTCOM (Central Command) and Emerging US Regional Security Policies in the Middle East*
Study no. 12	Ariel Levite, *Offense and Defense in Israeli Military Doctrine*
JCSS Special Study	Shai Feldman, *US Middle East Policy: The Domestic Setting*

1988 Annuals*

Aharon Levran, Zeev Eytan, *The Middle East Military Balance 1987-88*, edited by Aharon Levran

InTer: International Terrorism in 1987, Ariel Merari, Anat Kurz, and the staff of the JCSS Project on Low-Intensity Warfare

Books

Aryeh Shalev, *The West Bank: Line of Defense* (New York: Praeger, 1985)

Ariel Merari, ed., *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism* (Frederick, Md: UPA, 1985)

Nimrod Novik, *The United States and Israel: Domestic Determinants of a Changing US Commitment* (Boulder: Westview, 1986)

Anat Kurz, ed., *Contemporary Trends in World Terrorism* (New York: Praeger/Greenwood, 1987)

Yehuda Ben-Meir, *National Security Decisionmaking: The Israeli Case* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz HaMeuchad, 1987) (Hebrew)

Memoranda**

No. 17 May 1986	Shai Feldman, *The Future of American Aid to Israel: Ramifications of the Gramm-Rudman Act* (Hebrew)
No. 18 Sept. 1986	Aryeh Shalev, *Unilateral Autonomy in the West Bank: Israel's Options* (Hebrew)
No. 19 July 1987	Gideon Raz, Ariel Levite, *The Israel Navy: Where To? Thoughts on the Doctrine and Force Structure of Israel's Naval Force* (Hebrew—restricted circulation).
No. 20 January 1988	Abraham Ben-Zvi, *The International Conference as a Means for Resolving the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1973-1987: Models, Attitudes, and Prospects* (Hebrew)
No. 21 January 1988	Aharon Levran, *The American Naval Involvement in the Gulf War* (Hebrew)
No. 22 January 1988	Ariel Levite and Shemuel Meir, *The Testfiring of the Jericho II and its Implications: An Analysis Based on Overt Media Coverage* (Hebrew—restricted circulation)

* **JCSS Studies, InTer, and the Middle East Military Balance, as well as back issues of Papers and the Balance, may be ordered as a package on a discount basis from the Jerusalem Post, POB 81, Jerusalem 91000, Israel. Individual copies may be ordered outside of Israel from Westview Press, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, Colorado 80301, USA.**

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