JCSS BULLETIN

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES ✡ TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

# The Israeli Government's Peace Initiative




**The closing panel (l. to r.): MK A. Burg, MK Z. Shoval, JCSS Head A. Yariv, MK R. Eitan, MK Y. Sarid.**

In a panel discussion that closed a one-day JCSS symposium on the Israeli Government's Peace Initiative (September 21, 1989), four Knesset members debated the prospects of the initiative. MK Rafael Eitan (Tsomet) spoke against the initiative, claiming that it had no chance of success. He argued that Israel should address the Arab states, not the Palestinians, for they were the ones who had declared war on Israel. He warned that the price of an agreement based on the territories-for-peace formula might be total destruction. MK Yossi Sarid (CRM) claimed that if Israel and the Palestinians did not enter negotiations, they might be compelled to do so by the superpowers after a terrible war; meanwhile he predicted a superpower initiative toward negotiations, because neither Israel nor the Palestinians could reach the negotiating table of their own free will. While skeptical of Israel's initiative, he nonetheless expressed support for it as an attempt to depart from the status quo.

The two other panelists were MK Zalman Shoval and MK Avraham Burg. Shoval (Likud) explained the initiative and his support for it. Burg (Labor) argued that the *intifada* had brought about change in the political thinking of the Israeli establishment. With regard to the PLO, he claimed that the time for passivity was over; Israel must explore the situation to determine whether there was a partner for negotiations.

The opening lecture of the day was delivered by Cabinet Secretary Elyakim Rubinstein, who was an active participant in the formulation of the initiative. Rubinstein outlined the rationale behind the initiative, and explained its major features. Dr. Dore Gold (JCSS) and Prof. Galia Golan (Hebrew University) spoke about the US and Soviet stands with regard to the Israeli initiative, and Dr. Avraham Sela (Hebrew University) presented the views of the Palestinians. Sela claimed that the change in Arafat's stand was strategic, and it constituted a departure from the PLO's strategy of stages.

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**Cabinet Secretary Elyakim Rubinstein (l.) chatting with JCSS Deputy Head Joseph Alpher during a break.**

# When Israel and Syria Talked...

Aryeh Shalev, who served as an Israeli delegate to the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission, focuses in this book on the history of Israeli-Syrian relations during the years 1949-1955, within the framework of the two countries' armistice agreement. Shalev's research examines the interaction between the two countries' border relations, and the official work of the Mixed Armistice Commission, as well as the unofficial contacts of its members.

While it is commonly believed that Israeli-Syrian border relations have been tense and violent throughout the years, Shalev dismisses this as a simple and one-sided view. He shows that, alongside the nationalist aspirations of both sides, there emerged, at various points, relations characterized by pragmatism and flexibility. This relatively relaxed atmosphere led to active cooperation, understanding and agreements in a number of areas important for day-to-day borde relations.

Shalev describes the multi-staged negotiations over the fate of the demilitarized zones, fishing rights in Lake Kinneret, the Hula drainage project, and the plan for diversion of the Jordan River. He also focuses on the two Syrian peace overtures to Israel: in 1949 – by President Hosni Za'im, and in 1952 – by President Adib Shishakli. He concludes by offering an assessment of the chances for renewed Syrian-Israeli cooperation in the future.

*Cooperation Under the Shadow of Conflict: The Israeli-Syrian Armistice Regime 1949-1955* (Tel Aviv: Ma'arachot, 1989) (Hebrew)




In reviewing Shalev's book, historian Benny Morris states that "Shalev...gives a creditable performance, thorough and, within limits, objective....Shalev's treatment of the Za'im peace overture and its de facto rejection by Israel – the most extensive treatment of the subject to date – is fair."

(*Jerusalem Post*, November 22, 1989)

# Intifada -

The *intifada* will not end in the near future. This was the assessment of most of the lecturers at a one-day seminar held by JCSS on December 7, 1989.

Looking back upon two years of civil uprising in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, the lectures dealt with the implications of the *intifada* in a number of areas. The first session of the day was devoted to a discussion of the nature of the struggle; subsequent lectures covered a wide range of subjects, including the role of local residents, the PLO and the media in the uprising, and the implications of the uprising for the IDF, Israeli Arabs, the economy, and the Arab world. The concluding session of the day dealt with the implications of the *intifada* for the government's peace initiative and trends for the future.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin drew a connection between Israel's attempts at lowering the level of violence in the territories and strengthening the civil administration there, and progress in the political realm. He claimed that the chances of obtaining Israel's goals were greater now than at any time in the past two years. Both Rabin and Chief of Staff Dan Shomron assessed that the Palestinians would not use live weapons on a systematic basis in their struggle, but Shomron pointed out that a change in the political atmosphere could provide the impetus for greater use of firearms. Shomron also said that the uprising had created a new and irreversible trend in the territories whereby the older generation had relinquished control to the youth; he also pointed to internal disputes among the Palestinians, which he believed would become more acute when

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

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# Two Years After

political decisions were made.

With regard to the IDF, Lt.Gen. Shomron claimed that the army's moral and reporting standards had not been compromised, and the IDF was capable of functioning in difficult conditions. Moreover, there had been no psychological crisis in the army, and volunteering was on the rise.

Dr. Yoram Peri (JCSS) focused on the impact of the uprising on the IDF, and argued that the major problem was the development of a political-military doctrine in the IDF designed to meet the demands of dealing with civil uprising. Peri contradicted Shomron's assertions, and held that the sharp rise in the number of conscientious objectors from among IDF reserve soldiers was a serious challenge for the IDF.

Ehud Ya'ari, Arab affairs commentator for Israel Television, elaborated upon the change in the balance of power between the Palestinian leadership in the territories and the PLO in Tunis as a result of the *intifada*. Jamil Hamad, a Palestinian reporter for *Time* Magazine, argued that the Palestinians' main achievement had been to compel Israel to come up with a political proposal.

Minister of Justice Dan Meridor, who lectured on the connection between the uprising and political initiatives, argued that the only potential partner for negotiations was the Palestinians in the territories, and definitely not the PLO.

The conference was coordinated by Brigadier General (res) Aryeh Shalev (JCSS).



**Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin closes the conference.**



**Sitting in the audience (l. to r.): Lt.Gen. D. Shomron, Minister M. Gur, Dr. Y. Peri (JCSS), and Conference Organizer A. Shalev (JCSS).**



**Dr. Ahmed Tibi, Chairman of Israeli Federation of Arab Academics, addresses the symposium.**




**Dr. G. Gera (Dayan Center) introduces speakers Prof. E. Kleiman (Hebrew Univ.) (l.) and Dr. Y. Olmert (Director of Gov't Press Office).**

# Arms Control in the Mi

Arms control agreements, verification regimes, and confidence-building measures designed to ward off the danger of unintended war – these are terms little heard in discussions of the Middle East conflict. JCSS took an initial step toward righting that situation, when it held an International Seminar on Arms Control in the Middle East on December 13-14, 1989.

The seminar was designed primarily to inform the Israeli security, political and media establishments of the rudiments of arms control. as it inevitably must be applied in the Middle East. Conference participants dealt with the nature of the Middle East strategic environment, and attempted to assess the potential of diverse arms control measures that have been applied to other conflicts, for Israeli national security and diplomacy. Major funding for the seminar was provided by the United States Information Service of the US Embassy in Israel.

Lt.Gen.(res.) Mordechai Gur opened the first session by assessing the destabilizing elements of the Middle East military balance: quantitative inequality in weapons systems between Israel and the Arab states, Israel's geopolitical situation, and the rapid proliferation of missiles and non-conventional weapons systems in the Middle East. In Gur's opinion, stability may be achieved through a combination of political efforts and peace (including a solution to the Palestinian problem), together with the creation of a balance of terror. The answer to the Arab states' growing arsenal of intermediate and long-range missiles is to be found in the strengthening of Israel's deterrence, and not in direct attack. Dr. Shai Feldman (JCSS) pointed out that arms control agreements can be concluded only if they do not pose a threat to the security of all parties, including the Arab states. He elaborated upon the nature of the Arabs' perception of their threat environment.

In a session on confidence-building measures, Prof. Thomas Hirschfeld (Rand Corporation) explained that the steps that have been taken to build confidence in the European arena have very *little* to do with the Middle East. The only experience that does apply lies primarily in the realm of missile acquisition, and is taken from the US-Soviet, rather than European experience. Hirschfeld stressed that progress in this area is slow and must be taken step-by-step. Prof. Yair Evron (TAU) outlined the history of confidence-building measures that have helped stabilize relations in the Middle East, and argued that strategic-military understandings can often be achieved even when political understandings are still remote.



**JCSS Head Aharon Yariv addresses a question to Senator John McCain (R–Arizona), who delivered his lecture to the conference participants via WORLDNET satellite direct TV hookup (below).**







**H. Bar–On (Weizman Institute) chairs one of the sessions. Seated (l. to r.) are: Dr. H. Ruhle (FRG), Conference Coordinator Dr. D. Gold (JCSS) and J. Snyder (NSIL).**

Ambassador Lynn Hansen (US Air Force Academy), who spoke on verification measures, suggested that establishment of direct military-to-military talks would be a good

# ddle East




**Foreign Minister Moshe Arens delivers the closing lecture.**




**(l. to r.): Prof. Y. Evron (Chairman, Department of Political Science, TAU), Prof. T. Hirschfeld (Rand Corp.) MK A. Burg, and Dr. M. Heller (JCSS).**




**JCSS Head A. Yariv (far left) opens the first session of the conference. Seated (l. to r.): Prof. I. Rabinovich ( Dean, Faculty of Humanities, TAU), Deputy FM B. Netanyahu, Minister M. Gur, Maj. Gen (res.) Yehoshua Sagi, and Dr. S. Feldman (JCSS).**

way of building confidence between states in the Middle East.

The first day of the seminar concluded with a lecture by Senator John McCain (R-Arizona), which was transmitted to the conference room via WORLDNET. Senator McCain, who is cosponsor of legislation seeking to combat the proliferation of ballistic missile technology, spoke about the missile race in the Middle East and expressed his concern for Israel's security in light of the missile threat. Conference participants posed questions to the Senator by direct satellite hookup.

Aspects of verification were discussed by Dr. Michael Oren (Ben Gurion University) – who spoke about the Tripartite Declaration and Great Power verification in the 1950s – and by Dr. Gerald Steinberg (Bar-Ilan University), who elaborated upon international and regional verification options in nuclear arms control.

Dr. Dore Gold (JCSS) examined the unique political-military conditions in the Middle East as distinguished from those of the European theater. He stressed that the only workable arms control strategy that might be applied to the region was "front specific," as opposed to region-wide arrangements.

Dr. Ariel Levite (JCSS) pointed to the generally reserved, skeptical and unfavorable attitude in Israel toward arms control, and stressed the need for change. Developments that defy military solutions to the conflict, economic constraints, and recent evidence of Arab moderation and changes on the global level – all underscore the necessity for greater openness in thinking about this issue. Brigadier General (res) Aryeh Shalev (JCSS) related a Middle East case study: the pragmatic relations and cooperation between Israel and Syria in the early 1950s. He also assessed the possibility of further armistice agreements in the future.

In the final session of the seminar, Foreign Minister Moshe Arens addressed the issue of strategic stability in the Middle East; he stated that Israel was prepared to negotiate arms control agreements with Arab countries immediately, even before a political settlement. Dr. Dore Gold, who was seminar coordinator, concluded the conference by pointing out two basic themes that were expressed: 1) from the Israeli perspective, the most destabilizing element in the Middle East military balance is the quantitative disparity in the region's standing conventional armies; and 2) the most reliable arms control strategy for Israel is one based on mutual verification by the parties in the region themselves.

# Profile of a Researcher



## Mark A. Heller

Mark A. Heller has been a senior researcher at JCSS since moving to Israel in 1979. He specializes in Middle Eastern Studies and International Relations.

Dr. Heller (born in Toronto, Canada) graduated from the University of Toronto with an Honours BA in Political Science and Economics. He also studied at Harvard University, where he earned an MA in Middle Eastern Studies and a PhD in Political Science. Following a year of post-doctoral research at the Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard, he taught international relations and Middle Eastern politics at Brandeis University, the University of California at San Diego, and Boston College.

After joining JCSS in 1979, Dr. Heller spent 1982-83 as a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. He was instrumental in establishing the JCSS annual publication, *The Middle East Military Balance,* which he edited and coauthored from 1983 to 1985. He also served as Deputy Head of the Center from 1984 to 1986 and then spent eighteen months at Cornell University, where he was Visiting Associate Professor of Government and Research Fellow in the Peace Studies Program.

In addition to *The Military Balance,* his publications include *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), *The Iran-Iraq War: Implications for Third Parties* (JCSS and Harvard Center for International Affairs, 1984), and, with Nadav Safran, *The New Middle Class and Regime Stability in Saudi Arabia* (Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1985). His articles on Middle Eastern politics and superpower foreign policy have appeared in the leading professional journals. Dr. Heller also coedited, with Steven L. Spiegel and Jacob Goldberg, *The Soviet-American Competition in the Middle East* (Boston: Lexington Press, 1988).

In July 1989, Dr. Heller participated in an East-West Seminar on Global Security and Arms Control in Moscow, cosponsored by the Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation and the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, and presented a paper on his current research interests: Soviet policy in the Middle East, and Soviet-American relations in the Third World.

Dr. Heller frequently comments on current affairs in the Israeli and international media and lectures widely on strategic and political developments in the Middle East. He lives in the town of Kochav Yair with his wife, Barbara, and their three children, Miriam, Aron and Daniel.

# Coming...and Going...

- Maj.Gen.(res.) **Shlomo Gazit** left for a year's sabbatical at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC.
- Dr. **Efraim Karsh** departed to assume a five-year appointment at the Department of War Studies at King's College, London.
- **Shemuel Meir** left JCSS in October 1988.
- **Anat Kurz** was appointed coordinator of the JCSS Project on Low-Intensity Warfare in place of Dr. **Ariel Merari,** who left JCSS to devote himself exclusively to the Psychology Department at Tel Aviv University.
- Prof. **Eliot A. Cohen** of the US Naval War College and Harvard University's John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies was a Research Fellow at JCSS during July-August 1989. Prof. Cohen exploited his stay in Israel to further research for his upcoming book *Military Misfortunes.* His sojourn was arranged within the framework of the JCSS-Naval War College exchange program.
- **Karen L. Puschel** recently joined the Center as a Visiting Fellow for the coming year. She is on leave from the US Department of State, where she is a Soviet research specialist. While at JCSS, Ms. Puschel intends to study the implications of a diminished Soviet global threat for US- Israeli strategic cooperation.

# Guests at JCSS



**Chief of Planning Staff, FRG Ministry of Defense, Lt. Gen. Jorg Schonbohm meets with JCSS Head A. Yariv.**

# The JCSS "Options" Project
## Responses and Reactions

*The West Bank and Gaza: Israel's Options for Peace* and *Israel, the West Bank and Gaza: Toward a Solution*, which were published by JCSS in March 1989, continue to elicit widespread interest. Following is a sampling...

*Options for Peace* and *Toward a Solution* were discussed in testimony before the US House of Representatives Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East (by JCSS Deputy Head Joseph Alpher, the American Jewish Congress' Henry Siegman, and Professor Steven Speigel) in August 1989, and *Toward a Solution* was entered into the official subcommittee proceedings. Both works were also discussed by the European Parliament at Strasbourg in the spring of 1989.

All or part of the Executive Summary of Options for Peace was reproduced by Moment, TVI Journal, and New Outlook, and distributed at several international conferences on the Middle East issue and by a number of American Jewish organizations.

Translations are being prepared in Arabic, by the Arab Studies Center, East Jerusalem, and in German, by Hermann Hermes Verlag, West Germany. Both will be published by spring 1990. An Arabic translation of Toward a Solution was featured in summer 1989 in Shu'un Filastiniya, an academic quarterly published in East Jerusalem.

Follow-on projects are being developed by The Institution for Military Studies in Zichron Yaakov and the Arab-Jewish Center at Haifa University. A peace plan recently unveiled by Shmuel Toledano in Israel takes as its overt point of departure the Options research conclusions.

A Critique of the Options project was published by The Jerusalem Institute for the Defense of the West.

Reviews have been carried by a number of journals. In *Survival*, January/February 1990, Bassma Kodmani-Darwish of IFRI, Paris, notes that the "analysis was undeniably carried out with great honesty and lucidity. . . . a section of the Israeli intellectual (and political) establishment seems to have understood clearly from the start the full dimensions of the uprising and its implications for Israel. . . . [the report's] merit lies in that it identifies in a quasi-comprehensive manner the risks and the advantages for Israel of each option. . . . It does not attempt, however, to minimize the concessions that the Palestinians will have to make. . . ."

# Military Decision – The Israeli Perspective

A closed symposium, devoted to "Military Decision on the Modern Battlefield," was held on September 21, 1989. Organized by JCSS in collaboration with the IDF Training Department, the symposium was designed to place the issue of the resolution of war in its pertinent theoretical and historical perspective, to discuss the current situation in the Arab-Israeli conflict, and to derive practical implications.

The morning session consisted of lectures by Major Avi Kober, on the theoretical aspects of military decision; by Brigadier General Shimon Naveh, on foreign schools of thought; by Dr. Yitzhak Ben-Yisrael, who discussed technological influences on the meaning of battlefield decision; by Dr. Adir Pridor, on the translation of decisive victory from a statement of intent to operative aims; and by Dr. Yonatan Shimshoni, who elaborated upon the relationship between military decision and deterrence. Lectures in the afternoon session dealt with a historical review of Israeli military decision in the wars from 1948 to 1973, by Dr. Meir Pail, and an attempt to assess the challenge Israel faces concerning decision in a future battlefield with limited area for maneuver, by Major General (res) Avraham Rotem. The final talk of the day was given by Minister Ariel Sharon, who addressed the political-military aspects of military decision in Israel.

The symposium was coordinated by Dr. Ariel Levite (JCSS). A conference summary is due to appear in the coming months.

## Correction

In Bulletin 6, June 1989, we inadvertently created an incorrect impression regarding the involvement of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy in our study group research project on Israel's Options for Peace.

The Washington Institute contingent in our study group – Dr. Martin Indyk, Professor Steven Spiegel and Dr. Harvey Sicherman – was a full partner in the research and writing of the book *The West Bank and Gaza: Israel's Options for Peace*. It was not involved in any way in the writing or distribution of the companion booklet, *Israel, the West Bank and Gaza: Toward a Solution*, for which the Israeli study group takes sole responsibility.

## The Israeli Goverment's Peace Initiative

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In the second session of the day, Prof. Yoram Dinstein (TAU) compared the initiative with the Camp David Autonomy Plan, and concluded that it contained nothing new.

In his view, the Arabs had a good legal case regarding sovereignty over East Jerusalem, and there was no reason to believe that they would concede this most central point in advance. Israel, he argued, would have to allow East Jerusalem residents to participate in the autonomy elections that it envisaged.

# New publications from JCSS

The ***Middle East Military Balance, 1988-89,*** by Shlomo Gazit, ed., and Zeev Eytan, was published in mid-December 1989. This year's *Balance* presents a summary of strategic developments in the Middle East, focusing on the Palestinian sector and the aftermath of the ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq War. It provides extensive data on the armed forces of the countries in the region, and presents a glossary of weapons systems found in the region, comparative tables, maps, and – for the first time – a chronology of key strategic events that took place in the Middle East.

The chapters dealing with the Palestinian uprising include discussions of changes in PLO posture, political developments in Israel, the US-PLO dialogue and Palestinian terrorism in 1988. Regarding the aftermath of the Iran-Iraq War, articles focus on regional strategic implications of the war, developments in US policy in the Persian Gulf, and Soviet policy in the Gulf.

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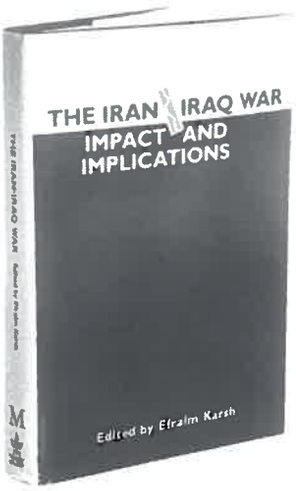
***InTer, International Terrorism in 1988,*** by Anat Kurz and the staff of the JCSS Project on Low-Intensity Warfare, is JCSS' annual summary of data and assessments on aspects of international terrorism. *Inter 88* was published in summer 1989; it comprises a statistical survey describing the primary characteristics of terrorist incidents that occurred throughout the world in 1988, two brief analyses of major current issues in international terrorism – trends in Palestinian international terrorism and the issue of the foreign hostages in Lebanon – extensive tables, and a chronology of significant international terrorist incidents in 1988.

Some of the findings of this survey:

- A total of 433 international terrorist incidents were recorded in 1988, compared to 377 in 1987. In 1988 Latin America was the preferred arena for international terrorist activity. Only 12.7% of the total number of incidents were carried out in the Middle East – a marked decline compared to 18% in 1987, and 20.1% in 1986.
- A total of 53 organizations were active during 1988, yet only seven terrorist groups (along with Palestinian and Lebanese unidentified elements and Afghan and Iranian state terrorism) accounted for just under half of the total incidents.
- The two foci of international terrorist activity in Latin America were Colombia and Peru; in Western Europe, the most active group internationally was the Basque ETA.




Efraim Karsh (ed.), ***The Iran-Iraq War: Impact and Implications*** (London: MacMillan, 1989).

The book is based on the proceedings of the JCSS international conference on the Iran-Iraq War, held in September 1988. The volume, divided into five major sections, explores the implications of the conclusion of the war from its different aspects. It deals with the war and the belligerents, regional and global implications, the economics of the war, and the strategic and military implications.

The book was widely reviewed in the professional literature, including the *Times Literary Supplement*, the *Sunday Times Book Section* and the *BBC Arabic Service.*

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Abraham Ben-Zvi, ***Between Lausanne and Geneva: International Conferences and the Arab-Israel Conflict,*** JCSS Study no. 13, 1989.

Professor Ben-Zvi's study is an analysis of the attitudes of the major Middle East actors toward the international conference as a means of facilitating settlement of the conflict. Particular emphasis is placed on the US and Israeli approaches, and on the evolution of the conference idea in recent years. Extensive appendices document the parties' diverse views.

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Shai Feldman, ***Technology and Strategy: Future Trends,*** JCSS Conference Summary, 1989.

This monograph summarizes an international conference held by JCSS in 1987. The conference addressed the interaction between technology and strategy, and its ramifications. Subjects include the future of weapons technology; the characteristics of the future air, land and sea battlefield; the inter-relationship among technology, doctrine, strategy and stability; and the dilemma of indigenous vs. imported research, development and production of weapons.

Dore Gold and Heda Rechnitz-Kijner, ***The Bush Administration and the PLO: Where To?*** Memorandum no. 27, June 1989 (Hebrew).

In the first part of this memorandum, Dore Gold discusses the rationale behind the Reagan administration's decision to open a dialogue with the PLO (December 1988). He describes the new Bush administration's desire to create a balance between intense diplomatic activity on the one hand, and a policy of non-interference on the other, by establishing a plan for confidence-building between the sides to the conflict. Gold discusses the US interest in maintaining a dialogue with the PLO, as well as the constraints posed by Washington's commitment to the Camp David Accords.

In part II, Heda Rechnitz-Kijner introduces the Israeli reader to some of the key figures in the Bush administration. Besides relevant biographical data, her survey describes their global and Middle East attitudes, with special attention to their views on Israel.

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Asher Arian and Raphael Ventura, *Public Opinion in Israel and the Intifada: Changes in Security Attitudes 1987-88,* JCSS Memorandum No. 28, August 1989 (English, with Hebrew summary).

This memorandum analyses the results of the latest in a series of JCSS-sponsored public opinion polls on issues related to Israeli security. The poll was conducted on the basis of a panel design in which the same 416 people responded to the same questions at two different points in time: December 1987 and October 1988. One important finding was that when respondents' attitudes did change as a result of the first year of the *intifada,* the change tended to be in the direction in which they were already leaning. It was also found that, on the whole, respondents tended to be more hawkish on short-term issues, and more dovish on long-range ones.

Israelis seem also to have become more "realistic" as a result of the Palestinian uprising: they registered a decrease in support for encouraging Arabs to leave the country, greater awareness of Israel's dependence on the US, and less apprehension regarding the Soviet Union.

## Where to Obtain JCSS Publications

- JCSS books are available in bookstores or from publisher.
- JCSS Studies, InTer, and the Middle East Military Balance, as well as back issues of Papers and the Balance, may be ordered individually or 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.
- JCSS Memoranda are distributed directly by JCSS.