JCSS BULLETIN

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

Dealing with the Iraqi Threat: JCSS Research Highlights

While no one clearly predicted Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in early August, the growing danger posed by Iraq to the Middle East and the possibility that Saddam Hussein might direct his threats against Israel have been recognized in Israel for some time. Since the termination of the Iran-Iraq War in mid-1988, Iraq's effect on Middle East stability, and particularly on the Arab-Israel conflict, has been followed closely.

JCSS's recent and current research program has in fact included extensive coverage of political and military aspects of the Iraqi situation. Following are some of the highlights.

In June 1990, JCSS published Memorandum no. 31, ***The Decade of the '90s: Strategic Challenges for Israel,*** by JCSS Deputy Head Joseph Alpher. The memorandum points to the "emergence of ***Iraq as a crucial country*** of the '90s – for Israel, and perhaps for the region as a whole. Iraq came out of its war with Iran with the region's largest and best equipped armed forces, under a firmly ensconced leader who has proven capable of using them ruthlessly. Of all the Arab states, Iraq appears most likely to move the Middle East firmly into the nonconventional era. It is virtually an indispensable component of a renewed Eastern Front....Here Jordan plays a key role: instability or decline within the Hashemite Kingdom could generate a crucial link between the Palestinian conflict and the reemergence of a hostile Eastern Front."



JCSS Head Aharon Yariv with Director of Military Intelligence Maj. Gen. Amnon Shahak, who reviewed recent developments in the Gulf in a talk with JCSS's National Security Forum in August 1990.

In JCSS's ***Middle East Military Balance 1989-90,*** which will be published toward the end of this year, two chapters deal specifically with aspects of the Iraqi threat to Israel. In "The Regional Balance: Iraq Escalates Tensions," ***Balance*** editor Joseph Alpher reviews developments during the first half of 1990 in Iraq's chemical and missile capabilities. He assesses that Saddam Hussein's statement of April 2, 1990 on Iraq's ability and intention to "burn half of Israel," and subsequent declarations, were intended to help solidify a position of inter-Arab leadership for Iraq by intimidating neighboring countries. Alpher concludes, "for the first time since the Arab-Israel peace process began in earnest with the Sadat visit to Jerusalem in November 1977, an atmosphere is developing that raises the risk of an Arab-Israeli military escalation."

Brigadier General (res.) Dov Tamari, author of a chapter on the Iraqi armed forces after the Gulf War, describes the changes that occurred in those forces during the past two years, and stresses that Iraqi ground forces grew from 12 divisions in 1980 to 55 in 1988. This enabled the Iraqis to maintain local and strategic reserves in addition to the regular forces posted along the Iran-Iraq border. Tamari emphasizes that the Iraqi Air Force is well equipped for two main purposes: ground-force support and deep strike capability. He notes that the war improved Iraq's logistic capabilities; in particular, the army now deploys 4000 tank transporters.

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The Intifada: Causes and Effects

Aryeh Shalev's new book, ***The Intifada: Causes and Effects*** (Papyrus, 1990, Hebrew) was discussed by Professor Gad Gilbar in the July 1990 edition of ***New Outlook***. Gilbar writes that "[t]he book's dominant theme is that within months of the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising in the territories a stalemate situation was created. After long months saturated with the blood of the victims, it became clear to the Palestinians that neither the stone nor the TV screen had the power to bring about their liberation from the yoke of Israeli rule. The Israeli government, for its part, came to realize that the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) were incapable of returning the situation in the territories to the status quo that existed before December 1987."

"...Shalev claims that...both Palestinians and Israelis face grave risks if the stalemate is allowed to go on much longer...[B]oth parties to the conflict have [therefore] entered upon a path which will ultimately lead to a negotiation process....In the long run [Shalev] foresees the establishment of a political process which will lead to 'the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside Israel'....In [Shalev's] assessment, the moment negotiations start, and after the parties reach 'interim arrangements,' a gradual dynamic will develop which will reduce the disparity between the two sides."

Shalev's book will be published in English in November 1990 as JCSS Study no. 16.



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: Lev Arye Halupovich

Political-Military Intervention: Lessons Learned?

In late June 1990, JCSS hosted an international workshop on protracted military intervention. The workshop was part of an ongoing research project concerning the phenomenon of protracted third world military interventions in the post-World War II era. The project explores the dynamics of such interventions, from their prelude up to the point of disengagement.

Six primary case studies of recent protracted political-military intervention were presented at the workshop: the US in Vietnam, Cuba in Angola, Syria in Lebanon, Israel in Lebanon, the USSR in Afghanistan, and India in Sri Lanka. On the basis of these case studies, participants discussed theoretical and policy-oriented conclusions. It was found that the intervening countries tended to ignore, to a certain degree, the dynamics of intervention. There was a tendency to evaluate the situation according to static, rather than dynamic factors, and to underestimate the relationship that is formed with the client country. Intervening countries also tended to have difficulty in withdrawing, due to the amount of resources invested and the linkage created between the specific case of intervention and the intervening state's credibility in the future.

The project was jointly organized by Prof. Bruce Jentleson, University of California, Davis; Professor Larry Berman, University of California, Davis; and Dr. Ariel Levite, JCSS. Funding for the project was provided by the Institute of Global Cooperation and Conflict, University of California; the Carnegie Corporation of New York; and JCSS. Proceedings will be published by Columbia University Press in 1991.

Project participants included: Larry Berman, Donald Rothschild, Caroline Hartzell, and Bruce Jentleson of the University of California, Davis; Charles Kupchan and George Downs of Princeton University; Eliot Cohen, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; Mahnaz Ispahani, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs; Robert Litwak, the Wilson Center; Andrei Kortunov and Viktor Kremenyuk of the Institute for the US and Canada, Soviet Academy of Sciences; Richard Little, Lancaster University; Alexander George, Stanford University; Athanassios Platias, Greek Institute for International Affairs; Aharon Yariv, Shai Feldman, and Ariel Levite of JCSS; and Yossi Olmert, Itamar Rabinovich, Gideon Gera, and Yair Evron of Tel Aviv University.



At a cocktail party at the Conference on Political-Military Intervention. (l. to r.): Dr. Ariel Levite (JCSS – Conference Coordinator) Dr. Athanassios Platias (Greek Institute for International Affairs), and Dr. Larry Berman (Univ. of California, Davis).

Coming...and Going

- In March 1990 JCSS Head **Aharon Yariv,** Deputy Head **Joseph Alpher,** and Senior Research Associate **Yehuda Ben Meir** participated in the first meeting of the Brookings Institution's Working Group on Arab-Israeli Peace, held in France.
- In June 1990, **Alpher** lectured in London at the Royal United Services Institute on territorial issues in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The lecture was cosponsored by the International Center for Peace in the Middle East.
- In July-August 1990, **Aharon Yariv** visited the Soviet Union as the guest of Professor R. Bogdanov, Vice President of the Soviet Peace Committee. During his visit, Yariv held high-level meetings at Soviet strategic research institutes.
- Dr. **Zeev Eytan** participated in an international seminar in July 1990 organized by the University of Bologna, together with MIT, on arms control and the new strategic situation in Eastern Europe. Eytan also participated in a seminar on national security at Kiel University, FRG, in July-August 1990, and delivered a lecture on Israel's security problems.
- In February 1990, Dr. **Shai Feldman** delivered a paper at the annual conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held in New Orleans. The paper was devoted to "Missile and CBW Proliferation in the Middle East." In March-June, Dr. Feldman was a Visiting Professor at the University of Chicago.
- Dr. **Mark A. Heller** participated in the annual conference of Canadian Professors for Peace in the Middle East held in May 1990 in Toronto, Canada.
- JCSS Head **Aharon Yariv,** Prof. **Abraham Ben-Zvi,** Dr. **Dore Gold** and Dr. **Mark A. Heller** addressed a seminar on Conflict Management in the Middle East: Views from Four Sides, in Los Angeles in August-September 1990. Additional participants came from the United States, the USSR, and several Arab states, as well as Israel.



Ron Ben-Yishai (military commentator of Yediot Aharonot) addresses the conference. Panel members (seated l. to r.): Avi Bnayahu (Chairman of the Military Correspondents), Maj. Gen. Matan Vilnai (Head of Southern Command), Eli Landau (former military commentator of Ma'ariv), and Brig. Gen. (res.) Yaakov Even (former IDF Spokesman).

Defense and the Media: Coexistence and Confrontation

The chairman of the Israeli military correspondents and the military commentator of ***Al Hamishmar,*** Avi Bnayahu, accused the IDF of closing its ranks to the media in a one-day conference devoted to "40 Years of Defense Coverage in Israel," held onApril 23; the conference was jointly organized by the Military Correspondents, the Tel Aviv Press Association, and JCSS.

JCSS Head Aharon Yariv also complained that the military was not open enough to criticism: a willingness to accept criticism by the press is essential if we are to integrate public opinion into defense planning, for it is the press that can relay to the defense establishment a sense of current public attitudes. Zeev Schiff, military commentator of ***Ha'aretz,*** reviewed the history of military coverage, and pointed out that tense relations between the press and the defense establishment are not necessarily a negative phenomenon. This kind of competition is part of the democratic process; moreover, experience has shown that the press and the public are better served when these relations are tense; in retrospect, the military and Israel's national security have not suffered from this state of affairs.

In an open session on defense and the media that concluded the conference, Head of Southern Command Major General Matan Vilnai presented the military's point of view, claiming that the military is at the focus of a basic lack of consensus in Israel. The IDF carries out the "dirty work," and is then criticized by both the Left and Right in Israeli politics. He also complained that at times, baseless articles published in the press are not withdrawn after the mistake is uncovered; in his view, these articles have proved harmful to the IDF.

Other speakers at the conference included Ron Ben-Yishai,military commentator of ***Yediot Aharonot,*** and Shalom Rosenfeld, head of the Journalism Program at Tel-Aviv University.

JCSS Wins Ford Competition

In April, the Jaffee Center was named among a small number of winners of the Ford Foundation's competition on Conventional Arms Control. The Center's proposal, to conduct a major study on Security and Arms Control in the Middle East, was submitted by Dr. Shai Feldman. It competed with 128 proposals submitted by institutions worldwide. The grant – for an 18-month period – is the largest ever received by the Jaffee Center, and the first ever received from a major American foundation.

The study will analyze prospects for applying measures to stem the dangerous flow of arms to the Middle East, and to mitigate the effects of proliferation. Since a Middle East arms control regime cannot be made effective without the cooperation of the region's states, and since cooperation will not be gained unless the measures proposed meet these states' security requirements, a major part of the study will be devoted to an attempt at ascertaining these requirements. Also, a detailed effort will be made to incorporate the many lessons learned from the protracted process of conventional arms control agreements and confidence-building measures in Europe.

Guest Speaker



In mid-August JCSS and the Dayan Center hosted Dr. Ge International Peace, Washington DC) and Dr. Sergei Ro for a discussion of the US and Soviet viewpoints of devel Yariv (center) presented the Israeli view.

Israel's War of Independence: Actors' Strategies

The annual lecture in memory of Col. Simon ("Senya") Syrkin was held this year on February 19. It was delivered by Dr. Netanel Lorch, who has written several books on Israel's wars, and served as Secretary of the Knesset during the years 1972-1983.

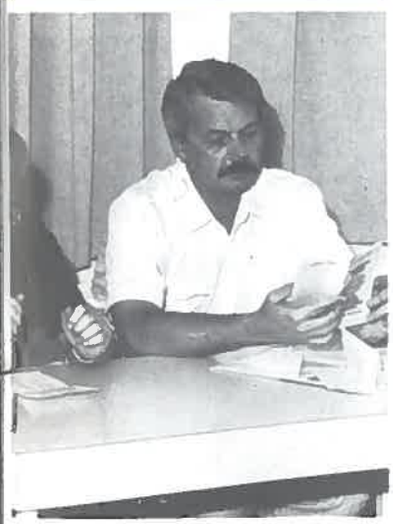
Dr. Lorch described and analyzed the strategies of the major actors in Israel's War of Independence. He discussed the intentions of the countries and organizations that were involved in Middle East affairs at the time, and the ways in which they sought to act, pointing out how their strategies influenced one another.

Dr. Lorch opened by presenting the attitudes and policies of Britain, the US, the USSR, and the UN with regard to the War of Independence, and the diplomatic efforts that preceded the establishment of Israel. He then raised the issue of Arab strategy at the time, pointing to the lack of cohesion in the Arab stand, and the nature of negotiations between Israel and the Arabs up to the ceasefire agreements. In turn, he commented on the attitudes of Haj Amin Al-Husseini and King Abdullah, as well as those of the leaders of Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. In addressing the strategy of the Jewish ***Yishuv,*** Dr. Lorch discussed the factors that led Ben-Gurion to decide how, when and where to use military force, and illustrated how strategic objectives were changed in response to events (for example, with regard to Jerusalem). Dr. Lorch concluded by examining the outcomes of the various strategies employed. Regarding Ben-Gurion's strategy, Lorch argued that the Israeli leader succeeded in mobilizing almost all potential resources in all areas, in order to realize his objectives.



Dr. Netanel Lorch (Truman Institute, Hebrew Univ.) delivers the annual Syrkin memorial lecture; Deputy Head of JCSS Joseph Alpher presides.

s at JCSS



offrey Kemp (l.-Carnegie Endowment for ov (r.-US and Canada Institute, Moscow) opments in the Gulf. JCSS Head Aharon



JCSS research staff meets with Japanese Ambassador to Israel Sadakazu Taniguchi.

Profile of a Researcher

Yehuda Ben Meir



Yehuda Ben Meir has been a senior researcher at JCSS since1984. He specializes in national security policy, decisionmaking processes, governmental policy planning, and the internal Israeli political scene.

Dr. Ben Meir (b. New York City, 1939) completed his undergraduate studies at Yeshiva University, receiving his BA (magna cum laude) in 1959. He also studied at the Graduate Faculties of Columbia University, where he earned an MA (1961) in Experimental Psychology and a PhD (1962) in Social Psychology. In 1962 he and his wife, Phyllis, moved to Israel. From 1963 to 1968 he served in the IDF as a senior research officer in the Psychology Section of the General Staff Manpower Division. Today he is a captain in the reserves.

In the mid-1960s, Ben Meir joined the academic staff of Bar-Ilan University. He served as Head of the Psychology Department during the years 1969-1972, and is currently Assistant Professor of Psychology.

Soon after arriving in Israel, Dr. Ben Meir became active in Israeli politics. He was elected to the Knesset in 1971 as a member of the National Religious Party, and served there until1984. He was an active member of the all-important Finance and Budget Committee, and for many years was also a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, where he served on a number of key subcommittees, including the Intelligence and Special Services Subcommittee. In 1981, he was appointed deputy foreign minister under Yitzhak Shamir, and held the position in the Begin and Shamir governments until early 1984.

Since joining JCSS, Dr. Ben Meir has published JCSS Study no. 8, ***National Security Decisionmaking: The Israeli Case*** (English and Hebrew), and is currently completing a major study on "Civil-Military Relations: The Israeli Case." He also participated in the JCSS project on Israel's options for a Palestinian settlement.

Dr. Ben Meir, who lives with his wife and family in Savyon,has four children and one grandchild – all Israeli born. His wife teaches in the School of Education at Bar-Ilan University, and is responsible for materials development in English at Educational Television.

Book Review

The March 1990 edition of the ***American Political Science Review*** wrote that Ephraim Kam's ***Surprise Attack: The Victim's Perspective*** (Harvard University Press, 1988) "is a welcome addition to the literature on strategic estimation and the failure to detect the likelihood of war and is particularly valuable for its application of decision-making theory to an examination of the intelligence community."

Kam's book was also discussed in a review essay on strategic intelligence published in the July 1990 edition of ***Intelligence and National Security.*** The reviewer praised Kam's book as an excellent work that "offers...a compelling case for the orthodox school (of intelligence studies)," and presented a detailed discussion of Kam's "thoughtful ideas about the analytical process and organizational procedures that...might help to reduce...the possibility of intelligence failure."

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The winter '89/90 edition of ***Middle East Review*** reviewed two recent JCSS publications: ***Statecraft in the Dark: Israel's Practice of Quiet Diplomacy*** (JCSS Study no. 10, 1988) by Aharon Klieman, and ***National Security and Public Opinion in Israel*** (JCSS Study no. 9, 1988), by Asher Arian, Ilan Talmud, and Tamar Hermann. The reviewer, Dr. M.H. Bernstein, wrote that "Klieman's book makes an important contribution to the study of foreign policymaking in Israel." Bernstein also expressed admiration for the "first rate" manner in which "[u]sing the limited evidence available, [Klieman] develops his analysis systematically, draws conclusions that are prudently cautious, and treats the impact of domestic factors on the use of secret diplomacy." The Arian, Talmud, Hermann study is praised as "a pioneering and beautifully researched study of patterns of Israeli public opinion concerning national security."

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The West Bank and Gaza: Israel's Options for Peace (Report of a JCSS Study Group; Joseph Alpher, Coordinator, 1989) was discussed in a review essay by Rashid Khalidi published in the spring 1990 edition of ***American Arab Affairs.*** Khalidi welcomes what he sees as a shift in the "latest thinking of prominent Israeli policy intellectuals" that has led "leading members of the Israeli strategic establishment [to] have publicly either swallowed the idea of a Palestinian state, or at least admitted that it is the least indigestible offering available to Israel."

70 Years of Haganah in Retrospect



Dr. Mordechai Naor (TAU) addresses the conference.

The annual conference in memory of Lt. Gen. David Elazar (IDF chief of staff during the Yom Kippur War) was held this year on May 8, 1990. It was devoted to a retrospective look at the ***Haganah,*** 70 years after the founding of the self-defense organization that provided the foundation for Israel's army, the IDF. The conference was organized by JCSS, in collaboration with the Elazar Memorial Association.

Speakers at the conference focused on various aspects of the ***Haganah,*** including its organizational and military developments, its intelligence network, the role of the ***Palmach*** within it, Arab terror and the Jewish ***Yishuv,*** the role of the ***Haganah*** in World War II, and the transition from ***Haganah*** to the IDF during the years 1947-1948.

The conference concluded with a round-table discussion on the military thinking and doctrine of the ***Haganah.***

JCSS Recommendations in Proposed Law

In the Knesset on July 2, 1990, MK Benjamin Zeev Begin proposed an amendment to Israel's Basic Law: The Government. In his proposal Begin states that the amendment, for the setting up of a permanent professional staff within the framework of the Minister's Committee for Defense Affairs, is based on recommendations published in Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir's ***National Security Decisionmaking: The Israeli Case*** (JCSS Study no. 8, 1987).



Meeting of JCSS Information Center staff

Palestinian-Israeli Economic Relations

JCSS, together with the Pinhas Sapir Center for Development, held a panel discussion in March 1990 on "Relations between the Israeli Economy and the Palestinian Economy: Present and Future." Lectures were delivered by Professor Hisham Awartani of the Department of Economics, An-Najah University, Nablus and Dr. Eli Sagi of Tel Aviv University's Department of Economy. Discussants included Dr. Ephraim Ahiram of the Leonard Davis Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Dr. Meron Benvenisti of the West Bank Database Project and Mr. Samir Hulailah, an industrialist from El-Bireh. The discussion was moderated by Professor Gur Huberman of Tel Aviv University's Department of Economics and Faculty of Management.

The participants agreed that economic cooperation is dependent on a prior political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Palestinian speakers concentrated on the economic difficulties facing the people of the West Bank and Gaza today, and on the frustrations with the Israeli bureaucratic process that cause many Palestinian entrepreneurs to commence operations without official approval. The Israeli speakers looked toward the future, noting mutually beneficial economic ties that could be developed after achieving a political settlement.

New Publications from JCSS

1990 Studies Series

No. 15
Dore Gold (ed.), ***Arms Control in the Middle East,*** November 1990.

No. 16
Aryeh Shalev, ***The Intifada: Causes and Effects,*** November 1990.

No. 17
Aharon Klieman and Reuven Pedatzur, ***Rearming Israel: Defense Procurement Through the 1990s,*** December 1990.

Annuals

Joseph Alpher, ed., Zeev Eytan and Dov Tamari, ***The Middle East Military Balance 1989-90,*** November 1990.

Anat Kurz, with staff of JCSS Project on Low-Intensity Warfare, ***InTer: A Review of International Terrorism in 1989,*** September 1990.

Memoranda

No. 29
April 1990
Eliot A. Cohen, ***Net Assessment: An American Approach*** (English).

No. 30
June 1990
Ariel Levite, ed., ***Decision on the Modern Battlefield: Symposium Summary*** (Hebrew).

No. 31
June 1990
Joseph Alpher, ***The Decade of the '90s: Strategic Challenges for Israel*** (Hebrew; English).

No. 32
July 1990
Dore Gold, ***Israel's Standing in the US, and the Peace Process: Assessment and Options*** (Hebrew)

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.

On the Occasion of the Jewish New Year JCSS wishes all its Friends and Supporters Shana Tova

שנה טובה

Dealing with the Iraqi Threat: JCSS Research Highlights

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Tamari also assesses the extensive battle experience of the Iraqi armed forces.

A memorandum now in the final stages of preparation, written by Daniel Leshem of the Center's Middle East Military Balance project), deals with Iraqi surface-to-surface missiles and their conventional and nonconventional applications. Leshem elaborates upon Iraqi R&D capabilities and touches upon the cooperation between Argentina, Egypt and Iraq in the development and production of the Condor II missile. He also describes the development of long-range ballistic missiles, and emphasizes the subterfuges by which Iraq acquired the funding for these projects, as well as some of the components needed for actual development. He concludes that the assistance provided by commercial companies in Europe proved crucial for Iraqi advancements in the missile R&D and production fields. Finally, Leshem emphasizes that Saddam Hussein views his chemical weapons capability, as well as the means for delivering these weapons, as an effective counter-deterrent to Israel's long-range strike capability.

In view of the far-reaching strategic ramifications that are expected to emerge from the Gulf crisis – for the superpowers, for the Middle East as a whole, and for Israel in particular – JCSS is planning to prepare a study group report on the crisis and its ramifications.