JCSS BULLETIN

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

Annual Syrkin Lecture

Israel in the Era of Peace



Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin delivers the Annual Simon Syrkin Lecture. (r.) JCSS Director Joseph Alpher.

On February 16, 1994, Deputy Foreign Minister Dr. Yossi Beilin delivered the annual Simon Syrkin memorial lecture, on "Israel in the Era of Peace." Prior to the lecture, Nachman Syrkin spoke in memory of his late father, Col. Simon Syrkin, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the lecture series.

Dr. Beilin's lecture focused on the difficulties that Israel will face in the transition stage - from preoccupation with perpetual security concerns to a state of peace. He pointed out that not only has continual fear for our survival been the leading factor that has shaped Israeli society from its very beginning (indeed, even before the creation of the state), but we have actually succeeded in reaping benefits from this situation. Security concerns have fostered a sense of cohesion in Israeli society (facing a common enemy); the IDF has become a source of pride, and has served as a "melting pot" for a country continually absorbing new waves of immigration; and the defense industries have become a major source of employment for Israelis, with their R&D sector leading the industrial establishment.

In light of this, transition to peace is something we must actively prepare for; otherwise, the new sense of relaxation may even be damaging to society as a whole. In the era of peace, Dr. Beilin believes we must focus our attention, energy and resources on four broad areas:

a. Domestic society. This is the time to take a close look at some of the major institutions of Israeli society, to determine whether they are still essential in their present format: the Histadrut, the Jewish Agency, the kibbutzim, and even the Chief Rabbinate. These institutions, created in the 1920s, were not designed to maintain a constant format for so many years, and the time has come for a reassessment.

   Two additional areas that should be examined are the election system and the practice whereby subsidies are placed on commodities rather than being determined according to sectors in society.

b. Relations with the Jewish nation. We must direct our efforts to bringing Jewish youth to Israel in order to

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No.13 APRIL 1994

1993: Year of Transition for JCSS

The second half of 1993 was as productive as ever at JCSS in terms of research and seminar activity. But our daily routine was in many ways overshadowed by the decision of the Head of Center, Aharon Yariv, to retire, and by the events that ensued.

General Yariv announced his retirement in May 1993, effective January 1, 1994. He had founded the Center in late 1977 and developed and led it ever since, and it was clear to all that a major transition lay ahead. The Jaffee Center by-laws stipulate that the JCSS Israel Board of Trustees recommend a candidate or candidates for the post of Head of Center, and that the President and Rector of Tel Aviv University, after consulting with the relevant deans, appoint a new head. This procedure was now invoked for the first time in the Center's history.

A number of people declared their candidacy for the post. Beyond the personal aspect, debate within the university centered on the future orientation of the Center: to what extent should it remain security- and policy-oriented in terms of personnel and research, and to what degree should 'academization' take place, and the Center interact more closely with other institutions of Tel Aviv University.

In the midst of this process, in late September 1993, General Yariv suffered a massive stroke; he has remained completely incapacitated ever since. This blow – for his family, for the Center and, indeed, for many Israelis – cast a heavy cloud on the proceedings for selecting a successor. These continued nonetheless. The JCSS Board of Trustees met on December 6 and 24, to consider the candidates and discuss the future of the Center. A central theme in these deliberations was the need to preserve the Center's security orientation, whatever decision was taken as to the identity of the next Head of Center. On December 26 President Yoram Dinstein and Rector Dan Amir, after considering the Board's recommendations, appointed Professor Zeev Maoz, Head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Haifa, to the post.

Professor Maoz's appointment as Head of Center takes effect on October 1, 1994.

After the Hebron Massacre:

Letter sent to our Palestinian, Egyptian and other Arab Colleagues.

March 1, 1994

I would like to share with you our feelings of shock and outrage at the atrocity perpetrated upon innocent Palestinians at prayer in the Cave of the Patriarchs Mosque in Hebron last Friday. There are no words to even begin to explain, or understand, how such a horrible act of murder could be committed by a Jew and Israeli. Please accept our heartfelt condolences, as well as this expression of our hope that, despite this act, we shall continue to advance toward peace settlements with all our neighbors.

Sincerely
Joseph Alpher
Director and Acting Head of Center

JCSS BULLETIN

Joseph Alpher, Director and Acting Head of Center

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The DOP– A Path to Peace?



Maj.Gen.(res.) Shlomo Gazit addresses the conference. Seated (r. to l.) Brig.Gen.(res.) Aryeh Shalev, JCSS Director Joseph Alpher, TAU President Yoram Dinstein, and Dr. Mark Heller.

On October 11, 1993, JCSS held a one-day conference on the Israel-PLO interim agreement. In the opening sessions JCSS Director Joseph Alpher began by discussing the security problems that will be faced during this phase. From Israel's standpoint, security will be the test of the success of the agreement as a whole.

The agreement is not clear on the distribution of authority regarding the security question, and the timetables do not take security needs into consideration – this could present difficulties for both the negotiation stage as well as when the agreements are finally implemented. The two sides will have to achieve a considerable degree of mutual cooperation and agreement over the principle of implementation by stages in the security area, in order to overcome the difficulties inherent in the tight schedule that has been set. Alpher emphasized that cooperation between Israel and the PLO in all areas, including security, must be open, and based upon equal and symmetrical relations.

Maj.Gen.(res.) Shlomo Gazit expressed doubts concerning the ability to realize the agreement in light of the difficulties that arise from its loose formulations, which actually hide disagreements between the sides on a number of issues. Gazit gave the agreement only a 50% chance of being implemented.

In the second session, Dr.Eli Saguy discussed the economic dimension of the agreement. He criticized the overly optimistic statements by Israeli politicians regarding establishment of a common Middle Eastern market, region-wide projects, and Israel as a major regional tourism center. While the peace process will no doubt result in economic advantages for Israel, these will be on a much smaller scale than that reflected in recent predictions.

Other speakers at the conference included Dr. Mark Heller, Dr. Ephraim Kam, and Dr. Dore Gold – all from JCSS – as well as Prof. Shimon Shamir (Steinmetz Center).

New Publications

Asher Arian

Israeli Security and the Peace Process: Public Opinion in 1994

JCSS Memorandum no.43, March 1994

Prof. Arian's memorandum summarizes and analyzes the results of JCSS's annual opinion poll on national security issues. By January-February 1994, public opinion had become more conciliatory regarding the territories and the Palestinians since the mid-1980s, but showed no evidence of movement regarding Syria. At the same time, the public remained wary of the aspirations of the Arabs.

Support for the Oslo accord with the PLO was down, but it remained the plurality position; there were indications that support for the accord has been more resilient than opposition to it. Sixty percent supported continuing the negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization. The shift in favor of

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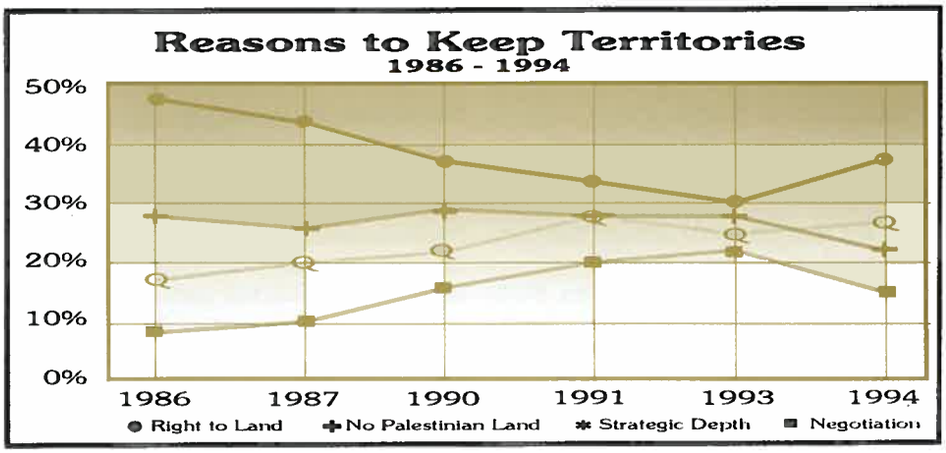

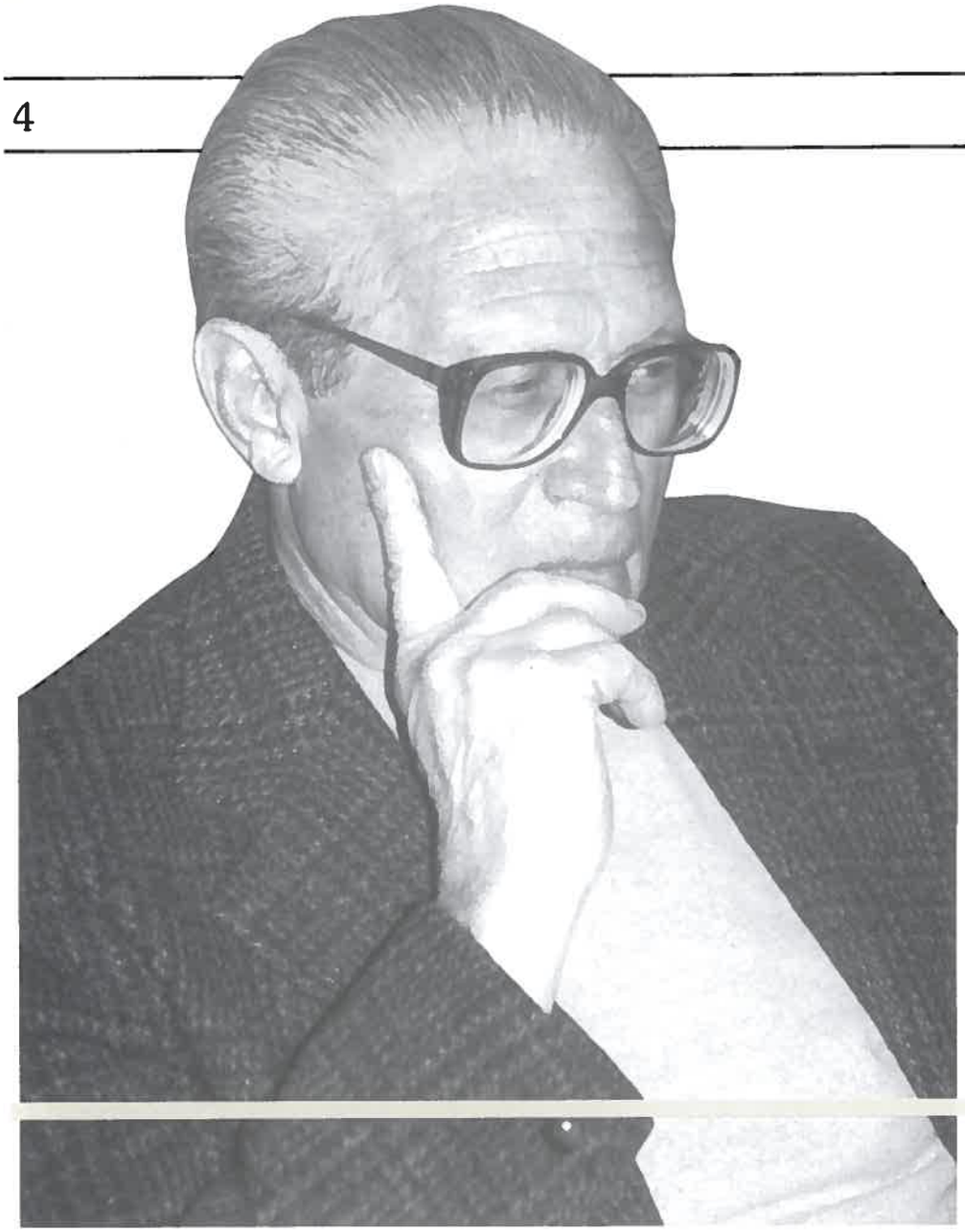



Arale

"Arale" – Major General (res.) Aharon Yariv – has been completely incapacitated since his stroke in late September of last year. Clearly, this was not the way we had planned, and hoped, to help him begin his retirement. The one personal project we can accomplish without his active participation – publishing his collected lectures and articles – continues apace. For the rest, there remain only words: words of admiration for his accomplishments, words of affection in light of his unswerving devotion to his staff, and words of pain at the cruel fate that has overtaken him.

When Tel Aviv University invited Arale to found the Center some 16 years ago, Israel was emerging from the trauma of the Yom Kippur War of October 1973, and entering the era of what we know today as the Arab-Israel peace process. On the wall of his office at the University – initially one of the two rooms that constituted the Center – Arale hung the historic photo of himself and Egyptian General Gamasy, standing in the desert at km.101 in November 1973 and negotiating the first dramatic step in the region's transition from war to peace. At the time Israel had no independent national security council or similar structure to plot its strategy for war and peace. It still has none. One of the central motives for founding the Center was to attempt, from the vantage point of academia, to compensate in some modest way for this lacuna.

This Arale did. He built on his reputation as an innovator in the security field, and a figure who rose far above the controversies and petty jealousies of our daily lives. He was one of the founding fathers of the IDF, and particularly of its Intelligence Branch; one of the masterminds of the Six-Day War; the man despatched by the prime minister to confront the country with the hard truths in the early days of the Yom Kippur War; the first Adviser to the Prime Minister on Counterterrorism; a Member of Knesset and government minister.

At JCSS he instituted extensive and innovative research programs – on terrorism, US foreign and security policy in the Middle East, peace and security in the region, and Israeli military doctrine. The Center dared to break shopworn taboos with books on Israeli nuclear doctrine, and the possibility of a Palestinian state. Its annual *Middle East Military Balance* became the standard-bearer in its field. The intifada generated a landmark research project on Israel's options for a Palestinian settlement. On the eve of the Second Gulf War Arale, almost alone, warned that Saddam's missiles would indeed probably fall on Tel Aviv, and that a policy of restraint would be called for. As the current peace process developed, JCSS instituted the Middle East's first arms control research program, and its researchers reached out















to Arab colleagues across the borders long before their official counterparts met at the negotiating table. Under Arale's direction, the Center achieved reknown in Israel and throughout the world.

These, of course, are but a few highlights from the list of Arale's accomplishments at JCSS. To build the Center and ensure its future, he devoted months of every year to an exhausting effort to raise funds, primarily among the American Jewish community, whose generosity was matched only by Arale's dogged determination.

All told, Aharele has given to Tel Aviv University, and to Israel, an institution that can and should continue to function as an independent 'strategic conscience.' Now it is up to those who remain, and to those who control the direction in which the Center develops in the future, to ensure that this happens.

On the personal level, many of us at JCSS have come to relate to Arale as 'family' – father figure, or big brother. He



has cared for us as only a seasoned combat commander knows how to care for his soldiers. He is even someone special in the eyes of many ordinary Israelis who have no connection to him or to the Center, but whom he has helped in the most selfless manner: to find an apartment, to get the best medical treatment, to right some petty bureaucratic wrong. The pain of his illness and incapacitation is felt by all those whose lives he has touched.

Joseph Alpher
Director and Acting Head of Center

CONFERENCES

Clinton and Israel:
Building a Relationship



Foreign Minister Shimon Peres addresses the concluding session.



Conference Organizer D



Seated (l. to r.) Amb. Ha and Abraham Ben-Zvi.

The Jaffee Center hosted an international symposium on the implications of the foreign policy of the Clinton administration for Israel. The symposium, held July 29, 1993, brought together leading experts on developments in Washington from both the US and Israel.

Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council, which helped shape many of Mr. Clinton's domestic and foreign policy positions prior to and during the 1992 presidential campaign, gave an insider's look at the White House's set of national priorities. He laid out the probable sequence of the Clinton political calendar, including his treatment of health and welfare reform. From also examined opinion trends, especially among the large segment of Perot voters from 1992.

Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute, stressed the importance of the spread of democracy for the safeguarding of international peace and security. He explained some of the roots of contemporary thinking in Washington on foreign policy along the lines of the book, *Mandate For Change,* which he wrote and edited.

Alan Tonelson, director of research at the Economic Strategy Institute, presented his view of the implications of Clinton's domestic priorities on the US defense budget and American military strategy. As in his summer 1993 article in *Foreign Affairs*, Tonelson demonstrated that the Clinton administration simply did not have the money to fund even the most minimalistic defense plans that had been put forward by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin. He warned American allies such as Israel, to be careful about assuming that the US could meet its defense responsibilities in the future, the way they were met in the past.

Commenting on the speeches was a panel of Israeli experts consisting of Ambassador (ret.) Hanan Bar On, Professor Avi Ben-Zvi, Dr. Dore Gold, and Ambassador Zalman Shoval. The Israeli team looked at the last year's developments in Yugoslavia, Somalia, and the Arab-Israel peace process. They also questioned whether President Clinton's policies could lead to a new world rift between the industrial north and the impoverished south, or a struggle between the major world trading blocs.

The symposium was opened by MK Binyamin Netanyahu, head of the Likud Party opposition. Netanyahu summarized the main changes that were transpiring in US foreign policy with the end of the Cold War. He focused on the shift in American strategic thinking from a concern with the global balance of power to protecting regional balances. He noted that the US could not be expected to maintain the same levels of spending on foreign aid and the defense budget under the new circumstances. Netanyahu tied these trends to the peace process by opposing the deployment of US forces on the Golan Heights and stating that increases in aid in return for territorial concessions were not the type of "burden sharing" that would be appropriate for today.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres closed the symposium with a sweeping overview of recent developments in international politics and economics. His talk touched on the relations between the major industrial allies as well as the changing forms of international power since the end of the Cold War.



The symposium was organized by Dr. Dore Gold, director of the US Foreign and Defense Policy Project at JCSS. It



Dore Gold (l.) with MK Binyamin Netanyahu.



an Bar-On, Amb. Zalman Shoval, Dr. Shai Feldman,



Will Marshall addresses the conference. Seated (l. to r.) Alan Tonelson and Brig.Gen.(res.) Aryeh Shalev.

was made possible through the generous help of the United States Information Service at the US Embassy in Tel Aviv. Bank Discount also contributed to the funding of the event.

Israel-Syria: Possibilities of Peace



Gen. (res.) Yossi Peled addresses the conference. To his right: Dr. Shai Feldman and Chairman of Knesset Defense and Foreign Affairs Committee Ori Orr.

On December 19, 1993, the Center held a one-day conference on the possibilities of a peace and security settlement between Israel and Syria.

The first session was devoted to the changes that have taken place in Syria's strategy vis-a-vis peace with Israel; the second focused on Israel's goals in a settlement with Syria.

Prof. Moshe Maoz and Dr. Yossi Olmert were the speakers in the first session. Prof. Maoz indicated that Syrian President Assad would insist on a territorial settlement that was at least as comprehensive as that which Sadat gained in the Sinai, and that he would most likely stand by any agreement that he signed. Dr. Olmert warned that Israel must take into account the fact that Assad's successors may not maintain an agreement made by him. Hence it would be a mistake to give up all strategic assets in the Golan, even in return for a full peace agreement with Syria.

Regarding Israel's goals, MK Maj.Gen. (res.) Ori Orr and Maj.Gen.(res.) Yossi Peled presented opposing views. Peled insisted that there was no room for an Israeli withdrawal on the Golan, and that in effect this would constitute "national suicide." The Syrian presence on the Golan after withdrawal would not be the same as the situation prior to the Six-Day War, and it is not at all clear that Israel could regain the Golan if the two countries found themselves again at war. Orr maintained that Israel could definitely afford to make territorial concessions in order to forge a compromise on the Golan. Israel could test Syrian intentions by a phased withdrawal agreement.

Brig.Gen.(res.) Aryeh Shalev (JCSS) contended that any agreement should be implemented very slowly, over several decades, in order to minimize Israel's risks. He also stressed that what is required is peace between **nations** (not leaders alone), and said that the agreement itself should not leave points open to interpretation. In his talk, Shalev provided a close examination of the geographic limitations and implications of various formulae for territorial concessions. Many of the speakers made reference to General Shalev's recent book, *Israel and Syria: Peace and Security on the Golan*, scheduled to appear in English (translation from the Hebrew) as JCSS Study No. 24, in April 1994.

Computerizing JCSS

The Center is currently completing installation of a modern computer network that will encompass all aspects of its work. The current renetworking effort began in November 1992, when a local area network (LAN) was installed at the Center. The LAN gives the researchers access to a 486 one gigabit server from the personal computers in their offices, most of which are currently being upgraded to 486. Each researcher has been assigned his own space on the server's disk, from which he can call up wordprocessing programs, search the Jaffee Center databases, and connect up to the Israeli Aleph System or to Internet. Researchers can also interact with the system from their homes, using a modem.

The Jaffee Center databases are: the Middle East Military Balance, the Israel Defense Bibliography, the Library Catalog, the Strategic Studies and International Relations Research Centers database, JCSS publications, and a database of maps, charts and tables. All researchers can search all the databases, but only the researcher in charge of a particular database is authorized to introduce changes.

The databases have been designed to integrate images, and the first to actually do so is the Middle East Military Balance Database, managed by Dr. Zeev Eytan. In addition to the bibliographic reference regarding a particular article, the database now contains a copy of the actual article cited; this can either be called up on the screen or sent to the printer. The time-consuming stage of abstracting and then proofreading the abstract has therefore been eliminated. As a result, the information contained in the Middle East Military Balance Database is now even more up-to-date than in the past, as hundreds of new articles are processed monthly.



Working in the Information Center: Yoel Kozak (l.) and Shirley Friedlander.

The JCSS server is connected to one of the mainframe computers at the Tel Aviv University Computer Center. This provides us with a telecommunications option that enables JCSS members to hook up to the Aleph system, which contains the catalogs of all Israeli academic and some government libraries as well as a number of local indexes and databases. Perhaps most importantly, this option has enabled all researchers to open Internet accounts.

On the most basic level, the Internet account provides JCSS members with

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Profile of a Researcher

Ephraim Kam

Dr. Ephraim Kam has been a senior researcher at JCSS since 1990. He specializes in national security, intelligence and Middle Eastern affairs. Kam is a retired IDF colonel. He spent most of his military career in the Research Division of the Military Intelligence Branch in a variety of senior analyst positions (1966-1987). His last position in the Intelligence Branch was Assistant Director of Research Division for Evaluation. Between 1987-1992 he served as a military instructor in the IDF's National Defense College, responsible for the study of Middle Eastern Affairs, the Arab-Israel conflict, and the structure of Israeli government and society. He retired from the IDF in 1993.

Dr. Kam took his BA in Middle Eastern Studies and economics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1966), and his MA (1975) and PhD (1983) in Government/International Relations at Harvard University.

Dr. Kam's *Surprise Attack: The Victim's Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988; Hebrew version published in 1990) received an award from the National Intelligence Study Center in Washington for the best book written on the subject of intelligence in 1988. His other publications include: editing of



Hussein Goes to War: Jordan in the Six-Day War (Tel Aviv: Maarachot, 1974; Hebrew); and authoring *The Changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Implications on the Middle East* (Tel Aviv: Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies,

Anat Kurz (editor), Maskit Burgin, David Tal

Islamic Terrorism and Israel:
Hizballah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas



This Hebrew-language volume, published in September 1993 by JCSS and the Papyrus Publishing House, Tel Aviv University, dwells on the war that three Islamic groups – Hizballah, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and Hamas – have waged against Israel since the 1980s. It is based on research conducted by Anat Kurz, director of the Project on Low Intensity Warfare at JCSS, Maskit Burgin and David Tal.

The three groups reviewed are distinct organizational entities that have developed separately. Islamic Jihad's factions and Hamas are bearers of the Islamic message in the framework of the Palestinian national struggle. They operate mainly from within Israeli-controlled territory. Hizballah, the Lebanese Shi'ite movement, struggles to bring about the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

The three groups are part of a phenomenon of religious awakening that has been manifest in the Muslim world since the 1960s. While rooted in social grievances in their respective communities, these groups adopted the Israeli-Arab dispute as a principal context for their activity. They have advocated the absolute negation of the political process aimed at advancing a negotiated settlement for the conflict. Their political message has been persistently accompanied by a resort to terrorism – the materialization of the call for "Jihad" (Holy War).

Islamic fundamentalist insurgent organizations have much in common with other groups that seek to bring about a revolutionary change in their political environment through recourse to violence. Thus while there is a distinct ideological basis for the existence of each organization, this is only one of a range of factors that both shape and constrain its modes of action.

The volume offers an analytical overview of the origins, development, and courses of activity of each organization. The authors show that the Islamic message that directs the organizations and integrates them into a regional front of radical Islam serves as an ideological platform and pillar for the groups' organizational existence. But the organizations' emergence and evolution were also found to be influenced by changes in the regional setting, shifts in the interests of the countries supporting the organizations, and Israel's policies in combating terrorism. These, as well as intra-group dynamics, provide a comprehensive perspective of the actual and potential ramifications of the organizations' positions and tactics on the wider political developments in the Middle East.

The three organizations evolved in different arenas and featured different modes of insurgency. Hamas' broad popular infrastructure in the Territories, and relative political and logistic independence, have made possible considerable freedom of action. Thus, Hamas has presented a challenge to the PLO, claiming recognition as an alternative to the nationalist-oriented leadership of the Palestinian national struggle. The factions of Islamic Jihad which lack such organizational strength, have been forced to conduct their armed struggle against Israel within the constraints imposed by sponsor and host regimes in the region. As for Hizballah, its organizational features combine both patterns of organization. While Hizballah developed in harmony with the needs of the public that empowered it, it also acted under guidance of external forces – Iran and Syria.

The book traces the involvement of these three organizations in the regional Arab-Israel conflict and concurrent political process. Discussion centers on their rejectionist positions. In closing, the authors assess the organizations' potential reactions to developments further down the road, including a substantial breakthrough in the Middle East peace process.

(An updated and revised English edition of the book is in preparation.)

Book Review

"The book is unique in its provision of rich information as well as what Intelligence calls a "Net Assessment;" i.e., it deals not only with the enemy but also with counter-terrorism efforts, in an attempt to evaluate their effectiveness, as well as with the influence of other relevant actors (Syria, Iran, the United States) over each of the organizations." (Prof. Emmanuel Sivan, *Ha'aretz*, October 4, 1993).

"The importance of this solid, clearly-written, sober and well-informed work for policy makers and their public critics cannot be overestimated." *(The Jerusalem Post Magazine*, October 22, 1993).

"Undoubtedly presents a valuable contribution to the understanding of the role and influence of fundamentalist movements in the Middle East arena." (Rami Tal, *Yediot Aharonot*, October 1993).

1990; Hebrew). He has contributed the inter-Arab chapters to the *Middle East Military Balance* since 1990; he also wrote a chapter in JCSS's *War in the Gulf: Implications for Israel* (1991, English; 1992, Hebrew). Since 1993, he has written on national security affairs regularly for the Israeli daily *Ma'ariv*.

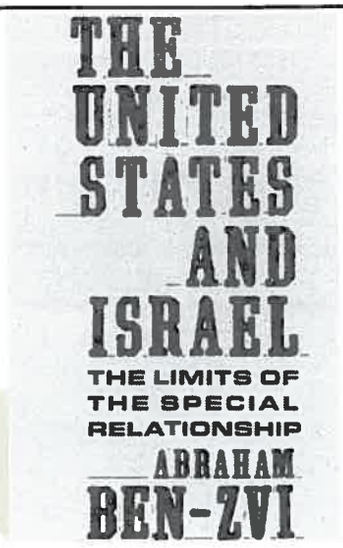
Dr. Kam is presently working on three studies. One focuses on the Iranian threat to Israel, the Arab regimes, and American interests in the Middle East; a second takes a comprehensive look at Arab national security concepts; and the third examines the war in the West Bank in 1967. Ephraim Kam lives in Givatayim with his wife Matia, who develops educational programs, and their three children: Na'aman, Shunamit, and Shilo.

New Publications

Abraham Ben-Zvi

The United States and Israel:

The Limits of the Special Relationship



The discord during 1991-2 between the United States and Israel over loan guarantees focused attention on a conflict that has been running for some 40 years. It pits those who advocate nurturing the "special relationship" between the two countries, against those who favor the use by the US of coercive measures to influence Israeli behavior. Amid this complex diplomatic panorama, Abraham Ben-Zvi reconstructs the often tension-filled American-Israeli relationship as it has unfolded since 1953, when President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles first attempted to coerce Israel into changing its policy in order to accommodate American foreign policy interests.

Ben-Zvi examines the extent to which the application of various coercive measures by the United States between 1953 and 1991 proved effective. He observes how these measures were often modified, sometimes even nullified, by the advocates of the special relationship, which included not only pro-Israel lobbying groups but also many members of the US Congress.

Included is a group of significant case studies: the B'not Ya'akov water crisis of 1953; the Sinai crisis of 1956-57; the "reassessment" crisis of 1975; the superpower crisis of 1977; the "sanctions" crisis of 1981; the Lebanon crisis of 1982; and the Palestinian crisis of 1990.

Ben-Zvi also shows how former Prime Minister Shamir's decision to build settlements in the Territories aggravated an already tense situation between the US and Israel. He concludes with comments on the Gulf War and the return to power of the Labor Party in 1992.

In *The United States and Israel* the author argues that the US-Israel relationship has been altered since 1990 because of changes in the level of American public sympathy toward Israel and the demise of the Cold War, which significantly reduced the role of Israel as a "strategic asset" for the United States.

With the relationship between the two countries constantly in flux, Ben-Zvi believes that the stage has been set for American diplomats to resort to a more assertive posture in the Arab-Israeli sphere.

The United States and Israel is published by Columbia University Press.

At JCSS



JCSS Director Joseph Alpher bids farewell to Ms. Edna Marko (l.), Personnel and Budget Director at JCSS for the past seven years. Ms. Tova Polonsky (r.), JCSS Administrator, looks on.

Aharon Klieman and Ariel Levite (eds.)

Deterrence in the Middle East: Where Theory and Practice Converge.

JCSS Study no. 22, 1993

This collection of essays on deterrence theory and its Middle Eastern application is based on an international symposium on modern deterrence strategy that was held at Tel Aviv University in May 1991. The symposium was cosponsored by JCSS and the TAU Department of Political Science.

The essays seek to extend the concept of deterrence beyond the narrow confines of the nuclear sphere, and to adapt classical as well as nuclear deterrence frameworks to the new conditions challenging the post-Cold

Reuven Pedatzur

The Arrow System and Active Defense Against Ballistic Missiles.
JCSS Memorandum no. 42 (Hebrew), October 1993

Dr. Pedatzur's memorandum raises serious questions regarding the suitability of the Arrow anti-missile system as a strategic defense for Israel. Should Israel face a nuclear missile threat at some point in the future, an active missile defense could be revealed as very problematic from an operational viewpoint. Indeed, any active defense system that cannot guarantee destruction of every incoming missile cannot be considered as a secure basis for a strategic defense against nuclear weapons.

Pedatzur also calculates that the Arrow may not become operational before 1999, or even some time in the next century – too late to deal with conventional threats alone.

Even against the latter, according to Pedatzur, the Arrow is liable to be an extremely costly means of preventing relatively tolerable damage. Israel may have to weigh the Arrow's cost-benefit ratio against alternatives, such as an enhanced strategic air arm; it might not be able to afford both.

War world. The book draws attention not only to the superpower and European arenas which have preoccupied deterrence literature for over 40 years, but also to nonsuperpower confrontational situations that now dominate and threaten along the periphery, and in the Middle East in particular. The editors believe that Middle East deterrence models in a world of uncertainty are guaranteed to make a distinctive contribution to our understanding of deterrence's two dimensions: its theoretical assumptions, and its mechanics when applied to real world situations in the 1990s. The volume includes an opening chapter by Yitzhak Rabin on "Deterrence in an Israeli Security Context."

Dore Gold

American Military Strategy in the Middle East: Implications for Israel

Ministry of Defense Publishers (Hebrew)



This book is a considerably expanded and updated Hebrew edition of the earlier JCSS Study, *America, the Gulf, and Israel.* The original study was completed well before the 1991 Gulf War, and was adopted as a text by the US Air War College in Alabama. This newer edition contains considerable additions to the historical chapters on past US defense policies in the Middle East, from the Truman Doctrine to the "Twin Pillar" Policy of the Nixon administration – much of it based on archival material.

American Military Strategy in the Middle East includes a great deal of material on the period leading up to the Gulf War, as well as its aftermath. The ▶

Israeli Security

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negotiations was evident before the change in government policy in 1993.

Once policy changed, the flow in that direction increased. Only 35% of respondents in 1994 thought that the PLO would be able to control terrorism.

Regarding alternative solutions, the highest total support was for annexation (35%) or autonomy (36%). The largest increase over time was for the autonomy plan. In a separate question, 71 percent said they favored autonomy for the territories. When asked directly about the establishment of a Palestinian state, the rate of support reached 37% in 1994. The assessment that a Palestinian state would be established in the Territories in the next decades became more widespread, reaching 74% in 1994.

In general, the Israeli public has viewed the likelihood of war as receding, and the hope for peace (or the absence of war) as growing, over the years. When proposed solutions were evaluated in relation to the chances that war would break out, the public thought that annexation and the status quo were most likely to lead to war. The creation of a Palestinian state was also seen as very dangerous; autonomy and giving the territories to Jordan posed lower risks of war.

There was a range of opinion about which territories could be relinquished, from a high 84% for the Gaza Strip to a low 10% for East Jerusalem. When asked about the idea of allowing the Palestinians to have their capital in a unified Jerusalem which was the capital of Israel, 85% rejected the idea.

Most respondents opposed removing the settlements in the permanent agreement. There was overwhelming support (87%) in favor of financial aid to those who might be forced to move because of the political agreements reached.

A third of the sample said they thought that a soldier had the right to refuse to obey an order to remove Jewish settlers. 62% said they personally would obey such a command.

This rate of refusal was high compared to hypothetical situations asked about in previous surveys. When asked to assess the chances of civil war in the country as a result of the agreements that were to be reached, 33% thought the chances were very high, and high.

A variety of measures indicated that public opinion had not changed in its rejection of returning the Golan Heights to Syria.

American Military Strategy

Cont. from p.11

book compares America's pre-war security arrangements in the Middle East to what eventually evolved after the war ended. It also details the American no-fly zone arrangements over northern and southern Iraq. It considers as well the trends in US arms sales to the countries of the Arabian Peninsula.

The analysis also raises the issue of ramifications for the Middle East region of planned US defense cuts. It looks at the Clinton administration's preference for basing regional security on rapid deployment of American forces instead of on their forward presence in the region. Gold concludes that future stability in the region will be more dependent on the quality of regional power balances than on the input of US forces.

American Military Strategy in the Middle East was well received in the Israeli press. Ze'ev Schiff, the national security commentator of *Ha'aretz* wrote in his review:

"Gold...is without a doubt one of the Israeli specialists who is most expert in American defense policy in the Middle East. This book is another proof of that."

Israel in the Era of Peace

Cont. from p.1

develop their ties with the country and the Jewish nation. Financial assistance from world Jewry should be diverted in this direction.

c. Relations between Israel and the Arab world. In this area two levels of relations must be cultivated: a level of common infrastructure (water, airways, tourism, electricity, lines of communication), and a level of direct communications with the peripheral Arab states.

d. Relations between Israel and the world. Dr. Beilin emphasized that when peace is finally established, Israel will have a role to play in the international arena; he specifically cited Israel's rich experience with peacekeeping forces and conflict resolution. Israel's overall preparations for peace must be viewed not as the end of the road, Dr. Beilin concluded, but rather as the beginning of a new chapter in our lives.

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Computerizing JCSS

Cont. from p.8

the opportunity of corresponding by electronic mail with their colleagues throughout the world. Internet also provides access to a wealth of information important to current research, whether through databases, electronic journals and books, or information services. For example, JCSS subscribes to the NATO information service, which distributes electronically NATO press releases, documents and reports. The JCSS library regularly scans the White House Online Information Service and the Israeli Foreign Ministry "Gopher" to retrieve and distribute documents relevant to JCSS research.

Another Internet option is membership in a discussion group. These electronic discussion groups provide a forum for members to exchange ideas and information with colleagues from around the world. The Arms Control Project is a member of two such discussion groups and the JCSS library is a member of two information-related groups.

Since its founding the JCSS Information Center has been a regular user of online information databases. In 1985 the Center took out a subscription to DataSolve, today FT Profile Information, and in the following years added subscriptions to Dialog and DataStar, which provide access to bibliographic and full text databases. Through FT Profile, JCSS can retrieve articles from the British press as well as from the BBC's World Monitoring Service. These information services thus supplement the print resources to which JCSS subscribes. Searches in the databases are performed by the JCSS library and distributed to the relevant research projects.

All these innovations dovetail with new wordprocessing and graphics capabilities in Hebrew and in English that support the desk-top publishing program, and enable JCSS to "run" a research project on a single file or set of files, from the researcher's first-draft doodlings, all the way to book or memorandum publication form.

By touring the information superhighway for data and insights, then rationalizing and telescoping research, writing and publication, the Center hopes to produce more and better research using fewer expensive assets.