JCSS BULLETIN

JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

One-Day Conference

Israel – Syria Peace Negotiations

In an attempt to understand the circumstances under which negotiations for peace could take place between Israel and Syria, participants in a JCSS conference on peace negotiations between the two countries, held October 10, 1991, addressed the question of the adversaries' inclination to negotiate.

Prof. Itamar Rabinovich (Rector–TAU) outlined Syria's stand and assessed the nature of the turnabout that has taken place in President Asad's attitude toward negotiations with Israel.



TAU Rector Prof. Itamar Rabinovich addresses the conference. Seated (l. to r.) Prof. Anita Shapira, Dean of Humanities, Prof. Yoram Dinstein, President of TAU, and Dr. Yossi Olmert, director of Government Press Bureau.



MK Zeev B. Begin delivers the keynote address.

10 March 1992

Inside:

- JCSS in Moscow 3
- Arms Control in the Middle East 4 – 5
- JCSS in the International Press 7
- Interim Agreement with Syria – Simulation Exercise 8
- JCSS 1991/92 Publication Series 8

While Asad still uses the term "peace" in the sense of "no–war," he is now willing to enter a process of direct negotiations with Israel. Rabinovich emphasized the American factor in Asad's new attitude, claiming that, in light of Asad's acceptance of Washington as a willing partner for a political understanding, Syria in fact would be negotiating more with the US than with Israel.

Maj.Gen.(res) Shlomo Gazit (JCSS) presented eight lessons from the Israeli–Egyptian experience that should be taken into account when assessing the prospects for Syrian–Israeli negotiations. These lessons include the understanding on both sides that one cannot afford to miss a chance for peace, the importance of initial conditions of ripeness for negotiating a settlement, conduct of negotiations at the highest political level, the key role of third party intervention that enjoys the full acceptance of both sides, and the need to enter the peace process with flexible goals.

Dr. Yossi Olmert (director of Government Press Bureau) also compared Asad's attitude to that of Egyptian President Sadat in the period prior to Camp David, and found that while Sadat was willing to place part of the blame for past wars

Cont. on page 8

Book Review



Dr. Ariel Levite's *Offense and Defense in Israeli Military Doctrine*, which first appeared in Hebrew in 1988, was published in English by Westview Press in 1990 and has been widely reviewed. A review in the summer 1991 edition of RUSI (Royal United Services Institute quarterly) maintains that Levite's work "provides a clear explanation and critique of the place of the offensive in Israeli military thought. It should be of interest to all of those concerned with the stability of the Middle East, as well as to specialists in military doctrine and Israeli security... It is clear, concise and well structured and its arguments are well presented."

Levite's book has been translated into Arabic and published by Dar El-Jalil Lil-Nashr in Amman, Jordan under the title *Israeli Military Theory: Defense and Offense*.

In Memoriam

Robert J. Stoller

Dr. Robert J. Stoller, pioneer psychiatric theorist and author, was killed in a traffic accident on Friday, September 6. He was 66. Stoller was a Founder of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, and continued to support the Center through the years. He had been a member of the International Board of Trustees since its founding. He was a strong financial supporter of Israel. "He was a source of inspiration," said Maj.Gen.(res) Aharon Yariv, Head of the Center. Mel Jaffee, Chairman of the Center's International Board, said "Dr. Stoller's death is a severe blow to the State of Israel and the Jaffee Center."

The internationally famous psychiatrist, whose contributions, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, pushed back "the frontiers of psychiatric thought about sexual development," was fatally injured near his Pacific Palisades, California driveway by a speeding vehicle in a race with another.

Stoller received his B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley and his medical degree from the University of San Francisco. His colleagues called him an extraordinary teacher and an eloquent writer. Among his books were *Sex and Gender: On the Development of Masculinity and Femininity* and *Sexual Excitement: Dynamics of Erotic Life*.

Dr. Stoller, a member of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) faculty since 1954, is survived by his wife, Sybil, who suffered minor injuries in the accident, and by four sons and four grandchildren.

May his soul rest in peace.

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

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JCSS in Moscow



JCSS Delegation with Chief Soviet Army Spokesman and Staff in Moscow

In October 1991 a six–member Jaffee Center team visited Moscow for talks on strategic issues of common interest to Israel and Russia (then the USSR) as the guests of the Institute of the USA and Canada. The visit reciprocated a trip to Israel by a similar Russian delegation, which took place in December 1990. The contacts are part of an ongoing strategic dialogue between JCSS and Russian colleagues, which spans a period of historic developments in the USSR and in relations between Israel and Russia.

Issues discussed during the October visit included the potential for interaction between the Central Asian Muslim republics and the Middle East, the dangers of uncontrolled export of Soviet conventional and nonconventional weaponry to the Middle East, ongoing Soviet relations with Syria and other Arab countries, and the prospects for enhanced Russian–Israeli relations. Within the latter context, the JCSS researchers (JCSS Head Aharon Yariv and Deputy Head Joseph Alpher, Brig.Gen.(res) Aryeh Shalev, Prof. Aharon Klieman, Dr. Shai Feldman and Dr. Dore Gold) were the first Israelis to visit a Soviet Army base and to be received in the Soviet Ministry of Defense.

Among the early fruits of the Jaffee Center's developing relationship with Russian colleagues is the distribution in Israel, in Hebrew translation, of a treatise on Russian approaches to arms control in the Middle East, authored by Dr. Sergei Rogov and his colleagues at the Institute of the USA and Canada.

JCSS Tour in Gaza



Senior officers address the group near the refugee camps in the northern region of the Gaza Strip.

On November 5, 1991 the JCSS research staff toured the Gaza Strip to learn first–hand about IDF activities there. On the way, the researchers stopped at refugee camps in the northern area of the Strip, and heard a short explanation from high–ranking officers who serve there. The next stop was at the local IDF headquarters where Brig. Gen. Yom–Tov Samia, commander of the Gaza Strip Area, received the group. Samia outlined major aspects of IDF activity in the area and the major problems involved in combatting terrorism. The group also met with Brig.Gen. Shiffman, head of the Civil Administration in the Gaza Strip, who described day–to–day problems in civilian life.

Finally, the group met with Maj.Gen. Matan Vilnai, OC Southern Command, who outlined Israel's policy in the Gaza Strip and answered questions.

Arms Control and Security in the Middle East



Alexander Konovalov and Shai Feldman at the opening reception.

"Arms Control and the New Middle East Security Environment" was the subject of a three–day closed conference held at Nof Ginosar, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, January 7–9, 1992. The conference took place within the framework of the Jaffee Center's Project on Security and Conventional Arms Control in the Middle East. The project is supported by the Ford Foundation and directed by Dr. Shai Feldman, a senior research associate at JCSS. Additional support for the conference was provided by the Yahal Foundation and the United States Information Agency. The conference was coordinated by Dr. Feldman and Dr. Ariel Levite, also of JCSS. Some 29 scholars and officials from eight countries (Austria, France, Greece, India, Italy, Poland, Russia, and the US) and an equal number of Israelis, took part in the proceedings.

The opening lecture was delivered by Dr. Levite, who expressed a pessimistic approach to the prospects for arms control in the Middle East. Levite predicted that the 1991 Gulf War would result in further proliferation, particularly in the realm of sophisticated conventional weaponry and surface–to–surface missiles. He emphasized that Israel would approach the subject of arms control with extreme caution, given the uncertainties characterizing its environment.

The next two lectures were devoted to Arab and Israeli threat perceptions. Dr. Ephraim Kam (JCSS) analyzed the military threats perceived by the Arab states, stemming from three circles: internal, regional, and external – the latter denoting the threats presented by the superpowers. Dr. Kam emphasized that the most important circle is that of the regional threats; these include not only the perceived Israeli threat, but inter–Arab threats as well. Dr. Dore Gold (JCSS) elaborated on Israel's security concerns, stressing that Israel would remain predisposed toward focusing on the Arabs' large conventional military forces. In this context Dr. Gold stressed that Israel would soon

Cont. on page 6



Wlodzimierz Konarski (l.) and Jerome Paolini.



At the Conference: Ariel Levite (l.) and Anthony Cordesman.

Opening Session



Geoffrey Kemp addresses the opening session of the conference.

JCSS opened the conference on January 5 with a reception held at Tel Aviv University's newly inaugurated Gordon Faculty Club. There, greetings were delivered by JCSS Head Aharon Yariv, TAU President Prof. Yoram Dinstein and conference coordinator Dr. Shai Feldman (JCSS). Yariv discussed the urgency of managing the Middle East arms race, and Prof. Dinstein stressed the difficulties involved in arms control agreements between Middle East states due to a basic lack of understanding and trust between the parties. Dr. Feldman spoke of the timeliness of the conference and the importance of initiating peace talks, and particularly arms control discussions. Real progress will depend on radical changes not only in regional states' policies, but also in their defense perceptions and attitudes toward one another.

The keynote address of the evening was delivered by Dr. Geoffrey Kemp (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), a noted expert on Middle East affairs and weapons proliferation. He stressed the need to register progress in arms control in the Middle East, both by controlling arms transfers to the area and by reaching agreements between the major sides to the conflict. Progress in arms control will necessarily be gradual and slow, and in the short term the most that can be hoped for is limited confidence-building measures and the start of a meaningful dialogue. The sides must nevertheless begin searching for creative solutions in the field of arms control. Here, Kemp argued, one of the subjects that must be raised, albeit in a responsible manner, is Israel's nuclear program. In conclusion, Kemp called for greater exchange on arms control between government officials and academics, both within the Middle East and with other states outside the region.



At the opening session (l. to r.), TAU Pres. Yoram Dinstein, JCSS Head Aharon Yariv, JCSS Deputy Head Joseph Alpher, and Egyptian Ambassador Muhammad Bassiouny.

Tour of Golan

On the morning of January 6 the workshop members set out for a tour of the Golan Heights. Driving through the Hula Valley, the IDF escort offered some historical background on this territory that prior to 1967 bordered the Syrian-dominated Heights. The first stop, at Tatzpit Gadot (just across the Jordan River and up the incline of the Golan plateau), gave the foreign participants an opportunity to observe first-hand the strategic and tactical significance of the high ground of the Golan, as Aryeh Shalev (JCSS) shared memories and insights from his own experience.

From Tatzpit Gadot the group continued on to Katzrin, where the deputy mayor explained the Golan's significance from an economic and cultural point of view. The next stop was at an armor brigade HQ, where the group lunched, received a briefing by the brigade's intelligence officer, and witnessed a display of tank maneuvers. The group continued on to Tel Faris, along the Syrian border. Here they held an on-site question-answer session with the brigade's commanding officer, regarding the defense of the Golan against Syrian attack. The group then headed toward its final destination, Nof Ginosar, where the conference was held for the next three days.



JCSS's Aryeh Shalev explains Golan topography.

Cont. from page 4

have to take into account the restoration of Iraqi power.

Barry Posen, a professor at MIT, and Anthony Cordesman, senior advisor to Senator John McCain, examined the post–Gulf War Middle East security environment. Posen argued that the Gulf War demonstrated the success of a military system capable of a "total exploitation of science and technology" (TEST). The advantage of such a system is that its overall output vastly exceeds the cumulative output of its parts. In Posen's view the Israel Defense Forces also constitute a TEST system. This creates an obstacle to arms control: when facing its numerically superior adversaries, Israel cannot afford to lose the advantages of its TEST military system.

Anthony Cordesman suggested that an arms control regime in the Middle East should be applied selectively, and differentiate between three types of states: marginal states, aggressor states, and stabilizing states. An enforceable arms control regime must favor the region's stabilizing states.

On the second day of the workshop, the morning discussion was devoted to lessons that could be learned from past experiences in arms control. Jerome Paolini of the Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (IFRI) stressed the difficulties of applying the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) agreement as a model for Middle East arms control. He argued that two preconditions are necessary for such application: mutual recognition of national sovereignty, without which verification measures cannot be applied, and a stable political environment that requires both a settlement of the Palestinian problem and the continued efficacy of Israel's nuclear deterrent. Ambassador Wlodzimierz Konarski from Poland then discussed lessons to be learned from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) process, emphasizing that what originally were regarded as "small" confidence–building measures in the military realm eventually acquired enormous importance.

Shekar Gupta, foreign news editor of *India Today*, elaborated on the India–Pakistan experience, emphasizing the importance of transparency. He noted that contrary to Israel and the Arab states, India and Pakistan have been able to conduct a strategic dialogue. To be truly successful, however, such a dialogue must be based on a common data base regarding respective inventories, doctrine, and command and control structures. Gupta argued that in order to achieve this, the Pakistanis must take their nuclear weapons "out of the basement."

The afternoon session of the second day was devoted to the economic factors entailed in weapons proliferation and arms control. The issues involved were addressed by William Keller, of the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), who focused on trends in the conventional arms market; and by Patrick Clawson, editor of *ORBIS*, and Ariel Halperin of I.I.I., who presented two alternative perspectives on the interrelationship of the defense burden and Middle East economies.

The final day of the conference was devoted to the suppliers' possible role in stemming proliferation. Geoffrey Kemp, from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, lectured on the Bush administration's arms control agenda, focusing on the president's May 29, 1991 initiative. A congressional perspective on this agenda was then presented by Zachary Davis from the Congressional Research Service. The Russian approach to these issues was treated by Alexander Konovalov from the USA–Canada Institute in Moscow, and a French perspective was presented by Christophe Carle, also from IFRI.

The final session focused on the attempts to control the proliferation of mass destruction weapons. J. Lise Hartman, staff director of the Subcommittee on International Operations at the US House of Representatives, discussed US efforts to control missile proliferation, with particular emphasis on the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Willy Kempel of the Embassy of Austria in Tel Aviv noted the efforts exerted to stem the proliferation of chemical and biological weapons, and Lewis Dunn from the Center for National Security Negotiations concluded with a discussion of the nuclear agenda. Dunn stressed the importance of confronting the issue of Israel's nuclear

Profile of a Researcher

Dore Gold

From Jerusalem to Madrid



Dr. Dore Gold has been on the staff of JCSS since 1985. In 1987 he became the director of the US Foreign and Defense Policy Project, a position requiring him to follow closely trends in American foreign policy toward all the countries of the Middle East, as well as developments in the Pentagon that might directly affect Israeli national security.

His first project at JCSS was an analysis of the implications of Israel's participation in the US Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, or "Star Wars") program. Subsequently, building on preliminary research done by Dr. Nimrod Novik before his departure from JCSS, Dr. Gold undertook to study the growth of the US rapid deployment capability to the Middle East and Southwest Asia. His first JCSS study, *America, the Gulf, and Israel: CENTCOM and Emerging US Regional Security Policies in the Middle East*, traced the growth of the military command eventually led by General Norman Schwarzkopf in Operation Desert Storm. The study was adopted as a text by the US Air War College at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama. It has been updated and is currently being translated for Hebrew publication by the publishing house of the Israel Ministry of Defense.

Gold's work has been of interest to different branches of the Israeli foreign policy

establishment. During October and December 1991 he served as a political advisor to the Israeli delegation at the Madrid Peace Conference and the follow–up peace talks held in Washington, D.C. In May 1991, Dr. Gold was sent by the Israel Foreign Ministry to the Second Annual United Nations Conference on Disarmament in Kyoto, Japan. This mission followed his analysis of the growing American interest in a Middle East arms control process that was articulated in *Arms Control in the Middle East*, a JCSS study that he edited, and in a subsequent Hebrew JCSS memorandum on Israel's standing in the United States.

Born in West Hartford, Connecticut in 1953, Gold spent most of his early years in New England, completing college preparatory school at Mount Hermon in northern Massachusetts. After finishing Columbia College (1975) in Islamic Studies and receiving an MA at Columbia one year later, Gold first moved to Israel in 1976. Acquiring Israeli citizenship in 1980, Gold completed his army service in the IDF in 1982 and then finished his PhD in the Department of Political Science of Columbia University in 1984. His doctoral thesis on the origins of the US–Saudi security relationship led him first to serve as a Persian Gulf analyst at the Dayan Center before joining JCSS.

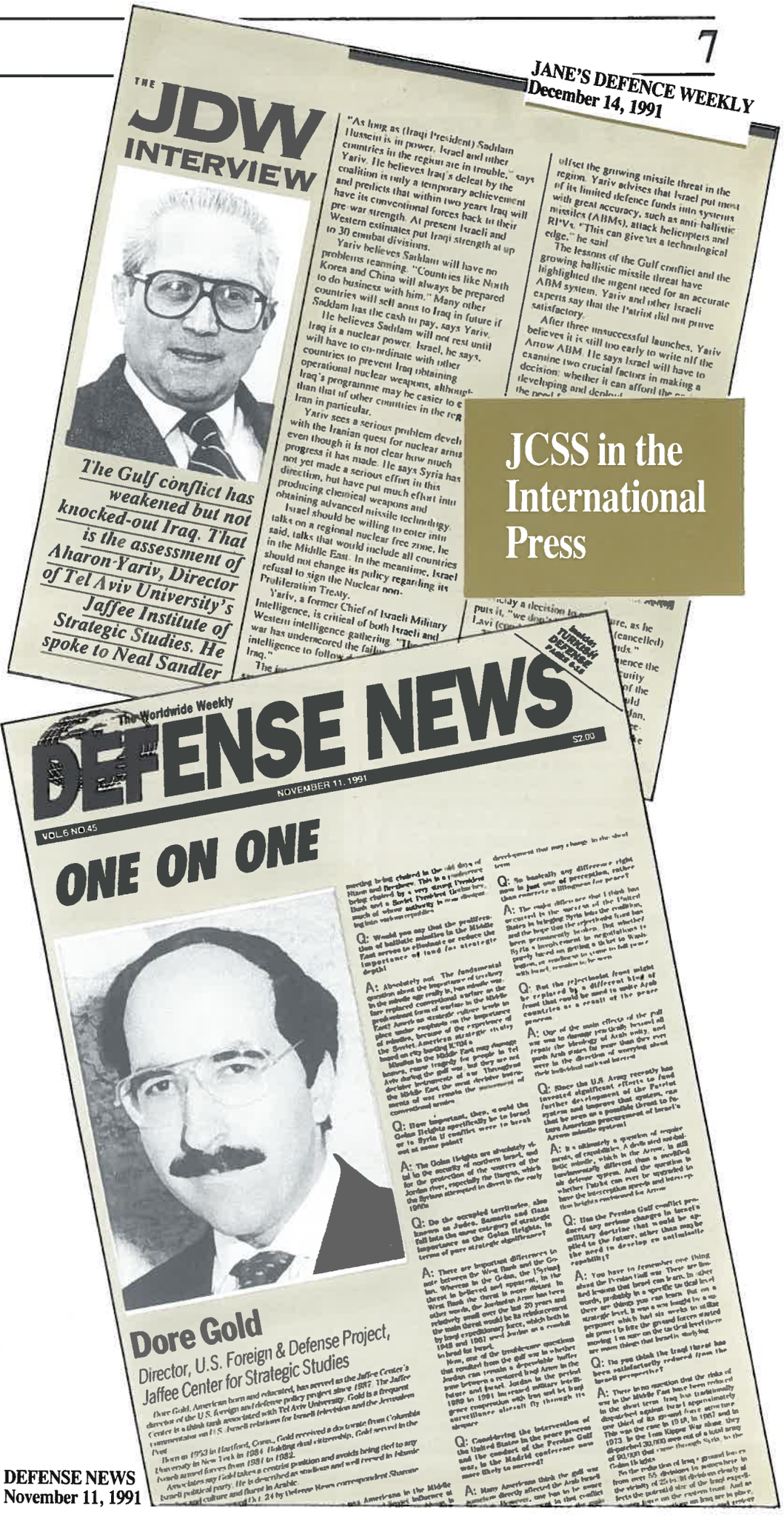
Dr. Gold has written occasional columns on national security affairs in the *Jerusalem Post*. His op–ed pieces have appeared as well in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Guardian*, and *Die Zeit*.

Gold lives in Jerusalem with his wife Ofra and two children, Yael and Ariel.

capability, and his remarks generated a very lively discussion.

A summary of the workshop was provided by Maj.Gen.(res) Aharon Yariv, head of JCSS. He emphasized that overcoming mutual suspicions and threat perceptions in the Middle East would be difficult and slow, but that the arms control process should certainly contribute toward this goal. Clearly, arms control agreements will be concluded only in a suitable environment, and thus political issues will have to be interwoven with arms control and confidence–building measures in order to achieve the desired result.

The working sessions were crowned by a question–and–answer session for the foreign participants with Defense Minister Moshe Arens, held at the Ministry in Tel Aviv.



DEFENSE NEWS
November 11, 1991

Interim Agreement with Syria

A JCSS Simulation Exercise



Discussions among the "Israeli delegation": (l. to r.) Zeev Eytan, Yehuda Ben Meir, Anat Kurz, Aharon Yariv, Shai Feldman, Maskit Burgin, and (with their backs to the camera) two IDF observers.

JCSS held a simulation of Israeli–Syrian peace negotiations on January 28, 1992. The participants included the JCSS research staff and a number of outside experts. They were divided into three major teams – Israeli, Syrian, and US – and a control group. The goal of the simulation was to test possible security arrangements in the Golan in the framework of an interim agreement. The exercise was coordinated by Anat Kurz of JCSS.

In the first stage the Israeli and Syrian teams each formulated a working paper on the issues in question: territorial concessions, the future of Israeli settlements in the Golan, proposed timetables, and, primarily, military arrangements. In the second stage, the two teams met to present their proposals, which were, not surprisingly, in considerable contrast. A third stage comprised an evaluation of the exercise. Particular attention was devoted to lessons with regard to the peace process that might be derived from the day–long simulation.

Cont. from page 1

upon Egypt, thereby hinting at a willingness to make possible concessions for peace, Asad maintains that the key to progress is in Israel's hands alone. In this sense, the prospects for successful negotiations between Israel and Syria are not as high.

Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir (JCSS) addressed the question of the impact of peace negotiations on public opinion in Israel. He presented data showing that the public was increasingly willing to withdraw at least partially from the Golan Heights in return for peace. Concrete steps on Asad's part showing a clear willingness to negotiate peace, as well as active American participation, could influence Israeli public opinion in the direction of even greater readiness to make concessions.

In a panel discussion, three reserve major generals – Avigdor Ben–Gal, Moshe Bar–Kochva and Yossi Peled – debated the security aspects of a possible Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights. Ben–Gal argued that by demilitarizing areas and transforming the IDF from a classic army to one based on advanced weaponry, Israel could withdraw from the Golan without losing early–warning capabilities. Bar–Kochva and Peled presented security considerations that argued against territorial concessions to Syria in the Golan, although Bar–Kochva argued that minor concessions might be feasible.

Zeev B. Begin concluded the one–day conference with a discussion of the strategic importance of the Golan Heights. He outlined Israel's policy options regarding the Golan in the framework of possible peace negotiations with Syria.

JCSS – Current and Forthcoming Publications:

Books

War in the Gulf: Implications for Israel. Report of a JCSS Study Group. Edited by Joseph Alpher (Hebrew).

Memoranda

No. 34 Ephraim Kam, *Changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Implications for the Middle East*. May 1991 (Hebrew).

No. 35 Shai Feldman, *Arms Control: An Agenda for Israel*. November 1991 (Hebrew).

Studies

JCSS Study no.17 *Rearming Israel: Defense Procurement through the 1990s*. Aharon Klieman and Reuven Pedatzur (English).

1991/92 Publication Series (English)

The Middle East Military Balance 1990 – 1991. Edited by Shlomo Gazit, with Zeev Eytan

War in the Gulf: Implications for Israel. Report of a JCSS Study Group. Edited by Joseph Alpher

JCSS Study no. 18

The Dynamics of Changing Soviet Policy in the Middle East. Mark Heller

JCSS Study no. 19

Israel as an American non–NATO Ally: Parameters of Defense–Industrial Cooperation. Dore Gold

JCSS Study no. 20

US–Israeli Strategic Cooperation in a Changing World: An American Perspective. Karen Puschel

Where to Obtain JCSS Publications

- JCSS books are available in bookstores or from publisher.
- JCSS Studies 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.