

Strategic Envelopment: The Political and Military Aspects

On April 20, 1986, JCSS, in cooperation with the Center for Military Analysis of RAFAEL, Israel's Armaments Development Authority, held a conference on strategic envelopment. Participants included high-ranking IDF officers, executives from the military industries, and politicians.

In his opening remarks, Maj. Gen. (res.) Aharon Yariv, Head of JCSS, reviewed the constraints and principles that affect the use of strategic envelopment, and presented some examples from the past. According to his definition of the term, strategic envelopment implies a change in the course of a war, and it may be achieved by a relatively small force. Also mentioned were the role of the General Staff in the decisionmaking process concerning envelopment, and the implications of the adoption of a strategic envelopment concept for the IDF's military buildup.

Colonel (res.) Meir Pa'il reviewed historical examples of strategic envelopment. Maj. Gen. (res.) Avraham Rotem (former head of the IDF Training Department) spoke of the Israeli rationale for land envelopment, and examined the correlation between the IDF's security doctrine and the use of strategic envelopment. Rotem indicated that this strategy minimizes casualties and may bring the war to a rapid end, thus preventing a war of attrition.

2 OCTOBER 1986

Inside:

- *Egypt in the 80's*, 2
- *A New Concept of Security*, 3
- *Int'l. Terrorism*, 4
- *Publishing Progress*, 5
- *JCSS in Action*, 6



Maj. Gen. (res.) A. Ben-Gal lectures at JCSS-RAFAEL conference. Seated are JCSS Head Aharon Yariv (center) and conference coordinator Dr. Ariel Levite (bottom right).

Maj. Gen. (res.) Avigdor Ben-Gal, former chief of the IDF Northern Command, examined future implications of the use of strategic envelopment by the IDF, while Maj. Gen. (res.) Benjamin Peled, former commander of the Israel Air Force, raised a number of questions concerning the possible political and military consequences of employing strategic envelopment. He also commented on the problems that the IDF will have to face in using vertical envelopment, and noted that vertical envelopment depends on suitable targets, reliable intelligence, and a logistics capability.

A lecture on naval envelopment by Brig. Gen. (res.) Gideon Raz, and a lecture on envelopment by an integrated

air-infantry force by David Rotenberg, were also presented.

The closing lecture on the political aspects of strategic envelopment was presented by the Minister of Trade and Industry, Maj. Gen. (res.) Ariel Sharon. Sharon reviewed a number of examples in which such a strategy was employed by the IDF in past wars, and discussed the resulting political achievements. The issue of "red lines" and situations of *casus belli* with which Israel might be faced, were also examined in this context. Sharon concluded by stating the need to use strategic envelopment to preempt in those cases in which the enemy violated "red lines" clearly preestablished by Israel.

Egypt in the Mid-1980s: The Regional Context

On June 3, 1986, JCSS and the Elazar Memorial Association marked the tenth anniversary of the death of David Elazar with a conference on Egypt. Maj. Gen. (res.) Rehavam Zeevy, who heads the Elazar Memorial Association, opened the day's proceedings with a description of the decisive role that the late Lieutenant General David Elazar (Dado), former IDF Chief of Staff, played in leading the IDF to victory in the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

The day's lectures were divided into four sessions, covering internal, regional and international issues.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin noted that Egypt's first priority in its regional policy is to strengthen its position in the Arab world. Therefore Egypt is reluctant and cautious about expanding the scope of its relations with Israel. Mr. Rabin added that strengthening the peace with Egypt is the most important issue for Israel, but this can only be achieved step-by-step. The defense minister cited two factors which encourage Egypt to fulfill its obligations to Israel: American financial aid to Egypt (currently \$2.4 billion per annum) and the slowdown in Egypt's military buildup.

According to Prof. Shimon Shamir (Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University), Israel should be concerned about the decline of a consensus in Egypt regarding peace with Israel. Even if negotiations for the expansion of commercial activities between the two countries are concluded successfully, he stated, few Egyptians will be willing to participate. Prof. Shamir suggested that Egypt's internal situation is the main force that determines its for-



Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin speaking at JCSS-Elazar Memorial Association Conference; seated (l. to r.) are: Prof. G. Cohen, Dean of Faculty of Humanities, Tel Aviv University, and Yitzhak Oron, Foreign Office. Photo at top: the late Lt. Gen. David Elazar, former IDF Chief of Staff.

eign policy.

Brig. Gen. (res.) Aharon Levran (JCSS) reviewed developments taking place in the Egyptian armed forces and trends in their arms acquisitions. He pointed out that Egypt no longer has the largest army in the Middle East, but that Egypt has developed military industries which produce weapons systems for its own army. Levran concluded by calling upon Israel to be wary of the situation on its western border, despite the appar-

ent quiet there at present.

Prof. Gad Gilbar (University of Haifa) lectured on the Egyptian economy, stressing the acute problem presented by Egypt's rapid population growth. In addition, Dr. Ami Ayalon (Dayan Center) reviewed Egypt's relations with the superpowers and Prof. Emanuel Sivan (Hebrew University) discussed Islam in Egypt.

The conference proceedings are being published by the Elazar Memorial Association.

JCSS BULLETIN

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Editor: Moshe Grundman.
Editorial Staff: Emily Beran,
Candace Salem.

Graphic Design: Amnon Katz
Photography: Michal Roche-Ben Ami,
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A new Concept of Security for Israel

For the second Simon Syrkin Memorial Lecture held in Kes Ha-Mishpat Hall on February 19, 1986, Dr. Amnon Yogev was invited to present his proposal regarding a new concept of security for Israel. Dr. Yogev served as a colonel in the artillery corps, and today is a professor of physical chemistry at the Weizman Institute. He reviewed Israel's military doctrine and the available weapons systems in order to show that both the doctrine of mobile warfare and some of the arms adapted to it are no longer capable of fulfilling Israel's military security needs.

To ensure a qualitative advantage for the IDF, and to prevent wars of attrition, a new concept must be adopted in which new technologies play a crucial role. The side that succeeds in confounding its enemy's weapons systems and minimizing the vulnerability of its own, will gain a decisive advantage on a future battlefield.

The new weapons systems will be based on state-of-the-art technology, some of which is employed in the SDI project. The main advantages of these systems are their use of artificial intelligence, long-range capabilities, precision, and ready availability for immediate deployment. These systems, according to Dr. Yogev, would answer current threats to Israel and overcome the difficulties of the present doctrine.

In economic terms, continuation of the present situation is almost impossible; the proposed model, however, would require a smaller proportion of the present budget. The difficulties inherent in the transition period, after discarding one doctrine and while adopting another, can be overcome. The main obstacle is to convince decisionmakers of the need to adopt a new doctrine. A positive decision in this matter would provide a solution today for Israel's security problems in the coming years.

Proceedings of the lecture were published by JCSS in September 1986.

Guest Speakers



While visiting JCSS on July 23, 1986, US Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering (foreground) met with the Center's research staff. Seated are (l. to r.) D. Gold, A. Kleiman, A. Shalev, Z. Eytan, A. Levran, M. Heller, and JCSS Head A. Yariv.



- **Dr. Elie David Krakowski**, Special Assistant to the US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy, visited JCSS on August 12, 1986. Dr. Krakowski delivered a lecture on "The Soviets and the War in Afghanistan."

- On March 10, 1986, **Prof. Richard N. Gardner**, Columbia University, presented a lecture entitled "After the Summit: Prospects for US-Soviet Relations and Arms Control."

- "International Aspects of Scholarly Publishing" was the subject of a talk given by **Frederick Praeger** of Westview Press during his visit to JCSS on February 20, 1986.

- On February 18, 1986, former US Ambassador to Saudi Arabia **Robert Neuman** visited JCSS and discussed "Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf" with the research staff.

- **Dr. Henry Kissinger**, former US Secretary of State, visited JCSS on January 20, 1986. Dr. Kissinger was the guest speaker for a seminar on "US Policy and the Peace Process in the Middle East" (photo top left).

- On August 17, 1986, Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. **Moshe Levi** spoke at the bi-monthly Defense Forum, whose participants include retired high-ranking IDF officers. The chief of staff discussed current security issues in light of budgetary constraints (photo, bottom left).



Audience at the conference.



Maj. Gen. E. Barak addresses the conference on International Cooperation to Counter Terrorism. Seated (l. to r.) Dr. A. Merari and JCSS Head A. Yariv.

International Cooperation to Counter Terrorism: Ten Years After Entebbe

On June 29, 1986, JCSS held a conference on international cooperation to counter terrorism. The conference took place on the tenth anniversary of the Entebbe rescue operation.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin discussed the political aspects of international cooperation in the war against terrorism – cooperation much needed in light of the support that certain sovereign states have been extending to terrorist organizations. Rabin noted that, while there is a certain receptivity toward international cooperation (mainly on the part of the US and Western Europe), other countries were not yet contributing to the economic, political, and military pressures on states that support terrorism. Israel, he stated, should fight its own war against terrorism, and not depend on international cooperation; at the same time, it should seek every opportunity to expand international cooperation.

Major General Ehud Barak, Chief of the IDF Central Command, reviewed the nature and constraints of military operations against terrorism. He spoke of two types of operations – raids and rescue missions – and indicated their main characteristics: the absolute uniqueness of each new situation, the short time in which to respond and act, and the high sensitivity to the outcome of the operation. Among the factors that contribute to success in these operations: intelligence, experienced units, and a system with confidence in itself; Barak discussed

Israel's advantages in this area, and also the disadvantages that stem from such constraints as Israel's great sensitivity to loss of life. Finally, Barak focused on what could and could not be achieved through military operations directed against terrorism.

Major General (res.) Aharon Yariv, Head of JCSS, focused on the practical aspects of international cooperation in the war on terrorism. Yariv highlighted four

main areas of possible cooperation: (1) intelligence liaison which, at the bilateral level, requires understanding and close relations; (2) defense arrangements, for example, security at airports or information on new weapons; (3) military operations – the most difficult realm of cooperation; and (4) cooperation in information, education and research. Yariv concluded by stating his conviction that cooperation, mainly at the bilateral level, could be achieved.

The JCSS 1985 Annuals

INTER 85. A Review of International Terrorism 1985

Ariel Merari, Tamar Prat, Sophia Kotzer, Anat Kurz, Yoram Schweitzer

Statistical data and analysis of trends in Palestinian terrorism, Shi'ite terrorism, and in western states' response to terrorism. A chronology of significant international terrorist events in 1985 is included, as well as extensive tables and a glossary of terrorist organizations. 120 pages.



1985 Military Balance

Mark A. Heller, Aharon Levran, Zeev Eytan
Edited by Mark A. Heller

A survey of the major strategic developments in the Middle East with an exhaustive inventory of armed forces in the region and the balance between them. Comparative tables, glossary, maps. 350 pages.

Knesset Security and Foreign Affairs Committee Invites JCSS Researcher

Mr. Shemuel Meir lectured before the Knesset Security and Foreign Affairs Committee on June 24, 1986, in the framework of the committee chairman's attempts to broaden members' knowledge and awareness of international strategic problems. Meir was invited shortly after publication of his JCSS Study, *Strategic Implications of the New Oil Reality*.

In his lecture, Meir analyzed the strategic significance of the decline in Arab oil power, in both the general regional environment and the more immediate context of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Beyond the economic, social and political influences on both the oil-producing and non-oil producing countries, the lecture focused on a number of key aspects of the drop in oil prices: possible growth in the dependence of the Arab states on the United States, resulting in an increase in US influence in the peace process; the USSR's contribution to the weakening of OPEC; the impact of the Arab oil-producing countries' cuts in military aid to other Arab countries like Syria; trends in weapons acquisition in the Middle East; and the impact exercised by the decrease in emigration from Judea and Samaria to the oil-producing states on internal stability in these territories.

In Brief

...**Joseph Alpher**, JCSS's Executive Editor, has taken over as Deputy Director of JCSS. He will continue to exercise overall responsibility for the editorial process at the Center.

Dr. **Mark A. Heller**, who was Deputy Director of JCSS and editor of the Middle East Military Balance until 1986, is spending 1986/87 on sabbatical leave at

Publishing Progress: Camera Ready Editions, Translated Editions, and a Hebrew Annual

JCSS's joint publication agreement with The Jerusalem Post and Westview took a new turn with the appearance in mid-1986 of *InTer 1985*. The InTer series of yearly reports on international terrorism joins our annual Military Balance and our Studies Series in the JP-Westview collection—but with a difference. This year's InTer was our first attempt at marketing camera-ready copy—printing pages photocopied directly from the output of a high-quality in-house printer—and judging by world and local reaction the product is a success.

Camera-ready production cuts delays and costs, thereby enabling us to make more research available to the public in "real time." Immediate plans call for parts of the 1986 Middle East Military Balance to be produced camera-ready. Acquisition of a high quality laser printer, linked to new word-processing equipment, will enhance and expand this process within the next year.

Meanwhile, a well known French-language publisher has expressed an inter-

est in translating and producing major sections of JCSS's annual Military Balance. Another French publisher wants rights to one of our Studies; the Jewish Agency is distributing several of our works in Spanish, inquiries are afoot concerning translation into German, and an enterprising publisher in Amman, Jordan, Dar al Jalil Lilnashr, published Aryeh Shalev's *The West Bank: Line of Defense* in Arabic, as well as excerpts from several other JCSS works.

Publication of JCSS's first annual anthology in Hebrew is scheduled by Ha-Kibbutz HaMeuchad publishers for the October Jewish Holidays. This new yearbook will enable us to present the Israeli public with a full selection of JCSS Studies and additional writings originally distributed in English. This first JCSS *Strategic Yearbook* in Hebrew will comprise studies on consensus in Israel with regard to the war in Lebanon, US-Israel relations, Soviet support for world terrorism, and the strategic effects of declining oil prices.



Participating in the closing panel of a JCSS-Dayan Center conference on the deadlock in negotiations with Jordan, are (l. to r.) MK G. Cohen, Minister of Economy and Planning G. Ya'akobi, MK S. Aloni, Minister of Justice M. Nissim, and JCSS Head A. Yariv. The panelists discussed their views on options for peace.

Cornell University, where he will be Visiting Associate Professor in the Department of Government, and Research Fellow in the Peace Studies Program.

Dr. **Abraham Ben-Zvi**, a senior researcher at JCSS and chairman of the Political Science Department, was promoted to Associate Professor.

A **bibliographical computerized database** on Israeli national security is nearing completion; it will form the basis for a hardcover volume to be published in Hebrew.

The Head of JCSS recently gave final approval for the purchase of a **MicroVax II minicomputer** that will be used for a number of JCSS projects.

Profile of a Researcher

Aharon Levran

Brig. Gen. (res.) Aharon Levran joined JCSS in October 1984, after serving in the IDF for 29 years. He began his military career in an armored field unit and reconnaissance unit. He later transferred to Intelligence, where he was involved in collection and research and headed various intelligence operations. Later on he served as IDF Defense Attache in Japan and Korea (1974-1976). In the years 1976-1978 he engaged in training tasks in the Armor Command and helped establish the IDF's National Defense College. In 1978 he was promoted to brigadier general. He served as GHQ Liaison Officer with UN forces and the US Sinai Field Mission (SFM) (1978-1980), and as a faculty member at the National Defense College (1981-1984).

Brig. Gen. Levran was awarded the IDF "Ot HaMofet" (Distinguished Service Medal) for his participation in the Yarkon Operation of June 9-12, 1955, in which a small infantry unit successfully reconnoitered territory on the east coast of the Egyptian-held Sinai Peninsula in order to chart a passage for the AFV units that reached Sharm el-Sheikh in the ensuing Sinai Campaign of October 1956.

Between his field unit service and his subsequent transfer to Intelligence, Aharon Levran completed a BA in Middle Eastern Studies and Political Science at Hebrew University (1960). He also studied for two years toward a master's degree in Middle Eastern Studies, from 1960-1962.

Levran has published in *Ma'arachot*, *Skira Hodshit* (Defense Dept. Publishing House journals), and *The Jerusalem Quarterly* on a variety of topics, including intelligence and early warning, the Soviet military buildup in the Far East, Japan's security policy, and the UN forces as a component of the security arrangements on Israel's borders with Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt.

Since his arrival at JCSS, Levran has dealt with analytic aspects of the military balance project. He has analyzed the military strengths of the major armies in the Middle East as well as various aspects of the military balance itself (including the Iran-Iraq War, the Arab-Israeli balance of deterrence, and the military capabilities of the superpowers in the Middle East). He is the editor of the JCSS 1986 *Middle East Military Balance*. In February 1985



he completed a JCSS Memorandum entitled *UN Forces as a Component of Security Arrangements on Israel's Northern Border* (Hebrew). He also coauthored a study dealing with the political and military factors that will determine Israel's security status toward the year 2000.

Aharon Levran is married and has two children -- a daughter serving in the IDF, and a son who served in an IDF elite unit and is now preparing to study medicine. His wife is director of the admissions office at Beit Berl College. He and his family live in Kfar Saba.

JCSS In Action

on the move...

...JCSS Head **Aharon Yariv** travelled to Japan to participate in the IISS Annual Conference on "East Asia, the West and International Security: Prospects for Peace"... **Ariel Levite** visited the Woodrow Wilson School, where he lectured on "Israel's Offensive Military Doctrine"... **Mark Heller** participated in a conference on "Security Outside NATO," sponsored by the Center for International Security Studies (Los Angeles)... **Ariel Merari** traveled to France where he participated in a Club Condorcet-sponsored conference entitled "The Dark War"... **Zeev Eytan** visited SIPRI in Stockholm and IISS in London, where he exchanged views on the military balance in the Middle East... **Aryeh Shalev** spent a month poring through material in the UN Archives doing research for a book on the armistice regime between Syria and Israel.

writing...

..."Social Psychological Aspects of Political Terrorism," was the subject of a piece written by **Ariel Merari** and **Nehe-mia Friedland**, and included in *Interna-*

JCSS Studies Quoted in Arabic Publications

JCSS has defined its primary objective as an effort to contribute to the expansion of knowledge on strategic issues and to promote the understanding of matters concerning national and international security. Recently, the Arabic media throughout the Middle East have been helping us to achieve these aims by quoting and/or translating our books and monographs.

Following are excerpts from Arabic periodicals and newspapers available in Israeli libraries:

On June 19, 1986, the Kuwaiti newspaper *Al Watan* presented "the Center's views" on the USSR's commitment to Syria if Syria were to initiate a war. The article was apparently referring to Ephraim Karsh's JCSS study, *The Cautious Bear: Soviet Military En-*



tional Conflict and National Public Issues... **Dore Gold's** "The White House and Decisionmaking in America," **Aharon Levrant's** "Trends in Soviet Influence in the Far East," and **Heda Rechnitz-Kijner's** "The US in the Middle East" appeared in *Skira Hodshit...* A paper by **Zeev Eytan**, "The Role of the Iraqi Army in a Future Arab-Israeli Conflict," was included in *The Iraqi Army in the Yom Kippur War*, recently released by Ma'arachot, the Defense Department publishing house... *The Jerusalem Post* published an article entitled "Iranians Gain the Upper Hand," by **Joseph Alpher...** "The Israeli-Syrian Balance of Deterrence" was the topic of an article in *Ma'ariv*, written by **Ariel Levite...** **Shemuel Meir's** "Strategic Analysis as a Profession" and "The Voice of America in the Arava" appeared in *Ha'aretz...*

Tribune... Libya, terrorism, and aerial bombing as a deterrent to terror were some of the subjects that **Ariel Merari**, Head of the JCSS Project on Terrorism, discussed with both Israeli and foreign press... *NRC Handelsblad* (Netherlands) interviewed **Shemuel Meir** on the implications of the new oil reality... **Shai Feldman** was quoted by *The Jerusalem Post*, *Ma'ariv* and other Israeli newspapers in discussions on the impact of the Gramm-Rudman Act on aid to Israel...

Aryeh Shalev's views on Jordan's participation in peace talks were cited by *The Jerusalem Post...* Statistics from *The Middle East Military Balance* were quoted by *Flight International*, *Ha'aretz* and others... CNN Television interviewed **Zeev Eytan** concerning Israel's arms sales. Zeev was also quoted by the *Los Angeles Times* in a discussion on the development of Israel's controversial cluster bombs...

Gazit: Arab States do not Seek Peace Treaties with Israel



Listening to the Tchetchik Memorial Lecture (front row, l. to r.) are R. Ziskind and Y. Schweitzer, competition finalists, Attorney-at-Law Y. Nevo, Tchetchik family representative, and Mrs. R. Tchetchik.

On March 18, 1986, Mrs. Rachel Tchetchik presented awards to the finalists of a research writing competition held in honor of her late husband, Lt. Col. Meir Tchetchik. Israel's security was the topic of the writing competition, which was administered by JCSS.

Maj. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Gazit (Head of IDF Military Intelligence 1974-1979) was the guest speaker at the awards ceremony. He lectured on "Alternative Solutions to the Arab-Israeli Conflict." Gazit discussed the approaches to peace cur-

rently prevalent in Israel, and cited the need to come to terms with the "no-win" situation in the region. He contended that one main obstacle to peace in the Middle East is the basic lack of interest in a genuine peace treaty relationship with Israel on the part of the Arab states.

From this standpoint, noted Gazit, Israel might best be advised to strive for unconventional de facto relationships of coexistence, rather than formal peace treaties like that with Egypt.

JCSS Researchers at International Conferences

An international workshop on UNIFIL was held in Oslo, Norway, from July 1-4, 1986. The seminar was initiated and organized by the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs under the auspices of the Norwegian Minister of Defense. The deliberations of the seminar centered on the "Role, Contribution and Future of the UN Peacekeeping Force in Southern Lebanon." Some 25 experts on the subject participated in the conference. Brig. Gen.

(res.) Aharon Levrant from JCSS and Mr. Z. Schiff, defense affairs editor of *Ha'aretz* newspaper, represented Israel. Levrant presented a paper entitled "UNIFIL's Future Role: The View from Israel."

Dr. Dore Gold participated in a transatlantic conference entitled "Strategic Defense and European Security" from June 19-21 in Kiel, West Germany. The conference was cosponsored by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis of Cambridge, Mass., the Institute of Security Studies at the Christian-Albrecht University in Kiel, and the Hermann Ehlers Foundation. Dr. Gold lectured on the Israeli point of view regarding allied participation

(Cont. next page)

and being quoted...

...JCSS Head **Aharon Yariv** was quoted by *The Chicago Tribune* in a discussion of the impasse in Jordanian-PLO negotiations... both *The Washington Times* and *The New York Times* turned to **Dore Gold** for his opinion on Israeli participation in SDI... **Mark Heller's** views on developments in the Middle East were quoted by *The Wall Street Journal* and *The International Herald*

agement in Middle East Wars in the Post-1967 Era.

In the July-September 1985 issue of the bimonthly *Arab Researcher*, we found a critique, including excerpts, of Brig. Gen. (res.) **Aryeh Shalev's** book *The West Bank: Line of Defense*. Portions of the book, which we published in English and Hebrew, were published in Arabic by Dar al Jalil Lilnashr, a Jordanian printing house (photo-bottom left).

Dar al Jalil has also translated and published excerpts from Dr. **Shai Feldman's** *Israel's Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1980s* and from our *Middle East Military Balance*.

In July 1983, *Al Mussawar*, an Egyptian weekly, reviewed **Shalev's** work on the West Bank.

The Lebanese weekly *Al Kifah Al Arabi* of April 22, 1984, translated chapters from **Saul Cohen's** monograph entitled *Israel's Defensible Borders: A Geopolitical Map* (photo top-left).

(Cont. from page 7)

in the American SDI research program. His paper focused on the evolving Syrian short-range (less than 500km) surface-to-surface missile threat. He discussed the strategic implications of the introduction of state-of-the-art Soviet short-range missiles like the highly accurate SS-21. The historic role of earlier surface-to-surface missiles--such as SCUD-B--on the Arab-Israeli deterrent balance was also reviewed. The conference brought together leading western experts on missile interception technologies, particularly those with an interest in anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) systems.

Dr. Shai Feldman, director of the Center's Project on US Foreign and Defense Policies in the Middle East, participated in the Salzburg Seminar on "American Politics and the Foreign Policy Process" in August 1986. The two-week seminar, held at Schloss Leopoldskron in Salzburg, Austria, was attended by 54 fellows from 26 countries. Its staff included former Ambassador Richard Gardner, Senator Nancy Kassenbaum, former Representative John Brademas, former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, former Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher, former Counsel to the President Lloyd Cutler, Mr. James Reston of the *New York Times*, and others.

The Intelligence Community and the Political System: A Reassessment

On July 31, 1986, JCSS held a closed discussion on the subject "The Intelligence Community and the Government: Political and Moral Considerations," together with current and former senior members of the intelligence community.

Intelligence activities, by nature, necessitate a delicate balance between ethics, law, and security. The secrecy of intelligence activities, essential to their effectiveness, leaves little room for application of democratic principles. Nonetheless, there should exist a framework of guiding principles and rules of behavior which meets the demands of both morality and law, without hampering the functioning of the intelligence services in critical areas.

The discussion attempted to define possible areas of conflict between security interests, ethics, and the law, and sought ways to reduce the tensions surrounding this issue.

Current and Forthcoming Publications

1986 Subscription Series*

- Study no. 5 Abraham Ben-Zvi, *The American Approach to Superpower Collaboration in the Middle East, 1973-1986*. November 1986.
 Study no. 6 Ariel Merari and Shlomi Elad, *The International Dimension of Palestinian Terrorism*. November 1986.
 Study no. 7 Saul Cohen, *The Geopolitics of Israel's Border Question*. December 1986.
 Study no. 8 Yehuda Ben-Meir, *National Security Decisionmaking: The Israeli Case*. December 1986.

1986 Annuals*

- Aharon Levran, Zeev Eytan, *The Middle East Military Balance 1986*, edited by Aharon Levran. March 1987.
InTer 86 - A Review of International Terrorism in 1986.

1985 Subscription Series*

- Study no. 1 Nimrod Novik, *Encounter with Reality: Reagan and the Middle East During the First Term*.
 Study no. 2 Anat Kurz and Ariel Merari, *ASALA: Irrational Terror or Political Tool*.
 Study no. 3 Efraim Karsh, *The Cautious Bear: Soviet Military Engagement in Middle East Wars in the Post-1967 Era*.
 Study no. 4 Shemuel Meir, *Strategic Implications of the New Oil Reality*.

Books

- Zvi Lanir, ed., *Israeli Security and Economics in the 1980s* (Ministry of Defense Publishers, 1985) (Hebrew).
 Aryeh Shalev, *The West Bank: Line of Defense* (New York: Praeger, 1985).
 Ariel Merari, ed., *On Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism* (Frederick, Md: UPA, 1985).
 Joseph Alpher, ed., *War by Choice* (HaKibbutz HaMeuchad, 1985) (Hebrew).
 Nimrod Novik, *The United States and Israel: Domestic Determinants of a Changing US Commitment* (Boulder: Westview, 1986).
The Middle East Military Balance. An annual, published for JCSS by The Jerusalem Post and Westview Press. 1984, 1985, Mark A. Heller, ed.*
InTer 85 - A Review of International Terrorism in 1985. Ariel Merari, Tamar Prat, Sophia Kotzer, Anat Kurz, Yoram Schweitzer.*

Memoranda**

- No. 14 Shai Feldman, *US - Israeli Relations During the Second Reagan Administration* (Hebrew).
 No. 15 Asher Arian, *Israeli Public Opinion and the War in Lebanon*.
 No. 16 Dore Gold, *SDI: The US Strategic Defense Initiative, and the Implications of Israel's Participation*.
 No. 17 Shai Feldman, *The Future of American Aid to Israel: Ramifications of the Gramm-Rudman Act* (Hebrew).
 No. 18 Aryeh Shalev, *Unilateral Autonomy in the West Bank: Israel's Options* (Hebrew).

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

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