

INSS

THE INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES






INSS


Strategic Survey for Israel 2013-2014
Anat Kurz and Shlomo Brom, Editors
INSS

MISSION

The Institute for National Security Studies launches and engages in innovative, relevant, high-quality research that shapes the public discourse of issues on Israel's national security agenda, and provides policy analysis and recommendations to decision makers, public leaders, and the strategic community, both in Israel and abroad. As part of its mission, it is committed to encourage new ways of thinking and expand the traditional contours of establishment analysis.

INSS researchers are guided by the four core values of professionalism, relevance, intellectual independence, and teamwork. Adhering to the highest standards of research and analysis, they are engaged in exploring the most pressing issues of Israel's national security, and contribute through creative and innovative thinking to national security policymaking. Professional integrity and intellectual rigor underlie their work at INSS, as they seek to share ideas and learn from one another while retaining their belief in the value of their own ideas.

ABOUT INSS





The Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) was established in 2006, incorporating the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies founded at Tel Aviv University in 1977 by Major General (ret.) Aharon Yariv, former chief of Military Intelligence (1964-72) and Minister of Information for Prime Minister Rabin (1974-76). As an independent, non-partisan professional think tank operating outside the governmental political and security establishment, INSS is excellently positioned to analyze Israel's strategic situation and devise creative policy approaches.

Conceiving of strategy as a dynamic interdisciplinary field that involves intellectual, political, military, economic, and social resources, INSS focuses on the strategic challenges facing the State of Israel. The research conducted at INSS enriches the public debate of issues related to Israel's national security, which in turn endows governmental deliberations with a greater awareness of public opinion on these fundamental matters. By probing issues that are already part of the public discourse and those that portend future importance, INSS both responds to and helps shape the national security agenda.

Through its policy-oriented research, INSS aims to inform and influence Israel's decision makers and contribute to sound decision making processes that integrate knowledge, assessments, and new ways of thinking. INSS activity includes publications, conferences, seminars, war games and simulations, strategic dialogues, government and military briefings, briefings to the media and to the diplomatic corps, and consulting activity. INSS is also a primary resource for individuals and organizations dealing with Israeli national security strategy.

The Institute's greatest asset is its researchers, most of whom have rich backgrounds in foreign affairs, security, international relations, and policymaking. Encompassing renowned academics and practitioners alike, many among the staff have held senior positions in various public



institutions, including the IDF, the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Israel Atomic Energy Commission, or have served as scholars in distinguished academic institutions in the United States and in Europe, as well as in Israel.

Operating as an independent nonprofit public benefit company, INSS is defined as an external institute affiliated with Tel Aviv University, with full research, budgetary, and administrative autonomy. Through its association with Tel Aviv University, INSS enjoys the benefits of working with specific academic programs at the University with which it has common research interests, among them the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, the Blavatnik School of Computer Science, and the Buchmann Faculty of Law.

INSS is the only Israeli institute ranked among the world's leading think tanks and listed as one of the world's fifty leading institutes in the field of security and international affairs.



POLICY-ORIENTED RESEARCH

While it is debatable whether the State of Israel has ever enjoyed a quiet period, experts agree that the immediate challenges on Israel's national security agenda are qualitatively different from previous predicaments and demand new strategic approaches. There is an urgent need to reassess Israel's current strategic environment and propose how Israel might best navigate the challenges it confronts. This is precisely the role of INSS, where basic research complements analysis of issues of the day. The practical application of INSS research takes the form of "out of the box" thinking and the design of policy options for decision makers in government, the defense establishment, the strategic community, and the private sector.

The most pressing issues related to Israel's national security selected by the Director of INSS as principal research fields for the coming period include: the Iranian nuclear threat, revolutionary changes in the Arab world, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and new paradigms to attain a two-state reality, US-Israel relations and the future of the "special relationship," the delegitimization of Israel, and cyber warfare.

INSS research rests on pluralism and a free exchange of ideas among the researchers. The heterogeneous research staff ensures that INSS does not assume either a particular political viewpoint or unified ideological outlook.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS



The Institute's Board of Directors is chaired by Frank Lowy, AC, of Australia, co-founder and chairman of the Westfield Group and Chairman of the Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia). The Board includes nine other members with backgrounds in academia, diplomacy, foreign affairs, security, and business:

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BOARD OF TRUSTEES





The International Board of Trustees comprises a group of distinguished individuals, renowned in their fields, who support INSS as part of their commitment to the national security of the State of Israel. The Chairman of the Board is Jonathon Jacobson of Boston, Massachusetts, founder, Chief Investment Officer, and CEO of Highlands Capital Management LP. Jeffrey Silverman is the Vice Chairman of the Board of Trustees. The other members of the Board of Trustees are:

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INSS sponsors events abroad for members of the Board of Trustees and friends of INSS, and Trustees are invited to the Institute's conferences and many of its strategic dialogues.



LOOKING BACK



As a reaction to the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Tel Aviv University decided sometime in 1975 to establish a center for security studies. A number of individuals within and outside the University community posited that one possible reason for Israel's thorough surprise on October 6, 1973 was that no institution outside the Israeli "establishment" had assumed the responsibility of evaluating the premises on which government policy was based – premises that also guided the planning and conduct of Israel's defense establishment. Had such a research institute existed prior to the 1973 War, it might have questioned the assumptions leading to the intelligence assessment that war was unlikely.

The effort to establish such a center began in earnest in late 1976 when Prof. Haim Ben Shahar, then president of the University, and Prof. Zvi Yavetz, then dean of Humanities, heard that Major General (ret.) Aharon (Ahrale) Yariv had decided to abandon his brief career in Israeli politics. Yariv was known to combine military experience with statesman-like instincts. He was also extremely charismatic and charming – an embodiment of "an officer and a gentleman." With his uncompromising honesty and integrity, he felt unfit for the demands of political life.

The University delegation worked diligently to persuade Yariv to help realize the University's efforts to study national security affairs. In response to the overture, Yariv insisted that the newly established institute be completely independent, and on that basis the Center for Strategic Studies was launched in early 1978. In 1983, the Center was renamed the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies.

A number of decisions about the Center's structure were made from the outset. The most important of these was that the Center would not be structured along "country desks" that corresponded to Israel's neighboring states. Instead, the Center adopted a thematic structure, built on the principal issues that it proposed to address: the Middle East military balance, US policy in the Middle East, international terrorism, and public opinion and national security. These were supplemented in later years by additional long term projects, such as regional security and arms control, and many research projects of more limited duration devoted to specific issues.



The road to serious recognition of the Jaffee Center in the Israeli military and academic scene proved to be an uphill battle. While Yariv, as the founder and first head of the Center, enjoyed huge personal prestige, as an institution the new Center had yet to prove that it should be granted a place in Israel's security debate. Within a few years, however, the Center began to acquire a reputation for groundbreaking and taboo-breaching studies of key aspects of Israel's national security. These included Aryeh Shalev's book *The West Bank: Line of Defense*, which focused on the territorial dimensions of Israeli security, Shai Feldman's book *Israeli Nuclear Deterrence*, on Israel's nuclear policy, and Mark Heller's book *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel*, which analyzed the ramifications of establishing an independent Palestinian state.

Governmental resistance to the Center's involvement in security-related deliberations gradually diminished, and the Center became increasingly perceived as "neutral ground" by different arms of the Israeli defense establishment. By the late 1990s, the Center supplemented its books, monographs, conferences, and brainstorming sessions with additional forums for analysis and evaluation. Beginning in early 1998, *Strategic Assessment* was launched as the Center's quarterly. In the beginning of the 2000s additional publications and research activities joined the list, and helped the Center attain its standing as Israel's foremost research institute in national security affairs.

LOOKING AHEAD

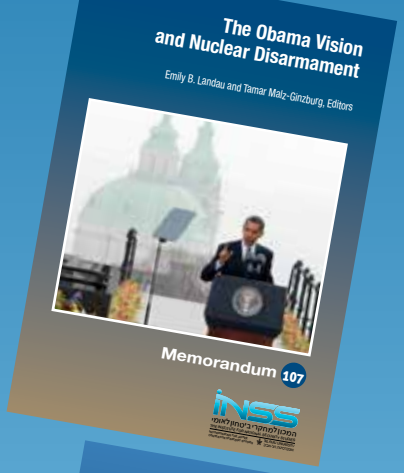
THE NEUBAUER RESEARCH ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

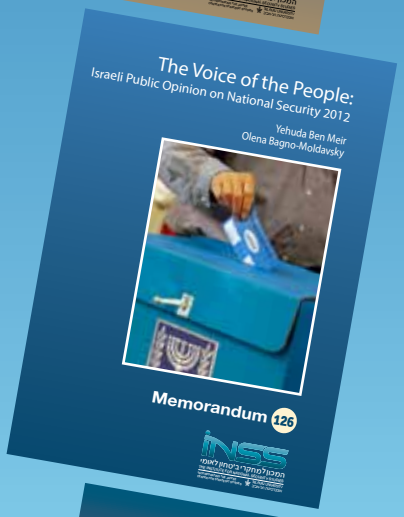
The Neubauer Research Associates Program was launched in 2006 by the Philadelphia-based Joseph and Jeanette Neubauer Foundation. The Neubauer Program was created to engage distinguished doctoral candidates embarking on an academic career. These part-time appointments are suitable for researchers working on their dissertations in subjects related to security studies. Affiliation with INSS allows students to complete the dissertation process while acquiring experience in their areas of specialization as research assistants to INSS senior research fellows. Since its inception, five Neubauer associates continued at INSS in a research capacity, while others have continued their careers in the National Security Council; academic institutions in Israel; and government offices.



THE NEXT GENERATION PROGRAM

To further facilitate the recruitment, training, and mentoring of the next generation of researchers and policy experts, INSS has launched the Next Generation Program. The addition of researchers at earlier stages of their careers to the more experienced INSS research staff will help build a stronger staff, both for INSS and for future policymaking offices in Israel. Some of these entry and mid-level researchers may continue their careers at INSS; others who assume positions in government or elsewhere in strategy-related fields will be able to strengthen the connection between INSS and the decision making establishment. The program thus creates a framework at INSS for an evolving research staff and the regular injection of new conceptual approaches, research methodologies, and analytical tools. Particularly in light of the significant changes in the Middle East as well as in the global system, the perspective of a new generation of thinkers is especially important to the Instiute, and represents a vital element in any national security policymaking.











PUBLICATIONS

Principal INSS publications:

Strategic Survey for Israel, an annual book that surveys major developments that impact on Israel's strategic environment and suggests how Israel might navigate current and prospective national security challenges.

Memoranda are monograph-length analytical studies of timely issues with policy relevant implications.

Strategic Assessment, the INSS quarterly journal, publishes essays on recent events and ongoing trends related to Israel's strategic situation.

Military and Strategic Affairs is a journal published three times a year on Israel's military challenges.

INSS Insight is issued once or twice weekly as an e-publication to provide a quick response to timely events.

Recent INSS memoranda:

Zvi Magen, ***Russia and the Middle East: Policy Challenges***

Yehuda Ben Meir and Olena Bagno-Moldavsky, ***The Voice of the People: Israeli Public Opinion on National Security 2012***

Amos Yadlin and Avner Golov, ***Regime Stability in the Middle East: An Analytical Model to Assess the Possibility of Governmental Change***

Shlomo Brom, ed., ***In the Aftermath of Operation Pillar of Defense***

Emily B. Landau and Anat Kurz, eds., ***Arms Control Dilemmas: Focus on the Middle East***

Meir Elran and Alex Altshuler, eds., ***The Complex Mosaic of the Civilian Front in Israel***

Meir Elran and Yehuda Ben Meir, eds., ***Drafting the Ultra-Orthodox into the IDF: Renewal of the Tal Law***

Shmuel Even and David Siman-Tov, ***Cyber Warfare: Concepts and Strategic Trends***

Israel's Incoming Defense Minister and the Hundred-Day Grace Period

A Nuclear Iran: The Spur to a Regional Arms Race?

The Turmoil in Syria: What Lies Ahead

Spring is in the Air? On the Thawing of Turkey-Israel Relations

Another Layer of Defense: The Arrow-3 Test

How Many Rockets Did Iron Dome Shoot Down?

Outlining a Possible Deal with Iran

The Russian Fleet in the Mediterranean: Exercise or Military Operation?

Are the US and Russia Reaching Understandings about Syria?

Saudi Activism in a Changing Middle East

Is Israel on the Verge of a Third Intifada?

The Second Turkel Commission Report

Coping with Iran's Nuclear Capabilities

Syrian Weapons in Hizbollah Hands

The United States and Israel: A Shared Strategy for the Challenges of the Middle East

The Elections in Jordan: People Want Evolution, Not Revolution

The Israeli Elections: Indications and Implications

Will Israel Sell its Natural Gas to China?

Iraq and the Arabs following the American Withdrawal

Between NATO and Russia: The Pieces of Turkey's Puzzle

The Decision to Call Off the 2012 WMDFZ Conference: An Outcome Destined from the Start?

American Intervention in Israeli Politics: Past Experience, Future Prospects

Barack Obama and the Middle East Three Years On

The Breakup of Israel's Strategic Puzzle

RESEARCH PROGRAMS





Iranian Nuclearization: The Ramifications for Israel

Arms Control and Regional Security Program

The ramifications of Iranian nuclearization for Israel, the region, and the world at large form a current thrust of the INSS program. Research focuses on sanctions efforts, the feasibility and consequences of a military strike on Iran, the larger threat of Iran's hegemonic ambitions, and the threat of nuclear proliferation in the region should Iran attain military nuclear capability. These and other issues are explored in the articles compiled in the recent monograph *Arms Control Dilemmas: Focus on the Middle East*.

Jumpstarting the Israeli-Palestinian Process: A Call for New Paradigms

Program on Israeli-Palestinian Relations

The Palestinian issue, at the heart of Israel's strategic posture and security agenda, appears frozen, with few prospects for a political breakthrough, despite intense US efforts. The program focuses on creative measures with which Israel might approach the current impasse in the negotiations in order to secure its future as a democratic Jewish state. Hamas and the Gaza situation were the subject of the collection of essays *In the Aftermath of Operation Pillar of Defense*.

America's "Special Relationship" with Israel

Program on US Policy in the Middle East

US Ambassador to Israel Dan Shapiro has spoken at INSS on the strength of US-Israel relations. The political changes and new governments in Washington and Jerusalem, however, invite renewed efforts by Israel to strengthen the bilateral ties. The program studies how Israel might best make its case in Washington and among US public opinion, particularly when the countries display divergent strategic and tactical positions on critical issues.

International Law and Asymmetric Warfare

Program on Law and National Security

Most non-state players are not subject to systems of mutuality that over the years have allowed the application of the laws of war among nations, and this imbalance has enabled non-state entities to violate international law without suffering any sanction. This creates a difficult situation for norm-abiding states, Israel among them. The purpose of the program is to provide responses to challenges related to international law stemming from asymmetrical cross-border warfare.



Cyberspace: The Newest Warfare Domain

Neubauer Program on Cyber Warfare

Israel's national security is in large measure a function of its ability to defend its critical systems from cyber attacks. The program, which is a joint endeavor of INSS and the Blavatnik School of Computer Science at Tel Aviv University, addresses cyber-related threats and opportunities, and aims to draft guidelines for a doctrine of warfare in the cyber realm. Leading experts in cyber security appeared at the INSS conference "Cyberspace and Challenges of the Financial Sector."









Security and "Social Justice"

Program on the IDF, Israeli Society, and Public Opinion

Complementing external threat assessments and military balance considerations in Israel's security doctrine are internal challenges that confront Israeli society. One major focus of the program is society's approach to the IDF, including the demand that all eligible citizens share the obligation of military service. A second focus is the longstanding INSS National Security and Public Opinion Project. Surveys that provide data on Israeli public opinion on various national security issues are analyzed for their policy implications for Israel's leadership.



RESEARCH PROGRAMS (cont.)







Terrorism, Politics, and what Lies Between Them

Program on Terrorism and Low Intensity Conflict

Palestinian militancy, Hizbollah, and other manifestations of Islamic terrorism and global jihad continue to confront Israel with an ongoing security challenge. The INSS program studies the impact of the "Arab Spring" on terrorist groups, al-Qaeda activity, and the political power of non-state actors. The program also studies the complex issue in Israel of redeeming captives and the possibility of instituting binding national guidelines for the future, and launched a conference series on the subject.

The Home Front under Fire

Program on Homeland Security

Operation Pillar of Defense was Israel's most recent battle waged to attain security for its civilian population. The INSS program deals with the diverse aspects of the Israeli home front and its preparedness for civilian crises, wars, and large scale terror activities, as well as natural disasters. In collaboration with the Ministry of Defense, INSS hosts an annual conference on the preparedness of the home front.

The Military Component of Israel's Security Concept

Program on Military and Strategic Affairs

Changes in Israel's strategic environment demand a thorough review of the military component of Israel's security concept. The program studies the principles underlying IDF force development and force deployment, and their impact on the military's ability to provide an appropriate response to the range of threats facing the country. INSS researchers work closely with units in the IDF to tackle the relevant questions, and the *Military and Strategic Affairs* journal is published within the framework of the program.

Forecasting National Security Needs

Program on Technology Forecasting and Policy Implications

While it is difficult to shape policy based on future technologies, this is precisely what is called for in national security-related fields. INSS has launched a project to harness proven existing technological forecasting capabilities for the task of testing and formulating guidelines for security policy. The project currently focuses on the extensive use of unmanned (primarily land-based) systems, and will try to glean insights that will serve as guidelines for security policy.

Middle East Military Balance Project

The Middle East Military Balance Project constitutes a computerized database of twenty-two Middle East armed forces, defense infrastructures, and arms transactions. The database, published in full on the INSS website, is one of its



kind, and is a vital tool for research on the military aspects of the challenges that exist in Israel's greater strategic environment.

Looking Eastward

Program on Israel-China Relations

China's involvement in the Middle East has grown steadily over the past two decades, posing both challenges and opportunities before Israel. China's booming economy and newly acquired technological capabilities, along with its direct contact with regional leaders, make it an increasingly important actor in the area. The program, in collaboration with the Israel Institute, aims to enhance the knowledge about China's involvement in the Middle East and provide Israeli decision makers with policy recommendations regarding China.

The Arab Minority in the Jewish State

Neubauer Program on Israeli Arabs

The status of the Arab minority in Israel poses a political and social challenge to the state, bearing on Israel's overall national security. In addition, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has a direct impact on the Israeli Arab population. This program studies the basic undercurrents of Israel's Arab population in general and the sector's particular segments, exploring what can be done to foster a favorable atmosphere and positive relations between the Jewish majority and the Arab minority.

How Much Can Money Buy?

Neubauer Program on Economics and National Security

Economic prospects in Israel influence national security and the capacity to attain strategic goals on issues ranging from the defense budget and the financial cost of conflicts to the political consequences of sanctions and boycotts and the impact of economic growth on stability in the neighboring Arab countries. With the understanding that economics constitute a major component of strategic analysis, the program focuses on the interface between economy, society, politics, and national security.

Other Research Programs:

- Israel and the Arab World
- Center for Applied Negotiations
- Israel: An Emerging Energy Giant
- Israel and Global Trends 2030





Ephraim Asculai
Yair Evron
Bruno Tertrais




Dan Halutz

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EVENTS

INSS sponsors both public conferences and closed seminars dealing with key issues on Israel's national security agenda and the stability of the Middle East. Most are held at INSS and feature leading experts and invited professionals from Israel and abroad.

The annual international conference series "Security Challenges of the 21st Century" draws renowned government, diplomatic, military, and media figures from Israel and abroad. Highlights of the 2013 conference included Israel's first public statement on the use of chemical weapons in Syria, and the "Working Man Speech" by Finance Minister Yair Lapid. Most of the sessions of the two-day conference were devoted to presentation and deliberation of INSS policy recommendations on the leading national security issues.

To mark forty years since the Yom Kippur War, INSS held a series of conferences on this seminal event in Israel's political, social, diplomatic, and military history. One conference session brought together Eli Zeira, head of Military Intelligence in 1973, and Zvi Zamir, head of the Mossad at the time, and one conference was devoted to the US diplomatic involvement in 1973 and the implications for subsequent US policy in the Middle East.

At the annual conference sponsored by the Arms Control and Regional Security Program in 2013, "The Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime at a Crossroads," speakers from Israel, the US, and Europe debated the future of the NPT and related nonproliferation efforts, against the background of the Iranian threat and North Korea's ongoing nuclear activity. The keynote address was delivered by Rose E. Gottemoeller, Acting Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security, US Department of State.

In addition to a conference on the Yom Kippur war, the Military and Strategic Affairs Program sponsored three main events in 2013: the second annual conference on the cyber arena, which focused on the challenges of cyberspace to the financial sector; an annual conference sponsored with the International Red Cross on challenges of warfare in densely populated areas; and an annual conference on aerial threats and air defense.

Additional events were devoted to twenty years since the signing of the Oslo accords; Israel's natural gas opportunities; and an international conference on Iran, which included remarks by former Mossad head Meir Dagan. Other forums, including seminars and strategic dialogues, allowed INSS researchers to exchange ideas with colleagues and experts from the United States, India, Germany, France, Russia, and China. These events were joined by many other conferences connected to the research areas pursued at INSS.

IN THE MEDIA







THE WALL STREET JOURNAL. WSJ

Wall Street Journal

Israel, Jordan, Palestinians to Sign Water Agreement December 9, 2013

Oded Eran on the water-supply agreement signed by Israel, Jordan, and the PA: "This is very important. It doesn't change the geopolitics of the Middle East, but it changes the infrastructure map. Once nations have concrete economic interests to protect, they become more interested in peace and security."

FP Foreign Policy

Foreign Policy

As Egypt Roils, Israel Watches

July 8, 2013

Mark Heller on the overthrow of the Morsi regime in Egypt: "What's complicated is that there's no denying the deep hostility of every Islamist movement, including the Muslim Brotherhood, to Israel. But it's also true that the other political forces in Egypt, including those simplistically described as liberal or secular, are often no less hostile."



TIME

TIME

Beirut Bombing: Is Lebanon Edging Back Toward Civil War? December 27, 2013

Benedetta Berti on the ongoing violence in Lebanon: "This is a conversation carried out through bombs. It's hard to see it as anything else than a signaling – which is not a new game; we've seen this over and over."

FARS News Agency

Iran to Display 12 New Home-Made Cyber Products Saturday December 14, 2013

"Israel's Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) in an October article by Gabi Siboni wrote that clearly the capabilities of the IRGC make Iran one of the most advanced nations in the field of cyberspace warfare."



Chicago Tribune

Netanyahu to Urge Caution in Obama Response to Iranian Overtures

September 24, 2013

Emily Landau on negotiations with Iran: "Israel is in the position of being on the outside of the negotiating room, continually telling those inside that they have to be really, really careful. If Israel was taking part in the talks you might hear less rhetoric from Netanyahu, as he would be in more of a position to actually impact the direction of the talks."

New York Times

Israel and Turkey in Talks over Deadly Flotilla Raid May 6, 2013

Gallia Lindenstrauss on Israel-Turkey relations: "This is not so much about going back to the old alliance but about lowering the level of hostility between the two countries."

New Republic

Israel Doesn't Need America on D-Day

October 23, 2013

From an interview with Amos Yadlin: "Rouhani is a new phenomenon in the Iranian regime. But we need to keep in mind that he is not a reformist. He is the flesh and blood of the radical Iranian regime."

Financial Times

Israel Fears Being Left Alone to Counter Iran Nuclear Programme September 2, 2013

Yoel Guzansky: "Will the US back its own red lines and do something about Iran? The answer after Obama's speech is no – we are alone. That's a very basic feeling – this is what people here think."

EXECUTIVE TEAM



AMOS YADLIN, Executive Director of INSS

General (ret.) Amos Yadlin assumed the position of Director of INSS in November 2011. Following a term as head of Military Intelligence, he retired in 2010 from the IDF after more than forty years of service. Among his previous positions, he served as deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, Israel's military attaché in Washington, and commander of the IDF Military Colleges and the National Defense College. He participated in the Yom Kippur War, Operation Peace for the Galilee, and Operation Tammuz – the destruction of the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. General (ret.) Yadlin has written on national security, force development, intelligence, civil-military relations, and the military ethics of fighting terror.



UDI DEKEL, Deputy Director

Brig. Gen. (ret.) Dekel was head of the negotiations team with the Palestinians in the Annapolis process. His last post in the IDF was head of Strategic Planning in the Planning Directorate of the General Staff. At INSS his research focuses on decision making processes in Israel; the peace process; and strategic trends in the Middle East.



ORLY HAYARDENY, Deputy Director for Finance and Development

Ms. Hayardeny has extensive experience in the financial and business sector. Before coming to INSS she served as Chief Financial Officer at FIBI Holdings Ltd, which holds the First International Bank of Israel (FIBI). She also serves as a director in public and private companies.



ANAT KURZ, Director of Research

Dr. Kurz has lectured and published widely on insurgency-related issues, sub-state political organizations, and terrorism as a strategy of warfare. Her research focuses on sub-state conflict resolution and the Palestinian national movement, and she is active in Track II talks on the Middle East peace process. She co-edited the annual *Strategic Survey for Israel* series (2009-2013).

RESEARCH TEAM



OWEN ALTERMAN

Mr. Alterman specializes in Israel's relations with the United States and other issues of geopolitics and strategic planning. A lawyer by training, he has extensive experience in both the private and non-profit sectors and has worked in a variety of international settings, from the law firm of Allen & Overy LLP to the US Peace Corps.



EPHRAIM ASCULAI

Dr. Asculai worked at the Israel Atomic Energy Commission for over forty years, including a term at the International Atomic Energy Agency. He participated in the deliberations toward conclusion of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and worked on the establishment of its verification mechanism. His research focuses on strategies for stemming WMD proliferation.



YEHUDA BEN MEIR

A psychologist and an attorney, Dr. Ben Meir was a member of Knesset and deputy minister of foreign affairs in the Begin and Shamir governments. Editor of *INSS Insight*, he directs the National Security and Public Opinion Project at INSS. His fields of expertise are civil-military relations and public opinion in Israel.



AZRIEL BERMANT

Dr. Bermant specializes in US arms control policy, NATO missile defense policy, and nuclear weapons proliferation. He is also an expert on Israel's relations with Europe, and wrote his doctoral thesis on Margaret Thatcher and the Arab-Israeli conflict. For nearly a decade he worked as a writer, editor, and translator for Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



BENEDETTA BERTI

Dr. Berti specializes in terrorism and political violence in the Middle East, focusing specifically on political integration of armed groups, democratization, and social movements and civil society, as well as Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian politics. She is a Young Atlanticist at the Atlantic Council, and a member of the faculty at Tel Aviv University.



SHLOMO BROM

Former director of strategic planning in the IDF General Staff, Brig. Gen. (ret.) Brom participated in peace negotiations with the Palestinians, Jordan, and Syria, and served as deputy to the national security advisor. He directs the INSS program on Israeli-Palestinian relations, and he co-edited the *Strategic Survey for Israel* series (2009-2013).

UZI EILAM

Brig. Gen. (ret.) Eilam's extensive military career spanned combat and command experience. He served as head of military R&D at IDF headquarters, and was director general of the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission. His areas of expertise are the European defense concept and its defense industry, and military R&D in general.



MEIR ELRAN

Brig. Gen. (ret.) Elran served as deputy head of IDF Military Intelligence and senior advisor in Israel's National Security Council and several government ministries. His fields of research are Israel's home front, national resilience, and domestic issues related to national security. He directs the INSS program on homeland security.





ODED ERAN

Dr. Eran served as World Jewish Congress Representative in Israel and Secretary General of the WJC Israel Branch. He was Israel's ambassador to the European Union (covering NATO as well); Israel's ambassador to Jordan; and head of Israel's negotiations team with the Palestinians. He directs the INSS programs on US-Israel relations and Israel's energy resources.



SHMUEL EVEN

An economist specializing in Middle East security issues, Dr. Even is a strategic and economic consultant to government offices and private companies in Israel. His publications deal with Middle East economies, Israel's defense budget, the world oil market, intelligence, and terrorism. He has also written about cyber security and cyber strategies for Israel.





YAIR EVRON

Prof. Evron has taught international relations at Tel Aviv University, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and leading universities abroad. He has published extensively on international politics, strategic affairs, the Arab-Israeli conflict, nuclear proliferation, arms control, and international security regimes.

YORAM EVRON

Dr. Evron's research focuses on China's security policy, military policy, and Middle East policies, and Israel-China relations. Dr. Evron is a faculty member in Asian Studies at Haifa University, and lectures on China's foreign affairs and defense policy, the development of China's armed forces, Middle Eastern militaries, and Israel-China relations.



YOEL GUZANSKY

Mr. Guzansky joined INSS after coordinating work on the Iranian nuclear challenge at the National Security Council. He helped devise a public diplomacy strategy with regard to Iran, and dealt with integration of intelligence assessments and a national security assessment vis-à-vis Iran. At INSS his research focuses on the Gulf states, Iran, and inter-Arab issues.





DAVID FRIEDMAN

Dr. Friedman served in the IDF and Israel's Ministry of Defense for nearly twenty-five years, and was responsible for R&D projects in the field of chemical and biological defense. His research focuses on nonconventional terrorism, with particular attention to strategies for confronting bioterrorism and preventing the proliferation of biological weapons to terrorist groups.

MARK A. HELLER

A principal research associate at INSS and editor of *Strategic Assessment*, Dr. Heller has taught international relations at Tel Aviv University and at leading universities in the United States. He has written extensively on Middle Eastern political and strategic issues. His areas of expertise include Israeli-Palestinian relations and Euro-Mediterranean affairs.





NADIA HILOU

Ms. Hilou, who was the first Christian Arab woman member of Knesset, served as a member of the seventeenth Knesset as a representative from the Labor Party, and served as head of the national unit on the advancement of women in the local government and as deputy head of Naamat Israel on the subject of co-existence. At INSS she works on issues related to the Israeli Arab population and improving Jewish-Arab relations in Israel.

EPHRAIM KAM

Dr. Kam served as assistant head of the research division of IDF Military Intelligence. His fields of expertise are the Iranian challenge, Arab states' security problems, the US entanglement in Iraq, strategic intelligence, and Israel's national security issues. Dr. Kam served as deputy director of INSS for twenty years.





EMILY B. LANDAU

Dr. Landau's research focuses on new trends in arms control thinking, particularly regarding nuclear proliferation, Middle East regional security, the Iranian threat, and the challenge from North Korea. Director of the Arms Control and Regional Security Program, she teaches at Tel Aviv University and the University of Haifa, and is active in Track II meetings and conferences.

GALLIA LINDENSTRAUSS

Dr. Lindenstrauss specializes in Turkish foreign policy, ethnic conflicts, ethno-national diasporas, and military interventions. She lectures at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya. As a post-doctoral fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations at Hebrew University, Dr. Lindenstrauss studied the Armenian diaspora.

ZVI MAGEN

An expert on Russia and Russian interests in the Middle East, Amb. Magen joined INSS following a long career in Israel's Foreign Ministry. He served as ambassador to the Ukraine and to Russia. For several years he served as head of the Nativ organization (Israel's liaison group for the FSU and Jewish diaspora affairs).



KOBI MICHAEL

A senior lecturer at Ariel University in the Department of Political Science and a senior research fellow at INSS, Dr. Michael focuses on peace and war studies, strategy, national security, civil-military relations, peacekeeping operations, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He served as the Deputy Director General and the Head of the Palestinian Division at the Ministry of Strategic Affairs. Dr. Michael has published widely and is the recipient of several academic prizes.





YAIR NAVEH

With the approval of Defense Minister Moshe Yaalon and Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Benny Gantz, Maj. Gen. Yair Naveh has been seconded from the IDF to the INSS research staff as a distinguished visiting senior fellow. In his most recent post in the IDF, Maj. Gen. Naveh served as Deputy Chief of Staff. His work at INSS will focus on Israel's security concept and the IDF; home front defense policy; and socio-military relations.



ORIT PERLOV

A social media analyst, Ms. Perlov follows and analyzes the discourse on the social networks in Arab states. Prior to joining INSS, she served as a political adviser to the Israeli Ambassador at Large based with the informal Israeli mission in the GCC. She is the former co-editor of the Israeli Foreign Ministry website in Arabic.





YORAM SCHWEITZER

An expert on global jihad, Mr. Schweitzer has lectured and published widely on international terrorism and anti-terrorism strategy. His fields of research include the "Afghan alumni" phenomenon, al-Qaeda and its operational strategies, suicide terrorism, and state-sponsored terrorism. He is director of the Program on Terrorism and Low Intensity Conflict.

ZAKI SHALOM

A senior researcher at the Ben-Gurion Research Institute of Ben-Gurion University and at INSS, Prof. Shalom has published extensively on various facets of Israel's defense policy, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the role of the superpowers in the Middle East. The author of several books, his work has also focused on the study of Israel's nuclear option.



YIFTAH S. SHAPIR

Formerly an officer in the Israel Air Force, Mr. Shapir directs the Middle East Military Balance Project, which appears in full on the INSS website. His areas of expertise are the region's force structures, weapons acquisition, trends in military development, ballistic missiles, and space assets.



PNINA SHARVIT BARUCH

Col. (ret.) Sharvit Baruch, an expert on the laws of armed conflict, retired from the IDF after serving in the International Law Department, including as head of the Department. She served as a legal advisor for negotiations with the Palestinians, and she participated in negotiations with Syria. She teaches at Tel Aviv University and at the National Security College.

GABI SHEFFER

A professor of political science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Prof. Sheffer's fields of expertise include Israeli leadership; Israel-Jewish diaspora relations; socio-military relations in Israel; and the impact of existential threats. At INSS he coordinates a forum on relations between social sectors and the military and defense establishments in Israel.



GILEAD SHER

Mr. Sher was Chief of Staff and Policy Coordinator under Prime Minister Barak. He served as co-chief negotiator at the Camp David summit and the Taba talks, as well as in extensive rounds of covert negotiations. A lawyer by profession, his research at INSS focuses on the Palestinian issue, conflict resolution, Israel's security policy, and regional dynamics.



GABI SIBONI

Editor of the *Military and Strategic Affairs* journal, Dr. Siboni is director of the Military and Strategic Affairs Program and the Cyber Warfare Program. His expertise combines the fields of security, military, and operational consulting with information technology, and his research focuses on military strategy and operations, and IDF force deployment and development.





SHIMON STEIN

An international consultant serving Israeli, American, and German companies, Amb. Stein served as Israeli ambassador to Germany. Prior to this appointment he served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as deputy director general for the CIS, as well as Eastern and Central Europe. He held additional MFA posts in Washington and Germany as well as in Israel.



YOAV ZACKS

Col. (ret.) Yoav Zacks launched and heads the program on Technology Forecasting and Policy Implications. He has a rich background in research, development, and management in many security-related ground and aerial projects, and in recent years acquired practical experience in business ventures related to nanotechnology. Col. (ret.) Zacks served at the Defense Ministry as a member of the R&D Directorate and was part of the team at the Israeli embassy in the United States.

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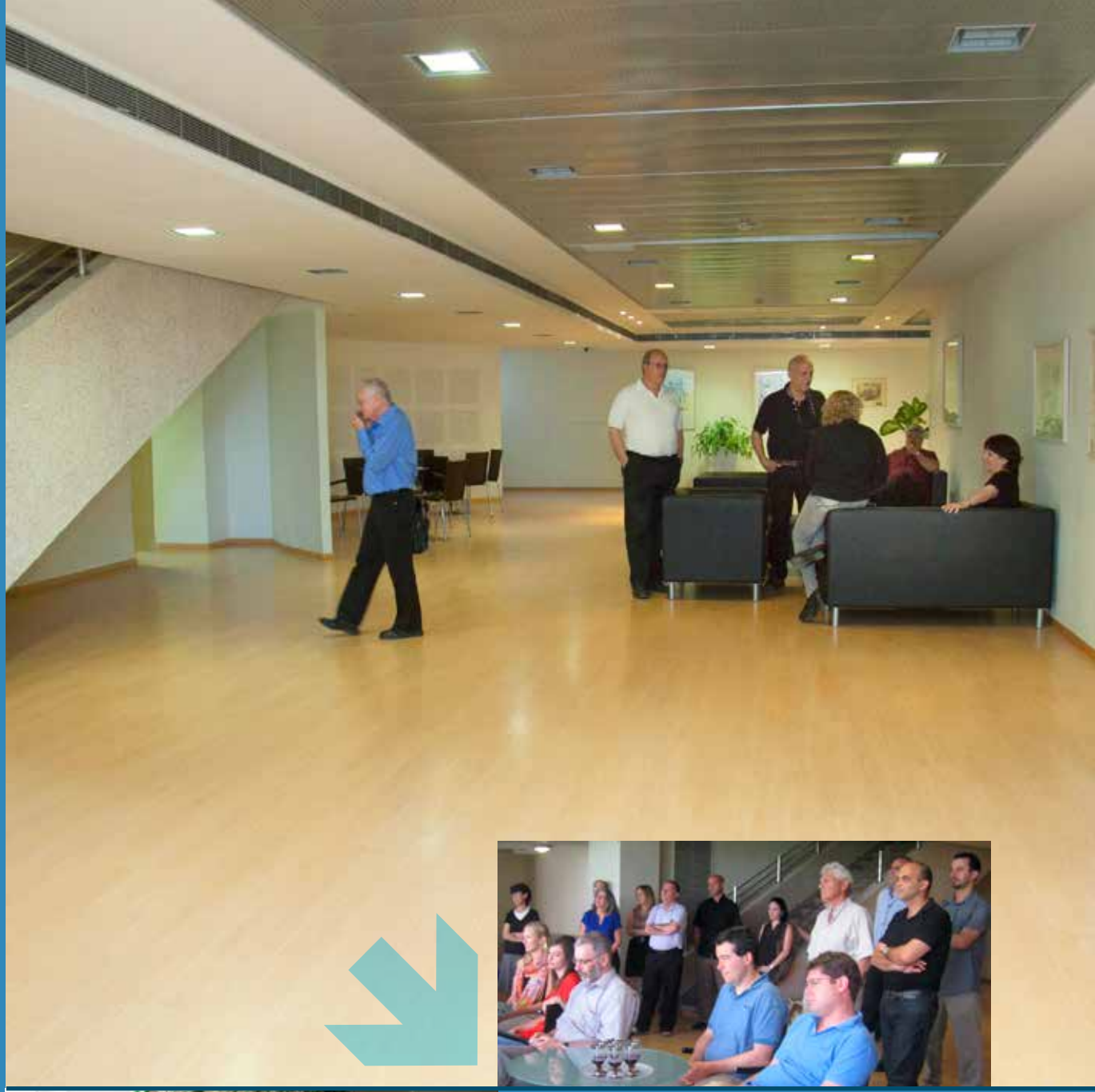
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Photography: Itzik Biran, Gilad Luria Givon,
Deborah Oppenheimer, Kobi Pinhas, Assaf Shilo
Graphic Design: Yael Kfir, Michal Semo-Kovetz,
TAU Graphic Design Studio
Printing: Elinir
January 2014

המכון למחקרי ביטחון לאומי
THE INSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES
INCORPORATING THE JAFFEE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES
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