
Index

Note: Initial articles, including Arabic al- and el-, with or without hyphens, are ignored in alphabetization.

- Abbas, Mahmud (Abu Mazen), 70
 as Palestinian Authority president, 205–206, 207
 as Palestinian Authority prime minister, 11
 Palestinian Authority reform and, 248
 set up for failure by Arafat, 145–146
- Abu Alla (Karia, Ahmad), 65, 145, 147
- Acton, Lord, 230, 231
- Agha, Hussein, 234
- Agranat Commission, 49, 53–54, 158, 161–162
- Ahdut Ha'avoda Party, 226
- Ahrens, Moshe, 166
- Albright, Madeleine, 85, 236
- Algeria, war casualties of, 210
- Almog, Doron, 37–39, 92, 110
- Alon, Igal, 162
- Alper, Yossi, 207
- Altelena* (ship), sinking of, 24
- Amidror, Ya'akov, 73, 243
- Al-Aqsa intifada. *See also* Operation Defensive Shield
 Arafat as instigator of, 241–242
 catalysts for, 98–99
 character of, 99–100
 civil-military relations and, 197–201
 conscientious objection and, 186–187
 as continuation of negotiations, 243
 as continuation of War of Independence, 143, 252
 disengagement plan for, 202–206
 divided political-military dialogue of, 126
 economic impact of, 208
 escalation of violence following 9/11 attacks, 247–248
 indecision of, 210
 Israel Defense Forces and, 91–107
 behavior during, 241–246
 containment of Palestinian Authority objectives, 207–208
 easing of restrictions in occupied territories, 110–111, 120, 147, 229–230
 violence and IDF attitudes, 98
 Israeli security culture and, 209–210, 231
 as low-intensity conflict, 123
 Mofaz's handling of as CGS, 137
 outbreak of, 8, 72, 241
 outcome of, 197–211
 Palestinian Authority and, 104
 policy toward, 11
 political-military relations during, 123, 211

- Al-Aqsa intifada (*cont.*)
 as popular uprising, 242–243, 247
 regularization of, 200, 249
 stages of, 247–250
 as “Thousand Day War,” 145
 wins and losses in, 207–211
- Arab-Israeli relations. *See also* Israeli-Palestinian conflict
 CGS views of, 52
 first circle states in, 36–37
 IDF influence on policy, 35–36
 Netanyahu’s Cold War perspective on, 77–78
 political-military relations in, 260
- Arad, Uzi, 259–260
- Arafat, Yasser
 Barak distrust of, 235–237, 239–240
 Camp David Summit
 forced participation in, 236–237
 inflexibility of, 239–240, 241
 responsibility for failure of, 100, 234
 death of, 249
 Dichter on, 245
 Gilead on, 91, 97, 100
 intifada as protest against, 242
 Israel Defense Forces and
 assessment of, 97–98
 failure to implement agreements with, 106
 mixed view of, 111–112
 nonimplementation of agreements with, 85
 Palestinian criticism of, 248
 peace policy as political tactic, 73
 questioned motivation of, 92
 Rabin meeting with, 70
 setting Abbas up for failure, 145–146
 Sharon’s distrust of, 109
 strategy of, 97, 147, 242–243, 247–248
 “unmasking” of, 100–102
 Ya’alon on, 139
- Arens, Moshe, 42, 44, 133, 166–167
- Arieli, Shaul, 65–66, 69, 106–107, 222
- Arikat, Saab, 101, 102
- Ashkenzi Jews, 20
- al-Assad, Bashar, 151, 152
- al-Assad, Hafez, 43–44, 93–94, 151
- assassinations, 35, 129. *See also* targeted
 preventions/assassinations
- Association for Civil Rights, 175
- Authority Given* (Bergman), 245
- Ayalon, Ami, 101, 189, 198, 215, 231
- Baker, James, 33
- Barak, Aharon, 172
- Barak, Ehud, 10, 42, 116, 139
 as accommodationist, 236
 on Arafat, 100–102, 235–242
 Ben-Ami on, 238
 Camp David Summit and, 70, 97–98, 100–102, 234–237
 as career officer, 81
 compared with Ben-Gurion, 98
 criticism of Oslo Accords, 64–65
 decision making of, 255
 as director of Military Intelligence, 52, 53
 fall of government, 103, 109
 Mofaz and, 93–96, 103–105
 opposing Netanyahu, 83, 89–90
 “peace directorate” of, 65–66
 peace negotiations with Syria, 93–94
 peace process and, 91–96, 225
 political-military relations under, 25, 60, 89–90, 103–107
 Rabin and, 236
 security culture of, 236
 withdrawal from Lebanon and, 94–96, 125, 255
- Barlev, Chaim, 82, 157

- Begin, Menachem, 24
 Egyptian peace negotiations under, 163–165
 as minister of defense, 29
 political career of Weizman and, 82
 response to Sadat's peace initiative, 254–255
- Beilin, Yossi, 198
 on failure of Camp David summit, 234
 on Military Intelligence Directorate negotiating role, 54–55
 Oslo Accords negotiations and, 63
 on peace process, 225–226
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, 99, 106–107, 222, 238
- Ben-Eliezer, Benjamin , 47, 90
 on approach to Palestinian Authority, 112
 campaign against Netanyahu, 83
 on easing of restrictions in Palestinian territories, 120
 weakness as defense minister, 114–115
- Ben-Eliezer, Uri , 21–22
- Ben-Gurion, David
 Barak compared with, 98
 on civil-military relations, 24–25
 Dayan and, 82
 establishment of IDF, 24, 28
 on foreign policy serving defense policy, 47
 limited territorial capture of, 227
 Rabin as disciple of, 34
 war with Egypt, 161
 withdrawal from Sinai peninsula and, 160–161, 255
- Ben-Meir, Yehuda, 26–27
- Ben-Nun, Avihu, 42
- Ben-Yair, Michael, 189–190
- Bergman, Ronan, 245–246
- Berlin Wall, fall of, 3
- Between Battles and Ballots: Israeli Military in Politics* (Peri), 14, 26, 29
- Biran, Ilan, 68–69
- Bland, Douglas, 257
- blitz combat, 126
- body language, of Rabin, 239
- buffer zone, creation of, 119
- Bush, George H. W., 34
- Bush, George W.
 agreement to Arafat's political neutralization, 114
 discussions of disengagement plan with, 203
 road map for peace, 26, 144–145, 202
- cabinet meetings, IDF participation in, 69
- cabinet ministers, reserve officers as, 81
- Camp David summit (July 2000), 233–250
 criticism of U.S. management of negotiations, 234
 failure of, 12, 97–98, 100–102, 234
 Israeli attitude toward Palestinian concerns, 235
 Israeli delegates to, 233–234
 security culture and, 231, 233–241
- Canada, military command structure of, 155
- Carmi, Ra'ad, 248
- Carmi, Shulamit, 18
- Center Party, 83, 89
- chief of general staff (CGS)
 counterinsurgency warfare and, 122
 as “defense establishment,” 85
 participation in cabinet meetings, 69, 156
 as political actor, 155–169
 political relationships of, 9, 53, 158–159
 political tools of, 47–48
 power of, 155–160

- chief of general staff (CGS) (*cont.*)
 - responsibilities of, 155–156
 - role in occupied territories, 29
 - Supreme Court nullifying decisions of, 172
- Chinese Red Army, 28
- Churchill, Winston, 28
- Civil Control of the IDF* (Yaari), 27
- civil disobedience, 192. *See also* conscientious objection
- civilians. *See also* public opinion
 - low-intensity warfare and, 12, 178–183
 - permissible harm to, 182
 - targeted killings and, 179
 - as war casualties, 3, 40
 - wars shaping consciousness of, 4
- civilizations, clash of, 77
- civil-military relations, 17–32. *See also* political-military relations
 - Ben-Gurion on, 24–25
 - changing nature of, 4–9, 40
 - civilian supremacy in. *See* military, civilian control of
 - complexity of, 255
 - flaws in, 27
 - initiatives for compromise with Palestine, 198–199
 - limits on military political power, 4–5
 - as partnership, 27
 - permeable boundaries in, 7, 23–24, 82, 215–216
 - second intifada and, 197–201
 - in United States, 214
- Civil-Military Relations in Israel* (Ben-Meir), 26
- Clinton, Bill
 - on Barak, 240
 - Camp David Summit and, 97, 100, 235
 - failed Geneva summit with al-Assad, 93
 - parameters for peace agreement, 104
- cognitive militarism, 20–21
- Cohen, Eliot, 28, 139
- Cold War, 3, 77–78
- colonialism
 - internal, in Israeli society, 20
- communism, fall of, 33
- conflict
 - dimensions of, in counterinsurgency warfare, 252
 - low-intensity. *See* low-intensity conflict (LIC)
 - reconciliation and resolution of, 238–239
- Congo, civil war in, 3
- conscientious objection, 185–196
 - changing nature of, 185
 - civil disobedience vs., 192
 - first intifada and, 186
 - Israel Defense Forces
 - air force pilots and, 193–194
 - damaging apolitical character of, 191
 - incitement to refuse to serve and, 192
 - reaction of, 189
 - reserve officers and, 187, 194–195
 - war against Palestine and, 186–187, 188
 - Lebanon War and, 186, 187
 - legal aspects of, 190–192
 - legitimization of, 187
 - letter of the twelfth graders, 185
 - militaristic, 192
 - opposition to, 190–191
 - Peace Now movement, 185
 - as political statement, 191
 - political support for, 189–190
 - in second intifada, 186–187
 - selective, 185–190, 190–191

- conservatism, military, 221–222, 244, 255–256
- containment, policy of, 126
- Cooperwasser, Yossi, 151
- Council for Peace and Security, 125
- counterinsurgency warfare
- conciliation and, 254
 - dimensions of conflict in, 252
 - harmful effects of, 220
 - of Israel Defense Forces, 11, 122, 220
 - political-military relations in, 257
 - war against Palestinians as, 182–183
- Cuban Army, 28
- curfews, economic impact of, 147
- Dagan, Avi, 180
- Dagan, Me'ir, 151
- Dahaniya airfield, 106
- Dahlan, Muhammad, 74, 99, 145
- Dayan, Moshe, 11, 47
- alliance with France and United Kingdom, 161
 - Ben-Gurion and political career of, 82
 - decision making of, 255
 - as defense minister, 163
 - diplomatic role of, 58
 - political weakness following Yom Kippur War, 162
 - prestige as defense minister, 114
 - on war with Egypt, 161
 - withdrawal from Sinai and, 157, 160–161, 166
- Dayan, Uzi, 26
- as accommodationist, 74
 - as head of National Security Council, 103–104
 - implementation of Oslo Accords and, 65
 - on political-military relations, 95, 257
 - as successor to Mofaz, 121
- decision making, governmental
- characteristics of, 67–68
 - IDF shaping public opinion in, 70–72
 - Planning and Policy Directorate and, 67–69
 - political-military relations and, 68, 213, 255
- defense budget, 149–150, 156
- defense doctrine, Israeli. *See* security culture, Israeli
- defense minister
- military influence of, 47, 153
 - military reform and power of defense ministry, 260
 - political relationships of, 159
 - prime minister as, 47
 - weakness of position under Sharon, 114
- democracy, Israel as, 18, 19
- Dichter, Avi, 148, 245
- diplomacy
- military role in, 28, 58–61
 - security culture vs., 47, 218, 251
- director of military intelligence (DMI)
- influence on military, 52
 - responsibilities of, 49–50
 - status of, 54
- disengagement strategy
- following Yom Kippur War, 58
 - for second intifada, 202–206, 209, 255
 - unilateral withdrawal in, 249
 - Ya'alon opposition to, 202–204
- draft dodging, increase in, 40, 41
- Drori, Amir, 158
- Drori, Zeev, 256
- Eban, Abba, 55
- Egypt
- as first circle threat to Israel, 36

- Egypt (*cont.*)
 peace negotiations with, 163–165, 255
 peace treaty of 1979, 36, 37–38, 166
 Soviet Union collapse impacting, 33, 36
 war with, 123, 161
- Eiland, Giora, 128, 259
- Eisencott, Gadi, 231
- Eitam, Ephraim, 133–134, 165, 215
- Eitan, Itzik, 110
- Eitan, Rafael, 29, 84, 158–159
- Elazar, David, 53, 59, 161
- Elon Moreh, 158
- entrepreneurism, political, 82
- Eshkol, Levi, 47, 57
- ethnocracy, Israel as, 19–20
- Europe, views of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 252
- Eytan, Walter, 58
- Fatah (organization), 247
- fighters, irregular, 4
- Finer, Samuel, 5–6, 23
- Finkelstein, Menachem, 177
- Fishman, Alex, 88
- Fletcher shells, 173–174
- Fogel, Zvi, 99
- Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee (Knesset), 47, 50, 55–56, 193, 261
- Foreign Ministry, IDF conflict with, 114–116
- foreign policy
 Arab states and. *See* Arab-Israeli relations
 European views of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, 252
 justification for, 19
 military vs. diplomatic approaches to, 217–219
 security culture and, 216–218
 serving defense policy, 47
 fourth-generation warfare, 4
 France, Israeli military alliance with, 161
- Gallon, Zahava, 177–178
- al-Gamasy, Abdel Ghani, 59
- garrison-state hypothesis, 17–18
- Gaza Strip, 180, 202–203, 209
- Gazit, Shlomo, 29, 51, 164
- General Security Service (GSS), 60, 112
- General Staff. *See also* chief of general staff (CGS)
 conflict with Barak over peace process, 91
 cooling-off period for political service, 133, 262
 early enthusiasm for peace negotiations, 96, 213
 failure of Camp David talks and attitude of, 98
 generals as proconsuls, 8
 hard-liners vs. accommodationists, 72–76, 91, 98, 215
 opposition to Taba talks, 102
 organization of, 63
 political role of, 7–8, 29–30
 public criticism of Sharon's policies, 111
 responsibilities of, 155
- Geneva Convention, Fourth
 civilian casualties and, 182
- Gilboa, Amos, 215
- Gilead, Amos, 200
 on failure of Camp David summit, 234
 as hard-liner, 73, 243
 negative assessment of Arafat, 91, 97, 100, 113
 predicting violence following Camp David Summit, 241, 242

- Gilead, Amos (*cont.*)
 on prevention of terrorist attacks,
 148
- Gilon, Carmi, 65, 73
- Ginossar, Yossi, 73
- Golan Heights, 59
- Golani, Motti, 22, 161
- Goldstein, Baruch, 68
- “Grapes of Wrath” operation, 92
- Greater Israel, IDF support for,
 166–169, 215
- Gulf War (1991)
 Iraqi missile attack on Israel, 33,
 39, 42–43
 political-military relations in, 28
 Syrian participation in, 33
 U.S. opposition to Israeli partici-
 pation in, 39, 166
- Gur, Mordechai, 11, 139
 negotiations with Syria, 162
 on occupied territories, 227
 opposition to peace treaty with
 Egypt, 163–165, 166, 255
 opposition to withdrawal from
 Sinai peninsula, 161–165
 political posture of, 162–163,
 167–168
 Sebastia Affair and, 168–169
 Weizman’s attempt to fire, 164
- Gush Emunim settlement, 168–169
- Ha’aretz* (newspaper)
 criticism of IDF, 72, 117–118
 criticism of Ya’alon, 142, 250
 on divided military opinion about
 intifada, 243
 on Israeli militarism, 22
 Mofaz interview in, 105
 public perceptions of Palestinians
 and, 246
 Ya’alon interview in, 201
- Haganah, as revolutionary army, 28
- al-Haj, Majed, 22
- Halevy, Ephraim, 26, 54, 260
- Halutz, Dan, 180–181, 255, 262
- Hamas, 179
 Arafat cooperation with, 112
 harsh IDF measures strengthening,
 197–198
 Palestinian Authority restraint of,
 145, 222
- al-Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount),
 97, 98–99
- Harel, Amos, 101
- Harkabi, Yehoshafat, 217–218
- Hasmonaean tunnel, 91–92
- Hasson, Israel, 73
- Hawaja, land seizure in, 158
- Hebron Accord (1997), 65, 68, 92
- Hebron massacre (1994), 68
- helicopters, civilian deaths and use
 of, 180
- Herut Party, 226
- Herzliya Conference, Institute for
 Policy and Strategy, 259
- Herzog, Mike, 244
- Heshin, Mishael, 172–173
- Hirsch, Gal, 116
- Hirschfeld, Yair, 68
- Hizbullah
 attacks on IDF personnel (1999),
 94
 IDF failure to eradicate, 83–84
 on Israeli withdrawal from
 Lebanon, 96
 Palestinian Authority restraint of,
 222
 separation from Palestinian strug-
 gle, 248
 spiderweb theory of, 140, 202, 208
 success in Lebanon, 39
 Syrian peace negotiations weaken-
 ing, 151
- Ho Chi Minh, 210
- Hudin, Charles, 257
- hudna* (truce), 145, 146, 206

- human rights organizations, 174, 175, 181
- human shields, 174–175, 179
- Huntington, Samuel, 5, 23, 27, 28, 77
- Hussein, Saddam, 56
- Hussein (King of Jordan), 36, 54, 206
- IDF. *See* Israel Defense Forces (IDF)
- incitement, prosecution for, 192
- Indyk, Martin, 68–69
- Institute for Policy and Strategy, Herzliya Conference of, 259
- intelligence, military. *See* military intelligence
- International Court of Justice, 217
- intifada
- definition of, 174
 - first (1987)
 - conscientious objection and, 186
 - impact on Israel, 33–36
 - lessons of, 123
 - war between nations vs. war between states, 34–35
 - political discourse and, 36, 126
 - political-military partnership and, 29
 - second. *See* Al-Aqsa intifada
- Iran and Iraq, as outer circle threats to Israel, 37
- Iraq War (2002–), 38, 56
- Iron Curtain, collapse of, 3
- Isacharoff, Avi, 101
- Islamic Jihad, 112, 145, 222
- Israel
- coalition government of, 59
 - as democracy, 18, 19, 23
 - economic impact of intifada on, 208
 - as ethnocracy, 19–20
 - geostrategic transformation of, 33–45
 - limits to power of, 39
 - militarism of, 17–28
 - as nation in arms, 19, 21–23, 29, 171, 195
 - need for civil culture in, 263
 - Palestinian denial of right to exist, 251
 - patriotism in, 173
 - prestate period in, 28–29
 - relations with Arab states. *See* Arab-Israeli relations
 - relations with U.S. *See* United States–Israeli relations
 - responsibility for failure of Camp David summit, 234
 - security culture of. *See* security culture, Israeli
 - values of, 15, 39–42
 - Western vs. Soviet alliances and, 18
- Israel Defense Forces (IDF). *See also* chief of general staff (CGS); General Staff
- absence of integration with civilian staff, 155
 - changing public attitudes toward, 39–41
 - as citizen army, 17–18, 23–24, 39, 82, 216, 256
 - civilian control of. *See* military, civilian oversight of
 - conduct of war by, 173–176
 - abuse of Palestinian civilians, 176–177
 - authority to open fire, 174
 - conscientious objection and, 188
 - counterinsurgency warfare, 11, 122, 220
 - decreasing violence and actions of, 208
 - external constraints in, 211
 - human rights objections to, 174–175
 - lack of accountability for Palestinian deaths, 177–178

- Israel Defense Forces (IDF) (*cont.*)
- conduct of war by
 - means of warfare and, 173–174
 - Palestinian political leaders as killing targets, 248
 - demilitarization of society by, 32
 - diplomatic role of, 28, 31–32, 58–61, 219–226
 - early political independence of, 17–18, 23
 - ethical code of, 181
 - geostrategic change and, 34–36
 - history of, 24–25, 28
 - influence of, 13, 17–18, 53, 70–72
 - 8200 Listening Unit, 56
 - media treatment of, 40, 71–72, 178
 - Oslo Accords and, 63–67
 - Palestinian occupation
 - disengagement plan, 202–206
 - influence on IDF, 229–231
 - limits of problem-solving power, 35–36
 - officers as military governors, 29
 - stereotyping by IDF, 245–246
 - peace negotiations and, 69–70, 96, 213–215
 - perception of war, 38
 - policymaking role of, 8–10, 166–167, 213–214
 - political ascendance of officers, 77–83
 - political role of. *See* political-military relations
 - privatization of functions, 195
 - professionalism of, 5, 23, 27–28, 79, 255
 - promoting changes in peace doctrine, 37–39
 - reform recommendations for, 192–195, 200–201, 258–260
 - refusal to follow Barak's instructions, 106–107
 - reserve forces
 - conscientious objection among, 187, 189, 193–194
 - officers as cabinet ministers, 81
 - reform proposals, 192–195
 - unfair burden of Palestinian war on, 194–195
 - School for Leadership Development, 245
 - second intifada and, 91–107, 241–246
 - security barrier controversy, 150–151
 - self-identity of, 195
 - southern Lebanon mission, criticism of, 83–84, 92–96
 - strategic planning monopoly of, 57
 - structure of, 155, 218, 244
 - support of "Greater Israel," 166–169
 - Supreme Command Orders of 1991, 48
 - technical superiority of, 38
 - unclear directives to, 128, 140, 258–259
- Israeli Bar Association, Committee for the Rule of Law and Human Rights, 175
- The Israeli Military and Israel's Palestinian Policy* (Peri), 14
- Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *See also* Al-Aqsa intifada; occupied territories
- alternative approaches to, 251–256
 - Arafat's goals for, 97
 - corrupting influence on IDF, 229–231
 - dimensions of, 251–252
 - dual nature of, 188–189
 - European views of, 252
 - failure of peace talks and, 12
 - inability of political leadership to resolve, 263

- Israeli-Palestinian conflict (*cont.*)
 peace negotiations. *See* peace process
 PLO initiatives for resolving, 33, 54
 political issues in, 30–31
 political-military relations and, 28–32
 Rabin on, 34–35
 as unjust war, 188–189
- Israel Security Agency (ISA), 50, 60, 97, 144, 148, 200
- Jabel Hillel–Jabel Charim security line, 165
- Janowitz, Morris, 5, 23, 27
- Jordan, as first circle threat to Israel, 36
- Jordan River, 75
- jus ad bellum* (legitimacy of war), 173, 188
- jus in bello* (conduct of military forces), 173–176, 188
- Kana, Lebanon, shelling of, 92, 93
- Karia, Ahmad (Abu Alla), 65, 145, 147
- Karin A* (arms ship), 114
- Karmi, Raad, 186
- Kasher, Assa, 181–182
- Kazenstein, Peter, 216
- Kemp, Kenneth, 257
- Kfar Haim, 142
- Kibbutz Gorfit, 142
- Kier, Elizabeth, 215
- killings, targeted. *See* targeted preventions/assassinations/assassinations
- Kimmerling, Baruch, 20–21
- Kissinger, Henry, 59, 162, 225
- kitchen cabinet, 67
- Klein, Menachem, 234
- Klieman, Aharon, 216, 238
- Knesset
 Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, 50, 55–56, 193, 261
 reserve officers in, 81
 Security and Foreign Affairs Committee, 55–56
 State Audit Committee, 261
- Kohn, Richard H., 214
- Kopervasser, Joseph, 243
- Krauthammer, Charles, 207
- Kriesberg, Louis, 238–239
- Labor (Mapai) Party, 82, 111, 132, 161
- land-for-peace formula, 263
- Lasswell, Harold, 17–18
- Lavie, Ephraim, 97–98, 100, 243
- Lebanon War
 aftermath of, 38
 conscientious objection and, 186, 187
 criticism of IDF conduct, 83–84, 92, 93
 failure of, 39
 “Grapes of Wrath” operation, 92
 shelling of Kana by Israel, 92, 93
 unilateral withdrawal from, 94–96, 125, 140–141, 166–167, 255
- letter of the twelfth graders, 185
- leverage, as military strategy, 116, 129
- Levi, Moshe, 166–167
- Levy, David, 103, 158
- Levy, Edmond, 181
- Levy, Yagil, 20, 22, 31–32
- Libya, as outer circle threat to Israel, 37
- Likud Party, 10, 35, 83, 133
- Lipkin-Shahak, Amnon. *See* Shahak, Amnon Lipkin-
- Livnat, Limor, 192
- low-intensity conflict (LIC), 4
 civilian focus of, 12, 178–183, 197–198
 concept of, 123–129

- low-intensity conflict (LIC) (*cont.*)
 containment policy in, 126
 definition of, 124
 loss of public support for, 197–199
 military's ability to win, 171
 as new military doctrine, 123–124
 political-military relations in,
 28–29, 31, 123–135
 political objectives of, 124, 127
 purity of arms debate and, 178
 purpose of, 125
 “thorny field” strategy for, 96, 99
 unilateral withdrawal under,
 123–124
 unity of effort in, 143–144
 Ya'alon's concept of, 140–144
- Maarachot* (military journal), 210, 245
Ma'ariv (newspaper), 86
machtropolitik paradigm, 220
 Madrid Peace Conference (1991), 34
 Maklef, Mordechai, 58
 Malka, Amos
 on Arafat, 97, 100, 113
 on causes of intifada, 243–244
 Malley, Robert, 234, 240
 Mao Tse-tung, 252
 Mapai (Labor) Party, 82, 111, 132, 161
 maps
 for peace, Gur opposition to, 167
 security interests, 75–76
 Marking of Vital Information (MVI),
 50
 martyrs (*shahids*), 130
 materialist militarism, 20
 media
 coverage of military, 40, 71, 72, 178
 criticism of Oslo Accords, 72
 criticism of Sharon by, 111
 criticism of Ya'alon, 141–142
 Meir, Golda
 IDF political involvement under,
 135
 political protégé of, 82
 political weakness following Yom
 Kippur War, 162
 Rabin as disciple of, 34
 resignation as prime minister, 53
 withdrawal from Suez Canal
 and, 157
 Meretz Party, 177
 Meridor, Dan, 51–52, 69
 Merkava tank, 5
 Michael, B., 141–142
 MID. *See* Military Intelligence
 Directorate (MID)
 militarism
 cognitive, 20–21
 criticism of, 19–20, 192
 current acceptance of, 22
 of Israeli society, 17–28
 materialist, 20
 “militaristic” as taboo term in
 Israel, 18, 22
 policymaking and, 214
 political careers of officers and,
 89–90
 security culture as, 256
 security-ism vs., 20
 military. *See also* Israel Defense Forces
 (IDF)
 changing societal values and role
 of, 39–42
 civilian oversight of. *See also* civil-
 military relations
 effectiveness of, 214, 255–256
 flaws in, 26–27, 262
 permeable boundaries in, 23–24
 politics in, 120
 reform recommendations for,
 259
 types of, 5
 weakening of, under Barak, 116
 command structures of, 155
 conservatism of, 221–222, 244,
 255–256

- military (*cont.*)
 functionalist theory and, 19–20
 institutional attitude of, 219–226
 Israeli confidence in, 40
 Military Basic Law (1975), 158
 modus operandi of, 63–76
 noncombat activities of, 28
 organizational culture of, 215–216, 255
 political arm of, 47–61
 politics and. *See* political-military relations
 professionalism of, 5, 23, 27–28, 79
 Military Basic Law (1975), 158
 military intelligence
 assumptions in policy recommendations, 101
 net assessments, lack of, 51–52
 Peres criticism of assessments, 115–116
 political insight shaping, 55
 political power and, 157
 reform proposals, 49, 55–56
 shaping government policy, 51
 successes and failures of, 53–56
 Military Intelligence Directorate (MID), 10
 absence of civilian intelligence service and power of, 49
 intelligence failures of, 53–55
 political role of, 48
 power of, 47–62
 prestige of, 48, 135, 260
 responsibilities of, 48
 worst-case scenarios of, 50–51
 military-mind theory, 215
 military secretary, status of, 261
 militia, irregular, 3
 Miller, Aaron David, 233, 240
 Ministry of Defense. *See* defense minister
 Mizrahi Jews, 20
The Mission (Priest), 7
 Mitzna, Amram, 132, 149
 mixed signals, toward Palestinian Authority, 112
 Mofaz, Shaul, 11
 as “acting” defense minister, 103
 attitude toward conscientious objection, 187–188
 Barak and, 93–96, 103–105
 conservative thinking of, 221
 defense budget controversy and, 150
 as defense minister, 133–135, 153
 on failure of negotiations with Syria, 93–94
 hard-line approach of, 111–113, 137–138
 Hebron Accord discussions and, 68
 opposition to withdrawal from Lebanon, 94–96
 as peacetime CGS, 90
 phone call from Dahlan, 99
 political role of, 119–122, 160
 potential coalition with Netanyahu, 121
 on prevention of terrorist attacks, 148
 proposed military reforms of, 200–201
 violation of cooling-off period, 133
 worsening of political-military relations and, 118–119
 Ya’alon and, 152–153, 200
 Mordecai, Yitzhak, 83, 84–85
 Mossad, 60
 Mubarak, Hosni, 206
 Mukata’a, 113
 Nahal groups, 228
 Nasrallah, Hasan, 140, 202, 208
 National Intelligence Estimate (NIE), 35, 43, 50
 National Net Estimate, 259
 National Religious Party, 133–134

- National Security Council, 259
 nation in arms, Israel as, 19, 21–23,
 29, 171, 195
 Naveh, Dani, 159
 negotiations, peace. *See* peace process
 neighbor procedure (military strategy),
 174
 Netanyahu, Benjamin, 10
 attempts to limit political power of
 IDF, 78
 clash with IDF, 76, 77–90
 clash with Shahak, 87–90
 Cold War perspective of, 77–78
 conflict with Shahor, 86–87
 critical attitude toward military,
 60–61
 criticism of defense policy, 84–85
 defeat by Barak, 89–90
 disavowal of Palestinian agreement,
 85
 IDF officers campaigning against,
 80–81, 213
 opposition to Oslo Accords, 77
 political relationships of, 159
 populist world view of, 79
 potential coalition with Mofaz,
 121
 using IDF as scapegoat, 85
 on withdrawal from Lebanon, 94
 Netzarim, 195, 203
 Nir, Shmuel, 210
 Nir, Yaron, 245
 Nusseibeh, Sari, 198
 Nye, Joseph S., 224

 occupied territories. *See also* Israeli-
 Palestinian conflict
 as bargaining chips, 227
 easing of restrictions in, 110–111,
 120, 147, 229–230
 as fulfillment of Zionist vision, 227
 Israel Defense Forces and
 attitude toward, 226–229
 impact of occupation on,
 29–30, 229–231
 role in peace talks, 69–70
 shaping public discourse about,
 70–72
 Israeli settlements in, 168–169,
 228
 officers as military governors, 29
 security doctrine and, 226–229
 wars and expansion of, 227
 withdrawal from. *See* unilateral
 withdrawal
 One Israel Party, 83, 89
On War (von Clausewitz), 5
 Operation Defensive Shield, 129–132.
 See also Al-Aqsa intifada
 adverse effects of, 130
 failure of, 146, 200, 209
 launching of, 116, 248
 objectives of, 130
 policy toward intifada and, 11
 reserve forces and, 195
 organizational culture, military,
 215–216, 255
 Orr, Ya'akov, 73, 198, 231
 Oslo Accords
 failure to prevent violence under,
 130
 implementation of, 65–67
 media criticism of, 72
 negotiation of, 63–65, 255
 Netanyahu opposition to, 77
 Oslo B negotiations, 65
 Palestinian complaints about, 244
 PLO cease fire during, 73
 Sharon's opposition to, 109
 significance of, 31
The Other Army of Israel (Levy), 20

 Palestine Liberation Organization
 (PLO)
 call for diplomatic solution to
 conflict, 54

- Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) (*cont.*)
- disenchantment with Palestinian Authority, 244
 - doctrine of stages, 139
 - establishment of, 224
 - hard-liner position against, 73
 - Israeli negotiations with, 25
 - Israeli rejection of peace overtures, 34
 - leadership of first intifada by, 35
 - objectives under Arafat, 139
 - Oslo Accords negotiations with, 63
 - renouncing opposition to Jewish state, 33
- Palestinian Authority
- failure of peace talks and, 102
 - failure to contain violence, 129–131, 222–223, 248
 - internal reforms of, 248
 - intifada as protest against, 242
 - objectives of, 207–208
 - Operation Desert Shield effects on, 132
 - PLO disenchantment with, 244
 - political constraints on operations against, 111
 - power groups in, 147
 - second intifada and, 104
 - Sharm el-Sheikh peace conference, 206
 - Sharon's attitude toward, 109
 - signing of cease-fire agreement, 145
 - as terrorist entity, 112
 - U.S. agreement to Arafat neutralization, 114
 - Ya'alon's strategy toward, 141
- Palestinians. *See also* Israeli-Palestinian conflict; occupied territories
- abuse of civilians by IDF, 176–177
 - demand for self-determination, 252
 - IDF stereotyping of, 245
 - inability to accept moral legitimacy of Israel, 240
 - low-intensity conflict impact on lives of, 197–198
 - reaction to Sharon as prime minister, 110
 - responsibility for failure of Camp David summit, 234
 - right of return for refugees, 97
 - unemployment among, 176
 - violence following opening of Hasmonaean tunnel, 91–92
 - willingness to sacrifice life, 210
- Palmach, 28
- Park Hotel suicide bombing, 129–130
- Partition Plan of 1947, 224, 226
- “peace directorate,” 65–66
- peace negotiations
- hard-liners vs. accommodationists in, 72–76, 91, 98
- Peace Now movement, 185, 220
- peace process
- Arafat's goals for, 97
 - Bush road map for peace, 144–145, 202
 - Camp David Summit (2000), 10, 12, 97–98, 100–102
 - concessions in, 263–264
 - easing of restrictions in occupied territories, 110–111, 120, 147, 229–230
 - with Egypt, 163–165
 - hard-liners vs. accommodationists in, 72–76, 91, 98
 - Israel Defense Forces and, 91, 92–93, 213–215, 219–226
 - Israeli negotiating culture and, 238
 - Netanyahu approach to, 77–78
 - parity of interests and success of, 240
 - as partnership, 223–224
 - perception by insurgents of Israeli weakness, 96

- peace process (*cont.*)
- Peres approach to, 224–225
 - political vs. military role in, 253–254
 - reconciliation and, 238–239, 253–254
 - security arrangements for, 74
 - security interests map, 75–76
 - Sharm el-Sheikh conference (2005), 206, 207
 - Sharon government blamed for failures of, 146–147
 - with Syria, 151–152, 224
 - terminology of, 222
 - terrorist attack prevention as objective, 148
- Peled, Yossi, 256
- Peres, Shimon, 47, 57, 64
- decision making of, 68
 - on defense doctrine, 39
 - as defense minister, 162
 - meeting with Shahor, 86
 - on peace process, 225
 - relationship with IDF, 115
 - Sharon and, 115
 - stopping of “Grapes of Wrath” operation, 92
 - Syrian peace negotiations of, 224
 - Ya’alon and, 142
- Peri, Ya’akov, 73, 189
- perpetual warfare, 4
- personal security, loss of, 208–209
- Planning and Policy Directorate, 10
- assessment of Arafat, 97, 112
 - government decision making and, 67–69
 - history of, 57–58
 - Oslo Accords implementation and, 65–66
 - in peace negotiations, 58, 67
 - role of, 56–58
- PLO. *See* Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)
- Podhoretz, Norman, 234
- political-military relations, 12–13.
- See also* civil-military relations
 - Camp David Summit negotiations and, 235
 - causes of tensions in, 256
 - continuing dialogue in, 127–128
 - decision making and, 68, 213, 255
 - defense structure and power in, 157
 - disengagement plan and, 202–206
 - divided discourse of second intifada, 126
 - future of, 256–264
 - Gur as CGS and, 162–163
 - hard-liners vs. accommodationists, 72–76, 91
 - IDF conflict with political leaders
 - Barak, 91–96, 103–107
 - defense budget and, 149–150, 156
 - “democratic putsch” of 1999, 77–90
 - Foreign Ministry, 114–116
 - Netanyahu, 76, 77–90
 - Peres, 115
 - Sharon, 110–111
 - instrumental model of, 23–28
 - components of, 24
 - Israeli leaders on, 24–26
 - withdrawal from Lebanon as example of, 95
 - intelligence assessments, political role of, 101, 157
 - legal basis for, 157–158
 - low-intensity conflict and, 31, 123–135, 144–149
 - Military Basic Law and, 158
 - Military Intelligence Directorate
 - role in, 48
 - Mofaz and worsening of, 118–119
 - negotiation in, 118
 - Palestinian occupation and, 29–31
 - as partnership, 8, 28–29, 159

- political-military relations (*cont.*)
 permeable boundaries in, 24, 28
 policy impacts of, 22
 political-military culture in. *See*
 security culture, Israeli
 political role of military
 criticism of, 256–257
 influences on government, 52
 interpretation of policy, 116–117
 Netanyahu attempts to limit, 78
 neutrality of professional mili-
 tary, 5
 political ascendance of officers
 and, 77–81
 retired officers as political lead-
 ers, 81–3
 strategic decisions vs. military
 operations, 6
 in strategic planning, 56–58
 political warfare and, 31
 prolonged occupation of Israel and,
 28–32
 public opinion and, 71, 117
 reform proposals and, 200–201,
 258–262
 revolutionary armies and, 28
 security barriers and, 150–151, 223
 under Sharon, 116–119, 134–135
 strategic decisions vs. military
 operations, 254–255
 structural-functional aspects of,
 48–49, 79, 82
 Syrian peace negotiations and,
 151–152
 unclear policy directives and, 128,
 140, 258–259
 Yom Kippur War impact on, 53–55
 political parties, 30. *See also specific*
parties
 politics
 ascendance of IDF officers in,
 77–81, 262
 institutionalization of, 23
 neutrality of professional soldier
 toward, 5
 of Palestinian occupation, 30–31
 paths for entry into, 82
 war and, 5
 postcolonialism, in Israeli society, 20
 post-traumatic stress syndrome,
 intifada and, 208
 power, corruption of, 230, 231
 pressure-cooker military strategy, 174
 Priest, Dana, 7
 proconsuls, generals as, 8
 Profil Hadash (New Profile), 188
 public opinion
 changing attitudes toward IDF,
 39–41
 IDF shaping, 70–72, 117, 245–246
 loss of support for low-intensity
 conflict, 197–199
 perceptions of Palestinians,
 245–246
 purity of arms, 12, 178–183, 179
 al-Qaeda, 248
 Qalqilya, 150
 quality of life, 40
 Rabin, Yitzhak, 10, 15, 25, 47
 assassination of, 35
 body language of, 239
 on conflict with Palestine, 34–35
 decision making of, 68–69, 255
 on defense doctrine, 36
 as defense minister, 114
 exclusion of IDF from Oslo
 negotiations, 63–65
 firing of Drori and, 158
 Gur and, 162
 meeting with Arafat, 70, 239
 military involvement in political
 affairs under, 60
 peace initiatives of, 30, 35, 41, 54,
 225

- Rabin, Yitzhak (*cont.*)
 Peres and, 162
 as protégé of Meir, 82
 Shahak and, 69–70
 terminology of peace, 222
- Rabin Center for Israel Studies, 256
- Rabinovich, Itamar, 224, 234
- Rabo, Yasser Abed, 198
- Radio Cairo, 19
- Rajoub, Jibril, 74
- Ramallah, occupation of, 129
- Rawls, John, 188
- realpolitik paradigm, 220
- reconciliation, 238–239, 253–254
- refugees, Palestinian, 97
- refusniks. *See* conscientious objection
- reserve military. *See* Israel Defense Forces (IDF), reserve forces
- Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), 38
- Rhodes armistice talks, 58
- Rice, Condoleeza, 113
- right of return, for Palestinian refugees, 97
- roadblocks, 176, 177
- Roitman, Yuval, 191
- Ron-Tal, Yiftach, 126
- Rosenblum, Doron, 142, 144
- Rosenfeld, Henri, 18
- Ross, Dennis, 229
- Rothchild, Danny, 65, 73
- Rubinstein, Amnon, 261
- Rubinstein, Danny, 245
- Sadat, Anwar, 163–165, 254–255
- Sagi, Uri, 42–45, 53, 151
- Samia, Yomtov, 105
- Sarid, Yossi, 55, 86
- Savir, Uri, 63, 65, 68, 116, 229–230
- Sayeret Matkal, 139
- Sebastia Affair (1975), 168–169
- security barrier
 controversy over, 150–151
- Jabel Hillel–Jabel Charim, 165
 in peace negotiations, 75
 regularization of intifada and, 200
 Supreme Court decision regarding, 172–173
- security cabinet, 67, 85, 129
- security culture, Israeli, 19, 213–231
 absolute security demands of, 224
 attitude toward force and, 217
 broad interpretation of, 57
 Camp David summit failure and, 233–241
 centrality of, 47
 challenges of intifada to, 209–210
 changes in, 37–39
 characteristics of, 216–217
 clashes in, 240
 compromise with Palestine as threat to, 78
 diplomatic culture vs., 47, 218, 251
 first circle threat and, 36
 gap in, 213–219
 IDF mobilization under, 48
 IDF views of peace process and, 92–93, 213
 as institutional attitude, 219–226
 interests map, 75–76, 167
 international relations and, 217–218
 as militarism, 256
 negative implications of, 224, 263
 outer circle threat and, 37
 political-military partnership in, 213–231
 public perceptions of Palestinians and, 245–246
 self-reliance and, 225
 settlements and territorial defense, 228–229
 technological superiority key to, 38
 territory and, 226–229
 use of force vs. soft power, 224
 war goals in, 38
- security-ism, 20

- September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, 116, 221, 247–248
- Shachor, Oren, 65, 73, 79–80, 83, 86–87
- Shafir, Herzl, 59
- Shahada, Salah, 179
- Shahak, Amnon Lipkin-, 35, 52, 53, 139
 - as accommodationist, 74
 - on civil-military relations, 41
 - on harsh IDF measures exacerbating violence, 198
 - heading Palestinian peace talks negotiations, 69–70
 - implementation of Oslo Accords, 65
 - on Lebanon problem, 84
 - as leftist, 88–89
 - Netanyahu and, 87–90
 - popularity with public, 80
 - secret negotiations with Palestinians, 106
- shahids* (martyrs), 130
- Shamani, Gadi, 207
- Shamgar, Meir, 172
- Shamir, Yitzhak, 42, 43, 47
 - on changes in Arab world, 44
 - on Israeli participation in Gulf War, 166
 - rejection of PLO peace overtures, 34
 - withdrawal from Lebanon and, 166–167
- Sharm el-Sheikh conference (2005), 206, 207
- Sharon, Ariel, 25, 47, 140
 - on Arafat, 109, 241–242
 - attitude toward Palestinian Authority, 109
 - as career officer, 81
 - constraints on, 111, 113
 - criticism for failure of peace negotiations, 146
 - criticism of IDF, 110
 - disengagement plan of, 202–206, 209, 255
 - founding Shlomtzion party, 83
 - hard line toward Palestinian violence, 109–110
 - Peres and, 115
 - personifying security culture, 251
 - political-military relations under, 11, 109, 134–135
 - as prime minister, 109–122, 132
 - security barrier and, 150
 - on settlements in occupied territories, 228
 - unilateral withdrawal and disengagement strategy of, 249
 - visit to Temple Mount and second intifada outbreak, 98–99
 - weakness of defense minister under, 114–115
 - Ya'alon and, 142
- Shelah, Ofer, 22, 221
- Sher, Gilad, 106–107, 111, 231, 234
- Shlomtzion party, 83
- Shomron, Dan, 35, 166
- Shoval, Zalman, 34
- Sinai peninsula, 160, 161–165
- Singer, Joel, 65
- Sion, Dov, 59
- Sivan, Emanuel, 32
- Six Day War (1967), 29, 32
 - aftermath of, 38
 - IDF recommendation for Palestinian state following, 57
 - justification for, 19
 - military role in peace negotiations, 58
 - territorial expansion and, 227
- Sneh, Ephraim, 34, 83, 90, 102, 106, 107
- Soviet Union, fall of, 33, 36
- spider web theory (Nasrallah), 140, 202, 208
- state building, wars and, 19

- Steinitz, Yuval, 261
- Stern, Elazar, 189
- strategic planning, military role in, 56–58
- stripping policy (military strategy), 117
- subconventional warfare, 4
- suicide bombings
- Arafat and, 112
 - civilian targets of, 110
 - dual nature of Palestinian conflict and, 188–189
 - IDF retaliation against, 248
 - increasing frequency of, 129
 - low-intensity conflict precipitating, 197–198
 - Operation Defensive Shield
 - reducing, 131
 - at Park Hotel (Netanya), 129–130
 - second intifada and, 100
 - Supreme Court, 171–173, 175–176, 190–191
- Syria
- Israeli defense doctrine changes toward, 43–44
 - participation in Gulf War, 33
 - peace negotiations with, 93, 151–152, 222, 224
 - Soviet Union collapse impacting, 33, 36
 - as threat to Israel, 36, 64
- Taba peace talks (2001), 102, 103
- tabadiya* (calm), 206
- Tal, Israel, 5, 6, 26, 227, 260
- Tamir, Avraham, 57–58
- Tanzim, 102, 145, 247
- targeted preventions/assassinations
- civilian bystanders and, 179
 - effectiveness of, 200
 - legal sanctions for, 172
 - as military strategy, 175
 - morality of, 181–182
- Tel Hay (Galilee), 229
- Tel Rumeida, 68
- Temple Mount (al-Haram al-Sharif), 97, 98–99
- territory, security doctrine and, 226–229
- terrorist acts
- decline in number of, 199
 - prevention of, 148
 - Supreme Court decisions addressing, 172–173
- terrorist organizations, 84
- “thorny field” strategy, 96, 99–100
- “Thousand Day War,” 145
- Tomb of the Patriarchs, 68
- Tzadka, Dov, 117
- unilateral withdrawal
- from Gaza, 202–203, 209
 - low-intensity conflict strategy and, 123–124
 - planning for, 103, 125, 249–250
 - from Sinai peninsula, 161–165
 - from southern Lebanon, 94–96, 125, 140–141, 166–167, 255
 - from Suez Canal, 157
 - as tactical plan, 203, 249
- United Kingdom, Israeli military alliance with, 161
- United Nations, security culture vs. peacemaking by, 217
- United States–Israeli relations
- Bush road map for peace, 144–145, 202
 - constraints on military operations and, 92, 111, 116
 - demand for protection of Arafat, 113
 - Israeli participation in Gulf War and, 166
 - war on terror and, 248
- Vardi, Moran, 180
- Vilnay, Matan, 79, 83, 84–85
- von Clausewitz, Karl, 5, 213

- Wagman, Yehuda, 210
- war crimes, Israeli, accusations of, 177
- War of Attrition with Egypt (1969-70), 123
- War of Independence (Israel), 18, 24, 143, 227, 252
- wars and warfare. *See also* counterinsurgency warfare; low-intensity conflict (LIC)
- art of, 4
 - of attrition, 126, 210
 - changing nature of, 3-4
 - conduct of military forces (*jus in bello*), 173-176, 188
 - dimensions of, 173
 - Israeli technical superiority in, 38
 - justification for, 12
 - in Lebanon. *See* Lebanon War
 - legitimacy of (*jus ad bellum*), 173, 188
 - morality of, 181
 - between nations vs. states, 34-35
 - political aspects of, 5, 31
 - prevalence since 1990s, 3
 - Six Day. *See* Six Day War (1967)
 - social context of, 4
 - state-building and, 19
 - territorial expansion and, 227
 - Yom Kippur. *See* Yom Kippur War (1973)
- Washington Talks (1999), 93
- weapons of mass destruction, Iraqi, 56
- Weizman, Ezer, 29
- attempt to fire Gur, 164
 - decision making of, 255
 - Egyptian peace negotiations and, 163-165
 - Eitam and, 165
 - on Hawaja land seizures, 158-159
 - prestige as defense minister, 114
 - as protégé of Begin, 82
- witch hunt, Netanyahu's attacks on IDF as, 78
- worst-case scenarios, 50-51, 221-222
- Ya'alon, Moshe "Boogy," 52, 137-153, 228
- on Abbas reforms, 248
 - defense budget controversy, 149-150
 - demand for political horizon, 144-149
 - on disengagement plan, 202-204
 - easing of restrictions in occupied territories, 147
 - firing of, 137, 153, 204
 - hard-line approach to Arafat, 113, 139
 - on intifada as continuation of the War of Independence, 143, 252
 - as Leftist, 142
 - on low-intensity conflict, 140-144, 145, 199
 - media criticism of, 141-142
 - military career of, 139-140
 - Mofaz and, 152-153, 200
 - on policymaking authority of CGS, 138-139
 - political-military relations under, 11, 258
 - political strategy toward Palestinian Authority, 141
 - politics of, 137-140
 - public criticism of government policy, 148-149
 - on second intifada, 106
 - on security barrier, 150-151
 - as successor to Mofaz, 121, 137
 - on Syrian peace negotiations, 151-152
 - "thorny field" strategy and, 97
 - on unclear directives to military, 128, 140

- Ya'alon, Moshe "Boogy" (*cont.*)
 on unilateral withdrawal as tactical
 move, 203, 249
 on withdrawal from Lebanon,
 140–141
- Yaari, Aviezer, 27, 48, 51, 261
- Yadin, Yigael, 58
- Yadlin, Amos, 181–182
- Yanai, Shlomo, 59–60, 85, 86
- Yariv, Aharon, 57, 59, 135
- Yassin, Ahmed, 179
- Yedioth Ahronoth* (newspaper), 88, 121,
 141, 163–164, 198, 245
- El-Yehye, Abdel Razek, 223
- Yesh Gvul movement, 186, 188
- Yom Kippur War (1973)
 Agranat Commission findings, 49,
 53–54
 casualties in, 38
 disengagement agreements fol-
 lowing, 58
 feelings of vulnerability following,
 53
 intelligence failures of, 53–54
 military leader assertiveness fol-
 lowing, 52
 military role in peace negotiations,
 59
 military status erosion following,
 39
 misreading of enemy plans, 48
- Ze'evi, Rechave'am, 129
- Zeevi-Farkash, Aharon, 113, 151
- Ze'ira, Eli, 53
- Zionism, 173, 229
- zipper policy (military strategy),
 119–120
- Ziv, Israel, 180
- Zohar, Gady, 65