

Metamorphosis in Conflict

Proceedings of the Israeli Armored Corps Association "Winning Land Warfare After the Second Lebanon War" Conference

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Preface

On July 12, 2006, Hezbollah attacked two Israeli Army vehicles during a raid along the Lebanon-Israel border. Subsequent military operations were costly to antagonists and innocents alike prior to UN Security Council Resolution 1701 halting combat operations on August 14 of that year. Debates aside over the relative advantages gained by the adversaries, Israel's military looked back on the war with recognition that there was a need for considerable improvement of its capabilities. These proceedings provide an overview of presentations and discussions during a November 13–14, 2007, conference held at the Armored Corps Association Museum and Memorial in Latrun, Israel, on the implications for Israel's ground forces of the July–August 2006 Second Lebanon War. Those in attendance and taking the speakers' podium included Israeli, U.S., and British experts, who shared the objective of better understanding the nature of modern irregular conflict and its implications for the future.

This document will be of interest to individuals in governments, nongovernmental organizations, private volunteer organizations, and the commercial and academic sectors whose responsibilities include studying, planning, supporting, or conducting conventional and irregular warfare in both the immediate future and the longer term, as well as related policy, doctrine, and training.

This research was sponsored by the U.S. Joint Forces Command Joint Urban Operations Office and conducted within the International Security and Defense Policy Center of the RAND National Defense Research Institute, a federally funded research and development center sponsored by the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Staff, the Unified Combatant Commands, the Department of the Navy, the Marine Corps, the defense agencies, and the defense Intelligence Community.

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Summary

The Armored Corps Association hosted its inaugural conference on November 13–14, 2007, as a forum for discussion of Israeli operations during the July–August 2006 Second Lebanon War. Attendees sought to identify both challenges meriting particular attention due to their implications for the country’s future security and solutions to those challenges. The event drew some 200 active and retired members of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), in addition to representatives from the commercial sector, the United States, and the United Kingdom. A list of speakers and brief biographical sketches appear in Appendixes A and B, respectively. Note, however, that selected materials do not appear herein due to some speakers’ requests that they not be included in either the Hebrew or English version of these proceedings.

Concerns and Implications from the Second Lebanon War

After providing a brief overview of the Second Lebanon War, the body of these proceedings first provides presenter and audience members’ views with respect to three areas that emerged as being of particular concern during the conference: the state of IDF doctrine, the changed nature of Israel’s security environment, and adaptation by Hezbollah (Israel’s foe during the war).

The aftermath of the Second Lebanon War brought accusations that Israeli military doctrine had been infiltrated by an “intellectual virus” whose symptoms were excessive complexity and a resulting lack of clarity. Part of the shortfall, it was felt, was attributable to the adaptation of concepts from other countries that held limited applicability to Israel’s security situation. Speakers called for purging doctrine of these problems to ensure that future guidance both addressed military needs and was communicated without undue intricacy. Secondly, the division of doctrine along spectrum-of-conflict lines was thought to be counterproductive. Instead of viewing contingencies as low-intensity or high-intensity, as was the norm before the war (with low-intensity contingencies receiving virtually all the attention), after the war, an “integrated combat” perspective was thought to be preferable. While beneficial, however, such a macro vision of conflict requires a level of understanding that rarely exists among junior members of the military profession. For training and other purposes, educating practitioners in the

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ways of warfare's many components may be necessary, with the overarching macro perspective then serving to link the parts into a coherent whole.

This concern regarding maintaining an all-inclusive perspective on security challenges is itself born of post-Second Lebanon War observations. That conflict was unlike any previously confronted in Israel's history. Neither during the counterterrorism activities of the years immediately preceding it nor in the conventional warfare of earlier wars did military leaders find themselves having to deal with a well-trained, well-armed enemy that employed unconventional tactics. Israelis in general now must come to grips with a security environment in which conventional war is less likely than in the opening years of the country's history, years during which the country saw the decisive victories of 1967 and 1973. The nation instead finds itself experiencing sustained periods of low-level but constant threats against the civilian population via indirect fire and suicide bombers.

These changes to the security environment are, unsurprisingly, the consequence of adaptive enemies. Once the David surrounded by many Goliaths, Israel now finds itself in the role of the bully. Adversary nation-state use of surrogates, such as Hezbollah, that use the media to shape local and worldwide views has succeeded in confronting Israel with yet further challenges heretofore not encountered.

Recommendations and Observations Regarding Identified Challenges

Conference speakers and attendees alike recognized that the value of the Latrun event rested not simply in identifying problems but, rather, in proposing solutions. These fell into one of the following five categories:

- ways of addressing new forms of conflict and operational concepts
- employing a whole-of-government approach in lieu of a military-dominated operation alone
- ensuring continuity within the tactical-operational-strategic linkage
- contemplating the elimination of the corps echelon in Israel's ground forces
- employing experimentation in the search for economical and timely solutions.

Representatives serving with the IDF expressed confidence that the armed forces had already made significant strides toward rectifying some of the issues that plagued it in July and August 2006, much of the progress being attributable to reintroducing training that had been curtailed due to intifada-induced operational tempo demands. Retired IDF Major General Yair Naveh reminded attendees that soldiers on the ground were the key to success, not only in combat but also in preventing violence. Bill Duff, drawing on decades of experience with Northern Ireland's Royal Ulster Constabulary, recalled the impact that the international community can have on a nation's domestic policies. Long-time reporter and author Joe Galloway's comments regarding the influence of the media, that vocation's need to demonstrate restraint

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on occasion, and the value of a good military-media understanding were notably pertinent in this regard.

One dramatic difference between the wars at the opening of Israel's nationhood and today's conflicts is that these more recent conflicts "are comprehensive threats that have nothing to do with the might of the IDF."¹ Retired IDF Major General Uri Sagi's comment was not meant to imply that the IDF did not have a role, but rather that a whole-of-government approach to solving current security problems is necessary. Naveh concurred, emphasizing the task—perhaps, in some instances, the dominant one—of promoting economic welfare to reduce the attractiveness of terrorist recruiting among Palestine's youth. Duff once again added valuable insights by relating the considerable problems that the British government had in initially attempting to conduct interagency operations in Northern Ireland. A willingness to learn from past events and the absolute necessity of developing formal multi-agency procedures and organizational structures proved keys to success in the province.

Understanding the nature of terrorism, whether kidnapping along the Lebanon-Israel border or in another form, is crucial to developing policies to mitigate its effects. Denying suicide bombers access to densely populated cities that host a large number of media representatives was an example provided in this regard.

A proposal to eliminate the corps echelon from the Israeli Army spurred considerable debate, both among presenters and on a wider basis. Arguments for and against, both drawing on history, presented points that ultimately resulted in recognition that so important a decision merits further investigation before it is made.

David Ozolek of the U.S. Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM) highlighted the rapidity with which adversaries in a conflict adapt in today's security contests. Those in Iraq, for example, virtually reinvent themselves over an 18-month period, nullifying much of the value of a doctrine- or technology-development cycle that takes five years. Experimentation has served the United States well in reducing the costs associated with accomplishing needed change while also dramatically reducing the time necessary to do so.

Additional Implications from Latrun

Discussions drawing on the many formal presentations given over the two days provided several additional points of discussion with potential applicability to U.S., Israeli, and other friendly nations' future challenges. First, the role of doctrine in helping leaders to maintain an overarching perspective on national security was seen as a natural extension of the call for an integrated combat approach. Formal guidance that reminds practitioners to put all conflicts in the context of a larger whole might have helped to preclude the over-focus on counterterrorism that hindered IDF readiness prior to the Second Lebanon War, for example. Likewise, avoid-

¹ Sagi (2007).

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ing convoluted doctrine that tends to confuse more than illuminate was deemed critical. As the old saw states, “Keep it simple.”

Second, both U.S. and Israeli national policies reflect reactions to the results of democratic elections in ways that have been less than helpful to those countries’ international legitimacy. Whether a response to the January 2006 election of Hamas officials, the 1946 refusal to seat a Philippine insurgent, or others, purporting to support democracy and then too hastily rejecting results that seem undesirable carries potentially significant consequences at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels.

Finally, Ozolek asked for an opportunity to pass along lessons regarding the value of technology that have been reinforced by recent U.S. operations overseas. First, technology can aid a force, but it can never replace good leadership or effective training. Second, the value often lies not with the technology itself, but rather in the innovative ways in which bold leaders choose to apply it.

The Armored Corps Association’s initial conference was widely deemed a great success. A second such event, scheduled for late summer 2008, will build on the first. Like its forbear, it will seek to bring active and retired members of the Israel’s defense community together with representatives from other nations with the objective of better moving toward peace in the region.

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Acknowledgments

The conference that served as the basis for these proceedings, as well as the participation of U.S. and British personnel, was the brainchild of Brigadier General (retired) Gideon Avidor, Israeli Army. The author wishes to express his gratitude—in addition to that of attendees from the Joint Urban Operations Office, USJFCOM, and the United Kingdom—for General Avidor's professionalism and kindness during the event. These individuals also extend their thanks to members of the Armored Corps Association for their graciousness as hosts throughout the two-day gathering.

The author is appreciative of the continued support of the leadership and other members of the Joint Urban Operations Office, USJFCOM. He, as always, thanks Gayle Stephenson for her continued excellence in assisting with the compilation and administration pertaining to the production of these proceedings. A special thanks, also, to Lauren Skrabala, the editor of these proceedings, not only for her notable proficiency in improving the document's prose and presentation but also for her valiant efforts in expediting its availability.

Abbreviations

IAF	Israeli Air Force
IDF	Israeli Defense Forces
IED	improvised explosive device
IR	Islamic Resistance
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
SWAT	special weapons and tactics
UPI	United Press International
USJFCOM	U.S. Joint Forces Command

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The practical value of history is to throw the film of the past through the material projector of the present onto the screen of the future.¹

—*B. H. Liddell Hart, Thoughts on War*

The rules of the war have changed. Not overall, not absolutely, but there have been some significant changes.²

—*Colonel Oren Abman, Israeli Army*

General Background and Structure of This Document

Members of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), that nation's retired military officers, and other members of the Israeli, U.S., and British defense communities came together at the Armored Corps Association Museum and Memorial Center in Latrun, Israel, on November 13–14, 2007. The association's Major General (retired) Chayim Erez opened the international Winning Land Warfare After the Second Lebanon War conference with a description of its objectives and the motivation behind them:

We decided [to convene this forum] immediately after the Second Lebanon War when it became apparent that there was some kind of disconnect between the past and the present. . . . We do not intend to simply review the lessons drawn from the Second Lebanon War, but instead seek to remind you of the main principles of warfare and analyze combat doctrine as it existed several years before the conflict. The Israeli Defense Forces went into that war with the following assumptions:

- No high-intensity wars are expected in the foreseeable future.
- The IDF can overcome any enemy using precision fire. Maneuver may not be necessary.

¹ Hart (1944, p. i).

² Abman (2007).

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These assumptions were taken for granted without anyone examining whether they truly fit the demands of Israel's strategic security environment. [The consequences of their acceptance included decisions to]

- disband several units
- reorganize several commands, to include changing the structures and distribution of responsibility between the general staff, ground forces, and the various regional commands
- appoint individuals whose main expertise was combating terrorism to senior command positions
- cancel education programs for brigade and division commanders
- significantly curtail basic combat skills training at the battalion, brigade, and division levels.³

The two days provided an opportunity for some 300 representatives—active and retired; military and civilian; Israeli, U.S., and British—to consider these assumptions, consequences, and alternatives in the context of Israel's security environment, past, present, and future. Those attending from the host nation could draw on personal experiences that ranged from Israel's 1948 War of Independence to 21st-century operations in Gaza and the West Bank and during Second Lebanon War. U.S. and British participants included veterans of the Vietnam War, the recent conflicts in the Middle East, and security operations in Northern Ireland.

Five sponsors supported the Armored Corps Association initiative:

- Elbit Systems
- Joint Urban Operations Office, U.S. Joint Forces Command (USJFCOM)
- Orlite Industries, Ltd.
- RAND Corporation
- Urdan Industries, Ltd.

Speakers and their presentation titles appear in Appendix A. Appendix B contains presenter biographical sketches. Note that selected materials do not appear herein due to some speakers' requests that they not be included in either the Hebrew or English version of these proceedings.

Document Structure

Given that the July–August 2006 Second Lebanon War was the impetus for this conference, it is appropriate that the chapter immediately following this introduction review speaker comments regarding the causes of IDF concerns during that conflict and certain implications of those challenges. Chapter Two provides the foundation for attendee ruminations on potential solutions to identified shortfalls and thoughts regarding what changes they deemed advisable

³ Erez (2007).

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to prepare for future contingencies, which appear in Chapter Three. This document concludes with a consideration of selected further implications and recommendations resulting from the conference discussions in light of Israeli and U.S. security concerns.

A brief summary of the Second Lebanon War is provided for context prior to leaving this introductory chapter.⁴

Historical Backdrop

We have a big army, but we don't know how to use this army.⁵

—Major General Gershon Hachohen, Israeli Army

The Hezbollah fighters executed their July 12, 2006, attack with deadly efficiency. It was a limited tactical action with dramatic strategic impact. *Jane's Intelligence Review* concisely summarized the incendiary event and its immediate consequences:

At 0905 local time, two IDF armoured Humvees were hit by at least one roadside bomb and rocket-propelled grenades fired by a squad of IR [Islamic Resistance] fighters hidden in dense undergrowth on the Israeli side of the border fence 1.5 km northwest of the Lebanese village of Aitta Shaab. Three IDF soldiers were killed in the assault and three wounded, with another two abducted by the IR team. The ambush site was well chosen, falling into a “dead zone” at the bottom of a wadi between the border towns of Zarit and Shetula out of sight of nearby IDF posts, allowing the IR team to cross the border fence undetected. [See Figure 1.1, lower left circle.] The IDF had belatedly planned to erect a camera at the site the following week. IR fire support teams staged a diversionary bombardment of nearby IDF outposts and Zarit and Shetula with mortars and Katyusha rockets.

The IDF discovered that two of its soldiers were missing some 30 minutes after the attack. At least one Merkava tank and an IDF platoon in armoured personnel carriers crossed the border in pursuit of the IR abductors. At around 1100, a Merkava tank struck a massive improvised explosive device (IED) consisting of some 200–300 kg of explosive, one of many IEDs planted by the IR at potential infiltration routes along the Blue Line. The tank was destroyed in the blast, killing all four crew members. An eighth soldier was killed in heavy fighting with local IR combatants, constituting the highest Israeli fatality toll in a single incident against Hizbullah since September 1997.

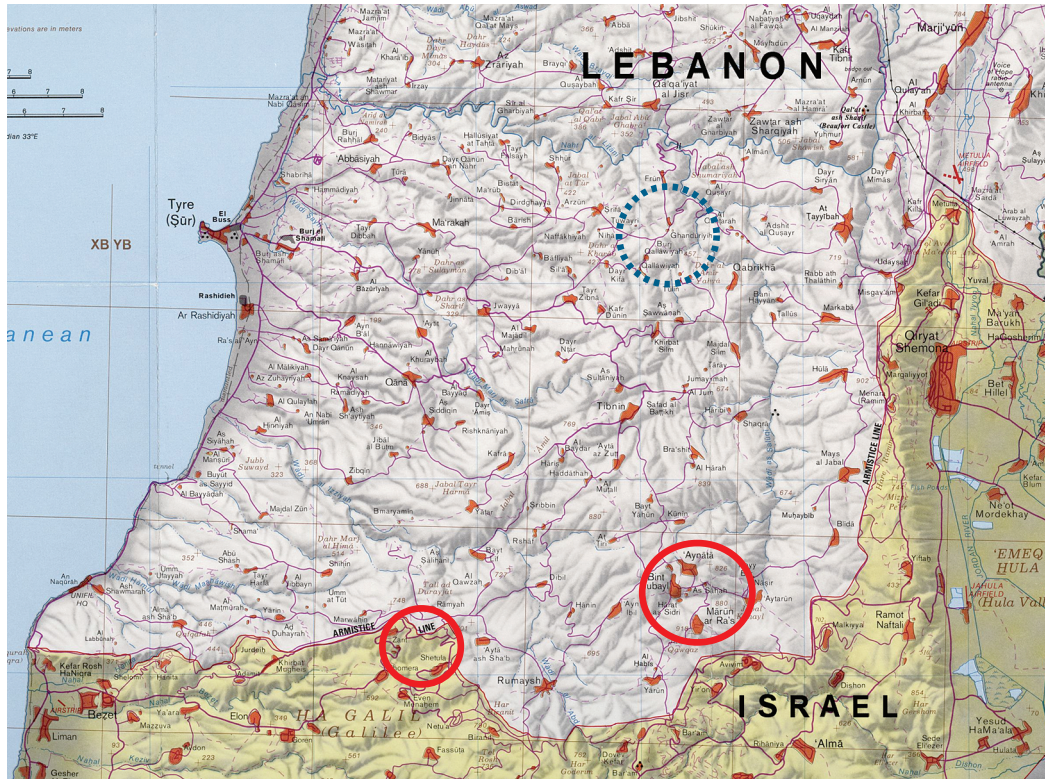
Ehud Olmert, the Israeli prime minister, declared the abduction “an act of war” and blamed the Lebanese government. “Our response will be very restrained,” he promised. “But very, very, very painful.” A bewildered Lebanese government, which knew nothing of

⁴ This summary is adapted from Glenn (2008).

⁵ Hachohen (2007).

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Figure 1.1
Map of Lebanon



SOURCE: (U) Map, Central Intelligence Agency (1986).

RAND CF252-1.1

Hizbullah's plans beforehand, announced that it "was unaware of the operation, does not take responsibility for it and does not endorse it."⁶

The magnitude of Israel's response appears to have come as a shock to Hezbollah's leadership. The organization's deputy secretary general later related, "We were expecting the Israelis would respond at the most by bombing for a day or two or some limited attacks."⁷ The character of the Israeli military's reaction also puzzled other observers, but for different reasons. Reserve mobilization took place over two weeks after the initial Hezbollah raid. Significant ground action was delayed in the apparent expectation that air action alone could accomplish

⁶ "Deconstructing Hizbullah's Surprise Military Prowess" (2006).

⁷ "Scale of Israeli Attack 'Surprised' Hezbollah" (2006). Karla Cunningham of RAND noted in her review of these proceedings that Hezbollah's professed surprise could have been an effort to mitigate the antipathy directed at the organization in the aftermath of the destruction suffered by the Lebanese people.

the country's strategic objectives. Prime Minister Ehud Olmert made those objectives clear in his address to the Knesset five days after the July 12 attack:

- “The return of the hostages, Ehud (Udi) Goldwasser and Eldad Regev”
- “A complete cease fire”
- “Deployment of the Lebanese army in all of southern Lebanon”
- “Expulsion of Hizbullah from the area”
- “Fulfillment of United Nations Resolution 1559.”⁸

Whether due to a belief that Hezbollah's military capabilities had little changed since the IDF's 2000 withdrawal, failures of intelligence, or both, Israel was surprised by the levels of resistance it met when it eventually launched its ground offensive. South Lebanon's terrain was, in part, responsible for the difficulties. Rife with hills scored by steep-sided, deep valleys, these primary gorges are themselves cut by innumerable wadis that hamper dismounted and mounted ground maneuver or render it altogether impossible. Villages perch atop hills that dominate surrounding terrain, providing occupants with excellent observation, superb fields of fire,⁹ and considerable protection against small arms and indirect engagement. These factors, combined with uncharacteristic sheepishness on the part of some leaders, made critical July 17 attacks against the communities of Maroun al-Ras and nearby Bint Jbail far more time consuming than expected. (See Figure 1.1, lower right circle; the spelling on map is *Marun ar Ra's*.) Initial stretches of road from the Lebanon-Israel border northward were heavily mined and covered by antitank weapons operated by fighters who were well trained on how best to engage Israeli military vehicles. Three Merkava tanks suffered missile penetrations; six IDF soldiers died and another 18 were wounded before the army declared Maroun al-Ras secure after seven days of combat.¹⁰ Fighting for Bint Jbail was no less vicious.¹¹

The July 28–31, 2006, period finally saw the mobilization of approximately 15,000 IDF personnel as the army prepared for further combat. By August 9, the IDF had surrounded many of the enemy's forces and reached the Litani River, commonly considered the northern border of southern Lebanon. The bloodiest day of the war would prove to be its last as the opposing sides struggled for control of ground that could be used as a bargaining chip during postconflict negotiations or to house defensive positions after the pending cease-fire.¹²

⁸ “Address to the Knesset by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert” (2006). Among the seven primary elements of the resolution are “calls for the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias” and support for “the extension of the control of the Government of Lebanon over all Lebanese territory” (United Nations Security Council Resolution 1559, 2004).

⁹ Exum (2006, pp. 2–3).

¹⁰ Exum (2006, p. 9). Alternative spellings for *Maroun al-Ras* include *Maroun er-Ras* and *Maroun el-Ras*.

¹¹ Pfeffer (2006); Moores (undated). *Bint Jbail* is sometimes spelled *Bint Jbeil*.

¹² Moores (undated).

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Combat in Wadi Salouqi provides insights into the extent of confusion that plagued Israeli operations during the war. On August 10, 2006, IDF leaders sent an armored column crawling down the steep banks of the Wadi Salouqi ravine to attack the town of Ghandouriyeh on its opposite side. (See dashed circle in Figure 1.1.) Orders to abort reached the soldiers just as their lead vehicles arrived at the chasm's bottom. Unit members made a careful withdrawal back to their starting point only to be told once again that they were to attack along the same route two days later. Wise to Israel's approach, the enemy lay in wait, small arms and antitank weapons at the ready. A Kornet missile destroyed the column commander's Merkava tank as it reached the wadi floor. The explosion signaled initiation of the ambush. Missiles slammed into 11 other Merkavas. Eight crew members perished, dying with four of their comrades on foot or mounted in other vehicles. Ghandouriyeh nevertheless fell the next day, August 13, 2006, only to be abandoned when its captors departed less than 48 hours later, after Israel signed UN Security Council Resolution 1701.¹³

Hezbollah's tactical successes surprised most in Israel and many other observers elsewhere. The fighters using these weapons were better trained, better led, and showed more discipline than those in the regular armed forces of countries Israel had confronted in earlier wars. It did not surprise members of Hezbollah, who had spent years preparing southern Lebanon for defense and training to fight on the rugged terrain. Attacks on the Israeli homeland were equally well prepared. Short- and medium-range rockets destined for sites south of the border had been dug in and camouflaged. Hezbollah would ultimately fire roughly 4,000 rockets and missiles at military and civilian targets in Israel.¹⁴ Fifty-three civilian dead would be among the casualties. The wounded ran into the hundreds, and approximately 2,000 Israeli dwellings suffered severe damage or were ruined.¹⁵ Another capability, the shore-launched C-802 antiship missile, killed four sailors aboard the Israeli Navy's *Hanit* Sa'ar 5-class corvette off the Lebanese coast on July 14, 2007.¹⁶ Israel found Hezbollah's internal security far better than what it was used to when dealing with Palestinian organizations.¹⁷

Other Hezbollah weapons included AK-47 rifles, machine guns, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, and anti-armor capabilities that included Saggar, Kornet-E, and Metis-M antitank guided missiles.¹⁸ It was these missiles that would prove the insurgents' most effective killers during ground combat. In the end, they would destroy 14 Israeli tanks; mines would ravage another six.¹⁹ Even the IDF's most advanced model, the Merkava 4, proved vulnerable.

¹³ Exum (2006, p. 11); "Deconstructing Hizbullah's Surprise Military Prowess" (2006). See also United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701 (2006).

¹⁴ Exum (2006, p. 5).

¹⁵ Rubin (2007). Casualty estimates differ: Mohamad Bazzi (2006) put the number of dead at 43.

¹⁶ "Israel Probes Naval Missile Defense Failure" (2006); Eshel (2006).

¹⁷ "Hizbullah's Intelligence Apparatus" (2006).

¹⁸ "Deconstructing Hizbullah's Surprise Military Prowess" (2006); "Hizbullah's Intelligence Apparatus" (2006).

¹⁹ "Israel Introspective After Lebanon Offensive" (2006).

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Hezbollah tactical forces consisted of two general types:

The first was the full-time military force of experienced, well-trained, highly disciplined and motivated guerrilla fighters, aged from their late twenties to late thirties. Numbering a few hundred, the full-timers were deployed in the network of bunkers and tunnels in south Lebanon as well as other locations. These fighters, equipped with military uniforms, were split into teams of 15 to 20 and chiefly were responsible for artillery rockets, advanced anti-tank missiles and sniping.

The second wing was the “village guard” units, many of them veteran guerrilla combatants from the 1990s when the IDF occupied south Lebanon. Although they share the same high degree of motivation and discipline as their full-time comrades, the village guards were an irregular force of part-time personnel. The guards remained in their villages after most civilians had fled north. In the event of an IDF ground invasion, the village guards would provide successive layers of defence consisting of fresh, well-armed fighters able to take advantage of their intimate knowledge of the local terrain to interdict and frustrate the IDF advance.²⁰

Not all those fighting were members of Hezbollah. Some had other political affiliations or were not associated with any particular political group.²¹

Israel’s initial air strikes concentrated on Hezbollah rocket and missile capabilities, particularly those medium- and long-range weapons with the potential to reach deep into Israel. Other attacks hit infrastructure targets throughout Lebanon.

Hezbollah units were trained to operate without external support. Their command-and-control system was likewise structured for semi-autonomous operations:

Hizballah organized its fighters into small, self-sufficient teams capable of operating independently and without direction from higher authority for long periods of time. In general—but not exclusively—Hizballah’s fighting units were squad-sized elements of seven to ten men. These squad-sized elements were afforded a great deal of autonomy during the fighting but were able to remain in contact with their higher units through a complex system of communications that included an elaborate system of radio call signs as well as a closed cellular phone system. At the lower levels, fighters made use of two-way radios for communication within the villages and between isolated fighting positions. . . . Hizballah’s tactical leaders not only were given the freedom to make quick decisions on the battlefield but did so with a degree of competence that rivaled their opposite numbers in the IDF.²²

IDF air targeting sought to punish Lebanese citizens for Hezbollah’s aggressions, perhaps in an attempt to bring their pressure to bear on Lebanon’s elected officials. Israeli decisionmak-

²⁰ “Deconstructing Hizbullah’s Surprise Military Prowess” (2006).

²¹ Exum (2006, p. 5).

²² Exum (2006, p. 5).

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ers took for granted that applying pressure on the government in Beirut would force its officials into coercing Hezbollah to meet Israel's strategic demands:

Statements by Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert indicated that Israel was holding the entire nation of Lebanon responsible for the kidnapping and that the Israeli response would be felt by all segments of the Lebanese population. Accordingly, the IDF targeted not only positions in southern Lebanon but also the Beirut airport, all roads leading out of Lebanon, and even neighborhoods populated by Lebanese uniformly opposed to Hizballah.²³

The resultant air strikes inspired considerable antipathy toward Israel, both within Lebanon and internationally. Among the most contentious was a July 30 bombing of an apartment building in Qana in which least 28 people were killed. It was a brutal reminder of the 91 civilians who died on April 18, 1996, in a nearby refugee camp when Israeli artillery fired at Hezbollah targets during Operation Grapes of Wrath.²⁴ Perhaps responding to the consequent international outrage, Israel's Prime Minister Olmert apologized to the Lebanese people on July 31, 2006, stating that it was Hezbollah rather than the country's citizenry against whom Israel was fighting.²⁵ The expectation that the Lebanese government would be able to significantly influence Hezbollah's actions had proved untrue.

The Second Lebanon War ended when all participants agreed to abide by UN Security Council Resolution 1701 on August 14, 2006. To summarize, the 33-day conflict's legacy resulted in

- approximately 1 million displaced civilians
- more than 1,000 Lebanese dead, the majority of whom were civilians
- hundreds of Hezbollah insurgents killed
- thousands of Israeli and Lebanese homes destroyed
- other structures damaged, including much of Lebanon's transportation infrastructure targeted by the Israeli Air Force (IAF)
- IDF losses of 119 military personnel;²⁶ approximately "50% of Israeli casualties can be attributed to anti-tank missiles, 25% to small arms and mines, around 10% to friendly fire, 10% to rocket fire, and 5% to accidents"²⁷

²³ Exum (2006, p. 9).

²⁴ Sharp et al. (2006, pp. 42, 44); Shadid (2006). Shadid states that 106 people were killed in 1996 and cites the Lebanese government as reporting at least 57 individuals killed in the 2006 attack.

²⁵ Sharp et al. (2006, p. 42).

²⁶ Exum (2006, pp. 5, 7); Bazzi (2006); International Crisis Group (2006). Some sources put the total at 120 killed (see, e.g., Ghattas (2006).

²⁷ Moores (undated).

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- roughly 4,000 Hezbollah rocket and missile strikes on Israel, 250 of which occurred on the last day of the war.²⁸

It was with notable understatement that a senior Israeli officer concluded, “I cannot say we have deepened our deterrent image.”²⁹

²⁸ Exum (2006, p. 12).

²⁹ “Israel Introspective After Lebanon Offensive” (2006).

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CHAPTER TWO

Concerns and Implications from the Second Lebanon War

Build two different armies. . . . We cannot afford to do that. Even a big superpower such as the United States cannot afford to build two armies, so how do you balance the needs?¹

—Itay Brun, *Israeli Air Force*

Committees, military professionals, government officials, and the media are among the many to take issue with and identify causes of what has been deemed an inadequate performance by the IDF during the Second Lebanon War. These pages do not seek to consider those issues other than as brought up during the two-day conference. In this context, the issues fall into three categories:

- concerns regarding Israeli military doctrine
- the changed nature of the country's security environment
- adaptation by adversaries, including the manipulation of media coverage.

Concerns Regarding Israeli Military Doctrine

There are non-urban swarms that sting the targets. . . . I can't believe what I am reading! I not only don't believe: I don't understand. . . . According to these two fellows; advance and the maneuver, seizing ground; this is passé. They call it "a linear structure of combat" and say it no longer exists. . . . So now we have a war with a very new, prestigious, attractive, and intelligent world view. Thirty-three days! All we did is advance three or four kilometers from the international border line.

—Major General (retired) Avigdor Ben-Gal, *Israeli Army, discussing changes to Israeli military doctrine before the Second Lebanon War*

Initial remarks regarding Israeli military doctrine came from Major General Gershon Haco-hen, whose responsibilities include oversight of that doctrine and the IDF's military colleges. General Haco-hen's central message was that the security environment that his country con-

¹ Brun (2007).

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fronts cannot be characterized as having low-intensity contingencies on one end of the spectrum and high-intensity contingencies on the other. It is, instead, “integrated combat.”²

A desire to envision the conflict environment as a totality is commendable and has many benefits. Combat, political intercourse, civil relief, and the many other components that are part of any conventional war, stability operation, or other undertaking are intermeshed elements within a whole. The United States has had difficulties stemming, in part, from too great a focus on the combat component early in Operation Iraqi Freedom to the neglect of planning for post-regular warfare force-on-force activities. It is generally agreed that the IDF similarly became overly focused on counterterrorism activities in Gaza and the West Bank in the years preceding the Second Lebanon War, the result being a force that was very adept at those undertakings but less prepared for what it confronted in 2006 in southern Lebanon. General Hacoheh’s desired end—a macro, all-encompassing approach to future conflict—inherently contains a number of elements that could revolutionize the way in which modern nations approach armed challenges. Effectively applying an understanding of this reality would mean capably orchestrating all applicable elements of national power in support of the whole: the military to defeat the armed adversary, aid organizations to rebuild communities and separate the insurgent from the population, educational initiatives to assist in the creation or re-creation of able and effective governments. Thus far, however, such an end has been rarely achieved.

One reason is that it demands a fairly sophisticated understanding of conflict, first, to recognize that a systems approach is applicable and, second, to grasp that reality’s considerable complexities. Unfortunately, such understanding is not readily apparent. It tends to require years of study, decades of experience, or a combination of the two. There is thus a need to break a conflict into its (admittedly, overlapping) parts to make the whole comprehensible to those lacking the years of study or experience necessary to understand its nature. Teachers do not “drown” students by throwing them into mathematics classes that simultaneously cover arithmetic, algebra, calculus, and probability theory. They begin with basic relationships, build knowledge of key components, and then instruct on more sophisticated subjects when students understand the blocks that underlie the more complex topics. So it is with infantry tactics, air power, negotiating with government officials, and interacting with a population. The student of conflict—soldier or otherwise—must first grasp the importance of the parts rather than being ordered to simply “pacify the city” or “win the counterinsurgency.” General Hacoheh’s desired end shares common traits with the Australian Army’s “adaptive campaigning” approach and calls for whole-of-government campaigns. The approach considers addressing conflict from a top-down perspective that would dictate governmental organizational structures, training, planning, and levels of cooperation in a way that differs significantly from what is the norm today. Whether Israel, or any other government for that matter, can achieve and sustain such a capability remains an open question.

The quotation at the beginning of this section represents a second doctrine-related concern that was articulated by some conference attendees. A considerable number of active and

² Hacoheh (2007).

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former IDF personnel believe that Israel's armed forces doctrine became enamored with overly intricate and, perhaps, convoluted thinking in the years leading up to the 2006 fighting in Lebanon.³ Both internal and external factors influenced this development. Some concepts promoted within the IDF lacked the clarity and simplicity essential to a military's need to train for broad understanding. There was also a too-ready acceptance of foreign concepts with questionable utility to Israel's security challenges, such as the U.S. "effects-based operations" concept. The metaphor of a virus infiltrating Israel's service guidance was commonly expressed, with the IDF Institute for Campaign Doctrine Studies bearing no small part of the criticism:

The institute developed an alternative "conceptual framework" for military thinking, replacing traditional notions of "objective" and "subjection" with new concepts like "campaign rationale" and "conscious-burning" of the enemy. The doctrine's aim was to recognise the rationale of the opponent system and create an "effects-based" campaign consisting of a series of "physical and cognitive appearances" designed to influence the consciousness of the enemy rather than destroying it.⁴

The resulting confusion regarding how the IDF was to fight coincided with significant defense budget cuts in the years before the Second Lebanon War. The previously mentioned belief that Israel was unlikely to confront conventional warfare in the near future meant that ground forces suffered the brunt of the reductions.

This should not be taken to imply that the years leading up to the July–August 2006 conflict were without valuable advances on the conceptual front. Exchanges with the USJFCOM Joint Urban Operations Office, for example, included fruitful discussions regarding the types of challenges confronted in Gaza and elsewhere.⁵ IDF concepts presented during these sessions were frequently straightforward and elegant in their simplicity. Maneuver, traditionally understood in the context of "employment of forces in the battlespace through movement in combination with fire, or fire potential, to achieve a position of advantage in respect to the enemy in order to accomplish the mission,"⁶ was expanded. *Operational maneuver* was proposed to account for the broader context of modern operations in which the advantage need not be the product of fire or movement alone. Instead, it could involve "deploying campaign resources of all elements of national power and all forms of combat power in time and space to achieve specified objectives."⁷

What was arguably lacking in the Israeli doctrine and concept realm was not innovative thought, then, but critical debate that would provide an effective process for screening

³ Like the brief history of the Second Lebanon War, this discussion of overly complex military doctrine is adapted from Glenn (2008).

⁴ Ben-David (2007).

⁵ See, for example, the summaries of two IDF-USJFCOM conferences: Glenn (2007) and Glenn (2006).

⁶ Headquarters, U.S. Department of the Army, and Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps (2004, p. 1-117).

⁷ For further discussion of operational maneuver and the development of the concept, see Glenn (2006, pp. 22–23).

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new concepts. Retired IDF Major General Amiram Levin, author of a postwar evaluation of Northern Command's performance, believes that the concentration on intifada operations negatively affected doctrine, in addition to operational readiness. According to Levin, "continuous occupation in the territories has not only damaged training, procedures, [and] combat techniques, but has also damaged the IDF mentality" as the military's confidence grew despite the lack of serious challenges.⁸ Israel's conflict environment had changed, and its military had evolved accordingly. Conference speakers and attendees recognized both evolutions but questioned whether the country's political and military leadership had perhaps become too fixated on present challenges to the detriment of maintaining broader preparedness. It is to these issues that we now turn.

The Changed Nature of the Country's Security Environment

The Japanese on the Missouri. Paratroopers standing on Jerusalem's western wall and raising the flag. These are no longer the images of decision.⁹

—*Brigadier General Itay Brun, Israeli Air Force*

Major General Gershon Hacohen and Brigadier General Itay Brun were among those whose presentations contemplated the changed nature of Israel's defense environment. General Hacohen recalled for the veterans in the audience the fighting that took place in and near urban areas in Israel's earlier wars, battles in which the enemy's positions could be pinpointed and objectives were accordingly specified in detail. He then turned to the case of Jenin. Intelligence officers could not determine exactly where the foe was positioned. They could not pinpoint the buildings that would meet the attackers' objectives. It was a more amorphous situation, one for which the Israeli Army was less prepared. These differences in situation at the lower tactical level had counterparts at the operational and strategic echelons. General Hacohen first paraphrased Mordechai Gur, who commanded Israeli forces during the 1967 capture of Jerusalem, saying, "If the enemy had escaped, you would have said 'Thank you very much' and entered the Old City to live happily without actually firing one bullet."¹⁰ He then contrasted operations in the 2002 Jenin refugee camp with Gur's Six-Day War in which fighting around the holy city involved the use of conventional forces. In Jenin, Hacohen reminded his audience, seizure of terrain was not the objective. Had the IDF entered Jenin to find that the foe had fled, the objective of the operation would have remained unmet. Destruction of the enemy, not capture of the refugee camp, must be the goal, as Russian leaders recognized after they took Grozny, Chechnya, only to find themselves later battling an enemy that

⁸ Ben-David (2007).

⁹ Brun (2007).

¹⁰ Hacohen (2007).

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had deserted the city.¹¹ The value of seizing terrain has likewise changed in the enemy's eyes. Egypt's limited attack across the Suez Canal in 1973 was meant to capture ground that would later serve as a political bargaining chip during strategic negotiations. Subsequent fighting that year provided a lesson that remains with Israel's foes today: Seizure of land will spur IDF counterattacks that are difficult to withstand. The Palestinian and Hezbollah response has been to employ rockets and missiles to attack the country's home front, an alternative means of applying political pressure that avoids playing to Israeli strengths.¹²

This change from relying on physical occupation of terrain incorporates two adversary concepts referred to by Generals Hachon and Brun as "disappearance" and "saturated environments." Hezbollah's careful prewar concealment of remote rocket-launch locations meant that indirect-fire threats were difficult to hit, not because they were mobile (a long-standing tactic used during SCUD operations in 1991 Iraq and still the primary *modus operandi* in Gaza) but, rather, due to their excellent camouflage. Recognizing that technology permits the IDF and other well-equipped militaries to monitor and track missile or rocket launches, Hezbollah replaced mobility with disappearance. The tactic was a brilliant one, perhaps with roots in the organization's practice of positioning launch systems in or adjacent to structures that Israel would hesitate to engage (e.g., apartment buildings). General Brun lent credence to this relationship when he expanded the concept of disappearance beyond invisibility alone. He answered his own question ("How can you disappear?") by giving equal precedence to invisibility and use of the population for concealment,

first of all through immunity. The enemy is there, but you can't harm him either because there is no proof of his guilt or because he is physically protected or shielded, whether because he is underground, protected by civilians who are surrounding him, or because he is there but you can't see him because he is beneath the resolution of our collection means. [He can also disappear] by integrating himself within the legitimate mechanisms of national or civil organizations.¹³

In short, the saturated environment is a necessary partner of disappearance when the environment is an urban one.

When it comes to rocket and missile launchers, however, disappearance alone is of little value if the weapons being launched are of dubious accuracy and attractive targets within range are scarce. Thus, we have another symbiosis between concealment and saturated environments. When the target is the noncombatant, as is the case with Hamas, other groups in Gaza, or Hezbollah, densely populated environments are keys to successful indirect-fire campaigns. No one would be overly concerned if warheads impacted in open desert. It is the proximity of

¹¹ Hachon (2007).

¹² Hachon (2007).

¹³ Brun (2007).

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urban areas and the increased chances of random success in inflicting civilian casualties that make the tactics (and related strategy) of Hezbollah and Hamas practical.¹⁴

For the intelligence officer in a brigade, it was an inability to pinpoint enemy locations in Jenin. For the infantryman, it was an enemy that used innocents' homes as firing positions and noncombatants as shields. Changes in the strategic environment also confront Israeli society at large with unfamiliar circumstances. Their environment transitioned from one involving a constant threat of invasion interspersed with occasional outbreaks of war to one in which civilians felt constantly threatened by violence but had few worries about a war in the sense of 1973 and before. General Brun recalled,

Before Yom Kippur, we would leave home for a few days. We had an immediate and decisive victory. Then we returned to our homes and our friends. . . . Now, we find ourselves more and more involved in confrontations that can be characterized as limited and constantly ongoing. . . . In the past few years, we in the IDF have been finding ourselves trying to explain what decisive victory means.

What Israel confronted in July and August 2006 was neither the regular armies of 1967 and 1973 nor loosely structured, poorly trained, and ill-led Palestinian intifada fighters. Hezbollah studied its foe carefully and designed its military capabilities to avoid IDF strengths while capitalizing on weaknesses that were perhaps more evident to a perceptive outsider than within Israel's military. Colonel Oren Abman contemplated the result, concluding, "If we address the issues of quantity and quality of weapons, rockets, antitank weapons, and the various other means available to Hezbollah, then this is definitely an organization similar to a regular army, but one that employs guerrilla methods."¹⁵ Neither conventional force nor terrorist, it was a threat unlike any that Israel had confronted before and one for which it found itself less than fully prepared.

David Ozolek opened his presentation with comments that went directly to the heart of these challenges. Change, evolution, progress, transformation: By any name, it is an inevitable characteristic of conflict in general and armed conflict in particular. Change is therefore unremarkable. Lack of adjustment by opposing sides would, in truth, be shocking. In Ozolek's words, what is different now is the rate of change:

One of the things that we have discovered over the last few years is that the pace of change in the world today, the innovation of the treats that we are facing, is so great that we've had to significantly change the methods by which we organize, train, and enable joint forces.

¹⁴ Brun (2007). The concept of saturated environments is not limited to civilian-population considerations alone, however. General Brun highlighted the complexity of Israel's current security environment by including much more in the set of challenges that military and political leaders confront:

This is an environment saturated with rockets, antitank missiles, media. . . . This is an environment that can include urban and rural area, vegetation, and there is underground space, combatants, the population, and it is difficult to distinguish who is who. (Brun, 2007)

¹⁵ Abman (2007).

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. . . Our doctrine-development system has been too slow to respond to the pace of change that we are facing today, and now that we are facing an enemy that appears capable of almost completely reengineering and reconfiguring itself in about 18 months, a five-year doctrinal development process will not keep up with the threat. . . . We had to do some very difficult thinking and try something new. And what we have adopted in this decade is an experimental-based approach to doctrine development.¹⁶

Hezbollah adapted. Israel must assume that other demonstrated and potential enemies will do likewise, as does the United States in terms of the combatants that it now confronts worldwide. The adaptations are sometimes tactical, but adaptation is not limited to the tactical echelon alone. Changes initiated at the strategic level itself are also the norm. One of those proven most effective pertains to media operations.

Adaptation by Adversaries, Including Their Manipulation of Media Coverage

It is exactly the dominance, the absolute dominance achieved by the American forces and our forces in the air, and the dominance that allows us to control the ground from the air, that causes a renewed dominance of ground fighting in its most primitive form.¹⁷

—Major General Gershon Hacohen

Israel has undergone a makeover, not entirely of its own choosing. The David of 1973 and before finds itself the Goliath today. That is in part because the Goliaths of those former years find it beneficial to push new Davids forward while they stand in the background. In General Hacohen's words,

Hezbollah is the decision force, and the ground forces of the Syrian army have become the complementary force. In other words, the situation is the opposite [of what it was in 1973 and before]. This is the new logic of war as seen by Syria, Hezbollah, and Gaza. Hamas doesn't plan to go to Jerusalem with mechanized or infantry divisions.¹⁸

Not only has the Goliath of old pushed the puny (but well-armed and -trained) David forward to do its dirty work, the Goliath itself has adopted tactics that allow it to avoid the force-on-force confrontations that repeatedly proved so embarrassing in the past. Major General Eyal Ben Reuven noted,

The Syrian army has become an army that, on the one hand, has long-range strategic fire and, on the other hand, antitank capabilities as its main focus. The doctrine for them is

¹⁶ Ozolek (2007).

¹⁷ Hacohen (2007).

¹⁸ Hacohen (2007).

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very simple. It seeks a defensive stinging of Israel's maneuver capacity while also making war painful for Israel on the home front.¹⁹

Israel's foes fight not on the open battlefields of old, but, rather, in confrontations that avoid both head-to-head competition with superior might and portray Tel Aviv as the tormentor when it responds with raids by aircraft or ground forces.

This demonization cannot be accomplished by one entity alone. Pointing a finger and calling the other side a bully is unsavory when those listening include domestic audiences. Undermining Israel locally, regionally, and worldwide—one objective in the re-portrayal of the country as Goliath—requires witting or unwitting assistance from international media. Israeli senior journalist Lieutenant Colonel (retired) Ron Ben-Yishai concludes “that the media has become a central warfare tool for all sides, but it is especially used by guerilla and terrorist organizations that are the underdogs.”²⁰ Two factors are especially notable in this regard. The first is the ability of the individual journalist to communicate his or her messages single-handedly in real time. Small cameras and satellite communications mean that one person can transmit a news story with worldwide and strategic impact regardless of that individual's qualifications or objectivity. Second, unlike in the past, when media representing one side would rarely, if ever, be welcomed by the other side, it has become almost commonplace for competitors in a conflict to welcome commercial news representatives. All competitors work to present their actions and motivations in a favorable light. Ben-Yishai observes, however, that one “cannot hide or conceal the regular army”; its actions are generally open to viewing when the media are given access. The same is not true of the irregular adversary:

They are concealed; they can disappear and merge with their surroundings. As a reporter, I need to make an effort and to flatter so that they will allow me to show them in a controlled manner, in a way they want me to show them. They have the control, almost absolute control. And if they decide to be visible, this will be done on their terms.²¹

Concerns on the part of political and military leaders are understandable, given the potential influence of media communications on audiences and, ultimately, on strategic decision-making. Addressing these concerns is one of the objectives in the next chapter.

¹⁹ Ben Reuven (2007).

²⁰ Ben-Yishai (2007).

²¹ Ben-Yishai (2007).

CHAPTER THREE

Recommendations and Observations Regarding Identified Challenges

What we need is versatility, optimal versatility. . . . We cannot always build forces that are uniquely tailor-made for a particular operation. . . . We cannot invest only in defensive means. . . . We have to have an army that is built on basic capabilities but is capable of reorganizing itself in a tailor-made way for particular missions and very quickly altering its operations in order to target another theater.¹

—*Major General Gershon Hacohen, Israeli Army*

Chapter Two makes it clear that conference attendees were not timid in identifying what they believed were shortfalls in the IDF's performance during the Second Lebanon War. But they did not leave it at the problem-identification stage. They sought to build on lessons to improve force readiness. Discussions involving possible improvements can be divided into five general categories:

- ways of addressing new forms of conflict and operational concepts
- employing a whole-of-government approach in lieu of a military-dominated operation alone
- ensuring continuity within the tactical-operational-strategic linkage
- contemplating elimination of the corps echelon in Israel's ground forces
- employing experimentation in the search for economical and timely solutions.

Ways of Addressing New Forms of Conflict and Operational Concepts

As noted previously, Israel can no more afford to create separate “intifada” and “other contingency” forces than the United States can support a boutique military with highly specialized commands sitting on the shelf waiting to deploy. Versatility is the key characteristic identified by General Hacohen. Interestingly, it is the same characteristic that the 1993 U.S. Army *Operations* field manual added to the highly regarded four tenets—initiative, agility, depth, and synchronization—introduced in the respected forerunner editions in 1982 and 1986. Ver-

¹ Hacohen (2007).

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satility, “the ability of units to meet diverse mission requirements,” demands that commanders “be able to shift focus, tailor forces, and move from one role or mission to another rapidly and efficiently. Versatility implies a capacity to be multifunctional, to operate across the full range of military operations, and to perform at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels.”² The challenge, of course, lies in how to staff, equip, and train organizations for the full range of diverse mission requirements that today’s operational environment demands.

That challenge has less impact, perhaps, the higher one moves in a military hierarchy. True, experience and education based in conventional warfare do not immediately translate to a capability to conduct successful irregular operations. However, the fundamental planning, decisionmaking, and control skills apply, regardless of the contingency (though the continued need for school and self-education to inform mental flexibility is crucial). Colonel Abman emphasized the essentiality of better training headquarters from the chief-of-staff level to those at the lowest levels of command. He went on to commend a post–Second Lebanon War return to training soldiers at all echelons in the basics of warfighting, finding that even in the little over a year since that conflict, the IDF had managed to “take off a lot of the rust,” despite the considerable challenges in readying the individual soldier for both intifada duties and combat more akin to conventional warfare.³ Abman further provided a look into the future of the Israeli Army’s brigade command level, the echelon that spurred the most intense debate in the aftermath of the fighting in 2006 in Lebanon because many commanders at that level remained in their headquarters during the fighting. The goal: “We want to give the brigade commander the capacity not to be in his headquarters but at the front. . . . He should be where he can most influence the battle. We will give him the capacity to be at the front all the time while operating just as efficiently as he would from his own headquarters.”⁴

Retired Major General Yair Naveh emphasized the importance of the individual soldier in both successfully conducting combat operations and deterring further outbreaks of violence. It is boots on the ground, not the transient presence of an F-16 delivering its ordnance and departing, that is key to success in Gaza, the West Bank, or southern Lebanon in General Naveh’s view. That soldier must be more than an agent of fear, however. It is important “not to harm population that is not involved with terrorism. . . . If we decide to have a curfew on a certain neighborhood, bring in trucks with food and drinks for the people who are inconvenienced. The United States has developed this concept far more than Israel, but we have recently started doing it as well. I think this is a very wise thing to do.”⁵

Two other presenters offered additional insights regarding evolving operational environments. Bill Duff, formerly with the Royal Ulster Constabulary in Northern Ireland, emphasized the need to be conscious of international opinion because it can have a direct impact on strategic decisionmaking that is different from but sometimes no less influential than domestic

² Headquarters, U.S. Department of the Army (1993, p. 2-9).

³ Abman (2007).

⁴ Abman (2007).

⁵ Naveh (2007).

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attitudes. Duff saw “a direct parallel between Northern Ireland and Israel. In Northern Ireland, it can be said that the politicians . . . ignored the international perspective. And they lost out as a result.”⁶ Joe Galloway, drawing on his more than four decades of media experience, recalled how one of the United States’ most respected newscasters, Walter Cronkite, once “suggested that the media should accept a 12-hour [delay] on live broadcasts from the battlefield” so that transmissions “would not go out for at least 12 hours. Then, there is a chance for time to render intelligence less useful.”⁷ Cronkite—and Galloway—are correct. Such self-imposed restraints would reduce the chances of an intelligence compromise resulting from commercial broadcasts. They would also give reporters valuable time to consider the context of their messages, thereby helping to mitigate the negative effects of dispatches sent in the heat of the moment, during which objectivity is sometimes difficult to maintain.

Employing a Whole-of-Government Approach in Lieu of a Military-Dominated Operation Alone

Two Palestinians were facing the Minister of Defense [during a visit to a detention facility]. One of them stood up and said, “Mr. Prime Minister Yitshak Rabin. . . . You see all of this camp—the tents, the shacks, 10,000 or 12,000 people? Even if you put the entire Palestinian nation in between these fences, even if you kill us day in and day out, even if you do terrible deeds to us, even if you do all that, we are not going to break down.”⁸

The comments by General Yair Naveh, Bill Duff, and Joe Galloway allude to an aspect of recent conflicts that directly impacts the versatility called for by General Hachon and the U.S. Army’s 1993 *Operations* manual. Training, staffing, and equipping militaries for the broad range of missions they will confront is crucial, but nations such as Israel and the United States can no more sustain armed forces capable of meeting all demands of today’s conflict than they can create that designer force comprised of highly specialized units. Other parts of government must play a substantial role, much as they did during the rebuilding of Western Europe and Japan in the aftermath of World War II. As the duration of ongoing conflicts in Lebanon, Palestine, Israel, Iraq, and Afghanistan demonstrate, this whole-of-government approach can no longer wait for the cessation of hostilities. It must be ongoing, even as combat operations are ongoing.

Retired Israeli Army Major General Uri Sagi was among those who both identified this need and considered its implications. He recognized that “there are comprehensive threats that have nothing to do with the might of the IDF. Obviously, the power of the IDF is essential and necessary, but it’s not enough.” Sagi went on to express concern that there is potential for a dis-

⁶ Duff (2007).

⁷ Galloway (2007).

⁸ As related by Israeli journalist Eitan Habber during the conference.

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connect between the level of understanding needed to conduct effective whole-of-government operations and the expertise possessed by elected officials.⁹ (General Sagi's trepidations in this regard were widely shared in Israel in 2007. They were the result of what some felt was Prime Minister Olmert's too-heavy reliance on his chief of defense forces, General Dan Halutz, for defense-related advice during the Second Lebanon War.) Sagi believes that this lack of expertise imposes "a doublefold responsibility on the shoulders of the army," as it must both educate civilian officials and conduct operations.¹⁰

Yair Naveh emphasized these calls for broader government participation. Although he discounted a direct correlation between economic status and suicide bombers, he supported contentions that economic conditions in Lebanon, Gaza, and the West Bank influence the development of terrorism. Better economic status, resulting in reduced unemployment, both denies prospective terrorist recruiters and keeps young men from drifting into criminal organizations that also provide recruits for terrorist action. Naveh concluded, "We should put 90-percent emphasis on economic development. This is a very serious task that the police, Shin Bet, army, Mossad—all these organizations—need to understand . . . is a fixed, ongoing, daily objective they need to address."¹¹

Duff once again provided valuable context for discussion by drawing on hard-learned lessons from Northern Ireland and other British experiences. Fully supporting a whole-of-government approach, Duff warned that hard work and many mistakes marked the emergence of effective interagency operations in Northern Ireland. His observations provide convincing evidence that history offers valuable lessons that can prevent today's leaders from repeating past mistakes while speeding progress along the path to success:

The British Army and the British colonial police forces were involved in campaigns since before World War II. We had plenty of experience from Malaya between 1948 and 1960. We had people who fought in Cyprus in the '50s and '60s, in Kenya in the 1950s against the Mau Mau, and plenty of old Palestine policemen who had been here from the '30s. . . . So, all this experience was there, and yet we failed to utilize it. . . . It wasn't until 1978 that the first joint police and army patrolling patterns were established [in Northern Ireland]. . . . It was nearly 10 years. . . . You need to have formal structures [if you are to have successful interagency operations]. . . . Interagency cooperation can happen, not simply between the police and the army but the police, the army, and the political arm. But it must be structured. You must have formally set meetings. And you must have discipline. And you must have leadership. It took us 15 years to get up and running really well. It took us 10 years to get [Tactical Control Groups, to coordinate the tactical actions of the military, police, and other agencies]. If you look back to Malaya in 1952, General Templar was sent out to Malaya from the British Army to take command. Within six months, he had established the special branch training school. . . . We failed to learn from these other conflicts.

⁹ Sagi (2007).

¹⁰ Sagi (2007).

¹¹ Naveh (2007).

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And if I was asked if there is one thing that you could have done if you had been in charge in 1969 . . . I would have sent for 50 police and army commanders from the British Army and the colonial police forces from Malaya and Kenya and Cyprus, and the old Palestine police, and everywhere else, and put them in a big room for a week and asked, “What worked and what didn’t work?” Because, out of each one of those campaigns, I can guarantee you that we would have learned two or three things which took us 10 or 15 years to learn subsequently.¹²

Ensuring Continuity Within the Tactical-Operational-Strategic Linkage

General Naveh’s briefing specifically addressed the tactical-strategic linkage and its influence on Israel’s defense environment. Naveh recalled a controversial policy he put into effect during his tenure as commanding general of Israeli Central Command:

Palestinian terrorism is urban terrorism that seeks political impact. . . . Its main target is Israelis who live in the heartland of Israel. Therefore, when I was commander of Central Command, my first goal was not like in a regular area controlled by the army—to prevent terrorism in that area—but, rather, to prevent the transport of terrorism from my territory to areas outside of it. I was much more concerned with a suicide bomber exploding in Tel Aviv than in the Ariel Junction. Not everybody liked that because the personal tragedies are the same, regardless of location.¹³

General Naveh’s policy is notable for its pragmatic understanding of terrorism’s character. It demonstrates an inherent understanding of “saturated environments,” as addressed by Hacoen and Brun in their earlier presentations. Terrorism seeks impact. The terrorist requires attention if such acts are to have influence. Killing Israelis in a small village or along a remote road is a tragedy for those lost and those who knew them. The publicity gained from such events is effectively negligible, however. Slaying an equal number of citizens in Tel Aviv, where the density of witnesses, media representatives, and commercial enterprises affected is much greater, has the desired impact for terrorists, as General Naveh well understands. He had limited resources to dedicate to the prevention of terrorist attacks, like virtually any commander confronted with complex missions. Naveh therefore chose to use these resources to deny terrorist movements that would have had a direct strategic impact by undermining confidence in the national government and providing the perpetrating organizations with the international recognition on which they rely for funding, recruitment, and motivation.

¹² Duff (2007).

¹³ Naveh (2007).

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Contemplating Elimination of the Corps Echelon in Israel's Ground Forces

Although a number of organizational structure issues have arisen in wider discussions of the Second Lebanon War, only one received extensive attention during the two-day conference: the desirability of retaining the corps echelon of command in the ground forces. This topic generated some of the most heated debate in an event that was not short on passionate discussion.

Retired Major General Chayim Erez briefly reminded the audience of the history of the corps echelon in the Israeli Army, recalling that the establishment of corps headquarters came about after the 1973 Yom Kippur War “because one of the main lessons was that the regional command cannot control several divisions during the war, and after the decision was reached, there were heated debates which still continue today regarding the need.”¹⁴

Retired Major General Yiftach Ron Tal took the position that a corps echelon may no longer be required in the IDF's ground forces. He felt that the Second Lebanon War made it apparent that Israel does not “need to have another headquarters that makes things even more confused.”¹⁵ General Ron Tal further posited that the limited expanses of territory covered by Israel's conflicts are such that the corps echelon is not an essential component of effective command and control. He recognized that his should not be the last word, however, suggesting that further consideration of the issue is called for, stating, “I've stirred up a lot of emotions here” by positing that the IDF eliminate the corps level of command.¹⁶

Retired Major General Avigdor Ben-Gal followed with an alternative to the views expressed by General Ron Tal. Using historical examples, he reminded the audience,

The [1973] battles in both the southern theater with the Egyptians and in the northern one with the Syrians were managed by command headquarters which were very far away from the contact line. . . . Very often because of the distance [of] the commander . . . staff officers of the regional headquarters had no eye contact, or any contact, or direct, unmediated impression of what was going on at the contact line. . . . As a result, their decisions were either mistaken or didn't correspond with the events that took place on the battlefield, and this is why, sometimes, the right solutions weren't given.

Another reason for the establishment of the corps [was] that a division, or two or three divisions, could not win decisively on the contact line [unless] they were united under a command that knew how to concentrate the divisions for battle.

A corps headquarters . . . can be under the control of the chief of staff or theater commander. It can be an independent force. It can be whatever is decided in the war plan and in the campaign plan.¹⁷

¹⁴ Erez (2007).

¹⁵ Ron Tal (2007).

¹⁶ Ron Tal (2007).

¹⁷ Ben-Gal (2007).

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These two presentations, in turn, spurred extensive further commentary, with proponents of both perspectives expressing their views. The results of the exchanges are perhaps best summed up by two attendees encouraging the audience and the Israeli Army not to “throw out the baby with the bathwater,” a de facto proposal to further investigate the many facets of the argument before determining whether elimination of the corps echelon would indeed benefit the IDF.¹⁸

Employing Experimentation in the Search for Economical and Timely Solutions

Houston, we’ve had a problem here.

—*Astronaut Jack Swigert, during the Apollo 13 mission*

No less so than the United States, members of the Israeli defense community have an interest in economical, timely ways of finding solutions to existent and future problems. The process of coming up with a concept, designing a solution, developing a prototype, and testing the result during live exercises often takes years. As Dave Ozolek noted, the demand for rapid adaptation and evolution is critical in conflict environments in which the adversary adapts in months, weeks, and sometimes days. Old methods are inadequate. Fortunately, experimentation, often relying on computer simulation, is a way of rapidly testing concepts and technologies at a fraction of the resource expenditure required by more traditional approaches.

Mr. Ozolek expanded on his statement of the problem by comparing it to the emergency confronted by the three astronauts aboard Apollo 13 when their number-two oxygen tank exploded 200,000 miles from earth. As Ozolek explained, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) managers could not

put a bunch of technicians in a spaceship and send it up to help out with the spacecraft. That is physically impossible. So what they do instead is to create a model of the situation that the spacecraft is in. That’s essentially what we do in the experimentation program in the Joint Forces Command. When our operating forces anywhere around the world encounter a situation they are not equipped, organized, or trained to deal with, we get a call that says, “Joint Forces Command: We have a problem,” and we go into a process, then, that models that situation.¹⁹

How USJFCOM goes about addressing problems that occur in the field and how the results of consequent experimentation influence doctrine and technology development con-

¹⁸ Comments by Major General (retired) Sahike Gavish, Israeli Army, and Major General (retired) Eyal Ben Reuven, Israeli Army.

¹⁹ Ozolek (2007).

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stituted the essence of Ozolek's conference presentation. He explained that experimentation addressed three principal categories of need:

- conceptual work, generally drawing on activities currently employed in the field, which are introduced in experiments, the results of which then make their way into doctrine, when appropriate
- definition of requirements, i.e., determining what is needed in the field in situations in which the needed capability does not currently exist
- prototype development and introduction in the field.

Ozolek explained of the third category,

We work directly with the commanders of the operational units, ask them if they are willing to accept that 30-percent risk that they may not have a complete solution. And invariably, in every case in which we've done that—asked the commander if he wants 70 percent of something now or 99 percent of something three years from now—what answer do you think he gives us?

Experimentation is also a place to make mistakes at lesser cost, especially when those errors could cost lives during deployments. Reinforcing Israeli observations taken from the Second Lebanon War, Ozolek recalled USJFCOM experimentation work drawing on operations in Afghanistan, a recollection that fit well with calls for whole-of-government approaches:

What we learned very painfully from 2001 to 2003 was that it's more than a military problem. Military forces, military capabilities are certainly capable of going in and establishing security in a nonstable area, but unless we can do something to resolve the underlying conditions that are generating the instability, as soon as we remove the military forces, the instability returns and we're back to the same situation. . . . It only took nine years before we had to go back and restore stability in Haiti because we have failed to do that [address the underlying causes of instability].

Ozolek's comments reinforce the need for whole-of-government models if Israel and the United States are serious about meeting the full spectrum of their countries' security requirements. The potential is not only considerable resource savings but also better responsiveness to those committed to operations worldwide. USJFCOM has already dramatically reduced its response time to demands from the field, moving from a three-year average initiation-to-product-delivery time just five years ago to one of less than 12 months by late 2007.

The two days at Latrun provided a valuable forum for active and retired military officers and others from the defense community to exchange ideas concerning future paths for the IDF. The discussions also solicited thoughts regarding matters of importance to the armed forces of Israel and the United States, the implications of which extend beyond the issues receiving immediate coverage during the formal conference presentations. Drawn from less

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formal comments and postevent deliberation, these proceedings conclude with a consideration of three areas that are relevant to both ongoing and future U.S. and Israeli challenges.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion: Additional Implications from Latrun

Are we really getting ready for the war that has been or the wars that will be?

—*Question from a conference attendee*

Victory does not require achieving all of your objectives, but achieving more of yours than our enemy does of his.¹

—*Victor Davis Hanson*

The purpose of this concluding chapter is to draw on less formal comments and postevent consideration of the material discussed, with a particular focus on implications for future U.S. and Israeli security undertakings. These concluding remarks are considered according to three categories:

- employing the power of doctrine and security concepts
- responses to democratic elections
- the role of technology.

Employing the Power of Doctrine and Security Concepts

Previous discussions addressed the issues of (1) needing to understand that a nation's security challenges require overarching, macro consideration rather than piecemeal contemplation (e.g., a country suddenly confronted by major terrorist threats must not forget its broader spectrum of near-term and more distant threats), and (2) the necessity of respecting the age-old wisdom of “keeping it simple” when it comes to advising and conducting military operations. In the latter case, the Israeli apprehension that an intellectual virus infected their doctrine—and military thinking at large—merits U.S. thought. The acronym-filled, checklist-dominated race for new concepts that do little more than introduce new labels for longstanding truths is of little value. That is especially true if only the concepts' creators and a handful more can comprehend them. New perspectives and expansion of conflict-related theories should be encouraged. Adoption

¹ Hanson (2007).

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of the results in doctrine and formal military education should come only when they offer a substantive step forward. Newness is not merit enough. If adopted, they must be articulated in a manner that makes them accessible to those who will have to apply them during planning, training, and active operations. Innovation is desirable, simplicity of expression invaluable.

Fortunately, the process that produces U.S. military doctrine helps in this regard.² Theory is not doctrine. While theory, too, has to be understandable, it can tolerate greater ambiguity than can formal guidance provided to those readying for or already involved in active operations. Few desire to directly apply concepts taken from Clausewitz's *On War*, but many find the Prussian's concepts of value when put into a currently applicable and clearly articulated form.³

Doctrine should also play a role in ensuring that a force does not forget its responsibilities across the spectrum of conflict. Formal guidance that encourages and maintains an overarching perspective keeps at bay the intellectual shrinkage that a number of conference attendees feared had gripped some in Israel's military. This is not to imply that these men and women were not intelligent, but rather that their day-to-day focus on intifada issues alone may have unconsciously reduced their mental horizons. Leaders at the highest echelons cannot allow themselves to be dominated by near-term concerns. The same is true of those responsible for the training, doctrine, acquisition, or organization of the armed forces.

The ever-evolving nature of the security challenges confronted by Israel, the United States, and the nations with which they work demands that these countries' thinkers avoid any circumscription of their open-mindedness. A willingness to seek and accept innovative solutions is ceaselessly called for. The realm of shaping public perceptions provides a good example. Neither the United States nor Israel is satisfied with its performance with respect to influence operations. Part of the challenge lies in determining how best to meld media functions and military operations. Joe Galloway reminded the audience that, as is the case with so many of war's challenges, even the best military, political, and commercial minds have yet to resolve the issues posed by the interaction between the military and public affairs spheres:

[Civil War General William Tecumseh] Sherman is an interesting guy. He wrote a memoir. There is a whole chapter in there on the media, because his attitude during the war was that they were spies, and if any were apprehended near his headquarters, they were to be hanged. He said, though, that on reflection, that didn't seem to be the solution, because he had been bombarded by higher headquarters—civilian and military, and all other assorted folks—with criticism of what he proposed to do to the media. And so he said, "We must find some solution to this modern problem." But that is 130 years ago, and we yet don't have a solu-

² Formally, doctrine is as follows: "Fundamental principles by which the military forces or elements thereof guide their actions in support of national objectives. It is authoritative but requires judgment in application" (U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2001, p. 169).

³ See Clausewitz (1976).

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tion to General Sherman's problem. But we have to find one. Something that works for you and something that works for us.⁴

Responses to Democratic Elections

Reactions to elections in Iran (Ahmadinejad's selection as president) and the Palestinian territories (Hamas' accession to power in January 2006), like concerns during the Vietnam War, bring to the fore a conundrum for U.S. policymakers—one that can spur doubts regarding U.S. foreign-policy motivations. On the one hand, the United States touts its support for democracy. Yet, when the results of reasonably fair elections do not meet U.S. expectations, policy responses include refusing to deal with the resulting government or tolerating actions taken to neutralize successful but unattractive candidates. Such intolerance is undoubtedly counterproductive for the U.S. strategic image. It can also have negative repercussions on the ground. Counterinsurgency expert Kalev Sepp regretted that a wiser tact has not been taken, writing,

The post-war leadership of [the] Philippine[s] might have staved off the insurrection in 1946 by integrating representatives of the Huk minority into the newly established legislature. Instead, the new government jailed [Huk leader] Taruc and his deputy on trumped-up war-crime charges after their legitimate election to the national congress.⁵

While not a point of significant discussion at the conference, the similarity between some Israelis' views regarding recent elections in Iran and the Palestinian territories and U.S. policy in this regard highlights a significant disconnect between stated U.S. policies and actual practice. This discontinuity should be of concern to military forces. The inconsistencies negatively influence perceptions of their governments' forthrightness and, by extension, cause those working with armed-forces leaders to question U.S. motivations in general.

This does not imply that the behaviors of democratically elected officials are beyond reproach, nor that action should not be taken when those officials act in ways that void their legitimacy, regardless of the manner in which they came to office. However, immediately presuming a lack of such legitimacy, as characterized responses to Taruc's 1946 election and the 2006 empowerment of Hamas, undercuts U.S. legitimacy and potentially casts aside a valuable opportunity for resolving issues that may only worsen over time.

⁴ Galloway (2007).

⁵ Sepp, in Valeriano and Bohannon (2006, p. viii).

The Role of Technology

Questions about the legitimate role of technology on the battlefield spurred discussions that were nearly as intense as those involving the relative merits of retaining or eliminating a corps echelon in the Israeli Army. The already noted performance of brigade commanders was the primary stimulus for these debates. The primary reason given for so few in these leadership positions having ventured north out of their headquarters during the Second Lebanon War was their choosing (or feeling compelled) to remain at their headquarters, the central receiving node for information. Technology has become the focus, as some brigade commanders apparently felt that separation from their information umbilical cords would sever the feed that was essential to effective command and control. As in the case of the corps-echelon deliberations, this problem merits further study. The issue seems not to be whether the brigade commander should go forward or remain at headquarters, however. Combat veterans from previous wars were nearly unanimous in calling for those leading brigades to move forward. As alluded to by Colonel Abman previously, the underlying issues involve determining how much information brigade commanders should have when they are forward and how to provide it to them.

David Ozolek asked to informally address the conference after listening to the exchanges involving these challenges. His comments are worth quoting at length due to their applicability to the specific issue under consideration and their wider implications for the employment of technology in support of security operations:

There are two fundamental principles that I recommend you consider as you look at technological solutions [for the future]. The first is that you can never, ever consider technology as a substitute for good leadership and effective training. You can use technology to enhance them, but you can't use technology to replace them. . . . Secondly, there is a relationship between the technology and the method used to employ that technology. One of the things we have learned is that any technology is only as good as the method used to employ it.

[For example, there remains] tremendous resistance from the legacy community, from the current and past generation of operational commanders when it comes to relying on a distributed staff that is 10,000 kilometers away [from the area of operations].⁶ What we have repeatedly demonstrated is that not only can we provide reliable, continuous support at the same level that the forward staff can provide through the network, we can actually create better staff products faster.

[There is also much to be learned from previous efforts to combine unmanned aerial vehicles] and other types of platforms and sensors. The problem we had was that we were looking for the same old stuff. We were using those sensors to help us locate tanks, artillery,

⁶ By *distributed staff*, Ozolek means being able to "reach back" to capabilities beyond a theater when addressing challenges, conducting planning, or otherwise conducting staff operations. For example, a commander might minimize the size of a headquarters in a resource-constrained theater, choosing to leave some staff back in the United States who provide support via computer links, videoteleconferences, or other means.

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infantry—things that had nothing to do with the real battle that was under way. . . . We destroyed those targets very effectively and wondered why, even though we were having great tactical success, we weren't making operational progress. . . .

Finally, I would warn against the idea of attempting to solve an operational problem with technology. . . . We have spent \$3 billion each year for the past three years to develop technical solutions to the improvised explosive device problem and we've had almost no impact on the casualty rates. . . . We are only now beginning to understand that this is an operational problem. Instead of attacking the device, what we need to attack is the system that enables the threat to create and exploit the device. . . .

Maybe the most compelling examples of the role the new technology can play occurred during our advance on Baghdad in April 2003. You may remember that the 3rd Infantry Division (which was our lead element for the march on Baghdad) was about to encounter a major sandstorm expected to last for several days. All of the commentators who were reporting back from the field were mentioning that there was great danger here because the sandstorm would cause U.S. forces to halt. This would give an advantage to the Iraqis because they were accustomed to operating under those conditions and we weren't. [There were fears that we] would become disorganized in the storm, giving the Iraqis the opportunity to recover, reorganize, and counterattack. The march on Baghdad was at risk.

Now, what really happened? Technology intervened along with commanders who very cleverly employed it. There were about three technological advantages that we employed that changed the entire [outcome of the battle]. The first was something that we called Blue Force Tracker. Almost every combat system in the 3rd Infantry Division was equipped with a [global positioning system] locator and a networking system that enabled the U.S. commander to know exactly where every one of his systems was across the division. So he could look at the screen in his tank and see exactly where his forces were. He was connected to the air component that had sensors flying around. [We also had a combination of human-operated and drone sensors] that we were using to locate the exact position of the Iraqis. The Iraqis had none of this. They stopped. They just stopped. The 3rd Infantry Division—because it knew where all of its systems were and exactly where the Iraqis were—was able to turn that sandstorm into a tremendous tactical advantage. . . . Then, with the use of the old technology—sights on our tanks—they could see through the storm and were able to engage those Iraqi tanks, personnel carriers, artillery, and infantry before they even knew what was happening. Instead of the sandstorm slowing us, it accelerated the march on Baghdad because it enabled us to exploit those advantages to destroy an Iraqi division in a matter of hours, something that otherwise would have taken us days. That requires commanders accepting risks. A more timid commander would say, "Let's stop until the sandstorm is over. Then, we will resume, because I don't have confidence in the ability of the technology to keep me informed." We had aggressive commanders. We had technological superiority over the threat. We used it aggressively. It was a huge tactical and operational success. So the moral of my story: Don't be afraid of technology, but at the same time don't

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expect miracles from technology. It's only going to be as good as the methods you develop to employ it and as the commanders who exploit its [capabilities].⁷

Final Remarks

Victor Davis Hanson's statement cited at the beginning of this chapter—that victory in war simply requires achieving more objectives than the enemy does—is overly simplistic. But the real message is the one underlying the declaration: Victory is more often relative than absolute. Israel struggled with the apparent demise of decisive warfare no less than the United States did in the aftermath of Korea and Vietnam and as it is currently in Afghanistan and Iraq. Both Israel and the United States are coming to grips with the reality that success is as likely—or even more likely—to be measured in degrees rather than absolute terms. Crushing military victory, followed by the handover to a civilian entity and a grand exit, will be a rare event, at least in the near term. More often, the conflict will drag on, sometimes with the military in charge, other times with law enforcement, an aid agency, or another organization in the lead. Pinpointing the end of a war, insurgency, or other form of struggle will be hard to achieve in retrospect, much less as it occurs. That end will be less a product of armed action in isolation than one in which military might is only one component of a grander government effort. Militaries and governments should adjust now accordingly.

Reviewing the past is essential to ensuring that these adjustments are well considered. These proceedings opened with Basil Liddell Hart's remark regarding projection of the past onto the screen of the future. His insight provides a particularly apt metaphor, given Israel's situation as the country contemplates its armed forces' performance in July–August 2006. History's lessons from 1967, 1973, 1980s Lebanon, the ongoing intifada, and, now, the Second Lebanon War provide rich ore from times past for use in creating policies and forces for the future. Yet that value is lost if the projector of the present is misused. Drawing only on the conventional warfare lessons of 1967 and 1973 covers half of the projector's lens. Covering that lens entirely and poking but a small hole that reveals only the past few years' intifada lessons is no less harmful. Blurring the focus by using unnecessarily complex military theory and creating resultantly convoluted doctrine makes it difficult to see what the past offers for the future. Equally harmful is restricting entry to theater with bureaucratic jealousies or a willingness only to preach rather than listen and participate in constructive discussion. The projector of the present is here. Conferences such as the one held in Latrun on November 13–14, 2007, potentially power the machine. The extent to which the images help to provide for a better future lies with those who attend.

In a sense, the Second Lebanon War was a timely one. Costly but not too much so, painful but not overly threatening to Israel's survival, it provided an opportunity to discover shortfalls before their fuller and more damaging effect was realized. Yet opportunity provides only

⁷ Ozolek (2007).

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potential. Discovery, understanding, and appropriate actions in light of the war are not inevitable for Israel or others who might learn from it. Bill Duff advised, “We shouldn’t be scared of external reviews.”⁸ Organizations can be defensive when it comes to outside reviews of their performance. Militaries are not immune to that discomfort. Sometimes, such defensiveness can close doors (and minds) to ideas worthy of consideration. The Armored Corps Association is at once a part of the IDF and separate from it, meaning that its members understand the nature of military challenges but must remind themselves that their experiences are the history that makes the projector of today relevant. The intentions of those behind the two-day conference are clear. The Armored Corps Association seeks not to criticize but to assist. That active members of the IDF participated in this first-ever event hopefully marks the beginning of a long and mutually beneficial relationship.

⁸ Duff (2007).

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APPENDIX A

Conference Agenda

Tuesday, November 13

Speaker	Time	Subject	Chair
	Until 0900	Registration	
Major General (ret.) Chayim Erez, chair, Armored Corps Association	0900–0915	Opening remarks	
Major General Gershon Hachon, Israeli Army and head of the IDF colleges	0915–1000	“The Future of the Field Force Command”	Brigadier General (ret.) Gideon Avidor, Israeli Army (last assignment: deputy commander, Armored Corps)
Brigadier General Itay Brun, Israeli Air Force	1000–1045	“Threat Theaters, Weapons, and Doctrine”	
	1045–1100	Break	
Brigadier General (ret.) Shalom Harari, Palestine terrorism movement expert	1100–1130	“Ideological Influences in Future Fundamentalist Islam”	
Colonel (ret.) Ron Ben-Yishai, senior journalist	1130–1200	“Media Influence on Operations and the Accomplishment of War Aims—The Israeli Case”	Etan Haber, senior journalist
Joe Galloway, retired senior military correspondent	1200–1230	“Media Influence on Operations and the Accomplishment of War Aims—The U.S. Case”	
	1230–1300	Discussion	
	1300–1400	Lunch break	
Major General (ret.) Uri Sagi, Israeli Army	1400–1430	“The Political/Military Interface: Specifying War Aims and Its Strategic Concepts”	
Major General (ret.) Yair Naveh, Israeli Army (last assignment: IDF Central Command commander)	1430–1500	“Controlling Populated Areas—The West Bank Case”	Russell W. Glenn, RAND Corporation
Bill Duff, Royal Ulster Constabulary (ret.)	1500–1530	“Controlling Populated Areas—The Northern Ireland Case”	

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Tuesday, November 13—Continued

Speaker	Time	Subject	Chair
	1530–1600	Discussion	
David Ozolek, Joint Futures Laboratory and Joint Urban Operations Office, USJFCOM	1600–1630	“Doctrine Development Methods in the U.S. Military”	Russell W. Glenn
	1630–1730	Discussion	

Wednesday, November 14

Speaker	Time	Subject	Chair
	Until 0830	Registration	
Colonel Oren Abman, Israeli Army, head of the Field Forces Command doctrine	0830–0910	“The IDF’s Field Force Achievements Since the War in Lebanon”	Major General (ret.) Nattie Sharoni (last assignment: head of IDF planning)
Major General (ret.) Yiftach Ron Tal, Israeli Army (last assignment: Field Forces commander)	0910–0950	“Digitalization and Its Influence on Doctrine”	
Major General (ret.) Avigdor Ben-Gal, Israeli Army (last assignment: Northern Command commander)	0950–1030	“Corps Operations in the Current Operational Scenarios”	Major General (ret.) Menachem Meron (last assignment: head of IDF doctrine and general manager, Israel Ministry of Defense)
Major General (ret.) Eyal Ben Reuven, Israeli Army (last assignment: corps commander)	1030–1110	“The Future Combat Vehicle”	
Major General Avi Mizrahi, head of IDF Logistics Command	1110–1150	“Fighting Continuity—The Logistics Effort in Heavily Populated Areas”	
	1150–1315	Lunch break	
Brigadier General Yakov Shaharabani, head of IAF Helicopters Division	1315–1400	“The Air Force Share in the Maneuvering Battle”	Major General (ret.) Menachem Meron
Brigadier General (ret.) Asaf Agmon, CEO, Fisher Institute	1400–1445	“The Air Force—Another Point of View”	
Joseph Ackerman, president, Elbit Systems	1445–1530	“The Defense Industry—Defense Forces Relationships”	
	1530–1600	Break	
Lieutenant General (ret.) Ehud Barak, Israeli Minister of Defense	1600–1645	“Israel’s Defense Policy”	Major General (ret.) Menachem Meron
Major General (ret.) Chayim Erez	1645–1700	Closing remarks	

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APPENDIX B

Selected Speaker Biographical Information

Colonel Oren Abman

Colonel Abman currently serves as head of the Ground Forces Doctrine Department and as a reserve infantry brigade commander. He joined the IDF in 1987 as a soldier in the Golani infantry brigade. Colonel Abman served as a soldier, platoon commander, company commander, special antiguerrilla unit executive officer, and battalion commander in the Golani brigade, specializing in offensive antiguerrilla operations against Hezbollah in Lebanon. Colonel Abman also served as a battalion commander in the security zone of Southern Lebanon, participating in Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon, among other operations.

In 2002–2003, Colonel Abman participated as a battalion commander and brigade executive officer in Operation Defensive Shield in major Palestinian cities and refugee camps in the Israeli effort to stop Palestinian violence against Israeli cities. His latest combat assignment was as the commander of the territorial brigade in the Jenin area, which was considered the “suicide bomber’s capital” during the years of the Palestinian terrorist attacks against Israeli cities. During his years of command, the amount and lethality of Palestinian terrorism against Israel was substantially limited by IDF forces, saving many Israeli lives.

During his military career, Colonel Abman completed the following professional courses: IDF Officer’s Course, Combat Engineering Officer’s Course, Company Commander’s Course, IDF Command and Staff College courses, Battalion Commander’s Course, Advance Infantry Officer’s Course (Fort Benning, Georgia), and IDF National Defense College courses. Colonel Abman has a B.A. in political science and Middle East studies from Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and an M.A. in political science (focusing on counterterrorism) from the University of Haifa.

Joseph Ackerman

Joseph Ackerman has served as president and CEO of Elbit Systems Ltd. since 1996 and chair of the Defense Industry Forum of the Israeli Electronic Manufacturers Association. He also serves as chair or director on the boards of many of the companies in the Elbit Systems Group. Ackerman joined Elbit Ltd. in 1982 and has held various management positions, including

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senior vice president and general manager of Elbit Defense Systems Division, general manager of EFW Inc., senior vice president of Operations Group, and vice president of Advanced Battlefield Systems. Prior to joining Elbit, he owned and operated an agricultural business. Ackerman served as an officer and flight test engineer in the IAF. He holds a B.S. in aeronautical engineering from the Technion, the Israel Institute of Technology.

Brigadier General (Retired) Asaf Agmon

Brigadier General (retired) Asaf Agmon is managing director of the Fisher Institute for Air and Space Strategic Studies. He has a B.A. in economics and business administration (with honors) from Tel Aviv University and an M.A. in social sciences from the University of Haifa. He is also a graduate of the IDF National Defense College and the Royal Air Force Staff College.

From 1993 to 1996, General Agmon was IDF attaché and head of the Ministry of Defense mission to Japan and South Korea. Other prior positions included commander of the IDF Liaison Unit, commander of Lod AFB, commander of Sde Dov AFB, head of the Special Operations Section and the Integrated Operations Section, squadron commander, and service in other positions in the IAF. Since 1997, he remains an active pilot in the IDF reserves and has received the IAF Commander's Citation for activity in a classified special operation.

General Agmon is founding partner of the following companies: Solgood Communications, Solgood Trading Ltd. (currently, Agmon Trading), and Segway Israel. He also serves on the boards of several companies. Since September 2007, he has served as director of the FIRST Israel Project Administration (a world robotics competition with the participation of junior high schools and high schools in Israel) and has been a board member of the Fidel Association (which promotes education in Ethiopia) since 2000.

Minister of Defense Lieutenant General (Retired) Ehud Barak

A former career officer and chief of staff, Knesset member, minister, and Israel's prime minister from 1999 to 2001, General Barak was born in 1942 in Kvutzat Mishmar Hasharon. He joined the IDF in 1959 and fought in the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War. In May 1972, he commanded the rescue operation of the passengers of the Sabena airliner, which was hijacked by members of Black September and landed at Lod Airport. Ehud Barak was one of the 10 combatants who stormed the plane dressed as technicians. In June 1976, he was one of the planners of Operation Entebbe, in which the passengers of an Air France airliner who were kidnapped by terrorists were rescued. In 1982, he was appointed head of the IDF Planning Branch and in Operation Peace for Galilee, he served as deputy commander of the force that operated in the Lebanon Valley. In 1991, he was appointed chief of staff. Over the course of his military service, he completed his bachelor's degree in physics and mathematics at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and his master's degree in systems analysis at Stanford University in

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California. He retired from the IDF on January 1, 1995. General Barak received the highest number of decorations in the IDF for his military service: the Distinguished Service Medal and four citations for courage and excellence in combat.

In 1995, he was appointed interior minister in the government of Yitzhak Rabin. After Rabin's assassination, he was appointed foreign minister under Shimon Peres. He was elected to the 14th Knesset on the Labor Party ticket. In the elections for the 15th Knesset and prime minister (1999), he won the race against Benjamin Netanyahu as head of the One Israel list.

On December 10, 2000, he announced his resignation from the post of prime minister so that elections could be held for prime minister only. In 2001, Barak lost the position to Ariel Sharon and resigned his post as party chair. In the following years, he retired from politics and gave frequent lectures in Israel and around the world on policy issues. In 2007, he was once again elected chair of the Labor Party and was appointed defense minister and deputy prime minister under Ehud Olmert.

Major General (Retired) Eyal Ben Reuven

Major General (retired) Eyal Ben Reuven has been head of the IDF's military colleges (the National Defense College, the Staff College, and the College of Tactical Command) since April 2004 and head of the Northern Corps since December 2000. He founded and leads Mifne (Turning Point), a senior leadership and management program for senior officers.

He has also served as head of staff of the field service and, while in that office, led the change of the field corps headquarters into the field service. He has commanded armored brigades, divisions, and regiments; has led courses for brigade regiment and company commanders; and established and commanded the IDF's Merkava 3 brigade. He commanded the 188/71 Armored Regiment during the 1985 war in Lebanon and was a member of a tank crew in the Yom Kippur War. General Ben Reuven has a B.A. in political science and an M.A. in defense studies from Haifa University and is a graduate of the U.S. Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) Ron Ben-Yishai

Israeli senior journalist Ron Ben-Yishai was born in Israel in 1943. He holds a B.A. in economics and geography from Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He is a graduate of the Biram Military Academy at the Reali School in Haifa, an infantry officer course, a company commander course, and two advanced courses for senior command and staff positions in field intelligence. He has held command positions with paratroop units and the infantry brigades, most recently as company commander. His reserve service includes command positions in paratroop units, including commanding under combat in the Six-Day War and the War of Attrition. His most

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recent position was commander of intelligence-collecting array in a special forces formation. His current rank is lieutenant colonel (retired).

As a reporter during the Yom Kippur War, he received a commendation from the IDF chief of staff for saving lives and demonstrating composure under fire. From 1983 to 1986, he was commander of Galei Tzahal, the Israeli media outlet. From 1995 to 1996, he was editor-in-chief and CEO of the *Davar* and *Davar Rishon* newspapers. His reporting has garnered worldwide attention and numerous awards. During his journalism career, he has been injured while covering regional and international conflicts.

Colonel Ben-Yishai has served as a correspondent and commentator for print, radio, and television outlets and has directed and edited documentaries. From 1986 to 1995, he was a Middle East affairs correspondent and special correspondent for covering conflicts and wars in Asia and Latin America for *Time Magazine*. From 1993 to 1994, he was editor and host of the investigative journalism show *Reshet Hokeret*. Currently, he is a commentator for international affairs and senior correspondent for special assignments for *Yediot Aharonot* and Ynet, the Israeli news outlet.

Brigadier General Itay Brun

Since September 2006, Brigadier General Itay Brun has served as head of the Dado Center for Interdisciplinary Military Studies. From 2005 to 2006, he served as the senior assistant for analysis to the head of the Israeli Defense Intelligence Analysis Division. There, he was responsible, inter alia, for political-strategic assessment and analysis methodology. Between 2001 and 2004, he served as the head of the Israeli Air Force Intelligence Analysis Department.

General Brun is a graduate of the IDF Command and Staff College. His academic background integrates law and political science. He earned his LL.B (law studies degree), cum laude, from Haifa University and has a master's degree in political science (diplomacy and security studies), cum laude, from Tel Aviv University. From 1995 to 1996, he served as an articulated clerk to the legal advisor of the Israeli Ministry of Defense and was admitted to the Israel Bar Association in 1996. General Brun has published several articles on intelligence and air power issues. In 2000, he was awarded the IDF Chief of Staff's prize for military writing for his article "Asymmetric Warfare."

Bill Duff

Bill Duff served in the British Army's Parachute Regiment and Ulster Defence Regiment prior to becoming a member of Northern Ireland's Royal Ulster Constabulary. His service with the police covered 28 years, primarily in positions involving intelligence-related duties. He was a special branch surveillance operator, member of the special weapons and tactics (SWAT) team, headquarters desk officer, instructor, and case officer on the Tasking and Coordination Group.

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Duff retired from the position of detective superintendent in charge of the Force Intelligence Bureau (Crime Intelligence). His active-duty and post-retirement activities include acting as a regular lecturer to police, military, and intelligence agencies and serving as a consultant.

Duff has a B.S. from the Open University and an M.A. in Irish politics and history from Queens University, Belfast. He is a fellow of the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies.

Joseph Galloway

Joseph L. Galloway recently retired as senior military correspondent for Knight Ridder, working in its Washington bureau. He is the author of a weekly syndicated column on military and national security affairs. Upon retirement, Galloway moved to Copano Bay in south Texas, where he is working on a new book and does public speaking engagements. Prior to joining Knight Ridder in early 2003, Galloway was a special consultant to General Colin Powell at the U.S. Department of State and was sworn into government service on September 10, 2001.

A native of Refugio, Texas, Galloway spent 22 years as a foreign and war correspondent and bureau chief for United Press International (UPI) and nearly 20 years as a senior editor and senior writer for *U.S. News and World Report*. His overseas postings include tours in Japan, Vietnam, Indonesia, India, and Singapore, as well as three years as UPI bureau chief in Moscow. Over the course of 15 years of foreign postings, Galloway served four tours as a war correspondent in Vietnam and covered the 1971 India-Pakistan War and half a dozen other combat operations for UPI. From 1990 to 1991, he covered Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm, riding with the 24th Infantry Division (Mech) on assignment for *U.S. News and World Report*. General H. Norman Schwarzkopf has referred to Galloway as “the finest combat correspondent of our generation—a soldier’s reporter and a soldier’s friend.”

He is co-author, with Lieutenant General (retired) Hal G. Moore, of the national best-seller *We Were Soldiers Once . . . and Young*, which was made into the critically acclaimed movie *We Were Soldiers*, starring Mel Gibson. Currently, the book is in print in six languages, and four English editions have sold more than 1.2 million copies. He also co-authored *Triumph Without Victory: The History of the Persian Gulf War* for Times Books.

On May 1, 1998, Galloway was decorated with a Bronze Star with V for rescuing wounded soldiers under fire in the Ia Drang Valley in Vietnam in November 1965. His is the only medal of valor awarded by the U.S. Army to a civilian for actions during the Vietnam War.

Galloway received the National Magazine Award in 1991 for a *U.S. News and World Report* cover article on the 25th anniversary of the Ia Drang Battles, as well as the National News Media Award of the U.S. Veterans of Foreign Wars in 1992 for coverage of the Gulf War. In 2000, he received the President’s Award for the Arts of the Vietnam Veterans Association of America, and in 2001, he received the BG Robert L. Denig Award for Distinguished Service, presented by the U.S. Marine Corps Combat Correspondents Association. In 2005, he received the Tex McCrary Award for Media Excellence from the Congressional Medal of

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Honor Society and the Abraham Lincoln Award of the Union League Club of Philadelphia. He is a member of the advisory boards of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, the nonprofit organization No Greater Love (founded to assist victims of war), the 1st Cavalry Division Association, the School of Social Studies and History at the Citadel, the Museum of America's Wars, and the National Infantry Museum Foundation.

Major General Gershon Hacohen

Major General Gershon Hacohen enlisted in the IDF in 1973, joining the Nahal Brigade, and participated in the Yom Kippur War as an infantry soldier on the Egyptian front. Following the war, he joined the Armor Corps and graduated from the officers' course. He held various command positions within the 7th Armor Brigade and served in the 1982 Lebanon War.

From 1983 to 1987, General Hacohen assumed command of a reserve battalion, during which time he also completed his M.A. in philosophy and comparative literature at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. From 1987 to 1988, he commanded an armored battalion in the 7th Brigade, followed by an assignment as commander of a battalion in the Armor Officer's Course. In 1990, he was promoted to colonel and assumed command of a reserve brigade while also holding the position of head of the Ground Forces Headquarters Doctrine Department. In 1993, he assumed command of the 7th Armor Brigade, a position that he held until 1995. From 1995 to 1997, he served as deputy commander of the 36th Division.

In 1997, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general and commanded a reserve division in the Northern Command for three years. In 2000, he was appointed head of the General Staff Training and Doctrine Division. In 2003, he assumed command of the 36th Armor Division and during his term was appointed by the Chief of Staff to lead the military forces that were implementing the disengagement from the Gaza Strip. In March 2006, he was promoted to major general and assumed his current post as commander of the IDF colleges.

Brigadier General (Retired) Shalom Harari

Retired Brigadier General Shalom Harari is a graduate of the military academy of the Reali School in Haifa and Tel Aviv University's Department of Middle Eastern and African History. He began his career as a military intelligence officer in the Research Department, specializing in the research of Arab armies, first the Iraqi and Syrian armies and, later, the Egyptian army.

At the second stage of his position, he served as a staff officer in intelligence-collecting capacities and specialized in overt and covert intelligence, serving as a chief instructor in structuring the advanced course for intelligence research officers. Beginning in 1977, General Harari began to serve in the Judea and Samaria headquarters as a staff officer in the Arab Affairs Division. He specialized in the northern section of the Judea and Samaria region, and, later, in the southern section (Judea and Jerusalem).

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In 1983, he was appointed head of the Arab Affairs Division in the Judea and Samaria headquarters and promoted to the rank of colonel. He was in charge of daily relations with leaders of the Palestinian public and was subordinate to the head of the Civil Administration and the coordinator of Government Operations in the Territories. In this position, he specialized in the political, religious, social, media, academic, and cultural activities of the populations of Judea, Samaria, Gaza, and East Jerusalem, as well as the activity of Palestine Liberation Organization affiliates and related Islamic factions, and their mutual links internally and with foreign elements.

General Harari is a graduate of the intelligence community Arabic ulpan course, the Senior Inter-Service Intelligence Course, and a course on mass media in the United States. He is a senior research fellow at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism at the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya and a senior research fellow at the Middle East Media Research Institute. He lectures in Israel and abroad and monitors Palestinian and Arab media on a daily basis. He also serves intermittently as an external consultant on the Palestinian issue to bodies in the defense establishment and as an advisor to government ministers. He is also a member of special-purpose think tanks in the Israeli defense establishment on the Palestinian issue.

General Harari serves as an instructor for courses in the Israeli intelligence community and is an instructor in the Palestinian segment of the IDF National Defense College and the IDF Command and Staff College. In addition, he has led staff courses for foreign armies. Over the past 25 years, Harari has served as a member of several major government committees in defense-related topics, including the committee on Jerusalem's security, the main committee on defense affairs (on relations between Israel and the territories), and the separation planning committee. Between 1997 and 2000, General Harari organized tours to Area A (the Gaza Strip, Judea and Samaria, and East Jerusalem) to acquaint Israelis with the economic-political and religious structure of the Palestinian Authority with the help of Palestinian civilian and defense agencies. Currently, he conducts tours in the field in preparation for a review of issues related to the seamline and the fence.

General Harari is also a regular lecturer in defense establishment institutions and continues to perform active reserve duty in matters concerning the territories in an attempt to contribute his cumulative experience to improving the activity of civil administration bodies and other organizations vis-à-vis the Palestinians. In May 2004, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general (retired) by the IDF chief of staff, with the authorization of the minister of defense and the coordinator of Government Operations in the Territories.

Major General Avi Mizrahi

In 1975, Major General Avi Mizrahi was drafted into the IDF's Golani special forces and later served in the Armored Corps in a number of command and deputy command positions, including company commander in the Yishai Formation, company commander in the Benai Or Formation, deputy battalion commander in the Kfir Formation, commander of the Nah-

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shon Tank Battalion, second in command of the Benai Or Brigade, commander of an officers' course in the Armor Corps, commander of the Reserves Brigade of the Armored Corps, commander of the central school of the Armored Corps, and commander of the Ikvot Ha'Barzel Armored Brigade.

Later, he served as the IDF Ground Forces overseas representative in the United States, commander of the Amud ha'Esh formation, commander of a course for company and battalion commanders, and commander of Ga'ash Formation. In his final position, he served as chief of staff of IDF Army Headquarters. Between the 1982 and 1988, he was released from the IDF and worked in security positions abroad.

General Mizrahi is a graduate of the military academy of the Reali School in Haifa and holds a B.A. in business administration and computers from Pace University in New York. He is currently head of logistics, Medical and Centers Directorate.

Major General (Retired) Yair Naveh

Major General Yair Naveh was born in 1957. In 1975, he was drafted into the IDF and served in the Golani infantry brigade, serving in all positions, from company commander to brigade commander. His most recent position was as general commanding officer of Central Command. Since 2007, he has been senior vice president of Azorim Investment Co. Ltd. General Naveh has a bachelor's degree in history and political science, a master's degree in political science and Middle Eastern Studies, and a master's degree in business administration from Tel Aviv University. He graduated from the National Defense College with honors and is also a graduate of the Command and Staff College.

David J. Ozolek

David J. Ozolek is executive director of the Joint Futures Laboratory, USJFCOM, where he provides executive oversight of concept development and experimentation on capabilities and concepts required for the next decade, as well as prototyping of capabilities for the joint warfighter. He is a member of the U.S. Department of the Navy's Senior Executive Service and a retired Army officer.

Ozolek was commissioned in the U.S. Army in 1970 as a distinguished military graduate of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps program at John Carroll University. During his 30 years of active service as an infantry officer, he commanded units from the platoon through brigade level in the 3rd, 4th, and 7th Infantry Divisions and the 1st Armored Division.

His operational experience includes service in Vietnam, Cold War Germany, the Persian Gulf, Haiti, the former Yugoslavia, Albania, and Hungary. He has extensive experience in the Army Combat Training Centers program, with assignments as an observer-controller and opposing-force regimental operations officer at the National Training Center, Fort Irwin, Cali-

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fornia; chief of planning for the Combat Maneuver Training Center, Hohenfels, Germany; and the commander of the Grafenwoehr Training Area in Germany.

His joint and combined service includes assignments with the Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, as an advisor to the Republic of Korea's Tiger Division; Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe as an operations analyst; U.S. European Command as commander of the joint and combined Military Liaison Team, Hungary; and U.S. Atlantic Command as the first director of the Joint Battle Lab. His civilian education includes bachelor's degrees in psychology and philosophy and a master's degree in literature from John Carroll University in Ohio. His military education includes infantry basic and advanced courses at the Armed Forces Staff College and the Army War College.

He is a former assistant professor of English at the U.S. Military Academy and has authored a dozen articles, published in leading U.S. and international professional military journals. His military awards include the Defense Superior Service Medal, the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star, the Defense and Army Meritorious Service Medals, and the Joint, Army, and Air Force Commendation Medals. His campaign medals include the Vietnam Service Medal, Southwest Asia Service Medal, Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal (Haiti), and the Armed Forces Service Medal (former Yugoslavia). His foreign awards include the NATO Medal, the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry, and the Hungarian National Service Medal (First Class).

Major General (Retired) Uri Sagi

Major General (retired) Uri Sagi served in the Golani infantry brigade in all ranks and positions, including brigade command. He was also an armored division commander and headed the IDF's General Headquarters Operation Branch during the 1982 war in Lebanon. He later served as the Ground Forces Command commander, the Southern Command commander, and, in his last appointment, he was head of the IDF Intelligence Corps. He was a key member of the negotiation teams with Syria while Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was in office.

Brigadier General Yakov Shaharabani

Brigadier General Yakov Shaharabani is head of the IAF Helicopters Air Division. In this role, he is responsible for most helicopter issues in the IAF. General Shaharabani joined the IAF Flight Academy in 1981. In 1984, he graduated with honors and began his career as an attack helicopter pilot in the IAF. He served as an operational pilot on Cobra and Apache attack helicopters. He was a distinguished graduate of the Flight Instructor Course, and as a lieutenant colonel was assigned as an Apache squadron commander and commander of the Helicopter Branch in the Israeli Flight Academy. Promoted to the rank of colonel in October 2002, he was appointed commander of Ovda AFB and, later, head of the IAF Jointness Unit. He was promoted to brigadier general in October 2007 and became head of the Helicopters Air Divi-

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sion. General Shaharabani has accumulated more than 5,000 flight hours and has flown AH-1 Cobra, AH-64 Apache, and AH-64D Apache-Longbow helicopters.

He has a B.S. in economics and computer science (with distinction) from Bar Ilan University in Israel and an M.A. in national resource strategy (with distinction) from the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., where, in 2006, he received the President's Award for Visionary and Strategic Writing for his research project, "Leadership and Agility Under Complexity."

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