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Military, State, and Society in Israel

Daniel Maman, Eyal Ben-Ari

Zeev Rosenhek

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Military, State, and Society in Israel

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Daniel Maman, Eyal Ben-Ari
Zeev Rosenhek

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Preface

Paying Our Dues: On the Intellectual Legacy of Moshe Lissak

This volume is dedicated to Professor Moshe Lissak. A major theme that has preoccupied Moshe throughout his career has been the study of the armed forces in general and of the Israel Defense Forces in particular. It was with this concern in mind that this volume was brought together by his friends, colleagues and former students. This collection covers examinations of many of the issues that Moshe first investigated, and the development of new avenues of research that have been emerging in the past decade.

Let us open this preface by relating the contributions and wider questions suggested by this volume to Moshe's scholarly and intellectual legacy. Our contention is twofold: first, through his work Moshe has been a key scholar to generate a consistent set of theoretical questions central to the agenda of the field linking the study of state, society and the military; second, many recent approaches that have developed new questions and perspectives on these themes have done so out of an engagement with his work. We do not deal with the micro-sociological process by which the study of "things military" in Israel has evolved nor directly examine Moshe's research on the armed forces of other societies. Rather, we will place his investigations and the analytical controversies they have raised within a broader theoretical and social context.

As a preliminary remark it is important to mention Moshe's very fruitful cooperative venture with Dan ("Dindush") Horowitz (Horowitz 1977, 1982). While Lissak began his study of the relations between the armed forces and society in the 1960s, his later work with Dan Horowitz (begun in the 1970s) provided some of the most seminal formulations in regard to the character of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), to the historical development of its social and political roles, as well as to its ties with other institutions in Israeli society. Without exaggeration, we would posit that it was Lissak and Horowitz who set the parameters for discussions of state, society and the military in Israel. Thus much of what we have to say in this introduction is also a serious acknowledgement to Dan Horowitz's contribution throughout the years. In this regard it is also important to note that both scholars have not only engaged in discussions with sociologists within and outside of Israel, but also of other disciplines such as history, political science, international relations, anthropology, law, and organization and administrative studies (Lissak 1984, 1990, 1993, 1995).

We would suggest that one of the most important features of Moshe's work has been the systematic application of theoretical insights, questions and frameworks from the sociology of the military to the Israeli case (Lissak 1984; Horowitz and Lissak 1996 [1988]; Peri and Lissak 1976). In line with a more general trend characterizing Israeli social science, he has sought to examine developments related to the IDF in terms of theoretical models developed elsewhere (primarily in America). More specifically, through personal and intellectual links, Moshe has consistently utilized, and contributed to, analytical concepts developed within the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (Burk 1993). Indeed, even a cursory review of the patterns of his acknowledgments and citations reveals his dependence on the work of such people as Morris Janowitz, Sam Sarkesian or Charles Moskos. Thus, for example, Moshe has examined a wide array of issues such as civilian surveillance of the military, the second career of army officers, the roles and interrelations between strategic elites, or centers and peripheries in the relations between military and society.

It is in this light that his work on other societies should be seen. Like many of the studies carried out by his teacher, Shmuel Eisenstadt, Moshe has constantly sought to place Israel within an explicit or implicit comparative perspective. In his earlier studies of such countries as Thailand, Indonesia, Pakistan or Burma, he deals primarily with the role of the armed forces in processes of nation-building (Lissak 1964a, 1964b, 1967, 1969, 1970, 1976). Here the governing notion has been an examination of the military's role expansion and its role in legitimating the new nation-state, mobilizing national resources and coping with the crises of modernization. In his later investigations with Dan Horowitz (Horowitz and Lissak 1989), comparisons were used in order to delineate different models found in the industrialized democracies (such as Britain) in terms of the gap between the civilian and military sectors of society. Here the aim was to sketch the "ideal type" of the Israeli polity and its relation with the armed forces.

But Moshe has not limited his efforts solely to the realm of academia. His work, while rooted in research and teaching, has constantly sought to grapple with the reality of Israeli experiences: with "nation-building," with the political role of the military, as indeed with the complex processes of the formation of Israeli identity. The book written with Horowitz, *Trouble in Utopia*, well underscores this point. In the past few years, Moshe, along with a number of other founding members of Israeli social sciences, has been singled out for criticism for the purported ideological mobilization at the base of their work. This charge has led to a rather heated debate among Israeli intellectuals (Peri 1996). Yet even in the heat of this debate, Lissak stands out as an intellectually honest and open scholar. For example, he appears in Kimmerling's (1992) acknowledgments in the latter's article called "Sociology, Ideology, and Nation-Building: The Palestinians and Their Meaning in Israeli Sociology," which attempts to uncover the ideological underpinnings of much of Israeli social scientific thinking. It is against this background that we begin to understand how Moshe, alone or with other scholars such as Dan Horowitz, has become a "founding father," a veritable "intellectual ancestor" for many younger scholars. As exemplified in this volume, later scholars invariably refer to his earlier work, sometimes acrimoniously, sometimes appreciatively.

Yet Moshe's theoretical perspective has not been static. While still rooted in the "armed forces and society" paradigm, much of his later work has developed out of an active dialogue with many of the contentions raised by scholars rooted in other approaches. For example, in their last major work together, Horowitz and Lissak (1989) developed a model that was much more conflictual than their previous one. While their former work "considered Israel an exceptionally consensual, consociational democracy, now Israel is considered an exceptionally diversified and strained polity" (Ram 1995: 61). It is out of this view that their notion of the "over burdened" polity of Israel emerged: a polity that is constantly grappling with the major cleavages that characterize Israeli society. Moshe's newer work thus is oriented much more to the diversity and pluralism of Israeli society and the ways in which power is spread among a multitude of groups, elites and institutions.

More recently, Lissak has developed his work in other directions. For example, in a cooperative project with Daniel Maman (who completed his Ph.D. under his supervision), he has asked questions about networks of military and other elites in Israel. This kind of conceptualization has allowed Lissak and Maman (1996) to add greater theoretical sophistication to what have become basic questions in the Israeli context: the relations between the civilian and military sectors and civilian supervision over the armed forces. This approach is more sophisticated than earlier formulations because it has added a new dimension to the stress on institutions: a focus on the micro structures and processes (such as networks of acquaintanceships, the promotion of personal interest and exchange of information) that bind or divide Israel's elite.

Finally, as mentioned before, Moshe has often participated in wider discussions and contentions. Recently, he has participated in the assaults, criticisms and counter-charges in what is known as the debate centering on the "New Historians" or "New Sociologists." The key argument here centers on the ideological mobilization of sociologists and historians who belong to the "mainstream" of Israeli social science and humanities (Kimmerling 1992; Lissak 1996; Peri 1996). Within the parameters of this debate, such questions as the place of war and conflict with Israel's Arab "neighbors," as the centrality of the military, are not only theoretically relevant, but take on meaning for a basic ideological commitment to Israeli society. According to the "new" scholars in their research and methods, older, mainstream or establishment social scientists served the needs and interests of the dominant national discourse. Moshe (Lissak 1996) has strongly countered that the "newer" scholars have been no less committed ideologically, and that the portrait of "older" scholars has not taken into account their commitment to scientific rigor, to self-reflection, and to their openness to alternative "readings" of Israeli society.

We do not wish to finesse the lines of conflict and dissensus among scholars of "things military" in Israeli society, but to stress that these discords can and should prod us to constantly think and rethink Israel and the place of the military in this society. It is in Moshe's spirit of constant engagement with differing theoretical approaches and viewpoints about Israel that we now turn to an introductory essay.

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Military, State and Society in Israel: An Introductory Essay*

Eyal Ben-Ari, Zeev Rosenhek and Daniel Maman

This collection deals with the relations between the military, the state, and society in Israel. The past decade has seen the publication of a number of volumes devoted to issues centering on the place of war, security or military service in Israeli society. Yet these books have usually tended to focus on specific aspects of this triangle such as the social construction of war and national service (Lomsky-Feder and Ben-Ari 1999), the grand narratives of defense underlying Israeli views of security (Ezrahi 1997), or the role and place of the national-religious camp in the Israeli army (Cohen 1997). This volume, however, provides a broader perspective and makes three key contributions—theoretical, empirical and polemical—related both to the Israeli case and to wider debates about the place of war and the military in contemporary industrialized societies. In this introduction, we undertake the following tasks: to explain the contributions of this volume, to place it in its wider scholarly and intellectual context, and to introduce the specific papers.

The essays in this volume all proceed from an explicit recognition of the importance of theorizing the Israeli case. There are two reasons for this theoretical stress. First, it is only on the basis of the use of explicit analytical or interpretive frameworks that contemporary developments in Israel can be gauged historically and comparatively. And second, it is only on the basis of such frameworks that the contribution of the Israeli case to contemporary theorizing about such issues as war, the armed forces or security can be made clear. In this regard, Israel presents an interesting instance. While Israel has not figured in the formulation of general social theories about such issues as the development of modern or post-modern societies, its experience of continuous armed struggles and the centrality of its armed forces has been used to make some rather substantial contributions to those disciplines centering on military issues. Thus, for example, studies explicitly based on Israeli cases, data, and scholarship have been central to the development of expertise in such fields as applied psychology and psychotherapy (Breznitz 1983), the dynamics of small groups (Gal 1986; Greenbaum 1979; Shalit 1988; Shirom 1976) or models of leading and of leadership (Shamir and Ben-Ari, forthcoming).

The Israeli case is of no less importance in the development of more macro approaches to the study of "things military." Its potential contribution to general theory derives from the fact that, due to the central place of war in Israel's history and contemporary circumstances, it encapsulates in a very explicit manner many of the tensions in the relationships between the military, state and society found in other advanced industrial democracies. As such, it is an especially appropriate research site to examine questions raised in wider scholarship. In this regard, this volume stands at the core of contemporary debates between the two "master approaches" to the study of the relations between the military, society and the state: the "armed forces and society" school and the "state-making and war" perspective.

Essentially, the debate between these two perspectives has centered on the significance of the armed forces and their activities for contemporary societies. In general, the stress of the "armed forces and society" school has been on the social and political functions of the military, on the kinds of boundaries and arrangements that link or separate it from the civilian sector of a society, and on the various mechanisms by which it is controlled and supervised by (mainly) political elites (Janowitz 1971, 1976; Burk 1995). In contrast, and as attested to by its name, the "state-making and war" approach has emphasized the manner by which armed struggles and the necessary mobilization of human and other resources these entail have figured in the creation, consolidation and strengthening of states (Tilly 1985; Giddens 1985; Shaw 1988).

Such theoretical divergences are based on very different assumptions about modern democracies (Ben-Ari 1997; Ben-Ari and Lomsky-Feder 1999). First, while the "armed forces and society" perspective was developed in the theoretical context of structural-functionalism in the heyday of America's success in World War II and was essentially celebratory, the latter approach was formulated in the context of conflict-statist theories during the cold war and was highly critical of existent social and political arrangements. Second, the different frameworks called attention to distinct issues: the first to institutions and elites and to the inter-linkages between them, and the second to points of dissension, struggles and conflicts in and around the structures of the state. The third point is that on the basis of these diverging perspectives, the two approaches posed very different questions for research and analysis: one about the arrangements by which democracies can continue to function in the face of powerful armed forces; the other about how armed struggles figured in the manner by which structures of domination, especially states, were, and still are, created and maintained.

The guiding scholarly image of Israel according to the "armed forces and society school" is one of a non-militaristic society in which the military is "civilianized" and the civilian sector "militarized." The implication of these circumstances is that the more extreme consequences of both trends are offset (Horowitz and Lissak 1989). By contrast, the picture according to the "state-making and war" approach is that of a society characterized by a cultural militarism centered on a world view in which solutions to inter-statal problems are military in nature (Ben-Eliezer 1995a, 1997; Kimmerling 1993), and where the use of the military for nation-building purposes was an explicit aim of the elites from the state's formative years (Levy 1996). The confrontation between these two approaches has brought about a much more complex view of the role, centrality and consequence of the armed forces and of war. In general, as Ben-Ari and Lomsky-Feder (1999) suggest, the move has been from an analysis centered on Israel's unique status as a society that maintains democracy under conditions of protracted war and the centrality of the military, to more complex inquiries about this society as an instance of how democracy normalizes militarism, and how its armed forces have figured in the way the state has established its legitimacy and mobilized the population for collective aims (Ben-Eliezer 1997, 1998; Ehrlich 1987).

Contemporary Israel

This controversy should be viewed as part of more general developments in Israeli social sciences, which themselves derive from (and feed into) the transformations Israel has been undergoing in the past few decades. The most central of these changes have made Israel a society marked by deep tensions and contradictions. On the one hand, Israel is characterized by a certain decline in the acceptance of Zionist ideology, especially among the younger secular middle-classes, a strengthening of both consumerist and post-material values, greater acceptance of cultural pluralism and individualism, and deep-seated questionings of, and challenges to, the subordination of individual considerations to collective goals. These trends, which can be understood as the transformation of Israeli society from a "mobilized society" into a "normal" Western society, have resulted in a diminution in the state's ability to mobilize those groups who were the carriers of the classic Zionist project. On the other hand, however, social sectors that during Israel's formative years were relatively peripheral—for instance, the nationalist-religious and ultra-orthodox groups—have gained substantial political power and moved into many societal centers. This process has allowed them to challenge the previous hegemony and to present alternative models of society, ones much more oriented along "ethno-Jewish" lines. The very same trends that are seen by the former groups of the society as positive signs of "normalization"—growing individualism or cultural pluralism, for example—are understood by the latter as alarming signs of decadence and decline.

Contemporary Israel is thus the site of debates about, and interrogation of, many of the fundamental assumptions that have undergirded it as the Jewish nation-state: about the ethnic character of nationhood and statehood; about the role of the Jewish diaspora vis-a-vis Israel; the legitimacy of Jewish "ethnic pluralism"; the meaning of the Holocaust; the privatization of social life and the spread of consumerism; and the weakening of the centralized state as the agent of social transformation affecting housing, language, health, technology, production, dress, and child-rearing (Aronoff 1989; Ben-Ari and Bilu 1997; Dominguez 1989). More pertinent to the present volume, it appears that one important consequence of these internal conflicts and struggles has been a significant erosion in the almost sacred status once enjoyed by state institutions, and especially the military, among the majority of Jewish population.

A central assumption now being questioned by many groups is that of the centrality of the military to society and to definitions of "Israeli-hood" and full citizenship. Despite the hard-line taken by many of Israel's governments, many groups in contemporary Israeli society are no longer willing to grant the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) its previous status of unquestioned professionalism and to view "state security" considerations as the only (or primary) criteria for national decision-making. In this context, new questions have arisen in and around a profusion of topics such as motivation for military service, the legal responsibility of commanders for casualties, the tension between private and public representations of commemoration, the links between conscripts' families and military authorities, or the official reasons given for suicides within the military (Ezrahi, 1997; Lomsky-Feder and Ben-Ari, forthcoming).

Interestingly, strong critical attitudes towards the state and the military appear not only among the groups representing a highly secularized "post-Zionist" perspective on contemporary Israel. They have also appeared—albeit articulated in inverse terms—among some of the most vocal right-wing sectors, especially settlers in the occupied territories. For instance, these groups had vigorously criticized the army for its involvement in the negotiations with the Palestinians during Rabin's government and for its acceptance of what they see as a policy of capitulation, or even treason in the face of problems centered on the country's very survival. In more general terms, the army is sometimes denunciated by some of these groups for having deserted its Jewish-national purpose.

On (Military) Theory and the Academy

In tandem with these socio-political transformations, Israeli social sciences have been experiencing important paradigmatic changes. The intensification of wider challenges to many of what were previously taken-for-granted notions characterizing the Zionist project and Israeli hegemony has allowed new interrogations of the state (and its military) to emerge within the academy and prompted younger scholars to take their inquiries into new, and often innovative directions. The newer theoretical orientations now emphasize struggles and conflicts, patterns of domination and exclusion, and the efforts that the Israeli state has invested in constantly producing and reproducing its legitimacy (Kimmerling 1992; Lustick 1988; Rosenhek 1998). Israel society, according to this broad coalition of newer approaches, is no longer seen solely as "the" Jewish society, nor as a system which is characterized by broad agreement or consensus over social goals and boundaries. It is now viewed in much more conflictual terms, as a society rent by deep divisions and constant struggles, and in which the very ground rules of public life are constantly negotiated and contested (Dominguez 1989; Ram 1989, 1995).

These broad paradigmatic shifts are linked, in turn, to a number of key developments—institutional, generational—in Israeli academia. To begin with, not only have Israeli universities expanded greatly in terms of numbers of students and faculty and fields of research, but new academic colleges have been established at an unprecedented rate in the past decades. These trends have contributed to an upsurge in the sheer amount of research now being carried out in relation to the study of Israel, and (perhaps more significantly) to a much more pluralistic scholarly arena in which a variety of theories and approaches are now used. In addition, the greater distance from the "heroic" stage of the Zionist project and the appearance of a new generation of scholars who have no direct experience in the saga of nation-building have also allowed the development of more critical approaches to the study of this society (Lissak 1996; Shafir 1996; Shalev 1996). Finally, some representatives of "marginal" social groups that have begun to obtain advanced degrees and gain access to faculty positions during the last years—such as women, "Oriental" (of Middle-Eastern origin) Jews and new immigrants—have introduced new perspectives that depart from the outlook that used to dominate mainstream Israeli academy and which was based on a male, Ashkenazi (of European origin) and veteran viewpoint.

Another factor has consistently encouraged the cultivation of critical approaches within Israeli social sciences: the strong connections with Western academic centers such as in America, Britain or France. Radical approaches developed in the West from the late sixties and seventies have been readily and regularly incorporated into Israeli social sciences and applied to the analysis of the Israeli case. This incorporation has been the result of the fact that Israeli academics read (and publish in) the journals and books of the West, participate in international forums in which intellectuals from these Western centers appear, and teach their students the theories and findings of these same people. This process of intellectual diffusion is further enhanced by the fact that large numbers of Israeli scholars have either obtained their Ph.D. degrees or spent significant stints (for sabbaticals or post-docs) abroad, especially in the USA and Britain (Ben-Yehuda 1997; Shamgar-Handelman 1996).

These general processes of change in Israeli society and in scholarly endeavors to examine it have had several important effects on the study of civil-military relations, the experiences of national service and war, or the internal structure and dynamics of the Israeli army. First, since the early 1980s there has been an enormous growth in the number of academic works dealing with these topics. Such has been this growth that in the past decade tens of English-language books and articles, and often comparable numbers of Hebrew-language titles, have been published each year (Ben-Ari 1998).

Second, this quantitative expansion has been accompanied by an increased diversification of subject matters. Most works published until the mid-1980s tended to focus either on the broad political aspects of civil-military relations (Lissak 1983, 1984; Peri 1977, 1981, 1985; Peri and Lissak 1976; Perlmutter 1968), or on the individual psychiatric effects of war experiences (Bar-Gal 1982; Breznitz 1983; Moses et al. 1976). Indeed, a significant part of contemporary research continues these lines of analysis (Etzioni-Halevy 1996; Lissak 1993; Peri 1993; Levy et al. 1993; Solomon 1990; Solomon et al. 1995). During the past two decades, however, scholars have begun to research such hitherto little studied issues as the economic links and effects of war or Israel's "military-industrial complex" (Kleiman 1985; Kleiman and Pedatsur 1991; Mintz, 1985), the links between military service and employment and stratification structures (Enoch and Yogev 1989; Maman and Lissak 1995), and the impact of security considerations on land use (Soffer and Minghi 1986). Other studies have focused on the internal organizational aspects of the IDF (Cohen 1995; Gur-Ze'ev 1997). Finally, a large number of scholars have examined the "cultural" place of the IDF and of wars in Israel through studies of central sites like Masada

(Ben-Yehuda 1999) or military cemeteries (Handelman and Shamgar-Handelman 1997), rites like Remembrance Day or Independence Day (Don-Yehiya 1988; Handelman and Katz 1995), or the means for effecting social memory (Sivan 1991).

Third, the diversification of subject matter has been accompanied by a strengthening tendency to examine the Israeli case using comparative research strategies. This propensity has strengthened a small number of earlier attempts to place Israel in a comparative perspective (Lissak 1967, 1969-70) and shows a significant departure from many previous works that have tended to emphasize the uniqueness of the Israeli case. To provide but two examples, while Horowitz and Lissak (1989) contrast Israel and Britain as two Weberian ideal types of civil-military relations, in a series of articles Ben-Eliezer (1995b, 1997, 1998) compares the Israeli case with France, Japan, or the Soviet Union in order to examine its potential for praetorianism or a military coup.

Fourth, along with the diversification of subject matter there has been a growing pluralization of theoretical orientations. Thus, unlike the period lasting until the end of the 1970s in which structural-functionalism provided the central paradigm for research into "things military" in Israel, today it is no longer possible to point to one such dominant perspective. One development has been the introduction of much more sophisticated theoretical and analytical tools to tackle broad, macro-level problems. Thus, for instance, Maman and Lissak (1997) have used an advanced social network approach to map out and explain the relations between military and other elites in Israel. Yet theoretical pluralization has manifested itself primarily in numerous studies that examine the micro level, and especially macro-micro links. On the micro-level, the stress is now placed less on various therapeutic or remedial approaches to "battle fatigue" than on tackling more analytical issues. For example, Liebes and Blum-Kulka (1994), Helman (1993) or Linn (1996) have used very different theoretical frameworks to examine how individual soldiers handle participation in unjust wars —Lebanon and the Intifada. Similarly, Lieblich (1989; Lieblich and Perlow 1988) uses propositions from developmental psychology in order to consider military service as a transition to adulthood.

Fifth, and finally, all of these trends are reflected in the kinds of questions now being asked. Contemporary studies tend to problematize previous taken-for-granted scholarly and popular notions about the IDF and the kinds of actions it participates in, and to consider the Israeli-Arab conflict not as an exogenous factor but rather as constitutive of Israeli society and state (Ehrlich 1987). At the risk of oversimplification, we suggest that there are two central themes common to many of these newer approaches to "things military" in contemporary Israel.

The first is the role of war and the military in the constitution of membership in Israeli society and polity and in the social construction of collective and individual identities. For many years, the stress in scholarly writings was on the "integrative" role of the IDF vis-a-vis diverse groups like immigrants (Azarya and Kimmerling 1984; Lissak 1972). This kind of emphasis has continued in some publications proceeding from assertions about the continued importance of the non-military roles of the IDF (Ashkenazy 1994). Other studies, like Shabtay's (1995, 1996) analysis of Ethiopian immigrants, while proceeding from the same premise of the IDF as a social integrator, have developed a much more dynamic picture of military service. But the overwhelming stress in much of the newer scholarship is on how the Israeli army has been and still is used (via recruitment, assignation, and retention of personnel) as the central mechanism for constructing different levels of inclusion and exclusion into society (Levy 1996; Kimmerling 1992, forthcoming; Rosenhek 1999). It is in this light that studies of the relations between gender and the military (Jerbi 1997; Levy-Schreiber and Ben-Ari, forthcoming; Sasson-Levy, forthcoming; Yuval-Davis 1985), or the incorporation of "minorities" (Frisch 1993; Peled 1998) and religious groups (Cohen 1997), should be seen. All of these studies show how military service serves both as a mechanism for building a complex hierarchy of social groups and as an indicator of this hierarchy.

The second theme common to many recent works centers on the ways in which the "sense of existential threat" to Israel has been created and used by the state and its representatives to gain and maintain legitimacy, to define standards for the distribution of resources, to shape public culture and the life worlds of individuals, and to construct the very agenda of Israeli social sciences (Ehrlich 1987). Thus, for example, critiquing Ben-Ari's (1989) earlier work, Paine (1992) has shown how despite carrying out policing roles during the Intifada, soldiers justified their action in military terms touch-ing upon the very survival of the state. In other words, in comprehending the Intifada as a "normal" or "natural" military situation, their activities were linked to the notion that military actions by Israeli soldiers are related to the ultimate Zionist text: to the safety and security of the country. Or, to take another example, Ezrahi (1997) has carefully examined the central narratives of Zionism—centering on defense—that govern the ways in which most Israelis understand wars, political action, and the definition of enemies. Weiss (1997) examined the ways in which the Israeli state has consistently propagated an "ideology of bereavement" to sustain national boundaries, an ethos of sacrifice (allowing the continued mobilization and retention of soldiers), and collective identities. Finally, Feige (1998) demonstrates how military service continues to be used as a basis for the creation of legitimacy by different groups.

It is against the background of these trends in the scholarly study of the military in Israel—numerical growth, comparison, diversification, pluralization and critique—that the present volume, and the essays comprising it, should be seen. While commencing from the "master" debate between the two macro-sociological approaches to the study of the military—the "armed forces and society" and the "state-making and war" approaches—its theoretical dimensions are not exhausted by this controversy. All the essays in this volume suggest how additional theoretical perspectives, not specifically developed in regard to the military, may be fruitfully used in order to uncover and explain hitherto little researched aspects of war and the armed forces. Among the variety of analytical tools used by the contributors to this volume are ideas about the role of the armed forces in Israel's gender regime (Izraeli), the ways in which life narratives normalize war (Lomsky-Feder), or the place of body-practices and emotions in the construction of masculinity through military service (Ben-Ari). The use of such theories and interpretive schemes may well signal a welcome "re-linking" of scholarly studies of "things military" to some of the wider debates in contemporary social and human sciences, and offer examples of the insights to be gained by explicitly placing issues related to war and the military within new theoretical perspectives.

Similarly, many contributions to the volume apply various theoretical innovations marking recent scholarship of the military to the Israeli case. In this sense, our volume is part of the wider interrogation of war and the military that is now taking place in Israeli society. This interrogation centers on the manner by which the internal practices and arrangements of the military and its external representations and perceptions are being transformed. In this regard, however, while there is a very broad agreement between the different contributors to this volume, as well as other observers (Cohen 1998), regarding the decline in the importance of the military in Israel and with respect to the changes it is undergoing, they differ radically in the kinds of interpretations they attach to these changes. It is here that the theoretical perspectives adopted in the various essays are important. They are important because they provide prisms for understanding the very character of contemporary Israel as evincing a basic continuity of militarization and militarism, or its radical transformation into a "normal" industrialized society. In this sense, given the historical and present centrality of the military in this society, Israel provides a fruitful case for examining the place of the armed forces and more generally of security considerations in the development and transformation of contemporary industrialized societies.

The Articles

The two articles in the volume's first section serve to situate the Israeli case, and cases drawn from Israel, in its wider theoretical and comparative context. They show that, notwithstanding important distinctive features, the questions raised by the Israeli case are similar in nature to those topics upon which Western scholarship is currently focused. Furthermore, they also indicate how the study of this specific case can contribute to the theoretical understanding of contemporary changes in civil-military relations.

In his essay "Western-Type Civil-Military Relations Revisited," Bernard Boëne carefully locates his inquiry in the context of a general question that has been at the heart of much thinking about the military in any regime: how are the armed forces to be controlled and supervised? His specific focus is on how the changing social and historical circumstances of the industrialized democracies are now raising an array of new issues about the oversight and guidance of the military by established civilian (essentially political) frameworks and roles. He begins his analysis through the delineation of two previous models (or Weberian "ideal types") of civil-military relations. The first model, which was developed by Samuel Huntington (1957) and which was apt for the armed forces of the pre-World War II period, posited a strict separation between the political and military spheres of societies. The second model developed by Janowitz (1971, 1976), and further elaborated by Moskos (1975, 1976), was more suitable to the military establishments of the post-War period and the cold war. It, by contrast, stresses the integration of the military into society, and the convergence between military and civilian careers in terms of motivation, skills, incomes and lifestyles.

The third model, actually an extension of many of Janowitz's assertions, sketches out the major societal and political changes that the industrialized democracies have undergone in the past two decades and their implications for civil-military relations. Boëne outlines a complex model of change on multiple levels: macro-level transformations (the end of the cold war and the disappearance of mass threats, the role of non-governmental actors in the international arena, and the weakening of national symbols, for example); changes within military establishments (the move to greater openness to external civilian sectors, participation in multinational forces, or more politically sensitive roles for commanders); and the special necessity of new education for military leaders (for example, higher degrees or openness to cultural pluralism). (See Shamir and Ben-Ari, forthcoming). In this new model, older versions of military professionalism—based on being a "caste apart" or on an occupational orientation—are replaced by a much more labile version of political astuteness. It is a very "political" model because it underscores the kinds of special negotiations, bargaining and cross-pressures between civilians and military people that are now a considerable part of civil-military ties. Along with much of contemporary scholarship (see the special issue of *Armed Forces and Society*, 1998), Boëne's stress is very much on the political machinery that needs to be in place in order to assure that democracy can survive against the background of these changed circumstances.

Yet his analysis bears wider import in other respects. Theoretically speaking, Boëne cautions us, we must be careful to turn from a conceptualization based on singular models to formulating our contentions in terms of a variety of relationships between the military and civilian sectors. He suggests that while Janowitz' ideas about a movement between the two ideal types of civil-military relations has value, his assertions can be further developed if we conceptualize the issue in terms of plural, diverse arrangements that may coexist at any one specific point of time. In this regard, he cautions us as to the changing circumstances of different democracies during different historical periods, and to the fact that democratic institutions are not all equally conducive to effective civilian control. Boëne steers us away from a simple reductionism of civil-military relations either to a Huntingtionian or Janowitzian model. Indeed, the emphasis in his third model on the open and processual links between the military and civilian sectors reinforces this contention because it suggests the need to think in terms of change and transformation and a multiplicity of arrangements.

In a refreshing manner, Boëne's essay makes explicit a point that undergirds many analyses rooted in the "armed forces and society" approach: namely, that a major thrust of this perspective is a normative, prescriptive commitment to social betterment through an explication of the alternative arrangements by which democracies can create sound relations with the military (also Boëne 1990). For example, in many analyses belonging to this school, the lack of subordination of the military to civilian rulers is seen as an aberration while their full subservience is seen as the preferred state (Ben-Ari 1997). In this view, the "rational" (and therefore "normal") state of affairs is one where civilian politicians rule—oversee and govern—military commanders. The idea here is that the prerogatives that the armed forces take in interfering in politics (such as interfering in the management of foreign affairs) or the politicization of the military (as the outcrop of unclear boundaries between the civilian sectors and the armed forces) are deleterious to the democracies they serve. It is in this light that Boëne's sophisticated philosophizing should be read. He is careful to stress that one of the aims of theoretical essays like his is to suggest the ways of reaching the right balance that will determine the proper amount of power and influence accrued to the military establishment if it is to discharge its proper function without distorting the regime it is supposed to serve.

James Burk's essay, "From Wars of Independence to Democratic Peace: Comparing the Cases of Israel and the United States," examines the potential of different democracies for peace. He concurs with earlier findings that democratic states will tend to be more peaceful in their international relations than alternative kinds of government, but seeks to turn his analysis inwards, to the potential of democracies for internal peace. In theoretical terms he links three sets of variables: states, state strength (i.e., legitimacy) and the absence (or presence) of intra-state violence. Yet rather than positing a simple correlation between democratic regimes and internal peace, he points to some crucial differences between democracies which have usually been assumed to belong to one unitary category marked by common features. Through a focus on the American and Israeli cases, he suggests that the more unitary the democracy the more likely it is that the state's rule will be challenged by subordinate or marginal groups (Israel). Conversely, the more pluralist the democracy, the more accepted and secure will be the state's right to rule (the United States). The key to the development of these two different kinds of democracies, however, is the substance of the revolutionary ideology that "fired" the conflict for independence.

Burk's thesis is that the founding of democratic states through revolutionary wars of independence affect the ways in which a state's legitimacy—the degree to which its right to rule over a political community is accepted or not—is constructed. In this respect Weber's theory of the routinization of charisma is crucial. Why? Burk's point is that citizen-soldiers participating in wars or revolution carry meanings that extend far beyond their technical roles on the battlefields: they carry the charisma of the revolution in the sense of willingness and ability to confront the extraordinary and dangerous realm of war in the name of the new order that they are trying to establish. What is important is how the warriors' charisma — concentrated as it is in the revolutionary movement — is allocated (either concentrated or dispersed) through the bed of new political structures once the war draws to a close. When charisma is dispersed (to the central state, to all levels of government, or the individual citizens) as in America, the foundations of a pluralist democracy are established. When charisma is highly concentrated as in Israel, and allocated only to certain citizens and the central state, then a unitary democracy is founded: the unitary democracy of the Jews and especially the dominant Ashkenazi (of European origin) Jews. Sociologically speaking, the point here is the degree to which the ideology is tied to preexisting cleavages. Consequently, unitary democracies will tend to be the most violent because opposition between groups is codified by the ideology of the war and later the political institutions. Unlike the American revolutionary war, the Israeli war for independence was not moderated by the belligerents' hope to win the allegiance of the civilian population, but was rather a total war between two civilian populations.

Burk's essay sheds light on a "puzzle" that has intrigued many scholars about Israel: the purported existence of democratic ground rules against a background in which the military is a central, if not the central, social actor. As we saw, Horowitz and Lissak (1989; Horowitz 1977, 1982) attributed this potential for democratization in the face of a militarized Israel to the dual processes of civilianization of the military and militarization of the civilian sector in a way that limits the extreme development of either. Kimmerling (1993), by contrast, contends that various democratic arrangements are no more than a facade covering Israel's militarism. What Burk's analysis does is to show that when placed in a comparative context, the case of Israel is not one of "just any other" democracy. As he shows, the revolutionary basis of the Israeli state differs from that of other democratic states and it is this base that is related to the centrality of armed struggles within and outside the country. What he seems to suggest is a theoretical innovation for the "armed forces and society" school which brings it closer to the "state-making and war" approach. It is an innovation because, as he stresses, war should not be theorized as something that is external to society, but as something inherent to the manner by which states are established.

While Burk's emphasis is on intra-state violence, an intriguing aspect of his analysis which seems crucial for Israel, and has not been explored in great detail, is the link between internal democratic processes and the management of external relations. The contention in the literature is that democratic countries establish institutions of self-government to resolve domestic conflicts peacefully, and it is these "habits" that are then carried over into and begin to characterize the realm of international affairs. If this is true, then developments in the internal democracy and democratic arrangements of Israel seem crucial for the ways it will pursue peace or war in the future.

The articles in the second section deal with issues central to civil-military relations in Israel and elsewhere: civilian control of the armed forces, the extent to which the military actively participates in political life, and the potential threats to democracy this participation might imply. Concentrating on current changes in Israeli politics, the character of the conflict with the Palestinians, and the place of military in society, the three papers touch, albeit from different theoretical perspectives, on the question of whether Israel is a militaristic society. At the same time, in the current context of the search for a political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the contributions are also concerned with the potential role of the military in the "peace process" by asking whether that participation acts as an obstacle to the political resolution of the conflict.

In his contribution on "Civil-Military Relations in Israel in Crisis," Yoram Peri places his analysis in the context of a wider thesis about how Israel is now undergoing a process of decolonization — i.e., a process by which it is extricating itself from the occupied territories where it has been suppressing another national population which is in revolt. This starting point harks back to Boëne's contribution for it centers on the threats to, or crises of, Israeli democracy brought about by decolonization. Like Boëne, Peri contends that it is impossible to understand developments in Israel's civil-military relations without taking into account wider socio-political transformations. He identifies three major levels or dimensions to these turning points (all foreshadowing later essays): an internal crisis within the IDF centered on questions of identity and purpose; a question focused on the implications of new relations between senior military commanders and the political echelon above them for a stable democratic regime; and a crisis in the relations between the military and much wider sectors of civilian society converging on demographic changes and the collapse of the security meta-narrative of Israeli society.

In recent decades Israel has been steadily transformed into a society marked by greater individualism, democracy, civilian considerations and consumerism (Birenbaum-Carmeli 1994). On the one hand, these developments signal a greater potential for democratization both in terms of increased public debates about the IDF and the cultivation of various "watchdogs" overseeing it. These trends have led not only to contractions in the role of the IDF and lessened the intrusion of the military into civilian sectors, but have also brought about a more pervasive civilian presence in military life: for example, greater participation of parents of soldiers in the military (Katriel 1991), increased intrusion of the judiciary and legal norms into the armed forces, and greater scrutiny of the IDF by the media (Wolfsfeld 1997). On the other hand, the move to both consumerist and individualistic values has spelt a decline in motivation among the upper-middle class, and the recruitment of only parts of this group to elite combat and technologically advanced units. While this trend is welcome for the opportunities it has created for the participation of new groups in the military (women, Jews from Islamic countries, and some new immigrants), the decline in the mobilization of the elites of Israeli society has profound implications for citizenship and participatory democracy. What we may be witnessing to now is the influx, into the military, of new groups who have less commitment to democratic values and ground rules.

Uri Ben-Eliezer's essay is entitled "From Military Role-Expansion to Difficulties in Peace-Making: The Israel Defense Forces 50 Years On." In theoretical terms, he starts from a critique of the premise underlying many of the other essays that belong to what he terms the "civil-military relations" or what we have called the "armed forces and society" approach. His criticism centers on two central assumptions at the center of this approach: one, that there is, and that there can be, a separation between the civilian and military sectors of a society; and two, that militarism is a pathology or aberration in the normal state of functioning democracies. Ben-Eliezer contends that these assumptions are problematic. In its Israeli guise the civil-military relations approach has focused on the celebrated notion of the permeable boundaries between the military and society and on the civilianization of the military and the militarization of the civilian sector. As we saw earlier, this formulation contends that the dual influence between the two sectors leads to a balance between them. The IDF's role expansion, according to this view, is a functional mechanism to assure civilianism via nation-building tasks like education, "absorption of immigrants" or settlement of borders.

Ben-Eliezer, in contrast, anchors his analysis in a different theoretical perspective from those coming before him. Rather that using a functional—if sophisticated—approach that centers on questions about the survivability of social systems or democratic polities, he (following such scholars as Tilly 1985 or Shaw 1988) seeks to understand how the military is related to state-building. Consequently, rather than focusing on the centrality of the military in Israeli society (and there is widespread agreement about this centrality between scholars) and its relation to democratization, Ben-Eliezer suggests that the role-expansion of the military is not connected with modernization or nation-building, but with militarism and war. He contends that militarization has been an essential part of the creation of the Israeli state. The army (and war—Levy 1996) has been used to mobilize a population marked by deep divisions and by large waves of immigrant groups. According to him, the exercise of organized violence has been, and continues to be, used to create legitimacy, i.e., a belief in the justice and fairness of the state.

It is out of this perspective that we can begin to see militarism not as power that some groups have (or do not have) over others, but rather as a broad cultural and political phenomenon. Militarism, according to this view, is a way of thinking or interpretation which posits war as an effective, legitimate and necessary solution to inter-state problems and struggles (Ben-Eliezer 1998; Feige 1998; Kimmerling 1993). Militarism, as Giddens (1985) points out, is a proclivity in some societies for a section of the higher echelons to look for military solutions to political conflicts, and the readiness of large parts of society to accept such solutions. Viewed in this manner, the penetrable boundaries between the civilian and military sectors of Israel that Lissak and Horowitz discussed take on a different light. These permeable boundaries have allowed the Israeli state to create and maintain its legitimacy in the eyes of large parts of society. Similarly, Bar-Or's example (in this volume) of Prime Minister Rabin's attempt to integrate the military into the peace process as a means to garner legitimacy becomes an indicator of the militarism characterizing Israeli society itself.

Ben-Eliezer's paper raises a wider set of questions: how are we to interpret the continued use of the military for legitimation of state actions at the same time as there is lowered motivation for combat service among some groups and as others question the centrality of the military in Israeli society? Does this situation signal a rear-guard action on the part of the ruling elites against further erosion in their importance and status? The characteristics of the IDF and the changes it is undergoing as depicted by Ben-Eliezer are not different from those charted out by Peri: the decline in cultural militarism, the beginnings of a demarcation between society and army, and indications of contentions in and around the army. But where he radically departs from Peri is in his interpretation of where the threats to Israeli democracy lie. While Peri sees these threats as the outcome of a rupture, as a fundamental change in civil-military relations in Israel, Ben-Eliezer sees these dangers as emanating from the continued role expansion of the IDF. He contends that the army's continued support of the right-wing settlers in the occupied territories—in setting up local militias or integrating them into existing units—is an extension of the IDF's capacity and a continuation of militaristic attitudes and therefor a threat to Israeli democracy.

Along the lines we suggested earlier, the debate between Peri and Ben-Eliezer can be also read as part of the wider cultural debate now taking place in Israel. They can be read not only for their theoretical contentions but also for the polemical stance that they represent. This polemic transcends disagreements in the scholarly study of the military, for it is also linked to basic controversies concerning the understanding of the historical roots and contemporary character of Israeli society and polity. This kind of reading must make us much more aware of the social situatedness of the volume as a whole and is an issue we shall return to at the end of this introductory essay.

Stuart Cohen's tract, "Dimensions of Tension between Religion and Military Service in Contemporary Israel," carefully juxtaposes both macro and micro levels of analysis. Part of a wider set of investigations into the relations between different social groups and the military, Cohen's essay is an attempt to grapple with an issue that has become very important in the last few years: the specific kinds of tensions raised by religion, specifically from the national-religious camp, for the military in Israel. Two sources of tension are important in this respect: the allegiances of religious soldiers to Rabbinical authorities or military commanders; and the heightened participation of religious youths in the elite units of the IDF (often taking over from traditionally elite groups like Kibbutzniks) and the "danger" that they will enforce Jewish orthodox customs on their fellow soldiers. The background to these apprehensions are the different values and life-styles of the religiously observant and secular groups in Israel.

While acknowledging the dangerous potentials stemming from the national-religious sector, Cohen shows how such worries are exaggerated: for example, this camp is itself rent by deep divisions and as of yet there have not been any refusals of military commanders in the name of a higher Rabbinical authority. In addition, he shows that the long-term prospects of the "take-over" of the IDF by religious commanders is not a realistic option at this stage because religious establishments are themselves "greedy institutions" that posit demands no less serious than the army in terms of investment in careering. To put this point by way of example, a young religious officer contemplating commitment to a military career faces a difficult choice in terms of strong demands to return to religious establishments of higher learning.

It is in a similar light that another point that Cohen makes should be seen. In a number of points in his essay, Cohen demonstrates how, despite popular and scholarly imaginings to the contrary, the national-religious camp is not homogenous. It is heterogeneous both in the kinds of general worldviews that characterize it, and in the different kinds and degrees of commitment to military service that are found among its youths. Thus Cohen is careful to talk about patterns (in the plural) of service among religiously observant youths. This point is important because it underscores how groups within this camp show different kinds of responsibilities to Israeli democracy and to the kinds of civil-military relations that such commitments entail.

The third section deals with broad processes of identity formation and their relation to individuals' participation in the military arena in general, and in war in particular. The four articles in the section focus on the interface between macro features of state-making through war and the centrality of military experience, and micro processes of constituting social categories like citizens, soldiers and men. In this manner, all four contributions indicate how war and the military are not only instruments for state-making, but are also important factors in the formation of individual identities. Showing how these categories are recreated, and sometimes challenged, by individuals and social groups interacting with state agencies, the articles raise important questions related to the limits and potentials of human agency vis-a-vis state structures.

Dafna Izraeli's "Paradoxes of Women's Service in the Israel Defense Forces" deals with an issue that has become central to debates about the Israeli army in the last decade or so. While scholars have long noted the centrality of military service for the construction of gender relations in Israel (Kimmerling 1993: Yuval-Davis 1985), Izraeli's contribution represents the first full-scale attempt to systematically theorize this topic. Her analytical framework centers on the relation between the military and Israel's gender regime: the gendered division of labor and a gendered structure of power that both formally and informally sustains the taken-for-granted role of women as helpmeet to men. Izraeli shows how the military as a structure of power intensifies gender distinctions and then uses them as justifications for sustaining gender inequality. Furthermore, she uncovers the ways in which military service figures in the construction of images that explain, express and reinforce gender divisions, and in the patterns of daily interactions that reproduce patterns of dominance and submission between men and women (see also Jerbi 1997; Sasson-Levy, forthcoming). Finally, Izraeli examines the ways in which men accumulate different kinds of social and symbolic capital that grant them advantages in civilian life. In other words, she explains how through military service, men can gain social capital or valued resources (status, prestige, professional education) which they can then convert to their advantage in the civilian sector (like political success or access to jobs).

Izraeli's contribution opens up new questions (some of which are dealt with by Ben-Ari, Lomsky-Feder and Helman in this section) about the diverse ways in which the taken-for-granted nature of the tie between the military and gender inequality is constructed or how ideas of what being a man and being a woman become naturalized, invisible, and homogenized notions as they relate to the military and to military service (Levy-Schreiber and Ben-Ari, forthcoming). This is an important question because the relationship between gender and the military is a critical component of Israeli nation-building, as gender is a prime site for the naturalization of power; for the processes by which meanings get entrenched, become "taken-for-granted," and come to seem natural—through symbols, everyday rituals, discourse and practice (Yanagisako and Delaney 1995).

But when placed in its wider historical context Izraeli's chapter raises other questions. Is it only coincidental that it is only now when the IDF is contracting and when its social significance is waning that more and more roles which were previously the exclusive do-main of men are opening up to women? For example, women have been allowed into the Border Police as front-line soldiers, into pilots' and naval commanders' courses, and are now allowed to participate in combat missions as doctors. But this greater access is occurring at precisely the time that the army is becoming socially less significant. In other words, despite greater access to combat roles (or other restrictively male military occupations), the ability of women to "convert" resources from their military service to civilian life is still limited, precisely because such resource conversion is becoming limited for men as well. One can wonder whether women, in their attempts to gain better positions in the army hierarchy, are not fighting a yesterday's war.

Eyal Ben-Ari's contribution, "Tests of Soldierhood, Trials of Manhood: Military Service and Male Ideals in Israel," continues Izraeli's exploration of the relations between gender and military service to deal with the social construction of manhood. Ben-Ari examines how military service is related both to ideals of manhood in (Jewish) Israeli society and to the construction of concrete standards and arrangements for the constitution, achievement and inculcation of male identity. Rather than proceeding from a focus on the experience of women or the relations between women and men as Izraeli does, Ben-Ari specifically "problematizes" the unmarked categories of men and masculinity as part of a set of relational ideas and concrete arrangements. Masculinity, he points out, is not a fixed construct or thing against which to explore women and notions about womanhood, but rather its constant construction is to be explained as well.

Ben-Ari chooses to approach these themes by looking at military service as a rite of passage to manhood and adulthood in Jewish-Israeli society. Yet he cautions us to beware of drawing a direct parallel between service in the Israeli army (or in the army of any other industrialized society) and rites of passage in tribal societies. In both kinds of societies such rites are charged with moving individuals from one male status to another. But in Israel this passage is uncertain. It is uncertain because the power of rituals is diffused in large-scale and pluralistic societies as Israel where some segments of the population—ultra-religious Jews or Palestinian citizens of the country, for instance—are distanced from central values and myths. It is also difficult because ideals of manhood are inextricably linked to specific organizational frameworks set up and maintained by the Israeli state. The point Ben-Ari makes is that this rite of passage is part of, and subordinated to, the overall logic of the military. In other words, the IDF uses ideals of manhood to motivate many of its recruits to join and participate in its elite combat units. Furthermore, as he argues, notions about manhood and their connection to military service are also related to national, state mandated goals: specifically to the idea that (young) men should be willing to sacrifice themselves for the nation-state.

But the analyses of Izraeli and Ben-Ari can be read in a different manner to raise a question about the reasons for the broad acceptance of mainstream typifications of the warrior image and of the military: Why are the Israeli armed forces used as signifiers of the unity of the country *despite* persistent inequalities and differences in the experiences of Israelis? We would suggest that the role of military ideals is to incorporate, to create a sense of a shared universe of meaning precisely because of the actual disparities and diversity of Israeli society (in terms of gender, ethnic affiliation, material conditions). The salience of these images of soldiers or of the IDF is one of shared vocabulary, not necessarily shared experiences or common achievements. Like ideologies and institutions everywhere, those of Israel "normalize." It is the thrust of ideological representation both to generalize and to naturalize, to claim for specific interests a natural universality. Much of the social and cultural dynamics related to the military in Israel may thus be read for the way these images have entailed distinctions that have reproduced and legitimated social differences, exclusionary practices, and the continued mobilization of resources for the military. Along these lines, the discourse on the "solidarity of warriors" (*akhvat lochamim*) accomplishes two things: it creates a language common to soldiers in general and to men who participate in combat duties in particular; and it blurs the differences within them and between them and other groups. Herein lies the complexity of meanings conveyed by military service: it radiates disparate but simultaneous messages of likeness and difference, of equality and inequality.

These two contributions further goad us to think about the need to re-read much of what has been written about war and the military in "gender neutral" terms as actually being studies about men. Here we would mobilize the central feminist insight that "the knowledge that is related to the gender base need not necessarily be specifically signaled as gendered topics" (Morgan 1994: 33-4). In other words, a gendered sociology of knowledge would focus not only on such ("obvious") military issues as rites-of-passage, sexual imagery of combat, women's emotionality or men's aggression but also on such matters as approved modes of administrative work, technical competence, or ideas of fun and leisure. Thus, along with current feminist contentions, we posit that even though it does not explicitly formulate its focus as such, a vast body of writing and research about supposedly neutral military issues is actually about men and masculinities. Could we not benefit then from re-reading (in the feminist sense) classic debates found within the sociology of the military about such issues as professionalization, career and promotion paths, or modes of recruitment as implicit examinations of central ideals about manhood and about ways to achieve these ideals?

Edna Lomsky-Feder's selection, "The Meaning of War Through Veterans' Eyes: A Phenomenological Analysis of Life Stories," deals with how war is represented within the personal narratives of veterans of the 1973 Yom Kippur War. Lomsky-Feder demonstrates how individuals interpret intense national events like wars by weaving them into their own life stories: those collection of events and experiences that individual narrators choose (consciously and unconsciously) to present as their personal story along a time axis. The group she studied is the hegemonic one—graduates of elite schools in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem—and thus her findings reflect the hegemonic normalization of war by the governing elites. She finds that the veterans she interviewed do not represent their experience of war as traumatic but rather as a normal (that is an ordinary, common) experience.

The paper claims that just as war has been institutionalized and normalized into the macro-social arrangements in Israeli society (Kimmerling 1984, 1985), so too individuals synthesize experiences of armed conflicts into their personal biographies. Israeli soldiers do not represent the experience of war as a traumatic one, but rather as a normal—"natural" and expected—aspect of their lives. The two primary mechanism by which war is normalized are the creation of a narrative continuity between a soldier's previous knowledge and the experience of warfare, and the development of a notion by which war is simultaneously part and outside of his life. The importance of life stories is thus related to their being the primary means which people use to interpret their lives in a coherent and persuasive manner.

Lomsky-Feder's conclusions consequently contradict two kinds of common perceptions. First, they challenge Israeli beliefs about the lasting disturbances that the Yom Kippur War of 1973 is supposed to have created in Israel and among veterans of that conflict. Second, her findings about the normalization of war directly contradict much of the accepted popular and (especially) academic wisdom about the effects of combat and warfare. Put somewhat simply, this view sees war as inevitably (and universally) traumatic on both the social and individual levels. Hence, because current research usually proceeds from an assumption of war-as-trauma, it tends to foreclose other kinds of questions. Thus the tendency in much of the scholarly literature (and especially among psychologists) is not to reason about the possibility that participation in armed conflict may lead to the mobilization of personal definitions by which war is interpreted as an expected—albeit intense—experience in the lives of individual soldiers.

Sarit Helman's contribution, "Citizenship Regime, Identity and Peace Protest in Israel," examines the social movements that have emerged to question the centrality of the military and of the use of armed force to solve many of Israel's central problems. Such "peace" movements, as they are known in Israel, were first established in wake of the war of 1973, but have been especially active since Israel's debacle in Lebanon and the Intifada. Helman's thesis is that despite the long-term activity of these movements, they have been very limited in their potential for widespread mobilization of social groups and categories for two basic reasons. They are limited first because of their continued ideological stress on militaristic symbols—such as continued loyalty to the IDF or the military record of many of their leaders—that cannot transcend the basic assumptions underlying Israel's security. These movements are limited secondly because their support is derived from (and appeals to) only a certain ethnic and class fragment—the middle-class of European origin—and the fact that women have been allowed to play only a marginal role within them (Helman and Rapoport 1997; Sasson-Levy 1995). On a discoursive level, she thus tackles a contradiction that underlies the activities of such movements: their continued adherence to soldiering and motherhood as mobilizing frames at the same time as these frames are precisely the issues the movements are protesting against.

Helman's analysis centers on the concept of "citizenship regime." This regime is that set of arrangements and definitions that does more than simply incorporate social categories into citizenship. The power of a citizenship regime lies in the manner by which the state often uses previous existing ties for forming citizenship *and* exclusion from citizenship. Moreover, and perhaps more importantly, these modes of inclusion and exclusion enacted by the state are constitutive of political identities and frame the kinds of contestations and claims of social groups vis-a-vis the state. The point here is that the state structures the very bases of its opposition both in ideological terms and the coalitions of groups mobilized for collective action against it. Substantively, her contentions are that the Israeli state has nationalized, ethnicized and genderized citizenship through the formation of a hierarchical structure of citizenship based on war-making and the establishment and maintenance of the military. In short, through state action, the fighter's role—the ultimate expression of civic virtue—came to be "naturally" associated with Ashkenazi-Jewish males whereas Oriental Jews and females in general were relegated to the periphery of civic virtue.

It is this hierarchy of groups, in turn, that has channeled the kinds of opposition—in our case, peace movements—that have been mounted against the state. Consequently, those groups constituted as the prime carriers of civic virtue increasingly mobilized the fighter's role to challenge the policies of the state, and as the prime justification for claiming participation in security policies (Feige 1995). However, as she shows through the examination of four "peace" movements, the turn to the fighter's role as a basis for mobilization could generate consensus against the system only among the groups constituted as the carriers of civic virtue. By appealing to the association between military symbols and citizenship, these movements in effect continued to marginalize women, antagonized significant parts of Oriental Jews and alienated the Palestinian citizens of Israel.

Helman's study raises crucial questions about the future trajectory of change in Israeli society. A central element here involves the complex potential for the emergence of sustained protest against, and outside of, the state. On the one hand, it is true that in contemporary Israel, the middle and upper-middle classes are slowly moving towards creating a civil society. Yet, on the other hand, other groups—notably national-religious Jews and many Oriental Jews—are now advancing towards the state and its missions. Thus, Israeli militarism continues to be carried by groups that stressed the continued affinity between the military and citizenship and the persistence of graded hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion based on this affinity.

The fourth section refers to the social foundations of the notion of "national security" and their implications for Israel's security and foreign policies. The papers show how relations between institutions and "readings" of Israel's geo-strategic circumstances affect the contexts in which policies are formulated and implemented and their actual content. One basic question raised by the articles in this section centers on whether the institutional mechanisms and the strategic conceptions crystallized during the first 50 years of Israel's existence are still relevant in a changing post-cold war world.

Amir Bar-Or's contribution, "The Link Between the Government and the IDF During Israel's First 50 Years: The Shifting Role of the Defense Minister," deals with an issue central to questions about civilian control of the military. If Peri tends to look at the wider characteristics of Israel's society and polity, Bar-Or deals with a much more focused dimension of civil-military relations, that of interest groups and the nitty-gritty of power struggles. In his contribution Bar-Or examines how these micro-relations structure the ways in which strategic choices are formulated and decided upon. His contention is that a prime "site" for examining this aspect of civil-military relations in democratic societies are the interpersonal relationships between the Prime Minister, Defense Minister and the Chief of the General Staff. Of special importance in this respect is the role of the Defense Minister who acts—to use a term borrowed from organizational science—as a boundary-spanning role between the military and civilian (especially political) sectors. It is especially he (there have only been men in this position) that embodies the porous boundaries between these two sectors. Bar-Or traces the diverse historical contingencies underlying the actions of people who have acted in these capacities and the unsettled, often highly contentious processes by which military and security policies have developed.

To be sure, Bar-Or is well aware of the wider institutional context within which such relations are embedded: the Prime Minister's Office, the National Security Advisory Staff within the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff respectively. But his analysis underscores how the concrete, micro-level relations between the elites peopling these positions can influence the shaping of policy. His thesis is that despite any formal stipulations written into ordinances or laws, the relations between these three actors are marked by a great deal of ambiguity and room for maneuverability, and are determined by the personalities, experience in military matters, and political acumen that they have. In this way, Bar-Or adds a crucial dimension to this volume. While most other contributors stress systemic factors, he stresses the place of individual decisions and the ability of individuals to effect the course of events. Similarly, while he does not theorize the issue as such, his analysis focuses on the importance of individual agency and change and not on how the Israeli regime reproduces itself and its assumptions. Good examples of this role are Ariel Sharon's machinations in and around his role as Minister of Defense during the war in Lebanon, or (as alluded to earlier) Rabin's use of the military in legitimating the peace process.

Like Boëne, so Bar-Or provides an explicit normative or prescriptive view of the kinds of preconditions necessary for the full functioning of a democracy in Israel (Burk 1998; Desch 1998; Feaver 1996). One example he provides is the disaster of the "Grapes of Wrath" operation under then Prime Minister Peres. Bar-Or suggests that the presence of an independent National Security Advisory Staff capable of offering different frames, views and interpretations of intelligence reports and offering policy alternatives, could have conceivably not let this happen. But he also shows how the last failure of setting up such a framework—the latest in a long chain of aborted intents—resulted from the struggles between Prime Minister Netanyahu and Defense Minister Mordechai over their respective jurisdiction over security issues.

In his essay on "A New Concept of National Security Applied on Israel," Henning Sørensen continues a line of research applied by Moshe Lissak and Dan Horowitz to Israel (Horowitz and Lissak 1996;

Lissak 1995). Sørensen's essay is written with the explicit aim of generating discussion about the long-term prospects for peaceful resolution to the conflicts within which Israel is involved. Concretely, Sørensen explains how Israel's strategic options are limited by its view of national security and the ways in which its leaders define its external and internal security threats. In this sense, he places the case of Israel in a global context: in terms of how contemporary global contexts of armed struggles are changing. The industrial societies of today, according to him, are characterized by growing demands for legitimizing the use of violence on the part of the armed forces, calls for taking preventative (rather than offensive) military measures, and a continued need for states to correctly identify their security position so that they can prepare and act according to these changing circumstances. In order to delineate Israel's conception of national security, he sketches out a model based on a number of key variables: the position of a country vis-a-vis others in terms of enemies or allies; the threat perception of a nation which undergirds its military build-up; the time of intervention in conflict; and the goal of military involvement.

Written as it is by an outsider, Sørensen's contribution seems to have put his finger on what may be termed the essential conservatism of many policy makers in Israel. Instead of recognizing that threats to the country's existence have been reduced (terror is not an existential threat), and that the IDF can (arguably) curtail military expenditures, downsize the military, and remove conscription, the leaders of the country continue to act as a nation without allies and to rely on a heavy military buildup based on the view that only sufficient military power can eliminate or reduce attacks. These leaders tend, he concludes, to see security as a zero-sum game, where Israel's increased security implies decreased security for other countries. Along these lines, he finds that Israel is characterized by a gap. On the one hand, because of developments in Israel's international position, it is now less threatened from the outside and consequently has more room for maneuvering in foreign policy. On the other hand, however, a close examination of Israel reveals that it continues to be characterized by the threat perception of a nation with major enemies. It is this gap which stands in the way of the continuation of the peace process and a major change in the manner by which it conceives of terror organizations.

The final section signals a shift of focus from the previous papers. While most of the previous contributions center on the relations between the IDF and Israeli society and polity, the articles in this section focus on lines of continuity and trends of change in several aspects of the IDF's internal organizational structure. Yet these trends are analyzed as connected to wider social and political contexts. Reuven Gal's presentation, "The Israeli Defense Forces (IDF): A Conservative or an Adaptive Organization?" examines the internal reactive capacities and limits of the IDF vis-à-vis its external environment in terms of threat assessment, force structure, and training and education. The question Gal asks derives from placing the IDF in the context of changes in the military establishments of the industrialized countries of the world: why has the IDF, purportedly the epitome of a successful army, not adapted to its changed circumstances? In theoretical terms, his chapter represents an attempt to analyze the internal modes of thought of the IDF that characterize it as a conservative organization. His conclusion is that the IDF is characterized by conservative innovation. Gal's thesis is that the combination of a proclivity for tactical innovation and the constant pressure of demands for immediate reaction has led to a situation in which it is very difficult for the senior commanders to reflect on, to distance themselves from, their paradigms of thought.

Gal's paper raises an important question relevant to any military establishment, that of organizational learning. A commonly heard cliche states that militaries always prepare for the last war they have fought. Given the budgetary constraints and changed threat environments that armies around the world are facing, and given that these are very large and complex organizations, questions about their capacity for willed, intentional change seems especially important.

Louis Roniger's "Organizational Complexity, Trust and Deceit in the Israeli Air Force" develops some of the themes Gal raises in a different direction. The paper deals with the question of how the military ethos is translated into the concrete arrangements and culture of an organization. Through an examination of the uproar over a case of graft-taking by an Air Force general, Roniger uncovers a number of major assumptions about the ethos and basic codes of the IDF and especially its commanders. Hence, the "deviance" of this case underscores how the normal and normative expectations of the IDF were perceived to be deeply defiled. The moral condemnation this man received—he was called an "outcast," "dirt," "betrayer," "traitor"—attest as much to the Air Force leaders' attempts to dissociate themselves from him as to the still relatively high level of trust granted to the IDF (and the shock of having this trust violated). Such condemnation can only be understood against the background of the still relatively strong notion of trust—beliefs in the goodness, ability, strength, honesty, and reliability—of the IDF (Meisels 1995; Lomsky-Feder 1998). Indeed, the fact that this general was promoted out of the administrative arm of the forces—that is, he was not an ex-pilot, a warrior—was seen as part of the reasons given for his (mis)conduct.

Throughout the paper Roniger indicates the importance of a cadre of "carriers" of the symbolic importance of the IDF: those military elites that figure as leaders not only in the instrumental sense of guiding the organization, but no less importantly in creating and recreating its public imagery. These informal circles are based on shared military experiences spanning recruitment, combat and joint duties (Maman and Lissak 1995; Lissak and Maman 1996). Like similar networks found among graduates of the *Palmach*, the British Army, the Paratroopers or the Armored Corps, the importance of these groups reverberates outward from the IDF to other realms of Israeli society. The point Roniger seems to be making is that, to follow Edelman (1976), these commanders are (beyond their formally assigned roles) also symbols of inspiration and reassurance. The military elite in Israel, then, concurrently symbolizes the defense of the nation (through remembrances of past glories and threats) and a variety of sentiments about professional standards, ethics, honesty, and non-partisanship. The commanders of the Air Force seem to "carry" these messages most fittingly: at the same time as they figure in the fame of the 1967 war and the heroic survival of the 1973 war, they are deemed leaders of the most professional, ordered, and technically advanced arm of the IDF.

Yet Roniger's composition documents something else: a continued questioning of previously undisputed assumptions held by state authorities and the majority of the population about military qualities and behavior. Many groups in contemporary Israeli society are no longer willing to grant the IDF its previous status of unquestioned professionalism and to accord "state security" considerations as the only (or primary) criteria for national decision-making.

Roniger's case should be seen as part of a much wider interrogation of the necessity of war and the military that is now taking place in Israeli society. We are now witness to reflections about such matters as the role of women in the army and in combat, the links between families and military authorities, the reasons for and handling of suicides by army authorities, or the leeway left to families to determine the symbols used in graves and military memorials.

The implications of Roniger's contribution lead us towards Moshe Lissak's epilogue to this volume, "Uniqueness and Normalization in Military-Government Relations in Israel." In this concluding article Lissak attempts to trace out the peculiarities of the Israeli case in terms of the ties that bind the military to various social and political entities. As he sees it, Israel is undergoing a process of "normalization." That is, the heavy stress on security—the "religion of security"—is gradually weakening and the country is beginning to take on similarities to other industrialized democracies.

Situating Our Volume

As we stated at the beginning of this essay, one of the contributions of this volume is related to what may be termed its "social situatedness," that is, its place in wider polemics about the character of contemporary Israel. During the past decade or so, a host of social scientific and humanistic studies have begun to critically explore mainstream Zionist assumptions at the base of many previous studies of Israel. These newer approaches—developed by scholars sometimes dubbed "the new historians" or "new sociologists"—have uncovered such biases at the base of studies of Israel as the equation of Israeli society with Jewish-Israeli society (Kimmerling 1992) and the concomitant neglect of Palestinian citizens (Rosenhek, 1998), or the stress on the "integration" of Oriental-Jewish new immigrants from the perspective of the dominant (European) groups (Ram 1995).

From the perspective of this volume the central question that these scholars have raised centers on, to follow Kimmerling (1993; see also Peri 1996), whether Israel is a militaristic society. Kimmerling's suggestions that Israel is characterized by a "civilian militarism"—i.e., by a stress on viewing the "world" through considerations of security and the resolution of inter-state problems through the use of military force—is questioned by Moshe Lissak in the epilogue to this volume. One perspective, which derives from the "armed forces and society" approach, contends that the militaristic turn in Israel is only evident in the past few years. The implication of this analysis is that while the civilian influences on the IDF were strong in the past, they are now under serious threat. The "state-making and war" approach, by contrast, contends that in reality Israel has always been a militaristic society and that it is only through the use of certain theoretical lenses that this is apparent. The contrast, then, is between a thesis of rupture in Israeli society in which the essential "civilianization" of the military is eroding and a contention about the continuity of a very basic militaristic worldview.

The essays in this volume extend and develop this debate and the diverging manner by which developments in the relations between war, state, the military and society in Israel are to be understood. To put this contrast by way of a number of questions: can we say that from the perspective of the "armed forces and society" school we are witness to the destruction of the clear institutional separation between the military and civilian elites and the potential for the "de-democratization" of Israel? From the perspective of the "state-making and war" approach, do changes in and around the IDF represent a potential for praetorianism, i.e., a military coup (Ben-Eliezer 1998), or (alternatively) the withering away of the state? Or, in what is an alternative to such questions, could the Israeli case represent the development of a new kind of military establishment and a novel model of its relations with external social and political groups?

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