

WEEKEND

Amos Harel

Maj. Gen. Uzi Moscovitch, who this month concluded four and a half years as head of the Israel Defense Forces' C4I branch – the IDF's teleprocessing directorate – was never one for caution or diplomatic restraint. Now that he's on discharge leave, at the age of 52, wrapping up 34 years in the army, a conversation with him can be conducted more openly. Moscovitch tells Haaretz about the place of cyber operations, defensively and offensively, in the General Staff's current plans, and describes the next possible confrontation, as he and his colleagues see it.

"We can predict with high probability that in the next five to seven years, there will not be a war here of conventional armies, of the kind we became accustomed to in the past and which the IDF was designed to face," Moscovitch asserts. "There are no conventional wars today: Countries are not conquered. Even great powers almost never conquer territories openly anymore. A revolution has taken place: From clashes between the great industrial armies, we have reverted to war against organizations and militia forces – even in the case of Hezbollah, the organization has steep-trajectory firing capabilities at the level of a state, if not a great power.

"We see a similar pattern in the Gaza Strip," he continues, "with the whole alignment of defense and steep-trajectory munitions concealed amid civilian surroundings and underground. If in the past, we were called on to cope with an enemy capable of concentrating a force and attacking powerfully on the ground, with the ability to seize territory, today we are facing dozens of smaller organizations. It's not an existential threat, but it's become more difficult to pinpoint the enemies and deal with them."

A different response was required for the new military reality, for which the IDF did not begin to deploy until after its relative failure vis-a-vis Hezbollah during the Second Lebanon War in 2006. A key feature is a change in the way intelligence is collected, and more particularly in its dissemination to the units – a development that was of great significance in Moscovitch's realm of

The outgoing head of the IDF's computers and communications branch outlines the army's approach to cyber warfare and dealing with Hamas and Hezbollah in future confrontations



Outgoing C4I chief Moscovitch. "A great deal will depend ... on the ability to transmit, in real time, information on the launcher, to intelligence ... to the plane that will bomb the target."

David Bachar

method will not reduce the threat to the Israeli civilian rear within a reasonable time. The problem is that the home front is taking punishment and bleeding, and it's possible that a confrontation will be dual-sector [including also rocket fire from Gaza]."

Intelligence was transmitted effectively in the Gaza Strip in 2014, but the IDF suffered from other problems there: flawed operational plans, disparities in the General Staff's fire plan, and hesitation at the senior political and military levels. Dragged into a war against Hamas, both senior echelons had difficulty deciding on the primary goal: to cripple Hamas' rocket-launching capabilities; to destroy the organization's tunnels (a goal that was set only after 10 days of fighting); or to end its rule (an idea to which the leadership, from Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu down, objected).

Moscovitch, who declines to comment on this analysis of the Gaza war – even though he is considered one of the war's harshest critics in internal General Staff forums – maintains that the IDF will be better prepared in a future confrontation with Hezbollah, but admits that obstacles still loom. "There are thousands of targets there that we know about – we have extraordinary intelligence. Let's say that under optimal conditions, most of the civilian population in southern Lebanon flees to the north. Even then, after a short period, you have already attacked most of the targets known to you, but rockets still continue to be fired at the civilian rear. Here you'll need intelligence and the ability to deal rapidly with time-sensitive targets" – in other words, mobile rocket launchers or embedded launchers whose location is only revealed after rockets have been fired from them into Israel.

That, says Moscovitch, "will be the tipping point in the campaign. Intelligence will go on working, but a great

Continued on page 12

A new type of warfare

responsibility.

In the past few years, as a result of a process spearheaded by Maj. Gen. Aviv Kochavi, the former director of Military Intelligence (now head of Northern Command), the IDF formulated a new concept of intelligence warfare. Its main feature is rapid integration of intelligence and other information on a vast scale, from diverse sources, and then "pushing" a large part of it forward, to the combat units. MI was partly influenced by the trauma of 2006, when it emerged that not enough information was available about Hezbollah's deployment and that an important segment of the intelligence that did exist was not

transferred to the field units in time, for fear it would leak to the enemy.

The change, whose roots lie with then-Chief of Staff Gabi Ashkenazi and then-MI chief Amos Yadin, was given great momentum under Kochavi, during the term of Benny Gantz as chief of staff, and was first put to the test in Operation Protective Edge, the 2014 war in Gaza. "From the moment that MI connects with the end units and doesn't make do with having intelligence sit in GHQ [general headquarters], the implementation of the concept depends on teleprocessing," Moscovitch says. "You need a teleprocessing infrastructure, information systems, the ability to inte-

grate and filter information."

The model is already working well, but a reverse risk is now developing, he notes. "In my view, we are flooding the company commander at the end of the chain with too much information. The same problem exists in the business world – 'big data' – where more information is collected than the end user can filter and handle efficiently in real time."

Even though a clash with Hezbollah does not appear to be an immediate danger, given the Shi'ite organization's continued involvement in the civil war in Syria, a war in Lebanon is the primary operational challenge that the IDF is preparing for.

"When you look at southern Lebanon," says Moscovitch, "you see 150 to 170 villages in which Hezbollah has built combat systems since 2006. According to a cautious estimate, each such village has 40 to 50 areas that you will have to deal with in a war. It can no longer be the rake-up method that the IDF used in the first Lebanon war, in 1982. At that time, the chief of staff, Rafal [Rafael Eitan], told division commanders: Within a week you are positioned on this-and-this line. Today, the enemy is scattered and decentralized. The fact that you have crossed the rocket-launching space with an IDF ground force doesn't mean they will stop using that space. The old

The power of Ronit Elkabetz

The greatness of the late Israeli actor stems from the fact that her own unique persona informed the credibility of all the characters she played

Raya Morag

To describe the contribution of Ronit Elkabetz – who died at 51 on April 19 – to Israeli cinema, we need to invoke the term "persona." A persona comes into being when, at a certain moment in an actor's work, the different characters he has played coalesce in the viewer's mind into one imaginary entity, which is also identified with the actor's actions, behavior and appearances in the public arena.

At a certain point in the audience's consciousness, Elkabetz's cinematic-stage presence in the characters she played – such as the ostracized sister in Shmuel Hasfari's "Sh'Chur" (1994); the divorcée whom the younger, still unmarried Zaza loves in Dover Koshashvili's "Late Marriage" (2001); the prostitute in Keren Yedaya's "Or" (2004); the resident of the remote development town in Eran Kolirin's "The Band's Visit" (2007); Viviane in the trilogy she codirected with her brother, Shlomi Elkabetz ("To Take a Wife," 2004; "Shiva," 2008; and "Gett," 2014), and a raped woman in Michal Aviad's "Invisible" (2011) – became intertwined with her extra-cinematic figure and created a new image, a persona.

On the surface, it seems as though most of her films (both those she either created herself as screenwriter and director, and those in which she simply acted) saw her playing characters who are on the margins of Israeli society, and dependent on the benevolence of patriarchal figures and subject to ethnic and religious strictures. But at the same time, these characters are fed by Elkabetz's persona. As such, even when they embody excruciating defeat (as in "Or," when Ruthie's daughter is unable to extricate her mother from the cycle of prostitution), or tragic victory, which they achieve at the price of their sexuality (as at the end of "Gett"), they assume, through Elkabetz's persona, a subversive power that turns the family-social-institutional order inside out.

By means of her ability as an actor to make her persona the prime driving force of the characters she played, Elkabetz succeeded in becoming the bearer of tidings both for women and femininity in Israeli cinema, and especially for Mizrahi women (referring to Jews of Middle Eastern or North African origin).

It is not only a case of resistance to the consignment of the Mizrahi woman to being poor, uneducated, identified with



Elkabetz, in a promotional shot for her 2011 film "Invisible." Ilya Melnikov

Through her persona, Elkabetz is occupied with an attempt to develop a class, ethnic and gender consciousness that derives from power, not from its absence.

domesticity and family, shackled by tradition, and so forth. The point is that in the course of representation that aspires to portray this depressing reality and rail against it, Elkabetz's persona declares the presence of a Mizrahi woman who is educated, modern, secular and the master of her body, sexuality and decisions. As such, women's rights to autonomy, to their body, to divorce, to property and more, spring forth from the intensity and power of Elkabetz's persona.

It is Elkabetz's ability as an actress that drives this complex process, in which – in addition to the representation accorded the disadvantaged and helpless woman – the viewer becomes aware of the race- and gender-driven power systems that characterize Israeli society in general. Yet at the same time, the viewer feels the tremendous potential power that resides within the woman

who's playing the part of the subordinate character.

The persona generated by Elkabetz thus makes it possible for us to grasp the way in which women participate in the systems of power and oppression, as they participate in the systems of resistance and criticism. Through her persona, Elkabetz is occupied with an attempt to develop a class, ethnic and gender consciousness that derives from power, not from its absence. The ability to create such a complex position for her subject – of victimization from which prodigious feminine power erupts – is not connected only to the story that each of the films relates.

And Elkabetz's greatness as an actor doesn't lie only in her ability to play convincingly, and in minute detail, a broad range of characters (in keeping with the acting tradition fostered by actors such as Meryl Streep, for example). Her greatness stems from the fact that her persona informs the credibility of the characters, so that the traits they bring to the screen generate a strong quasi-documentary sense. In other words, Elkabetz's rebellious consciousness peers and bursts out from each of the subordinated characters she plays, without this contrast undermining the character's authenticity or the integrity of her acting.

In this way, the revolutionary struggle realized in her persona was able to remove itself from the binary conception of ownership of power (men) versus powerlessness (women). That struggle not only asks the male viewer questions about his voyeuristic, race-driven and fundamentalist attitude toward Mizrahi women; it also demands of him, through her continued presence, her persona, to relinquish his psychic violence.

Few actresses in world cinema have also gone on to become directors (others are Barbra Streisand, Jodie Foster and Angelina Jolie), and only occasionally did their work as directors support the ideological stance that drove their work as actors, without compromise. In this sense, both Elkabetz's awareness of the need to constantly critique the power systems, and her voice and consciousness are marvelously singular in world cinema, and not only in Israeli filmmaking.

The writer is an associate professor of cinema studies in the department of communication and journalism, and head of the Smart Family Institute of Communications, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

מוזאון ארצות המקרא ירושלים



By the Rivers of **Babylon** על נהרות **בבל**

Last chance - Closing on May 15, 2016

Weekend Family Fun

Saturdays | 10:00 – 14:00 | Free admission for children!

Self-guided activity | Ideal for Shabbat observant families.

New!
Lost at the Museum

Join the Princess and the Wizard on their spectacular journey in search of their lost heirlooms. Look for shiny jewelry and hunting tools that have vanished in the palace, and discover ancient spells and mysterious papyrus writings. But beware of the lurking demons that are trying to throw you off the trail!

www.blmj.org | 02-5611066 | Free parking