

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**Title:** “JUST WAR” CASE STUDY: ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON.

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**Thesis:** This essay examines Israel’s overall reasons for invasion of southern Lebanon, and compares them to just war theory’s war-decision law and war-conduct law. This examination will establish that Israel achieved her objectives before war termination, which lead to some unjust actions.

**Discussion:** Between 1948 and 1982 Israel had engaged in conventional combat four times against Arab coalition forces. In all cases, Israel fought for survival of its state and established a military dominance in the region. In the years leading up to 1982, the Israeli government sought ways to eliminate security problems in its occupied territory and across its border with southern Lebanon. Israel defined its security problems as terrorist excursions that threatened the security of its people and property in northern Israel. This paper will examine Israeli conduct of deciding to go to war and their conduct of war in relation to just war theory. Three areas will be examined; 1) Did Israel have a just cause, use a legitimate authority and the right intention for invading Lebanon as in accordance with Jus ad Bellum? 2) Did Israel conduct the conflict in accordance with Jus in Bello? 3) What are the long-term ramifications for the region since the invasion?

**Conclusion:**

1. War does not have to be just, but it clearly helps the overall outcome when world opinion believes a war is being conducted for just reasons, and clearly outlined.
2. The civil/military planners need to articulate clear concise objectives with the same strategic goals. This applies to conventional and non-conventional war.
3. Any country that decides to apply war as a part of its political means has to understand the political objectives of the other side.

## METHODOLOGY

This essay is a case study of Israel's invasion of southern Lebanon in 1982 and applied to Just War Theory. Chapter One is the introduction to Just War Theory and the current application of such thought. Chapter Two is an introduction and background on the Israeli-Arab situation prior to 1982. This chapter highlights the reasons for invading Lebanon and if it was in accordance with *Jus ad Bellum* (war-decision law). Chapter Three is an introduction to force structure, military planning and conflict execution. This chapter will conclude by identifying and analyzing, using *Jus in Bello* (war-conduct law), Israelis conduct of the war. Chapter Four analyzes lessons learned by the Israelis. This includes aspects from both civil and military organizations. Chapter Five is the summary, which will wrap up the essay, and Chapter six is the conclusion, which will focus more of long term ramifications in the region.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

*War is thus an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will. Force, to counter opposing force, equips itself with the inventions of art and science. Attached to force are certain self-imposed, imperceptible limitations hardly worth mentioning, known as international law and custom, but they scarcely weaken it. Force—that is, physical force, for moral force has no existence save as expressed in the state and the law—is thus the means of war; to impose our will on the enemy is its object.*

-- Carl Von Clausewitz<sup>1</sup>  
On War

This essay is a case study on how a country justifies war and then goes about waging it. Even today, as President George Bush explains actions against the Taliban in Afghanistan, just war framework is used to justify military actions and policy decisions. In his speech to a joint session of Congress on September 20, 2001, President Bush emphasized a moral obligation to the American people: *“Whether we bring enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.”* He continued: *“Fellow citizens, we’ll meet violence with patient justice – assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come.”*<sup>2</sup> On October 7, 2001, President Bush spoke more specifically to the Armed Forces emphasizing that Operation Enduring Freedom is a just war, *“Your mission is defined; your objectives are clear; your goal is just. You have my full confidence and you will have every tool you need to carry out your duty.”*<sup>3</sup> The president defined the mission, established the overall objectives, indicated a proportional response, and made clear that the war against terrorism was just. Was it a coincidence that the president explained his actions based on the just war theory and *jus ad bellum* (war-decision law)? The answer is no, and more importantly, the president

addressed his remarks not only to the citizens of the United States, but to the international community.

As indicated by Carl Von Clausewitz in 1812, “Attached to force are certain self-imposed, imperceptible limitations hardly worth mentioning, known as international law and custom. Moral Force has no existence save as expressed in the state and the law-is thus the means of war; to impose our will on the enemy is its object.”<sup>4</sup> Clausewitz separates the physical waging of war and the laws that govern war. However, the act of force to compel an enemy to do our will is based upon a cultural consensus and social development that has been debated for centuries prior to Clausewitz. This ethical and moral development changed the way emerging states raised, trained, and utilized forces. The development and foundation of just war theory is rooted in philosophical writings and theological thought. The evolution of the just war theory is based on social development formed by ethics and morality.

### I. Just War Development

The originator of just war theory is not exactly known, but the writings of Aristotle and Cicero are regarded as main contributors to the study of ethics as a rational discipline, which distinguished ethics and human actions as proper development of the human personality.<sup>5</sup> Aristotle openly criticized the Spartans for training and preparing their citizens exclusively for war. Aristotle believed that “a city-state that trains its citizens to rule its neighbors provides no basis for calling itself happy.” He continued: “The lawgiver should aim generally to establish peace and a cultured life.” Aristotle’s argument outlined three distinct ideas for why a military should be trained: (1) to defend its own city-state, (2) to maintain leadership over the

city-state, but not to treat its citizens as slaves, and (3) to dominate those that are unfit and incapable of governing themselves. The last argument, Aristotle's greatest flaw, asserts that if you aren't Greek then you cannot govern yourself. During the same period, the philosopher Cicero spoke of universal brotherhood and humankind. However, much like Aristotle, Cicero believed that the Roman Empire was superior to other populations, and the primary foundation for war justification was to protect the Roman Empire. Cicero believed that this was justified because of the positive benefits the Roman Empire provided inferior peoples. Cicero wrote: "no just war can be waged except for the purpose of punishment or repelling enemies," and concluded that, "the only excuse for going to war is that we may live in peace unharmed."<sup>6</sup>

Both Aristotle and Cicero believed in human kindness, ethical and moral obligations, and just war, but they both believed in inequality (Greek and Roman Empires as superior entities). Their contribution to just war thinking was their extensive work on ethics and morality.

Christianity, more specifically the overthrow of the Roman Empire, created a dilemma in relation to the moral theory on war. Through the philosophical works of Augustine, the roots of the modern notion of just war tradition immersed during this period.<sup>7</sup>

Saint Augustine challenged Aristotle and Cicero on the authority of the state in regards to human rights. Augustine stated: "Upright pagans have the form but not the substance of true virtue, so for this there can be no destruction among men."<sup>8</sup> Augustine rejected the Roman and Greek superior positions by asserting that man were equal and all inferior to God. Augustine argued that if one force was just then the



opposing force must be unjust. Therefore, only one side of the war or conflict can be justified. Of course, to say that one side is just and the other is unjust will always generate intense debates and international opinion. This essay does not insinuate that Israel was just and the Palestinian people were unjust. Rather, this essay focuses on Israel's decision to wage war and how the just war theory figured into that decision. Augustine believed that waging war was a duty of Christians only to protect other Christians, and not to protect themselves. He also believed that Christian leaders and warriors should love their enemies. Augustine clearly believed that, although war is a sin, it is one that man could not avoid. Therefore, the justification of war must have merit.<sup>9</sup> Augustine provided two distinct criteria for war justification: A legitimate authority must declare war, and it must be for a just cause.<sup>10</sup>

In the 13th Century, philosopher Thomas Aquinas added that Christians were obligated to protect themselves, and that they should be conscious of the proportionality of the force applied. Aquinas, agreeing with Augustine, went on to add the following: (1) legitimate authority should make war decisions, (2) War must be waged as a just cause, and then he added his own requirement, (3) The proper authority must resort to war with the right intentions.<sup>11</sup> The philosophers Vitoria and Suarez added three more conditions to this list by the end of the 17th Century. Those conditions were: (1) The loss of human life should be proportional, (2) All peaceful means to prevent war must be exhausted before using force, and (3) Just war must have a reasonable hope of success.<sup>12</sup>

Just war theory has evolved over the past 2,000 years and is a combination of theology and philosophy influenced by international law, social traditions, and military

experiences from battles past.<sup>13</sup> Theologians and philosophers laid the foundation for ethics and the modern debate between good and evil. To establish a practical model to investigate just war law as developed over the past 2,000 years, the following section will outline the principles described by Aristotle, Cicero and Augustine, and put them in context for modern campaign analysis and application.

## II. Just War Law

The basic foundations surrounding the just war law theory are based not only on the reasons for declaring war (*Jus ad Bellum*) or the “war-decision law”, but also on the conduct of the war (*Jus in Bello*) or the “war-conduct law”. More specifically, it is not entirely about war, but more directed towards moral concerns and ethical development of thought that lead to war and shape the conduct and ending of wars.<sup>14</sup> This paper will examine *jus ad bellum* and *jus in bello* within the context of the Israeli 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

The following concepts that govern the war-decision law (*Jus ad Bellum*) principles and that this paper will apply to Israel’s political rationale and reasoning in invading Southern Lebanon in 1982 center on three distinct questions: (1) Was the criteria to use force a just cause?, (2) Did a competent authority outline the requirement and make the decision to use force?, and (3) Was the decision to use military force based on the spirit of right intentions?<sup>15</sup> All three of these distinct criteria are rooted in international law, U.S. military manuals, and theological and philosophical debates over a just war.<sup>16</sup> A common theme across all three is the defense of a nation/state, laws protecting noncombatants, and strong reference in modern day military manuals on regulating, summarizing, and implementing moral norms, which have direct roots in



just war traditions summarized centuries earlier.<sup>17</sup> The war-decision law supports the defense against attack, the punishment of evil, and the recovery of something wrongly taken. The *jus ad bellum* investigation asks the above questions and seeks their answers within distinct layers of responsibility within a modern civilized state. The head of state, the policy debate, the military command, the individual in military service, and the private citizen all contribute to just war law and its successes.<sup>18</sup>

Israel's conduct of the war will likewise be examined against the criteria of the just means of fighting war (*Jus in Bello*) or the war-conduct law principles: (1) Discrimination, meaning "combatants vs. non-combatants" and the ability to target "justly", and (2) Proportionality.<sup>19</sup> Discrimination and proportionality are linked directly to additional criteria that ask the following broader questions within the context of just cause: (1) Is there a reasonable chance of success?, (2) Is war the absolute last resort?, and (3) Is the ultimate political objective peace? The conduct of war evaluation, to include both discrimination and proportionality, can be linked to Carl Von Clausewitz and his arguments on culminating points, turning points, and the proper identification of the center of gravity.

To answer the questions of just cause, competent authority, and right intentions, the reader must understand the situation and crises that developed in northern Israel and southern Lebanon prior to 1982.

## Chapter 2

### BACKGROUND TO ISRAEL-ARAB RELATIONS AND THE DECISION TO INVADE LEBANON

#### I. Situation and Overview

To understand the making of war and, more specifically, the reasons for Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, we start with the words of British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour penned on November 2, 1917. "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object...", Balfour wrote, finishing with a provision that "nothing should be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing, non-Jewish communities in Palestine."<sup>20</sup> For 35 centuries the Palestinian Arabs and the Israeli Jews have considered the same geographical area their "Promised Land", and for the past 700 years that land was under Muslim rule. The 20th Century, with the help of the British mandate, would prove to be a turning point of this argument.<sup>21</sup>

Two events following the Balfour Agreement altered the fate of Palestinian people. First, in 1921 Britain's Winston Churchill divided Palestine and Trans-Jordan by establishing Shaif Hussein's oldest son, Abdullah, as Amir of Trans-Jordan. That placed all territory East of the Jordan River with Trans-Jordan (modern day Jordan), and limited portions of territory West of the Jordan River for future Israeli development.<sup>22</sup> The second event was the Holocaust and world reaction to Nazi anti-semitism. This created political momentum for an Israeli homeland and swayed world leaders to be sympathetic towards the plight of Jews in Europe.<sup>23</sup> On 29 November 1947, the United Nations General Assembly voted and approved the partition of Palestine to establish a

Jewish State and establish Jerusalem as an international territory. With territory diminishing, and nearly 600,000 Jewish people migrating to their Promised Land, the Palestinian people were officially displaced. On 30 November 1947, Arabs reacted by rioting, which led to an Arab invasion of Israel officially marking the beginning of the Israeli War of Independence.<sup>24</sup>

The 1947-1948 civil war established Israel's capabilities and determination to survive as a nation state. Israel fought well, using interior lines to repulse a five-nation (Iraq, Egypt, Trans-Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon) Arab assault.<sup>25</sup> The war ended with a mass migration of Palestinians across the Jordanian River into Trans-Jordan (modern day Jordan). Trans-Jordan's population was now two-thirds Palestinian.<sup>26</sup>

The war of independence was costly for Israel and the surrounding Arab states. Israel won independence but suffered 6,000 casualties. Israel established distinct borders, which were agreed upon internationally, but neighboring Arab States would not acknowledge them until 1977. Palestinian refugees totaling nearly 800,000 were officially displaced and removed from their homeland (often physically removed from their homes), with another 500,000 becoming Israeli citizens and living within the newly established borders of Israel.<sup>27</sup> Lacking internal political leadership and cohesion, the Palestinian refugees in Jordan were governed by Jordan and Egypt. The refugees clung to land between Israel and Jordan (West Bank), and the Mediterranean Sea (Gaza Strip), with nearly half their population within the new borders of Israel. With no leadership and international support, the Palestinian refugees became a breeding ground for sponsored guerilla activity and insurgent activity against Israel.<sup>28</sup>

## II. The Emergence of the Palestinian Liberation Organization

Between the Israeli War of Independence in 1948 and the Six-Day war in 1967, the Palestinian refugees became organized and involved with the destruction of Israel. In 1955, Egyptian President Nasser established an Arab movement to destroy the Israeli State. Syria, Jordan, and Iraq backed this movement and began preparing for war, by providing military equipment and financial support to refugee camps in and around Israel. Palestinian refugee camps flourished with optimism and hope of destroying Israel and regaining their territory.<sup>29</sup>

The Palestinian Liberation Organization officially was born in 1964. Money and weapons were now controlled by an official organization within the Palestinian population. For the first time since 1948, an organized Palestinian group could affect the Middle East political situation. By 1967, the PLO under the leadership of Yasir Arafat was considered internationally to be the sole representative of all Palestinian people.<sup>30</sup>

The 1967 conflict is the most significant event regarding future social, political, and military actions between Israel and Palestinians. Israel captured and annexed territory that provided buffer zones between Israel and the surrounding Arab states; the Sinai Desert Southwest to Egypt, the Golan Heights Northwest to Syria, the West Bank area and all of Jerusalem East to Jordan, and total control of the Gaza Strip.<sup>31</sup> However, Israel now had to control and govern more than one million Arabs, and do so without granting them full autonomy. To do so would alter the political balance in the Jewish State.<sup>32</sup>

The Israel-Arab wars restricted the movement of Palestinians and increased tension between the Palestinians and Arab States bordering Israel. Of these countries,

Lebanon suffered the most from Palestinian occupation. To understand the reasons for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, we have to understand the Palestinian influence in Lebanon during the Lebanese civil war 1975-1976. Immediately following the 1967 war, Palestinian forces in Jordan used that state to launch raids against Israel. Retaliation was swift, and by late 1970 the Jordanian Army had extracted PLO forces from Jordan. Nearly 200,000 Palestinians fled to Lebanon bringing the total Palestinian population in that country to more than half a million.<sup>33</sup> The Lebanese civil war pitted Muslim factions against Christian ones for political control and influence. The Christians, primarily living in the eastern part of Beirut and in the northern one-third of the country, no longer made up the majority of Lebanese population but still demanded the majority vote in the Lebanese government. The Muslim population, primarily Druze and Shi'a, demanded majority representation within the government of Lebanon. With Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Liberation Organization agitating the delicate balance, war was now imminent in Lebanon. The Lebanese civil war was fought primarily in the urban environment, and most of the casualties were non-combatants. By the end of 1976, the Arab states of Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia Lebanon and PLO representatives negotiated an end to the civil war. This came at a time when the Muslim forces, predominately Palestinians, were prepared to enter Christian Beirut and end Christian domination. The Arab states agreed to let Syria enter Lebanon with 8,000 soldiers and 200 tanks to support a United Nations Force within Lebanon. The result was an unbalanced government in Lebanon with no powers outside the city limits of Beirut, and an occupation force consisting of United Nations Forces In Lebanon (UNIFIL) in southern Lebanon, and 30,000 Syrian forces primarily in Beirut and the Biqa' Valley.<sup>34</sup>



Of significance to this paper, the PLO remained intact, controlling southern Lebanon with full intentions of launching attacks against Israel. The situation in southern Lebanon posed a significant strategic threat to the State of Israel.

### III. Palestinian and Israeli Tensions

After the 1973 Yom Kippur War, attacks by Palestinians against Israel in the north along the border of Israel and Lebanon increased. Between 1973 and 1982, the PLO shelled Israeli settlements more than 1,500 times killing 108 people.<sup>35</sup> The PLO strategy was to avoid attacks on military targets for fear of greater Israeli retaliation, and to focus primarily on civilian targets. In fact, the majority of Israelis killed during this period were civilians. During one nine-month period in 1980, the PLO launched 69 military operations against Israel from the UNIFIL zone, which was supposed to ensure security in the buffer zone between the Latani River and the Israeli-Lebanese border.<sup>36</sup>

Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin signed a peace treaty in March 1979, seriously threatening Yasir Arafat and the PLO as the sole authority of the Palestinian people. Israel agreed to vacate the Sinai Peninsula and Egypt agreed to recognize the state of Israel.<sup>37</sup> Egypt agreed with Israel on the West Bank autonomy for Palestinians. This undermined the PLO's argument that all of Israel was Palestine. The Egyptian-Israeli peace initiative created a divide between Syria and Israel, and solidified the PLO resolve in the region. PLO activity against Israel along the Israeli-Lebanese border significantly increased.

By 1981, the PLO was purchasing tanks and artillery from Syria and the Soviet Union. During this period, the PLO attacks increased and, by December 1981, the Israeli military began tentative planning for an invasion into Lebanon. Between



December 1981 and June 1982, Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon asked the Israeli cabinet to go to war on four separate occasions.<sup>38</sup> The cabinet, concerned about the political and economic ramifications, rejected all these requests. On June 3, 1982, Palestinian assassins in London killed the Israeli ambassador to England. The Israelis reacted with air strikes against PLO forces in Beirut and in the UN buffer zone in southern Lebanon. The PLO retaliated with a 24-hour artillery barrage into Israel cities. On June 5, 1982, the Israeli cabinet decided to retaliate with an invasion into Lebanon.

#### IV. Israeli National Policy and Projected Goals

Israel is a country with significant tactical disadvantages. Its limited land mass provides little defense in depth, which could allow an invading army speed and momentum with the possibility of delivering a decisive blow (the lesson learned during the Syrian attack into the Golan Heights in 1973 was an indicator of Israel's vulnerable geographic position). Israel's population is small although the requirement for a large well-trained force is great. Israel is surrounded by Arab states that had attacked Israel on four previous occasions, and the majority of Israel's cities are within range of most large-scale artillery weapons. Israel and the Palestinians share occupation of the Golan Heights, West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. This day-to-day interaction has resulted in small clashes and general unrest of the population. For all of these reasons, Israeli citizens live in terror.<sup>39</sup> Israel's decision to invade Lebanon in June 1982 was for reasons of security and the survival of the state.<sup>40</sup>

Two distinct strategic goals for the invasion into Lebanon were developed and examined. First, Menachem Begin wanted to strike the PLO and create a collapse of the PLO in the region. This included no confrontation with Syria, and no peace

agreement with Lebanon. Begin envisioned a short 72-hour conquest that would weaken the Palestinian leadership, push the PLO away from northern Israel, reduce casualties, and encourage an international peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon.<sup>41</sup> Second, Ariel Sharon, the Israeli defense minister, proposed a more aggressive and decisive action that would effect the PLO for years and establish a neutral neighbor to the north. He wanted to destroy supply depots, disrupt refugee camps, weaken the Palestinian nationalism in occupied territories, replace the UN forces in Lebanon, and support the Lebanese government with the full intent of establishing a peace agreement with Lebanon.<sup>42</sup> Of note, Sharon's plan demanded that Syria leave Lebanon, and that the PLO infrastructure in Beirut be destroyed.<sup>43</sup> In December 1981, Begin, Sharon, and General Eitan agreed that the larger invasion should include war with Syria and an invasion as far north as Beirut be conducted. The Israeli Cabinet, which on four previous occasions had voted down similar requests, approved an invasion by June 1982, but limited its scope to avoid a confrontation with Syria and only proceed into Lebanon 40-kilometers.<sup>44</sup>

The cabinet did approve the following four strategic goals:

- 1) Eliminate the Palestinian presence from Lebanon. Israel's most pressing security threat was the PLO's ability to launch attacks against it from another country. To make this threat worse, the PLO was launching attacks from a UN buffer zone. Israel decided to push the Palestinian forces to the Litani River at the northern most position of UN forces. The distance to the Litani River, 40 kilometers, put all Palestinian large-scale artillery out of range of northern Israel.

2) Assist in establishing a Maronite Christian as president in Lebanon By achieving peace and cooperation with a strong Christian ally in Lebanon, it was assumed that the Lebanese government could restore law and order within its borders. That would not only benefit Israel, but also future security in the region.

3) Undermine and weaken the Palestinian nationalism gaining momentum in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This had more to do with less violent Palestinian organizations that were gaining international favor in the occupied territories. Israel felt that if it could eliminate attacks from the PLO, it could probably weaken the entire movement or at least diminishes the PLO's credibility internationally.

4) Reinforce Israel's dominance in the region. Israel's poor performance against Egyptian forces in 1973 and the loss in the Sinai demonstrated to the Arab world that Israel could be defeated. Israel, for future security, needed to change and regain its dominance and international credibility in the region.<sup>45</sup>

However, Begin, Sharon, and Eitan, had a fifth goal: to remove Syria forces from Lebanon. The Israeli cabinet voted to avoid a confrontation with Syrian forces, but did allow for Israeli forces to defend themselves against a Syrian attack. Sharon would use this tacit approval to his advantage, provoking the Syrian forces into a confrontation. This will be described in greater detail in Chapter 3.

#### V. Just War Theory: "*Jus ad Bellum*" analysis of Israel

1. Was there just cause to go to war? Israel's sovereignty certainly was challenged during this period. Attempts to handle the situation peacefully were unsuccessful as neither side was willing to step back from issues of security. Therefore, in this context both Israel and the PLO could substantiate the just cause argument (the punishment of

wrongdoing and the action to take back something that was wrongly taken). But in this case, the PLO decision to target civilians broke international law and basic international understandings on non-combatants. Hence, only Israel could maintain an actual moral action (objectively) for war.<sup>46</sup> The issue regarding just cause is then reduced to the defense of Israel and the punishment of wrong doings to include terrorism. Israel, as a nation/state, is allowed to demand national security that includes stability. Given this context, Israel can resist aggression to establish peace, hence establishing the right intention.<sup>47</sup> In more cases than not, the category of terrorism demands that a nation/state remain in the defensive position and on the moral high ground. Reducing that status can only equal the political order and result in unjust actions. To complicate this situation, the aggressor against which Israel would take action was not a sovereign state and was operating from another country. Israel had an obligation to invade Lebanon, under the umbrella of just war theory based on a sovereign authority allowing cross-border activities from within its state and take whatever action was required to create peace in the region. This is what Israel did in June 1982; it was the only rational course of action available without appearing to reduce itself to the actions of the PLO. This was a just cause, and Israel had as much to lose as it did to gain, which helped establish a serious debate that continued within Israel even after the invasion commenced.

2. Did a legitimate authority make the decision? A civilized nation/state with a governing body that passes laws, collects monies for basic societal requirements, establishes an armed force to protect citizens, and defend against its beliefs and democratic fabric can be a legitimate authority. Israel maintained a solid government

with mature policies and goals for the region. Most importantly, the citizens of Israel were extensively involved in politics and the day-to-day actions of elected leaders. The ability not to react to public opinion foolishly and restrain from over-reacting to international opinion and criticism gives a legitimate authority credibility. Israel maintained credibility and Prime Minister Menachem Begin appeared approachable internationally after his peace accord with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and President Carter in 1979.

Another clear indication of Israel's legitimate authority was demonstrated by the beliefs and understanding of its citizens. On July 2, 1982, the *Jerusalem Post* newspaper asked the question: "In view of what is known to you, do you think the operation in Lebanon was justified?" The "yes" votes took 93.3 percent, while the "no" votes took 4.6 percent.<sup>48</sup> Israel's established legitimate authority, like most nation/states, had an obligation to uphold laws, maintain peace, and to apply moral and ethical principles to the use of military force.

However, there is evidence that the prime minister and the minister of defense were at odds on significant issues regarding strategic goals. As indicated, the cabinet disapproved the large full-scale invasion of Lebanon, and a deliberate confrontation with Syria. Begin and Sharon agreed to those limitations. That agreement strengthens the argument that the decision was made by a legitimate authority, but suggests that some strategic objectives could change during the actual execution phase.

3. Was the decision based on right intentions? What makes this decision legitimate is not necessarily the established governing body that makes decisions, but whether it was made for the right intentions.<sup>49</sup> Augustine argued that the real evils of war were "love



of violence, revengeful cruelty, fierce and implacable enmity and the like.<sup>50</sup> The cause for war may be just and a legitimate authority may make the decision but, if that decision is made for the wrong reason, in most cases there will be bad consequences.<sup>51</sup> Clearly stated, a nation/state must intend to promote good and avoid evil.<sup>52</sup> The ability to avoid killing non-combatants, avoid the unnecessary destruction of property, and to protect rights are all indicators of the right intention during the conduct of war. Israel's intentions before going to war had to be balanced against its objectives, with the assumption that peace was the ultimate goal.

Israel clearly stated that it planned to remove all Palestinian combatants from the United Nations buffer zone 40-kilometers into Lebanon. Identifying the difference between combatants and non-combatants when fighting a non-sovereign organization takes patience and commitment.

Establishing a solid pro-Israeli government in Lebanon appears to have good intentions, but that would depend on how it were achieved and if that government established in Lebanon were righteous and law abiding in accordance with international laws and customs. Replacing one evil with another is not in the spirit of right intentions, even if it does protect people and property.

To undermine and weaken Palestinian nationalism in the occupied territory is not a right intention, and may have been the first indicator that Israel would not consider peace without the full removal of the PLO and legitimate organized Palestinian movements. If these organizations were non-combatants and showed authority over Palestinian people, then why would Israel risk a confrontation and possibly damage



international understanding on Israel's military actions against combatant PLO (Palestinians)?

Israel's final goal was to reinforce dominance in the region. For reasons of security, Israel had a right intention to establish a strong military and to demonstrate a willingness to combat evil.

Israel had a just cause, legitimate authority, and right intentions with regards to the war-decision law – *Jus ad Bellum*. On June 6, 1982 the Israeli Army crossed the Israeli-Lebanese border. To establish Israel's *Jus in Bello* or war-conduct law, a brief overview of the conflict is necessary. This will include the actual military planning considerations, force structure, and actual conduct of the campaign.

## Chapter 3

### FORCE STRUCTURE, MILITARY PLANNING AND EXECUTION OF ISRAEL'S INVASION OF LEBANON

This chapter will examine force structure, military planning and military execution of Israel's invasion into Lebanon. The force structure examination will focus on capabilities. The military planning examination will determine if there were inconsistencies between the military planners and the national objectives outlined in Chapter 2. The final examination, that of military execution, will establish the data for the *Jus in Bello* criteria and evaluation

#### I. Force Structure

PLO Forces: The Palestinian force that faced the northern Israeli border was roughly 33,000 strong – 15,000 regular fighters with 18,000 Muslim militia.<sup>53</sup> The PLO acquired and maintained conventional weapon systems of Eastern Block origin, primarily received from Syria, Iraq, Libya, and Algeria.<sup>54</sup> Saudi Arabia largely provided funding.<sup>55</sup> The force was neither trained for nor capable of conventional, open field battle with the Israeli army. The Palestinian forces would rely on small-unit tactics, using terrain and asymmetrical approaches in an urban environment. The terrain in Lebanon would benefit a phased withdrawal to urban environments like Sidon and Beirut. The Palestinians had no air force and there are no indications that the Syrian air force trained Palestinian forces in close air support (CAS). Palestine forces did have some small watercraft for raids into northern Israel. These boats staged and operated from ports in Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre.<sup>56</sup> These ports also facilitated the delivery and staging of logistical support. Main supply routes (MSR) from any of the major

coastal cities were above average and could support tracked and wheeled vehicles. However, the infrastructure and coordination to deliver logistics support were not



available to the Palestinians.

The operational commander for the Palestinian forces was Brigadier Haj Ismail. The Palestinians would fight at the battalion level and receive strategic decisions from PLO leader Yasir Arafat.<sup>57</sup> Disposition and numbers in strength of Palestinian forces are listed in Map 1.<sup>58</sup>

Syrian Forces: The Syrian Army was comprised of roughly 30,000

men in Lebanon with an additional division in reserve across the Syrian-Lebanese border.<sup>59</sup> The Syrian forces were relatively well-trained, had some experience in fighting (against the Israelis), and had fairly modern Eastern Block Soviet made conventional weapon systems.<sup>60</sup> Syrian forces had been in Lebanon since 1976 and were very familiar with the terrain and the political climate. Of note, Syria viewed the deployment of 30,000 soldiers into Lebanon in the Biqa' Valley as a defensive "blocking" position from a possible offensive move by the Israeli army.<sup>61</sup> These forces not only ensured that the Beirut-Damascus Highway remained open, but also concentrated forces around Mount Hermon which provided a security belt from forces invading west to east into Syria. Syria also had roughly 225 aircraft of various Soviet

makes for CAS and more than 120 surface to air missile launchers (SAM) in the Bika' Valley.<sup>62</sup> The operational commander of all Syrian forces was Major General Adib Ismail.

Israeli Forces: The state of Israel maintains a significant number of troops in reserve. For the invasion into Lebanon, Israel called up 50 percent of all combat reserves and 50 percent of all logistical support forces.<sup>63</sup> The Israeli Defense Force placed Major General Amir Drori in command of the northern army and the invasion into Lebanon, and he would command more than 76,000 combatants and numerous conventional weapons supplied from Western Block countries, primarily the United States.<sup>64</sup> The Israeli forces fought at the divisional level and most of its troops had fought in at least one, if not two, of the Israeli-Arab wars. The civilian and military leadership was full of experience in wars and single battles with well-equipped and well-trained Arab forces. The air force and navy were supporting services with tremendous experience in CAS and naval gunfire in southern Lebanon and around Beirut.

## II. Israeli Military Planning

This examination will focus primarily on the Israeli decisions and actions, and how military planners prepared and implemented the invasion of Lebanon.

The plan to achieve the strategic objectives outlined in Chapter 2 were not developed by the operational commander, Major General Amir Drori, but by the Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Rafael Eitan. The civil-military link was extremely vague and the IDF had distinct plans for the invasion into Lebanon and the war against the PLO.<sup>65</sup>

Twelve months prior to the invasion, the IDF had laid out three separate campaigns that could achieve strategic objectives in Lebanon. These plans, however, were not in debate when Israel's legitimate authority decided to invade Lebanon. Before June 1981, the Israeli leadership was considered moderate and this contributed directly to Menachem Begin's peace with Egypt in 1979. The Likud party's victory in June 1981 replaced the moderates with the conservatives (Itzhak Shamir, Moshe Arens, Yoram Aridor and, the most conservative of them all, Ariel Sharon) took charge.<sup>66</sup> Begin's leadership paved the way for war, but he showed little interest in the deliberations and deliberate planning of war. Begin appointed Sharon as the defense minister, and that was not in his character, as he disliked Sharon and even suggested that Sharon was a bit aggressive.<sup>67</sup>

The first option: Invade Lebanon to the Litani River 40 kilometers from the border, strangling the Palestinian artillery and combatants launching attacks into northern Israel. This plan would not engage the Syrians and would utilize all diplomacy to avoid an Israel-Syrian front.<sup>68</sup> This plan is part of what the Israeli cabinet agreed on 5 June, 1982.

The second option: Invade Lebanon and move as far north as Beirut linking up with the Maronite Christians to fight the Palestinians in the city.<sup>69</sup> This option was aggressive and demanded the expulsion of all Palestinians from Lebanon. This plan also demanded avoiding an engagement with Syria.<sup>70</sup> The Israeli cabinet did not approve an invasion past 40-kilometers to Beirut. This indicates that the Israeli military had a plan for such an aggressive invasion, and that they were prepared to implement the plan.



The third option or the “Big Plan”: Engage the Palestinians and the Syrians. The Syrians would be driven out of Lebanon; the Palestinians would be trapped in Beirut. The Maronite Christians<sup>71</sup> would do the majority of fighting in Beirut to drive Palestinians from the region.<sup>72</sup>

There is no indication that on June 5, 1982, the Israeli cabinet approved any of these plans. The only guidance passed by the cabinet was authority to cross the Lebanese-Israeli border and proceed with an invasion to push combatants’ beyond artillery range of Northern Israel and to avoid a confrontation with Syria.<sup>73</sup> To strengthen this argument, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin would tell the United States on June 6, 1982, that the objective was to proceed into Lebanon to the 40-kilometer mark,<sup>74</sup> and that Israel had no intentions of attacking Syrian forces based in Lebanon.<sup>75</sup>

The common goal in all three-policy plans listed above appears to be the destruction of Palestinian forces. Military planners took into account numerous factors regarding an invasion into Lebanon.

First, Israel would deliver a decisive military blow through massing forces with speed, momentum, and fire power. Israel would mass forces and shape the battlefield with overwhelming forces.<sup>76</sup> Past experiences in this region had demonstrated that the first force with the heaviest blow would often win the war in a short period of time. Wars in this region were historically short, brutal, and decisive. Momentum would allow the invading Israeli force to overwhelm the Palestinians and neutralize their vitality as an organization.<sup>77</sup> To avoid confrontation with Syrian forces, a 72-hour timeline was developed to drive the Palestinians into Beirut.<sup>78</sup>



Second, the terrain in Lebanon was much different than that of previous Israel-Arab battles. Of note, the Sinai Peninsula and the border area of Israel and Jordan were flat and trafficable. Trafficability concerns would be a major planning factor.<sup>79</sup> Lebanon was not a desert, but a lush agricultural region that created numerous challenges to an invading army - especially an army with heavy armor and a robust logistical tail. Southern Lebanon was hilly with un-passable areas in the center. Movement would be restricted to roads that were barely passable by large vehicles such as tanks. Classic mountain terrain around the Shouf and Lebanese Mountains broke the country into distinct geographical passageways that could be isolated or blocked with a relatively organized force.

Third, Palestine was not a conventional force that would fight symmetrically. Israel would have to go on the offensive and take the fight away from its borders deep into enemy terrain. Essentially, General Drori would have to maintain momentum with a swift advance.<sup>80</sup>

General Drori issued his mission statement and final directive for the Israeli invasion into Lebanon: "In order to prevent fire and terrorist incursion across the border, the Northern Command will attack the terrorists, and destroy their infrastructure in South Lebanon. The Northern Command is prepared to destroy the Syrian Army in Lebanon, should the Syrians attack the IDF."<sup>81</sup> The campaign was divided into three distinct areas of advances. Of note, the Task Force Structure and composition within each axis of attack was significant, but not disproportionate to Palestinian and Syrian forces. This section outlines the initial plans and provides a degree of insight of proportional force used by Israel during the invasion of Lebanon.

1) The Western axis, or Task Force "A" (TF-A) and "B" (TF-B) would push up the coast to destroy PLO installations and logistics cells and encircle Palestinian fighters, nearly 6,000 in and around Tyre.<sup>82</sup> Speed and momentum would be the



success of this task force. Originally, this task force was to stop at the Awali River. In conjunction, and in support of TF-A, TF-B would conduct an amphibious landing at the mouth of the Awali River to cut PLO lines of communications (LOC) and entrap retreating Palestinian forces. On order, the force would link up with the Western and Central axis of advance, and then

lay a blocking position between the Israeli forces and southern Beirut in order to prevent a Palestinian retreat back into Beirut, or to prevent Palestinian reinforcements from Beirut trying to join the fight.<sup>83</sup> The amphibious force was a battalion-size unit utilizing 15 landing craft, and was Israel's largest amphibious effort to date.<sup>84</sup> BG Itzhak Mordechai (22,000 troops and 220 tanks) commanded TF-A and B.<sup>85</sup>

2) The Central Axis, or Task Force "C" (TF-C), would proceed as quickly as possible to the Litani River and cross at two locations in order to attack and secure the Nabatiye-Arnoun Heights and eventually Beaufort Castle, which was critical for

observation in the Golan Heights.<sup>86</sup> The primary objective of TF-C was to secure LOCs and disrupt Palestinian movement of supplies and reinforcements to the coastal roads.<sup>87</sup>



TF-C would also support TF-A and B actions on June 6-7, 1982, and by June 12, 1982, would stop short of the Beirut-Damascus Highway. Artillery and the Israeli air force would support the movement of TF-C,<sup>88</sup> which included missile boats, landing ships and landing craft.<sup>89</sup> Major General Simchoni (18,000 troops and 220 tanks) commanded the Central force.<sup>90</sup>

3) The Eastern Axis, or Task Force "H" (TF-H or Biqa' Forces Group), would immediately occupy Fatahland held by Palestinians and secure the Eastern Flank of TF-C.<sup>91</sup> The primary task given TF-H was to avoid a major confrontation with the substantial Syrian forces in the Biqa' Valley but, most importantly, block the Syrians if they decided to support the Palestinian retreat into Beirut.<sup>92</sup> To accomplish the blocking position, the task force would have to secure the towns of Hasbaiya and Rachaiya and ultimately take control of the Jabaal Barouk mountain range overlooking the Biqa' Valley.<sup>93</sup> Eventually, this task force would square off with the Syrians in a major air-ground battle that would last four days and produce the highest losses for both Syria and



Israel during the entire campaign.<sup>94</sup> Prior to the cease-fire, this force will occupy the eastern sector of Lebanon and control the Beirut-Damascus highway. General Ben Gal

MAP 4: EASTERN AXIS APPROACH 6-12 JUNE 82.



(38,000 troops and 800 tanks) commanded the eastern force or the Biqa' Forces Group.<sup>95</sup>

### III. Execution

Israel's invasion into Lebanon was a brilliant success for the Israeli Defense Forces. The intent of this paragraph is not to walk through every event, but to briefly discuss significant events that helped shape the battlefield, maintain momentum, and accomplish the

strategic/military objectives. The examination of *Jus in Bello* can only occur with an understanding of the military execution and the decisions made during and after the fight. The war-conduct law is essential to this region and this invasion is no different. To assist in understanding this conflict, a chronology of events is listed in Appendix 2.<sup>96</sup> This brief account will be broken down by task force. Israel planners, primarily on the defense staff and without the knowledge of the cabinet, managed to call up 50 percent of the reserves, stage forces just south of the Lebanese border, and launch an attack that covered 110 km in 72 hours with total surprise.<sup>97</sup> This had never been accomplished in

Israel's history. The ability to maintain momentum allowed Israel to achieve success early and avoid a war of attrition in difficult terrain and an unfriendly environment. Israel accomplished this feat with accurate targeting (for that period) and a proportional application of forces.

Task Force "A" (TF-A) utilized speed and deception to entrap 66,000 Palestinians in Trye and the surrounding areas. Naval gunfire and aircraft were used to attack forward areas, which allowed the force to cross two rivers with little resistance. Coordination with Task Force "C" (TF-C) allowed flexibility and rapid decision making early in the campaign when roads slowed the advance (the coordination in an attack on a Palestinian objective by TF-C when TF-A was delayed). TF-A never lost momentum and progressed to just south of Beirut in less than 72 hours.<sup>98</sup> The ability to identify Palestinian forces and to bypass them proved essential, and this was only successful due to the Israeli intelligence sources.<sup>99</sup> The success of TF-A was in some part due to the success of Task Force "B" (TF-B) amphibious landing on Day 1. TF-B supported two blocking positions that allowed the movement of TF-A without engaging Palestinian reinforcements. TF-B also supported TF-C on an attack south of Sidon, which allowed the momentum of TF-A to spearhead into South Beirut.<sup>100</sup>

TF-C in the Central Sector secured the critical geographical objectives of Beaufort Castle, the hills overlooking the Biqa' Valley and the Litani River crossing. The ability to cross the river was phased to allow coordinated attacks with TF-A and TF-B the following days. TF-C eventually linked up with TF-A and B for the final punch into South Beirut. TF-C utilized naval gunfire and close air support throughout the attacks.<sup>101</sup>

Task Force “H” (TF-H) or the eastern sector forces were the most brilliant. The ability to push 38,000 troops forward to the edge of Syrian positions without sparking an immediate attack from those forces was critical. However, the purpose was not to block Syria from assisting the PLO but to force a confrontation and eventual battle.<sup>102</sup> On June 8, 1982, Ariel Sharon, requested from the Israeli cabinet, that an armored division out flank Syrian forces and push to the Beirut-Damascus highway.<sup>103</sup> This tactical move would take Israeli forces further than the 40-kilometer limit and cut off Syrian forces in Beirut from the main force in the Biqa’ valley. Menachem Begin asked the United States diplomats inform Syria that Israel did not want a confrontation, but that Syria had to agree not to fire on Israel forces or harbor Palestinians. While Israel was awaiting the answer to these requests, Israeli tanks opened fire on Syrian T-62 tanks<sup>104</sup>. Eventually, the forces engaged in near total war. TF-H provoked the Syrians into a confrontation and the battle was swift and brutal. Syria’s air force lost 25 percent of its available aircraft and nearly all its SAMs. The impact of this Israeli action was to re-instate its dominance with its Arab neighbors.<sup>105</sup>

The confusion between the cabinet, the prime minister and the minister of defense suggests that Israel’s overall strategic goals were vague. Sharon had certain goals and a strategy to attain them, from a military point of view he could not be tied to certain political limitations that might jeopardize his force and its mission. Hence, he manipulated the prime minister. Sharon’s actions after 6 June, 1982 suggest that he clearly planned from the beginning to break the cabinet’s initial approval of 40 kilometers north and no confrontation with Syria.



## Chapter 4

### JUST WAR THEORY: “JUS IN BELLO” ANALYSIS OF ISRAEL’S INVASION OF LEBANON

#### I. “*Jus in Bello*” war-conduct law

The investigation regarding the war-conduct law of *jus in Bello* focuses on two areas, Proportionality and Discrimination. Augustine identified both of these terms, but modern day just war theorists do not believe Augustine’s assessment that both sides can have a just cause and still abide by war-conduct law criteria. This argument is based on the assumption, in most modern day conflicts (Somalia, Kosovo, Croatia), that one side usually has a just cause because the other side is purposefully targeting non-combatants. If this is the case, then how can targeting non-combatants be a just cause?<sup>106</sup> Augustine’s proportionality and discrimination have stood the test of time, but clearly, only one side can be considered just.

This analysis of Israel’s conduct during the invasion of Lebanon will weigh their strategic goal accomplishments against proportionality and discrimination. The following definitions apply for proportionality and discrimination:

Proportionality: The damage to be inflicted and the costs incurred by war must be proportionate to the good expected by taking up arms. This principle of proportionality applies throughout the conduct of the war as well as the decision to begin war.<sup>107</sup>

Discrimination: The lives of innocent people may never be taken directly, regardless of the purpose. Just response to aggression must be directed against unjust aggressors, not against innocent people caught up in a war.<sup>108</sup>

## II. Israel's war-conduct of their invasion of Lebanon:

1) Eliminate the Palestinian presence from Lebanon The intent was to push the Palestinians to the Litani River 40-kilometers from Israel/Lebanon border. PLO forces were removed well beyond artillery range into northern Israel, eventually exiled to northern Africa. Nearly 12 years of stockpiled military supplies worth \$100 million were captured or destroyed in south Lebanon in and around the port cities of Tyre, Sidon and Damour.<sup>109</sup>

Israel's force was proportional, and this goal was accomplished D+2 in 48 hours. Discrimination in the first 48 hours was outstanding due to deliberate and very accurate planning. Small pockets of resistance in urban areas were by-passed, reducing civilian casualties. Psyop was used to inform civilians of future operations. Intelligence provided real time data and targeting information on combatants. Israel used a well executed amphibious assault and close coordination between two task forces to trap the Palestinian forces, thus preventing it from entering populated areas and seriously increasing civilian non-combatant casualties.

However, Israel didn't stop at the Litani or Awali Rivers. By June 25, the IDF had pushed an estimated 10 to 15 thousand Palestinian combatants into West Beirut, which was inhabited by 500,000 civilian non-combatants. This included two significant Palestinian refugee camps, Sabra and Shatila Camps, near the airport on the south side of the city. Israel had accomplished its strategic goal by removing combatants to the Litani River, and by D+3, it had decided to change the strategic goal and encircle the Palestinians in Beirut.<sup>110</sup> The siege would last 31 days, and depending on which book you read, there would be four to ten thousand civilians killed, and 20 thousand

wounded. It is commonly agreed upon that four to six thousand civilians died.<sup>111</sup> The decision to siege Beirut in order to destroy the PLO, after the authorized goals had been reached, changed the invasion of Lebanon to an unjust cause. Israel's own policy at the start of the siege called for a disproportionate use of artillery fire, often firing blindly into the city with no forward observation for accuracy.<sup>112</sup> Israel showed little concern for international pressure or for the loss of life within West Beirut. To make matters worse, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and Chief of Staff Eitan disagreed with the limited objectives of the cabinet, and it appears that Sharon even misled the cabinet about the true strategic objective upon reaching the outskirts of Beirut.<sup>113</sup> Sharon's aggressive use of the military in support of his strategic goals were not influential in enhancing international political approval of the right intentions employed at the start of this campaign in the first place.<sup>114</sup> Sharon was using the military to shape political and strategic goals, not allowing political and strategic goals to shape military actions. In the end, Sharon would not achieve his political and strategic goals; however, his unauthorized use of the military and deception of the Israeli cabinet ensured that international opinion against the Israeli assault on Beirut intensified. The confusion and deterioration of Israel's success to this point only increased when the plan to link up with pro-Israeli Christian Lebanese faltered.

2) Assist in establishing a Maronite Christian as president in Lebanon. This strategic goal was not reached. Lebanon did not become a pro-Israeli country in the region. The hopes that Ariel Sharon harbored for a strong Lebanese leader evaporated when the Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel was assassinated September 15, 1982.<sup>115</sup> The ramifications would be severe. Prior to 1977, the Israeli policy was

indirect involvement in Lebanon.<sup>116</sup> The struggles between political and religious factions after the Lebanese civil war were regional and, for the most part, reduced because of the Syrian occupation. By this time, the Syrian occupation was deemed no longer a requirement. In 1977 Israel began supporting Maronite Christians with training and weapons in Lebanon. The leader of this faction, Bashir Gemayel, strongly agreed with Israel that Syria would have to leave Lebanon, if that country was ever going to overcome its problems and strengthen its own government.<sup>117</sup> By 1979 the Israeli/Christian relationship was full bloom with maximum support to the *Kataib* – the leading faction within the Maronite Christians. By this time the Israeli Prime Minister was openly suggesting that Israel and the Christian minority in Lebanon were building an alliance, “we shall not, under any circumstances, abandon the Christians into the hands of their tormentors.”<sup>118</sup> The tormentors were Syrians and Palestinians. The Syrians were no longer an occupational force that was unbiased and neutral, but now were viewed as a catalyst for aggression and influence inside Lebanon. Both Bashir Gemayel and Menachem Begin had a common goal, which was to rid Lebanon of foreign influence. The difference was in how they would, and how they would accomplish the goal.

Israel wanted a full Israeli/Christian alliance that would culminate in Beirut with a heavy contribution of fighting coming from the Christian Phalangist army.<sup>119</sup> Bashir Gemayel wanted Syria and the PLO removed from Lebanon, and the unity in Lebanon of all religious factions, primarily Shiit factions, that made up the majority of all Lebanese. Gemayel’s long term goals were to be elected president, and then unite all religions in Lebanon as free Lebanon. Gemayel realized that if it appeared that he and

the Phalange fighters were aligned with Israel, it could seriously hinder the possibility of a united Lebanon after the Israeli departure.<sup>120</sup> Sharon's link-up in Beirut with the Christians did not happen. That stalled the attack, which led to a siege, that increased possibility of renegade Christian faction leaders committing crimes in Beirut (Sabra and Shitila Camps), and allow the world to observe disproportionate shelling of Beirut for 31 days, which was unjust. By early July 1982 the Israeli military had reached its culminating point. All action that occurred in July-August 1982 was a detriment to the Israeli strategic goals that eroded a brilliant military victory with an international political defeat. Israel/United States relations were seriously challenged, the public opinion in Israel was changing, and the international attention of Palestinians attacking Israel were replaced by daily coverage of Israelis killing innocent non-combatants in West Beirut.

3) Removal of Syrian forces from Lebanon This strategic goal was achieved with precision and deliberate planning. Not all of the Syrian forces were removed from Lebanon, but Syrian political influence through military power and presence was gone. Israel removed SAM missiles from Lebanon and destroyed the Syrian influence within Lebanese borders. Syrian influence in the Lebanese government was degraded, and the morale of the Syrian forces was significantly eroded.

Proportionality and discrimination were balanced with the majority of casualties being combatants. Syrian defeat was total in Lebanon with Bashir Gemayel's alliance with Israel and the United States and his bargained exile of 10,000 PLO fighters.

However, as in the Yom Kippur War in 1973, Assad would strengthen his position as leader of Syria. After the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, his brother Amin



was elected president and immediately reconciled with Syria.<sup>121</sup> Syria's ability to influence Shi'a radicalism in southern Lebanon changed the way Syria would combat Israel. Syria, as well as Iranian Revolutionary Guards, mobilized and trained Shi'a in Southern Lebanon establishing Hizbollah.<sup>122</sup> Suicidal bomber tactics emerged in southern Lebanon during this period, directly influencing the U.S. commitment, and immediately inflicted casualties to Israeli forces in Lebanon. The suicide bomber would seriously alter national will and achieve disproportional effects, demonstrating the ability to defeat Israel without a conventional army. Assad of Syria would support Hizbollah, encouraging suicidal strategy for the next 17 years.<sup>123</sup>

4) Undermine and weaken the Palestinian nationalism gaining momentum in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This strategic goal failed. Palestinian dominance in Gaza and the Golan Heights was weakened, but only because the PLO infrastructure was so decimated.<sup>124</sup> The long-term implications for current Palestinian world stature would demonstrate that the war may have solidified the Palestinian goal for its independent state in the region. The PLO extraction from Beirut was not viewed as a defeat, but as a victory. If anything, it strengthened its will and reinforced its determination to resist Israeli expansion at all costs. Yasir Arafat and his PLO became a shining light of hope for these displaced and seemingly reduced people.

5) Reinforce Israel's dominance in the region. Although this strategic goal was reached, the Beirut siege damaged Israel's international credibility and may have bolstered the PLO's credibility, allowing the Palestinian fighters to return to the Middle East within three years - about the time that the first Intifada commenced.

Israel made a reasonable attempt to reduce non-combatant casualties up to the siege of Beirut. Israel's force was proportional in all areas except that of the siege. Israel's overall conduct of the war would have to be categorized as excellent in regards to strategic goals achieved, but seriously lacking after the siege commenced. An examination of tactical and operational successes and failures in relation to *Jus in Bello* is required.

### III. Operational and Tactical Successes

Israel's invasion of Lebanon is a fabulous example of operational successes in relation to *Jus in Bello*. From the analytical approach, the following areas/functions were successful and critical to the principles governing war conduct, discrimination, and proportionality:

1) Logistics: Logistical superiority cannot be overemphasized as a combat multiplier and tool for moving, shooting and communicating at will. Logistical flexibility allows a commander to be deliberate and accurate. Israel's 1973 failure in the Sinai Peninsula was tied to its logistics failure, more notably, maintenance capabilities and repair parts availability.<sup>125</sup> Israel adopted a program to develop its own weapon systems and to modify American systems to better suit its requirements. Every tank that left the staging area on June 6, 1982, left under its own power. Israel had clearly developed a readiness capability that would stand up even under a surprise attack (as in 1973).

The ability to support nearly 80,000 troops and over 2,000 tanks and APCs moving 30-40-kilometers per day in rough non-trafficable terrain required great ingenuity and precision. The plan was based on the Soviet "push" logistics vice the

1980 American “pull” logistics.<sup>126</sup> Israel campaign planners used air delivery supply systems (paradrop), landing craft in pre-determined staging areas (secured beachheads), and helicopter delivery of supplies.<sup>127</sup> The ability to maneuver freely throughout the battle space allowed Israel to bypass certain areas of resistance (that may have increased casualties) and to reduce collateral damage on non-combatants.

2) Amphibious Operations: Israel previously had not used amphibious operations at this level. An entire division, in support of a main attack of a 22,000 man task force, would land and secure a beach head for follow on forces and supplies. This force would trap Palestinians being pressed in the south and keep reinforcements from entering the fight from the north. The ability to entrap combatants prior to their retreat into populated areas was a significant event.

3) Shaping the Battlefield: The Israeli air force, using effects based targeting, hit deep battlefield targets early in the invasion to create havoc and panic among senior Palestinian leaders. The Palestinians did fire shoulder launched SA-7's downing one A-4 on June 6 in Beirut, and the Biqa' Valley was stuffed with anti-air armament. Overall, Israel applied a proportional force to counter the air threat, which may have contributed to reducing collateral damage early in the campaign.

The Israeli Defense Force used psyop tactics in the western sector. Loud speakers and leaflets announcing future plans and operations helped Israel encourage combatants to surrender vice fight to the death. This provides some evidence that Israel was concerned about casualties on both sides, and that the true goal of the war was peace.

4) Remote Piloted Vehicles (RPVs): RPVs were used to establish location and density of Syrian SAM sites. The sites were then removed with F-16s, and F-15s. Ariel Sharon identified the destruction of the Syrian anti-air capability as the turning point of the campaign. The battle for the Beirut-Damascus Highway would be fought with Israel dominating the air.<sup>128</sup> Reducing collateral damage and increasing effects based targeting was born during this invasion with the use of RPVs. Israeli demand for real time intelligence has evolved into single target engagement with precision munitions, hence reducing casualties and collateral damage.

5) Command and Control: This invasion was the first time Israel used a Corps-level headquarters. A centralized communications suite gave task force commanders instant visibility and immediate decisions on each engagement. This may have reduced the amount of decisions made by less experienced commanders, which may have created more casualties than needed. Maneuvering air assets was also conducted at the task force commander level, and the immediate responsiveness of air support was critical in the constrained environment. The RPVs boosted this capability and Israel was linked across all three major task forces.<sup>129</sup>

6) Conventional tactics in an un-conventional environment: Israel experience indicated that brilliant conventional designs that would dominate another conventional force would yield nothing against a guerilla force. The Israeli's improvised and had success and failures. In after action reports, Task Force Commanders praised soldier skills and NCO leadership for the success.<sup>130</sup>

The Cobra helicopter gunship was a very effective weapon system in this environment, as it was able to operate in asymmetrical restricted terrain populated with

rugged rock formations and deep gorges. The Cobra dealt Syria and Palestinian forces serious losses.

7) The Israeli Navy: Established control of sea lines of communications (SLOC) for support and supplies coming into Lebanon from Israel, and stopped all cargo going or coming into the major port of Beirut.<sup>131</sup> The Navy identified a need for more amphibious shipping and upgraded electronic counter measures equipment. Operation Peace for Galilee was a limited war for the Israeli navy.

#### IV. Israeli Failures

1) Civil-Military coordination: Israel's short existence has been cluttered with wars, and the geographical location of its tiny state has highlighted the need to strike first. It appears that the military leaders start planning for war even before national leaders give diplomacy a chance to work. The research for this paper indicated that neither the Prime Minister nor the cabinet knew at this time what the defense minister was doing day-to-day on the battlefield.<sup>132</sup> The connection between Israel's diplomacy and war as an extension of that diplomacy appears too limited during this period. The penalty was a quick military victory clouded by an international outcry regarding the siege of Beirut, which damaged Israel's international credibility. The decision to pursue the PLO past the strategic objective of 40-kilometers into Lebanon lead directly to indiscriminate bombing and an unattainable strategic goal.

2) The Israeli government over-estimated the ability of the Christian leaders of Beirut: The link up that Ariel Sharon thought would occur never did, and Israeli forces ended up surrounding a city that they never planned to enter. The world watched for two months as the "poor Lebanese civilians" were trapped against their will, and



refused water and electricity. In the end, everything that Israel gained in 11 days vanished by the ill-will caused by the siege of Beirut.<sup>133</sup>

3) The Liberators become the Occupiers: The Lebanese Shi'a of the south of the country praised the Israeli invasion forces and were delighted to see the Palestinians leave for good. In less than one year, the position was reversed, and the Israelis were under attack by the Shi'a. This paper cannot make the argument that Hizbullah was born because of Israel, but it clearly was involved. Regional policy and the use of force to establish policy would drastically change following Israel's invasion, and the world has been struggling with suicidal bombers since.

## Chapter 5

### SUMMARY

Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 was in accordance with the war-decision law of *Jus ad Bellum*. Israel's cause was just and governed by a legitimate authority - Israel's Prime Minister, his staff, and the cabinet – that made the decision to use force and invade Lebanon. Israel entered into this conflict with the right intentions: with the goal of a stabilized region capable of prolonged peace and the reduction of indiscriminate targeting of non-combatants within Israel. Israel entered into this conflict with a just cause, right intentions, with leadership and decisions made by a legitimate authority. Israel made excellent use of *Jus ad Bellum*.

Israel's strategic goals were achievable and had a reasonable chance of success. Notably, the main strategic goal of pushing the PLO 40-kilometers into Lebanon was achieved in 48 hours. This achievement was accomplished with discrimination and proportionality with little impact politically around the world. In the spirit of *Jus in Bello*, this was a success. The success of this invasion and the accomplishment of the initial strategic goal of pushing PLO combatants to 40-kilometers were due in part because of detailed planning and deliberate execution. Israel's logistics, amphibious operations, effects-based targeting, remotely piloted vehicles, command and control, small unit leadership, and a navy all contributed to the discriminate use of force and proportionality on the battlefield that lead directly to achieving this strategic goal.

Another initial strategic goal, that of avoiding a confrontation with Syria as sought by the Israeli Cabinet, was not a success. As outlined in this essay, it appears that the defense minister disobeyed the cabinet, took some liberty by making slight

changes to military strategy, and crossed the 40-kilometer mark, deliberately cutting Syrian forces in half and initiating a confrontation. A battle ensued, and Israel destroyed the majority of Syrian forces in Lebanon. Albeit a success, the ramifications of this action were significant. Most notably, this Israeli action led to the rise of influence in the region of Syria's president Asad, and a shift in fighting methods against Israel to one of using extremist combatants as suicide bombers. Although the legitimate authority may have been compromised by a confrontation with Syria, the *Jus in Bello* of this action was carried out brilliantly by Israel.

This was not the case with the decision to cross the Litani River and push PLO forces into Beirut, linking up with Lebanese Christians and dismantling the PLO infrastructure using force. The tensions between Israel and the PLO escalated to indiscriminate killing of civilian non-combatants in Israel by the PLO. With this decision, Israel's just cause and right intentions were side-tracked by the lack of legitimate authorization of these actions. The siege of Beirut would mark the moment Israel's invasion went from just to unjust, both militarily and politically. Israel's military victory would be squandered away by international political pressure. The original strategic goal of removing PLO combatants to the 40-kilometers mark in Lebanon was forgotten as the world watched Israel use indiscriminate bombing in Beirut.

Israel achieved its strategic goals long before the fighting stopped, which created a region of uncertainty and explosive potential. Before the summer of 1982 ended, the PLO was exiled to northern Africa, the president of Syria saw an increase in popularity, and for the first time an organized Islamic extremist influence appeared in southern

Lebanon operating against Israeli forces and non-combatant civilians. The propensity to use disproportionate forces to achieve greater effects in regional conflicts emerged worldwide.

Israel failed to solidify an Israel/Lebanon peace accord. As Israel learned through the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, it appeared to the Muslim factions in Lebanon that evil was being replaced with evil.

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSION

The current regional situation in Israel cannot be completely understood without studying this invasion in 1982. The Israeli-Palestinian players are the same, but the world has changed dramatically. Egypt, Jordan, and Syria have shown extreme flexibility in attempts to understand the situation from both Israeli and Palestinian sides. The United States has altered its adamant diplomatic sensitivities towards Israel and has shown openness to working with the Palestinian leadership. Israel continues to show patience with Palestine, even as extremists kill innocent people daily in the streets of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Finally, Palestine continues to move forward, as Israel routinely occupies Palestinian areas by encouraging settlement development by Israelis.

The combatants and victims of the Israeli invasion of 1982 are once again emerging upon the world stage as the Israeli/Palestinian issue intensifies. Syria, Lebanon, issues of Jewish settlements, and Palestinian terrorism are once again demanding world attention as the region becomes unstable. The Israeli architect of the 1982 invasion is now Israel's prime minister, and the PLO leadership has not changed. If Israel is to defeat terrorism in the region, stability in territories populated by fragmented non-sovereign nation/states (Palestinian-occupied areas) must be neutralized. That can be accomplished through governmental infrastructure/organization, a promise of future economical stability, and Palestinian independence (through an agreement regarding territory and internationally approved borders). For this proposal to work, the Arab nations must agree to the borders and to dismantle the organized terrorism cells worldwide. Hence, the Palestinian leadership



has to acknowledge that suicidal bombers and indiscriminate killing of non-combatant Israeli citizens is un-just.

As Israel learned 18 years ago, the United States now finds itself engulfed in a war against a non-sovereign nation/state. As indicated by Augustine in Chapter 1, the United States has a just cause in the war against terrorism. The ongoing *Jus in Bello* can draw numerous lessons from Israel's invasion of Lebanon. The ability of the United States to target combatants and engage them with proportional force will increase the likelihood that the U.S. can sustain political, public, and international support. To accomplish this, the United States must continue the fight using every tool and capability in accordance with *Jus in Bello*.

## ENDNOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> Carl Von Clausewitz, edited by Michael, Howard and Peter Paret, *On War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 75.
- <sup>2</sup> President of the United States George W. Bush, speech presented to a Joint session of Congress and the American People, Washington, DC, 20 September 2001. Speech viewed on line via [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) under Presidential speeches.
- <sup>3</sup> President of the United States George W. Bush, speech presented to the Nation, Washington, DC, 7 October 2001. Speech viewed on line via [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) under Presidential speeches.
- <sup>4</sup> Clausewitz, 75.
- <sup>5</sup> Richard J Regan, *Just War: Principles and Cases* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 14-16.
- <sup>6</sup> Regan, 16.
- <sup>7</sup> Regan, 17.
- <sup>8</sup> Paul Ramsey, *Just War Theory: Just War according to Augustine*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain (New York, New York: New York University press, 1992), 16-21.
- <sup>9</sup> Regan, 17.
- <sup>10</sup> Robert L. Holmes, *Just War Theory: Can War be Morally Justified*, ed Jean Bethke Elshtain (New York: New York University press, 1992), 197-210.
- <sup>11</sup> Regan, 17-18.
- <sup>12</sup> Regan, 18-19.
- <sup>13</sup> James Turner Johnson, "Just War Tradition and Low-Intensity Conflict", in *Legal and Moral Constraints on Low-Intensity Conflict*, ed. Alberto Coll, James Ord, and Stephen Rose, International Law Studies, Volume 67 (Newport: U.S. Naval War College, 1992), 148.
- <sup>14</sup> Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Just War Theory*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain (New York, New York: New York University press, 1992), 3.
- <sup>15</sup> Johnson, 150-151.
- <sup>16</sup> Johnson, 152-153.
- <sup>17</sup> Johnson, 153.
- <sup>18</sup> Johnson, 154-156.
- <sup>19</sup> Regan, 87-99.
- <sup>20</sup> Trevor N Dupuy and Paul Martell, *Flawed Victory: The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the 1982 War in Lebanon* (Virginia: Hero Books, 1986), 13-14.
- <sup>21</sup> Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under British Mandate* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1999), 4-5.
- <sup>22</sup> M. Thomas Davis, *40-kilometer into Lebanon* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1987), 19-20.
- <sup>23</sup> Davis, 21.
- <sup>24</sup> Chaim Herzog, *Arab-Israeli Wars: war and peace in the Middle East from War of Independence through Lebanon* (New York: Random House, 1982), 105-108.
- <sup>25</sup> Davis, 30.
- <sup>26</sup> Davis, 31-32.
- <sup>27</sup> Avner Yaniv, *Dilemmas of Security: Politics, Strategy, and the Israeli Experience in Lebanon* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 38.
- <sup>28</sup> Richard A. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee: The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), 30-33.
- <sup>29</sup> Gabriel, 30-31.
- <sup>30</sup> Gabriel, 32.
- <sup>31</sup> Davis, 33.
- <sup>32</sup> Davis, 33.
- <sup>33</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 24-26.
- <sup>34</sup> Joseph G. Chami, *Days of Tragedy: Lebanon 75-76* (Nicosia, Cypress: PRINTCO, 1977), 278-298.
- <sup>35</sup> Gabriel, 55-57.
- <sup>36</sup> Yaniv, 64-76.

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- <sup>37</sup> Yaniv, 76-77.
- <sup>38</sup> Yaniv, 107-109.
- <sup>39</sup> Davis, 46-47.
- <sup>40</sup> Kirsten E. Schulze, *Israel's Covert Diplomacy in Lebanon* (New York: St Martin's Press, INC., 1998), 127.
- <sup>41</sup> Yaniv, 100.
- <sup>42</sup> Yaniv, 101.
- <sup>43</sup> Yaniv, 107.
- <sup>44</sup> Yaniv, 109.
- <sup>45</sup> Schulze, 128-130.
- <sup>46</sup> Holmes, 201.
- <sup>47</sup> Johnson, 156-157.
- <sup>48</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 227. Public opinion poll conducted by Modi'in Ezrahi Research Institute. 1,236 adults were polled between June 21 and June 30 1982.
- <sup>49</sup> Regan, 23.
- <sup>50</sup> Holmes, 49-50.
- <sup>51</sup> Holmes, 200.
- <sup>52</sup> Holmes, 200.
- <sup>53</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 85.
- <sup>54</sup> See Appendix 1: Weapon Systems of the PLO, Syria, and Israel. Condensed from Richard A. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee: The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984) 231-236.
- <sup>55</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 85-90.
- <sup>56</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 89.
- <sup>57</sup> Gabriel, 49-53.
- <sup>58</sup> Map 1: Map of Lebanon with disposition of Palestinian forces. Page 20.
- <sup>59</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 90.
- <sup>60</sup> See Appendix 1: Weapon Systems of the PLO, Syria, and Israel. Condensed from Richard A. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee: The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984) 231-236.
- <sup>61</sup> Gabriel, 53-54.
- <sup>62</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 221-220.
- <sup>63</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 91.
- <sup>64</sup> See Appendix 1: Weapon Systems of the PLO, Syria, and Israel. Condensed from Richard A. Gabriel, *Operation Peace for Galilee: The Israeli-PLO War in Lebanon* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984) 231-236.
- <sup>65</sup> Davis, 114-116.
- <sup>66</sup> Yaniv, 92.
- <sup>67</sup> Yaniv, 93.
- <sup>68</sup> Davis, 76.
- <sup>69</sup> Schulze, 130-131.
- <sup>70</sup> Davis, 76-77.
- <sup>71</sup> The Maronite Christians were broken into several factions; the largest being the Phalange led by Bashir Gemayel. The Israeli IDF, primarily Sharon, believed, through various covert meetings with senior Christian leaders in Lebanon, that the Christians would link up and provide the fighters for urban combat against the Palestinians in Beirut. Kristen E Schulze *Israel's Covert Diplomacy In Lebanon* is a good account of Israel's assumptions and hopes towards a unified neighbor to the North and the ultimate failure of those hopes.
- <sup>72</sup> Schulze, 127-129.
- <sup>73</sup> Davis, 76-77.
- <sup>74</sup> Davis, 87.
- <sup>75</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 114-115.
- <sup>76</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 91-93.
- <sup>77</sup> Davis, 112. The Center of Gravity issue surrounding Operation Peace for Galilee is confusing, and it was interpreted differently by various historians. However, the Israeli Government would modify their

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objectives to ultimately drive Palestine from the region vice use the 40-kilometer buffer as a political bargaining tool.

<sup>78</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 97.

<sup>79</sup> Gabriel, 70-74.

<sup>80</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 92.

<sup>81</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 81 and 92.

<sup>82</sup> Map 2: Western Axis advance and the amphibious landing at the Awali River. Page 25.

<sup>83</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 93.

<sup>84</sup> Gabriel, 77.

<sup>85</sup> Davis, 78.

<sup>86</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 102-103.

<sup>87</sup> Map 3: Central Axis advance across the Litani River, through Beaufort Castle to the Beirut-Damascus Highway. Page 26.

<sup>88</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 102.

<sup>89</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 101.

<sup>90</sup> Davis, 78.

<sup>91</sup> Map 4: Eastern Axis advance into the Fatahland and to the edge of the Biq'a Valley. This force would eventually fight in a conventional air-ground battle with Syria on 8-11 June 1982. Page 27.

<sup>92</sup> Davis, 83.

<sup>93</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 103-104.

<sup>94</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 110-115. The fight for the Biq'a appears to be a struggle between the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin and the Defense Minister, Ariel Sharon. The actions by Task Force "H" do not indicate a force avoiding contact, but more a force moving to contact. The implications of the battle for the Biq'a would generate tremendous pressure from American Special Envoy Phillip Habib for an immediate cease-fire, which seriously stressed U.S.-Israeli relations.

<sup>95</sup> Davis, 78.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix 2: Chronology of events. Basically an overview, broken down by Task Forces, on major actions by day. The battle for Beirut-Damascus Highway is covered in the text.

<sup>97</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 142.

<sup>98</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 99, 105, 109-110.

<sup>99</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 142. Palestinian forces were bypassed in order to maintain momentum and shape the battlefield early. Naval gunfire and the Israeli Air force attacked pockets of resistance of those bypassed.

<sup>100</sup> Gabriel, 82-89.

<sup>101</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 101-108.

<sup>102</sup> Yaniv, 112.

<sup>103</sup> Yaniv, 113.

<sup>104</sup> Yaniv, 114.

<sup>105</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 141-147.

<sup>106</sup> Holmes, 213-214.

<sup>107</sup> Holmes, 213. Verbatim.

<sup>108</sup> Holmes, 213. Verbatim.

<sup>109</sup> Gabriel, 112-113. The Palestinian forces had stock piled more weapons and ammo than they could have possibly employed. What was the reason? The setback was tremendous, and the Israeli forces were not readily prepared for such amounts of captured gear.

<sup>110</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 149.

<sup>111</sup> Gabriel, 164-166.

<sup>112</sup> Gabriel, 162.

<sup>113</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 152-153.

<sup>114</sup> Yaniv, 117.

<sup>115</sup> Schulze, 130-136. The Christian forces promised to Sharon never amounted to the force required to fight 15,000 Palestinians in an urban environment. Israeli forces missed an opportunity, June 11-15, 1982, to take the Palestinians by force without having to clear all of Beirut. This procrastination was based on Sharon's misunderstanding with Gemayel.

<sup>116</sup> Schulze, 104.

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- <sup>117</sup> Schulze, 104-105.
- <sup>118</sup> Schulze, 106-107.
- <sup>119</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 154.
- <sup>120</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 181.
- <sup>121</sup> Stephen C. Pelletiere, *Assad and The Peace Process: The Pivotal Role of Lebanon* (U.S. Army War College: Strategic Studies Institute, 1995), 14-15.
- <sup>122</sup> Pelletiere, 16-17.
- <sup>123</sup> Pelletiere, 18-20.
- <sup>124</sup> Gabriel, 114-116.
- <sup>125</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 141-142.
- <sup>126</sup> Gabriel, 210. The United States is now a “push” logistics force. Israel, at the time, could only fight for a very short period of time. Waiting for logistics in a scheduled 72-hour campaign would not be efficient.
- <sup>127</sup> Dupuy and Martell, 143. This included ammo, food, POL, and replacement equipment. The high usage of fuel and the means to deliver was coordinated at the operational level. Using landing craft to move fuel is only achievable on a secure beach. Timing was critical.
- <sup>128</sup> Gabriel, 97-98. Israel also employed E2C Hawkeye AWACs and a Boeing 707 Electronic Counter Measures aircraft in support of the RPVs. These RPVs were built in Israel
- <sup>129</sup> Gabriel, 195.
- <sup>130</sup> Gabriel, 196.
- <sup>131</sup> Gabriel, 146-147.
- <sup>132</sup> Davis, 107-110. This is more a national strategy problem, but whether the military immediately assumes that fighting may be the only answer, how can you ever determine if negotiations will work?
- <sup>133</sup> Gabriel, 214-221. The world watched as Israel bombed Beirut daily. The U.S.-Israeli relations were put to a serious test.

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# FORCE STRUCTURE AND EQUIPMENT LISTS FOR OPERATION PEACE FOR GALILEE

## PALESTINIAN FORCES:

Regular Forces:	15000
Militia:	18000
Tanks: (T-34, T-54, T-55)	300
Armored Personnel Carriers: (BTR-152, BTR-60)	150
Anti-tank weapons to include Sagger missiles:	200-300
Artillery pieces: (Rocket launchers, 130MM)	350
Anti-aircraft guns to include SA-7 missiles:	200

## SYRIAN FORCES: (In Lebanon only)

Regular Forces:	25000
Militia:(PLO fighters under Syrian control)	1600
Tanks: (T-55 and T-62)	300
Armored Personnel Carriers: (BMP's and BTR-152)	300
Anti-tank weapons to include Sagger missiles:	200
Artillery pieces: (Rocket launchers, 130MM)	300
Anti-aircraft guns to include SA-7 missiles:	100
SA-2, SA-3 and SA-6 missile batteries:	30
Aircraft:	225

## ISRAELI FORCES: (Used for Operation Peace for Galilee only)

Regular Forces:	76000
Tanks:	1250
Armored Personnel Carriers:	1500
Artillery:(to include all 81, 120, 160MM mortars)	2000
Aircraft:	275

# CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS: 5-12 JUNE 1982

## OPERATION PEACE FOR GALILEE

### Day One: 1100 AM 06/06/1982 to 0500 07/06/82

1. Task Force "A" in Western Sector crosses the Border and attacks North to Tyre
  2. Task Force "B" prepares landing craft in Northern Israel in preparation for amphib assault in Southern Lebanon. Lands later in the day.
  3. Task Force "C" in Central sector crosses the border at 1100 and proceeds to the Litani River to attempt crossing. Objective to take Beaufort Castle and Surrounding hillsides overlooking Begaa valley.
  4. Task Force "H" the Begaa Forces Group in the Eastern sector attacks two separate points just North of the Golan Heights.
- \*\*All objectives were accomplished as scheduled on Day one. Speed and momentum were maintained. The City of Tyre is under siege.

### Day Two: 0500 AM 07/06/1982 to 0500 08/06/82

1. TF- A over ran pockets of resistance and advanced to the Litani River. Mopping up operations South of Sidon commenced. The Israeli's started Psyops in the area and proceeded North to Sidon.
2. TF-B lands additional forces in the Awali area and establish logistics sites in the area. Push to within 15 KM of Beirut.
3. TF-C takes Beaufort Castle and surrounds Nabatiye. Two battles groups break from Task Force and head Northeast to Sidon. Task Force A, B and C are now consolidated and encircle Sidon.
4. TF-D (a section from the central axis) advances 30 KM's North to capture a critical bridge at the Besri River. This action is in support of TF "H". TF-D does engage Syrian forces and the initial Israeli-Syrian showdown increases.
5. TF-H remained in positions taken on day one.
6. IDF airforce supported the attacks and struck pockets of resistance by passed from the previous day.

### Day Three: 0500 AM 08/06/1982 to 0500 09/06/82

1. TF-A mops up Tyre. Palestinians bleed into civilian communities. Mop up south of Awali River commences.
2. TF-B crosses Damour River and encircled Damour.
3. TF-C links up with TF A and B and by night fall arrive just South of Damour. TF C uses naval gunfire on PLO positions in and around Damour.
4. TF-D splits force and advances as fast as possible to the Beirut-Damascus Highway. The Syrian-Israeli confrontation now begins.
5. IDF airforce continues to support: During the day (6) Syrian MiG 23s are shot down.
6. TF-H divides unit into TF-H, Z and V. Attacks on the Western sector of the Syrian forces commences.

### Day Four 0500 AM 09/06/1982 to 0500 10/06/82

1. All cities on the West coast are in Israeli control except Damour.
2. TF-C moves North to Ain Zhalta to cut the Beirut-Damascus highway. Syria decides to fight.
3. TF-H increases their pressure on Syria, and the Israeli Prime Minister gives the go around to take out SAM sites in the Begaa.
4. Israel destroys all SAM sites in Begaa: turning point of war
5. Three separate air to air engagement destroys 90 Syrian aircraft.

### Day Five 0500 AM 10/06/1982 to 0500 11/06/82

1. TF-A advances North to the outskirts of Beirut and engage Syrian/PLO combined forces.
2. TF-C takes the hills around Ain Zhalta overlooking the Beirut-Damascus highway.
3. TF-H engaged Syrian forces around Lake Qaraoun with tanks, helicopters and CAS. Syrian and Israeli losses are heavy.



### **Day Six 0500 AM 11/06/1982 to 0500 12/06/82**

1. Syria and Israel announce a cease fire, not to include the PLO.
2. Syria attempts to reinforce units in Begaa and take some losses of T-72 tanks.
3. TF-A moves closer to Beirut airport as frequent fire fights with PLO/Syrian forces continues.
4. Christian forces from Phalange party block the South Eastern portion of Beirut officially surrounding the city. The only way out, and not covered yet was the Beirut-Damascus Highway. Syria's' 85th Brigade was trapped in Beirut.

### **Day Seven 0500 AM 12/06/1982 to 0500 13/06/82**

1. PLO is now included in cease fire.

### **Day Eight 0500 AM 13/06/1982 to 0500 14/06/82**

1. Cease fire breaks down and Israel hammers Khalde south of airport. Syria moved forces in Beirut to block the Israeli advance. Israel flanks this force and drives towards Baabda. An ambush surprises the Israeli force and a 14 hour fierce fight with heavy losses occurs. Israel finally gets to Baabda, and controls the highest peak in Beirut commanding views of West Beirut and the Beirut-Damascus Highways.

### **Day Nine 0500 AM 14/06/1982 to 0500 15/06/82**

1. Israel offered to allow Syrian forces free passage out of Beirut. Syria declines and starts reinforcing the forces still in control of the Beirut-Damascus highway.

### **Between 16 June and 22 June 1982**

1. No major confrontations. Reinforce for a serious battle for the Beirut-Damascus highway.

### **Between 22 June and 24 June 1982**

1. Battle for Beirut-Damascus Highway.