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Israel's War Leaders Don't Trust One Another

以色列领导人互不信任

Long-simmering grudges and arguments over tactics have soured relations between Prime Minister Netanyahu, the defense minister and a former military chief

长期酝酿的怨恨和对战术的争论已经恶化了总理内塔尼亚胡，国防部长和前军事首脑之间的关系

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TEL AVIV—Six months into the conflict against Hamas, the Israeli public is deeply divided about how to win the war in the Gaza Strip. So, too, are the three top officials in the war cabinet meant to foster unity in that effort.

特拉维夫-在与哈马斯的冲突发生六个月后，以色列公众对如何赢得加沙地带的战争存在严重分歧。战时内阁中的三位高级官员也是如此，他们的目的是在这一努力中促进团结。

Long-simmering grudges and arguments over how best to fight Hamas have soured relations between Israel's wartime decision makers—Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Defense Minister Yoav Gallant and the former head of the Israeli military, Benny Gantz. The three men are at odds over the biggest decisions they need to make: how to launch a decisive military push, free Israel's hostages and govern the postwar strip.

关于如何最好地打击哈马斯的长期积怨和争论已经恶化了以色列战时决策者之间的关系-总理本杰明内塔尼亚胡，国防部长约阿夫加兰特和以色列军方前负责人本尼扎兹。这三个人在他们需要做出的最大决定上存在分歧：如何发动决定性的军事攻势，释放以色列的人质和治理战后的加沙地带。

Now, they also must make one of the biggest decisions the country has ever faced: how to respond to Iran's first-ever direct attack on Israeli territory. Their power struggle could affect whether the Gaza conflict spirals into a bigger regional fight with Iran that transforms the Middle East's geopolitical order and shapes Israel's relations with the U.S. for decades.

现在，他们还必须做出该国有史以来面临的重大决定之一：如何回应伊朗对以色列领土的首次直接攻击。他们的权力斗争可能会影响加沙冲突是否会升级为与伊朗的更大的地区斗争，从而改变中东的地缘政治秩序，并塑造以色列与美国几十年来的关系。

“The lack of trust between these three people is so clear and so significant,” said Giora Eiland, a former Israeli general and

national security adviser.

“这三个人之间缺乏信任是如此明显和如此重要，说：”乔拉艾兰，前以色列将军和国家安全顾问。

Netanyahu, the nation's longest-serving premier, increasingly is trying to direct the Gaza war by himself, while Gallant and Gantz are widely seen to be trying to cut out Netanyahu from decisions.

内塔尼亚胡是美国任期最长的总理，他越来越多地试图亲自指挥加沙战争，而格兰特和佩雷斯被广泛认为试图将内塔尼亚胡排除在决策之外。

Gantz, the general who led Israel's last major war against Hamas a decade ago, has previously expressed a desire to oust Netanyahu as prime minister. He called earlier this month for early elections in September after tens of thousands of people demonstrated against the prime minister's handling of the war—a sign that Gantz's base has grown frustrated with his role in a Netanyahu-led government.

10年前领导以色列对哈马斯发动最后一场重大战争的佩雷斯将军此前曾表示希望驱逐内塔尼亚胡担任总理。本月早些时候，他呼吁在9月提前举行选举，此前数万人示威反对总理处理战争的方式，这一迹象表明，查韦斯的基地对他在内塔尼亚胡领导的政府中所扮演的角色感到沮丧。

The three war cabinet members have met daily since Saturday's attack by Iran, vowing a response but leaving vague the timing,

scale and location. They face a challenge in designing a response that balances their goals of deterring Iran, avoiding a regional war and not alienating the U.S. and Arab states involved in repelling Iran's strike. President Biden has urged the Israelis to use caution in any response and has ruled out American involvement in an Israeli strike on Iranian soil.

自上周六伊朗发动袭击以来，这三名战时内阁成员每天都举行会议，誓言做出回应，但对时间、规模和地点含糊其辞。他们面临着一个挑战，即如何设计一种反应，以平衡他们的目标，即威慑伊朗、避免地区战争，以及不疏远参与击退伊朗打击的美国和阿拉伯国家。拜登总统敦促以色列在任何回应中都要谨慎，并排除了美国参与以色列对伊朗领土的袭击的可能性。

“The risk of miscalculation is quite high,” said Raz Zimmt, a senior researcher at the Tel Aviv-based Institute for National Security Studies. “We are at the beginning of a very dangerous stage in the Iranian-Israeli conflict.”

特拉维夫国家安全研究所的高级研究员拉兹·齐姆特说：“误判的风险相当高。”“我们正处于伊朗-以色列冲突中一个非常危险阶段的开始。”



An antimissile system in operation after Iran launched drones and missiles toward Israel, as seen from Ashkelon, Israel. PHOTO: AMIR COHEN/REUTERS

在伊朗向以色列发射无人机和导弹后，一个反导弹系统正在运行，从以色列的阿什凯隆可以看到。照片：amir cohen/路透社

Gallant is considered the most hawkish of the three. At the start of the war, he advocated a pre-emptive strike on Iran's Lebanese ally Hezbollah, but he also is eager to align with the U.S.

格兰特被认为是三人中最强硬的。在战争开始时，他主张对伊朗的黎巴嫩盟友真主党进行先发制人的打击，但他也渴望与美国结盟。

Netanyahu has been keeping Gallant and Gantz in the dark about key decisions, according to current and former Israeli officials. In an effort to gain control over food and supplies going into Gaza, he has considered appointing an official on humanitarian aid who will report directly to his office and bypass the defense minister, said Israeli officials familiar with

the matter.

据现任和前任以色列官员说，内塔尼亚胡一直对格兰特和佩雷斯的关键决定一无所知。以色列知情官员说，为了控制进入加沙的食品和物资，他考虑任命一名人道主义援助官员，直接向他的办公室报告，绕过国防部长。

“It’s very hard for the prime minister to make the army do what he wants if the minister of defense is not aligned with him,” said Amir Avivi, founder of the Israel Defense and Security Forum think tank. “This lack of alignment is making things for Netanyahu very, very hard.”

以色列国防与安全论坛智库创始人阿米尔·阿维维说：“如果国防部长不与总理结盟，总理很难让军队做他想做的事。”“这种缺乏一致性的做法使内塔尼亚胡的处境非常非常困难。”

The three men have been rivals for years. Gantz has run against Netanyahu in five elections that political analysts have described as some of the country’s nastiest ever. Last year, Netanyahu tried to fire Gallant, who has told people close to him that the prime minister’s previous Gaza policies have been a failure.

这三个人多年来一直是竞争对手。佩雷斯在五次选举中与内塔尼亚胡竞争，政治分析人士称这是该国有史以来最糟糕的选举。去年，内塔尼亚胡试图解雇格兰特，格兰特告诉他身边的人，总理以前的加沙政策是失败的。

As for relations between Gantz and Gallant, they barely spoke to one another for more than a decade before joining the war cabinet together.

至于埃里兹和格兰特之间的关系，在一起加入战时内阁之前，他们有十多年几乎没有说过话。

Polls show that Gantz is Israel's most popular leader. People close to him have been trying to persuade members of Netanyahu's coalition and his own party to leave the government and force the prime minister from power, according to people familiar with the matter. That would leave Gantz as the most likely politician to replace Netanyahu.

民调显示，内塔尼亚胡是以色列最受欢迎的领导人。据知情人士透露，与内塔尼亚胡关系密切的人一直在试图说服内塔尼亚胡联盟和他自己的政党成员离开政府，迫使总理下台。这将使内塔尼亚胡成为最有可能取代内塔尼亚胡的政治家。

Gantz has tried and failed several times to oust Netanyahu, a savvy political operator known inside Israel as "the magician" for his ability to escape political trouble. Now Netanyahu is politically weakened by the war, setting up a test of whether Gantz, and potentially even Gallant, can finally end his decade

and a half of political dominance.

内塔尼亚胡是一位精明的政治人物，在以色列国内被称为“魔术师”，因为他有能力摆脱政治麻烦。现在内塔尼亚胡在政治上被战争削弱了，这是一个考验，看看内塔尼亚胡，甚至可能是格兰特，是否能最终结束他15年的政治统治。

With cease-fire talks in Cairo earlier this month, Netanyahu also is under pressure from the far-right flank of his coalition, parts of which recently threatened to tear the government apart if an agreement is reached to end the war without taking out Hamas's military. That right flank also is pressing for a dramatic response to Iran.

随着本月早些时候在开罗举行的停火谈判，内塔尼亚胡也受到其联盟极右翼的压力，其中一些人最近威胁说，如果达成协议，在不消灭哈马斯军队的情况下结束战争，他们将撕裂政府。右翼也在敦促对伊朗做出戏剧性的回应。

Israel's handling of the war has come under greater scrutiny after Netanyahu acknowledged the military hit an aid convoy, killing seven humanitarian workers and drawing wide international condemnation.

在内塔尼亚胡承认军方袭击了一个援助车队，造成7名人道主义工作者死亡，并引起国际社会的广泛谴责后，以色列对战争的处理受到了更严格的审查。



United Nations staff members inspected a car destroyed by an Israeli airstrike on April 1 that killed seven aid workers from the World Central Kitchen.

PHOTO: AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE/GETTY IMAGES

联合国工作人员检查了4月1日被以色列空袭摧毁的一辆汽车，这次空袭造成7名来自世界中央厨房的援助人员死亡。图片来源： Agence France-Presse/Getty Images



Muslims marked the end of Ramadan on April 10 in the city of Rafah, the last Hamas stronghold in the Gaza Strip, where more than a million Palestinian are sheltering. PHOTO: ABED RAHIM KHATIB/ZUMA PRESS

4月10日，穆斯林在加沙地带最后一个哈马斯据点拉法市庆祝斋月结束，100多万巴勒斯坦人在那里避难。图片来源：Abed Rahim Khatib/Zuma Press

On April 8, Netanyahu said he has set a date to push into the Gazan city of Rafah, the last Hamas stronghold where more than a million Palestinians are sheltering. He has faced opposition, though, from Gallant, who wants to figure out how to manage American expectations before proceeding, said people familiar with the disagreements.

4月8日，内塔尼亚胡说，他已经确定了进入加沙城市拉法的日期，拉法是哈马斯的最后一个据点，有100多万巴勒斯坦人在那里避难。不过，知情人士说，他面临着来自格兰特的反对，格兰特希望在继续进行之前弄清楚如何管理美国人的期望。

The U.S. has warned Israel against mounting a Rafah operation, and Gallant is concerned about damaging Israel's relationship with Washington and losing American financial and military support, these people said. President Biden told Netanyahu on an April 4 call that future U.S. support would be conditioned on Israel's treatment of Gaza's civilians.

这些人士说，美国警告以色列不要发动拉法行动，格兰特担心这会损害以色列与华盛顿的关系，并失去美国的财政和军事支持。拜登总统在4月4日的电话中告诉内塔尼亚胡，美国未来的支持将以以色列对待加沙平民为条件。

All three men have different ideas about postwar Gaza. The prime minister has said the West Bank-based Palestinian Authority in its current form should play no role, and is focused on the Israeli army working with local leaders. Palestinians say Netanyahu's plan amounts to occupation, something he says he opposes.

这三个人对战后的加沙都有不同的看法。内塔尼亚胡说，目前形式的约旦河西岸巴勒斯坦权力机构不应发挥任何作用，并将重点放在以色列军队与当地领导人的合作上。巴勒斯坦人说，内塔尼亚胡的计划相当于占领，他说他反对。

The defense minister sees Palestinians connected to the Palestinian Authority's leadership in the West Bank as the best option. He has told people in meetings that he would rather have chaos in Gaza than Israeli soldiers governing the enclave,

said people close to Gallant.

这位国防部长认为，与约旦河西岸巴勒斯坦权力机构领导层有联系的巴勒斯坦人是最好的选择。他在会议上告诉人们，他宁愿加沙陷入混乱，也不愿以色列士兵统治这块飞地。

Last month, Netanyahu canceled a trip to Washington by his top aides to protest a U.S. decision not to veto a United Nations Security Council resolution calling for an unconditional ceasefire. Gallant still went ahead anyway with a visit that wasn't coordinated with the prime minister.

上个月，内塔尼亚胡取消了他的高级助手对华盛顿的访问，以抗议美国决定不否决联合国理事会要求无条件停火的决议。格兰特仍然继续进行了一次没有与总理协调的访问。

Gantz also flew to Washington last month over the prime minister's objections. The Biden administration openly received Gantz while signaling frustration with Netanyahu.

上个月，由于总理的反对，佩雷斯还飞往华盛顿。拜登政府公开接待了内塔尼亚胡，同时表示对内塔尼亚胡感到失望。



Gallant, center, leaving the State Department after meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken on March 25. PHOTO: JIM LO SCALZO/SHUTTERSTOCK

3月25日，在与美国国务卿安东尼布林肯会晤后离开国务院。照片：jim lo scalzo/Shutterstock

The three men also don't agree about how to free the hostages held by Hamas. Gantz has called publicly for a deal to secure their release, saying their lives are at risk. Netanyahu and Gallant have emphasized that only military pressure along with negotiations will lead to their release.

这三个人在如何释放被哈马斯扣押的人质问题上也意见不一。布雷兹公开呼吁达成协议，以确保他们的释放，说他们的生命处于危险之中。内塔尼亚胡和格兰特强调，只有沿着谈判的军事压力才能导致他们获释。

But Netanyahu controls Israel's hostage negotiation team, led by Israel's spy chief. While the prime minister has publicly

talked of a deal, he has at times taken a hard line on the terms. Netanyahu has said critics who say he is blocking a deal are mistaken, and people close to him say his is being a tough negotiator.

但内塔尼亚胡控制着由以色列间谍头目领导的以色列人质谈判小组。虽然首相曾公开谈论过一项协议，但他有时对条款采取强硬立场。内塔尼亚胡说，批评他阻止协议的人是错误的，接近他的人说他是一个坚韧的谈判者。

U.S. efforts to broker a temporary truce were complicated last week by Israeli strikes that killed three sons of Hamas's political leader, Ismail Haniyeh.

上周，以色列发动袭击，打死哈马斯政治领导人伊斯梅尔·哈尼亚的三个儿子，使美国促成临时停火的努力变得复杂。

Personal tension between Israel's leadership goes back more than a decade. In 2010, Netanyahu's government nominated Gallant, a 30-year veteran of the armed forces, to become leader of the military. After the nomination was announced, documents became public that alleged Gallant had orchestrated a smear campaign against other contenders for the job, including Gantz, according to a regulator's later report on the

matter.

以色列领导层之间的个人紧张关系可以追溯到十多年前。2010年，内塔尼亚胡政府提名在武装部队服役30年的格兰特成为军队领导人。据一家监管机构后来就此事发布的报告称，提名宣布后，有文件公开称，格兰特策划了一场针对包括卡兹在内的其他竞争者的诽谤运动。

Gallant denied involvement, and police accused an ally of the military chief at the time of faking the document. Nevertheless, the scandal helped derail the nomination and end Gallant's military career.

格兰特否认参与其中，警方指控当时军事首领的一名盟友伪造了这份文件。尽管如此，这一丑闻帮助破坏了提名，并结束了格兰特的军事生涯。

Gantz got the job instead, becoming chief of the military between 2011 and 2015, a period during which he led two major operations against Hamas. He later used that credential to launch a political career, creating a new party that beginning in 2019 turned him into Netanyahu's chief political rival.

相反，佩雷斯得到了这份工作，在2011年至2015年期间成为军队的负责人，在此期间，他领导了两次针对哈马斯的重大行动。后来，他利用这一资格开始了政治生涯，创建了一个新的政党，从2019年开始，他成为内塔尼亚胡的主要政治对手。



Gantz became head of Israel's army in 2011. At the ceremony, he was flanked by then Defense Minister Ehud Barak, left, and Prime Minister Netanyahu.

PHOTO: GALI TIBBON/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

佩雷斯于2011年成为以色列军队的领导人。在仪式上，他的两侧是当时的国防部长埃胡德巴拉克（左）和总理内塔尼亚胡。

照片：Gali Tianjin/法新社/盖蒂图片社



Gantz is Netanyahu's chief political rival. An election billboard in 2021 for Gantz's Blue and White party reads: 'It's Benny in the Knesset or Bibi forever.'
PHOTO: ODED BALILTY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

纳兹是纳兹的主要政治对手。2021年大选时，内塔尼亚胡的蓝白色党的一个竞选广告牌上写着：“永远是议会中的本尼或比比。”照片：Oded Balilty/美联社

Three elections in a one-year span produced no clear win for either Gantz or Netanyahu. In 2020, the two agreed to join a coalition and to alternate the premiership to end a destabilizing political period. The experiment dissolved in acrimony within a year.

在一年的时间里，三次选举都没有给内塔尼亚胡或内塔尼亚胡带来明显的胜利。2020年，两人同意加入联合政府，并轮流担任总理，以结束不稳定的政治时期。这项试验在一年之内就在激烈的争论中失败了。

Gantz accused Netanyahu of blocking him from the prime minister's seat. Netanyahu said he couldn't run a government working with Gantz. Gantz won far fewer seats in 2021 elections, reflecting voter anger with him for serving with Netanyahu.

内塔尼亚胡指责内塔尼亚胡阻止他担任总理。内塔尼亚胡说，他不能管理一个与内塔尼亚胡合作的政府。佩雷斯在2021年选举中赢得的席位要少得多，这反映了选民对他与内塔尼亚胡一起任职的愤怒。

“Gantz walked out of there with not one but multiple knives in his back,” said Reuven Hazan, a political scientist at Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

耶路撒冷希伯来大学的政治学家阿斯文·哈赞说：“佩雷斯走出来的时候，背上不是一把刀，而是多把刀。”

After a detour into the oil-and-gas industry following his military career, Gallant decided in 2014 to get into politics. Israel's conflict that year with Hamas, overseen by Netanyahu and Gantz, then the military's chief, had frustrated Gallant. He felt their limited war aims of destroying Hamas's tunnel network but not routing the group altogether were

shortsighted, people who know Gallant said.

在经历了军事生涯后进入石油和天然气行业后，格兰特于2014年决定从政。以色列当年与哈马斯的冲突，由内塔尼亚胡和当时的军方负责人佩雷斯监督，使格兰特感到沮丧。他认为，他们有限的战争目标，摧毁哈马斯的隧道网络，但没有路由该集团完全是短视的，人谁知道格兰特说。

After a few years in a smaller political party, Gallant joined Netanyahu's Likud. Netanyahu named him defense minister in 2022, finally giving Gallant top command over Israel's forces.

在一个较小的政党工作了几年后，格兰特加入了内塔尼亚胡的利库德集团。内塔尼亚胡在2022年任命他为国防部长，最终让格兰特成为以色列军队的最高指挥官。

“He felt he had been screwed,” said Michael Oren, a former Israeli ambassador to Washington under Netanyahu, referring to Gallant's failed 2010 nomination. “This was justice.”

“他觉得自己被搞砸了，”内塔尼亚胡领导下的前以色列驻华盛顿大使迈克尔·奥伦（Michael Oren）在谈到格兰特2010年提名失败时说。“这是正义。”

In 2023, Netanyahu's new government tried to enact large-scale changes to Israel's judicial system, sparking months of protests, often led by military reservists. Believing there was a crisis brewing in the army that endangered national security, Gallant

publicly urged Netanyahu to hold off.

2023年，内塔尼亚胡的新政府试图对以色列的司法系统进行大规模改革，引发了长达数月的抗议活动，抗议活动通常由预备役军人领导。格兰特相信军队中正在酝酿一场危及国家安全的危机，他公开敦促内塔尼亚胡推迟行动。

Netanyahu fired him, setting off strikes and civil unrest, before backing down and suspending the legislation. Two weeks later, Gallant was reinstated.

内塔尼亚胡解雇了他，引发了罢工和内乱，然后退缩并暂停立法。两周后，格兰特复职。



The Israeli government's attempt to enact large-scale changes to the nation's judicial systems sparked months of protests last year, including one on Aug. 26 in Tel Aviv. The banner depicts Netanyahu and his wife, with Hebrew that reads: 'Let the country burn.' PHOTO: TSAFRIR ABAYOV/ASSOCIATED PRESS

以色列政府试图对该国司法系统进行大规模改革，去年引发了数月的抗议活动，其中包括8月26日在特拉维夫举行的抗议活动。横幅上描绘的是内塔尼亚胡和他的妻子，希伯来语写着：“让国家燃烧吧。”照片：Tsafrir Abayov/美联社



Gantz, seated on left, spoke with Gallant, right, at the Knesset last July before a vote on a bill that would have limited some Supreme Court power. PHOTO: AMIR COHEN/REUTERS

去年7月，在对一项限制最高法院部分权力的法案进行表决之前，坐在左边的佩雷斯与右边的格兰特进行了交谈。照片：AMIR COHEN/路透社

The Oct. 7 attacks brought the three men together in the war cabinet. Gantz and Gallant set aside their differences to try to work professionally. During news conferences, they would hug and shake hands, and they appeared together in a tour in northern Gaza.

10月7日的袭击使这三个人在战时内阁中走到了一起。贝兹和格兰特抛开分歧，努力工作。在新闻发布会上，他们会拥抱和握手，他们一起出现在加沙北方的一次旅行中。

But tensions heightened between the two men and Netanyahu. The prime minister, facing public criticism for Oct. 7, blamed the

security failures on Israel's defense and intelligence services.

After Gantz criticized him, he apologized.

但两人与内塔尼亚胡之间的紧张局势加剧。总理在10月7日面临公众批评，将安全失败归咎于以色列的国防和情报部门。在批评了他之后，他道歉了。

Netanyahu, under pressure from the White House, overruled Gallant on a pre-emptive strike against Hezbollah in Lebanon.

内塔尼亚胡在白宫的压力下，否决了格兰特对黎巴嫩真主党的先发制人的打击。

Days later, the prime minister met with the former army chief whom Gallant partly blamed for derailing his 2010 nomination to run the military. The former chief is one of the few people in Israel that Gallant refuses to shake hands with, and the defense minister viewed the meeting as an attempt by Netanyahu to undermine him, according to a person close to Gallant.

Netanyahu's office described it as a routine meeting to strategize on the war.

几天后，总理会见了前陆军参谋长，格兰特部分指责他破坏了2010年的提名，以管理军队。据一位接近格兰特的人士说，这位前首席执行官是以色列少数几个拒绝与格兰特握手的人之一，国防部长认为这次会议是内塔尼亚胡试图破坏他。内塔尼亚胡的办公室将其描述为制定战争战略的例行会议。

Gallant and Netanyahu began organizing separate news conferences, sometimes just minutes apart.

格兰特和内塔尼亚胡开始组织单独的新闻发布会，有时相隔仅几分钟。

Asked about one decision to make separate media statements, Netanyahu said he had suggested they meet the press together, but Gallant, he said, “decided what he decided.”

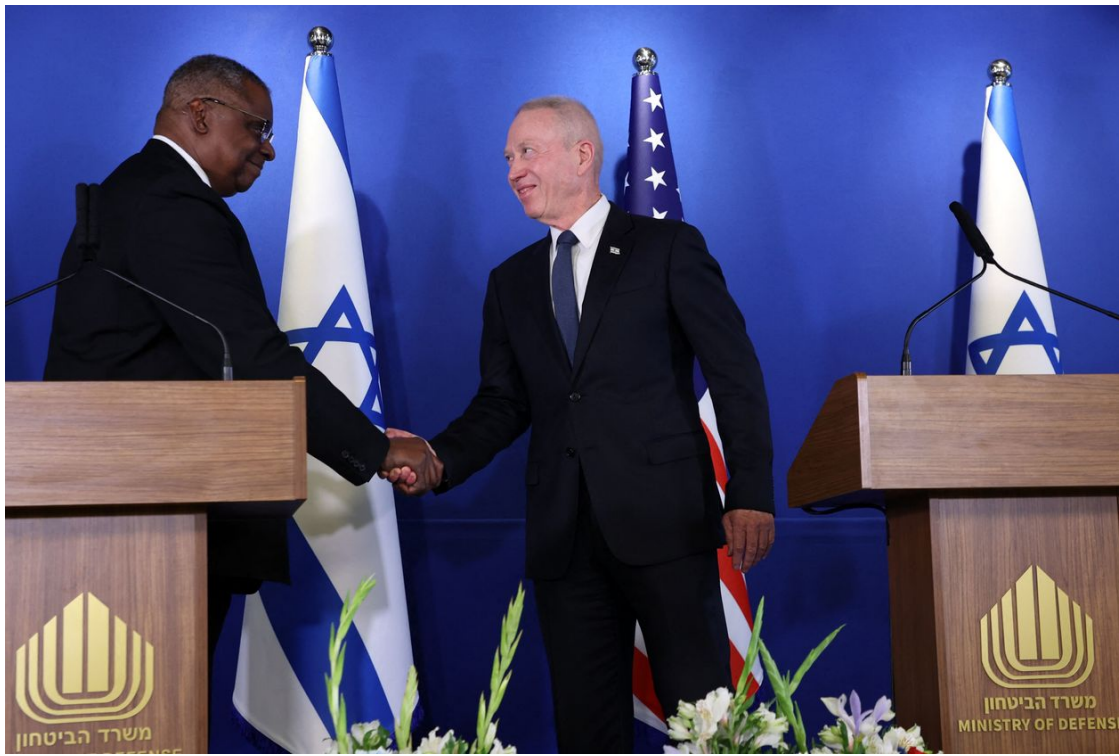
当被问及一个单独发表媒体声明的决定时，内塔尼亚胡说，他曾建议他们一起会见新闻界，但他说，格兰特“决定了他的决定。”

Cracks emerged in the war cabinet after an initial Israeli blitzkrieg against Hamas forces in Gaza slowed, and the humanitarian cost of the war grew.

在以色列最初对加沙哈马斯部队的闪电战放缓后，战争内阁出现了裂痕，战争的人道主义代价增加了。

Netanyahu fell out publicly with Biden, but Gallant talked regularly to Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin. Gallant’s team joked that the defense minister, who was spending nights at military headquarters, couldn’t fall asleep without a bedtime story from Austin.

内塔尼亚胡公开与拜登闹翻，但格兰特定期与国防部长劳埃德·奥斯汀交谈。格兰特的团队开玩笑说，国防部长在军事总部过夜，如果没有奥斯汀的睡前故事，他就无法入睡。



Gallant, right, greeted U.S. Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin in Tel Aviv in March 2023. PHOTO: GIL COHEN-MAGEN/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

2023年3月，格兰特（右）在特拉维夫迎接美国国防部长劳埃德·奥斯汀。照片：Gil Cohen-Magen/法新社/盖蒂图片社

In January, Gadi Eisenkot, a nonvoting member of the war cabinet who is a political ally of Gantz, publicly criticized Netanyahu’s approach to the war, suggesting that the prime minister’s talk of absolute victory was unrealistic. He called for elections to restore public trust in the government.

今年1月，战争内阁的无投票权成员加迪·艾森科特（Gadi Eisenkot）公开批评内塔尼亚胡的战争方式，暗示总理关于绝对胜利的言论是不现实的。他呼吁举行选举，以恢复公众对政府的信任。

Soon after, Netanyahu said Israel would achieve “total victory” over Hamas. That goal has proved elusive.

不久之后，内塔尼亚胡表示，以色列将取得对哈马斯的“全面胜利”。事实证明，这一目标难以实现。

Israel says it has destroyed most of Hamas's military, killing thousands of its fighters, including senior operatives. To cripple Hamas's military capability, the Israeli military says it still needs to attack what it says are four Hamas battalions in Rafah. Israel also hasn't yet found and killed Yahya Sinwar, Hamas's leader in Gaza, who Israel says orchestrated the Oct. 7 attacks that sparked the war and killed 1,200 people.

以色列说，它已经摧毁了哈马斯的大部分军队，打死数千名哈马斯战士，包括高级特工。为了削弱哈马斯的军事能力，以色列军方说，它仍然需要攻击它所说的在拉法的四个哈马斯营。以色列还没有找到并杀死哈马斯在加沙的领导人叶海亚·辛瓦尔。以色列说，辛瓦尔策划了10月7日的袭击，引发了战争，造成1,200人死亡。

More than 33,000 Palestinians have died in the Gaza war, according to Gaza health authorities, whose numbers don't distinguish between civilians and combatants. That humanitarian cost has brought intense international pressure on Israel to agree to a deal to exchange hostages for a cease-fire.

据加沙卫生当局说，加沙战争中已有33,000多名巴勒斯坦人死亡，这些人的数量不分平民和战斗人员。这一人道主义代价给以色列带来了巨大的国际压力，要求以色列同意以人质换取停火的协议。

This month, Israel's mass antigovernment protest movement flared anew.

本月，以色列的大规模反政府抗议运动再次爆发。

Even if Gantz chose to leave the government, at least five members of Netanyahu's Likud party, or one of his coalition partners, would have to pull out, too, to collapse the prime minister's 64-seat majority in the 120-seat parliament.

即使内塔尼亚胡选择离开政府，内塔尼亚胡的利库德集团（Likud Party）至少有五名成员，或者他的一个联盟伙伴，也必须退出，以瓦解总理在120个席位的议会中的64个席位。

That leaves Netanyahu with room to maneuver.

这给内塔尼亚胡留下了回旋的余地。

“The most important thing for Netanyahu is his political survival,” said Ofer Shelah, a former lawmaker and military analyst with the Institute for National Security Studies. “The longer the current situation remains, the better his chances of remaining prime minister are.”

“对内塔尼亚胡来说，最重要的是他的政治生存，”前立法者、国家安全研究所军事分析师奥弗·谢拉说。“目前的局势维持得越久，他继续担任首相的机会就越大。”

—*Anat Peled and Dov Lieber contributed to this article.*

*Anat Peled*和*Dov Lieber*对本文做出了贡献。

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