

Significant changes to the international balance of power

- The US-led Western withdrawal and the rise of the Russia-China Axis
- The rise of the sub-state Jihadi dimension

The Palestinian-Led Delegitimization System

- Undermining the justification for the Zionist cause and the Jewish state's right to exist in the Land of Israel within any given boundaries
- A coordinated campaign of international organizations, boycott organizations and human rights organizations - in the external and internal arenas - international institutions and legal institutions
- The intensification of antisemitic and anti-Zionist trends

Vector 2: External



The Iranian-regional campaign

- Pursuit of military nuclear capabilities
- The firing of thousands of rockets and missiles on a daily basis; launch of offensive drones, building the MDR (missiles, drones and rockets) system to surround Israel with nooses
- Infiltration attempts
- Cyber attacks
- Fomenting domestic rifts
- Leveraging its Hezbollah and Hamas proxies to launch direct attacks on Israel
- A strategic struggle over regional hegemony and a takeover of vassal states

Vector 2: Internal



The pan-Palestinian campaign against Zionism throughout Israel

- The Palestinian Authority's "Pay for Slay" policy: a standing legal framework to turn citizens into killers
- The resumption of orchestrated and coordinated rioting of Bedouins, Arabs and Palestinians
- The integration of the Jihadi conceptual framework throughout the region
- The disruption of personal security
- The force buildup toward a potential civil war
- The use of illegal construction in a takeover of swaths of territory to affect a loss of territorial depth

State of the Nation 5782/2022

The Circles of Threat Opposing Israel are Consolidating into a Combined Blow

Facing Israel currently are **powerful and coordinated forces** that are operating in a multi-vector, concerted effort and at full throttle toward a common goal: the **undermining, attrition, and eventually downfall of the State of Israel**. These strategic centers of gravity are positioned in multi-theatre and multi-collaborative circles, which are moving toward their epicenter into a **single, integrated campaign against Israel**. These are massive force building processes that are aimed toward a consolidated strike which, **in the absence of a suitable counteraction, may occur in a short to medium term**.

Israel will not be able to operate against this constellation of threats from a position of decentralized logic. It is imperative that **decision-makers adopt a counterstrategy, such that suitably corresponds to the integrated characteristics of the threat, places the nation's systems on a war-footing and prepares them for a multilayered emergency under a single unifying principle: cessation followed by a multi-theater reversal of momentum**. Such a strategy can allow Israel to systematically neutralize the aforementioned centers of gravity.

In the current state of affairs, Israel is losing battle after battle, and if it continues in this vein, it might end up losing the war - an option that cannot be entertained no matter the cost. This could be the **point of no return for the Zionist enterprise**.

Facing such powerful processes, decision-makers must leverage Israel's unmatched power and its unique human capital in order to neutralize or significantly reduce the unprecedented level of threat against the Zionist enterprise.

The state of Israel is standing at a crossroads that reflects its enemies' multiyear force build-up – internal and external – and is currently facing two choices: a “Six-Day War” scenario or a “Yom Kippur War” scenario.



The accumulation of strategic threats to the existence of the State of Israel and the tightening noose around and within the country, are placing Israel a crossroads and in a set of circumstances that are reminiscent of the state of affairs right before the Six-Day War. While its enemies are rapidly investing significant resources in a multilayered, offensive force build-up against the country, integrating all of these centres of gravity into a network of pressure levers and **an external and internal deterrence equation** – Israel's defense and security establishment as a whole **is entrenched in a defensive conception, projecting a loss of deterrence**, and opts not to address root causes at this juncture, for the sake of temporary silence and temporary nonsolutions – as much as any are obtained.

The State of Israel's is not charting a course of action that reflects that it is a country in the midst of a raging battle and is sidestepping the imperative of setting crucial objectives that reflect a general combat-ready stance. Israel's national security systems for the most part function successful, however, at present they are in **"troubleshooting mode" rather than in a preemptive mode**, and essentially are balking in the face of the activity and multi-theatre force build-up.

For the first time since the foundation of the State, Israel is at a systemic withdrawal in relation to its enemies. Right now – time is in their side, not ours. This could mean that in a matter of a decade or two, **they will have obtained the ability to pose a**

potentially significant existential threat to the State of Israel. If the current pace of these developments continues, **Israel might find itself at risk of a multi-system paralysis that would leave it exposed and vulnerable to a point wherein its ability to function – or even exist – will be in serious question. In the current situation, in light of the unprecedented accumulation of threats, Israel can no longer afford to remain unprepared for a surprise "button push" scenario akin to what occurred in the Yom Kippur War.**

National security – what's national about it?

The justness of cause, as defined by the Zionist ethos, is being challenged in unprecedented force by Arab elements. This is compounded an abating nation building effort on part of the Jewish nation. On nearly every conceivable level, we are witnessing a **near total suppression of the Zionist ethos**, manifesting in the crucial areas of settlement, large-scale Aliya, inability to safely fly the national flag and personal security. At the same time, our enemies have taken a page out of our book, and are employing the very principles of Zionism against us. Israel is experiencing **a complete loss of governance on nearly every front.**

The moves and strategies that have been designed against Israel for years are now culminating, poised to eradicate Zionism.

- **Iran is closer than ever to military nuclear capabilities dedicated to the express purpose of annihilating the state of Israel.** These capabilities would also provide it with a "nuclear umbrella" that would spread its octopus tentacles throughout the region. **Iran has been building a multi-theater system around and within Israel which includes proxies** in Lebanon, Syria, Hamas in Gaza and elsewhere. Hezbollah is currently equipped with 150,000 rockets, precision guided missiles, mortar shells and combat drones – with the number of the latter rising from 50 to 2,000 within a decade.
- **Hamas continues to rear its head**, contriving to merge the internal theater of Judea and Samaria, Gaza and even Lebanon, in recent years increasing carving itself swaths of influence over Israeli Arabs and the Palestinians at the expense of Fatah’s power. Hamas aspires to become a key player that yields control over Jerusalem, and is amassing progressively stronger support among the Palestinians, Arabs and Bedouins alike. The organization has demonstrated significantly improved artillery capability during Israel’s Operation “Guardian of the Walls” (the May 2021 conflict), so much so that it was able to disrupt the daily lives of Israelis in ever larger parts of Israel.
- **Throughout Israel – Judea and Samaria included – we are witnessing a convergence of Israeli Arabs, Bedouins and the Palestinians around an ideological platform that champions sympathy toward Palestinian nationalism and particularly with Hamas.** The riots during Operation “Guardian of the Walls”, the unrest surrounding the tree plantings in the Negev, the rioting on Temple Mount and the increasingly bold demonstrations throughout the country, wherein Hamas and PLO flags were raised, all reflect deep-seated processes of disengagement and isolationism among a significant swath of the Arab-Bedouin sector.
- **The "conflict management" policy collaboration with the Palestinian Authority has reached its limit**, due to the growing influence of other players in the theater, Hamas in particular, the acceleration of "political encroachment" construction, the

increasing political brazenness of the Palestinian Authority (evident in its lawsuits at the International Criminal Court in The Hague, and bolstered by the tailwind it received by its acceptance to international forums), the rampant incitement in its education system and the ongoing policy of support of the armed conflict against Israel, not the least of which is evident in its “Pay for Slay” monetary compensation plan for terrorists.

- **The synchronized and coordinated "political encroachment" construction all across the country** – The "Fayyad Plan" in Area C, illegal construction by Bedouins in the Negev, and illegal construction of Arabs in the Triangle area, Jerusalem and northern Israel – **threatens to snag from Israel its hold over its territorial depth and poses a developing potential existential threat.**
- **Personal security is increasingly undermined** through tactics such as rock throwing and use of Molotov cocktails against vehicles on the country’s routes; stabbing and shooting attacks in the heart of Israel’s cities; the intensification of subversive Jihad activity such as protection racketeering; shootings on main roads and in populated areas; wildfire arson; and the imposition of a dominant Islamist presence in mixed cities under heavy incitement on the part of local Arab leaders, **with neither legal countermeasures** nor operational deterrence applied by Israel.
- **The orchestrated delegitimization campaign reflects a fully synchronized “closed circuit”** involving organizations within Israel, foreign organizations, anarchistic elements, financing and influential entities such as the European Union and the UN, the “legal” stronghold provided by the International Criminal Court in The Hague, the publicity buzz created by global media and the BDS movement – all following the lead of the Palestinian Authority, Hamas and other terrorist entities.

The State of Israel must prepare for a reference scenario that is a convergence of vectors: a multi-theatre, simultaneous strike that may pose an existential strategic threat of the highest order to the future existence of the Zionist Enterprise.

The convergence of the vectors, namely the firepower from across the border– the launches of thousands of missiles and rockets; drones and UAVs launched to crash into strategic targets and ground operations, combined with a coordinated uprising in the Arab-Bedouin-Palestinian communities throughout Israel, heavy international pressure, a delegitimization campaign against Israel and an attack upon Jewish communities the world over – is a highly likely scenario. Moreover, there are clear indications of synergistic and synchronized preparations of the forces that are challenging Israel toward this scenario. And yet, **the State of Israel is not setting a clear objective to prepare any counter measures for this contingency.**

This buildup of confrontational forces is on a collision course with the very bedrock of Israel's existence. The events of May 2021 during **Operation “Guardian of the Walls” foreshadowed this merging of theatres scenario** with a barrage of rockets raining on the country from only one theater – the Gaza Strip – combined with an armed popular Jihad on the part of the Arab population in mixed cities (Jerusalem, Lod, Acre, Ramla, Jaffa, the Northern Negev and elsewhere), directed at the Jewish population, aided and abetted both by community, religious and political leaders as well as by international players, from within the heart of the country; the launch of a combat drone by an Iranian militia in Iraq, and a handful of launches from Lebanon and Syria; rounded off by harsh criticism on the part of international institutions and unchecked displays of antisemitism in the streets and on social media platforms throughout the world. This was the boiling point that generated a tectonic shift of circumstances, however the root causes thereof have been evident for years.

These events **are no more than a low-intensity prelude to what might climax in a multi-theatre scenario as described above.**

This kind of scenario could be sparked by four key catalysts:

- 1 An Israeli preemptive strike** against Iran's strategic nuclear infrastructure, against the ground-to-ground infrastructure of its proxies – Hezbollah in Lebanon or Hamas in Gaza – or terrorist infrastructures within Israel.
- 2 The fomenting of a security crisis in one of the theaters**, similarly to the events of “Guardian of the Walls”, further kindled by one or more theaters being drawn into the campaign.
- 3 An H-Hour scenario** in which the enemy identifies an opportunity to paralyze Israel's strategic capabilities with a single strike.
- 4 A boiling point or a development in one theater** which sends a ripple effect through the others, such as the collapse of the Palestinian Authority, Hamas consolidating its position enough to declare Gaza its sovereign state, crucial development in the international arena, or a melting point within the force buildup process such as religious tensions in East Jerusalem or the culmination of the multi-theater Arab-Bedouin-Palestinian synchronization.

On the day this scenario materializes, Israel might find itself **unprepared for war to a point of no return.**

Is Israel taking measures of the required scale, manner and urgency to ensure that it is prepared for such a scenario?

The urgency of these threats and the intensity of the build processes buildup thereof demand a paradigm shift: From a “troubleshooting” mode to an emergency mindset that emphasizes a system-wide focus on curtailment, followed by a multi-theatre reversal of momentum.

There is a national need for decision-makers to devise an exit strategy from its stalemate in the face of the cluster of integrated threats. At the heart of every strategy is

stratagem. In order to affect a reversal of momentum, the integrated map of threats must firstly be internalized on a systemic level; the nation's systems must be positioned on a war-footing, prepared for all mentioned threats and focused on emergency preparedness. Once these preliminary measures are put into place, Israel must then initiate preemptive multi-theatre action. This type of process demands considerable resources, preparation and a systemic force buildup – civilian, legal and military – but most of all, it requires a substantive paradigm shift stemming from an understanding of the gravity of the situation.

The State of Israel cannot afford to lose a war. However, in the current state of affairs, wherein it is facing a significant hostile force buildup, Israel is losing in one theatre after another as evident in the gradual land takeover, the militia-military force buildup across Arab-Bedouin-Palestinian populations, and Iran's power buildup in the region and its quest for military nuclear capabilities. **In this persistent multi-theatre erosion, Israel is losing one battle after another, the culminative effect of which might be the loss of war and a threat to the very foundation of the Zionist enterprise.**

Israel can no longer afford to settle for interim "band-aid solutions". Rather, it must pursue a strategic resolution to set in motion a reversal of momentum and decisively deal with the root causes. The objective: a renewed struggle for Israel's independence, the purpose of which is to ensure the perpetuation of Zionism.

Israel must **launch an integrated campaign to free the territory, in light of the coalescing threat circles**, and it must strive to mitigate the aggregated **threat and friction** on part of the hostile strategic centers of gravity operating against Israel. The guiding principle of this national plan must be akin to that of the Six-Day War in 1967, which was characterized by a preemptive strike and movement toward the enemy, as opposed to that of the Yom Kippur War in 1973, which was characterized by suspension of activity in anticipation for an attack, and systemic incompetence.

The ingenuity inherent in the State of Israel and the Jewish people is the toolbox that will allow us to initiate and generate that reversal of momentum. On the military-

security level, Israel has preserved the principle of a people's army and has cultivated quality manpower, alongside with military might unparalleled by any country in the region, and excels in research and development that significantly enhances its force buildup. Case in point are Israel's spearheading cyber capabilities; the introduction of the F-35 ("Adir") fighter jets; the development of air defence systems such as the Iron Dome, David's Sling and Arrow systems; the outstanding advances of its intelligence capabilities; and the drafting of quality manpower accomplishing its missions with sophistication and prowess out of a sense of national duty.

The honing and utilization of these capabilities will allow the renowned Zionist creativity to affect that needed game changer – to break through and generate a cascade of changes in the geo-strategic map of threats facing Israel.

With these existential threats looming over its head, Israel is slow to take to the playfield. However, it must choose between a charge to victory or a crippling blow.

Israel must fundamentally change its priorities, place the nation's systems on an emergency footing, and launch a multilayered campaign to free the territory, exercise governance and intensify preparations for a "renewed war of independence".

Out of this understanding, the Israel Defence and Security Forum (IDSF-Habithonistim) is putting forth in this document a Strategic Assessment Report for Israel, which presents a hybrid analysis of the circles of threat in and around the country, alongside recommended modes of operation.

The Pan-Palestinian Campaign against Zionism

The ideological coalescence of the Arab-Bedouin-Palestinian theaters and the appropriation of the territorial depth

Security Brief

- Recently, deep-seated truisms regarding the Jewish-Arab conflict in Israel are increasingly resurfacing. This coalescing ideology is rallying the Bedouins in the Negev, the Israeli Arab community, and the Palestinians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza around a common cause, Israelis and non-Israelis on both sides of the Green Line. Alongside the pragmatic acceptance of Israel's existence, it would be unrealistic to fail to acknowledge the growing trends of radicalization, nationalism, Palestinization, and sympathy toward Hamas that is becoming evident. Beyond the sectarian-tribal-political divide, there is an **agreement in principle** that **Zionism has no place in the Land of Israel**. It is perceived as a foreign entity, the existence of which is to be put up with until the means to undermine and dispose of it are obtained. PLO and Hamas flags are displayed more boldly than ever, and sections of the Arab society participate in the Nakba and Naksa days, support the armed struggle, and engage in incitement activities on social media and in the field. **75% of the Arabs surveyed do not recognize Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state.**
- This void is well exploited by radical movements and public figures who incite for violence, even calling Israeli Arabs serving in the security forces to leave their positions.
- The deeply-embedded nationalistic sentiments on the Arab side encounter a hesitant Israel,** attempting to solve the nationalistic issues through civil means, in an endeavor to attain compromises and buy itself silence, rather than imposing governance through root solutions.
- The Islamic Movement in Israel** has made a significant move in entering the heart of the Israeli consensus when the Ra'am party joined the government coalition, making an Israeli coalition dependent on an anti-Zionist Islamist party for the first time in history.
- Family reunification and polygamy** threaten to upset Israel's demographic balance by applying the "right of return" through the back door and contribute to the Palestinization of sections of Israeli Arabs and Bedouins. Some 60% of the rioters in the "Guardian of the Walls" upheaval are descendants of reunified families.
- The illegal cache of hundreds of thousands of arms in the Arab society: Iran, its proxy Hezbollah and the Palestinian Authority (PA) are arming Israeli Arabs in preparation for the H-hour.** While a negligible portion of these arms originate from IDF bases, the vast majority of which is smuggled through the Jordanian and Lebanese borders or produced in workshops in Judea and Samaria.
- The PA is deeply involved in the Palestinian armed struggle,** by way of allotting mega-budgets of approximately \$300 million USD a year for terrorist wages; taking the lead in the delegitimization and antisemitic and anti-Zionist campaign in its education system – including incitement to terrorism. Facing this threat, Israel has resorted to allowing the conflict manage its actions rather than taking affairs in hand, opting for interception and retaliation, while insisting on holding on to its view of the PA as a stabilizing element.
- Undermining personal security:** terrorism is lifting its head throughout Israel – over 6,600 attacks were documented in Judea and Samaria in 2021 alone, with hundreds of potential serious attacks thwarted that year. The Spring 2022 wave of attacks included murderous assaults by Arabs and Israeli Bedouins from Um al-Fahm and Khura. The perpetrators of stone-throwing and Molotov bottle attacks meet a **lax operational and legal response,** receiving punishments that are on average 95% more lenient than what the law allows.
- Building a state bottom-up – the Palestinian "settlement enterprise" across the territory:** The Palestinian "Fayyad Plan" is leading a huge takeover of Area C: 22,700 acres of illegal construction – perpetrated in a 2-fold leap in 12 years, while construction in Jewish settlements grew by only 36%. This trend is synchronized with illegal construction at an unchecked pace in the Negev Bedouin towns (over 86,000 illegal structures – a 150% rise in the past 15 years), and in Arab towns in the Triangle and in the north of Israel. At the same time, the PA is pushing forth a comprehensive masterplan for the Jerusalem metropolis with international funding as a means to set "facts on the ground". **The State of Israel is losing its hold on its territorial depth.**
- Alongside the Palestinian construction, **Israel's authorities are systematically curtailing the construction of new Jewish towns within Israel and the expansion of existing ones, while at the same time expanding by design Arab towns and cities.**
- The destruction of heritage sites:** a marked rise in the sabotage and damaging of heritage sites in Judea and Samaria on part of the PA and local Arab residents, met by ongoing Israeli inaction. Inspections found that 80% of these heritage sites sustained significant damage.

IDSF-Habithonistim's recommendations: national security is built inside-out

- Israel's political ranks must make a definite decision: it is time to take the reins of government in hand.** The troubleshooting approach, that leans on civil instruments and security reasoning alone – has run its course. With ever tightening circles of threat around and within the country, Israel has to prepare for a state of confrontation, and enter a multi-systemic, multi-layered emergency alertness and **exchange its civil tool kit with a national one.** Such should be its actions against Arab rioters in mixed cities and the rural area; wildfire arsonists; racketeers and agricultural terrorists; highway terrorists; family reunification; illegal border entry into Israel; riots in Jerusalem's Old City and on the Temple Mount; saboteurs of national heritage sites in Areas B and C; and prominent perpetrators of incitement and friction, who should immediately be detained and deported.
- This action plan will **mitigate the friction points,** and boost the country's resilience, affording Israel **more room for maneuver** to prepare for a **possible multi-theater war.**
 - Internal security** on two complementary vectors:
 - The establishment of a **National Guard** as an auxiliary civilian tier of the security forces, and channeling resources in favor of reinforcing the Border Police and the police forces.
 - A large-scale joint intelligence and police operation to apprehend illegal arms** in the Arab and Bedouin sectors alongside the reinforcement of the borders with military forces to better intercept smuggling attempts, deal with the illegal weapons workshops in Judea and Samaria, and set minimum sentences for possession of illegal weapons.
 - The overhaul of the military reserve forces** that represent 50% of the IDF's combat capabilities, and have seen a dramatic cutback in favor of a shift to a stronger reliance on technological means, gravely compromising Israel's preparedness for war.
 - A campaign to regain crucial territories,** along two complementary vectors:
 - Cessation followed by the systemic reversal of the anti-Israeli "national construction" trend:** the immediate demolition of any new unlicensed structure and the gradual eviction of tens of thousands of structures in Area C, the Negev, the Triangle and the Galilee. Legal criminal measures should be taken against the perpetrators.
 - Mass Jewish settlement operations:** Israel must acknowledge the importance of **pioneering as an inalienable asset of Zionism.** Jewish settlement serves as a critical **force multiplier** for the security forces – an asset rather than a burden. The **planning barriers** currently hindering their establishment and expansion must be removed; new settlements should be established in the Negev, the Galilee, the Golan, and Judea and Samaria; and a mass of Jewish population should be settled in the Jordan Valley. This could also respond to the real estate crunch and skyrocketing housing prices Israeli citizens are suffering from. Furthermore, it will create a better distribution of the Jewish population, 60% of which is concentrated in the Gederah-Hadera range.
 - The Palestinian Authority** must be recognized as a terrorist entity and political, economic, and legal sanctions must be applied until incitement and terrorism funding and encouragement ("Pay for Slay") are brought to a halt. Its now-invalid preservation policy summons reconsideration in favor of existing alternatives.
 - Immediate application of Israel's sovereignty over the Jordan Valley as Israel's eastern defensive wall** in the broadest sense, as well as **over all of Area C** as a first step to a political arrangement which will first prioritize the interests of Israeli national security and heritage.

The Iranian-Regional Arena

Israel is approaching the moment of truth in face of the threat of nuclear annihilation and the missile threat from Iran and its regional proxies that is looming over the Zionist enterprise

Security Brief

- Israel is at a decisive crossroads in face of Iran's accelerating military nuclear program, in light of a significant narrowing of the room for maneuver currently evaluated at **zero breakout time** – a mere two to three weeks' time distance to a nuclear bomb. The Iranian regime is stepping up its Uranium enrichment efforts by installing new advance centrifuge cascades and is stockpiling growing amounts of fissile material, which is already at a record 43.1 kg of 60% enriched Uranium and 182.1 kg of 20% enriched Uranium – a sufficient amount for manufacturing 4 nuclear bombs within less than 3 months.
- **The Iranian regime is more daring than ever - despite US sanctions and in tandem with its talks with the superpowers,** with nuclear efforts that include the acceleration of R&D, non-compliance with IAEA demands and the disabling of safeguard cameras in its nuclear facilities.
- **Achieving military nuclear capabilities might give the Iranian regime a "nuclear umbrella",** furthering its masterplan of seizing control over the Middle East and facilitating a Shiite hegemony by gaining **strategic depth** (the **"Iranian octopus"**). It uses the IRGC's Quds Force to destabilize its neighboring countries and lead the force buildup of its proxies in the region, notably Hezbollah, Hamas, PIJ, the Houthis in Yemen and pro-Iranian militias in Iraq.
- Nuclear weapons in the hands of Iran can spark a regional nuclear arms race. That, alongside **acquiring means to achieve its strategic objective - the annihilation of the State of Israel.**
- **A return to the 2015 nuclear agreement (JCPOA) would further escalate the Iranian threat to Israel. Far from preventing a war - the agreement will in fact pave the road to one.** This is due to the financial "oxygen boost" an agreement would give Iran's strategic depth endeavors in the region; the leeway it will gain in its nuclear development in unreported sites; and the green light that it would give for a nuclear arm race in the region. The bulk of Iran's violations did not occur directly after the Trump administration's withdrawal from the agreement but during the Biden administration's appeasement period.
- **The conventional threat Iran poses** includes the largest and most diverse ballistic arsenal in the Middle East – including surface-to-surface missiles with a range of 2,000 km and Unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs), which have already been used against Israel, but intercepted.
- **Hezbollah and Hamas pose a double-pronged threat in the north and south of Israel** among others because of their force buildup of hundreds of thousands of rockets, missiles and UAVs, their precision guided missile project and their efforts to recruit Israeli Arabs to their cause. This network of pressure levers surrounds Israel, on top of the Iranian ballistic missile project that is dedicated to delivering a fatal blow to Israel's homeland front, adding to the **equation of deterrence** against Israel.
- **Hamas is stepping up its efforts to unite all fronts and control the narrative,** expanding its strategic concept as the region's "bearer of the flag of resistance", particularly in light of the PA's waning status; forging and tightening reciprocal relations among all parts of the Palestinian theaters - such as the attempt to dictate policies in Jerusalem and the growing solidarity on the part of Israeli Arabs; and striving to a multi-arena campaign including infrastructure in Lebanon. Hamas' ability to build up its power is a function of the IDF's absence from the Gaza Strips

IDSF-Habithonistim's recommendations: credible military deterrence and a shift to preemptive initiative

- **Israel cannot accept any scenario in which Iran has nuclear arms capabilities.** The graveness of the threat and limited timeframe demands it sets an objective that calls for **system-wide readiness for mobilizing offensive action against nuclear facilities and strategic infrastructures in Iran,** independent of international agreements with Iran – chiefly the nuclear agreement. A counterweight to Israel's apprehension regarding the possible cost of such action, would be **the opposite question - what would be the price of non-action?** The answer is clear: nonaction would mean the manifestation of the Zionist enterprise's number one threat. As a first step, Israel must undertake every action it can implement at the lowest cost possible, such as forming regional alliances and conducting limited preemptive operations.
- **A return to a "maximum pressure" policy on part of the international community;** as the Iranian regime deems its survival a supreme value, it should **be faced with the choice of either surviving or persisting with its nuclear program.** Any negotiations with the Iranian regime must be undertaken from a position of power.
- **Plan for a decisive resolution of the Hezbollah threat: a preemptive strike should be considered** to neutralize this Iranian strong card, such that will curtail the buildup of missile, rocket and UAV infrastructures, and its autonomous weapon manufacturing capabilities in Lebanon; and to act toward rallying the international community to declare all arms of the Hezbollah as terrorist organizations. By taking action, Israel will also boost its status in the region and create monumental opportunities for itself. Albeit effective, non-war military operations have fallen short of stemming the growth of this threat.
- **Persistent attrition of buildup of Iranian infrastructure and Hezbollah in Syria.**
- **Hamas in Gaza:** The current state of affairs is not set in stone, and a series of steps must be taken to affect a shift from reactivity to initiative:
 - **On a tactical-military level,** Israel must produce **an open-ended campaign,** similarly to the Syria campaign, in which it operates persistently to erode its force buildup – including the targeted elimination of Hamas senior figures. Hamas must be choked off to prevent its evolution into a strategic threat in Israel's homeland front, **even without escalation with Gaza.**
 - **On a strategic level,** following the success of Operation "Guardian of the Walls", Israel must draft a completely new reality as it relates to its future relations dynamics with the Gaza Strip, such that stands on a **strong international leg** – with a lack of a political address in Gaza. This would also ease the pressure from the international community.
- **Ongoing efforts to consolidate the Abraham Accords with the moderate Arab world.** This includes not only efforts to strike similar agreements with additional Arab countries, but deepen "under the radar" relations with other countries with the aim of creating a like-minded coalition centered around common interests such as the Iranian threat, as well as counter-terrorism, intelligence, economic peace and COVID-19. Within the renewed relations with Turkey, Israel must protect its interests, consolidate its alliances with Jordan and Egypt and act to establish relations with like-minded minorities in the region (Kurds, Druze, Christians and others).

The Palestinian-Led Delegitimization Campaign

A closed circuit of anti-Israeli campaigning, in which all elements operate in coordinated and unified effort toward a common goal

Security Brief

In recent years, there has been a growing understanding that Israel's spectrum of defense comprises tiers that extend beyond the battlefield or the political campaign. **This is the battle for hearts and minds, which has become a combat zone of sorts that challenges Israel at the strategic level as well.**

The delegitimization movement is a coordinated effort conducted by organizations operating within Israeli and foreign organizations and international institutions. These players are displaying increasing brazenness, manifested inter alia in their claim that Israel has no right of existing as a Jewish state within any borders whatsoever (the "apartheid from the River to the Sea" campaign).

The BDS campaign is led by the Palestinian Authority (PA) and other terrorist organizations, including Hamas, PIJ, and the Popular Front

Despite its aura of objectivity, **the UN is in fact taking an active part in this campaign:**

- An absolute majority of anti-Israel resolutions in the General Assembly and in the biased Human Rights Council (HRC), singling Israel out in a disproportionate manner while ignoring actual grave human rights abuses around the world. The HRC is infamous for its "item 7", the only one in the agenda targeting a specific country - Israel, and for its "kangaroo" commission of inquiry whose members regularly make antisemitic remarks.
- Denial of the connection between the Jewish people and Jerusalem through UNESCO resolutions.
- The continued funding of a special agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA), which has ties with Hamas, and whose schools indoctrinate armed struggle against Israel and even caught serving as rocket launch sites in the past.
- Biased investigations at the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, bending international law to single out Israel.

European money finances the activities of anarchist organizations that encourage and conduct riots and terrorist activities against IDF soldiers and settlers, in serious violation of Israeli sovereignty.

At the same time these efforts are conducted, **the Israeli education system has completely forgone the cultivation of the national ethos.** Surveys we've conducted revealed a worrying lack of knowledge among Israeli youth regarding core issues of national security, which in turn creates a sense of frustration among teachers.

IDSF-Habithonistim's recommendations: A National Ethos as a Cornerstone of National Security

The understanding that there is a coordinated campaign of "propaganda terrorism" against Israel that denies its right to exist within any given borders, must be impressed upon the decision-makers in Israel's political echelon. It is time for Israel to take off the gloves in its dealings with the players operating unchecked in its territory. Israel must not abide with a situation in which these players expect to eat the cake and have it too - to attack the State of Israel on the international stage, to actively undermine its existence and to attack its security forces, yet at the same time to enjoy political and legal immunity.

Shift from an "outside-in" approach to an "inside-out" paradigm, that is, place Israel's vital interests before its fear of taking steps that do not align with the interests of foreign elements. The world has proven it is prone to supporting Israel rather than condemning it when it displays its might.

Demand European countries to cease their funding of organizations that undermine Israel's legitimacy under the guise of "civil society" or "human rights organizations," under the threat of political sanctions. Israel does not maintain an adequate symmetry with states that undermine its sovereignty in indirect ways, and in practice allows these activities to occur.

Legal measures including the deportation of foreign activists and employees of foreign agencies - including UN bodies - who belong to said frameworks and banning them from entering the country; the application of legal measures relating to terrorist funds; and the investigation of **terrorist organizations under the guise of civilian movements.**

Counteract the International Criminal Court (ICC)'s actions against Israel, its soldiers and commanders: **the states party to the ICC must be rallied against this action,** with an understanding that the prudence and the ethical code which guide the IDF's operations set an impossible standard for their own military operations. This counteraction must include **the removal of the "State of Palestine" from the ICC and a threat of budget allocation snapback by countries party to the court.**

Demand the international community to **declare the PNIF, BNC, and PACBI terrorist organizations.**

Israel must **build its national ethos through its education system** to ensure that its youth is informed on its national security challenges and politico-military history, and is inculcated with the importance of the national struggle as an integral part of the Zionist ethos. The education system must reinforce the sense of **virtue of the Zionist path and the Jewish-Democratic identity of the country's Jewish youth.**

Israel must **deepen its ties with the Diaspora Jewry** with consideration of the graveness of the threat to their personal security and lives. IDSF-Habithonistim offers these communities access to the security experience and knowledge it has accumulated.

At the same time, Israel must **take advantage of one of the most monumental opportunities in its history and take in thousands of Jewish immigrants (Olim)** returning to their motherland - an Aliyah that would reinforce and further legitimize the Jewish nations' claim of its land.

The International Tier

Changes of formation in the international arena put Israel's strategic tiers to the test

Security Brief

In light of Israel's unique strategic-security position, it cannot allow itself to take the risk of entrusting its national defense to international guarantees. Doing so would shake the very foundations of its core national-security doctrine and the idea of its sovereignty.

- **International guarantees are unreliable:** the US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the withholding of aid from Ukraine are a point in case of the true value of international guarantees and the unreliable nature of international aid forces as a reliable instrument of security. And yet, over the years, it is this kind of reliance that the international community has been expecting from Israel: the exchange of IDF's presence along the country's borders with that of international forces (such as the Allen Plan).
- **Peace through strength:** The Abraham Accords proved the opposite of the conventional paradigm: rather than aligning itself with the pressure applied by the international community, Israel reaches peace agreements only when it projects strategic independence and political, military, and economic might. Accordingly, it was actually the unexpected allies - Israel and the Arab world - that have come together under common interests, chiefly the Iranian threat - while deprioritizing the Palestinian issue. The move also heralded a realignment of the traditional axes of power in the Middle East into new camps, with an unprecedented Israeli-Arab coalition led by the US.
- **The American policy of withdrawal and containment as a strategic challenge for Israel:** An American turnabout toward isolationism will leave a void in the region and put the Abraham Accords to test in the absence of an external "Archimedes point". The Biden administration has thus far been demonstrating a strategy of "dangerous idealism," as opposed to the Trump administration's "principled realism." Israel must prepare for growing disengagement and disinterest in the Middle East on part of the US.
- **Erdogan's Turkey** is contending with constant tension among its different interests and identities: membership in the NATO alliance and cautious rapprochement with Israel, as opposed to its activities against the Kurds, its Neo-Ottomanism, hosting Hamas, and growing involvement in Jerusalem. Erdogan places great importance on the ties with Israel, which is perceived as a key regional factor and even as a gateway to Europe, and moreover - Washington.
- **Russia and China:** As the rift between Russia and the West intensifies, China is emerging as the strongest and only force that is able to rein in President Putin and put the brakes on the escalating ensuing crisis. The relations with both countries - as emerging and dominant powers - are vital to Israel's security.

IDSF-Habithonistim's recommendations: inducing "global competition" over Israel :

- **Solidification of Israel's international standing with a strong emphasis on further consolidation of its alliance with the US,** through long-term agreements in the fields of research and development, technology, and cyber. The intensification of cooperation should be based on the recognition of Israel as a **global technological hub**.
- **Deepening relations and alliances with the moderate Arab world** within the framework of the Arab-Israeli coalition following the Abraham Accords; with emerging powers such as India and Brazil; and with a series of countries around the world in order to ensure Israel's political room for maneuver and buttress its global political support.
- The renewal of relations with **Turkey** must be leveraged to diminish Turkey's influence in Jerusalem and undermine its support of Hamas, while placing Israel's sovereign interests front and center, and without taking any steps that might compromise its national security, e.g. critical concessions to the Palestinians.
- **At the same time, a "global competition" over Israel should be produced, particularly targeting emerging superpowers.** Israel should pursue a careful yet persistent inch-by-inch geo-strategic process to steer these actors away from the radical players in the region - in particular Iran. Such a move would moderate the US political leverage on Israel, and create "competition" for vetoes in the UN Security Council, among others.
- **Setting a multi-year strategic "rebalancing" plan of the US long-term security aid** aiming at significantly increasing Israel's force buildup and strategic independence in all of its capabilities, emphasizing **critical production lines**, most of which have been relocated to the US (production of interceptors, shells, etc.).