

Appendix

Summary Table: Gaps between Israel's National Security Concept and the Emerging Reality

	Israel's National Security Concept	Iran and the Resistance Network	Indication in Lebanon	Significance
Vision and Strategy	To Strengthen the existence of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state by ending its control over the Palestinians based on the principle of "two states for two nations". This reality will be realized either through agreements or unilateral moves.	Iran and the Resistance Network aspire to bring about Israel's internal collapse in the same way as the Soviet Union or South Africa. They hope to achieve this goal by (1) disrupting every political initiative seeking to strengthen the existence of Israel; (2) erosion of Israel's military option; (3) Basic De-Legitimization of Israel; (4) advancement of the vision of a single Arab / Palestinian / Islamist state.	Hizbullah's actions undermined Israel's ability to design permanent borders unilaterally. There will not be End of Conflict or Finality of Claims. See Shebaa Farms syndrome or the claims for sovereignty over seven Galilean villages.	
Leading Logic	Israel's leading logic is based on its military supremacy in every arena in which it acts, alongside reliance on its alliance with the US. This supremacy is supposed to effectively deter or achieve a decisive defeat in case of armed conflict. The political logic fulfills a secondary position only.	The leading logic is political, founded on the vision of the implosion of Israel. The military logic of the Resistance Network is secondary due to its recognition of Israel's military advantage. The purpose of military capabilities is to prevent political achievements and to avoid a military defeat.	Hizbullah's logic is mainly political. Hizbullah has no interest or ability in defeating Israel in a comprehensive military confrontation and seeks to avoid such a confrontation. Hizbullah's military logic is of limited warfare to prevent Israeli military achievements.	An asymmetry has been created between Israel's military logic and the political logic of the Resistance Network.
Arab Citizens of Israel	The status of Israel's Arab citizens is an internal issue within Israel's full sovereignty.	Transform the issue of the status of Israel's Arab citizens to an outstanding international issue between Israel and the Arab world.	Arab citizens of Israel supported Nasrallah. Nasrallah apologized for the damage and casualties to them during the war.	Center of gravity of this issue is moving from the State of Israel to the international arena.
Palestinian Position Regarding 'Occupation'	The Israeli perspective is based on the assumption that the Palestinians fight against the Israeli 'occupation'. Thus, ending control over Palestinian territory and people and the establishment of a Palestinian state are perceived as Israeli 'cards' for negotiations. Conversely, renewal of control in Gaza is an Israeli threat on the Palestinians and a lever to compel them to fight against the firing of Qassam rockets.	The Resistance Network sees continuation of 'occupation' as a way to accelerate Israel's collapse. Thus, it has <i>no</i> interest in Israel ending its occupation. Transforming the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians from a conflict between 'occupied' and 'occupiers' to a 'border conflict' would hurt the Resistance Network's freedom of action and legitimacy. Therefore, Israeli unilateral withdrawal from the Palestinian territories hurts their struggle. Withdrawals should be prevented and caused to fail, even at the price of renewed 'occupation'.	The war in Lebanon removed the Convergence Plan from the government's agenda. Hence, the war had strategic influence on postponing the end of control over the Palestinians and solving the conflict based on the principle of 'two state for two nations'.	The goal of ending the occupation over the Palestinians is growing distant from Israel. Thus, Israel will "pay more" and will "get less". The probability that ending control over the Palestinians will occur through an agreement is decreasing.
Center of Regional Power	Israel is the strongest country in the region. The US is the world's sole superpower, Israel's strategic partner and the source of support for a number of moderate Arab regimes in the region such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan or Egypt. The combination of Israeli strength and the alliance with the US guarantees Israel's security.	Iran is building its hegemony and is succeeding in undermining US power and perhaps even reducing US presence in the region.	Hizbullah is supported by Iran politically, militarily and economically. In the course of the war, Iran announced its comprehensive support for Syria when it seemed like the war may spread. In the course of the war in Lebanon, America's weakness in the Lebanese arena was made prominent. UN Resolution 1701 and the international force that was sent to Lebanon following the war were designed by other actors in the international arena, primarily the UN, Russia and France. Israel's dependence on the international system grew.	An increasing number of actors in the region are partially or completely shifting loyalty to Iran. This process is liable to be accelerated if the US reduces its presence in the region or appears to be a 'paper tiger'. At the same time, the trend denouncing the political strength of the US pro-Israel lobby and the American Jewish community may somewhat restrict the US from easily adopting steps that <i>are liable to be interpreted</i> as serving Israeli interests.
Significance of Terror	The effect of terror is measured in terms of the number wounded or the economic and psychological damage it causes. Therefore, terror is a nuisance but it is <i>not</i> an existential threat.	Terror is an efficient tool for undermining Israel's political moves and preventing Israel from sustainable military or political achievements towards securing its existence as a Jewish and democratic state.	The war in Lebanon and the ongoing launching of Katyusha rockets on the north led <i>de facto</i> to the removal of Israel's unilateral option in the form of the Convergence Plan from the government's agenda.	The link between these terrorist events to Israel's national security level transforms terror into an existential problem since it has the power to limit Israel's ability to guarantee its existence.
Balance of Powers	Israeli military superiority in every arena. Advancement towards securing Israel's future based on the principle of 'two states for two nations' derived from Israeli strength.	The Resistance Network and Iran are creating a systemic, multi-pronged phenomenon. This phenomenon has succeeded in preventing Israel from meaningful and sustainable advancement towards securing its existence while simultaneously promoting Basic De-legitimization of Israel and the establishment of a single Arab / Palestinian / Islamist state in place of Israel.	Israel placed a strong military response in the form of the IDF against Hizbullah in Lebanon. Superficially, the balance of military powers appears to clearly favor Israel. However, in practice, Hizbullah represented the Resistance Network, which has at its disposal many resources, mainly from Iran. In addition, Hizbullah presented a more complex logic, i.e. a political logic and not only a limited military logic.	Israeli strategic inferiority in its national security is emerging in spite of its supremacy in each of the individual arenas. Advancement towards the vision of a single Arab / Palestinian / Islamist state under Iranian hegemony.