CONTENTS

Strategic Autonouty and Self-Reliance

Nation Bailding and Sociocoanamic Policy, 29

List of Maps, Tables, and Figures xiii Preface xv Acknowledgments xvii List of Abbreviations xxi List of Major Wars and Military Operations xxiii

PART ONE CONFRONTING A STRATEGIC NIGHTMARE

Introduction 3

Strategic Autonomy and Self-Reliance 29 Pursuing Peace 29 Nation Building and Socioeconomic Policy 29

PART TWO A STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT TRANSFORMED

- 2. Israel's New Strategic Setting 33
 CHANGES IN THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT 34
 The Uniquely Long and Bitter Conflict Is No Longer as Extreme and Existential 34
 No Longer Just "Wars of No Choice" 38
 The Primary Threats Are No Longer Conventional Military Attack 38
 No Longer Quite a "Nation Dwelling Alone" 38
 CHANGING STRATEGIC CONSTRAINTS 39
 The Changing Importance of Geography and Territory 40
 Changing Asymmetries 42
 Changing Nature of Superpower Intervention 48
 ISRAEL'S STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT TODAY 49
 PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 60
- 3. The Changing Military Threat 62

CONVENTIONAL MILITARY THREATS 63

IRREGULAR AND ASYMMETRIC THREATS 67

The Rocket and Missile Threats 73

Terrorism 79

Unconventional Threats 83

The Cyber-threat 86

FUTURE PEACE AGREEMENTS: SOME SECURITY DIMENSIONS 87 PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 90

4. Nonmilitary Threats 92

DIPLOMATIC WARFARE, DELEGITIMIZATION, BOYCOTTS, AND SANCTIONS 93 Diplomatic Warfare and Isolation 95 The Delegitimization and Boycott Campaign 99 The Media Campaign 106 DEMOGRAPHY: A NONLETHAL EXISTENTIAL THREAT 109 PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 115 5. Israeli Society and National Security 117

ISRAEL'S CHANGING SOCIETY 119

Rise of an Affluent Market Economy 119

A Liberal Culture for an Affluent Society 120

Ethnicity and Religiosity: A Domestic Demographic Crisis in the Making 123

SOCIETAL WILLINGNESS TO BEAR THE DEFENSE BURDEN 128

The Motivation to Serve 128

Casualty Aversion 135

Willingness to Pay for Defense Expenditures 140

The National Consensus 141

Emigration 148

Societal Resilience 149

RAMIFICATIONS OF SOCIETAL CHANGE FOR ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY 152

Ramifications for the IDF's Identity and Structure 152

Ramifications for IDF Operations 154

Ramifications for National Security Decision-Making 157 PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 161

PART THREE ISRAEL'S STRATEGIC RESPONSE

6. The Classic Military Response in Perspective 165

THE "THREE PILLARS" 166

Deterrence: Mixed Results, Ongoing Importance 166

Early Warning: At Least as Important, Harder to Achieve 174

Military Decision: Much Harder to Achieve 175

The "Defensive Pillar": An Unwanted Stepchild 183

NO LONGER QUITE "THE FEW AGAINST THE MANY" 186

STILL MOSTLY A "NATION IN ARMS" 187

INCREASING DIFFICULTY IN EXECUTING A DEFENSIVE STRATEGY OFFENSIVELY 187

Pre-emption Has Rarely Been Feasible 189

Inflexible Defense Remains the Guiding Concept 189

Longer Wars 190

DEFENSIBLE BORDERS 190

GREAT POWER ALLIANCE, BUT STRATEGIC AUTONOMY: ISRAEL CAN NO LONGER GO IT ALONE 191 UPDATING THE DEFENSE DOCTRINE: PAST ATTEMPTS AT REFORM 194 PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 201

7. The Military Response Today 203

THE CONVENTIONAL MILITARY RESPONSE 204

COUNTERTERRORISM AND IRREGULAR WARFARE 208

Offensive Measures 208

Defensive Measures 209

Diplomatic Measures 210

COUNTERING THE ROCKET AND MISSILE THREATS 217

Israel's Rocket and Missile Defense: Advantages and Disadvantages 221

THE CAMPAIGNS AND THE "CAMPAIGN BETWEEN THE CAMPAIGNS" ("MABAM") 225

THE CYBER-RESPONSE 229

PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 232

8. Nuclear and Regional Arms Control Policy 234

NUCLEAR POLICY 235 NONPROLIFERATION AND REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL POLICY 246 PREVENTION AND COUNTERPROLIFERATION 248 DEFENSIVE MEASURES 250 CONCLUSIONS AND CONUNDRUMS 250 Option 1: Preserve Nuclear Ambiguity, Seek Gradual

Legitimization 251

Option 2: End Ambiguity 252

Option 3: Covert Operations, Military Action, or Both 253

Option 4: A US Security Guarantee 254

Option 5: Regional Alliance and Security Guarantee 254

Option 6: Regional Disarmament, WMD-Free Zone 255 PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 256

9. The Foreign Policy Response 258

ISRAEL'S FOREIGN POLICY: PRIMARY CHARACTERISTICS 258 A Historic Legacy and Primal Sense of Insecurity 258 Promoting Zionism and the Interests of the Jewish People 260 No Overarching Strategy 264 Diplomacy as an Instrument of Defense Policy 265

x

CONTENTS

Pragmatism with Strong Ideological Elements 266 Promoting Legitimacy and Acceptance 267 Wielding "Soft Power" 268 Promoting Superpower Alliances, with Strategic Autonomy 271 Pursuing Peace, but Security above All 271 Limited Multilateral Involvement 273 Playing to the Periphery and Arab Divisions 275 ISRAEL'S FOREIGN RELATIONS: A CONTEMPORARY OVERVIEW 276 Diplomacy in Support of Israel's Primary Relations 277 Diplomacy in Support of Peace 281 Diplomacy in Support of Strategic Partnerships 283 Diplomacy in Support of Economic Growth 285 Covert Diplomacy and Arms Sales in Support of Israel's Foreign Relations 285

10. The "Special Relationship" 289

THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP: AN OVERVIEW 290

The Economic Dimension 290

The Military Dimension 291

The Diplomatic Dimension 306

THREE CRITICAL QUESTIONS 308

Question 1: Has Israel Lost Its Independence to the United States? 308

Question 2: Can Israel Survive Today without the United States? 315

Question 3: Where Is the US-Israeli Relationship Heading? 317 PRIMARY OBSERVATIONS 320

PART FOUR A NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGY FOR AN ERA OF CHANGE

11. Primary Conclusions 325

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS 328 POLITICO-MILITARY CONCLUSIONS 330 MILITARY CONCLUSIONS 334 DOMESTIC POLICY 338

12. Policy Recommendations 340

POLITICO-MILITARY POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 341 MILITARY POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 359 DOMESTIC POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS 378 CONCLUSION 384

Appendix: UN Resolutions on Israel and Select Countries 385 List of Interviews 395 Notes 397 Bibliography 431 Index 449