**HDMC INDIA 24/8/16**

Self introduction

25 years

DPR in NY

Strategic division

Third year instructor

Opening remarks

Portray a very broad overview of the main foreign affairs strategic challenges

The goal – from the early days of the Zionist movement- to preserve a strong a Jewish democratic country - Home for the Jewish people, an accepted member in the community of nations -declaration of independence

The strategic environment: hostile environment – isolation- political, military, economic, export dependency, no natural resources, not a part of a regional block, small, no strategic depth – which leads to the following principals:

Realistic foreign affairs policy where political consideration are subjected to national security consideration

Alliance with a superpower – first it was France, then US

Looking for other alliances – near and far (periphery alliance, now Mediterranean)

The Global environment has changed:

* multi-polar or a non polar world
* technology and telecommunication – affect politics and diplomacy, NGO's, social networks, soft power
* The rise of non state actors
* US becomes energetically self sufficient pivoting or rebalancing to the east
* crisis in EU, - political and economic
* rise of China, India
* Russia's attempt to regain global power and regional involvement
* multilateralism
* in the nature of warfare – asymmetric warfare, international law, cyber etc
* the world deals with many crisis in parallel

Regional challenges

Middle-East – general: the upheaval, Non state actors, non governable areas, no address, the end of the Syks-pico order, sectarianism, tribalism

The 4 camps

War by proxies

Syria – dealing with disintegration, involvement of Iran and Hezbollah stronger non state actors on the Golan, Russia's involvement,

 Israeli policy: careful involvement' humanitarian assistance, denying Hezbollah a base in Golan, transfer of strategic weapons, de-conflicting with Russia

Separation of forces agreement and future of UNDOF

ISIS – Iran status enhancer, potential threat to Jordan, at this point not a direct threat but on Sinai and Gaza – against Hamas might become problematic

Lebanon and Jordan – fragile

Egypt – enhanced cooperation – the Sinai challenge – address? Economic situation worrying

The pragmatic camp – how far can they go openly – Arab peace initiative?

The Iranian challenge

In the long run still probably the no. 1 strategic threat even if the agreement is kept threat

Nuclear, attempt to reach regional hegemony

Regional:

Negative involvement throughout the ME

From Our point of view:

* Support of Hezbollah – arms, money
* Support of Hamas and Islamic Jihad

Nuclear: The JCPOA agreement flawed:

Iran as a threshold state – legitimacy for a program in the medium and long range

 Further proliferation in the ME, end of NPT

Poor enforcement mechanism – all or nothing if violation, snap back sanctions - deterrence

Removal of arms embargo and restrictions regarding ballistic missiles the arms and missile program sanctions

PMD – no condition for agreement

R & D of advanced centrifuges

Palestinians

Current paradigm not viable (core issues, end of claims, two nation-states)

Complete lack of trust between leaders

Abu Mazen weak and succession struggle

The rift between Gaza and the west bank

incitement

Palestinian strategy – changing the rules of the game – enforcing agreement from the outside:

Legal-diplomatic warfare – joining the ICC by accession to the Rome Statute (war crimes, settlements, preliminary examination), against: not a state, complimentarity, other NATO members Russia and US not joined

Other bodies, using multilateral organizations - commission of human rights, FIFA

Security Council resolution (end of occupation in three years, failed December 14) – in the lame duck period?

Securing recognition as a state

International initiatives such as the French or the Egyptian will not create a breakthrough

Background:

Quartet report: violence and incitement, settlement, Gaza

Abu Mazen weak and succession struggle

Terrorism – new Intifada

Security cooperation

Where to go from here?

Improving the socio-economic situation

Interim arrangements

Unilateral steps (into the fence)

State with temporary borders

The Gaza dilemma

Hamas a terror organization – using civilians

Quite vs. empowerment

Rehabilitation of Gaza

Global challenges

Relations with US

Background: Historical foundation

Special relations (since Kennedy)

Strategic +values

Strategic: war on terror, stable democracy, energy flaw

Major support – Military (qualitative military edge, economic, diplomatic **-UN**

Strong relations with government (especially congress) and people

Current situation – tension there were crises before (Rogers, Polard, Shamir and Baker…Aiwax)

Jewish community important

recent years

Deterioration in recent years

Problems between leaders or more?

Palestinians and Settlements – joining the UNSC?

Iran nuclear agreement

**Today talks about mitigation package**

**Importance of bi-partisan support**

Explenation:

President with progressive views

**Different priorities:** US weary of fighting, pivot to Asia – in the ME- containment, working with partners, downgrading presence (also security budget cuts)

Different world view especially with regard to political Islam – turkey, Qatar

Energy independence

Growing bipartisanship (big challenge for Israel)

Long run: Demographic changes: Minorities and immigrants (challenge for Israel - + evangelist, liberal and academia voices, young generation among Jews , Jewish organizations

Remember Canada…

Relations with Europe

Background:

Historical reasons for relations: leaders, Mandate, Holocaust

Major trade partner – third of trade, R&D, defense cooperation

Association agreement (1995) replaced FTA

**Internal crisis** - political, economic, not a strategic actor, different agendas ( immigrants, returning Jihadists, Ukraine) – Israel – a consensus

Rise of anti-Semitism

Rise of social media influence on politicians – BDS

No serious Israeli Lobby

Current situation

Want to be more involved in light of stalemate (Mogherini)

EU – countries dynamics

**A growing rift with leadership and public on Settlements**

Enhanced cooperation agreement (2007) – frozen on 2009

2013 – Guidelines for EU grants on any agreement not applied to settlement. Horizon 2020 program

**Labeling settlements products**

**Area C**

Support of NGO's

Recognition – Sweden, Parliaments

Rise of Islam in Europe – an opportunity

Russia

**רוסיה**

* מנסה להחזיר מעמדה המעצמתי
* יחסים בילטראליים מתפתחים
* חברה בקוורטט
* מורכבות - מכhרות נשק, אוקראינה (הצבעה)

Trying to regain global power

 Growing activity in the Mediterranean – became a veto player (UNSC, chemical) – assets, distraction, leverage on Ukraine

Complicated relationship – bilateral, member of quartet,

Shared interests: radical Islam, technology, Russians in Israel, Syria chemical

Opposing: weapons sale, Iran and Assad against radicals, anti western and us, Palestinians -Hamas)

Stronger ties with Iran but working also with the Sunni world

Very good period in relationship – Putin, 25 years,

De –legitimization

What are we talking about?

The three D's – not every criticism – demonization, double standards, basic de-letimization

**Attempt to make Israel pariah state, South Africa model**

**Denying the right to exist as a Jewish state**

**To limit its ability to defend itself**

**Major arenas: Diplomatic, media, economic, cultural, legal**

**Problem mainly in Europe**

Background:

Origins – the Durban world conference against Racism (2001) became anti-Zionism festival. 2005 NGO's call to BDS

**Collaboration of Palestinians organization and radical elements in the west including far left, anti-Semitic elements, Islamic movements, churches, unions**

Rise of NGO'S and social media

**BDS boycott divestment sanctions**

Mainly economic, cultural, academia

**Lawfare**

The use of legal mechanism in the UN and outside in order to deny Israel's legitimacy to defend itself – not only our problem

The Goldstone report

Universal jurisdiction (belguim, spain, uk)

Committee on human rights

Overall assessment:

**Mixed results** – economic – micro (Jordan valley) not macro, a few artists – most arrive, not a huge popular movement, not a big campus deal – students not professors, resolutions in Campuses not binding and not official

debate: How much a real problem?

Multilateral scene

 Problems:

**Starting in the sixties -Number of resolutions, bodies, resources**

**Explanation: parliament (22,56,118), automatic majority**

Politicization of professional bodies

Committee of Human Rights - more than half, Goldstone, Shaves

UNWRA

Peace keeping forces – problematic behavior

**Positive**

**WEOG 2000**

**Positive agenda**

Good relationship with secretariat

Entrepreneurship resolution and much more

Potential

**Resolution in the next GA?**

More challenges

Arms control – especially Non conventional treaties

Public diplomacy and Branding – soft power

Jewish world (anti-Semitism, Holocaust remembrance and young generation)

Economic cooperation

Development diplomacy

Final remarks

Changes in global and regional arenas

Focus on challenges- major achievements:

relations with US

relations with 159 countries

OECD

 **peace agreement and valuable to Jordan and Egypt, very intimate relationship**

 good relations in the Mediterranean

partner with Europe, Asia, Canada and Australia etc – fighting extremism

Global – new opportunities:

The east – India (new government), China (technologies and investent) and also Vietnam, Korea, Japan

East Mediterranean countries (gas, Turkey, security and military, tourism, projects (electricity) Greece- patriarch in Jerusalem)

New relation with the Sunni pragmatic camp (Iran, Islamic terrorism, withdrawal of US)

Africa and latin America (

Energy diplomacy

New agendas (desertification, medicine, agriculture, economic (OECD) – and n

Decision making process

Dominance of security establishment

Political structure

Institutional reasons – resources

Global phenomenon

Need to use more diplomatic means – also place of MFA in the national security establishment