10 הערות על הסביבה הבינ"ל

הצגה עצמית

* מדריך אחרי 25 שנה
* נאו"ם לפני זה תפקידים בטחוניים-מדיניים
* מדריך

על מה נדבר?

תמונה מדינית מנקודת מבט ישראלית

סביבה בינ"ל ולא אזורית (קשה להפריד)

באתם בשעה קשה (תמיד)

השינויים בזירה הבינ"ל משפיעים גם עלינו

שחקנים מגוונים ועליית שחקנים לא מדינתיים

עולם רב קוטבי – בולט בסוריה

תקשורת

שינוי טבע המלחמות – עימות מוגבל, סייבר

זירה אזורית

פלסטינים

משבר מנהיגות ופיצול

פרדיגמה לא סבירה

נסיון לכפות הסדר -לוחמה מדינית

חמאס בעזה – לא פרטר

ארה"ב

חשיבות – רשת ביטחון מדינית

סדר עדיפויות אחר ואולי תפיסה אחרת של האסלאם הפוליטי

שיח תמורות

שמירה על תמיכה דו-מפלגתית

בחירות לנשיאות

לטווח הארוך – קהלים חדשים , הקבילה היהודית

אירופה

חשיבות

הנושא הפלסטיני – לחץ

הזדמנוית – דאעש, לוט"ר

אנטישמיות

דה לגיטמציה ודיפלומטיה ציבורית

הערות סופיות

שינוי הסביבה האסטרטגית

כמה מילים על המערך האסטרטגי

דומיננטיות של הממסד הביטחוני – הסבר היסטורי, פוליטי, מוסדי

יש גם מקום לאופטימיות

יחסים עם 159 מדינות

OECD

הסכמי שלום

ים תיכון

עליית יחסים עם הודו

**HDMC INDIA 28/10**

Self introduction

25 years

DPR in NY

Strategic division

Second year instructor

Opening remarks

Portray a wide picture of the main challenges

You came in a sensitive period – always…

The goal: to preserve a strong a Jewish democratic country - Home for the Jewish people, an accepted member in the community of nations

The strategic environment: hostile environment – isolation- political, military, economic , export dependency – require good relations with the world

My colleague will speak about the regional aspects – the Arab upheaval, strategic changes etc.

Global changes in the international arena:

* multi-polar or a non polar world
* non state actors,
* US becomes energetically self sufficient pivoting to the east
* crisis in EU,
* rise of China
* Russia's attempt to regain global power
* the rise of soft-power
* multilateralism
* and new agendas, change in the nature of war
* many crisis in parallel

Regional challenges

My colleague will expand

Middle-East – general: Non state actors, non governable areas, no address

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

Egypt – enhanced cooperation – the Sinai challenge – address?

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

The Iranian challenge

In the long run probably the no. 1 threat

Strive for hegemony

Regional:

Negative involvement throughout the ME

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

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

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)

Securing recognition as a state

Background:

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

Strong relations with government (especially congress) and people

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

here 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**

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 Islam in Europe

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 on settlement Horizon 2020 program

Vetrinray services in the west bank

**Labeling settlements products**

**Area C**

Support of NGO's

Recognition – Sweden, Parliaments

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

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)

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 organizations' 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, 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

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

 good relations in the Mediterranean

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

Global – new opportunities:

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

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

Energy diplomacy

New agendas (desertification, medicine, agriculture, economic (OECD)

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