

Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS)

A symposium on A New Global Reality Implications for Israel

Insights and Recommendations



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Editor: Dr. Moshe Albo, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

Photos: Gilad Kavalchik

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Foreword

The global crisis caused by the war in Ukraine combined with Iran's growing power as it edges closer to becoming a nuclear threshold state pose national security challenges for Israel that require determined policy by which to navigate these troubled waters.

While Israel is required to provide an adequate military response for a multidimensional front, it also has strategic as well as potent military-security, political, economic and technological cards it can play.

Against this backdrop, we held a comprehensive, strategic symposium that focused on the challenges and threats presented by the global arena alongside the opportunities and acute need to discuss the strategy that must be followed in a wide range of issues that are central to Israel's national security. The symposium was attended by past and present government, defense establishment, military and intelligence officials alongside academic scholars and IPS researchers.

We are honored to present to you an integrative summary of the various views, situation analyses, insights and recommendations.



Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead

Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

The World Economic Crisis: Are we Heading for a "Perfect Storm"?

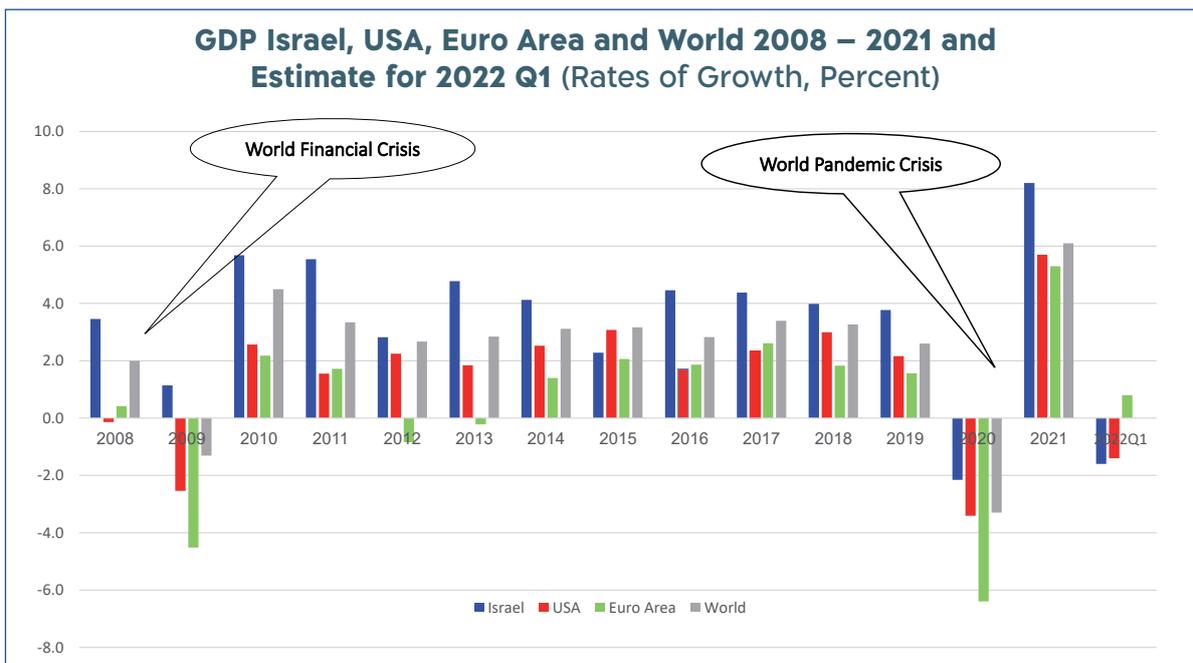


Prof. Rafi Melnick, President, Reichman University

"In a world of full employment and swelling inflation, the monetary policy does not tally with that of zero interest. The interest rate must be aligned with the new policy on the ground."

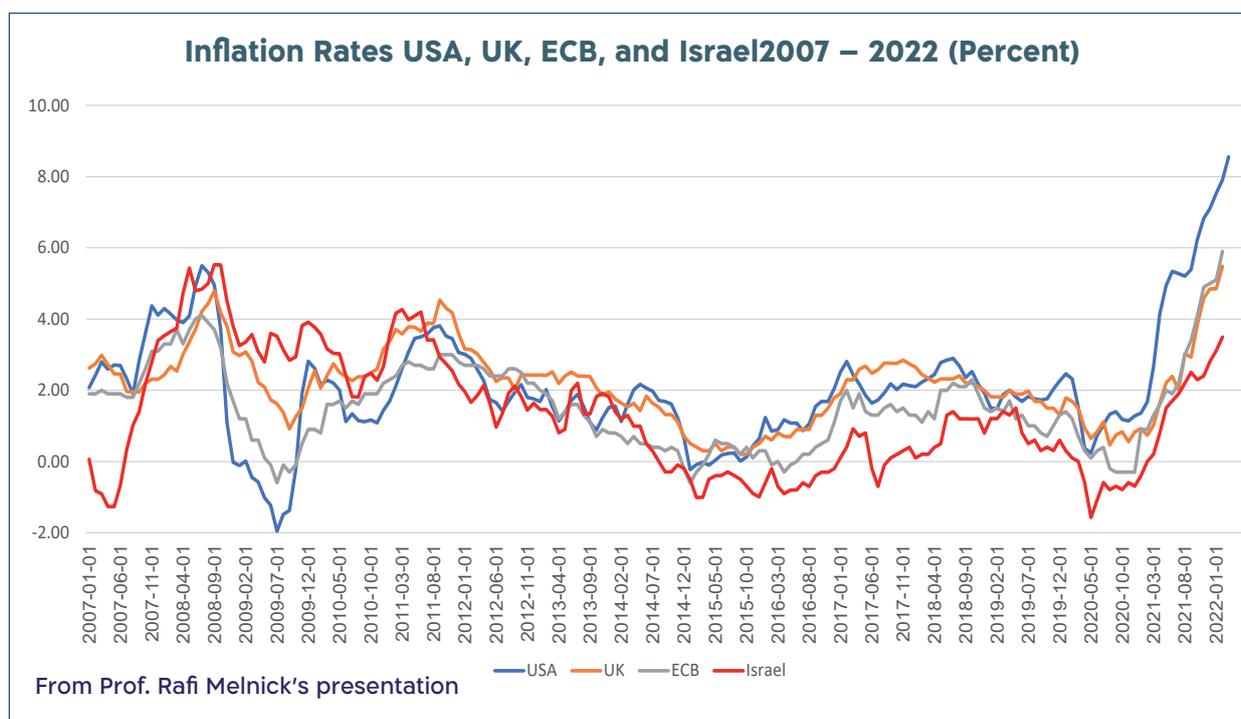
The world seems to be facing an old-new global order, the beginnings of which were identified prior to the Russo-Ukrainian campaign in view of growing local nationalism at the expense of universal globalization: Trump's "America First", the UK's Brexit from the EU, the Covid-19 pandemic with its detrimental effect on international supply chains and shrinking of economies worldwide, and finally, the war in Europe that has breathed life into a twentieth-century inter-bloc rivalry, dragging it to center stage along with the barriers, sanctions, and separation between nations and economies.

Prof. Rafi Melnick, President of Reichman University, argued that global commerce is likely to continue shrinking, whereas the competition over basic resources – energy and food – will only increase. Such a trend would lead to soaring food and energy prices, dropping growth rates, inflation and an acute recession similar to the world crisis caused by the 1973 oil embargo.



From Prof. Rafi Melnick's presentation

Experts agree that the world is heading for an economic slowdown, and it is precisely against this backdrop that the war broke out, accelerating the trend whose wheels had already been set in motion. The world is facing a prisoner's dilemma – What should it address first? The global recession or racing inflation? As time goes by, it becomes clear that the inflation is ongoing, rather than the product of temporary processes, and its inertia requires drastic intervention. The world must be “weaned” off of living in a “zero interest environment”, and the interest rate adjusted to suit the new reality created.



The sharp imbalance between the interest and inflation rates is causing growing market agitation, and the key challenge faced by the global economy these days is how to raise the interest rate without shocking it.

What, then, is the “**perfect storm**” that could sweep over Israel and the world at large? **The collapse of the stock market**, particularly technological company shares, following the rising interest rate (“bursting the high-tech bubble”); **a housing crisis** – a significant increase in housing prices, and contractors’ difficulty to finance the projects as demand falls; **a global debt crisis** – national debt levels across the western world have risen during the pandemic, and are similar now to the levels of debt during the great twentieth century wars. The cost of debt refinancing will increase substantially in a high interest environment, and some of the global economies could struggle to refinance their debts, leading to the potential development of a global debt crisis. All of the above, in a dangerous scenario, could lead to a drop in global growth, a rise in the extent of poverty, and social destabilization due to a world geopolitical crisis that constantly intensifies.

The solution is transparency and an informing, rather than populist, economic leadership capable of making tough decisions.

To reduce public uncertainty, a clear policy must be formed by a political and economic leadership that is not populist and is instead capable of spearheading the local population.

A Multipolar World: What are the Implications for Israel?

The campaign in Ukraine is expanding and turning into the most severe global crisis since WWII.

In recent months, a new world order is forming before our eyes, at the center of which is the establishment of two blocs. The first is comprised of the United States and its western allies, and the second of authoritarian regimes led by China and Russia. The Russian armored vehicle columns, heavy artillery on civilians, surges of refugees escaping the country, and images of the mass graves in Bucha and Mariupol have demonstrated the horrors of war, as well as its hefty price tags. **A fundamental change in world order can already be identified, as an overall arms race has begun, alliances are being reforged, and the power balance is being tipped to the point of posing a risk of slipping toward overall escalation.**



Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami, Former Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs; Co-founder and VP of the Toledo International Center for Peace | Dr. Shay Har-Zvi, Senior Researcher, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University | Ms. Galia Lavi, China Researcher, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) | Moderator: Ms. Tal Schneider, Political and Diplomatic Correspondent, The Times of Israel

Former Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs, **Prof. Shlomo Ben Ami**, maintained that, in the context of the strategic competition against China, President Biden had, in effect, continued with Trump's rigid and uncompromising policy of sanction imposing as well as the establishment of regional and military alliances, primary among which is the trilateral partnership with Australia and the UK (AUKUS).

China, for its part, has become more assertive than ever, while remaining wary of using military force. Seeing as it is in possession of huge amounts of USD assets, China is considering the possibility that one of the potential outcomes of the war in Ukraine would be a stronger de-Dollarization trend in view of the United States' use of sanctions in its conflict with Russia.

When referring to the new emerging world order, **Galia Lavi**, a China Researcher at the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) reiterated that **China was primarily seeking to preserve its own regime and to ensure the Communist Party's survival**. She said China believes that it has successfully reduced many of the gaps vis-à-vis the United States in recent years, but realizes there is a long road ahead, and has therefore embraced a complex policy manifest in its assertive but cautious approach toward the United States.

Dr. Shay Har-Zvi, a senior researcher from Reichman University's Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), clarified that the world order as we've known it for the past three decades is changing and reforming before our very eyes, and the outcomes of the Russo-Ukrainian campaign will greatly affect its nature and characteristics. The current situation is a bloody war of attrition because neither side can defeat the other and, to date, the parties involved do not seem to be sharing any ZOPA (zone of possible agreement). Washington is trying to

choke Russia economically and defeat the Russian Army (having changed its perception from curbing to decisive action-taking) while changing the security architecture in Europe by having Finland and Sweden join NATO, and sending huge amounts of advanced weapons to Ukraine.

Russia, meanwhile, is actively seeking to establish its control of areas in eastern and southern Ukraine as an interim phase within this war, while toppling the Ukrainian economy, and using the energy and wheat weapon as means of exerting greater pressure on the West. Over time, Russia may attempt to expand the campaign to other areas in southern Ukraine, perhaps even all the way to Transnistria in Moldova, thereby creating a complete land route from Russia to Moldova.



"The war will lead to the establishment of two rigid blocs, one led by the United States and its allies, the other comprised of authoritarian regimes led by China and Russia"

Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami, Former Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs

Prof. Ben Ami and Dr. Har-Zvi agreed that the more the U.S. policy of curbing Russia will increase, the harder it would be for Israel to keep up a careful approach, and it would ultimately be forced to show much clearer support for the West and Ukraine. Ben Ami and Har-Zvi further emphasized that the United States should beware of defeating and humiliating Russia, for such a victory could have the devastating, opposite effect of destabilizing the world, and risking overall deterioration.

With respect to the Israeli policy on the absorption of refugees and immigrants from the scene of the war: Israeli Minister of Aliyah and Integration **Ms. Pnina Tameno Shete** addressed the issue of immigrants coming to Israel from Ukraine and Russia from the national systemic perspective. In her view, **Israel should embrace a broad immigrant absorption strategy, no matter where they are immigrating from, and tap into its advanced capabilities to provide a dignified and professional solution for them** that corresponds with the vision of Israel being the national home of all Jews. The greatest present-day Aliyah catalyst are geopolitical changes and humanitarian crises, much like they were in the early 1990s, following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Israel must once again serve as the national home of the Jewish People and a safe haven for refugees seeking asylum.

"Geopolitical changes and humanitarian crises are a significant catalyst for waves of immigration ... Over the last 3 years, 90,000 immigrants have immigrated to Israel..."



Ms. Pnina Tameno Shete, Israeli Minister of Aliyah and Integration

Lessons from the War in Ukraine



Maj. Gen. Tamir Yadai, Commander of the IDF Ground Forces

"The new aerial dimension (UAVs), that has proven its crucialness in the war in Ukraine, is now allowing the IDF to effectively maneuver in populated settings, and diminish the need for urban warfare"

Commander of the IDF Ground Forces **Maj. Gen. Tamir Yadai** presented the key lessons the IDF has learned from the war in Ukraine. Maj. Gen. Yadai qualified his presentation by stating that the war was still ongoing, and that all conclusions and takeaways should be discussed cautiously in view of the extensive use of cognitive instruments, and the disinformation disseminated by both parties.

First, the fact that the war is being waged in Europe indicates that war, as a phenomenon, is once again part of the western world for all intents and purposes. Second, this is a unique confrontation between leading eastern capabilities and advanced western weapons, with concrete learning implications for Israel as well.

Most experts had predicted that Russia would defeat Ukraine quickly in view of the power and capability balance between them; however, in practice, the opposite happened, with Moscow finding itself entangled in a bloody war of attrition and ongoing wallowing with no significant accomplishments. It is the unexpected nature of war, particularly prominent in view of the gap between image and reality. **The key lesson the IDF has learned in this context is that it would have to quickly defeat its adversaries in the next campaign by defining clear objectives and forming an operative plan that would lead it to reach these strategic goals so as to make it very clear who had won once the dust of war settles.**

Why is Russia struggling to defeat Ukraine? Because basic assumptions made when the war broke out have been refuted. Thus, the forces on the ground proved incompetent due to a series of tactical and professional failures, and new dimensions, such as the war over hearts and minds, and cyber, were not assessed correctly, for, while tremendous importance was attributed to them during the early stages of the campaign, in time, they proved to be less relevant in this kind of intense war. **An obvious but important lesson to be learned is that, once a decision is made to go to war, leaders must ensure that the army is well prepared, and that basic strategic assumptions made indeed correspond with the operational plan.**

Furthermore, the Russo-Ukrainian campaign has shown **the supremacy of the missile over the platform** – the missile's precision, distance, and impact have a decisive effect on the modern battlefield, and any freedom of action on it. Advanced western weapons have been detrimental to the Russian maneuvering capabilities, particularly in view of the Russian ground forces' low competence level. Moreover, the new aerial dimension, especially drones, has had an effective negative impact on maneuvers due to its vertical targeting ability, as well as its guidance of imprecise artillery fire. The intense fire and the

aerial dimension have reduced the Russian forces' movement ability, giving the Ukrainians an advantage when engaging in defense.

The IDF is preparing to address this kind of battlefield by using the aerial dimension to establish supremacy and freedom of action through early identification of enemy forces, and the use of precise relevant fire to destroy it, while protecting the maneuvering forces and strengthening their organic lethality.

Fighting in urban areas poses a significant challenge for any military force. The IDF would have to maneuver, in almost any scenario and arena, through urban areas. The capabilities the IDF is developing will enable it to avoid stepping into ambushes in urban areas, and, when needed, it would be able to use proportional force based on precise intelligence that would neutralize enemy capabilities and advantages while fighting in urban areas.

Ultimately, according to **Maj. Gen. Yadai**, the IDF's key mission is to win a short war while displaying military supremacy, moving the fighting to the other side, neutralizing the threat of fire, as well as reducing the damage to IDF forces and the home front, alongside an enhancement of deterrence based on genuine capabilities and top professional competence.

Iran and Israel: Toward a Violent Confrontation



Lt. Gen. (Res.) Benjamin Gantz, Israeli Minister of Defense

"The price of stopping Iran now is lower than it will be a year from now, because, as we speak, Iran is investing in the manufacturing and installing of 1000 advanced IR6 centrifuges in its nuclear facilities, as well as in a new underground facility being built near Natanz"

Israeli Minister of Defense, **Lt. Gen. (Res.) Benny Gantz** argued that Iran was continuing to accumulate irreversible knowledge and experience in the development, production and operation of advanced centrifuges. Thus, it is just weeks away from accumulating sufficient fissile material for its first bomb.

Alongside its nuclear program acceleration, Iran is also trying to expand its influence in the Middle East by arming, supporting and aiding militia groups and proxies across the region. The number of strategic weapons disseminated by Iran in the Middle East has grown substantially in Yemen and Iraq, while its attempt to create advanced firing infrastructures in Syria and Lebanon has not ceased despite Israeli military actions taken as part of the war between wars. Moreover, Iran is not afraid to use force against the United States' regional allies, or even American targets in Iraq and Syria, via its proxies or local militia groups using cruise missiles, suicide drones, and more.



"The ability to take action in Iran exists, and during the current government's term in office, resources have been allocated to build up a more massive force"

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amir Eshel, Director General, Israeli Ministry of Defense

Director General of the Ministry of Defense and former Israeli Air Force Commander, **Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amir Eshel** noted that, in the past, the IDF had built a relevant operational capability that could have provided a solution for the Iranian nuclear program; however, it was not activated because the strategic conditions at that time had not yet matured, and therefore, the decision was not made. Nowadays, and even more so since the establishment of the current government, **greater emphasis has been given to building up a massive and relevant force fit to grapple with the current threat posed by Iran and its entrenchment** – not only with respect to its nuclear program, but its systemic-regional approach too. The strategic conditions for use of force should Iran decide to break out to nuclear are based on a detailed understanding of both operative-tactical and strategic-systemic contexts, as well as a thorough analysis of the outcomes of such a strike on all levels, including its implications for Israel's national security.

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Giora Eiland underscored that, de facto, Iran and Israel are in conflict with possible manifestations in several arenas: **The growing threat of Hizballah** – Hizballah is the dominant force in Lebanon, and has advanced firing capabilities that Iran could activate against Israel whenever it sees fit. In this context, **Israel should employ economic-political levers** in view of the acute economic and political crisis, overall social pressure, and the organization's declining popularity in Lebanese society; **the Iranian entrenchment in Syria** – curbing Iran using the combined effort involving both political and military means that, to date, has allowed Israel to maintain the IDF's freedom of action while strategically-operationally coordinating the steps it takes with Russia. Israel is exploiting the interest gap between Russia and Iran with regard to Syria to maximize the effectiveness of the damage it is causing to Iranian entrenchment. **Iran's long-range firing capabilities** (suicide drones and cruise missiles) **pose a real and growing risk to Israel's security**. A scenario whereby Israel is attacked by dozens of Iranian cruise missiles and drones from several arenas (Yemen and Iraq) or directly from Iran as a preemptive attack preceding an Israeli strike may not be likely at present, but certainly requires military and security preparation. **The establishment of an Iranian offensive cyber infrastructure in an effort to create access capabilities that would be activated when the time is right against key strategic systems in Israel** by way of enhancing the effect of a direct blow delivered during a direct military campaign between Iran and Israel is a threat that should not be belittled, and Israel must consider the possibility that it is already present in its systems.



Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amir Eshel, Director General, Israeli Ministry of Defense | Maj. Gen. (Res.) Giora Eiland, Former Head of Israel National Security Council | Mr. Gideon Frank, Former Head of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission; Chairman of the Council, Technion | Moderator: Dr. Ronen Bergman, National Security Correspondent, The New York Times; Yedioth Ahronoth

What Should Israel Do in View of the Aggravating Threat?

Prof. Meir Litvak from Tel Aviv University's Alliance Center for Iranian Studies emphasized that it was an error to pull out of the nuclear agreement because that step had pushed Iran to accelerate its nuclear program, as well as acquire advanced capabilities and knowledge that it would not have been able to possess had the agreement remained intact. Moreover, according to Prof. Litvak, **Iran is not interested in a nuclear bomb, only in establishing threshold capabilities, but may be pushed over the edge by the Israeli and American policies.** "Time is working in Israel's favor" in view of long-term processes that are detrimental to Iran – the deteriorating economic situation, water crisis, etc., and therefore, **Israel must form an aligned policy that will not lead to an exacerbation of the (nuclear and regional) security threat, and allow use of strategic opportunities to be made to enhance national security instead.**

Mr. Gideon Frank, former head of the Israel Atomic Energy Committee, noted that **Iran's progress toward nuclear capabilities or even crossing a certain nuclear threshold would lead to more severe conventional boldness. Israel should prepare for aggravated military friction with Iran that could also have repercussions on its strategic coordination with Russia.** However, he maintains that Iran will not cross this threshold, as that would constitute a violation of the NPT (the international nuclear proliferation treaty), and come with a strategic price tag that would bring it closer to North Korea's status – a development it cannot afford. Israel should, therefore, **invest in political and diplomatic efforts, rather than position itself at the forefront.**



Mr. Gideon Frank, Former Head of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission

"...If Iran should get closer to nuclear capabilities, or even cross a certain threshold, the practical outcome would be far more severe conventional boldness... What should Israel do? The same thing it's doing already very well in Syria, but we must prepare for a graver state of affairs because the boldness would be tougher..."

In this context, Mr. Frank underscored that Iran getting closer to nuclear is not an Israeli problem, but an international one. If Iran should become a near-nuclear state, **a regional nuclear arms race would ensue** (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, and Algiers), **as well as the destabilization of the arms control regimes, particularly the NPT.** This message should also be clearly conveyed to great powers such as China that seek to preserve the NPT framework in the current world order, as the security of such countries would suffer direct implications should this order be challenged. Moreover, **Iran is already in violation of the NPT, and Israel has a unique opportunity to exert overall pressure on it via the international institutions** and the United States.

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Giora Eiland noted that dragging one's heels is the lesser of all evils; however, if one is forced to choose between a nuclear agreement or the cessation of all negotiations, Israel would be better off with an agreement that would buy it valuable time

during which to build up its force and grow militarily. Jerusalem would do well to postpone the conflict with Iran for as long as possible in order to make sure that the Israeli force buildup has matured, and also in view of the negative (economic and social) trends in Iran itself, that could evolve and serve the Israeli strategy.

The main issue with the return to the JCPOA outline is the change in the global arena induced by the war in Ukraine. This development would lead to a flow of **vast resources to the economy**, and could turn Iran into a key actor in the energy market and global energy crisis, **while strengthening its regional impact and involvement in the Middle East, clout that may not only be diverted to address domestic problems and aggravating the friction with Israel.**



Hon. Amos J. Hochstein, Senior Advisor to the President of the United States for International Energy

"The President sees the threat of a nuclear Iran as a significant national security threat to Israel, to the region, to the world, to the United States, and has therefore been as committed to ensuring that Iran does not reach that level of becoming a nuclear state..."

Thus, the assessment presented by some of the speakers whereby time was working in Israel's favor in view of the exacerbating domestic crisis in Iran, is being fundamentally challenged by those who regard the renewed nuclear deal **an agreement that would turn Iran into a legitimate regional power with tremendous resources and the ability to project greater influence in the Middle East.** In such a reality, the conventional threat posed to Israel and its regional allies would grow in the short range, and the threat of the nuclear program would not vanish, but exacerbate once more within the next ten years, when Iran would, in effect, become a regional power.

Mr. Amos Hochstein, senior advisor to the U.S. President on energy **spoke about Washington's official position on the nuclear agreement. He claimed that a nuclear Iran poses a direct threat to Israel's national security and, indeed, to the safety of the region and the world, and therefore reiterated that the United States remains committed to stopping Iran from having nuclear weapons.** President Biden had objected to pulling out from the JCPOA, especially since no other tangible options with which to address the Iranian threat were presented except sanctions, thus leading Iran to accelerate its nuclear development and capabilities.

Ultimately, the American desire to return to the nuclear deal, albeit not at all cost, forms a central component in the current administration's policy, as it seeks to "clear the table" and focus on the key threats to its own national security – China, Russia, and North Korea.

The Middle East Against the Backdrop of the Campaign in Europe: Risks and Opportunities



Prof. Meir Litvak, The Alliance Center for Iranian Studies, Tel Aviv University | Dr. Moshe Albo, Senior Researcher, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University | Mr. Jacky Hugi, Galei Tzahal (IDF Radio), Israel News | Moderator: Moav Vardi, Chief International Correspondent, Kan 11

How does the war in Europe and world economic crisis impact the Middle East? What are the opportunities and risks posed to Israel by this rocky and dynamic system?

Dr. Moshe Albo from Reichman University's Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) argued that leaderships in the Arab world today are primarily concerned about **economic stability and food security in view of the aggravated economic crisis, the implications of the campaign in Ukraine on the supply of wheat and international supply chains, as well as the aggravating ongoing fundamental domestic issues.**

In addition, the regional and national security challenge is increasing in view of growing Iranian impact in the Middle East, the rising threat of fire (ballistic, suicide drones, precision), and feasibility of a nuclear deal with the great powers expected to lead to a flow of resources into the Iranian economy that would be subsequently directed toward force buildup and regional entrenchment.

Furthermore, Washington reducing its involvement in the Middle East as it shifts the focus of its national security list of priorities to the strategic competition with China and Russia. This policy has chipped away at the strategic alliance between the pro-American Arab camp and the United States, damaging Washington's power of deterrence in the region. Another byproduct of this approach has led to greater security-strategic collaboration between Israel and the Sunni camp, with **Israel's valuableness and importance to the security and economic interests of countries in the region growing in tandem with the aggravating world economic crisis and security threats in the region.**

Senior Advisor to the U.S. President on International Energy **Mr. Amos Hochstein** has said in this context that **his government's commitment to the stability and security of its allies in the Middle East, and Israel in particular, with whom it has a historical and lasting strategic partnership, has not changed.** Hochstein, who expresses the U.S. administration's authentic position, believes that the Abraham Accords' success will lead to their expansion to additional countries, who will join them in view of the economic and security advantages

they offer. Hochstein further expressed cautious optimism with respect to processes of economic and social openness among Arab regimes such as the Saudi, Emirati and Qatari, who are diversifying their investment portfolios with "green" technologies and industries that seem to challenge the oil industries upon which they rely but, in effect, establish far greater commitment to the global issues that, in turn, contribute to overall financial stability.

This approach presents a liberal value-based position that views economic development, the entering of new forces into local politics and the public sphere in the Middle East (women and minorities), and regimes' overall investment in their citizens' quality of life stabilizing and strategic steps that contribute to the establishment of regional stability, and strengthens their resilience to internal as well as external challenges.

Nevertheless, according to **Maj. Gen. (Res.) Giora Eiland**, a dangerous scenario also exists whereby the reduced U.S. presence in the Middle East will lead to the **establishment of an appealing arrangement-oriented policy in the Gulf States**, particularly Saudi Arabia, due to their desire to maintain their own governmental and economic stability vis-à-vis Iran. In such a scenario, these countries could end up reaching a strategic arrangement with Iran in an effort to ensure their stability, even if it comes at the expense of furthering their ties with Israel. Initial indications of this approach can already be seen in the strategic dialogue in which Riyadh is engaging with Iran through Iraqi mediation.

The key takeaway is that it is in Israel's best national security interest that **the United States continue to preserve its dominance and leadership in the Middle East in view of the alternatives – namely China and Russia – whose influence may challenge Israel in the medium-to-long range, and in light of the risk embedded in the emerging strategic dialogue between the Gulf states and Iran**. The United States can maintain its regional leadership by increasing the security and financial support it offers its regional allies, as well as by reinforcing its power of deterrence in view of the Iranian measures that destabilize the region without being dragged into yet another campaign in this area.

In addition, Jerusalem has a unique opportunity to bolster its status as a mediator between Washington and the Gulf states and Egypt, as well as its valuableness in the international and regional arenas. **In the balance between risks and opportunities**, Israel must form a policy that will serve its urgent security needs while focusing its efforts **on the aggravating threat posed by Iran, as well as strengthening its strategic ties with countries in the region**.

Correspondent for Arab Affairs **Jacky Hugi** addressed this growing trend whereby the **Palestinian citizens are turning from partners into adversaries**. This process corresponds with the broader trend of a widening gap between the Arab regimes' growing strategic collaboration with Israel and the Arab populations' increasing resistance to normalization with the Jewish State. **This trend has a dramatic effect on Israel's ability to "take a leap" in its bilateral relations, and promote normalization with the Arab world.**

The National Security and National Resilience Strategy



Prof. Uriel Reichman, Founding President and Chairperson of the Board of Directors, Reichman University

"... In 1995 we stood here, a small group of students, bleary-eyed from lack of sleep and weeping. We cried over Rabin's assassination... We are living in a reality where this could happen again. It is a threat to the political system and we must prevent such an occurrence and the deterioration toward rejecting and taking action against an elected government in Israel..."

Prof. Uriel Reichman, Reichman University's founding president and chairman of the board, emphasized the grave danger to Israeli democracy posed by the incitement and delegitimization of governmental institutions and entities, as well as the increasingly more violent discourse in society and politics. Besides the need to address growing extremism and incitement using the strong tools available to law enforcement forces and the justice system, Prof. Reichman also **called upon the elected officials to assume responsibility for the political and public discourse**, and align themselves with the government's position to refrain from causing a rift in Israeli society that could have devastating results.

Moreover, in view of the growing rift between Israeli Arab society and Jewish society, as openly demonstrated by the grave violent incidents during Operation Guardian of the Walls, **the national consensus must be rebuilt on the basis of adopting the principles of the Declaration of Independence, underlying which is the establishment of a national Jewish home founded on universal fundamental values, equality among citizens, and peace between the various tribes comprising Israeli society.**

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead, director of Reichman University's Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) spoke about the **intolerable gap between the absent overall strategy on the state level and the need that the security and military system consolidate an ongoing response to the wide range of everyday challenges and threats, as well as to the severe**



"We are slowly becoming a single state for two nations... It's happening here and now... We need leadership and we need a strategy. There is no alternative to a leadership that forms a strategy that can guide this country... Otherwise it's a collection of tactical incidents... The combination between national resilience and national security will determine its strength or vice versa."

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

repercussions of the absence of an overall strategy on the development of processes that are both destructive and dangerous for Israel's security.

In this context, **there are several fundamental strategic issues that Israel is consistently avoiding engaging in due to its disinclination to develop a clear, long-term policy for political and ideological reasons.** The fact that Israel is, in effect, turning into a single state for two nations in an inertial process, or, in another context, the way that Jordan is being presented as a negative destabilizing factor for political and populist reasons, when, in reality, the opposite is true, as it is central to a wide range of issues that are at the heart of Israel's national security, are yet another example of the detrimental effect of the absence of an overall strategic outlook among political decision makers that is detached from the day-to-day political discourse.

Former Chief of General Staff, **Lt. Gen. (Res.) Gadi Eisenkot** said in this context that **Israel lacks** a formal national security **perception**. The national security policy is affected by a political reality informed by **ongoing tactical constraints instead of a long-term strategic outlook**.

According to Eisenkot, the utmost challenge is to bolster social and national resilience; address all aspects of the Iranian threat; stabilize the Palestinian arena, and form a long-range perception that would meet Israel's political and security needs while grappling with Hamas' strategy of seeking to rally the Palestinian arena (Israeli Arabs and West Bank) around the religious issue and Jerusalem; the fire challenge posed by the northern arena, and the need to deal with the growing complex threat posed by Hizballah.

On the bright side, the actions led by the defense establishment and IDF in recent years have curbed Iranian entrenchment, delayed the nuclear program, and been detrimental to ISIS in Syria and Sinai in a manner that has established the IDF's deterrence, and enhanced its valuableness vis-à-vis various actors in the Arab world.

Mr. Tamir Pardo, former head of the Mossad, noted that **the only country that refuses to define its borders is Israel. This issue constitutes the State of Israel's key problem, as "there are more non-Jews than Jews from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea".**



Mr. Tamir Pardo, Former Head of the Mossad

"We demand that our leadership look us in the eye, plan... put a plan together and implement it... Governments will come and go but the strategy mustn't change... Every new director general coming into the office can't keep having their own tailormade suit made into strategic plans and invest hundreds of millions in them... We shouldn't be thinking about what they'll say on the evening news, but about what would be happening here in 20- or 30-years' time, because the seeds sown today will be feeding our grandchildren and great-grandchildren..."

The two alternatives Israel faces is either a Jewish democratic state within the Green Line, or some other kind of state in which Jews will live as a minority. **Israel has yet to determine the character of this future state – one state or two?** It has chosen to avoid having the national discussion needed on this topic, convincing itself that discourse on this subject is no longer relevant. The implications of this policy are devastating for Israel.

What, then, are the guiding principles of the overall strategy that Israel should embrace? Israel's security perception has four legs to stand on: Deterrence, warning, defense and decisiveness. Eisenkot added a fifth value – **valuableness/impact that expresses Israel's opportunity to actively integrate into the region while taking effective action to prevent and curb threats.** The IDF's demonstrable might having established supremacy and a clear qualitative edge in the region has allowed the political echelon to avoid making decisions that are crucial to this country's future.

It is time to take decisive action, it is time to think about how to advance long-term national interests, and initiate state and security steps to further the realization of state goals instead of promoting political objectives of limited time and scope. Israel needs an official leadership that would act in the people's and society's best interest, instead of narrow political ones. **A new social contract must be drafted to bolster values such as mutual responsibility and solidarity, close social gaps, and increase social and civil engagement in light of the Scroll of Independence and its underlying values.**



Lt. Gen. (Res.) Gadi Eisenkot, Former Chief of the IDF General Staff

"We are grappling with huge challenges – nuclear, global terror, the Palestinian arena. I think we need to form a vision and perception that begins, first and foremost, with the civilian population in Israel. We should be very concerned with the absence of communities populating the Negev, and the ability to take down an outpost in Homesh... a consolidated identity needs to be created based on the Scroll of Independence, a national home for the Jewish People, the bible, and statehood"

The Palestinian Issue: Time for Strategic Decisions



Lt. Gen. (Res.) Shaul Mofaz, Former Israeli Minister of Defense | Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University | Moderator: Ms. Liat Regev, Journalist & Presenter, "Kan" - The Israeli Public Broadcasting Corporation and IBC's Reshet B Radio News channel

Time is working against Israel in view of the fact that it is unable to possess an overall strategy on the issue of the Palestinians. The "conflict management" approach that prefers to provide an ongoing solution for burning security matters while bolstering overall stability and maintaining a sense of misleading quiet is inertially leading to the establishment of a single state between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean, in which Jews will not be a majority.

Former Minister of Defense, **Lt. Gen. (Res.) Shaul Mofaz** reiterated that **it was time to take decisions on the issue of the Palestinians, for this generation will have to make historical decisions on borders and all other issues that are in dispute between Israelis and Palestinians.** If no decision is made then, in effect, a decision has been made to keep up with the "single state" vector, and knowingly slip toward a scenario whereby the State of Israel's Jewish and democratic character are lost.

"...It is time to decide... If we don't want the current state of affairs to continue and we don't want to engage in another conflict between the Israeli society and the Palestinian one, we must take matters into our own hands and say what we'd ultimately want, decide what our borders are and make our decision known, run it by the People of Israel and go on with our lives, while allowing the Palestinians to go on with their lives too"



Lt. Gen. (Res.) Shaul Mofaz, Former Israeli Minister of Defense

From a practical perspective, **Israel must continue to strengthen the Palestinian Authority while stabilizing its economy**, raising its standard of living and shared fabric of life, as well as continuing to systematically target terror infrastructures. Nevertheless, Israel cannot keep managing the conflict without a long-term strategy in place; it must actively strive to create the conditions for preserving the separation perception that will form the basis for a future peace plan.

Moreover, in the absence of an overall initiative and strategy, Israel is allowing Hamas to keep getting stronger in the Palestinian arena at the Palestinian Authority's expense, while bolstering in-depth processes in Palestinian society that are causing the single state perception to find its footing, and are leading to growing friction with Israeli Arabs as well as an inevitable crisis with the international community.

Jews and Arabs in Israel: Where are We Headed?

Directly linked are the **goings-on in Israel's domestic arena, particularly with regard to the relations between Jews and Arabs, which are based – in recent years more than ever before – on Israel's resilience and strategic status**. These incidents are affected by the goings-on in external arenas, primarily the Palestinian one, as strikingly manifest in Operation Guardian of the Walls, when unprecedented riots swept across Israeli Arab society following crises in East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, most prominently in mixed cities.

Israeli Arab society has been under tension these past 12 months between two opposing poles. On the one hand, unprecedented alienation and friction, as manifest in the incidents that took place in May 2021 (and, in a more limited fashion, in the riots among the Bedouin population in the Negev in late 2021) – the acutest conflict ever between Jewish and Arab citizens in Israel; and, on the other hand, the unprecedented integration of an Arab power factor into the coalition and Israeli decision-making processes, as seen in the initiative headed by the United Arab List – Ra'am – led by MK Mansour Abbas.

Ra'am – the representative of the southern branch of the Islamic Movement in Israel, i.e., the most conservative pole in Arab society that is less known in Israeli Jewish society (sometimes rendering it "difficult to digest" for Jews) – is spearheading an initiative that **is based on several revolutionary principles, primarily the desire to place the interests of the Arab public** (and particularly the resolution of its civilian problems, namely crime and violence, the issue of land, and the young generation that is at the forefront of anarchy events and violent collisions such as the May 2021 events) before all political and ideological consideration (including the level of involvement in the Palestinian issue), and focus on actions instead of slogans, while ceasing to "sit on the fence", as Arab politicians have done to date (especially the Joint Arab List).

The relations between Arabs and Jews are at a particularly sensitive point in history at present, and greatly depend upon political shifts in government, and, no less importantly, on the fate of the Ra'am initiative, which many in Arab society view as a test for the extent of the regime's (and Jewish society's) tolerance and acceptance of the Arab Israeli citizens, and the opportunity extended to them to change their state of affairs by actively integrating into the state institutions.



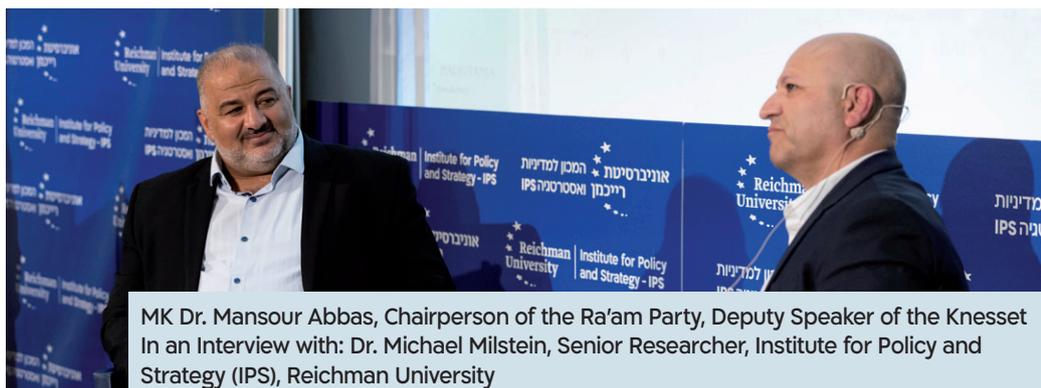
MK Dr. Mansour Abbas, Chairperson of the Ra'am Party, Deputy Speaker of the Knessetthe Ra'am Party

"...To live together in peace, in mutual safety, partnership and tolerance. It's true for the relationship within the State of Israel between Jews and Arabs, Jews and Jews, and Arabs and Arabs. If we are successful in this civilian model founded on values such as tolerance, partnership, responsibility, and humane values, we will also be able to grapple with the issue that is more complex and difficult... that of Palestinian-Israeli relations..."

According to **MK Dr. Mansour Abbas**, if the initiative will establish a sense of failure (against the backdrop of the poignant political campaign that opposes the very consent given by Jewish parties to forge an alliance with Ra'am), **it may deepen the alienation between the Arab public and state**, which is already shown by the unprecedentedly low voter turnout in the recent elections in March 2021 among Arabs (44%), and, in due course, even lead to the development of violent clashes as seen in May 2021, or even worse.

However, if the Arab public should establish a collective perception whereby this initiative was a success, Ra'am would garner greater support, including that of parties who do not support the Islamic Movement (Abbas himself has stated that, in future, Ra'am would be appealing to non-Muslim constituencies, such as Christians and Druze), and, later lead to the development of additional precedents as relations between the two societies will be forged: Integrating into the government itself (and not just the coalition) – an idea that Abbas has not ruled out; and later still, perhaps even an in-depth definition of the status of the Arab public and its affinity to the State of Israel (duties and rights) – an area that has not been delved into since 1948.

This could reflect the arrival of both societies at a sober point of balance: The Arabs ceasing to insist on altering Israel's character as a Jewish state (as expressed in Abbas' statement that Israel should be recognized as a Jewish state), and focusing instead on exercising equal rights as a minority group; and the Jews' acknowledgment of the fact that any "pro-Zionist" Arab representation would still identify with the Palestinians, and there are no alternatives in Arab society that would enable a fruitful partnership between the two populations. The Joint Arab List continues to demand that a "non-nation state" be established – an idea that the majority of the Jewish public rejects; and more extreme parties, such as the northern branch of the Islamic Movement, are calling for Arabs to engage in separatism, alienation and defiance in their attitude toward Jewish society and the state institutions.



MK Dr. Mansour Abbas, Chairperson of the Ra'am Party, Deputy Speaker of the Knesset
In an Interview with: Dr. Michael Milstein, Senior Researcher, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

IPS Insights and Recommendations

1. Israel should employ political, economic and military measures in the campaign to stop Iran's nuclear and regional progress. This is a long-range campaign that requires regional collaborations as well as a closer strategic partnership with the United States. **The availability of a realistic military option is crucial when reinforcing deterrence vis-à-vis Iran, and provides Israel with tangible levers for motivating the U.S. and international community to promote a "longer and better" nuclear deal.**
2. The war in Ukraine emphasizes the importance of the military force, and the need to establish military supremacy in modern warfare. **The IDF is required to develop a strategy that would enable it to defeat first-circle threats while investing in designated force buildup, and deepening its strategic partnership with Washington, as well as enhancing its political and security ties with the Arab world to allow it effective action-taking in the third circle.**
3. Several military lessons can be learned by the IDF following the campaign in Ukraine, particularly in view of the comprehensive security threat that Iran poses for Israel. The key takeaway for the IDF in this context is that **in the next campaign, it must win as short a war as possible, display military supremacy, while shifting the campaign to the other side, neutralizing the threat of fire, and reducing the number of casualties among IDF troops and the home front, as it bolsters its deterrence based on genuine capabilities and high professional competence.**
4. Such a systemwide accomplishment will only be possible **if strategic objectives are clearly defined and translated into a suitable clear operative plan that would enable full operational freedom of action on all dimensions while taking away the enemy's ability to make accomplishments.**
5. **The importance of internal as well as international legitimization** while conducting a military high-intensity campaign for the purpose of maintaining political and military freedom of action is even more prominent following the campaign in Europe. The power relations scales are tipped in favor of the IDF, and the potential loss of civilian lives in light of the enemy's fighting characteristics could pose a significant legitimization challenge in the international arena **with which Israel must grapple by making a synchronized national effort of the political, security and military echelons, among other areas, in the cognitive sphere. This is a strategic mission of utmost importance for national security, for the price of its failure would project onto the way that war would be waged, the outcomes of such a war, and Israel's status in the regional system as well as its international standing.**
6. **The grave economic crisis** caused by the campaign in Ukraine is detrimental to global supply chains, leading the cost of living to skyrocket, and destabilizing food security in countries across the Middle East. The destabilization of regional order is playing into the hands of reactionary forces such as Iran, and is harmful

to the overall security architecture. The “black swan” of an economic collapse and regional turmoil **requires Israel to form a policy whereby it will help the Arab regimes (primarily Egypt and Jordan, as they are key to Israel's national security) directly as well as by way of influencing Washington.** Moreover, this situation opens up a window of opportunity for the expansion of strategic collaborations with the Arab world, and the establishment of Jerusalem's valuableness to the regional system.

- 7. The issue of the Palestinians is a key core subject of national security that can no longer be denied and managed on the day-to-day by way of “putting out fires”.** This issue requires Israel to form an overall strategy by having a fundamental political and public debate that would end with making the much-needed historical decisions. **If Israel keeps ignoring the Palestinian issue, it would inertially end up setting the stage for the “single state” reality, and changing the character of the State of Israel, which will no longer be Jewish or democratic.** The absence of an overall strategy is detrimental to national resilience, and leads to the entrenchment of the “conflict management” policy that helps “maintain quiet” by using tactical military and economic tools, but prevents the ability to inform reality in a way that aligns with national security interests.
- 8 As for Israeli Arabs, clearly, if the internal arena will not be organized and stabilized, Israel will no longer be able to establish long-term strategic security, even if it continues to enjoy military, economic or technological resilience, or continue with political breakthroughs with respect to its ties with countries in the region.** Much like the developments on the Palestinian level, and, to a large extent, it is closely linked to them, the reality in Israel's domestic arena, particularly with regard to Arab society, affects Israel's power and external image (among its enemies, but also its allies in both Arab and western worlds), highlighting the understanding that the policy employed to date is struggling to provide a solution for present-day challenges, and **requires a fundamental change in order to reach long-term stability.**
- 9. National resilience is key to Israel's security and must be at the heart of the country's political, public and social effort.** Actions taken should focus on bolstering mutual responsibility and solidarity, strengthening statehood, closing social gaps, and increasing the civilian engagement of all tribes comprising Israeli society in light of the values that underlie the Scroll of Independence. **Value-based leadership that serves as a role model and is inspiring plays an important role in strengthening national resilience and the ability to conduct a fundamental national public discourse.**
- 10.** The Israeli policy on the war in Ukraine and growing inter-bloc rivalry has thus far succeeded to strategically navigate in a relatively balanced manner between stresses and pressures in a way that corresponds with Israel's broader operative considerations in the region. However, Israel needs to continue in this policy line.

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Photos: Gilad Kavalerchik



About the Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS)

The Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) at IDC Herzliya, the convener of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, aspires to contribute to Israel's national security and resilience. To that end, the Institute conducts integrative and comprehensive policy analysis on national challenges, produces strategic insights and policy recommendations for decision-makers, and informs the public and policy discourse. The Institute's policy agenda consists of two main pillars – Israel's national security and societal resilience.

The Institute's policy analysis and deliberations on Israel's national security assess key processes shaping the Middle East and global arena, and identifies strategic opportunities to mitigate and offset critical threats and risks. The Institute's policy work on societal resilience stems from the understanding that internal weakness could harm Israel's overall ability to tackle strategic challenges, thus making societal resilience a key building-block of Israel's national security. Connecting both pillars, the Institute also addresses the growing gap between Israel and Jewish communities around the world, particularly with respect to American Jewry.

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

IPS Team: Dr. Moshe Albo | Ms. Hila Ziv | Dr. Michel Milshtein | Dr. Shay Har-Zvi | Ms. Fortuna Tebul | Ms. Nirit Gil | Ms. Inbal Gat.

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Program

A Symposium on A New Global Order Implications for Israel

Tuesday, May 17, 2022, 8:30AM - 2:30PM | Reichman University Campus

<p>08:30 Reception</p> <p>09:30 Opening Remarks</p> <p>Prof. Uriel Reichman, Founding President and Chairperson of the Board of Directors, Reichman University</p> <p>World Order in Crisis: The Economic Dimension</p> <p>Prof. Rafi Melnick, President, Reichman University</p> <hr/> <p>Address by the Hon. Lt. Gen. (Res.) Benjamin Gantz Israeli Minister of Defense</p>	<p>10:15 The Middle East: Opportunities and Threats</p> <p>Discussion</p> <p>Prof. Meir Litvak, The Alliance Center for Iranian Studies, Tel Aviv University</p> <p>Dr. Moshe Albo, Senior Researcher, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University</p> <p>Mr. Jacky Hugi, Galei Tzahal (IDF Radio), Israel News</p> <p>Moderator: Moav Vardi, Chief International Correspondent, Kan 11</p> <hr/> <p>The Global Arena From the U.S. Perspective</p> <p>Hon. Amos J. Hochstein, Senior Advisor to the President of the United States for International Energy</p> <p>In a special conversation with:</p> <p>Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University</p>	<p>11:00 Iran and Israel: Toward a Violent Confrontation</p> <p>Discussion</p> <p>Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amir Eshel, Director General, Israeli Ministry of Defense</p> <p>Maj. Gen. (Res.) Giora Eiland, Former Head of Israel National Security Council</p> <p>Mr. Gideon Frank, Former Head of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission; Chairman of the Council, Technion</p> <p>Moderator: Dr. Ronen Bergman, National Security Correspondent, The New York Times; Yedioth Ahronoth</p> <hr/> <p>Lessons from the War in Ukraine</p> <p>Keynote Address:</p> <p>Maj. Gen. Tamir Yadai Commander of the IDF Ground Forces</p>
<p>12:00 Intelligence, Policy and Decision Making - The War in Ukraine as a Case Study</p> <p>Leaders Discussion</p> <p>Lt. Gen. (Res.) Gadi Eisenkot, Former Chief of the IDF General Staff</p> <p>Mr. Tamir Pardo, Former Head of the Mossad</p> <p>Moderator: Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University</p> <hr/> <p>A Global Crisis: The Humanitarian Dimension</p> <p>Ms. Pnina Tameno Shete, Israeli Minister of Aliyah and Integration</p> <p>In an Interview with: Dr. Dana Wolf, Head of the Law and Security Program, Lauder School of Government, Reichman University</p>	<p>13:00 A Multipolar World: What are the Implications for Israel?</p> <p>Discussion:</p> <p>Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami, Former Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs; Co-founder and VP of the Toledo International Center for Peace</p> <p>Dr. Shay Har-Zvi, Senior Researcher, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University</p> <p>Ms. Galia Lavi, China Researcher, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)</p> <p>Moderator: Ms. Tal Schneider, Political and Diplomatic Correspondent, The Times of Israel</p> <hr/> <p>Symposium Moderator: Ms. Sharon Wexler, "Kan" - The Israeli Public Broadcasting Corporation</p>	<p>13:50 Israel and the Palestinians: Facing Reality</p> <p>Discussion:</p> <p>Lt. Gen. (Res.) Shaul Mofaz, Former Israeli Minister of Defense</p> <p>Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilead</p> <p>Moderator: Ms. Liat Regev, Journalist & Presenter, "Kan" 11 and IBC's Reshet B Radio News channel</p> <hr/> <p>Jews and Arabs in Israel: Where Are We Headed?</p> <p>MK Dr. Mansour Abbas, Chairperson of the Ra'am Party, Deputy Speaker of the Knesset</p> <p>In an Interview with: Dr. Michael Milstein, Senior Researcher, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University</p>