

THE GEOPOLITICAL SPHERE

The international arena has been overwhelmed by numerous dramatic events in many parts of the world including the Middle East, Europe, North America, and Asia. Pressing questions regarding these regions were addressed in various sessions at the Presidential Conference, discussing the aftermath of the Arab Spring, the politics of Islam, the rise of China and the leadership of America, the warfare of the future, and more.

Leadership that Makes a Difference

After being presented with the President's Award, **The Hon. William J. Clinton**¹ addressed the audience. His speech was a testament to the lessons he had learned in his presidency and the notion that even though everyone makes mistakes, it is how you move forward that is important. You must continue to grow and expand the definition of community. "The wonderful phrase *Tikkun Olam*, repair the breach, is a good and constant responsibility that we all have." He called for the audience and the people of Israel to never stop trying to repair the breach and to keep moving forward, living in the future.

Rt. Hon. Tony Blair² painted a picture of leadership in today's volatile, uncertain world as the expectation to know, but the impossibility of knowing. He described good leadership as an individual who takes responsibility and is ready for criticism. Blair also stressed the importance for democracy and good governance, saying, "democracy is not how majority takes power but how the majority treats the minority."

Mayor Rahm Emanuel³ took a different approach to leadership, pointing out failure as the most important attribute. Every person in leadership fails, but the true question is if they learn from that failure. According to Emanuel, the three most important qualities of a leader are "strength, confidence, and optimism." He also spoke in favor of action, describing the convenience of being passive, but true leadership is standing up to make a difference. Even in times of conflict, it's important for a leader to take action, "Never allow a good crisis to go to waste. It's an opportunity to do all the things you never thought you could before."

In the Closing Plenary: Decisions that will Shape Tomorrow, **Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu**⁴ addressed the audience and spoke about Israel's stands on peace, security, and prosperity. He said that "in order to have a tomorrow, we must be strong in the present and in the future, and in order to have peace and maintain peace, we must be strong in the present and in the future."

Political Islam

Many Muslim believe that real Islamic values are misrepresented by extremists, who project negative ideas in their political actions to the West. The Arab Spring brought political Islam into power and the question is - will it prove to be capable of shaping a new stable, democratic Middle East?

Ehud Yaari⁵ named three observations regarding political Islam. First, Arabs, formerly subject, are now citizens; second, the rulers of many revolutionized societies lack governing abilities; lastly, a new phenomenon developed in the new democratic system - *square-ocracy* - "the rule of the square and the rule by the square."

Raheel Raza⁶ emphasized the distinction between Islamism and the Islamic faith, as the first misrepresents the latter. She condemned Islamism, describing it as an "Islamic flavored totalitarianism" and expressed her concerns about its expansion worldwide, namely in the West. "Multiculturalism has become the cover for penetration of Islamism of the West," she says. Raza urges Muslims to change their thinking and embrace modernity, and at the same time, urged the West to distinguish between political Islamists and "freedom-loving progressive Muslims" and act accordingly.

Dr. Soner Cagaptay⁷ addressed the demonstrations in Turkey, which he claims, share similar features with Israel's recent social protests, emphasizing Turkey's democratic regime: "This is not an Arab Spring because Turkey never had a winter." The ruling Islamic political party, the AKP, has not lost its support and popularity. It has, however, created a majority of middle class citizens, which has taken their demands to the streets. This strong middle class is evidence of Turkey's economic growth, something its neighbors, lack. He predicts a slowly healing bond maintained by Israel and Turkey as well as strong ties to the US, standing together on policies regarding the Syrian conflict.

Prof. Mohamad Dajani Daoudi⁸ analyzed the causes of the Arab Spring, stemming from many issues such as lack of democracy and non-accountability. He addressed the

power of democracy while referring to the rise of radical Islam to power, saying that people voted parties such as Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood into power, because they presented themselves as the saviors of Islam from Western threats, he questions the education these groups promote and the extent of the integration efforts into the larger society.

Salameh Nematt⁹ stated that "if the Palestinian elections were held today in Gaza, Hamas would lose... In the West Bank, the Palestinian Authority would lose to Hamas." Nematt claimed the Palestinians realized that proper administration and local infrastructures aren't religion related. He demonstrated the disappointment of Arabs from different leaders and parliament members with every election. Ultimately, in the presence of pluralism, Nematt believes that political Islam will lose grounds: "They have to govern properly or lose power."

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilad¹⁰ regards Iran as the main issue that Israel should focus on. The democratic voting process is irrelevant as Khomeini, who was not democratically elected, is the decision maker. Gilad addressed "Hamastan" and claimed that engaging Hamas for peace talks required their cooperation, which has not been observed so far. Gilad concluded optimistically saying "the only good news in political Islam is the survival of monarchies that provide stability."

The World Order: Face Tomorrow's Challenges

The world has experienced numerous geopolitical, economic and technological changes resulting in a feeling of "world disorder." Are the changes in our favor or is the picture as grim as we think? Who is in charge of the existing, or perhaps, upcoming world order, and how will these world leaders deal with its challenges?

Amb. Stuart Eizenstat¹¹ suggests four global leading forces of the world order. First, in a multipolar system, there is a shift of power from West to East, namely in favor of China and emerging countries. China is a rising power that faces problems such as an aging society with slow growth and turbulence. The US is no longer a rising power, yet a predominant power. Second, trade, migration, and the fruitful process of exchanging of ideas has positively impacted international social, entrepreneurial, and business developments. Third, Islam endures internal clashes, yet international alliances have been made.

Fourth, de-legitimization of Israel serves as a key element with Israel's leading trading zone - Europe. "The peace process can help with these issues, but Israel needs to regain the narrative for world opinion from before 1967."

Dr. Josef Joffe¹² projects a more optimistic point of view and says "it can be a lot worse, it was a lot worse." Today's threats, in his mind, are not as significant as the threats and actions the world faced last century. Nonetheless, there are threats that must be addressed. The primary threat originates in failed states, which conflicts threaten to destabilize the international balance, as they spill over; Imperial Russia has risen, while the US has restrained and neutralized itself as it has begun leading from behind.

Antony Leung¹³ addressed Chinese issues and predicted that China will continue to rise, as it has been following the model of reform and it is ready to globalize, but it does not seek hegemonic power. Leading a better life, according to Leung, means that domestic consumption must increase and peace must be achieved. In his mind, "the young people will be facing a lot of challenges in two areas: employment and widening gaps in wealth." This phenomenon is a result of globalization.

Prof. Dominique Moisi¹⁴ pondered about what power will lead the international system in the 21st century. Moisi agrees that China will continue to grow yet it is too preoccupied with its return to the world's stage in order to lead. America, which has led until now, is not ready, willing or capable to continue with this role, despite its successes in various fields. Europe is divided into wealthy countries and less fortunate ones. The biggest threat to Europe is populism and unemployment, and in order to salvage it, Europe must reinvent the narrative as a whole. In conclusion, the next century will be called the multipolar century.

Amb. Terje Rød-Larsen¹⁵ is optimistic and says that "we are all lucky because we live in one of the most interesting times in history for three reasons: demography, technology, and identity." He addresses the age of information and technological innovation as rapid changes generating a worldwide search for identity, which feeds politics. People are looking for meaning. The Middle East will keep its geopolitical centrality as conflicts may change yet they keep taking place.

Tomorrow's Wars - No Longer Science Fiction

Today's wars indicate that what was once considered science fiction has become a reality. Operation Pillar of Defense is an example of a battlefield presenting new elements of war and threats of the future. What will the battlefield of tomorrow look like and how can we prevent futuristic wars from taking place?

Dr. Ronen Bergman¹⁶ says that "future wars are not the future or fiction but the present." Bergman addressed key issues such as the relations between classic and new warfare, the legality of actions and war crimes, and the impact on civilians. The speakers addressed these and others and agreed that the rules of the game largely remain the same.

Brig. Gen. (Res.) Yair Cohen¹⁷ emphasized the importance of cyber warfare and declared that Israel has "the potential to be the [world's] number one, number two or number three cyber superpower." He estimated that on average "500 million cyber-attacks take place per second" and predicted that in the future, Israel will be able to neutralize enemy weapons systems with "a single keystroke." With the cyber world constantly under attack, it is becoming harder to identify the attacker and as such, the gap between attacker and defender is growing.

Prof. Edward Luttwak¹⁸ did not agree with this take and explained that while strategy of any war deploys hi-tech equipment (i.e. drones) and mid-tech equipment (i.e. armored vehicles), the only way to win a war is with infantry. He claimed that conventional warfare would return because people are "nostalgic for large-scale wars."

Brig. Gen. (Res.) Dr. Daniel Gold¹⁹ discussed the role of robotics in modern warfare. Gold explained how the advanced robotic technology prevents rockets from landing in Israel. The sophisticated software can automatically determine which rockets will land in the sea. Ignoring such trajectories, the system will only hit the rockets headed for populated areas and detonate them in midair. Gold adds that robots can also map tunnels by lasers before forces enter.

Prof. Michael Walzer²⁰ added the voice of legality and morality to the discussion. With satellite warfare, there needs to be set laws of legitimate targets and a commitment to such laws. About human operated drone killing he stated that "this is killing that has gotten very easy and the easiness should make us uneasy."

Dr. Ariel Levite²¹ predicts that "big classical wars will be the exception not the rule; we are likely to see global multi-dimensional friction, cyber and cognitive friction, more at sea." He claims that friction will be constant but will vary in intensity, and that we are less likely to see wars with weapons of mass destruction, although these will play an important role in politics.

Should We Wait it Out? Israel and a Changing Middle East

The upheavals of the Arab Spring have significantly changed Israel's strategic playing field. Some claim that Israel should wait and see what becomes of the regional turmoil and others say it would be a mistake to ignore the events and that Israel should act and become engaged in shaping the new strategic environment.

Sima Shine²² described the regional changes as a "tectonic earthquake" and questioned the possibility of a real democracy with political Islam. Evidence to this, in Shine's mind, is the uncertainty of unstable governments and security in the region, mainly caused by the conflict between the Shia and the Sunnah. Israel needs careful surveillance of its borders and define red lines, in order to minimize surprises.

Amb. Itamar Rabinovich²³ refers to the unclear regional situation as the "New New Middle East". In his mind, Israel should help shape the region's future as it is a too important regional actor to sit passively, yet it should measure its steps as they can be counterproductive. He advises the government to be more disciplined with its messages – the ones that need to be said should be said with more authority, while some messages should be passed with more discretion. Rabinovich said that "the one area in which we can take an active step is the Palestinian issue, yet the time is not right now for negotiations on a final status agreement."

Amb. Dore Gold²⁴ said that Iran's position should be weakened and indicated that the newly elected president is untrustworthy with regards to Israel and obtaining nuclear power. He added that the Iranian puppet regime of Assad in Syria should end. Gold perceives the current gap between Israel and the Palestinians as too wide to bridge due to uncertainty on the Palestinians' side, and calls any agreement affecting the defensible borders of Israel as "a national disaster."

Amb. Prof. Daniel Kurtzer²⁵ addressed Israel's potential reactions to the region's disorder with the ostrich and

eagle approaches. The ostrich approach, sticking one's head underground and waiting it out, could be dangerous because it exposes oneself to shrapnel; whereas the eagle approach, soaring above the fray and seeking out opportunities to secure its prey, might be a better approach. Regarding the local conflict he emphasized the concepts of "secure" and "recognized" in the negotiations of borders. Regarding the US intervention in Syria, Kurtzer mentioned that the American people have been affected by "conflict fatigue" and that "this administration is tiptoeing into this question without jumping full body" because the extent of the threats facing American interests in the region are unknown. The question remains "whether a devil we know is better than a devil that may emerge from the overthrow of the first devil."

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Meir Dagan²⁶ attested that while the changes in the region are dramatic, the situation is not getting worse. The fall of many radical Muslim leaders is evidence to this, and with this, Israel should take advantage of the situation, create initiatives and seek opportunities. Dagan mentions the internal situation in Iran, which is suffering from a weak economy and bad management, and Syria, which is undergoing a civil war, as examples where steps against radical leaderships are being taken. In terms of policy, he says, "we have to prepare ourselves for the worst but to take every opportunity to seek every chance that we can. If we will not take the initiative and lead the way, the way will be forced upon us, and the prices that we are going to pay will be heavy."

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- 1 The Hon. William J. Clinton (USA) was the 42nd President of the United States of America.
 - 2 The Rt. Hon. Tony Blair (UK) is the official envoy of the Quartet to the Middle East and the Former Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and leader of Britain's Labor Party.
 - 3 Mayor Rahm Emanuel (USA) is the 55th Mayor of Chicago. Emanuel previously served as the White House Chief of Staff in President Barack Obama's administration and was for three terms in the U.S. House of Representatives representing Chicago's 5th District.
 - 4 The Hon. Benjamin Netanyahu (Israel) is the Prime Minister of Israel.
 - 5 Mr. Ehud Yaari (Israel) is the veteran Middle East Commentator for Israel's Channel Two news, as well as a Fred Lafer International Fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy and a Senior Fellow of the Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies.
 - 6 Ms. Raheel Raza (Canada) is President of The Council for Muslims Facing Tomorrow, author of the book *Their Jihad – Not My Jihad*, award winning journalist, public speaker, activist for human rights, gender equality and dignity in diversity.
 - 7 Dr. Soner Cagaptay (USA) is the Beyer Family Fellow and Director of the Turkish Research Program at The Washington Institute. He is a regular columnist for *Hürriyet Daily News* and a contributor to CNN's Global Public Square blog.
 - 8 Prof. Mohammed S. Dajani Daoudi (Palestinian Authority) is the Head of the American Studies Program at al-Quds University in Jerusalem and Founder of the *Wasatia* movement of moderate Islam.
 - 9 Mr. Salameh Nematt (Jordan) is a journalist, communications strategist and the Founder of Pillar Seven, a Middle East regional communications consultancy. He is the former Washington Bureau Chief for the *Al Hayat International Arab* daily and a former international editor and contributor for *The Daily Beast*.

- 10 Maj.-Gen. (Res.) Amos Gilad (Israel) is the Director of Policy and Political-Military Affairs at the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs and the Chair of the Security Relations with Regional and Strategic Partners of The Ministry of Defense. In the past he served as Coordinator of Government Operations in the Territories, Head of the Military Intelligence Production Division and Spokesperson of the Israeli Defense Forces. Gilad was also Acting Military Secretary of the Prime Minister and Defense Minister.
- 11 Amb. Stuart Eizenstat (USA) is a Partner at Covington & Burling LLP. and Co-Chairman of The Jewish People Policy Institute's Board of Directors. He served as Chief White House domestic policy adviser to President Jimmy Carter (1977-1981); U.S. Ambassador to the European Union, Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs, and Deputy Secretary of the Treasury in the Clinton Administration (1993-2001).
- 12 Dr. Josef Joffe (Germany) is the Publisher and Editor of the German weekly *Die Zeit* and the Marc and Anita Abramowitz Fellow in International Relations at the Hoover Institution.
- 13 Mr. Antony Leung (China) is the Senior Managing Director, Chairman of Greater China for Blackstone and a member of the firm's Executive Committee.
- 14 Prof. Dominique Moisi (France) is the Co-Founder and a Senior Advisor of the French Institute of International Affairs (IFRI). He is currently a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe in Natolin.
- 15 Amb. Terje Rød-Larsen (Norway) is the President of the International Peace Institute and UN Under-Secretary-General and the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1559 on Lebanese sovereignty.
- 16 Dr. Ronen Bergman (Israel) is the Senior Correspondent for Military and Intelligence Affairs for the *Yedioth Ahronoth* newspaper and a contributing writer for the *New York Times Magazine*.

- 17 Brig. Gen. (Res.) Yair Cohen (Israel) is the Head of Intelligence and Cyber Solutions Division at Elbit Systems Ltd. He is the former Commander of Unit 8200, the Central Military intelligence and Cyber Unit of the Israeli Defense Force.
- 18 Prof. Edward Luttwak (USA) is a Senior Associate of the Center for Strategic and International Studies of Washington.
- 19 Brig. Gen. (Res.) Dr. Daniel Gold (Israel) is the CEO and Founder of Gold R&D Technology and Innovation Ltd., and Head of the Israel National Committee for Commercial/Civilian Cyber R&D. Gold served as Head of Research and Development at the Israel Ministry of Defense and the Israel Defense Forces.
- 20 Prof. Michael Walzer (USA) is the Professor Emeritus of Social Science at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton University.
- 21 Dr. Ariel (Eli) Levite (Israel) is a nonresident Senior Associate in the Nuclear Policy Program at the Carnegie Endowment. He served as the Principal Deputy Director-General for Policy at the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission as well as Deputy National Security Adviser for Defense Policy and Head of the Bureau of International Security and Arms Control in the Israeli Ministry of Defense.
- 22 Ms. Sima Shine (Israel) is the Head of Strategic Division at Israel's Ministry of Strategic Affairs.
- 23 Amb. Itamar Rabinovich (Israel) is the Founding President of the Israel Institute, a Distinguished Global Professor at New York University, and Non-Resident Distinguished Senior Fellow at the Saban Center at the Brookings Institute. He is Professor Emeritus of Middle Eastern History at Tel Aviv University and the University's former President.
- 24 Amb. Dore Gold (Israel) is the President of the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. He served as Israel's Ambassador to the United Nations from 1997 – 1999 and was Foreign Policy Adviser to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu from 1996- 1997.
- 25 Amb. Prof. Daniel C. Kurtzer (USA) is the S. Daniel Abraham Visiting Professor of Middle East Policy Studies at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs. He served as the United States Ambassador to Israel and as the United States Ambassador to Egypt as well as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research.
- 26 Maj. Gen. (Res.) Meir Dagan (Israel) is the former Director of the Institute for Intelligence and Special Operations (The *Mossad*) and the Chairman of Gulliver Energy. He also serves as a Director of the Israel Ports Authority.