

ISRAEL: A VITAL ASSET OF THE WEST

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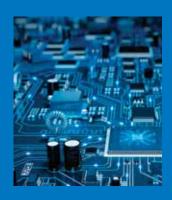
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Prologue



José María Aznar

Former Prime Minister of Spain (1996-2004) Chairman of The Friends of Israel Initiative

If Israel were to disappear by the brutal force of its many enemies, the Western world in which we live will cease to exist as we know it. We are now witnessing a time where radicalism and anti-Semitism are on the rise everywhere even in places where they did not exist before. Actually, trying to delegitimize Israel, calling for a boycott against everything that comes from there, criticizing every decision and action taken by the government in Jerusalem, have become the new trend in the minds of many leaders, scholars, universities, and international organizations.

Judging Israel by standards that are not only impossible to fulfill, but also that are not applied to the rest of nations should not be accepted as normal; on the contrary, when we ask Israel not to respond to the attacks of terrorist groups, we are in fact disarming ourselves by renouncing to the notion of legitimate self-defense; when we ask corporations to abandon Israel, we are denying ourselves the many leading innovations that shape our products and processes today; when we see the peace process as the central element of all the problems in the region, we are blinding ourselves to the many conflicts that currently permeate the Arab world and to the threats to our own security emanating from the Middle East; when we depict Israel as a land of blood and violence, we are negating the actual fact that, despite all the troubles, Israel is a land of opportunities and prosperity.

Israel is not only part of the Western world, in spite of being located in the Middle East. It is an indispensable and vital part of our civilization. Put aside our historical common roots; put aside the moral obligations to give and support a State for the Jewish people; put aside the thousands of years that link the Jewish people with the land where they live today. Just consider the many benefits we, the rest of the West and the world, enjoy thanks to Israel. Though surrounded and attacked by real enemies, Israeli ingenuity has produced technical and scientific solutions to many of our problems, from water treatment to instant messaging, from medical care to counterterrorism.

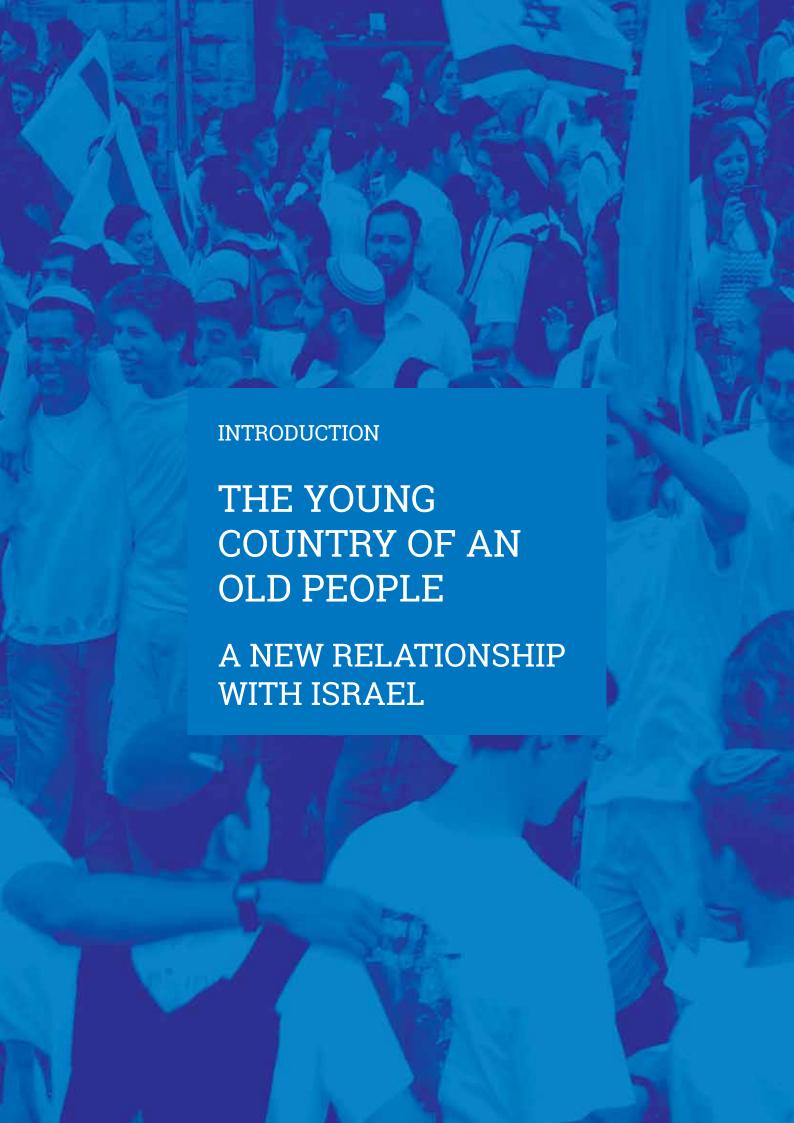
Allowing the delegitimators of Israel to spread their narrative unchecked is not only immoral, but it is wrong and, above all, a first order strategic mistake. Israel is the only real democracy in the entire region; it is the only stable nation from Morocco to Pakistan; it is only our hope to positively shape events in this area. Israel has become not only the laboratory of many of our innovations; it is the world's think-tank to understand realistically what is happening in the region; and it should be our best instrument to guarantee a peaceful and prosperous Middle-East for the future.

This report, done in very turbulent times, is the product of our convictions. We, the members of the Friends of Israel Initiative, do believe in Israel. We see in Israel a country full of promise and a democracy with all the virtues and defects of any other democracy. However, we also see the growing list of attacks against Israel. The enemy's armies have been replaced by no-worse-armed terrorist organizations and warfare has come along with lawfare and the indiscriminate abuse of international norms and organizations against Israel.

We want to change the perception that many have about Israel. Sometimes it is because people don't know better; sometimes it is the result of extremely biased opinions in the media. We want to introduce some rationality when talking about Israel and because of that, this report highlights the many positive aspects of a dynamic, vibrant, and promising Israel, yet without keeping silent about some controversial issues.

In any case, what we want is for the reader to feel and see the positive effect of having Israel, a strong Israel, at our side. Having a secure Israel means more security for us; having a prosperous Israel enriches us all. Thinking the opposite is simply wrong as this report demonstrates with clarity and simplicity.





This manuscript tells the story of the present day $oldsymbol{f L}$ State of Israel. It explains why this small liberal democracy is an outpost of the Western World in the Middle East. It tells the tale of how Israel has become the most valuable ally in an inhospitable environment and how it can contribute to the economies and the advancement of other nations. It also explores the major issues that the media more commonly associate with Israel in the life of nations. It finally brings light to a disgraceful strategy that tries to delegitimize Israel constituting also a peril for the West itself.

We will say Israel is part of the West.

Among the English Victorian novelists there was one woman who went by the pseudonym of George Eliot. She wrote a novel, "Daniel Deronda", on the plight of the Jews for their homeland. It was widely read at the time and it educated public figures and common readers on the aspiration. The surrounding atmosphere that made the book possible was the period of Jewish history known as emancipation. During emancipation Jews in

the Diaspora could consider themselves lucky to live in some European countries where individual rights were respected. There was, particularly in the case of the Victorian English, also a community of civilization. Eliot - Mary Ann Evans - explained it in a letter to Harriet Beecher Stowe¹ her colleague in the realm of English novelists on the other side of the Atlantic. She asserted: "to-

wards the Hebrews we western people who have been reared in Christianity have a peculiar debt and, whether we acknowledge it or not, a peculiar thoroughness of fellowship in religious and moral sentiment".

We will say the Jews have the right to have a nation like the other nations.

Of all European countries the Jews seemed to be doing particularly well in France, home of the revolutionary ideals that emancipated the Jews. Famous are the words of Clermont-Tonnerre in the revolutionary assembly: "The Jews should be denied everything as a nation but granted everything as individuals ..." They seemed to get along well with that. So much so that there was a Prayer for France in the prayer book that called on the expansion to all the world of the revolution that had given them rights.

In 1895 a newspaper correspondent of a Viennese publication going by the name of Theodor Herzl attended the ceremony of degradation of a French official, Alfred Dreyfus, on counts of treason and espionage. That French official, falsely accused and who was about to spend more than four years of his life in the *Île du Diable* as a prisoner, was also Jewish. His demise is a turning point in the history of France and of Judaism. At that moment, Herzl, and ardent proponent of assimilation until then, became convinced that no matter how well integrated the Jews thought they were in the more advanced of the advanced societies, they would still not be home. Three years after that moment he had written "Das Judenstaat" and convened the First Zionist Congress.

We will say Israel unabashedly pursues excellence and expects to elicit cooperation and emulation in return, not resentment.

> In 1898 the French writer Émile Zola published in the front-page of the newspaper "L'Aurore" an open letter to the then president Edgar Faure. It was the beginning of the rehabilitation of Dreyfus. In that famous article under the title "J'accuse" hangs a tale that was to confirm the need of the Jews to have a home of their own. The rejec-

was apparently reversed on paper but the victory of the "dreyfusards" - the defenders of Dreyfus - brought an inconvenient truth to light: that it was in success rather than in defeat that the Jews were actually most feared and rejected by the host nations. The way they fought and the capacities they showed on the public and intellectual fields not only to set to right the wrong that had been committed but to score political points, proved to be a bittersweet victory. For then it arose the envy and resentment of society. It was a paradox but a paradox that showed the need for a state. If the Jews were poor and powerless they were dismissed as low; should they take advantage of the enlightened societies and civilized rule of law countries and achieve success, they were resented and rejected. What was the right thing to do to belong?

And we will finally say that it is among the weak in the West, among those who have ceased to believe in the powerful liberal principles that have brought us freedom and prosperity that Israel - Zion -, is seen as a troublemaker and a danger rather than the cheerful companion that she is.

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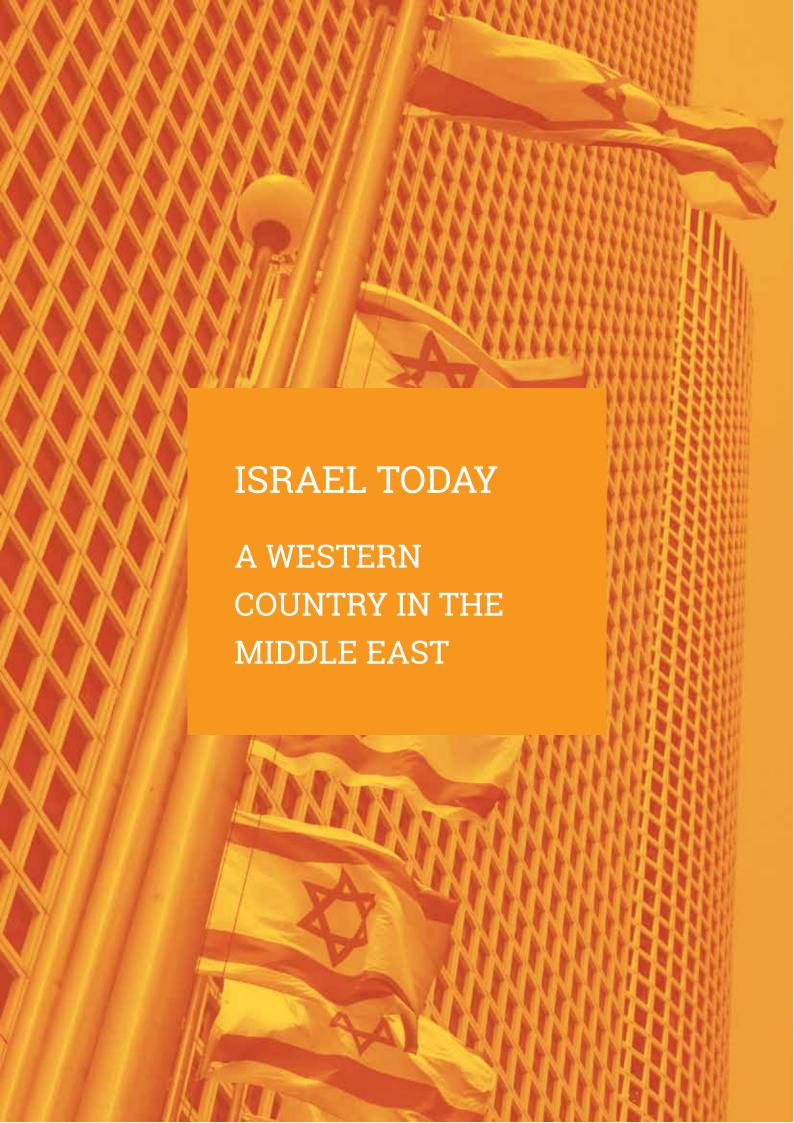
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HBS was the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, a momentous book in American literature and history. Of her President Lincoln said: 'So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war!", in reference to her defense on moral grounds of the abolition of slavery, declared by Lincoln under the Emancipation Proclamation and upheld during America's Civil War.



THE DREAM OF ZION: A LONG HISTORY BACKED BY THE LAW

"The State of Israel is the national home of the Jewish People, who returned to their land after two millennia of exile. This was its very purpose."

Reuven Rivlin, President of Israel, Oct. 26th, 2014

Leaders of the Zionist movement sought international support for their objectives. Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolov focused much of their effort in Great Britain to obtain official British support for the Zionist Movement, especially after Britain declared war on the Ottoman Empire and the British military led the Sinai and Palestine Campaign against the Ottomans.

One of the main supporters of the Zionist movement was the Jewish British Cabinet member, Herbert Samuel. In a secret memorandum titled "The Future of Palestine" and circulated among the cabinet members, Samuel outlined the rationale for Great Britain to seize Palestine from the Ottoman Empire, to annex it to the British Empire, to facilitate Jewish return to Palestine, and eventually allow the Jews to establish their homeland. The memorandum, written in January 1915, shortly after the declaration of war against the Ottoman Empire, set the ground for Britain's eventual endorsement of the Zionist objectives.²

Towards the end of World War I and as British forces were engaged in the Sinai and Palestine Campaign against Ottoman and German forces, the British government sought to enlist local support. On one side, the British government supported Arabs rebelling against the Ottomans in the Levant, and on the other, it sought support from Diaspora Jews in Europe and America and from the Jews already inhabiting Palestine. Clearly, several strategic and political calculations, as those outlined in Samuel's secret memorandum, motivated the British Cabinet to endorse both Arab and Zionist aspirations.

There was indeed a commonly held view in the Cabinet that British support of the Zionist movement's ultimate goal would garner international Jewish support, primarily in America, and that support could be critical for the British war effort.³ However, the foundation for the British Cabinet's support to the Zionist movement predated

World War I. For instance, as early as 1908, Winston Churchill endorsed Zionist ideas and fused strategic motivations with an idealistic view of the Jewish quest for a national home in the Holy Land:

The establishment of a strong free Jewish state astride of the bridge between Europe and Africa, flanking the land roads to the East, would not only be an immediate advantage to the British Empire but a notable step towards the harmonious disposition of the world among its people.⁴

Thus, the British government's "declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations" that would become known as the "Balfour Declaration" was a major milestone in the international recognition of the Jewish People's national rights. In a letter dated November 2, 1917 and published in *The Times* a week later, the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour conveyed to Baron Rothschild that the Cabinet had approved the following declaration:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.⁵

The Balfour Declaration was at the time the first most important achievement of the Zionist movement in its efforts to gain support and realize the vision of establishing a Jewish state in the Jewish people's ancestral homeland, Palestine. The father of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl, had only convened the first Zionist Congress in Basel a mere twenty years earlier. Thus, the Balfour Declaration gave an immense boost to the Zionist movement by demonstrating to still skeptical Jews that the prospects for achieving Jewish statehood in Palestine are not beyond reach.

Not less importantly, the Balfour Declaration received formal international recognition and set the international legal foundations for the Jewish People's right to statehood. Convened in April 1920 to determine the future of territories previously belonging to the Turkish Ottoman Empire, the San Remo Conference debated the issue of Palestine. The World War I allied powers (Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) decided not only to recog-

² Herbert Samuel, "The Future of Palestine," 21 January 1915, CAB 37/123/43 http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6176630. A simple text version is available at: http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Future_of_Palestine [both retrieved: September 5, 2014].

³ James Renton, "The Balfour Declaration: Its Origins and Consequences," Jewish Quarterly, No. 209, Spring 2008. http://www.jew-ishquarterly.org/issuearchive/articleea91.html [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

⁴ Quoted in Michael Makovsky, Churchill's Promised Land: Zionism and Statecraft. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007, p. 62. 5 Arthur James Balfour, Letter to Lord Rothschild, November 2, 1917 http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/E210CA73E38D9E1D-052565FA00705C61 [retrieved: September 5, 2014].



Jewish European Refugees in the British Mandate

nize the Balfour Declaration, but also to set the implementation of the declaration as the principal mission of the British mandate over Palestine:

The Mandatory will be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 8, 1917, by the British Government, and adopted by the other Allied Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.6

The Council of the League of Nations further expanded and detailed this provision in the resolution on the Palestine Mandate adopted on 24 July 1922. The resolution reincorporated the Balfour Declaration and specified in Article 2:

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.7

The Mandate specified in detail the responsibilities of the mandatory power to establish the "Jewish national home". As the mandatory power of Palestine, Britain was to work with a Jewish representative institution - specifically the Zionist Organization - that would become the "Jewish Agency". Furthermore, the Mandate not only permitted Jewish immigration to Palestine, but also tasked the mandatory power to encourage the "close settlement by Jews on the land."8

In terms of International Law, Great Britain undertook an internationally binding obligation to secure the establishment of a Jewish national home.9 Furthermore, the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald in an official letter to Dr. Chaim Weizmann in 1931 recognized the Mandate as an obligation:

His Majesty's Government will continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the mandate as approved by the Council of the League of Nations. This is an international obligation from which there can be no question of receding.10

See the full text at: Council on Foreign Relations, "San Remo Resolution," http://www.cfr.org/israel/san-remo-resolution/p15248 trieved: September 5, 2014].

See the full text of the resolution at: The Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, "The Palestine Mandate," http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/palmanda.asp September 5, 2014].

Article 6 of the Palestine Mandate - The Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, "The Palestine Mandate," http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/palmanda.asp [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

Alan Dershowitz, The Case for Israel. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2003, pp. 32-38.

The letter, known as the MacDonald Letter, was also submitted to the House of Commons. For the official text, see House of Commons, "The Prime Minister's Letter," Hansard, HC Deb 13 February 1931, vol. 248, cc751-7W http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1931/feb/13/prime-ministers-letter [retrieved: September

By 1923, the Jewish People's right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland achieved both international political and legal recognition just as several national movements in Europe attained their own self-determination and established new nation-states across the continent. Primarily advocated by President Wilson and figuring high in his famous "14 points" for a peace program following World War I, national self-determination reshaped Europe's new post-War geography. Against this backdrop, one can appreciate the commitment of the architects of the new world order following World War I to endorse the aspiration of the growing Zionist movement to permit the repatriation of the Jewish People to their ancestral homeland and to facilitate the exercising of their right to national statehood. Thus, the driving force of Jewish self-determination, Zionism, did not stand out either among other national movements and it was not a religious Jewish movement, but rather a political national movement. Adrian Hastings argued:

Zionism was a nationalist movement stimulated by the pressure of other nationalist movements within the European world. Its goal like theirs was the creation of a nation-state...¹¹

In addition, the British Cabinet explicitly recognized the special standing of the Jewish People concerning the founding of a Jewish national home in Palestine:

His Majesty's Government ... recognizes that the undertaking of the mandate is an undertaking to the Jewish people and not only to the Jewish population of Palstine.¹²

The 1923 Mandate resolution of the Council of the League of Nations and its recognition of the Jewish People's right to self-determination would become the cornerstone of the report of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) and its plan to partition Palestine into two independent states – a Jewish State and an Arab State. On November 29, 1947, 33 member-states (of the 57 member-states) of the UN General Assembly voted in favor of the partition plan.

There is no doubt that the tragedy of the Holocaust that engulfed the Jewish People played a major role in the work of UNSCOP and in the deliberations of the UN Thus, the establishment of the State of Israel as the Jewish homeland rested on solid international legal grounds and broad international support that recognized the Jewish People's legitimate right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland.

General Assembly. Nonetheless, the vast majority of the Assembly members took for granted the notion that the Jewish People are entitled to self-determination and statehood in their ancestral homeland.¹³

Even the USSR, a vocal and outspoken critic of Western colonialism and imperialism, endorsed both the Partition Plan and the Jewish People's right to self-determination in Palestine. The Permanent Representative of the USSR to the UN, Ambassador Andrei Gromyko, eloquently articulated the USSR's position:

The Representatives of the Arab States claim that the partition of Palestine would be an historic injustice. But this view of the case is unacceptable, if only because, after all, the Jewish people have been closely linked with Palestine for a considerable period in history. Apart from that, we must not overlook ... the position in which the Jewish people found themselves as a result of the recent world war...

The delegation of the USSR maintains that the decision to partition is in keeping with the high principles and aims of the United Nations. It is keeping with the principle of the national self-determination of peoples.¹⁴

Thus, the establishment of the State of Israel as the Jewish homeland rested on solid international legal grounds and broad international support that recognized the Jewish People's legitimate right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland. As such, the story of the Jewish national movement and the successful realization of its fundamental aspiration would not be any different from the experience of European national movements that gained self-determination and national statehood

^{5, 2014].}

¹¹ Adrian Hastings, The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 187.

¹² This statement was part of the 1931 MacDonald Letter – A letter from Prime Minister Ramsey Macdonald to Dr. Chaim Weizmann. The Letter was also submitted for the record to the House of Commons. See House of Commons, "The Prime Minister's Letter," *Hansard*, HC Deb 13 February 1931 vol 248 cc751-7W http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1931/feb/13/prime-ministers-letter [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

¹³ For a detailed discussion of the proceedings and deliberations of UNSCOP and the UN General Assembly leading to the adoption of the UN Partition Plan for Palestine, see Alexander Yakobson and Amnon Rubinstein, *The Jewish Nation-state and Human Rights*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009, Chapter 1.

¹⁴ Quoted in Alexander Yakobson and Amnon Rubinstein, *The Jewish Nation-state and Human Rights*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 23

The dynamism of Israeli democracy is reflected in its vibrant media, independent judiciary, social welfare, prosperous economy, successful election cycles, and the encouragement to a large degree, of political pluralism, among other democratic accomplishments.

in the first half of the 20th Century. Furthermore, the founding document of the State of Israel, the Declaration of Independence, outlined Western democratic principles to govern the country. In this respect too, Israel's story matched the evolution of European Western democracies.

The fundamental difference between Israel and the other Western democracies is that Israel's neighbors not only rejected the broad international legitimacy, refused to accept the binding international resolutions, and disregarded the international legal grounds for establishing the State of Israel, but opted to use force to negate the founding of the new state. The Arab objection to the establishment of the Jewish state however, was not a mere territorial dispute, but rather an outright objection to the international legal recognition of the Jewish People's right to self-determination. Thus, the Arab nations and the Arab population of Palestine set out to thwart the establishment of the Jewish state. Contrarily, Israel extended its hand to peace - to both the Arab nations and to the Arab population in Palestine - but its hand would remain hanging.

EVERYTHING A LIBERAL-DEMOCRACY SHOULD BE

"One of the reasons I'm such a strong supporter of Israel is that it is a country that has given rights and democracy to its people and it's very important that that continues. When you look across the region and you look at those indexes of freedom you see that Israel is one of the few countries that ticks the boxes in terms of freedom and it's very important it continues to do so."

(Prime Minister David Cameron speaking at Prime Minister's Questions, November 26, 2014)

Israel stands out as one of the perhaps two Western liberal-democracies constantly facing an adverse strategic environment since its establishment; the second being the Republic of Korea. Israel's position – in the eye of shifting and evolving regional storms – has compelled it

to muster extraordinary societal resilience and national wherewithal. Against all odds, Israel has established a vibrant democracy that offers equal and full rights and freedoms to its citizens, Jews and Arabs alike. Israel's governance is predicated on the rule of law, a freely elected legislative overseeing the executive, and the independent judicial review of both the executive and legislative branches of government. The French acclaimed philosopher, Bernard-Henri Levy – Jewish himself - well captured this remarkable achievement:

Israel represents an island which is actually a miracle of freedom, democracy and rejection of fascist ignorance. ... Zionism is the only ism of the 20th century that didn't fail and become a caricature, of all the great movements. ... The people who built Israel, who came from the darkness of Nazism, Communism and totalitarian Arab nations, invented a working democracy within a matter of days...¹⁵

A 2013 BBC poll confirmed that Israel remains one of the world's least popular countries, with 52% of the surveyed people identifying Israel's influence as "mainly negative." In this poll, only Iran, North Korea, and Pakistan were viewed worse than Israel. Considering what Israel provides to the world and what Israel's existence means to the West, this is a worrying outcome.

Despite Israel's unpopularity in the world, its great achievements as a Western and liberal democracy are undeniable, in addition to its contribution to create a safer, freer world.

Barry Holden defined liberal democracy as "a political system in which the people make the basic political decisions, but in which there are limitations on what decisions they can make." He also added that, "Democracy is a political system in which the people, positively or negatively, make, and are entitled to make, the basic determining decisions on matters of public policy."16 Israel's political nature actually fits this definition. But, according to former two-term elected Kentucky State Treasurer Jonathan Miller, Israel also passes Hubert Humphrey's Moral Test of the Government, which is one of the liberal mantras: "It was once said that the moral test of Government is how that Government treats those who are in the dawn of life, the children; those who are in the twilight of life, the elderly; and those who are in the shadows of life, the sick, the needy, and the handicapped." 17

¹⁵ Or Kashti, "Bernard-Henri Levy: I have never seen an army as democratic as the IDF," *Haaretz*, May 30, 2010 http://www.haaretz.com/news/democracy-and-its-challenges/bernard-henri-levy-i-have-never-seen-an-army-as-democratic-as-the-idf-1.293087 [retrieved: November 2, 2014].

¹⁶ Barry Holden, *Understanding Liberal Democracy*, New York: Harverster Weatsheaf, 1993: p.17.

¹⁷ Jonathan Miller, "The Liberal Case for Israel", *The Hufftington Post.* (November 28, 2011). http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jonathanmiller/

However, Israel is not a perfect democracy, as no Western counterpart is either. There are many shortcomings and the system tries to achieve a complicated balance of freedom and security. Still, Israel emerges as an example of overcoming adversity, a place where democracy has remained and prospered as a guarantor of rights and liberties in spite of wars and conflicts. Better yet, thanks to its liberal, Western system, Israel has thrived and attained great achievements in economics, social sciences, politics, natural sciences, health, high tech and culture.

Nowadays, the dynamism of Israeli democracy is reflected in its vibrant media, independent judiciary, social welfare, prosperous economy, successful election cycles, and the encouragement to a large degree, of political pluralism, among other democratic accomplishments.

What's Israel's Democracy Like?

The 2013 Economist Intelligence Unit's (EUI) Democracy Index designates Israel as a "flawed democracy" along with France, Italy, Greece and Portugal that fair only slightly higher than Israel in the index and above other OECD members, including Slovakia, Cyprus, Poland, Brazil, and Mexico. Needless to say, Israel scores the highest possible rankings on all key indicators of the index in the Middle East.¹⁸

Manifesting the vibrancy of Israel's socio-political fabric, Israel earned the seventh highest rank in the world for "political participation" in the EUI's Democracy Index. In that respect, it is important to appreciate the EUI's understanding of the essential nature of political participation:

Participation is also a necessary component, as apathy and abstention are enemies of democracy. Even measures that focus predominantly on the processes of representative, liberal democracy include (although inadequately or insufficiently) some aspects of participation. In a democracy, government is only one element in a social fabric of many and varied institutions, political organisations, and associations. Citizens cannot be required to take part in the political process, and they are free to express their dissatisfaction by not participating. However, a healthy democracy requires the active, freely chosen participation of citizens in public life. Democracies flourish when citizens are willing to participate in

public debate, elect representatives and join political parties. Without this broad, sustaining participation, democracy begins to wither and become the preserve of small, select groups.¹⁹

Israel's high level of political participation reflects the embedment of civil rights and liberties including the freedom of assembly and association and the freedom of speech and press. All Israeli citizens enjoy the right to petition the government without the threat of harassment or imprisonment.²⁰ Not surprisingly therefore, Israel is home to one of the most animated civil societies and voluntary sector encompassing nearly all walks of social life – from healthcare through education, sports, and religious associations to social welfare.

Mounting public discontent over the economic cost of living in Israel - ranging from food products to housing and children education - led in the summer of 2011 to a mass movement - the #J14 - demanding social justice. In a series of public rallies that swept the country, tens of thousands of Israelis took to the streets. In many ways, the Israeli #J14 movement mirrored equivalent social movements that took to the streets across the Western world underscoring the shared societal challenges of Israel and the rest of the Western world. The Israeli experience however, stood out in two important aspects. Primarily, Israeli public discontent and the mass social movement did not lead to a violent outburst. Rather, the public demonstrations and even the Israeli version of "occupy" feature of social protests was conducted in an orderly and safe fashion. Young parents often joined the rallies with their children having them exposed to civic and political participation at first hand. Secondly, the #J14 movement affected real albeit measured change in government policy and corporate practices.

The separation of power between the independent branches of government preserves Israel's liberal democratic system and civil rights and liberties. Israel is a multiparty parliamentary democracy. The 120-member unicameral legislature – the Knesset – has not enacted a constitution, but has legislated a series of "Basic Laws" that codify and safeguard civil liberties and rights. The Israeli parliamentary system is based on a nation-wide proportional representation with a relatively low qualifying threshold that use to stand at 2% and was raised to 3.25%. Thirteen parliamentary groups made up the previous legislature. Ten make up the present Knesset.

the-liberal-case-for-isra_b_1114880.html

¹⁸ The Economist Intelligence Unit, *Democracy Index 2013: Democracy in Limbo*, 2014 http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=Democracy_Index_2013_WEB-2.pdf&mode=wp&campaignid=Democracy0814 [retrieved: November 4, 2014].

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 27.

²⁰ The U.S. State Department Annual Human Rights National Reports confirm the prevalence of human right and civil liberties in Israel, see U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2013 http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm#wrapper [retrieved: November 4, 2014].





Throughout the history of Israeli democracy, including the democratic elections to the Jewish representative body under the British Mandate, one party has never secured absolute majority and a coalition of parliamentary groups formed the government.

The principles of broad representation and political pluralism in the Israeli parliamentary system date back to the first national elections to the Knesset in January 1949. Held only eight months after the establishment of the State of Israel and prior to end of the Independence War, the Arab citizens of Israel freely participated in the elections and the First Knesset had three Arab members: Amin-Salim Jarjora and Seif el-Din el-Zoubi for the Democratic List of Nazareth and Tawfik Toubi for the Israeli Communist Party. Toubi served as a Member of Knesset continuously for 41 years, becoming one of the longest serving members, second only to Shimon Peres.

The Politics

Israel meets all the criteria set for liberal democracies and is considered a free and democratic country, according to the highest standards. In this regard, Freedom House has denominated Israel as a "free country" because the Jewish State has met the criteria of an electoral democracy, which include: A competitive, multiparty political system, universal adult suffrage, regularly contested elections with secret ballots, reasonable ballot security, the absence of massive voter fraud, and significant public access for the electorate to major political parties through the media and through generally open political campaigning.²¹

Meanwhile, the 2010 Polity IV Country Report labeled Israel as a "full democracy", where competitive free and fair elections are commonly recognized as an institutionalized feature of Israel's polity.²²

77% of Israeli Arabs prefer to be citizens of Israel than of any other Middle Eastern country.

But the State of Israel does not only stand at the top as far as elections are concerned. As Hillary Clinton said in November 2012 in the Albanian Parliament, "it's always important to remind ourselves that consolidating democracy requires more than elections."²³

Liberties, Protection of the Minorities, Sexual Freedom and Government Accountability

Israel also ensures the entire cast of liberal rights and **liberties** that a Democracy commands. In 2005, the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor report on Israel revealed that, "the law provides for freedom of speech and of the press, and the government generally respected these rights in practice subject to restrictions concerning security issues. The law provides for freedom of assembly and association, and the government generally respected these rights in practice" and added regarding individual privacy that, "laws and regulations provide for protection of privacy of the individual and the home. In criminal cases the law permits wiretapping under court order; in security cases the Defense Ministry must issue the order.²⁴"

In accordance with the Freedom House report on Israel, press freedom is respected, the media is vibrant and independent; all Israeli newspapers are privately owned and freely criticize government policy. Along the same lines, according to the 2013 World Press Freedom Index released by Reporters Without Borders journalists in Israel enjoy freedom of expression, despite the existence of military censorship.

In regards to **minorities**, Israel was born as a melting pot and has always protected them. As we can read in the Declaration of Independence;

²¹ Israel Overview, *The Freedom House*, 2012. http://www.freedom-house.org/report/freedom-world/2012/israel

²² Polity IV Country Report: Israel (2010) http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/Israel2010.pdf

²³ Remarks by Secretary Clinton to Albanian Parliament on Bilateral Relationship, US Human Rights Agency, (November 1, 2012) http://www.humanrights.gov/2012/11/01/remarks-by-secretary-clinton-to-albanian-parlimanet-on-bilateral-relationship-bet/

^{24 &}quot;Israel and the occupied territories", Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (March 8, 2006) http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61690.htm



"The State of Israel [...] will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex; it will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

As a result, Muslims, Christians, Druze, and other minorities, which account for more than 20 percent of the population, enjoy all the civil liberties provided by Israeli laws and have autonomy in religious affairs and supervise their own sacred places. Indeed, the holiest site in Judaism, the Temple Mount, has remained under the auspices of the Islamic waqf, as was during Jordanian occupation.²⁵

Israel's Arab citizens – more on them later - are actually full citizens of the State of Israel. The Declaration of Independence also appealed;

"[...]the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions [...]"

Their feelings about life in Israel are a good example of it.

25 Michael Oren, "Israel's Resilient Democracy", Foreign Policy. (April 5, 2012) http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/05/Israel_

Concerning Israeli-Arabs expectations about living in Israel, in July 2000, in the eve of Camp David II peace talks, a survey conducted by Israeli Arab newspaper Kul Al-Arab in the city of Umm al Fahmm—one of the first Arab cities to accept Israeli sovereignty—83% of respondents were opposed to transferring the city to a future Palestinian state.

In 2007 a Keevoon research center poll revealed that 62% of Israeli-Arabs preferred to remain Israeli citizens rather than becoming citizens of a future Palestinian state. Along the same line, a Saban Center survey in 2012 showed that 58% of Israeli-Arabs were against Arab towns within Israel being annexed by another state.

An even bolder survey in 2008 by liberal Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, noted that 77% of Israeli Arabs prefer to be citizens of Israel than of any other Middle Eastern country.

Arab-Israeli journalist Khaled Abu Toameh declared in 2009 in the Durban Review Conference that, despite the problems in the Israeli-Arab sector, he prefers to be a second-class citizen in Israel than a first class citizen in Cairo, Gaza, Amman, or Ramallah.

Moreover, not only the majority of Arabs prefer to stay in Israel should a Palestinian state come to life, they also recognize the existence of Israel as a Jewish and democratic State. According to a 2004 poll led by the Arab sociologist Sammy Smooha from the University of Haifa,

Is_a_Democracy

The Courts have judged and condemned high level politicians for decades.

84.9% of Israeli-Arabs did agree that Israel has the right to exist as an independent state and 70% said it was entitled to exist as a Jewish and Democratic state. In 2005 the Truman Institute found that 63% of Israeli Arabs accepted the principle that Israel should be the state of the Jewish people.

Another Israeli minority worth mentioning is the Christians. While Christians are persecuted across the Middle East, they are protected by the law in Israel. They are not only safe in Israel, they are thriving and growing, as the Census Bureau of Statistics has confirmed in its last population report in 2012. The Christian population increased 1.3% in 2012 and 0.25% in 2013.

Israel has forged a far more cohesive and vibrant society than many predicted, as David Harris stated recently.²⁶

Israel is the only country in the Middle East that provides full equality for women. Such equality can be observed in **sexual freedom** as well: the age of consent for both heterosexuals and homosexuals is 16 years of age.

Nowadays, Israel is the only Middle Eastern country where homosexuals are not persecuted for their condition, but also enjoy recognition of their rights as domestic partners—with the exception of Jordan, which allows sexual relations, but there is no protection for gay couples or any legal recognition.

Another key issue for liberal criteria is **government accountability**. As Freedom House reported, in Israel government action is ruled by three Basic Laws, which include control, supervision, and oversight tools for monitoring government activity. In relation to government accountability Israel ranked 37 out of 175 countries surveyed in *Transparency International's* 2014 *Corruption Perceptions Index*.

There are strong regulatory agencies, including a powerful Central Bank, the Tax Authority, and the State Comptroller.

But government accountability is carried out by private organizations as well. The independent Israeli media, think-tanks, and non-governmental watchdogs like The Israel Democracy Institute, The Movement for Quality Government in Israel or the Association for Civil Rights in Israel work daily making government action accountable.

The Law And The Judges

Israel's judiciary is considered one of the most independent. A nine-member appointment committee, composed of two ministers, two members of Knesset (one from the coalition and one from the opposition), two representatives of the Israeli Bar Association and three justices of the Supreme Court (including the serving President of the Supreme Court) nominates all judges who are formally appointed by the President of Israel. This unique appointment system preserves the independence of the judiciary through a merit-based process that checks and limits political influence and meddling.²⁷

Israel stands out for having an independent judiciary acting as the guarantor of the Basic Laws of the State. The independence of the judiciary is established in the Basic Law related to it. This Basic Law states in its 2nd article that,

"A person vested with judicial power shall not, in judicial matters, be subject to any authority but that of the Law."

This independence is reflected in the election system of the Supreme Court judges as well. Supreme Court judges are selected by the Judicial Selection Committee. The appointment of a candidate requires a majority in the Committee and the judge retains the position until reaching compulsory retirement age at 70.

The Knesset set the number of justices in the Supreme Court. Currently, there are 15.

The judiciary in Israel also follows rigorously Article 14th of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights:

"All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge

²⁶ David Harris, "Ten Reasons I Admire Israel". *The Hufftington Post.* (May 28, 2012). http://www.huffingtonpost.com/david-harris/ten-reasons-i-admire-isra_b_1550595.html

²⁷ The three branches of the State, the executive, legislative and judiciary and the legal profession are represented on the Committee. The Committee as such is composed of nine members: the Minister of Justice serving as a Chair of the Committee, another minister, the President of the Supreme Court and two other justices of the Supreme Court, two representatives of the Israel Bar Association, and two Members of Knesset. Thus, the selection is attained by putting all the representative authorities of the State together. The majority of the members of the Committee are professional lawyers: three Supreme Court Justices and two representatives of the legal profession.

against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit of law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law."

Actually, this fulfillment is the main proof of the independence of the judicial system. The Courts have judged and condemned high level politicians for decades.

On July 30, 2008, Prime Minister Ehud Olmert was forced to resign his positions, both in the Government and in his political party Kadima because he was being investigated for corruption. In his resignation speech, he stated that,

"I want to make one thing clear: I am proud to be a citizen of a country in which a prime minister can be investigated like any other citizen." 28

On August 30, 2009, Ehud Olmert was indicted on several charges and his political career was over. Finally, in May 2014, the Tel Aviv District Court sentenced Olmert to 6 years in prison and fined NIS 1.5 million (\$430,000) pending appeal. Judge David Rozen has been clear in the judgment: public servants who receive bribes are traitors.

In 2011, the Supreme Court confirmed former Israeli President Moshe Katsav's conviction and condemned him to 7 years in prison for sexual harassment as well as two counts of rape and obstruction of justice. As *New Statesman Magazine* Editor Sholto Byrnes wrote about the case: "Could you imagine such a charge ever being allowed near the courts in America or France? Wouldn't there be some behind-the-scenes fix to spare the establishment's blushes?"²⁹

It is essential to note that the Supreme Court has also made landmark decisions in pursuit of fundamental freedoms to prevail in wartime and against government ruling. In 1988, U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan found that, "Israel [...] provides the best hope for building a jurisprudence that can protect civil liberties against the demands of national security."³⁰

Along the same lines, the Supreme Court issued a ruling in 1953 forbidding the closing of an Arabic newspaper that criticized Israel, and based on American jurisprudence, established that freedom of expression would always be respected unless there is a "clear and present danger."

The generality as a principle of justice is also present in the daily work of the courts. The Supreme Court hears direct petitions from Israeli citizens, as well as Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In addition, their ability to work and to accept requests, even from the Palestinians, has been exemplary, as noted by academic scholar and human rights activist Anne Bayefsky in 2003.³¹ Regarding such ability, Raji Sourani, executive director of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights declared that he is "constantly amazed by the high standards of the legal system," as quoted by Greg Myre in *The New York Times*.³²

In 2006 Harvard Law School Dean Martha Minow and Professor Gabriella Blum praised the rights that Israel provides to security detainees. They asserted that Israel provides more guarantees to detainees than the U.S. does. ³³

Israel's Supreme Court is the standard-bearer of civil rights and liberties in Israel. Since the 1980s, the Supreme Court has assumed the doctrine of "Judicial Activism" in addressing what President Emeritus of the Supreme Court Aharon Barak called "the proper balance between competing constitutional values," namely the designation of Israel as a "Jewish and Democratic State", national security considerations, and the codification of civil liberties. In several cases, the Supreme Court disqualified laws that contradicted basic laws. In so doing, and prior to the 1992 legislation of basic laws dealing with civil liberties and human rights, the Supreme Court:

Introduced a long series of basic rights into Israeli law, some of which have no grounding in law, nor even more so in any basic law until the present day. Among the rights adopted in this manner by Israeli law are: freedom of expression, journalism and demonstration, the right to equality and non-discrimination, freedom to associate, and the right to education.³⁵

The Supreme Court has also ruled against military impositions. In 2004 the Supreme Court ruled in favor of

²⁸ Ehud Olmert, "I regret my mistakes". Haaretz. (July 31, 2008).

²⁹ Sholto Byrnes, "In praise of Israel", *New Statesman.* (January 3, 2011). http://www.newstatesman.com/blogs/the-staggers/2011/01/israel-palestinian-standard

³⁰ Ålan Dershowitz, "Israel's Gift to the World", Frontpage Magazine. (May 5, 2008). http://archive.frontpagemag.com/readArticle.aspx?ARTID=30851

³¹ Anne Bayefsky, "At U.N., Israel Bashing Is Always The First Priority", *Chicago Sun Times*. (March 30, 2003).

³² Greg Myre, "Trial of Palestinian Leader Focuses Attention in Israeli Courts", *The New York Times*. (May 5, 2003).

³³ Professors Minow and Blum weigh in on detainee bill, *Harvard Law School.* (October 18, 2006). http://www.law.harvard.edu/news/2006/10/19 minow.html

³⁴ Aharon Barak, "Some Reflections on the Israeli Legal System and Its Judiciary," *Electronic Journal of Comparative Law*, Vol. 6.1, April 2002, http://www.ejcl.org/61/art61-1.html [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

³⁵ Ariel Bendor, "The Israeli Constitutionalism: Between Legal Formalism and Judicial Activism," Paper presented to a conference on "Constitutionalism in the Middle East: Israeli and Palestinian Perspectives", University of Chicago Law School, January 23-25, 2004 http://ccc.uchicago.edu/docs/bendor.pdf [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

Israeli society is enjoying high rates of growth, happiness and prosperity, in defiance of a hostile environment.

shifting some sections of the security barrier. The Court ordered the army to remove a small portion of the barrier building along the West Bank and to reroute other sections to reduce the harm imposed on Palestinians cut off from lands they need. The Court, then, stated the following about his decision, which contravened military recommendations:

"[...] As any other Israelis, we too recognize the need to defend the country and its citizens against the wounds inflicted by terror. We are aware that in the short term, this judgment will not make the state's struggle against those rising up against it easier. But we are judges. When we sit in judgment, we are subject to judgment. We act according to our best conscience and understanding. Regarding the state's struggle against the terror that rises up against it, we are convinced that at the end of the day, a struggle according to the law will strengthen her power and her spirit. There is no security without law. Satisfying the provisions of the law is an aspect of national security [...]"

The Israeli judicial system is not only independent, but also plural and representative. In 1999, Abdel Rahman Zuabi was the first Israeli-Arab to obtain a position in the Israeli Supreme Court. In May 2004, Salim Joubran, also Israeli-Arab, was appointed permanent judge of the High Court. Joubran was one of the three Supreme Court judges, who upheld Moshe Katsav's conviction. The independence Joubran enjoys as a judge was shown again in March 2012 at the new Supreme Court president's inauguration ceremony when Joubran chose not to sing the Hatikvah – Israel's national anthem.

The Supreme Court has become the final arbitrator between the public and government considering the honesty, decency, and reasonableness of government action that taking upon itself to improve the quality of Israeli governance. For instance, the Supreme Court reviews Presidential pardons, prosecutorial decisions of the Attorney General, and ethical aspects of ministerial appointments.



Tel Aviv is one of the big cities with beach most attractive worldwide

Thus, Israel's Supreme Court has become an example-setter of judicial activism in comparative law as it "presents an especially broad version of robust judicial review." The "founding father" of what has become known as Israel's "constitutional revolution" and the Supreme Court's judicial activism, President Emeritus of the Court, Aharon Barak outlined the basic parameters guiding this evolution:

Israel's legal system is part of Western legal culture. The state's ideology is governed by the rule of law; the basic approach is secular, liberal, and rational. The social system aspires to solve problems by means of law and the courts; law is understood as a concept that ensures social progress and change. The individual has rights as well as obligations.³⁷

Moreover, the Supreme Court is not the sole guardian of Israel's democracy. Strong and effective regulatory agencies, including the independent Central Bank and the State Comptroller, enhance government accountability. A series of non-governmental watchdogs and a free and vibrant media also support government accountability and help safeguard human rights and civil liberties.

The Israeli Judiciary has become a model of independence in the world in many ways, especially as an example to deepen the democratic quality and the rule of law in many developed countries.

The Social Advancement

Israeli society is enjoying high rates of growth, happiness and prosperity, in defiance of a hostile environment, via terrorist attacks and threats of war. The State of Israel has invested in ensuring that its citizens enjoy

³⁶ Daphne Barak-Erez, "Broadening the Scope of Judicial Review in Israel: Between Activism and Restraint," *Indian Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2009 http://www.tau.ac.il/law/barakerez/artmarch2010/38.pdf [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

³⁷ Aharon Barak, op. cit.

services to meet their most basic needs and has also created an atmosphere for the citizenry to build themselves up in all professional and personal spheres.

In order to check social prosperity in Israel, it is necessary to review all the international indexes informing about the issue.

Thus, as noted before, Israel ranks 19 out of 186 countries in the 2014 *U.N. Human Development Index*, obtaining the highest standard of living in the Middle East and the third highest in Asia³⁸.

Life expectancy in Israel is 82 years, ranking 14 out of 193 countries according to the World Health Organization index in 2012 – almost two years more than the OECD average (79.8 years.) – placing Israel at the 4th world place by Life expectancy at birth among men and women in 2014³⁹. The infant mortality rate was at 3.7 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2010, lower than the OECD average (4.3 deaths.)⁴⁰

In 2010, Israel was classified as the eighth happiest country in the world according to a Gallup World Poll posted by Forbes⁴¹. The 2013 Happy Planet Index released by the New Economic Foundation found Israel 15 out of 151 and the OECD 2013 Better Life Index ranked Israel 9 out of 37 countries surveyed.⁴²

Education, Health, Welfare and Labor

Education in Israel was very important from the very beginning. Elementary and secondary education is universal in Israel. Israel also offers free and universal kindergarten and school education for all children from the age of three onto high school. Education is encouraged equally for both men and women. In addition, Israeli universities are ranking among the top universities in the world. Hebrew University, Technion, and the Weizman Institute place in the top 150 in the world, according to the *Shanghai Jiao Tong University Academic Ranking of World Universities*, and three are in the *QS World University Rankings*.

In 2010, three Israeli universities were among the top eight grantees of the European Research Council: The

38 "Country Profile: Israel," *International Human Development Indicators* 2014, http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/ISR.html

Israel also stands out in research and development of biomedical and technological advances, becoming a global leader in medical research.

Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the Weizmann Institute of Science in Rechovot and the Technion – Israel Institute of Technology, located in Haifa.

According to *QS World University Rankings*, Israeli universities are among the 100-list of top universities worldwide in science and engineering-related subjects.⁴³

Accomplishments in education showed also up when Israel joined the OECD in May 2010. In September 2012, according to the OECD's Education at a Glance report 2012, in comparative education data among the 34 OECD member nations, Israel ranked second in terms of percentage of population aged 25-64 that have attained tertiary education with 46%, behind only Canada at 51%. The OECD average for all countries was listed at 30%. Among younger people, 88% of 25-34 year-olds have earned the equivalent of a high-school degree, also higher than the OECD average at 82%. The expenditure on education in 2011 represented 8.4% of Israel's GDP.⁴⁴

In 2009, Israel's percentage of the total number of scientific articles published worldwide was almost 10 times higher than the percentage of the world's population, according to the Council of Higher Education of the State. In consequence, Israel has the highest number of scientists, technicians, and engineers per capita in the world with 140 scientists, technicians, and engineers per 10,000 employees. In comparison, it is 85 per 10,000 in the United States and 83 per 10,000 in Japan, according to the report *Israel: Factors in the Emergence of an ICT Powerhouse*, published by the World Economic Forum in 2007.

According to the Ministry of Education, 88% of Israeli-Arab women are literate. This constitutes the highest rate in the Middle East, according to figures from the CIA World Factbook 2011. In this regard, Dr. Tashbih

³⁹ World Health Statics 2014, World Health Organization, (2014) http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/112739/1/WHO_HIS_HSI_14.1_eng.pdf?ua=1

^{40 &}quot;OECD highlights Israel's low infant mortality, high obesity", *The Jerusalem Post*, (July 1, 2011)

^{41 &}quot;Israel world's 8th happiest country", The Jerusalem Post, (July 29, 2010)

⁴² The Happiest Countries in the World, Global Finance, 2012 http://www.gfmag.com/tools/global-database/ne-data/11940-happiest-countries.html#axzz2X4AAdwI4

⁴³ World Rankings- Asia, *The World University Rankings*, Thompson Reuters. (2012-2013). http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2012-13/world-ranking/region/asia

⁴⁴ National Expenditure on Education, *Central Bureau of Statistics*. (Israel, 2012). http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader/shnaton/templ_shnaton_e.html?num_tab=sto8_01&CYear=2012



Plural campus in the Israeli Universities

Sayyed, Pakistani-born American journalist, said that Arab rights are protected, and Muslim women are in fact more liberated in Israel than in any Muslim country.

Health care coverage is universal and mandatory for all citizens. In 1994, the Knesset passed the National Insurance Law, which provides for a standardized basket of medical services, including hospitalization, for all residents of Israel. The efficiency in the health service in Israel can be seen in its having one of the world's highest ratios of doctors per capita, with 3.7 doctors per thousand inhabitants, such as Germany and Austria, according to World Bank figures.

This mandatory and universal health coverage ranks seventh in the world in terms of its efficiency, ahead of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries.⁴⁵ Relatedly, 82% of the Israeli public consider their health "good" or "very good" (the sixth highest score among OECD members) proving the efficiency of Israel's health system.⁴⁶

In August 2013, Israel ranked 4 out of 48 countries in the *Countries with More Efficient Health Cares*, published by Bloomberg.

Israel also stands out in research and development of biomedical and technological advances, becoming a global leader in medical research, particularly in stem cell research and regenerative medicine, with the largest number of articles, patents and research studies per capita. The medical technological sector is therefore one of the main indicators of Israel's health system efficiency.

The State, through the Chief Scientist of the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor invests a five-year budget of over 200 million U.S. dollars to support carefully targeted generic technologies or pre-competitive concepts, by coordinating groups of academics and businesses. Each university, meanwhile, has research centers that develop the most cutting-edge devices in the field of surgery, cardiology, ophthalmology, and neurology.

Nonetheless, Israel's total spending on its health system is relatively small, 8% of GDP in accordance with OECD figures. Former U.S. presidential candidate Mitt Romney praised this fact, noting that the system is very efficient and government support for research has reduced the costs. As it is illustrated in the chart below, Israel's health care costs have floated around 8% of its GDP for over two decades, while OECD countries have seen their costs rise.

The answer to how Israel has been able to maintain an efficient health system without increasing costs was answered in a Health Affairs report on the issue in Septem-

⁴⁵ Bloomberg, "Most Efficient Health Care 2014: Countries," August 25, 2014 http://www.bloomberg.com/visual-data/best-and-worst//most-efficient-health-care-2014-countries [retrieved: November 8, 2014]

⁴⁶ See the OECD "Better Life Index" for 2014 at http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=BLI [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

ber 2011. Such report highlighted strong government influence;⁴⁷

The national government exerts direct operational control over a large proportion of total health care expenditures, through a range of mechanisms, including caps on hospital revenue and national contracts with salaried physicians. The Ministry of Finance has been able to persuade the national government to agree to relatively small increases in the health care budget because the system has performed well, with a very high level of public satisfaction.

As with economic issues, Israel has managed to combine public investment and private sector empowerment for the benefit of the health system and technological research.

Welfare has been one of the main political concerns throughout the history of the Jewish State. In 1931, the Jewish National Council established the Social Welfare Department. The Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs currently runs and funds nationwide services such as adoption, probation frameworks, and residential institutions for the developmentally challenged as the Social Welfare Law, enacted in 1958, requires. Municipalities and local authorities are required to maintain a department responsible for social services. Under the auspices of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, social service departments and local authorities provide also care and services for the elderly.

In the welfare state view, Israel provides services to people with physical, sensory, mental, or cognitive disabilities, both children and adults. Services are widely procured by many public and private organizations. The protection of the people with disabilities is guaranteed and provided by the Ministries of Health, Labor, Education, Social Affairs, Justice, Defense, and Housing, as well as the National Insurance Institute and the Commission for Equal Rights for People with Disabilities and local authorities. Besides, in the private sector, there are health funds and voluntary organizations cooperating and helping in this matter. They include health services, special education, psychological counseling and support, para-medical services, occupational rehabilitation, pensions, institutional and community housing, assistance in making housing and public buildings accessible, information services, etc.

In addition, and compared to other OECD members, Israel has a robust regime of social and **Labor Rights**. The liberalization of Israel's economy during the 1980s and the 1990s, rightly credited for the remarkable economic

growth records, dented the sense and practice of egalitarianism in Israel. Nonetheless, egalitarianism remains deeply embedded in Jewish and Israeli traditions and was not only evident in the 2011 social justice movement. One of the main areas underscoring egalitarianism is in the institutionalization of labor rights in Israel.

As a part of the legacy of labor Zionism, labor rights in Israel meet all international standards for the protection, welfare, and rights of workers.

Thus, workers in Israel may join unions of their choice and have the right to strike and bargain collectively. International standards, especially International Labor Organization conventions adopted by Israel, but also EU standards, are used by the government and courts as guidelines, though they are not binding. From its first decade, Israel adopted the progressive European social security model. The National Insurance Institute was founded in the 1950's with basic branches of social welfare, such as worker's compensation. Today this social security legislation encompasses the following benefits: maternity, disability, free burial, medical insurance, unemployment, and minimum annual income⁴⁸.

In the pre-State period, the Histadrut, the organization of trade unions was founded in December, 1920. Since it was established, the Histadrut has provided social services such as health-care, pensions and insurance schemes, employment agencies, sports and cultural activities, and senior citizen housing. Founded in 1920 during the British Mandate, Israel's main organization of trade unions - the Histadrut - played a key role in the economic nation building of Israel. According to a survey held in 2000, more than 45% of the labor force is unionized, while more than 56% of the labor force benefits of collective labor agreements. The rate of union membership in Israel is higher than most Western democracies, second only to the Scandinavians.49 The sense of economic insecurity following the 2008 global economic crisis has led to "organized labor's renaissance" with 40,000 new members registering with the Histadrut.50

The Basic Law: Human Dignity and Freedom specifically guarantees the rights to human dignity, life, property,

⁴⁷ Strong Government Influence Over The Israeli Health Care System Has Led To Low Rates Of Spending Growth, *Health Affairs*. (September 2011) http://content.healthaffairs.org/content/30/9/1779.full.pdf+html

⁴⁸ National Labour Law Profile: The State of Israel, Judge Stephen J Adler, International Labour Organization (June 17, 2011) http://www.ilo.org/ifpdial/information-resources/national-labour-law-profiles/WCMS_158902/lang--en/index.htm

⁴⁹ Guy Mundlak, Ishak Saporta, Yitchak Haberfeld, and Yinon Cohen, "Union Density in Israel 1995-2010: The Hybridization of Industrial Relations," *Industrial Relations*, Vol. 52, No. 1, January 2013 http://www2.tau.ac.il/InternetFiles/Segel/law/UserFiles/file/guy%20 mundlak/b_1_pub_32%20hybridization%20of%20industrial%20relations.pdf [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

⁵⁰ Amotz Asa-El, "Middle Israel: The Unions are Back," *Jerusalem Post*, August 11, 2013 http://www.jpost.com/Features/Front-Lines/Middle-East-The-unions-are-back-330939 [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

freedom of movement, and privacy. The right to human dignity has been broadly interpreted to provide an additional array of rights and liberties, including equality, freedom of association, the right to equal opportunity at the work place, and other social rights. In a landmark ruling, the National Labor Court pointed out that the *Basic Law: Freedom of Occupation* is a constitutional right as well as freedom of movement for workers and their right to choose their workplace.

In addition, a number of labor laws that protect workers like the *Contract Law*, which protects the worker's position in the contract submitted with the companies, the *Minimum Wage Law*, passed in order to protect the acquired rights of employees, the *House of Work and Rest Law*, which establishes a maximum both daily and weekly working hours—45 hours per week and 8 hours per day respectively—, and also provides compensation for overtime. The *Annual Leave Law*, which recognizes the right to take vacations, the *Sick Pay Law* for sick leaves or the *Employment of Women Law* which provides for maternity leave for women and *Young Work Law*, which sets a minimum age to start to work and compulsory education up to fifteen years.

Equality of the sexes in the workplace has also been a matter of concern in Israel's labor legislation. In 1964, the Knesset passed the *Male and Female Workers Equal Pay Law*, which guaranteed equal pay to women and men workers for equal work. Later on, it was replaced *in 1981* by *Employment (Equal Opportunities) Law*, which was reformed *in 1988*. Employment Law prohibits specifically discrimination on the basis of age, race, religion, personal (marital) status, country of origin, nationality, personal opinions, military service, political affiliation, and sexual orientation.

Plus, Israel ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities and the government has passed through the Knesset legislation to advance the community inclusion of people with disabilities. Following the Master Plan for the Employment of People with Disabilities in Israel, the Equal Rights for People with Disabilities Law enacted in 1998 and the State Comptroller's Report, the Authority for Employment of the Disabled was established in March 1 2003. The responsibility for implementing the section on employment in the Equal Rights Law was transferred from the Ministry of Social Affairs to the Ministry of Industry, Commerce, and Employment.

Finally as a result of Israel's progressiveness and subjection to Western civil liberties it is perhaps appropriate

to mention the state of so-called LGBT rights. Israel recognizes same-sex unions (unregistered cohabitation) and since 1992, the law prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation. Furthermore, in recent years, Tel Aviv has become a "gay mecca". With more than 50,000 LGBT tourists visiting the city each year, a 2011 survey of GayCities.com and American Airlines ranked Tel Aviv as the world's most gay-friendly city beating New York, Berlin and Amsterdam by a landslide.52 The advance of LGBT rights in the Holy Land however, may be a thorn to religious-traditional communities. Nevertheless, when religious leaders - Jewish, Christian, and Muslim - jointly demanded the suspension of Jerusalem's annual Gay Pride Parade, the government and police authorities made sure it could proceed as it has every year since its inception.

Israel's LGBT rights are overwhelmingly the most progressive and advanced in the whole Middle East and among some Western countries. This fact was followed by British newspaper *The Independent*—generally known for its rough criticism regarding Israeli policies—, which posted in 2008 that LGBT rights in Israel are considered the most progressive in the Middle East and Asia.⁵³

Israel also has one of the highest percentages of support for same-sex marriage in the world, with 61% of Israelis supporting civil marriage for same-sex couples, according to the poll conducted by Angus Reid Global Monitor in 2009.

But religious repudiation does not mean homosexuals in Israel are not allowed to thrive. Nitzan Horowitz, for instance, could be the first gay major in the Middle East.

The political and social development in Israel can be summarized by the impressions of well-known Human Rights activist Ayan Hirsi Ali:

"I visited Israel a few years ago, primarily to understand how it dealt so well with so many immigrants from different origins", Hirsi Ali says. "My main impression was that Israel is a liberal democracy. In the places I visited, including Jerusalem as well as Tel Aviv and its beaches, I saw that men and women are equal. One never knows what happens behind the scenes, but that is how it appears to the visitor. The many women in the army are also very visible." 54

⁵¹ Lital Barlev-Kotler, Dori Rivkin, and Avital Sandler-Loeff, *People with Disabilities in Israel: Facts & Figures*, Jerusalem: Israel Unlimited, JDC Israel, 2014 http://brookdale.jdc.org.il/_Uploads/dbsAttached-Files/FACTS_FIGURES2014.pdf [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

⁵² Itay Hod, "Tel Aviv: The New Gay Travel Hotspot," *The Daily Beast*, January 24, 2013 http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/01/24/tel-aviv-the-new-gay-travel-hotspot.html [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

^{53 &}quot;The five more improved places for gay tolerance", *The Independent.* (September 17, 2008).

⁵⁴ Manfred Gerstenfeld "The controversial Dutch writer talks about equality, Islam, and double moral standards." The Jerusalem Post, (August 3, 2006)



Jewish-Arab Coexistence in the Jewish-Democratic State

Undoubtedly, Israel's paramount liberal-democratic challenge is the inclusion and integration of its Arab citizens and affording them full equal rights. This intricate challenge touches on several sensitive identity dimensions along with myriad practical government policy issues that remain a society-wide challenge. Although the particular circumstances of Israel in this aspect are indeed unique, advancing minorities' rights and obligations and their societal inclusion is a major national challenge facing many Western democracies. Said otherwise, while in despotic systems of government, minorities are an issue insofar as they affect regime survivability, in Israel and in many Western nations, the treatment and integration of minorities reflects and often tests their standing as liberal democracies.

The legal-constitutional standing of Israeli Arabs is clear. Israel's Declaration of Independence commits to "ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex." Furthermore, the Declaration calls upon –

the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to adhere to the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the State, with full and equal citizenship and due representation in its bodies and institutions. From the perspective of the President Emeritus of the Supreme Court Aharon Barak the designation of Israel as a Jewish-Democratic state has no bearing on the legal rights of Israeli Arabs.

There is, of course, a tension between the values of the State of Israel as a Jewish state and its values as a democratic state. We should not intensify these contradictions. We should find a synthesis between the conflicting values. A good example is Israel's attitude toward the non-Jews in Israel. Out of more than six million citizens, more than a million are non-Jews - Moslems, Christians, and Druze. A non-Jew has no right to immigrate to Israel. He has to be nationalized. This reflects Israel as a Jewish state. But in Israel itself, all are equal. Jew and non-Jew should have full and equal rights. True, a special key to enter the home was given to Jews and their families as Israel was established to solve the Jewish problem; however, once the individual is inside the house, he enjoys the same rights as every other member of the house. There is no discrimination among the members of the house.55

Beyond the formal legal standing, the relationship between the State and its Arab citizenry intersects several overlapping domains. At the very practical level, and when compared to the Jewish citizenry, Arab citizens do not benefit from equal education,

⁵⁵ Aharon Barak, op. cit.

HIGH QUALITY DEMOCRACY

Western Democracy: The State of Israel meets all the democratic standards set up for Western and liberal countries. The 2012 Democracy Index released by The Economist Intelligence Unit ranked Israel in the same category as Italy, France, Portugal, or Chile. In this regard, all the needed requirements for developing and enjoying a liberal and Western democracy are satisfied in Israel.

Electoral and Representative Democracy: Freedom House ranks Israel as a "free country" because the Jewish State has met the criteria for an electoral democracy, which include: A competitive, multiparty political system; Universal adult suffrage; Regularly contested elections conducted on the basis of secret ballots, reasonable ballot security and the absence of massive voter fraud; and significant public access of major political parties to the electorate through the media and generally open political campaigning.

Freedom of Speech: Press freedom is respected in Israel, and the media is vibrant and independent: all Israeli newspapers are privately owned and freely criticize government policy. According to the 2013 World Press Freedom Index released by Reporters Without Borders, journalists in Israel enjoy freedom of expression despite the existence of military censorship.

Government Accountability: Government action is ruled by three basic laws, which include control, supervision, and oversight tools for monitoring government activity — as liberal and democratic countries do. There are non-governmental watchdogs like The Movement for Quality Government in Israel for government action accountability. Israel was ranked 39 out of 174 countries surveyed in the Transparency International's 2012 Corruption Perceptions Index.

Economic Freedom: Israel has developed a free-market and innovation-based economy. The 2014 Ease of Doing Business Index created by the World Bank ranked Israel 35 out of 185 countries. The Heritage Foundation's annual Index of Economic Freedom ranking in 2015 gave Israel a score of 70.5, placing Israel 33 out of 185 countries.

Education: Elementary and secondary education is universal in Israel. Education is encouraged equally for both men and women. In 2012, Israel was named the second most educated country in the world according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's Education at a Glance report, released in 2012. The report found that 78% of the money invested in education is from public funds and 45% of the population has a university or college diploma.

Assembly and Association: Israel also recognizes freedom of assembly and the right to petition the government without the threat of harassment or imprisonment. Israel hosts an active civil society and demonstrations are widely permitted. During the summer of 2011, rallies and demonstrations were held across the country in order to demand social justice due the increase of the cost of living, specifically in housing.



Labor Rights: Workers may join unions of their choice and have the right to strike and bargain collectively. International standards, especially International Labor Organization conventions adopted by Israel, but also EU standards, are used by the government and courts as guidelines, even though they are not binding. The Histadrut, Israel's organization of trade unions, was founded in 1920, before the establishment of the State.

Independent Judiciary: The judiciary is independent and regularly rules against the government. The Supreme Court has made landmark rulings like former President Israel Moshe Katsav's conviction and seven-year sentence in prison for sexual harassment, two counts of rape, and obstruction of justice or more recently Ehud Olmert's six-year sentence for corruption. Harvard Law School Dean Martha Minow and Professor Gabriella Blum in 2006 praised the rights that Israel provides to security detainees.

Discrimination and Protection of Minorities: The Declaration of Independence states: "The State of Israel (...) will ensure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex." Plus, the dignity of the citizens is protected by the Basic Law of Human Dignity and Liberty. The State of Israel guarantees protections for Muslims, Christians, Druze, and other minorities, which account for more than 20% of the population.

Sexual Freedom: LGBT rights in Israel are considered the most progressive in the Middle East and Asia, in accordance with The Independent report in 2008. The age of consent for both heterosexuals and homosexuals is 16 years of age.

housing and social services. This is not however, the result of intentional discrimination, but rather the indirect repercussions of two main factors. First, many Arab local authorities in Israel are failing authorities, although there are several notable exceptions to the rule. A combination of factors, ranging from local political culture to low levels of local industrial and commercial development, have rendered many Arab local authorities ill-governed. In Israel, local authorities are the primary providers of education and social services, the ill governance of local Arab authorities results in the provision of suboptimal services to their local populations. Furthermore, the exemption of Arab Israelis (except for the Druze minority) from military service renders them (along with ultra-orthodox Jews) ineligible to benefits offered to those who completed military service, including scholarship and subsidized housing mortgages. While the government has opened a special track for voluntary national service that offers to those who complete the service the same benefits, it has gained little traction among young Arabs.

Against this background, it is important to underscore that over the past decade or so, there is notable progress in the integration of Arab Israelis. Israel's "start-up nation" has diffused to the Arab sector and there is growing, even if infant, high-tech sector led by Arab Israeli also supported by hedge funds dedicated to investment in the Arab sector. Arab Israelis have earned senior positions in the academia as well as executive positions in Israel's hospital system. In 2012, Prof. Alean al-Krenawi was appointed President of the Achva Academic College, becoming the first Arab-Israeli to lead a non-Arab tertiary education institution.

Nonetheless, at a more fundamental level, Arab Israelis have a challenge in coming to terms with their conflicting identities and affiliations. The 1987 first Palestinian Intifada - sometimes known as the popular Intifada - also enhanced the identification of Israeli-Arabs with the Palestinian cause. The relationship between Israeli-Arabs (many of which prefer the term Israeli-Palestinians) and their Palestinian brethren, particularly in the West Bank, is complicated. For instance, West Bankers resent the Israeli-Arabs' relative affluence and socio-political rights. Notably, approximately a quarter of Israeli Arabs, 317,000 people, reside in local authorities adjacent to the 1967 border. To complicate matters more, the political leadership of Israeli Arabs has tended to focus more attention on supporting Palestinian issues at the expense of redressing domestic Israeli-Arab issues, such as the aforementioned challenges of Arab local authorities.

The deterioration in Israeli-Palestinian relations following the Second Intifada that broke out in 2000 left a mark on Israeli-Arab public opinion's attitudes towards the State of Israel. However, the most recent survey conducted by Prof. Sammy Smooha of Haifa University revealed a reverse in this trend. According to the 2013 survey of Israeli Arab attitudes, 52.8% recognize Israel's right to exist as a Jewish Democratic state. An even higher percentage – 53.2% – would endorse in a public referendum a constitution designating Israel as Jewish and democratic state if it were to secure full civil rights for Israeli Arabs. Furthermore, 63.5% of Israeli Arabs agree with the assertion that Israel is a good place to live. Finally, public surveys have repeatedly demonstrated that the vast majority of Israeli Arabs oppose irredentist proposals of annexing Israeli-Arab populated areas to a future Palestinian state.

Perhaps more than anything else, these results reflect the fact that the Israeli Arabs benefit from the highest standards of human, civil, social, and religious rights compared to all other Arabs across the Middle East. This is especially true for Israeli Arab women. Furthermore, Israel is the only country in the Middle East in which the Arab Christian population is growing, and not persecuted or threatened. Israel's religious communities - Christian, Druze, Jewish, Muslim - exercise jurisdiction over internal and religious affairs and over personal status matters, including marriage, divorce, and burial. This unique regime of religious freedom also includes an autonomous and government-funded system of religious family courts for each religious denomination. The religious communities also administrate places of worship and holy sites. Consequently, after the 1967 War, Israel permitted the Jordanian established Jerusalem Islamic Waqf to continue administering the Temple Mount and the al-Aqsa Mosque, even though the site is the holiest site in Judaism. Despite growing domestic pressure, the Israeli government has earnestly vowed not to alter the status-quo on Temple Mount, thus, effectively curtailing the right of Jews to freedom of worship.

That being said, a possible deterioration in Israeli-Palestinian relations would once again take a toll on Israeli Arab attitudes and on Jewish-Arab relations. One cannot overlook the sensitivity of this relationship following waves of terror and the armed escalation in the Gaza Strip. Regrettably in the summer of 2014 – following the kidnapping and murder of three Israeli teenagers in the West Bank and Israel's military operation in Gaza –Jewish-Arab coexistence was harmed and racist and extremist margins within both populations came forward. During the hostilities and subsequently, Israeli Jews avoided Arab eateries, markets, and shopping centers.

However, there has been an attempt of Israel's leadership to address the unique situation and grievances of the Israeli-Arab population. In 2012, at the inauguration ceremony of the new Supreme Court's President, the Arab-Israeli Justice, Salim Joubran, was shown not to sing the Israeli national anthem even though he joined the audience in standing in respect. While some politicians criticized Justice Joubran, Prime Minister Netanyahu subsequently conveyed a message to the Justice that he appreciates the fact that he choose to respect the anthem standing and that he did not expect an Israeli Arab to recite the lyrics of the anthem that refer to the "Jewish soul".⁵⁶

The newly elected President of the State of Israel, Reuven Rivlin, has undertook confronting racism in Israel as one of his top priorities along with attempts to reach out to Israeli-Arab citizens. President Rivlin was the first President to attend the annual memorial service for 49 Arabs shot dead by Israeli border police in Kafr Qasim during the 1956 Suez Canal Operation. At the memorial, President Rivlin delivered a moving and candid address on the state of Jewish-Arab relations in Israel, stating:

The brutal killing in Kafr Qasim, is an anomalous and sorrowful chapter in the history of the relations between Arabs and Jews living here. The State of Israel has recognized the crime committed here. And rightly, and justly, has apologized for it. I too, am here today to say a terrible crime was done here. An illegal command, over which hangs a dark cloud, was given here. The same terrible dark cloud which was ignored by those who carried out the murder of innocents. ...

Friends, I hereby swear, in my name and that of all our descendants, that we will never act against the principle of equal rights, and we will never try and force someone from our land.

The State of Israel is the national home of the Jewish People, who returned to their land after two millennia of exile. This was its very purpose. However, the State of Israel will also always be the homeland of the Arab population, which numbers more than one and a half million, and make up more than 20 per cent of the population of the country. ...

Despite our futures being bound together, it seems we have yet to understand the significance of this. We have yet to take responsibility for shaping our shared path. Instead we allowed our relationship to be driven by fear, hatred, ignorance, and hostility. Just look where this hatred has led us. ...

Nir Hasson, Netanyahu Backs High Court's Arab justice over Refusal to Sing the National Anthem," *Haaretz*, March 11, 2012 http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/netanyahu-backs-high-courts-arab-justice-over-refusal-to-sing-the-national-anthem-1.417722 [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

I am not naïve. There is no point in denying or ignoring the reality of relations between the communities. Between the Jewish and Arab populations of the State of Israel, there remain the sentiments of a difficult past. We belong to two nations, whose dreams and aspirations, to a great extent contradict each other....

I am aware that the establishment of the State of Israel was not the realization of a dream for the Arabs of this land. Many Israeli Arabs, forming part of the Palestinian people, feel the hurt and suffering of their brothers on the other side of the Green Line. Many of them experience not uncommon manifestations of racism and arrogance on the part of Jews. But dear friends, despite all of this, despite the difficult and deep rooted hatred, I believe it is possible to establish trust and partnership between us, the Jews and Arabs of the State of Israel. I believe this for the simple reason that, none of us, on either side, have any other choice. ...

Moreover, my honored friends. We must state plainly - the Israeli Arab population has suffered for years from discrimination in budget allocation, education, infrastructure, and industrial and trade areas. This is another obstacle on the road to building trust between us. ...

I believe wholeheartedly that, if we truly understand that we have no other choice; if we take joint responsibility for our future, the relationship between us can be transformed from a cause of friction, into a source of strength. A symbol of the ability of Jews and Arabs, of all of us, the children of Abraham, Isaac and Ishmael, to learn to live together.⁵⁷

Helping abroad

Israel is proving every day that is a brilliant player in international cooperation with developing countries and countries that have been in trouble as well. Israel's response to disasters around the world has been remarkable in all aspects. Indeed, already in 1953 Israel laid the foundations for a long tradition of humanitarian aid, when the Israeli Navy sent a rescue team to the Greek island of Kefalonia after a massive earthquake.

Certainly, Israel has developed cutting-edge emergency management, which is an example for many countries.

⁵⁷ From the official translation of the address of President Rivlin at the Kafr Qasim Memorial as communicated by the President's Spokesperson, October 26, 2014.

In this manner, FEMA and the U.S. National Guard officials have traveled to Israel to study its nation-wide emergency management drills and procedures. The drills replicate a multitude of disaster scenarios, including natural disasters, biological disasters, and emergencies at schools and hospitals.

In the Boston Marathon bombing in April 2013, doctors at Massachusetts General Hospital had been trained by Israeli medical experts who had helped update the hospital's disaster response plan to deal with mass-casualty incidents. Drawing from expertise honed over decades of treating victims of terrorist attacks, Israeli doctors and nurses shared their best practices with their American counterparts, including how to distribute the wounded to hospitals and methods to locate fragments deep in wounds. Alastair Conn, Mass. General's chief of emergency services, acknowledged the value of that exchange, stating that, "We asked the Israelis to come across and they helped us set up our disaster team so that we could respond in this kind of manner."58

On January 12, 2010, Haiti experienced a devastating 7.0 earthquake. Israel immediately sent a team of 250 Israeli doctors, nurses, and rescue workers to Haiti to help the wounded and save lives. According to then CNN reporter in the region, Elizabeth Cohen, doctors from various missions sent patients requiring surgery to Israel's makeshift hospital, particularly those whose conditions were critical. As Cohen stated in the meantime, "this is like another world compared to the other makeshift hospital." She also wondered how it could be that the United States had not yet set up a hospital in Haiti while "the Israelis came from the other side of the world."59

Israel has sent medical teams that have assisted victims of contemporary disasters, being always among the first on the scene. This role for Israel is supported with over 60 years of expertise in emergency response. Israel Defense Forces rescue teams have responded to earthquakes in all corners of the globe, including: Mexico (1985); Armenia (1988); Turkey (1991); El Salvador, India, and Peru (2001); and Indonesia (2006).

In 1994, during the Rwandan refugee crisis, Israel initiated Operation Interns for Hope, establishing a field hospital in neighboring Zaire to bring medical aid to refugees. Israel sent aid supplies to Sri Lanka in response to the devastating flood of 2003. Israel was among the first three countries to provide aid to victims of the 2004 tsu-



Israeli Special emergencies team helping abroad

nami that ravaged parts of Southeast Asia. Israel has also sent rescue and medical teams to Mauritania and Kenya.

Nonetheless, the most outstanding public international cooperation initiative is MASHAV. MASHAV was born under the auspices of Golda Meir in 1956 (she was then the Minister of Foreign Affairs). At that time, Meir visited Africa first and she realized that Israel could provide help to these African nations with problems regarding health, education, malnutrition, low status of women, and the struggle for resources.

MASHAV, Israel's Agency for Development and International Cooperation, is a branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The agency specializes in the design, development, coordination, and implementation of international cooperation and development programs carried out by the State of Israel in the world.

MASHAV has shared its experience and expertise and trained professionals to solve local problems around the globe. In its 50 years of existence, more than a quarter of a million people around the world have participated in MASHAV programs.

The work of consultancy and development of regional programs that MASHAV offers focus on the following issues: Agriculture and rural development, socio-economic development, urban development, education, and health.

MASHAV, in cooperation with the U.S. Agency for International Development, has trained more than 200,000 people from Africa, South America, in fields like agrobusiness and ophthalmology.

Israeli citizens, guided by their leaders, have developed over 67 years a full, prosperous and Western-style democracy, which is a role model, not only for Middle East-

^{58 &}quot;Israel-trained medical team responded to Boston attack", The Times of Israel, (April 16, 2013) http://www.timesofisrael.com/israeltrained-medical-team-responded-to-boston-attack/

^{59 &}quot;Israel's Relief Effort in Haiti Saves Lives, Boosts Image", The Jewish Daily Forward, (January 29, 2010) http://forward.com/articles/123926/israel-s-relief-effort-in-haiti-saves-lives-boos/

ern countries, seeking to embrace democracy, but also for Western countries.

TOWARDS A BETTER FUTURE

Israel's accomplishment in establishing a durable and vital democracy cannot be taken for granted considering that of the 130 new states established after World War II all of which enacted democratic constitutions, democracy did not last in most cases. In face of domestic and external challenges, different forms of despotic regimes eventually replaced the democratic institutions in the majority of the post-World War II newly established states. Israel's eminent political scientist, Shlomo Avineri contends that the democratic tradition of representative institutions that characterized Jewish communities across the Diaspora shaped the representative features of the Zionist Congresses in the late 19th Century and communal institutions of the Jews in Palestine under the Ottoman rule and the British Mandate. Against that backdrop, the establishment of the State of Israel naturally gave birth to what would become a durable democracy.60

Indeed, Israel's democracy, as any, has room for improvement and should strive for a better future. In this sense, Israel is not unique among the other Western liberal democracies. The ascendancy of liberal democracy in the post-World War II era has also demonstrated that there is no such thing as a "perfect

democracy". One only needs to review the Annual Human Rights reports of the U.S. State Department to see the shortcomings of nearly all Western democracies.

Nonetheless, detractors of Israel have often pointed at Israel's flaws to baselessly conclude that its shortcomings undermine its right to exist. Amnon Rubinstein and Alexander Yakobson explain why this line of argument is erroneous:

But neither is there any justification for some people's tendency to deprecate the very idea of Jewish independence because of shortcomings in its realization. This is not how other peoples, national movements and nation-states are treated in the modern world. Even nations that do not maintain even a semblance of democracy are universally recognized as entitled to national independence, and even in such cases (not in fact wholly exceptional in the Middle East) no one claims that the very idea of national independence is an undemocratic one.⁶¹

In one respect however, Israel does stand out – as a nation steadily bolstering its liberal-democratic values and building a prosperous economy while forced to overcome adversity. Perhaps, that is the "secret" of Israel – building a liberal democracy was the key to overcoming its challenges and turning it into a real asset of the Western world.

⁶⁰ Shlomo Avineri, "The Origins and Challenges of Israeli Democracy," *Haaretz*, http://www.haaretz.com/news/features/.premi-um-1.618881 [retrieved: November 10, 2014]

⁶¹ Alexander Yakobson and Amnon Rubinstein, *The Jewish Nation-state and Human Rights*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009, p.2.



ISRAEL AS AN INTELLIGENCE AND STRATEGIC ASSET

"[W]e won't be able to defend the security on which our democratic societies depend"

> Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Former NATO Secretary General, Munich Security Conference (2011)

"Those forces which have threatened the State of Israel every single day of its existence...threaten all of us"

Stephen Harper (2003)

Since the turn of the century, the West is facing crucial challenges on global security and stability: terrorism, the spread of Jihadism, and nuclear proliferation—and Israel is actually facing the same global threats as the West does.

Although after 9/11 Israel's role as an intelligence, logistical partner has become more visible, it is necessary to emphasize how important Israel is for the Western concerns on security and strategic issues. Already in 1948, White House counsel Clark Clifford argued, regarding Israel, that "in an area as unstable as the Middle East...it is important to the long-range security of our country... that a nation committed to the democratic system be established, one on which we can rely."

The 2008 financial crisis definitely led Western governments to cut their budgets on defense and security. For instance, in the wake of a cut of around 10% in the U.K. budget, Secretary of Defense Phillip Hammond warned that more defense cuts could undermine the U.K. military capability. However, the United Kingdom is not the only European country to reduce defense budgets. U.S. envoy to NATO Ivo Daalder pointed out on this matter in June, 2013 that, "most European allies are hollowing out their militaries, jettisoning capabilities, and failing to spend their existing budgets wisely."⁶³

In the U.S., former and current secretaries of Defense, Leon Panetta and Chuck Hagel have warned Congress repeatedly on how detrimental the cuts could be on military spending. In this context, Hagel stated in July 2013 that, "our military will be reduced, placing at much greater risk the country's ability to meet our current national security commitments."⁶⁴ Consequently, this decrease of resources caused a lack of attention on what is happening in the Middle East. To this concern, there was an unfocused approach from Western intelligence services over the outbreak of the Arab Spring and its consequences. Currently, the Middle East is under the menace of the expansion of radical Islamism throughout the region —and under the shadow of Iran's rising influence.

The raise of the Islamic State (IS) and its growing expansion, and the new Jihadist attacks on Western cities through the lone-wolf strategies in Paris and Copenhagen, have alerted Democratic leaders on the situation and shown the need of a strategy to face these menaces.

At this cross point, in the unsteady framework produced, Israel is the essential player on which the West can rely to handle and lead the changes in Middle East in order to promote democracy and human rights, and to defeat the expansion of Jihadism.

New developments arise in order to combat all the global security threats and Israel has plenty of tools and knowhow for succeeding. As a scholar on Islam and the Arab World, Martin Kramer pointed out in 2006 that, "Israel provides a low-cost way to keep order in the Middle East." US President Barack Obama was clearer in 2010: "many of the same forces that threaten Israel also threaten the United States and our efforts to secure peace and stability in the Middle East. Our alliance with Israel serves our national security interests."

Any discussion on the net-contribution of Israel to the security and defense of the community of Western democracies ought to begin by defining the West's interests in Israel and its neighborhood. Arguably, the West has a vital interest in maintaining, and where possible advancing, Middle East regional peace and security to:

- (a) Curtail, and if possible destroy, both the production and the world export of violence and instability through terror, WMD and missile proliferation, and radical Islamism;
- (b) maintain energy security;
- (c) provide maritime security along the main global shipping routes crossing, and adjacent to, the Middle East.

⁶² Michel Oren, "The Ultimate Ally", Foreign Policy. (May-June, 2011).

^{63 &}quot;Defense cuts 'hollowing out' European armies: U.S. envoy", Reuters. (June 17, 2013). http://news.yahoo.com/defense-cuts-hollowing-european-armies-u-envoy-202305321.html

^{64 &}quot;Hagel Warns of Impact of Cutbakcs on Pentagon", *The New York Times.* (July 10, 2013).

⁶⁵ Martin Kramer, "The American Interest," Azure, no. 26 (Fall 2006), pp. 21-33.

^{66 &}quot;Obama: Ties with Israel "unshakable"," *The Jerusalem Post*, April 22, 2010 http://www.jpost.com/International/Obama-Ties-with-Israel-unshakable [retrieved: December 1, 2014].

Thus, in terms of strategic interests, nothing separates Israel from the West. Furthermore, no other Middle East country's national interests are as closely in line with the strategic interests of the community of Western democracies – that is Israel's natural habitat.

Notwithstanding, Israel may differ with other Western nations (in various configurations) on how to realize these interests. Israel's geopolitical position smack in the heart of the Middle East combined with the collective historical memory of the Jewish People leads Israel to take occasionally a different perspective concerning regional challenges, be it in terms of threat assessments the willingness to assume and manage certain risks. Furthermore, its unmediated experience and deep familiarity with the annals, currents, and trends of the Middle East, informs Israeli analysis of regional events that also often differs from conventional policy thinking elsewhere in the West. For instance, while most Israelis expressed deep admiration to the young generation of Egypt, Tunisia and Syria that courageously took to the streets, they were also far more circumspect concerning the prospects of democracy taking root in the Middle East. Many liberal Americans and Europeans were taken aback by the perceived cynicism of Israelis regarding the so-called "Arab Spring". Regretfully, it took only a few years to prove that Israelis did not misread the regional turmoil.

Be it as it may, different perspective among Western nations concerning specific contingencies is not a unique trait of Israel and its approach to Middle East affairs. Similarly, the Baltic members of the EU and NATO seek to take a leading position in shaping the position of the West vis-à-vis Russia on the question of Ukraine. Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania appreciate better than most, if not all the other, NATO members what is at stakes. These three countries - formerly of the Soviet Union have a second-to-none understanding of the Russian strategic mindset. Rightfully, the bitter memories of what they consider as Soviet "occupation" informs their threat and risk assessment of Russian behavior. But this, does not, and should not, set them apart from their Western allies. Moreover, there is nothing altruistic in NATO allies' readiness to defend the Baltic states and to deter Russian aggression against NATO allies. Failing to contain, if not roll back, Russia's apparent aggressive revisionist ambitions would bear significant consequences beyond the Baltic arena threatening the heart of Europe.

Thus, divergence among the Western nations regarding regional contingencies is not unusual. Furthermore, there is considerable merit in diverse opinions and positions, with certain members of the Western community of democracies possessing various areas of expertise, and contributing to an enriched debate that helps

prevent the pitfalls of groupthink. In other words, this diversity is a source of strength of the West, although some in the West do not always appreciate the Israeli "take" on Middle East matters.

Israel's identification with the West, its geopolitical location, and its rich regional experience and intelligence assets – at both peace and war, in conventional warfare, in special operations, and in asymmetric conflicts – has allowed Israel to grant tangible strategic benefits to its Western allies.

During the Cold War, Western allied forces were not rapidly deployable for expeditionary missions in distant operations. Thus, Israel's geographical position played an important military role. Perhaps the first-ever Israeli involvement in Middle Eastern contingencies at the request of a Western power was Israel's clandestine collaboration with British Intelligence in the civil war in Yemen in the first half of the 1960s. During 1962-1964, Israel's Air Force conducted 14 airdrops of munitions, food and medicine for the Yemen Royalists fighting the Republicans supported by Nasser's Egypt.⁶⁷

While the Republicans won the civil war by the end of the 1960s, Israel's involvement demonstrated that Western powers had a credible strategic ally in the Middle East. The staggering triumph of Israel in the 1967 Six Day War carried out in lightning speed on three separate fronts demonstrated remarkable combination of Israeli resilience, intelligence, and advanced military capabilities. Soon thereafter, the United States would call on Israel.

In September 1970 and following a series of PLO terrorist acts, Jordan's King Hussein decided to expel the PLO from his Kingdom. Hussein feared that the continued presence of the PLO and affiliated Palestinian terrorist groups posed a growing threat to his rule. The consequent military struggle between the PLO and the Jordanian armed forces triggered Syrian incursion into the northern edge of Jordan. Pleading for assistance and with American military stretched because of Vietnam, the Americans and Jordanians turned to Israel. Seeking to compel a Syrian withdrawal, Israel concentrated a considerable ground force along its border with Syria and Israeli warplanes carried out several "fly-bys" over the Syrian forces. The Israeli deployment led to Syria's withdrawal.

⁶⁷ Israel kept the story of its clandestine involvement in the civil war in Yemen top secret for some 50 years. For reports and analysis concerning Israel's involvements, see Yoav Stern, "This is how Israel Intervened in the Civil War in Yemen," *Haaretz*, July 26, 2004 [in Hebrew] http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.985134 [retrieved: December 1, 2014]; Yigal Sheffy, "Confronting Cairo: Israeli Perceptions of Nasser's Egypt, 1960-6," In Clive Jones and Tore T. Peterson (eds.) *Israel's Clandestine Diplomacies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 111-114.

The 1970 episode and more recent historical accounts reveal to what extent the United States strategically relied on Israel. A year earlier, the United State Government held a contingency planning exercise, which concluded that in case of a crisis in Jordan, Israel ought to be the lead military player. In other words, the call on Israel to intervene militarily in the Jordanian crisis was not a last-minute decision, but rather a well-calculated assessment of Israel's strategic reliability. Furthermore, during the crisis, the American Administration depended on Israeli intelligence. To a large extent, the crisis in Jordan confirmed the transition of Israel from a strategic liability of the United States into a strategic asset.68

In managing the coordination between the United States and Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, serving as Israel's ambassador to the United States, played a key role. In his memoirs, Rabin reflected on the impact of the crisis in Jordan on United States-Israel relations:

These events had a far-reaching impact on U.S.-Israeli relations. Israel's willingness to cooperate closely with the United States in protecting American interests in the region altered her image in the eyes of many officials in Washington. We were considered a partner – not equal to the United States, but nevertheless a valuable ally in vital region during times of crisis.

On September 25, Kissinger phoned me and asked me, on behalf of the president, to convey a message to our prime minister: "The President will never forget Israel's role in preventing the deterioration in Jordan and in blocking the attempt to overturn the regime there. He said that the United States is fortunate in having an ally like Israel in the Middle East. These events will be taken into account in all future developments." This was probably the most far-reaching statement ever made by a president of the United States on the mutuality of the alliance between the two countries. I had never heard anything like it and still looked back on that pronouncement with nostalgia. 69

Indeed, the Black September crisis in Jordan became a game-changer and defining moment in United States-Israel relations. Notwithstanding, Israel continued to play an important military role for the United States in offering "lessons learned" from Israeli operations and America access to captured Soviet armament. For instance, the Israeli Air Force operation against the Syria's

Cyber warfare, the Iranian nuclear threat, and the rising use of the Mediterranean Basin as a launch pad for terrorism in Europe are all areas of mutual concern.

Soviet air defense systems deployed in Lebanon during the 1982 war offered the Americans considerable handson experience on how to tackle such contingencies.⁷⁰

From a European perspective, Israel's experience would prove particularly essential as it became involved militarily in various Middle East contingencies following September 11. Suddenly, European militaries found themselves in unchartered terrains. Israel, by contrast, had accumulated vast operational and counterterrorism experience, which the EU lacked. Through intelligence sharing; arms sales; and joint training exercises, EU members benefit from Israeli expertise, making their borders more secure; their military operations more effective; and their citizens safer.

Cyber warfare, the Iranian nuclear threat, and the rising use of the Mediterranean Basin as a launch pad for terrorism in Europe are all areas of mutual concern; geopolitical instability wrought by the 'Arab Spring' is another. Nowhere is this now more evident than in Israel's neighbor, Syria, which, since the outbreak of civil war in 2011, has become ground zero for violent extremists from around the world. The extremists' ranks comprise at least 1,000 hard-core Islamists from Europe, including an estimated 300 from the UK alone FRA— extremists whom British intelligence fear will try to launch terror attacks upon their return to Britain. European and

⁶⁸ For a detailed account of the 1970 Black September crisis in Jordan and the implications for U.S.-Israel strategic relations, see Joel S. Migdal, *Shifting Sands: The United States in the Middle East*, New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2014, pp. 59-84.

⁶⁹ Yitzhak Rabin, *The Rabin Memoirs*, Expanded Edition, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996, p. 189.

⁷⁰ For a detailed study on Israeli intelligence and operational experience exchange with the United States, see Michael Eisenstadt and David Pollock, Asset Test: How the United States Benefits from its Alliance with Israel, Washington, D.C.: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2012. See also, Steven L. Spiegel, "Israel as a Strategic Asset," Commentary Magazine, June 1, 1983 http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/israel-as-a-strategic-asset/ [retrieved: September 15, 2014].

⁷¹ Tsilla Hershco, "Israel-EU Security and Defence Relations – Divergences and Convergences," *Diplomacy & Foreign Affairs*, July 20, 2013 http://diplomacyandforeignaffairs.com/israel-eu-security-and-defense-relations-divergences-and-convergences/ [retrieved: November 4, 2013].

⁷² Siobhan Gorman, Cassell Bryan-Low, and Maria Abi-Habib, "Jihadists Returning Home to Europe From Syria Pose New Terror Threat," *The Wall Street Journal*, December 4, 2013 http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702303722104579238542737904868 [retrieved: December 8, 2013]; See also, Con Coughlin, "The Syrian civil war is breeding a new generation of terrorist," *The Telegraph*, December 3, 2013 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/



NATO officials have made no secret that Israel has offered their European counterparts essential intelligence on Syria.

With their publics reminded of the ever-present threat of terrorism, EU governments have dramatically upgraded security collaboration with Israel – the US Congressional Research Service, for example, notes a significant increase in Germany's intelligence co-operation with Jerusalem, since 9/11.⁷³ Likewise, Britain regularly receives vital intelligence from Israel, on Iran and other chief state sponsors of terrorism. Con Coughlin, *The Telegraph*'s defense correspondent, has written that Britain is so reliant on Israeli intelligence that it simply "cannot afford a diplomatic rift", ⁷⁴ and a former top-level Mossad agent observed (immodestly; but, perhaps not inaccurately) that, in the intelligence field, Israel has "more to offer than receive" from the UK.⁷⁵

Given this threatening scenario, Israel appears as one of the brightest countries on strategy and intelligence matters, due to, among other reasons, its long experience dealing with Islamist and radical terrorist networks, and handling threats of annihilation since its establishment. According to the 2013 U.S. State Department terrorism report; "Israel continued to be a stalwart counterterrorism partner in 2012. It faced continued terrorist threats from Hamas, the Popular Resistance Committees, and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, particularly from Gaza but also from the West Bank; and from Hezbollah in Lebanon."

In the same vein, Major General George J. Keegan Jr., former head of U.S. Air Force intelligence, declared that America's military defense capability "owes more to the Israeli intelligence input than it does to any single source of intelligence" approximately calculating that the importance of that input exceeds "five CIA's"⁷⁶

Indeed, as we can read in the Gale Encyclopedia of Espionage and Intelligence, since it was founded in 1948, the nation of Israel has implemented some of the most rigorous counter-terrorist measures of any country in the world.

As it happened with cooperation in economics and R&D, the U.S. has been one of the first countries to boost Israel as a strategic and intelligence partner. The U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation intensified above all in the 80s. On November 29, 1983, a bilateral agreement was signed creating both the Joint Political-Military Group, and the Joint Security Assistance Planning Group fo-

syria/10491523/The-Syrian-civil-war-is-breeding-a-new-generation-of-terrorist.html [retrieved: December 8, 2013].

⁷³ Paul Belkin, "Germany's Relations with Israel: Background and Implications for German Middle East Policy," Congressional Research Service, January 19, 2007 http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33808.pdf [retrieved: December 3, 2013]; See also: Shlomo Shpiro, "Intelligence Services and Foreign Policy: German-Israeli Intelligence and Military Cooperation," German Politics, Vol. 11, No. 1, April 2002.

⁷⁴ Con Coughlin, "Britain cannot afford a diplomatic rift with Israel," *The Telegraph*, December 3, 2012, http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/concoughlin/100192487/britain-cannot-afford-a-diplomatic-rift-with-israel/ [retrieved: November 5, 2013).

⁷⁵ Yaakov Lappin, "Politically motivated move, blow to intelligence-sharing," *The Jerusalem Post*, March 24, 2010 http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Politically-motivated-move-blow-to-intelligence-sharing [retrieved: November 6, 2013].

⁷⁶ Ibid., 107

cused on overseeing security assistance. On January 23, 1987, the U.S. Congress passed a law designating Israel as a major non-NATO ally —and formally established Israel as an ally, and allowed its industries to compete equally with NATO countries and other close U.S. allies for contracts to produce a significant number of defense items. Throughout the following years, it has also created a Joint Anti-Terrorism Working Group and a hotline was set between the Pentagon and the Israeli Defense Ministry. Currently, the U.S. is continuously investing in Israeli military systems and equipment such as the Arrow missile, the Tactical High Energy Laser, the Barak ship self-defense missile system, Reactive Armor Tiles, Crash-Attenuating Seats, the Have-Nap missile and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, among others.

The benefits of this joint cooperation have flourished in both sides. In May 2010, 50 retired Generals and Admirals wrote to President Barack Obama, highlighting the value of U.S.-Israeli cooperation; the letter read as follows: "American police and law enforcement officials have reaped the benefit of close cooperation with Israeli professionals in the areas of domestic counter-terrorism practices and first response to terrorist attacks."

As David Pollock and Michael Eisensdat pointed out in November, 2012 in *Foreign Affairs* magazine; "The two governments work together to develop sophisticated military technology, such as the David's Sling counter-rocket and Arrow missile defense systems, which may soon be ready for export to other U.S. allies. Israel has also emerged as an important niche defense supplier to the U.S. military, with sales growing from \$300 million per year before September 11 to \$1.1 billion in 2006, due to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Israel's military research and development complex has pioneered many cutting-edge technologies that are transforming the face of modern war, including cyberweapons, unmanned vehicles (such as land robots and aerial drones), sensors and electronic warfare systems, and advanced defenses for military vehicles."⁷⁸

As prestigious scholars Walter B. Slocombe (senior counsel in Caplin & Drysdale's Washington and secretary of defense for policy from 1994 to 2001 in the Pentagon) and Robert Blackwill (senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations and former U.S. ambassador to India) have recently emphasized in their essay *Israel: A Strategic Asset for the U.S.*79, "as Israel's strategic intelligence collection capabilities (e.g., satellite and un-

manned aerial systems) mature and improve, this cooperation and exchange of intelligence information and analysis will increasingly serve U.S. national interests."

Slocome and Blackwill have highlighted some invaluable facts on U.S.-Israel strategic cooperation. For instance, Israel's national missile defenses—including the U.S. deployment in Israel of an advanced X-band radar system—will be an integral part of a larger missile defense architecture spanning Europe, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf that will help protect U.S. forces and allies throughout this vast area. For this reason, Slocombe and Blackwill pointed out that "the director of the Pentagon's Missile Defense Agency recently praised the specific contribution that Israel's integrated, multilayered command-and-control network makes to the U.S. military's ability to defend against the Iranian missile threat."

One of the last successful U.S.-Israel joint ventures in intelligence has been Operation Olympic Games, which developed the Stuxnet computer worm that harmed and delayed the Iranian nuclear program.

Another country that has increased its strategic cooperation with Israel is Canada. Along the PM Stephen Harper's effusive pro-Israel position, Canada and Israel have strengthened their cooperation on paramount strategic fields.

In March 2005, the Canadian Space Agency signed a "Technology and Science Cooperative Agreement" with its Israeli counterpart, the Israel Space Agency, while Canadian aerospace firms met with representatives of important potential Israeli partners in this sector, including Rafael, Elta, Israeli Aerospace Industry's Mabat division, and Elbit's Aluf.

In 2008, Canada and Israel took a step forward to direct Canada-Israel security cooperation through the "Declaration of Intent on Public Safety." This agreement was signed in Tel Aviv on March 23 and outlined key areas of cooperation that are of interest to both governments like border management and security, crime prevention, emergency management, money laundering, terrorism financing and organized crime, among others.

In February 2010 Canadian deputy Foreign Minister Peter Kent said «an attack on Israel would be considered an attack on Canada» on Israel would be considered an attack on Canada» and in July 2011, Defense minister Peter MacKay reiterated this position. According to CBC he told Israel's top military commander Gabi Ashkenazi that "a threat to Israel is a threat to Canada." In June

^{77 &}quot;Israel as a Security Asset to the United States", *The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs*, (May 14, 2010) http://www.jinsa.org/files/ JINSAcolorAd.pdf

⁷⁸ Michael Eisenstadt and David Pollock, "Friends With Benefits", Foreign Affairs, (November 7, 2012) http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/138422/michael-eisenstadt-and-david-pollock/friends-with-benefits

⁷⁹ Robert D. Blackwill and Walter B. Slocombe, *Israel: a strategic asset for US*, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2011

^{80 &}quot;An attack on Israel would be considered an attack on Canada", *The Globe and Mail*, (February 16, 2010) http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/ottawa-notebook/an-attack-on-israel-would-be-considered-an-attack-on-canada/article4187892/

2012, a summary of the Government foreign activity regarding Israel ties related that "the countries have agreed to exchange secret defense information."

Israel is also strengthening strategic and intelligence ties with the European Union. The Israel Security Agency has developed a framework of relationship with agencies in Europe and U.S., which is progressively improving in order to share information. This information flow between Western agencies and Israel has allowed to locate and identify terrorist and to thwart terrorist attacks in Israel and other countries.

Besides, Israel continues its counterterrorism cooperation with a range of regional and international institutions, including the UN (Israel also deepened its cooperation with the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force) and the OSCE. Israel has conducted strategic dialogues that included counterterrorism discussions with the United States, Canada, Russia, the U.K., France, Germany Italy, and the EU. In this way, in the wake of Hezbollah's blacklisting, Israel will give intelligence information on Hezbollah to EU agencies, law enforcement authorities and homeland security officials in order to avoid and thwart terrorist group operations on European soil. In addition, Israel also engaged with the EU on transportation and aviation security efforts and sought to deepen its counterterrorism cooperation with NATO.

The State of Israel is a strategic asset in other key regions. To this regard, Israel has also carried on to cooperate with the OAS (Organization of American States) Inter-American Committee against Terrorism to assist Latin American states with counterterrorism efforts. As a member of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia, Israel keeps on to explore ways to enhance cooperation on counterterrorism with Central Asian states.

In homeland security, strategic military arenas, counterterrorism or aerial warfare, the Jewish State has become a world leader in designing new methods and technologies. Thus, Israel's innovations in defense and security areas has provided to the West new tools in order to protect civilians and soldiers, and to improve the prevention of terrorist attacks.

Indeed, as we can read in terrorist expert Leonard Cole's 2007 book *Terror: How Israel Has Coped and What America Can Learn*, no country has experienced more acts of terrorism over a prolonged period than Israel. The frequency of attacks has propelled Israel toward innovative methods to address the threat.

On homeland security issues, as a paradigmatic example, Technion Professor Ehud Keinan and Professor

The Israel Security Agency has developed a framework of relationship with agencies in Europe and U.S., which is progressively improving in order to share information.

Philip Dawson of the Scripps Research Institute in California invented an explosive testing device, which was partially funded by the U.S.-Israel Bi-National Science Foundation. The device can detect minuscule amounts of peroxide bomb-related substances by performing a quick on-the-spot chemical test. The terrorism fighting tool, which looks like a pen, can be applied to a wide variety of fields such as airport security and police activities.

A former director of security at Israel's Ben Gurion Airport and a veteran aviation security expert Rafi Ron developed the program "Behavior Pattern Recognition" (BPR), which provides airport security staff with the capability to recognize and assess passengers' behaviors ranging from distress or confusion to potential criminal or terrorist intent that may not correspond with what could normally be expected in a particular environment. BPR is being used in many airports worldwide, and the system is risk-based decision, so does not involve any racial or religious discrimination profiling.

Israel is also a global pacesetter in active measures for armored vehicle protection, defense against short-range rocket threats, and the techniques and procedures of robotics. Israel has been a world leader in the development of unmanned aerial systems, for intelligence collection and combat according to the Slocome and Blackwill's report.

ISRAEL'S HELP IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ISLAMIC STATE

Islamic fundamentalism is focused on extending Jihad all over the world, not only in Israel. Iran is strongly pursuing nuclear capability and its reach now threatens Israel, the Gulf States, and Western countries: it has become one of the main global challenges. The Islamic State has thus become the main threat to defeat by Western countries and most of the Middle-Eastern countries.

The Islamic State (IS) - also referred to as ISIS ISIL, DAESH or The Caliphate - has emerged nowadays as the main security threat not only for Gulf countries and the vast majority of the Middle Eastern nations, but also for the West. The brutality of the Caliphate and its fearsome expansionist aims, have shown how urgent it is to be united and to cooperate to stop it. Indeed, more than 40 countries, including UAE, Saudi Arabia or Bahrain, have strongly decided to defeat ISIS jointly. However, despite it has not formally joined to the International Coalition against ISIS, there is another country which is providing a valuable help for this paramount purpose: Israel. As Israeli PM stated last September in the Herzliyah International Institute for Counter-Terrorism "[...] we are playing our part in this continued effort. Some of the things are known; some of the things are less known"; along the same vein the Israeli Finance Minister Yair Lapid asserted that Israeli intelligence "is part of the regional effort" against IS.

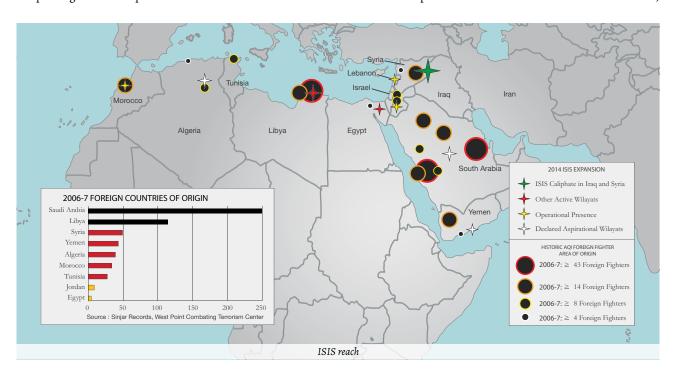
Due to its high renowned and expert intelligence structure, thanks to its experience to deal with like-minded IS groups such as Hamas, and given its compromise to keep the stability in such hostile neighborhood where it has coexisted with, Israel is playing a key strategic role in the international offensive to defeat IS.

First, as Reuters has quoted on September 8, an anonymous Western diplomat said that Israel is providing the U.S. with satellite surveillance in order to support the U.S.-led aerial campaign against IS in Iraq, and information on Western citizens who have either joined IS or could carry out attacks in their home countries. According to the diplomat, the Israeli spy satellites, overflying Iraq at angles and frequencies unavailable from U.S. sat-

ellites, had provided images that allowed the Pentagon to "fill out its information and get a better battle damage assessment" after strikes on Islamic State targets. Regarding the Western citizens suspected of joining IS, the Diplomat highlighted the Israeli skills on analyzing international travel databases and Arabic social media in order to track and identify these activists. Moreover, Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz has pointed out that Israel is providing real-time intelligence on IS, on its access to hiding places, on its financial supply route, and on a range of other subjects.

Second, Israel has a long expertise on dealing with guerrilla tactics employed by IS-like terrorist movements like Hamas. Actually, Hamas and IS share some core views, for example, the use of violence to install a radical version of Islam, which violates Human Rights and oppresses the minorities and other religions. In this regard, both groups seek the establishment of a Muslim caliphate that operates according to Shari'a as well. Mahmoud al-Zahar, one of the historic leaders of Hamas, said in a ceremony to honour police officers killed during the Operation Protective Edge on Gaza that "we don't want to establish an Islamic emirate in Gaza; we want an Islamic state in all Palestine."

Besides the common goals, ISIS and Hamas use a similar strategy, a guerrilla warfare led by masked troops combined with massive murder of civilians. While Hamas has killed thousands of Israeli civilians by suicide bomb attacks and by launching rockets, ISIS is exterminating Christians and Yazidis in Iraq, and Kurds in Syria. While Hamas uses the Gazan population as human shields (in order to obtain media benefit of killed civilians) and carries out public executions of Israel's collaborators,



The military and intelligence strength of Israel is a deterrent for authoritarian regimes, nuclear proliferation, and radical Islamist non-state actors.

IS is releasing worldwide the beheading of Western non-combatants to recruit newcomers to its cause and to terrify the world,—IS is also using humans shields in Syria, according to the reporter Gianluca Mezzofiore.

However, as Dershowitz has reminded, Israel has been combating this king of strategy for more than 50 years; its expertise, therefore, is going to be truly useful to enable the international coalition to stage accurate strikes on IS positions and to locate foreigners IS-newcomers in the Western countries.

Third, Israel has always asserted its efforts to keep the stability in the region. Over the last years, Israel has prevented Hezbollah, and other radical groups operating in the civil war in Syria, from acquiring chemical weaponry located in arsenals and military research centers run by al-Assad forces. Some years earlier, on September 6, 2007, Israeli Air Force carried out the Operation Orchard to destroy the Syrian nuclear reactor in the Deir ez-Zor region, preventing the al-Assad regime from acquiring the atomic bomb —avoiding also that the nuke bomb could be transferred to Syrian allies such as Hezbollah and Iran, and eventually preventing radical groups like IS from taking them over as well.

Plus, Israel has definitely committed to act accordingly if the IS reaches Jordan, in accordance with the Diplomatic sources quoted by the Israeli Channel 2 last September 12, 2014. The Israeli commitment to the stability of the region is anew an unquestionable guarantee for the West.

The barbarianism practiced by the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, where they have perpetrated mass murder on whoever opposes them, is also threatening to harm us in our cities. Israel, that has suffered for decades waves of massive terrorism, is a pillar to rely on in the fight against IS.

Israel has been the barrier that has prevented territorial expansion of Islamic fundamentalism. The military and intelligence strength of Israel is a deterrent for authoritarian regimes, nuclear proliferation, and radical Islamist non-state actors. Israel constitutes a military might that guarantees stability in the region.

Israel is a strategic asset for the West, the last frontier of the Freedom and Democracy in the Middle East; the Israeli support to the Anti-IS international coalition is just further proof of it. Once again the struggle of Israel is the struggle of the West.

SYRIA'S ENDLESS CIVIL WAR: ISRAEL AS A DETERRENT OF IRAN AND HEZBOLLAH

One of the focal points of the current Middle-Eastern instability is located in Syria. The civil war has left more than 220,000 dead in four years, around one million wounded, more than three million Syrians have fled the country, and war crimes are a daily reality according to the U.N.⁸¹ The end of the war is not near and could evolve into territorial stalemate, due to the emergence of the Islamic State, that has taken over big areas of Syria and has shocked the whole world with its barbarianism.

Besides, the ongoing civil war has a multi actor front on the field -unlike a classic civil war with a confrontation of two parties. Hezbollah and Iran are backing al-Assad forces by deploying troops and weapons, Al Qaeda and other Jihadist groups are supporting a part of the rebel forces, and the Islamic State has conquered vast areas of the country, apparently facing all sides in the civil war. At the end of the day, Syria has become a dangerous mess that is infecting the stability of the region. As military correspondent Yoav Limor pointed out, the success—or failure—of the developments in Syria will have dramatic implications on the reality of this region in the near future.⁸²

Nevertheless, Israel has remained watchful. According to IDF's military intelligence reports, thousands of radical jihadists have arrived in Syria from abroad and local fighters have joined in, thus constituting the greatest presence of al-Qaeda supporters in the region. Likewise, Robert Serry, the U.N. Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process, said that Syria "is increasingly turning into a big global battleground." The possibility that the Golan Heights could be used to launch attacks against Israel —either by Islamist extremists fighting for the rebels, either the Islamic State, or by Hezbollah militants or by supporters of al-Qaeda— still exists and bears the potential of military confrontation between Israel and non state actors which are acting in Syria.

^{81 &}quot;Syria's President Speaks: A Conversation With Bashar al-Assad2, Foreign Affairs, (January 2015) http://www.foreignaffairs.com/discussions/interviews/syrias-president-speaks

⁸² Yoav Limor, "Israel's Triple Challenge on the Syrian Front", Al Monitor. (May 6, 2013) http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/05/israels-triple-challenge-on-the-syrian-front.html#ixzz2WTj8prtD



In this sense, Israel has avoided Hezbollah acquired chemical weapons and long range missiles. Israeli Air Force bombed Jamrayah military complex, located in a suburb north of Damascus, destroying tanks Fateh-110 missiles that were in transit from Iran to Hezbollah and objectives near Latakia were a supply of Russian antiship missiles Yajontm type with a range of 300 miles and that could have been transferred to Hezbollah. Those destroyed weapons, could have been used to attack Israelis, to kill Syrians opponents, or Western citizens worldwide.

What is truly clear is that without the Israeli deterrent, the civil war in Syria might be extended to other countries like Jordan or Lebanon, and the expansion of the Islamic State had been faster.

Israel emerges, again, as the frontline of the West in the Middle East by deterring the expansion of the Syrian conflict.

A HAVEN FOR CHRISTIANS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The persecution of Christian minorities in all the Middle East is a reality – except in Israel. Across the Islamic countries, the persecution has intensified since the turn of the century. In spite of the Arab Spring, some developments have led to the massive exodus of Christians

and the harassment of its communities has increased dramatically. After the emergence of the Islamic State and its barbarianism, Christians in the Middle East are facing annihilation.

Since 2003, 70 Iraqi churches have been burned and about 1,000 Christians have been murdered in Baghdad according to Barnabas Fund,⁸³ provoking the flight of more than 500,000 people. The rise of the Islamic State has worsened the situation. In August 2014, during the IS invasion of Qaraqosh and the towns of the Nineveh Plains Province over 100,000 Iraqi Christians were forced to flee their homes and leave all their property behind.

The international human-rights lawyer and expert on religious persecution Nina Shea testified in 2011 before Congress about the future of Iraqi Christians, pointing out that two-thirds of them have vanished from the country.⁸⁴

The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom recently stated; "The flight of Christians out of the region is unprecedented and it's increasing yearly."85

⁸³ Frances Harrison, "Christians besieged in Iraq", BBC. (March 13, 2008). http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7295145.stm

⁸⁴ Kirsten Powers "A Global Slaughter of Christians, but America's Churches Stay Silent", *The Daily Beast*, (September 29, 2013) http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/09/27/a-global-slaughter-of-christians-but-america-s-churches-stay-silent.html

⁸⁵ Raymond Ibrahim, "The mass exodus of Christians from the Muslim world", FOX News. (May 7, 2013). http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2013/05/07/mass-exodus-christians-from-muslim-



In our lifetime alone "Christians might disappear altogether from Iraq, Afghanistan, and Egypt," asserted the commission.

In Iran, the conversion to Christianity is a crime. Yousef Nadarkhani, an Iranian Christian pastor, was sentenced to death for apostasy in November 2010. After international pressure, the death sentence was annulled and the pastor was released in early September 2012. He was rearrested by Iranian authorities on Christmas Day 2012, but he was eventually released on January 7, 2013.

In January 2013, an American Christian was sentenced to eight years in prison in Iran for "threatening national security." The 32-year old pastor Said Abedini, traveled to his home country in 2012 to visit his family. He had helped to build an orphanage; however, he was arrested and sent to Evin prison in Tehran for apostasy. According to Fox News, as a Muslim convert to Christianity, Abedini faces "physical and psychological torture at the hands of his captors, who demand to renounce their beliefs." ⁸⁶

Another pastor of an Iranian church, Benham Irani, remains behind bars, and his family fears that, "he may die from continued beatings, leading to internal bleeding and other ailments. The verdict against him contains text describing him as an apostate who 'can be killed.' According to one activist, "His 'crimes' were being a pastor and possessing Christian materials."⁸⁷

world/#ixzz2eljr6MS3

Malayeri Fati Farchid, a pastor who converted and preached Christianity, was finally sentenced to six years in prison, after an unsuccessful appeal hearing in 2012.

In Egypt, in July 2012, a hundred Christian families migrated to the city of Dahshur after their homes were burned and looted.

In Lebanon, the Christian community was once politically powerful, but today has shrunken drastically. Thirty years ago, Lebanon was 60% Christian; today it is barely 34% in accordance with Christian Freedom International.* Hezbollah's political and influential power is encouraging the decline of the Christian community in Lebanon.

In the Palestinian territories, University of California Professor Justus Reid Weiner published a book in 2006 called "Human Rights in Palestinian Society," where he pointed out that Christians have shrunk to less than 1.7% of the population in Palestinian areas. According to Professor Weiner, tens of thousands have abandoned their holy sites and ancestral properties to live abroad, while those who remain do so as a beleaguered and dwindling minority.

Similar along these lines, Wall Street Journal Europe editorial page writer Daniel Schwammenthal published an oped in 2009 on the persecution of Christians in Palestinian

⁸⁶ Lisa Daftari, "Imprisoned American says Iranian captors 'waiting for me to deny Christ", FOX News. (February 22, 2013). http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/02/22/imprisoned-american-says-iranian-captors-waiting-for-me-to-deny-christ/#ixzz2elkYTdUV

⁸⁷ Raymond Ibrahim, "Iran's American Prisoner", Human Events.

⁽April 30, 2013). http://www.humanevents.com/2013/04/30/irans-american-scapegoat/

^{88 &}quot;Persecution in Lebanon-TORTURED FOR CHRIST", Christian Freedom International. http://www.christianfreedom.org/the-christian-winter/persecution-in-lebanon/

⁸⁹ Justus Reid Weiner, *Human Rights in Palestinian Society*, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs. (Jerusalem, 2005).

territories. One of the remarkable facts that Schwammenthal pointed out was that while Christians represented about 80% of Bethlehem's population 60 years ago, their numbers are now down to about 20%, a result not just of Muslims' higher birth rates, but also due to widespread Christian emigration because of intolerance.90

In Syria the situation is deteriorating. Melkite Greek Catholic Patriarch Gregorios III Laham stated that more than 1,000 Christians had been killed, entire villages cleared, and dozens of churches and Christian centres damaged or destroyed during the last year. IS has ordered Christians to convert to Islam of face death in all the areas seized. Besides, Christians the ancient community of Christian Assyrians are the target of the Jihadist groups. In February 2015, under a big offensive in the north of Syria, IS abducted 150 Assyrian Christians from villages surrounded Tel Tamer.

The last worldwide shock was on February 2015, when the IS beheaded more than 20 Christian Copts in Libya and broadcasted the murder to the whole world.

The only place in the Middle East where Christians are not threatened, but thriving, is in Israel. Since the founding of Israel in 1948, Christian communities (including Russian and Greek Orthodox, Catholics, Armenians, and Protestants) have enjoyed all democratic rights protected by Israeli law and have been able to maintain their holy sites. According to an Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics report, the Christian population has grown 1.3 % in 2012. 91

Hence, in the face of an unstoppable rise of persecution of Christians in the Middle East, Israel is a refuge. Israel's model of tolerance and religious freedom must be used as an example for the whole region.

A MILITARY FRIEND

Israel's arms exports jumped 74%, in 2013,⁹² making the country of 8 million people the world's sixth-largest arms exporter — after the military-technology heavyweights the United States, Russia, France, the UK, and Germany. In 2012, Israel exported \$1.6 billion (€1.16 billion), in military-related technology, to EU states, a figure surpassed only by Israel's arms sales to the US and India.⁹³

Israeli equipment also enhances Europeans' personal security.

A representative example is the 'Spike' anti-tank portable missile system, designed by the defense firm, *Rafael*, and sold – in consortium with two German counterparts – as 'EuroSpike'. The UK, Spain, Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands have all acquired the system in large numbers, and, for years, it has seen extensive use in coalition operations in Afghanistan.⁹⁴

Israeli equipment also enhances Europeans' personal security. The November 2013 Milipol conference in Paris – the marquee convention for the homeland-security industry – featured dozens of Israeli firms offering everything from cybersecurity tools, to emergency management, to aviation and transportation security. Few Europeans are aware that Israeli technology safeguards such iconic symbols as Buckingham Palace, Heathrow Airport, the Eiffel Tower, and the Vatican.

Another area of vast cooperation military cooperation and arm sales is the development of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs). In the 1970s, Israel became the first country ever to produce UAVs; today, it is their leading exporter worldwide, accounting for 40% of all sales globally. UAVs are now a critical tool of modern warfare;

⁹⁰ Daniel Schwammenthal, "The Forgotten Palestinian Refugees", *The Wall Street Journal*. (December 28, 2009).

⁹¹ Selected Data from the New Statistical Abstract of Israel No. 63 - 2012, Central Bureau of Statistics. (September 11, 2012). http://www1.cbs. gov.il/reader/newhodaot/hodaa_template_eng.html?hodaa=201211239
92 "'Peak Defence' on Horizon as US, UK & Europe Erodes Competitive Edge," IHS, 24 June 2013, available at: http://press.ihs.com/pressrelease/country-industry-forecasting/peak-defence-horizon-us-uk-europe-erodes-competitive-edge (accessed 9 November 2013).

⁹³ Gili Cohen, "Overtaking China and Italy: Israel ranks as the world's

sixth largest arms exporter in 2012," *Haaretz*, 25 June 2013, available at: http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.531956; see also: Alon Ben David, "Israel Among Leading Arms Exporters In 2012," *Aviation Week*, 5 August 2013, available at: http://www.aviation-week.com/Article.aspx?id=/article-xml/AW_08_05_2013_p76-600058. xml; see also: "The Arms Trade between EU Member States and Israel – Briefing Paper," Quaker Council for European Affairs (2009), available at: http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/The_Arms_Trade_between_EU_Member_States_and_Israel.pdf (all accessed 17 December 2013).

^{94 &}quot;EuroSpike GmbH," EuroSpike, available at: http://www.eurospike.com/index.html (accessed 1 November 2013).

^{95 &}quot;Israel at Milipol Paris 2013," *Israel Export Institute*, 19-22 November 2013, available at: http://www.export.gov.il/files/publications/milipol2013-e-book/milipol%202013%20ppt.html (accessed 3 November 2013).

^{96 &}quot;Israel: Homeland Security Industry," The Israel Export & International Cooperation Institute (2012), available at: http://www.export.gov.il/uploadfiles/11_2012/cyber%20security_pages.pdf (accessed 2 November 2013). Itai Smuskowitz, "Israeli company to secure Vatican," Ynet, 20 November 2008, available at: http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3626206,00.html; see also: Andrea Tornielli, "The Vatican invests in cutting edge technology and regular bug-clearing operations," Vatican Insider, 31 October 2013, available at: http://vaticaninsider.lastampa.it/en/the-vatican/detail/articolo/vaticano-datagate-29162/ (both accessed 8 November 2013).

^{97 &}quot;Israel – an unmanned air systems (UAS) super power," *Defense Update*, 3 May 2013, available at: http://defense-update.com/20130503_israel-as-unmanned-air-systems-super-power.html (accessed 2 November 2013).

counterterrorism; and law enforcement, and experts believe that demand for them will quadruple over the next decade.98

Up to the point when the United States became the world's largest manufacturer of UAVs, it relied heavily on Israeli UAV platforms and operational approaches. The United States military used Israeli UAVs in virtually all its international military operations since the 1991 War in Iraq, including its military interventions in Somalia and the Balkans, culminating in the War in Afghanistan. To this day, U.S. Southern Command deploys the IAI Heron UAV in El Salvador, while as the Department of Homeland Security operates Israeli UAVs to monitor the southern border of the United States.⁹⁹

Of all Israeli UAVs exported, half go to Europe – chiefly Britain, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, and Spain. ¹⁰⁰ Israel Aerospace Industries' 'Heron' (known in France as 'Harfang') is but one example of an Israeli UAV that has saved the lives of European troops, ¹⁰¹ contributing extensively to French military operations in Afghanistan, ¹⁰² Libya, ¹⁰³ and Mali. ¹⁰⁴

Another is the 'Watchkeeper WK450', developed jointly by Israel's *Elbit* and France's *Thales*,¹⁰⁵ which has logged at least 70,000 hours of surveillance (the equivalent of eight years' non-stop flying) in Afghanistan, for the British Army.¹⁰⁶ The UK Ministry of Defence and its ground

commanders in Afghanistan have described the aircraft as "vital" for protecting British troops in the country's volatile Helmand Province.¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, Israel conducts joint training exercises with American and European militaries nearly every year. In November and December 2013, Israel hosted the American, German Italian, Polish air forces, near Eilat, for its latest international exercise. Codenamed 'Blue Flag', the drill involved hundreds of aircrafts and a thousand crewmembers simulating both asymmetric (counterinsurgency) operations and traditional air-to-air combat. Other recent drills have included special-forces training with the Czech Republic, as well as long-distance air-force bombing runs with Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany. The bulk of EU-Israel joint training, however, is conducted within the NATO framework.

Israel's arms exports jumped 74%, in 2013,¹¹¹ making the country of 8 million people the world's sixth-largest arms exporter — after the military-technology heavyweights the United States, Russia, France, the UK, and Germany. In 2012, Israel exported \$1.6 billion (€1.16 billion), in military-related technology, to EU states, a figure surpassed only by Israel's arms sales to the US and India.¹¹²

A representative example is the 'Spike' anti-tank portable missile system, designed by the defense firm, *Rafael*, and sold – in consortium with two German counterparts – as 'EuroSpike'. The UK, Spain, Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands have all acquired the system in large num-

⁹⁸ Charles Levinson, "Israeli Robots Remake Battlefield," *The Wall Street Journal*, 13 January 2010, available at: http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB126325146524725387 (accessed 8 November 2013).

⁹⁹ For further details on the American use of Israeli-origin military systems, including UAVs, see Michael Eisenstadt and David Pollock, Asset Test: How the United States Benefits from its Alliance with Israel, Washington, D.C.: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2012, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Gili Cohen, "Israel is world's largest exporter of drones, study finds," Haaretz, 19 May 2013, available at: http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/israel-is-world-s-largest-exporter-of-drones-study-finds.premium-1.524771 (accessed 8 November 2013).

¹⁰¹ Tsilla Hershco, "French-Israeli Security Cooperation in the Twenty-First Century (Hebrew)," Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, 1 July 2013, available at: http://besacenter.org/mideast-security-and-policy-studies/french-israeli-security-cooperation-in-the-twenty-first-century-hebrew/.

Tech. Sgt. John Jung, "French unmanned aircraft protect Bagram Airmen, coalition forces," *U.S. Air Force*, 13 July 2009, available at: http://archive.is/20120720012659/http://www.af.mil/news/story.asp?id=123158417 (accessed 9 November 2013).

¹⁰³ Zach Rosenberg, "France deploys Harfang over Libya," Flight-global, 25 August 2011, available at: http://www.flightglobal.com/news/articles/france-deploys-harfang-over-libya-361301/ (accessed 9 November 2013).

^{104 &}quot;French Harfang UAV logs 2,000 flight hours in Mali," Shephard Media, 5 September 2013, available at: http://www.shephardmedia.com/news/uv-online/french-air-force-harfang-logs-2000-flight-hours-ma/ (accessed 9 November 2013).

¹⁰⁵ Lewis Page, "UK MoD reveals Watchkeeper spy-drone numbers," *The Register*, 15 June 2007, available at: http://www.theregister.co.uk/2007/06/15/watchkeeper_numbers_revealed/ (accessed 4 November 2013).

^{106 &}quot;Hermes 450 reaches 70,000 hours in Afghanistan," UK Ministry

of Defence, 19 September 2013, available at: https://www.gov.uk/gov-ernment/news/hermes-450-reaches-70000-hours-in-afghanistan (accessed 9 November 2013).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 155

^{108 &}quot;Five Air Forces to Participate in Israel's 'Blue Flag' Air Combat Exercise," *Defense Update*, 4 November 2013, available at: http://defense-update.com/20131104_five-air-forces-participate-israels-blue-flag-air-combat-exercise.html (accessed 19 November 2013).

^{109 &}quot;Czech Republic discusses joint military training with Israel," Azeri Press Agency, 17 May 2013, available at: http://en.apa.az/news/193008 (accessed 5 November 2013).

¹¹⁰ Tsilla Hershco, op cit. See also Yoav Zitun, "IAF holds distantstrike exercise," *Ynet*, 11 February 2011, available at: http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4142862,00.html [retrieved: 6 November 2013].

^{111 &}quot;'Peak Defence' on Horizon as US, UK & Europe Erodes Competitive Edge," *IHS*, 24 June 2013, available at: http://press.ihs.com/press-release/country-industry-forecasting/peak-defence-horizon-us-uk-europe-erodes-competitive-edge (accessed 9 November 2013).

¹¹² Gili Cohen, "Overtaking China and Italy: Israel ranks as the world's sixth largest arms exporter in 2012," *Haaretz*, 25 June 2013, available at: http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/.premium-1.531956; see also: Alon Ben David, "Israel Among Leading Arms Exporters In 2012," *Aviation Week*, 5 August 2013, available at: http://www.aviation-week.com/Article.aspx?id=/article-xml/AW_08_05_2013_p76-600058. xml; see also: "The Arms Trade between EU Member States and Israel Briefing Paper," Quaker Council for European Affairs (2009), available at: http://www.voltairenet.org/IMG/pdf/The_Arms_Trade_between_EU_Member_States_and_Israel.pdf (all accessed 17 December 2013).

bers, and, for years, it has seen extensive use in coalition operations in Afghanistan.¹¹³

ISRAEL-NATO: AN ONGOING COOPERATION

The NATO-Israel relationship has expanded significantly over the last decade within the framework of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue. In 2005, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer became the first NATO chief to visit Israel following an Israeli official submission of a proposal to upgrade NATO-Israel relations. In October 2006, after a prolonged negotiation process of more than 18 months, Israel and NATO concluded an Individual Cooperation Program (ICP). Israel was the first country outside of Europe – and the first among NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue Countries – to reach such an agreement.

This was an important step because from its outset, actual cooperation within the Mediterranean Dialogue was limited mostly to the multilateral framework. Thus, while Israel considered itself a natural partner of NATO, it was nonetheless restricted to the joint agenda of the other Mediterranean Dialogue Countries. This joint agenda reflected the lowest common denominator, essentially Egypt, which from the beginning was not interested in an enhancement of NATO presence in the area.

The NATO-Israel ICP, renewed and modestly expanded in December 2008, is a wide-ranging framework that enables the expansion of the scope of current cooperation. Detailing 27 areas of cooperation, the ICP included response to terrorism, armament cooperation and management, nuclear, biological, and chemical defense, military doctrine and exercises, civilian emergency plans, and disaster preparedness. The ICP also offered "an exchange of intelligence information and security expertise on different subjects, an increase in the number of joint Israel-NATO military exercises and further cooperation in the fight against nuclear proliferation."¹¹⁴

Israel soon sought to demonstrate its interest in developing concrete cooperation with NATO. Israel announced in 2006 that it was willing to contribute to NATO's maritime anti-terrorist operation in the Mediterranean Sea, Operation Active Endeavour. Later that year, NATO and Israel officially exchanged letters agreeing to the posting of an Israeli Navy Liaison Officer to NATO Allied Joint

Force Command Naples, the headquarters of Operation Active Endeavour. While the officer was only posted in early 2008, both NATO and Israeli officials subsequently expressed their satisfaction with Israel's modest contribution to this operation. In 2009, Israel officially announced that it was willing to contribute a Navy corvette to Operation Active Endeavour. While the proposal did not materialize as Israel's relations with Turkey soured and the latter blocked the initiative.¹¹⁵

Israel's experience in dealing with terrorism and guerrilla groups has been a boon to NATO members. In 2009, NATO's Science for Peace and Security program sponsored a three-day course in Haifa, for dealing with emergency procedures in mass-casualty situations. The same year, Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola – then-chairman of NATO's Military Committee – visited Israel, to study IDF tactics to apply to NATO operations in Afghanistan. Di Paola was particularly interested in Israeli specialized armor against Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), as well as intelligence gathering and tactics for fighting terror in civilian-populated areas. To

This visit came just weeks after the issuance of the infamous Goldstone Report – which alleged that Israel had committed war crimes by deliberately targeting civilians in Gaza (though Goldstone himself later disavowed that contention). The contrast was striking: within weeks of the European Parliament endorsing the report, 118 the European chair of NATO's military committee was visiting Israel, for the third time in four years, to study ethical methods for dealing with terror insurgencies without causing undue harm to civilians.

Israel also plays an integral strategic role in Europe's nuclear defenses. In 2008, US European Command (or EUCOM, the US military command that includes Europe and Israel) installed an X-band missile-shield radar base in Israel's Negev desert. The base, along with a similar one in Turkey, is part of the 'Aegis' US-NATO missile-defense system, designed to protect Europe

^{113 &}quot;EuroSpike GmbH," *EuroSpike*, available at: http://www.eurospike.com/index.html (accessed 1 November 2013).

¹¹⁴ Barak Ravid, "NATO okays pact to boost security, political ties with Israel," *Haaretz*, 2 December 2008, available at: http://www.haaretz.com/news/nato-okays-pact-to-boost-security-political-ties-with-israel-1.258681 (accessed 13 November 2013).

¹¹⁵ Tommy Steiner, "NATO-Israel Relations: The Level of Ambition," September 2011 http://www.comitatoatlantico.it/en/studi/nato-israel-relations-the-level-of-ambition/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014]; see also: Shlomo Ben-Ami, "Israel and NATO – Between Membership and Partnership," Project Syndicate, 5 January 2010, available at: http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/israel-and-nato---between-membership-and-partnership#cvHWAr69BkIP3HVJ.99 (both accessed 13 November 2013);

^{116 &}quot;NATO helps prepare emergency response professionals for mass casualty situations," *NATO*, 16-18 November 2009, available at: http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/news_59390.htm?mode=news (accessed 13 November 2013).

¹¹⁷ Yaakov Katz, "NATO chief comes to study IDF tactics," *The Jerusalem Post*, 20 November 2009, available at: http://www.jpost.com/Israel/NATO-chief-comes-to-study-IDF-tactics (accessed 13 November 2013).

118 "European Parliament backs Goldstone report," *The Associated Press*, 3 October 2010, available at: http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-3860934,00.html (accessed 13 November 2013).

from ballistic missiles of the type that Iran is believed to be developing.¹¹⁹

The same year, details emerged of secret German-Israeli co-operation on a project for detecting incoming nuclear-tipped missiles. Codenamed 'Project Bluebird', it is designed to detect nuclear-tipped missiles among a cluster of decoy missiles that could be launched against Europe in the event of nuclear war. The project is likely just the tip of the iceberg of bilateral anti-nuclear efforts, most of which remain highly classified.¹²⁰

In addition, for the last decade, Israel and the US have staged large biennial missile-defense exercises, nicknamed 'Juniper Cobra'. The 2012 iteration – by far the largest-ever US-Israeli military exercise of any kind – was joined by Germany and the United Kingdom, ¹²¹ and top US-military officers overseeing the operation confirmed that insights gleaned from it would be applied to strengthening the missile shield for Europe. ¹²²

This tight co-operation has led a number of high-level European leaders to call for Israel's admission to NATO. Spain's former prime minister, José María Aznar, has said that he is "fully convinced" that Israel ought to be a member of NATO to help thwart Iran's nuclear-weapons drive and stem the tide of radical Islam:

If Iran sees and feels that Israel is an integral part of the West, I think our deterrence posture will be strengthened [...] The West cannot fight this radical tide without Israel.¹²³

One of the often-cited disadvantages to Western strategic and military relations with Israel is their negative impact on their respective relations with the Arab world.

The NATO-Israel relationship has expanded significantly over the last decade within the framework of NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue.

While this might have been the case in the 1970s following the Yom Kippur War and the Arab oil embargo on the West, there is little evidence to support this claim today. 124 Rather, Israel maintains close strategic relations with two of its main Arab neighbors. Curiously, in recent years, Egypt has reportedly asked Israel to persuade the US administration. Furthermore, while Israel's long-standing self-reliance posture has got in the way of developing relations with multilateral NATO, self-reliance also meant that Israel never sought or expected that Western forces would need to fight on its behalf.

Walter Slocombe and Robert Blackwill confirm that indeed no strategic relationship is "cost free", and that in their case, the US-Israel relationship is strategically worthwhile:

We do not argue that Israel's assistance to the United States is more valuable to the United States than American support of Israel is to Israel. Nor do we deny that there are costs to the United States, in the Arab world and elsewhere, for its support of Israel, as there are costs to U.S. support of other beleaguered—and sometime imperfect—friends, from West Berlin in the Cold War to Kuwait in 1990-91 to Taiwan today. We are, however, convinced that in a net assessment those real costs are markedly outweighed by the many ways in which Israel bolsters U.S. national interests and the benefits that Israel provides to those interests.¹²⁵

A CYBERSECURITY FORTRESS

As noted above, Israel is a major cyber security provider in the world.

Israel is the first world target of daily cyberattacks. The airlines, banks, ministries, everything is a target for hackers. The national electricity company (IEC) reported that is receiving 20,000 attacks per day¹²⁶. To this

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Masters and Greg Bruno, "What is the ballistic missile threat from Iran?", in "U.S. Ballistic Missile Defense," Council on Foreign Relations, 1 May 2013, available at: http://www.cfr.org/missile-defense/us-ballistic-missile-defense/p30607#p6; see also: "Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense," Missile Defense Agency – U.S. Department of Defense, available at: http://www.mda.mil/system/aegis_bmd.html (both accessed 18 November 2013).

¹²⁰ Yaakov Lappin, "Israel, Germany develop nuclear warning system," *The Jerusalem Post*, 17 November 2008, available at: http://www.jpost.com/International/Israel-Germany-develop-nuclear-warning-system (accessed 19 November 2013).

¹²¹ Tony Capaccio, "U.S.-Israeli Military Exercise Sending Message to Iran," *Bloomberg Businessweek*, 15 October 2012, available at: http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-10-15/u-dot-s-dot-israeli-military-exercise-sending-message-to-iran (accessed 13 November 2013).

¹²² Dan Williams, "U.S. sees Israel drill helping Europe missile shield," Reuters, 22 October 2009, available at: http://www.reuters.com/article/2009/10/22/us-israel-usa-iran-idUSTRE59L3GC20091022; see also: Michael Barajas, "US-Israel drill may shape European missile shield," The Associated Press, 27 October 2009, available at: http://seattle-times.com/html/nationworld/2010146317_apmlisraelmissileexercise. html (both accessed 13 November 2013).

¹²³ José María Aznar, "Israel and NATO," Congress Monthly (2007), available at: http://www.ajcongress.org/site/DocServer/Jose_Maria_Aznar.pdf?docID=3041.

¹²⁴ On this point, see Eisenstadt & Pollock, op cit.

¹²⁵ Robert D. Blackwill and Walter B. Slocombe, *Israel: A Strategic Asset* for the United States, Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2011, p.14.

¹²⁶ David Shamah "Israel fights off 1,000 cyber-attack hits a minute", The Times of Israel, (September 6, 2012) http://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-fights-off-1000-cyber-attack-hits-a-minute/

regard, Isaac Ben-Israel, head of Tel Aviv University's cyber research centre and PM adviser on the cyber security stated that "In a normal day we have 100,000 to 200,000 attacks per day. In times of emergency ... this goes up to 2 million a day. This drives us to develop protection technology," The IEC has recently created the Cyber Gym, aiming to train their employees to fend cyberattacks. In June 2013 experts from around the country gathered in Tel Aviv at a Conference of Cybersecurity, and reservist General Yitzchak ben Yisrael, a member of Cybernetics National Office, created two years ago for the development of cybersecurity in the country, said Israel receives 100,000 cyberattacks day.

However, Israel is the most cybersecure country in the world, along with Denmark and Sweden, earning 41/2 out of 5 stars in a report prepared with the support of McAfee, Inc in February, 2012.128 Certainly, the Israeli company Check Point Software Technologies, set up in 1993, invented products, which have set industry standards in internet security, protecting and preventing attacks at both the network and application levels. Check Point is known for its firewall and VPN products —actually it was first pioneered the industry with Fire-Wall-1. Check Point offers products and services on network security, endpoint security, data security and security management. Today it has approximately 2,200 employees worldwide and its development centers are located in Israel, California, Sweden (former Development Center Data Protection) and Belarus. The company also has offices in the United States, in Redwood City, California and Dallas, Texas, and in Canada in Ottawa, Ontario.

In January 2014, Netanyahu declared Cybertech, an international fair on cyber technology that attracts more than 5,000 experts per year, which Israel leads the Western struggle on cybersecurity¹²⁹. According to the director of the National Cyber Office, Eviatar Matania, the number of Israeli companies dedicated to cybersecurity is around 220, representing between 5 and 10% of the world market for cybersecurity. In February 2015, Kaspersky Lab's Global Research and Analysis Team (Great) reported a major cross-border hacking attack called the Equation Group, worse than any attack ever encountered, and Israel spared them¹³⁰.

The Israeli cyberpower not only measured in its defenses, also in their weapons. As David Pollock and Michael Eisensdat noted in November 2012 in the journal Foreign Affairs¹³¹: "R & D Israeli military has pioneered many of the advanced technologies that are transforming the face of modern warfare, including those of cyber weapons."

As new fields of R&D emerge, multinational corporations continue to flock to Israel. One major new area of exploration is cyber-security, a field in which the world considers Israel second only (if at all) to the United States. In January 2014, Prime Minister Netanyahu announced the establishment of a national "cyber-park". Named "Cyber Spark" and located in the southern city of Beersheba, the facility will offer space for major companies working on cyber and create an "eco-system" of global leadership in the cyber field. Under the academic auspices of the Ben Gurion University, three world technology leaders collaborated to establish "Cyber Spark": EMC, Deutsche Telekom, and IBM. At the announcement ceremony, IBM and Ben-Gurion University announced that they would build in Beersheba a center for global excellence in the field of security and defense for infrastructures, assets and information.132 Said otherwise, Israeli technology and innovation will develop essential tools to protect civilian infrastructure around the world in face of the emerging challenges of cyber security. Earlier this year, IBM, Cisco, EMC, RSA and Lockheed Martin announced that Deutsche Telekom will create R & D on cyber-security Cyber-Spark. Cyber-Spark complex is the Israeli stronghold of cybersecurity.

Indeed, Israel is currently the second largest exporter of cyber products and services after the U.S., with more than 200 companies and dozens of R&D ventures and projects focused on developing cyber security¹³³. According to Luis Rodriguez Soler, the director of enterprise risk services at Deloitte in Spain "Israel is one of the intelligence nodes of the world [...] the startups we have seen here are quite interesting, and we are already talking to them."¹³⁴

In this regard, in 2013, Israel had \$3 billion worth in cyber security exports, that currently accounts a 7 % of the

¹²⁷ Tova Cohen, "Israel turns defense capabilities into cyber security tech gold "Haaretz, (September 23, 2014) http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.617461

¹²⁸ Cyber-security: The Vexed Question of Global Rules, Security & Defence Agenda and Mcafee Inc., February 2012

¹²⁹ David Shamah "Netanyahu: Israel is leading West's cyber-security fight", *The Times of Israel*, (January 29, 2014) http://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-israel-is-leading-wests-cyber-security-fight/

¹³⁰ David Shamah "Kaspersky Lab: Israel spared two major cyberattacks" The Times of Israel, (February 22, 2015) http://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-spared-two-major-cyberattacks-says-kaspersky-labs/#ixzz3TFhhYNND

¹³¹ Ibid. 138

¹³² Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "PM Netanyahu Opens CyberTech 2014; Announces Creation of Cyber Spark in Beer Sheba," January 27, 2014 http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2014/Pages/PM-Netanyahuto-open-Cybertech-2014-.aspx [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹³³ Dyana So, "Cyber Security Nation: Why Israel Leads The World In Protecting The Web", No Camels, (December 10, 2014) http://nocamels.com/2014/12/cyber-security-nation-israel/

¹³⁴ Gwen Ackerman, "Israel's Cyber-Security Prowess Is Attracting Foreign Firms ", Bloomberg , (January 29, 2014) http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-01-29/israel-s-cyber-security-prowess-is-attracting-foreign-firms

CYBERSECURITY

Israel is the most cyber-secure country in the world, along with Denmark and Sweden, earning 4½ out of 5 stars in a report prepared with the support of McAfee in February, 2012.

In 2013, Israel had \$3 billion worth in cyber security exports, that currently accounts a 7 % of the \$60 billion a year global cyber-security market and as much as 13 % of new R&D in the sector.

In 2013, Israeli cyber-security start-ups raised more than \$140 million in funding, according to the Israel Venture Capital Research Center.

In 2014, more than 220 Israeli companies alongside with 20 foreign R&D centers develop security solutions for Paypal, IBM, EMC, RSA, GE, VMWare, Cisco, Deutsche Telekom, Lockheed Martin, CA Technologies, and McAfee.

Israel holds every year the Cyber-tech Conference, sponsored by the Israeli National Cyber Bureau, where more than 8,000 experts from 50 nations such as US, UK, Finland, Japan, South Korea, Mexico, Canada, and many other countries. The Cyber-tech conference hosts leading decision makers as keynote speakers from Israeli and international cyber companies.

David Pollock and Michael Eisensdat noted in November 2012 in Foreign Affairs that "R&D Israeli military has pioneered many of the advanced technologies that are transforming the face of modern warfare, including those of cyber weapons."

The Israeli stronghold of cyber-security is the Cyber-Spark complex, located in Beersheva, auspicied by the Ben Gurion University and established in collaboration with EMC, Deutsche Telekom, and IBM.

\$60 billion a year global cyber-security market and as much as 13 % of new R&D in the sector. Is Israeli cyber security start-ups raised more than \$140 million in funding in the same year, according to the Israel Venture Capital Research Center. In the past 4 years, over 100 new cyber-security start-ups have sprouted up in Israel, with nearly \$400 million invested in 78 companies during this period, in accordance with to the Israel Venture Capital Research Center as well.

In 2014, more than 220 local companies alongside 20 foreign R&D centers develop security solutions in Israel: Paypal, IBM, EMC, RSA, GE, VMWare, General Electric, Cisco, Deutsche Telekom, Lockheed Martin, CA Technologies, and McAfee. On the other hand IBM, Cisco, and GE are setting up major cyber centers in Israel.

The American defense industry colossus Lockheed Martin has recently opened a subsidiary in Beer Sheva, due to the potential growth of the cyber security market in Israel -estimated by the company to be valued in \$100 billion that the global cyber market will be valued soon be valued at \$100 billion. 136

Udi Mokady, CEO of CyberArk, the biggest cyber security company in Israel which protects the accounts of thirty of the world's Fortune 500 companies and 15 percent of the Global 2000, stated the following words regarding how cyber security market has become a national industry in Israel: "everybody understands that you buy Swiss watches from Switzerland and information security from Israel,". Along the same line the UK Minister for the Cabinet Office who is in charge of his country's cyber defense strategy Francis Maude pointed out that "Israel has a great deal to offer in cyber security," 137

Unlike other countries, Israeli government uses to interact and cooperate with private sector, academia and civil sectors in cyber security issues. Hence, the Israeli government created in 2011 a National Cyber Bureau (NCB) in charge of coordinating cybersecurity efforts among the private companies El Al or Teva, universities like Ben Gurion in Beer Sheva and government bodies like Shabak with the aim of keeping the economy and infrastructure safe from cyber attacks.

According to the *Global Trends 2030 Report*, the next fifteen to twenty years will see a wider spectrum of more accessible instruments of war, especially precision-strike capabilities, cyber instruments, and bio-terror weaponry. These new kind of weapons could create a new security dynamic that Western countries must confront. Cyberweapons could hit the main national structures (banks, administration) and collapse the services worldwide; cooperation in the cyberwarfare realm is essential to handle these upcoming challenges. A non-state actor, such as Anonymous, has already shown how big the power of cyber attacks is. Amid this new scenario, Israel has turned into cyber security fortress which the world can learn from.

THE MEANS TO TERROR: TRACKING THE FUNDING

Israel has a long curriculum on Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism. In 2005, IMF found that Israel fulfilled the FATF (Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering) Recommendations for Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism¹³⁸. FATF is a referential intergovernmental organization founded in 1989 under the auspices of G7 for developing policies to combat money laundering and the financing of terrorism.

Since January 2006, Israel has an active observer status in Moneyval, the Council of Europe's Select Committee of Experts on the Evaluation of Anti-Money-laundering Measures, a Financial Action Task Force-style regional body. In the Moneyval Evaluation Round on Israel, the first report released in 2007 said that «Israel has an intense commitment to combat terrorism in all its forms,»¹³⁹ and to this regard, it highlighted the Israeli Prohibition of Financing Terrorism Law, enacted in 2005, which is largely based on the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, ratified by Israel in December 2002. In the last inspection made by Moneyval, the report emphasized that, «Israel has a positive cultural change in the fight against money laundering.» ¹⁴⁰

The Israeli Financial Intelligence Unit, known as the Israeli Money-Laundering and Terror Finance Prohibition Authority (IMPA), established in 2002 by the Ministry of Justice of Israel in order to assist in the investigation

¹³⁵ Tova Cohen, "Israel turns defense capabilities into cyber security tech gold "Haaretz, (September 23, 2014) http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.617461

^{136 &}quot;REFILE-Israel turns self-defence into industry boom for cyber techs", Reuters, (September 23, 2014) http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/09/23/israel-cybersecurity-companies-idUSL6N-0RH23U20140923

¹³⁷ Daniel Easterman "UK is learning from Israel in the fight against cyber crime", The Jewish Chronicle, (April 18, 2014) http://www.thejc.com/news/uk-news/117401/uk-learning-israel-fight-against-cyber-crime

¹³⁸ Israel: Report on the Observance of Standards and Codes—FATF Recommendations for Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism, IMF Country Report No. 05/211, June 2005

¹³⁹ Third Round Detailed Assessment Report on Israel-Anti Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism, MONEYVAL, (July 9, 2008)

¹⁴⁰ Israel-Progress report and written analysis by the Secretariat of Core Recommendations, MONEYVAL, (December 14, 2011)

and prevention of money laundering and terror financing related crimes as part of the global effort regarding such crimes, is a member of the Egmont Group, which is a international network of financial intelligence units, currently formed by 132 members and its Secretariat is based in Toronto, Canada.

IMPA has signed letters of intent that provide for collaboration and sharing of intelligence between parties to improve their intelligence and enforcement capabilities, with scores of financial intelligence units of U.S., India, Albania, Australia, Angola, Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Georgia, Luxembourg, Romania, Russia, and South Africa.

IMPA is also allowed to transmit information, in case of suspicion of money laundering for finance terrorism, to security authorities as military intelligence, Mossad, and others. In May 2013, Amnet Compliance, an Israeli company specialized in the prevention of money laundering and terrorist financing and PriceWaterhouseCooper Israel arranged jointly a conference on fighting money laundering and financing of terrorism, held in Tel Aviv. Yair Dagan, CEO of Amnet Compliance, declared that, "Israel is a knowledge center in the fight to prevent money laundering and terrorism financing."

According to U.S. State Department Report on Terrorism, Israel's counterterrorist finance regime continued to be enhanced through enforcement operations and the inclusion of new groups under national terrorist finance laws; the well-regulated Israeli banking industry worked to address suspected terrorist activity. The financing of Hamas through charitable organizations remained a concern for Israeli authorities since Hezbollah's funding comes via charities and criminal organizations, as the report revealed.

^{141 &}quot;Israel is a knowledge center in the fight to prevent money laundering and terrorism financing", *Israel's Homeland Security Home*, (May 22, 2013) http://i-hls.com/2013/05/israel-is-a-knowledge-center-in-the-fight-to-prevent-money-laundering-and-terrorism-financing/



NOT KEPT TO ITSELF: ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGY MIRACLE

"Innovation going on in Israel is critical to the future of the technology business"

Bill Gates (2006)

"The next Google could come from Israel"

Eric Schmidt (2014)

Since the early days following its establishment, world leaders and opinion-shapers have repeatedly acknowledged and granted accolades to Israel's remarkable achievements. These accomplishments as we have seen touch on nearly all walks of life – from science to culture, through military R&D and strategy, on to innovation, food production, and economic statecraft.

The 2009 international best-seller of Dan Senor and Saul Singer branded Israel as a *Start-Up Nation* and shared Israel's economic miracle in the midst of the greatest economic crisis that had engulfed the world since the 1920s. 142 Israel became synonymous with entrepreneurship and high-tech innovation setting an example for the world to follow. The unprecedented reach of this single book reflected a universal interest in understanding the lessons Israel could teach the world. Unlike many other global hypes, Israel's economic miracle rested on solid ground.

This unique innovative and entrepreneurial spirit did not only transform Israel into a global high-tech trail-blazer. Tested time-and-again, this spirit was present since the early days of Zionist repatriation to then Ottoman-ruled Palestine. The first Jewish settlers faced an inhospitable environment and struggled to cultivate an arid land and to protect their new farms, villages, and towns. The Jewish settlers even invented new forms of egalitarian communities – the Kibbutz and the Moshav.

The Zionist movement realized early on that the establishment of a modern Jewish state requires solid human and scientific capital leading to the decision of forming a tertiary education institute to teach engineering, technical professions and agriculture. In 1912, still under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire, the cornerstone of the Technion was laid in Haifa. Twelve years and a World War later, the Technion started enrolling students in 1924. Shortly after World War I, the British government authorized the World Zionist Or-

ganization to establish the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and its cornerstone was set in 1918. Nobel laureate, Albert Einstein delivered in 1923 the first scientific lecture of the new university during his first tour of Palestine. These nascent steps laid the foundations for the "Start Up Nation". These two institutions would become the academic home of three Nobel Laureates less than a century later.

The newborn State of Israel emerged from the War of Independence (1948-1949) to absorb an influx of Jewish refugees leaving post-Holocaust Europe and fleeing hostile Arab regimes across the Middle East and North Africa. In the absence of great power support, Israel chartered its course through debilitating austerity to both build a self-sufficient island economy boycotted by its neighbors and to develop a self-reliant military that could withstand the threats of its neighbors. As early as the 1950s, Israel harnessed its scientific resources and meager finances for a decade-long effort to develop formidable independent strategic capabilities that would secure its survival for generations to come.

In that regard, the famous Israeli tech entrepreneur Yossi Vardi has declared that the real father of Israeli technology is the Arab boycott.

Thus, as *The Economist* explained; "Over the past two decades Israel has been transformed from a semi-socialist backwater into a high-tech superpower. Adjust for population and Israel leads the world in the number of high-tech start-ups and the size of the venture-capital industry." The prestigious Israeli political economist Gidi Grinstein said it is a unique case in world economic history. ¹⁴⁴

During its existence, Israel has managed to build a free-market economy based on innovation, making it one of the most flourishing economies in the world today. In 2010, Israel was ranked 17th among the world's most economically developed nations in the International Institute for Management Development's World Competitiveness Yearbook, in 2014, it was ranked 24th. As the Yearbook highlighted, the Israeli economy was ranked as the world's most durable economy in the face of crises, and was ranked first in the rate of research and development center investments as well. In 2013, Israel ranked 19 out of 186 world nations on the U.N. Human Development Index,145 which places it in the category of "Very Highly Developed." The 2014 Ease of Doing Business Index created by the World Bank ranked Israel 35 out of 185 countries.146 In the same line, the Heritage Foundation's

¹⁴² Dan Senor & Saul Singer, Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle, New York: Council for Foreign Relations; Twelve – Hachette Book Group, 2009.

^{143 &}quot;Beyond the start-up nation", The Economist. (December 29, 2010).

¹⁴⁴ Dan Senor and Saul Singer, Start Up Nation. (Toy Story, 2012) p.16.

^{145 &}quot;Country Profile: Israel," International Human Development Indicators 2014, http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/ISR.html

¹⁴⁶ The World Bank Data, Countries: Israel http://data.worldbank.

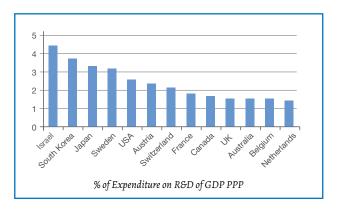
The IMD further ranked Israel among the top five economies in the world – in total expenditure on R&D, total public expenditure on education, business flexibility and adaptability, and level of scientific research.

annual *Index of Economic Freedom* ranking in 2015 gave Israel a score of 70.5, placing Israel 33 out of 185 countries¹⁴⁷ and the World Economic Forum's *Global Competitiveness Report* 2014-2015 ranked Israel 27 out of 133.¹⁴⁸

Not surprisingly, the 2014 Global Innovation Index Report ranked Israel as 15th out of 143 countries. ¹⁴⁹ Similarly, the IMD's World Competitiveness Yearbook has repeatedly granted high scores for Israeli innovation. In 2014, Israel got the top mark for business entrepreneurship, business expenditure on R&D, cyber security, and innovative capacity. The IMD's yearbook ranked Israel the 11th most resilient economy among developed economies – an acumen taking into consideration that Israel's economy is export driven. The IMD further ranked Israel among the top five economies in the world – in total expenditure on R&D, total public expenditure on education, business flexibility and adaptability, and level of scientific research. ¹⁵⁰

These good accomplishments of the Israeli economy are due to the innovative spirit and ease encountered by entrepreneurs to develop their ideas. Following this thought, Eric Schmidt, chairman and CEO of Google makes this clear: After the U.S., the best place for entrepreneurs is Israel. Warren Buffett has also added that Israel is the "most promising investment hub" outside the U.S. 152

org/country/israel



In the international best seller *Start-Up Nation*, Dan Senor and Saul Singer wonder how a small country without resources, with only 60 years of history and surrounded by enemies produces more start-ups than other peaceful, larger and stronger nations than Israel. Israel has one start-up for every 1,669 inhabitants, a total of 4,800 home start-ups in 2013.¹⁵³ With only seven and a half million inhabitants, Israel has more start ups listed on the NASDAQ index than all European countries together and boasts the third largest number of companies trading on Wall Street after the U.S. and Canada since 2009, according to NASDAQ.

Senor and Singer certainly provide strong arguments to explain Israel's economic success. It is noteworthy in the military or immigration, but according to the authors, the stability of its institutions and Israeli law are key factors to develop business and innovation-based ventures.¹⁵⁴

The odds facing Israel – be it the Arab boycott, the challenge of absorbing Jewish refugees, or scarce natural resources – ingrained a necessity-driven determination to prevail over seemingly insurmountable challenges. As *The Economist* put it:

Israelis innovate because they have to. The land is arid, so they excel at water and agricultural technology. They have little oil, so they furrow their brows to find alternatives. They are surrounded by enemies, so their military technology is superb and creates lucrative spin-offs, especially in communications.¹⁵⁵

This ingenuity – in the form of Israeli creativity and entrepreneurship – were the keys to the miracle of the "Start-Up Nation". The Director of the World Economic

^{147 2015} Index of Economic Freedom, Heritage Foundation, 2015. http://www.heritage.org/index/ranking

¹⁴⁸ Global Competitiveness Report 2014-2015, World Economic Forum, 2015. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GlobalCompetitiveness-Report_2014-15.pdf

¹⁴⁹ Soumitra Dutta, Bruno Lanvin, and Sacha Wunsch-Vincent (eds.) *The Global Innovation Index* 2014: *The Human Factor in Innovation*, Ithaca & Paris: Cornell University, INSEAD, and the World Intellectual Property Organization https://www.globalinnovationindex.org/content.aspx?page=gii-full-report-2014 [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁵⁰ IMD World Competitiveness Yearbook 2014, Lausanne: IMD World Competitiveness Center, 2014,

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 21, p.17.

¹⁵² Oren Kessler, "Warren Buffett: Israel is the most promising investment hub outside of US", *The Tower*. (May 2, 2013). http://www.thetower.org/buffett-buys-remaining-shares-of-israeli-toolmaker-ima-big-believer-in-israels-economy/

¹⁵³ Julie Bort, "The 20 Hottest Startups from Israel", *Business Insider*,(May 7, 2013) http://www.businessinsider.com/the-20-hottest-startups-in-israel-2013-5?op=1

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.,21 p.110

^{155 &}quot;What next for the start-up nation?" *The Economist*, January 21, 2012 http://www.economist.com/node/21543151 [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

In the last decade the economic achievements in Israel have done nothing, but to expand, introducing Israel as one of the most innovating hubs worldwide.

Forum's (Davos) Global Competitiveness Program pointed out that history and culture also played a key role in transforming Israel into what he portrayed as an "ICT Powerhouse":

For centuries, in the vast majority of European countries, Jews were systematically denied the opportunity to enjoy secular education, to enter the professions, or to own land. This, no doubt, contributed to their ability to remain self sufficient even in extremely inhospitable conditions. Their new-found freedom in Israel, coupled with the long tradition of frank and forceful Biblical argumentation—one of the most highly valued "occupations" open to Jews in the past—has given rise to a remarkably egalitarian culture of openness, risk-taking and individualism, which places a high value on one's capacity to speak out, think freely, and constantly question.¹⁵⁶

Not less importantly, the world soon discovered that Israel would not only stand as a lone beacon of innovation, but that it was willing and ready to share its success with the world. Tellingly, Israel's "asset-ness" and added value are not a yet-to-be demonstrated potentiality. Repeatedly and to this day, Israel has stepped up to the plate and contributed concretely to the prosperity, security, and well-being of the Western Civilization.

Israel's economic and technological success story is one of foresight and determination to prevail against all odds. Backed by a path-breaking scientific and technological community, Israeli resolve created a self-sufficient and export-driven globalized economy.

The beginning of this story however, is rooted in the socialist and egalitarian traditions of the Zionist movement that led to the emergence of a centrally planned economy, not unlike many of the Western European economies that at the time were recovering from World War II. As in Europe, Israel's corporatist political economy involved a large welfare system and public-owned enterprises. Although this political-economic system over-burdened the Israeli economy by the 1980s and 1990s, it played an important role in developing the economy, the agriculture and the industry of the newborn nation, in building an egalitarian social fabric, and setting the foundations for Israel's scientific and technological excellence. During its first twenty years, Israel's economy grew in average more than 10 percent each year, and living standards steadily rose despite the Arab boycott and defense expenditures.

Israelis have been pioneers in innovation and creativity even before the establishment of the State of Israel. In fact, it was former Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, who predicted one of the core secrets of innovation: "We are all experts in what was, but there are no experts in what will be." What he intended to say, more or less, was that to become an expert in the future, one needs to have more vision than experience.

Certainly, Israel's economy has not always been the global model that it is today. During the first twenty years of the State, when the economy was growing around 10-13% each year, average living standards steadily rose, with the expenditure of an average wage-earner's family rising in real terms by 97% between 1950 and 1963, despite the Arab boycott, three wars, and a semi-autarkic system, Israel's economy experienced a "lost decade" after the Yom Kippur War. Public debt increased exponentially, the infrastructure was obsolete, tariffs on foreign goods were very high and interest rates of loans and credits to individuals and businesses were set unilaterally by the government. The economy was heavily intervened and inflation increased from 13% in 1971 to 111% in 1979, aggravated by the oil crisis to reach 445% in 1984.

Yet there were three factors that would turn Israel into the modern and innovative country that it is today.

In 1985, Shimon Peres (then minister of Finance), Stanley Fisher (then IMF economist), George Shultz (then U.S. Secretary of State) and Herbert Stein (former head of the Council Economic Advisers of President Nixon) designed a stabilization plan to combat hyperinflation, reduce public debt, and to ease the entry of Israel to the club of developed economies. The plan consisted mostly on privatization and the reform of the role of government in the capital market.

The second factor was the great wave of Russian immigration after the fall of the Soviet Union, which brought

¹⁵⁶ Augusto Lopez-Carlos and Irene Mia, "Israel: Factors in the Emergence of an ICT Powerhouse," In Soumitra Dutta, Augusto López-Claros and Irene Mia (eds.) *The Global Information Technology Report*, 2005-2006: *Leveraging ICT for Development*, Report of the World Economic Forum and INSEAD, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 89–105. The study on Israel is available at http://www.augustolopez-claros.net/docs/GITR2006_32Israel_ltr.pdf [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

800,000 new immigrants. Jews in the USSR were around 2% of the population, however, they were up to 20-30% of the doctors, scholars, scientists, mathematicians... according to the testimony of Nathan Sharansky. This influx of Russian immigration was an extraordinary influx of human capital needed to feed the tech market, which was emerging in the 1990s.

The third one was, undoubtedly, the government initiative mentioned before: *Yozma*. Yozma has been a model taken from other countries. For instance, in 2008 Ireland launched an "innovation fund," aimed to get foreign venture capital. Irish economist David McWilliams said that, "the State of Ireland has followed the example of the State of Israel, which is not without irony, as Ireland has had no diplomatic relations with Israel during its first 40 years of existence."¹⁵⁷

All these factors combined with ongoing support to creativity and entrepreneurship, increased investment in R&D and human capital, boosted the Israeli economy until it became what it is today. Hence, in the last decade the economic achievements in Israel have done nothing, but to expand, introducing Israel as one of the most innovating hubs worldwide.

Accordingly, the figures and data are quite clear.

In 2007, CNN Money ranked Israel 11 out of 12 best places to do business in the wired world. 158

According to the International Monetary Fund, the Israeli economy grew by over 4.5% in 2010, and over 3% in 2011 and 2012. In 2014, despite the Operation Protective Edge in Gaza, its economy grew over 3.2%. 159

The 2014 U.N. Human Development Index ranked Israel 19th out of 187 countries with the highest standard of living in the Middle East, and designated it as a "Very Highly Developed" economy. The Economist aptly described this transformation:

Over the past two decades Israel has been transformed from a semi-socialist backwater into a high-tech superpower. Adjust for population and Israel leads the world in the number of high-tech start-ups and the size of the venture-capital industry. 161

Israel has been ranked on the top OECD countries in life expectancy, education, expenditure on R&D and quality of life, among other issues.

As of 2010, more than 35,000 professionals are employed in multinational R&D centers in Israel,¹⁶² making Israel a source of worldwide strategic technology development. Around 60 foreign R&D centers are engaged in a diverse variety of activities including communication equipment, software, Internet communication, and more... Currently, top tech firms such as Intel, Microsoft, Google, IBM, Motorola, Cisco, HP, eBay, and SanDisk routinely choose Israel for their international research and development headquarters.

Throughout the years Israel has become one of the focal points of the tech revolution, as Bill Gates said in 2005 "innovation going on in Israel is critical to the future of the technology business." ¹⁶³

Israel's economic transformation was confirmed in 2010, when Israel was included in the latest round of new members to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This is probably the most recent achievement on Israeli international cooperation in issues such as Trading, Health or Science. After the incorporation, as noted before, Israel has been ranked on the top OECD countries in life expectancy, education, expenditure on R&D and quality of life, among other issues.

Today, Israel is the only country in the Middle East and North Africa admitted to that grouping of advanced developed economies.

Since the 1990s, high technology (high-tech) has been the main source of Israeli economic growth. In 1990, the high-tech industry made up 30 percent of the industrial exports and reach 47 percent by 2011. During this period, high-tech exports grew tenfold.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 21 p.188-189.

¹⁵⁸ Best places to do business in the wired world, CNN Money, 2007. http://money.cnn.com/galleries/2007/biz2/0708/gallery.roadwarriors-special.biz2/11.html

¹⁵⁹ Steven Scheer, "Israel economy surges 7.2 percent in fourth-quarter, fastest pace since 2007", Reuters, (February 16, 2015) http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/16/us-israel-gdp-idUSKBNoLK11Z20150216
160 "Country Profile: Israel," *International Human Development Indicators* 2014, http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/ISR.html

^{161 &}quot;Beyond the start-up nation," The Economist, December 29, 2010

¹⁶² Communications in Israel, Invest in Israel- Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labour. (February 2010). http://www.investinisrael.gov.il/ NR/rdonlyres/EC9133AE-E7AF-4AC9-BD39-295E745641F9/0/Communicationsinisraeloverview2010.pdf

^{163 &}quot;Bill Gates-Israel is a High Tech Superpower", *Israel21c*. (October 30, 2005). http://israel21c.org/technology/bill-gates-israel-is-a-high-tech-superpower/

¹⁶⁴ Paul Rivlin, "The State the Development of the High Technology Sectors in Israel," in Murat Yulek (ed.) Economic Planning and Industrial

We must again quote Dan Senor and Saul Singer who in their seminal Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel's Economic Miracle, attribute in part the exceptional success of Israeli innovation to the military service. The Israeli military's contribution to the advance of Israeli high-tech is well known. Several key IDF units are at the forefront of high-tech R&D for military purposes and Israeli soldiers, most aged 18 to 21, are not only exposed to technological innovation, but also are involved in the process "hands on". Soldiers completing their military service in elite technology units most often pursue successful and productive executive careers in the high-tech industry. Furthermore, the responsibility entrusted in young Israeli soldiers - in both combat and homeland postings - along with the well-embedded expectation that they demonstrate initiative, out-of-the-box thinking, and reasoned judgment, while remaining focused and mission-oriented, are all vital ingredients and qualities for success in the high-tech world. There is no doubt however, that beyond these important traits, the government role in advancing R&D and the robust academic and scientific community that developed since the 1920s are as important factors in the annals of Israel's economic accomplishments.

These factors led Google's Executive Chairman, Eric Schmidt to argue: "the next Google could come from Israel". In a blog Schmidt co-authored with a young Israeli venture capital executive, Dror Berman, the two explain:

Israeli entrepreneurs have what it takes to take on these grand challenges. On his most recent trip to Israel, Eric met with some of the smartest and most ambitious entrepreneurs he's ever seen. They sought out risky, long-term challenges. They were unafraid to apply technology to real solutions, not just beautiful products. Their training, acquired in the military and at Israel's top-tier universities, gave them an unparalleled knowledge in cuttingedge domains of chemistry, applied physics, and computer science. They've developed a collaborative culture, generating a continuous flow of knowledge between entrepreneurs, new and old. Today, the government's continued commitment to funding research, coupled with the growing presence of industry players from the U.S., China, and other countries, prepares Israel to have an oversized impact on the evolution of the next stage of technologies the world will use.165

Nebraskan investing titan, Warren Buffett, often reminds that Israel is the only country outside of the United States in which he has ever invested. Buffett explains this simply: "Israel is the leading, largest and most promising investment hub outside the United States." ¹⁶⁶ Buffet however, is not the only investor to discover Israel. In 2005, Bill Gates praised the innovation-high tech economy in Israel stating that Israel is part of Silicon Valley. ¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, with only eight million inhabitants, Israel has more startups listed on the NASDAQ index than all European countries together, and has the third largest number of companies trading on Wall Street after the United States and Canada since 2009. A 2013 survey ranked Israel as America's top third innovation partner. ¹⁶⁸

On one hand, multinational corporations have contributed US\$30 billion to the Israeli economy in the past decade. On the other hand, through the Israel-based R&D centers, multinational corporations share Israeli innovation and experience around the world providing new employment opportunities in production, marketing, and services in other countries.¹⁶⁹

As new fields of R&D emerge, multinational corporations continue to flock to Israel. One major new area of exploration is cyber-security, a field in which the world considers Israel second only (if at all) to the United States. In January 2014, Prime Minister Netanyahu announced the establishment of a national "cyber-park". Named "Cyber Spark" and located in the southern city of Beersheba, the facility will offer space for major companies working on cyber and create an "eco-system" of global leadership in the cyber field. Under the academic auspices of the Ben Gurion University, three world technology leaders collaborated to establish "Cyber Spark": EMC, Deutsche Telekom, and IBM. At the announcement ceremony, IBM and Ben-Gurion University announced that they would build in Beersheba a center for global excellence in the field of security and defense for infrastructures, assets and information.170

Policy in the Globalizing Economy, Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2015, p. 257.

¹⁶⁵ Eric Schmidt and Dror Berman, "The Next Google Could Come from Israel," The Innovation Blog – Innovation Endeavours, May 5, 2014 http://innovationendeavors.com/blog/the-next-google-could-come-from-israel/[retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁶⁶ Oren Kessler, "Warren Buffett: Israel is the Most Promising Investment Hub Outside of US," *The Tower*, May 2, 2013 http://www.thetower.org/buffett-buys-remaining-shares-of-israeli-toolmaker-im-a-big-believer-in-israels-economy/ [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁶⁷ Sever Plocker, "Gates: Israel is part of Sillicon Valley", *Yediot Aharonot*, October 26, 2005 [in Hebrew].

¹⁶⁸ Alex Knapp, "Canada, Israel and Switzerland are America's Top Innovation Partners," Forbes, December 17, 2013 http://www.forbes.com/sites/alexknapp/2013/12/17/canada-israel-and-switzerland-areamericas-top-innovation-partners/ [accessed: November 15, 2014].

¹⁶⁹ Maya Yaraowsky, "The Other Silicon Valley: The Role Of Multinational Companies In Israel's Startup Ecosystem," *NoCamels*, September 19, 2014 http://nocamels.com/2014/09/the-other-silicon-valley-the-role-of-multinational-companies-in-israels-startup-ecosystem/ [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁷⁰ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "PM Netanyahu Opens CyberTech 2014; Announces Creation of Cyber Spark in Beer Sheba," January 27, 2014 http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2014/Pages/PM-Netanyahu-

In their international bestseller, Start-Up Nation, Dan Senor and Saul Singer quip that "the West needs the innovation; Israel has it."

Said otherwise, Israeli technology and innovation will develop essential tools to protect civilian infrastructure around the world in face of the emerging challenges of cyber security.

Underscoring the depth of the mutual interdependency between Israel's economic and technological success and the world economy, venture capital has played a critical role in the development of Israeli high-tech industry. Interestingly, as early as the 1990s, and in response to a large wave of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, the Israeli government became a major innovator in nurturing Israel's still budding high-tech sector and in establishing close government-private sector partnerships. Thus, public-private partnerships have been the key of success of Israel's incubator programs that are at the core of its high-tech sector and venture capital. As the government privatized the incubators more than a decade ago, but remains closely engaged in their development, "the Israeli model is itself a type of incubator closely watched for smart start-up strategies."171 Indeed, several international policy studies have considered Israel's high-tech incubation policy as a unique international model, bearing lessons for countries and states in the process of evaluating their national strategies and seeking to develop their own incubation projects.172

The Israeli government not only created platforms for public-private partnerships, but also catalyzed Israel's venture capital market. In 1993, Israel launched that third defining factor of its economic progress we just mentioned: Yozma (initiative in Hebrew). It both offered attractive tax incentives to foreign venture capital investments in Israel and matched venture capital investments with government funds. During the decade

between 1991 and 2000, the number of companies that venture funds launched increased from 100 to 800 and Israel's annual venture-capital investments rose nearly 60-fold, from USD58 million to USD3.3 billion.¹⁷³ By 1999, Israel ranked second only to the United States in invested private-equity capital as a share of GDP.¹⁷⁴

Thus, a 2006 report of the World Economic Forum authored in collaboration with the INSEAD Graduate Business School labeled Israel as an "ICT Powerhouse". The report further singled out Israel as a case study for "the important role of the government in the emergence of Israel as a high-tech power, encouraging and supporting the capacity of the private sector to compete in international markets."¹⁷⁵

By 2012, *The Economist* dubbed Israel a "Mediterranean Magnet" showing that Israel led by far the world in venture capital investment per capita in 2010. As the below chart demonstrates, while Israeli companies attracted USD170 per capita, the second runner-up, the United States, attracted less than half with the rest of the world trailing behind.¹⁷⁶

While new venture capital "hotbeds" – mainly in Asia – continue to emerge, Israeli innovation continues to capture the interest and imagination of the global capital markets. Although Israel's GDP value represents 0.47 percent of the global economy, Israel commands 3.5 percent of the global venture capital activity. Ernst & Young's 2014 report on global venture capital insights and trends lists Israel as a global hotbed for venture capital alongside only four other economies – the United States, Europe (as whole), China, and India. The report's authors explain the sustained interest in Israeli innovation and the recent rebound in venture capital activity in Israel:

This spike in activity has been driven by the seemingly endless supply of innovative Israeli companies with a competitive advantage in the hot VC sectors that are attracting a wave of more and more new

to-open-Cybertech-2014-.aspx [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁷¹ Catarina Wylie, "Vision in Venture: Israel's High-Tech Incubator Program," *Cell Cycle*, Vol. 10, No. 6, March 15, 2011, pp. 855-858, DOI: 10.4161/cc.10.6.15366 [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁷² See for example, Csaba Deák & Daria Podmetina, "Business Incubation Practice in Finland, Hungary and in Russia," Paper Presented to ECFED 2014 Fourth International Workshop on Entrepreneurship, Culture, Finance and Economic Development, Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt, Austria, July 3-4, 2014 http://www.uni-klu.ac.at/sozio/downloads/Csaba_Deak_Daria_Podmentina.pdf [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁷³ George Gilder, "Silicon Israel," *City Journal*, 2009 http://www.city-journal.org/2009/19_3_jewish-capitalism.html [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁷⁴ Expenditure on R&D, OECD Factbook 2010. http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/factbook-2010-en/07/01/01/07-01-01-g1. html?contentType=&itemId=/content/chapter/factbook-2010-55-en&containerItemId=/content/serial/18147364&accessItemIds=&mim eType=text/html

¹⁷⁵ Augusto Lopez-Carlos and Irene Mia, "Israel: Factors in the Emergence of an ICT Powerhouse," In Soumitra Dutta, Augusto López-Claros and Irene Mia (eds.) *The Global Information Technology Report*, 2005-2006: Leveraging ICT for Development, Report of the World Economic Forum and INSEAD, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 89–105. The study on Israel is available at http://www.augustolopez-claros.net/docs/GITR2006_32Israel_ltr.pdf [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁷⁶ Data and chart adapted from: "What Next for the Start-Up Nation?" *The Economist,* January 21, 2012 http://www.economist.com/node/21543151 [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

foreign investors, predominantly from the US but increasingly from other locations, principally in Asia. ...

One of the drivers for this increased level of acquisitions has been cash-rich corporates, hungry for innovation, that have been snapping up Israeli companies.

Looking ahead, the outlook for IPO¹⁷⁷ exits is extremely positive. There is a robust pipeline of good companies waiting to go public, and we anticipate there will be between 8 and 15 IPOs in 2014-2015.¹⁷⁸

Indeed, Israeli IPO exits and the acquisition of Israeli firms by global market leaders have drawn considerable international attention and propel venture capital interest in Israeli firms. In 2013, Google acquired the Israel social network GPS, Waze, for USD 1.3 billion. Most recently, Israeli IPOs on the NASDAQ exchange have become "a bigger hit than much-heralded Alibaba." In August 2014, Mobileye's IPO raised USD 890 million at a valuation of USD 5.31 billion.

The trail-blazing technological innovations that attracted worldwide interest demonstrated in the extensive cooperation with multinational corporations, the phenomenal venture capital activity, and the attention-drawing IPOs rested upon the solid foundation of Israel's state-of-the-art universities and tertiary academic institutions. While the wave of immigrants from the Former Soviet Union created a large pool of qualified human resources that developed the Israeli high-tech industry, the government would soon realize that sustaining the success would require further investing and expanding professional human resources.

Thus, and as the World Economic Forum's study demonstrates, the incipient liberalization of Israeli higher education, which included the permission to found a private university and offer academic accreditation to technical professional colleges, along with increasing technology-oriented studies in the existing universities, facilitated the creation of a sizeable professional workforce for the budding high-tech industry. 180

The investment in technology and business oriented studies in tertiary education became one of the major foundations of the "Start-Up Nation". The investment in academia did not only pay-off in terms of human capital and labor force development. A 2013 report of the Samuel Neaman Institute for National Policy Research showed that Israeli research ranked sixth worldwide in the fields of physics, life sciences, psychiatry, psychology, molecular biology, and economics and business management. Testifying to Israel's advanced scientific credentials, the members of the European Organization for Nuclear Research (also known as CERN) voted unanimously in December 2013 to make Israel the first non-European member state of the organization.

As noted, one successful indicator of the economy is based on innovation and risk levels of investment in venture capital in Israel, attracting mass foreign capital.

Another strong pillar on which the Israeli economy relies is the support of the government and the State to research and the enhancement of innovative industries. Israel spent 4.4% of GDP on R&D in 2011, 3.93% in 2014. According to the World Bank, Israel is the top country on expenditure in R&D in the world. 182 183 According to the OECD, Israel also ranked first in the world in expenditure on R&D as a percentage of GDP. 184

High Tech Industrial Area

¹⁷⁷ Initial Public Offering.

¹⁷⁸ Ernst & Young, Adapting & Evolving: Global Venture Capital Insights and Trends 2014, http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/Global_venture_capital_insights_and_trends_2014/\$FILE/EY_Global_VC_insights_and_trends_report_2014.pdf [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁷⁹ David Shamah, "Israeli IPOs a Bigger Hit than Much-Heralded Alibaba," *Times of Israel*, September 28, 2014 http://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-ipos-a-bigger-hit-than-much-heralded-alibaba/#ixzz3LM2VQ7iK [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁸⁰ Lopez-Carlos and Mia, op cit.

¹⁸¹ Uri Kirsch, The Higher Education System in Israel: Issues, Characteristics and Unique Aspects, Haifa: Samuel Neaman Institute for Advanced Studies in Science and Technology, 2013.

¹⁸² Israel Data, *The World Bank*. http://data.worldbank.org/country/israel

^{183 &}quot;Israel's R&D Spending is Tops in the World", Seeking Alpha. (February 19, 2010). http://seekingalpha.com/article/189500-israel-s-r-d-spending-is-tops-in-the-world

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. 33

Thanks to such investments, Israel has reached remarkable goals. For example, Israel is among the top 20 countries in patents per capita, according to the lists released annually by the World Intellectual Property Organization.¹⁸⁵ Israel also ranks third in the production of scientific papers per capita, according to SASI Research Group.¹⁸⁶

* * *

In 1999, the Israeli company M-System invented the commonly used USB flash drive, marketed under the brand name as DiskOnKey. Herzliya-based VocalTec Communications developed the Voice over Internet Protocol (VoIP) that allows computerized phones to plug into the internet. Herzliya, the small coastal town just north of Tel Aviv, is home to a string of R&D centers. One of them, Sun Company that Oracle acquired in 2010 designed the Java platform embedded in Amazon's Kindle e-reader. Tens of thousands of drivers around the world regularly use Waze, a social crowd-based GPS navigational app developed in Israel. In 2013, Google acquired Waze for USD 1.03 billion.

The Israeli company Sol Chip that invented an everlasting solar battery is at the cutting-edge of the newest high-tech frontier, the Internet of Things, or as the company puts it – the Internet of Everything. The applications of Sol Chip's everlasting solar energy batteries power remote devices and as such are infinite, ranging from agriculture, through medicine, to security and home automation.

The State of Israel ranked second in the world regarding space sciences, according to Thomson Reuters. In addition, Israel is one of only 9 countries in the world with its own independent space satellite production and launching abilities, which includes the independent capability to place satellites in orbit.

The first country to delve into and to boost the Israeli potential on related matters has been the U.S. Indeed, as Forbes revealed in a survey conducted in December 2013, Israel is America's top third innovation partner. ¹⁸⁹

Historically, Israel and the U.S. have signed important economic partnerships. Although bilateral agreements on economic matters were first about helping assistance to Israel in the 1950s, U.S.-Israel bilateral ties in technology and trade were launched in the 1970s, through the joint statement of the U.S.-Israel Joint Committee for Investment and Trade relating to expansion of economic cooperation in 1975, and cemented in the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement in 1985.

Along the years, these initiatives have produced revolutionary advances and joint economic growth for the two countries. Over the past three decades, American-Israeli trade has grown by 500% and daily trade exceeds \$78 million worth of goods and services, increasing the productivity and job creation in both countries.

U.S.-Israel cooperation agreements have extended to other fields such as health, science, and technology. In 1986, both countries signed an agreement for cooperation in the field of health; in 1995, the agreement was for cooperation in the Global Learning and Observations to Benefit the Environment Program and, in 1996, the agreement concerned energy cooperation.

Moreover, U.S. and Israel have created foundations on research and development, agriculture, academia, and science and technology such as U.S.-Israel Bi-National Science Foundation (BSF) with grant recipients that include 36 Nobel Prize laureates, 19 winners of the Lasker-DeBakey Clinical Medical Research Award, and 38 recipients of the Wolf Prize; the Bi-National Agricultural Research and Development Foundation (BARD) or the Bi-National Industrial Research and Development (BIRD). Such bi-national programs have led to path-breaking discoveries and life-changing inventions which have benefited not only both nations but also the entire world. Under the BARD, Israeli, American, Canadian, and Australian farmers and scientists have cooperated on more than 1,100 projects over the past three decades.

Thanks to this kind of cooperation, among other key factors, the United States and Israel are clearly among the most technologically advanced nations in the world. This has been proved several times; for example, in January 2011, a new study released by the Martin Prosperity Institute ranked the U.S. second and Israel fourth out of the top ten countries in the *Global Tech Index*. 190

Israel has repeatedly offered to share its experience in high-tech innovation and entrepreneurship. For instance, the city of Chicago has been studying the Israeli experience in order to develop its own high-tech scene

^{185 2012} World Intellectual Property Indicators Report, World Intellectual Property Organization, (2012) http://www.wipo.int/export/sites/www/freepublications/en/intproperty/941/wipo_pub_941_2012.pdf
186 Most Prolific Publication of Scientific Papers, SASI Group. (2006). http://www.worldmapper.org/posters/worldmapper_map205_ver5.pdf

¹⁸⁷ Top countries in space sciences, *Times Higher Education*. (October 8, 2009). http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/408577.article 188 "To Infinity & Beyond", Solution Bridge, Inc. (August 12, 2010). http://www.solutionbridge.com/to-infinity-beyond/

¹⁸⁹ Alex Knapp, "Canada, Israel and Switzerland are America's Top Innovation Partners," *Forbes*, December 17, 2013 http://www.forbes.com/sites/alexknapp/2013/12/17/canada-israel-and-switzerland-are-americas-top-innovation-partners/ [accessed: November 15, 2014].

¹⁹⁰ Richard Florida, "The World's Leading Nations for Innovation and Technology", *The Atlantic.*(October 23, 2011). http://www.theatlanticcities.com/technology/2011/10/worlds-leading-nations-innovation-and-technology/224/#slide4



– considered an essential tool in 21st century urban development.¹⁹¹ In addition, Israel has become popular destination for U.S. state governors seeking to advance technology and innovation between the respective states and Israel.¹⁹²

Beyond these important, though sporadic examples, Israel actively pursues the institutionalization of international cooperation to enhance industrial R&D cooperation between Israeli and international firms. The Government of Israel implements more than 40 bilateral industrial R&D support agreements with national and regional (state and provincial levels) around the world and plays a major role in five multinational European programs, including the EU's new *Horizon 2020*. Furthermore, some 17 new agreements are in the pipeline subject to negotiations. All of these programs – be them bilateral or multilateral – offer concrete benefits to Israeli and international companies, providing the latter access to Israeli innovation.¹⁹³

Israel's participation in the multilateral European Union research and innovation programs is particularly noteworthy. In 1996, Israel became the first and then only non-EU associated member of the programs. In the last

round of programs (2007-2013), Israeli public institutions and private enterprises participated in more than 1,500 programs and Israeli participants enjoyed a high rate of success in grant applications. In the last round, the Government of Israel contributed over EURO 530 million, while Israeli entities received EURO 780 million in research funds. Witnessing the signing of Israel's association to Horizon 2020, the next round of EU research and innovation programs, EU Commission President, Jose Manuel Barroso stated:

Israel is a strong player in research and innovation and for this reason an important partner for the EU to address societal challenges of common concern, such as ageing, food safety, environment protection or cleaner energy, and to strengthen the competitiveness of our industries. I am pleased that we are signing the agreement today since it reflects the mutual importance we attach to cooperation and partnership in research and innovation.¹⁹⁴

Thus, and despite their bitter disagreements concerning the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, the EU and Israel have developed an extensive scope of cooperation. The 2012 upgrade of EU relations with Israel underscored the range of those ties in 60 specific activities: from energy to agriculture, and from policing to space exploration. The move, though, fell short of the full upgrade that Israel had sought, and which the EU had withheld after the 2008-09 Israeli campaign against Hamas rocket fire from Gaza. Notwithstanding, the EU decision to pursue

¹⁹¹ Kathy Bergen, "Chicago Looks to Israel for Tech Startup Lessons," *Chicago Tribune*, September 6, 2014 http://www.chicagotribune.com/business/ct-nw-israel-startup-nation-20140905-story.html#page=1 [retrieved: November 10, 2014].

¹⁹² Pamela M. Prah, "Start Up Nation' Israel draws U.S. Governors," *USA Today*, August 13, 2013 http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2013/08/13/stateline-israeli-technology/2647673/ [retrieved: November 5, 2014].

¹⁹³ For further details on Israel's international R&D programs, please see: http://www.matimop.org.il/programs.html#sthash.PwFf5ro8.dpuf

¹⁹⁴ European Commission, "EU, Israel Sign Horizon 2020 Association Agreement," [Press Release], Jerusalem, June 8, 2014 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-633_en.htm [retrieved: November 4, 2014].

this institutionally limited upgrade demonstrates Europe's interest in the concrete benefits that cooperation with Israel offers. 195

In October 2013, European Commissioner for Industry and Entrepreneurship Antonio Tajani visited Israel, accompanied by senior executives of 65 industry associations and companies. A European Commission memorandum released at the visit's end affirmed that the trip's purpose had been to link European entrepreneurs with Israel, "one of the most competitive economies in the world", in order to enhance European industry's global reach.¹⁹⁶

Israel has also strengthened ties with the European Union. In June, 2000 the EU-Israel Association Agreement was signed. The aim of this agreement is to provide an appropriate framework for political dialogue and economic cooperation between the EU and Israel.

Nowadays, under the auspices of the cited agreement, the EU is the first trading partner for Israel with the total trade amounting to approximately €29.4 billion in 2011. Plus, the EU is Israel's major source of imports, reaching 34.5% of the import market, and the second largest market for exports, going up to 26.1% of the export market, behind the United States. EU exports of goods to Israel are mostly machinery and transport equipment, chemicals, and other semi-manufactures. The EU is Israel's major source of imports, accounting for more than 30% of the country's total imports. Foreign direct investment (FDI) inflows to Israel are increasing but the growth of FDI outflows has been much more important over the last years, increasing also the FDI stocks.

Since January 2010, the EU and Israel have taken reciprocal liberalization measures for agricultural products, processed agricultural products as well as fish and fishery products, under the auspices of the European Council decision in October 2009. Regarding cooperation on scholar and R&D issues, in July 2007 Israel and the EU signed their fourth agreement for scientific and technical cooperation giving Israeli researchers, universities and companies full access to the EU's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7).

As noted, the ratification by the European Parliament on October 23, 2012, of the ACAA (Agreement on Conformity Assessment and Acceptance of Industrial Products) with Israel has been of paramount importance on com-

195 Phoebe Greenwood, "EU move to upgrade relations with Israel," *The Guardian*, July 23, 2012 http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jul/23/israel-eu?newsfeed=true [retrieved: December 14, 2013].

mercial and technical issues between the EU and Israel. The Agreement creates a framework that recognizes Israel industrial standards as equivalents to European standards.

Further, Israel signed a free-trade agreement with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) and is also part of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EUROMED) that promotes economic integration and democratic reform with 16 neighbors to the EU's south in North Africa and the Middle East.

In addition, in March 2010, the Canadian and Israeli governments agreed to renew Canada-Israel Industrial Research and Development Foundation for five more years. Through this foundation, established in 1994, both countries have developed projects on X-ray, wireless, water, gen and neurology technologies, among others.

Israel's bilateral cooperation is not only focused on the U.S. and the E.U. Israel has also signed free-trade agreements with Turkey, Mexico, Canada, Jordan, Egypt; and on December 18, 2007, Israel became the first non-Latin-American country to sign a free-trade agreement with the MERCOSUR trade bloc.

On the R&D field, Israel is collaborating with nations across continents. As a result, Israel has established binational R&D funds with the U.S., Britain, Canada, Singapore, and South Korea as well as with the Province of Ontario in Canada and the State of Victoria in Australia. Israel has concluded bi-national R&D agreements with 13 countries including: France, Germany, Italy, India, China, and more.

In this regard, the Ministry of Economy of Israel has created MATIMOP, the government agency that generates and implements international cooperative industrial R&D programs between Israeli and foreign enterprises.

Israel's international contribution is not limited to the West. In November 2014, Israel signed an agreement with the World Bank on sharing best practices in the field of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) through training courses for developing countries' policymakers and the staff of the World Bank. The training courses will focus on ICT application for water management, agriculture, cyber security. In addition, Israel will also provide the World Bank with technical assistance on cyber security and contribute analytical work focusing on the internet to the World Bank's 2016 World Development Report. 197

^{196 &}quot;Building on long-standing ties, EU and Israel explore new opportunities for growth and innovation," *Europa*, October 21, 2013 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-13-912_en.htm [retrieved: October 29, 2013].

¹⁹⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel, "Israel and World Bank to Share Best ICT Practices with Developing Nations," November 25, 2014 http://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/innovativeisrael/economy/pages/israel-and-world-bank-to-share-best-ict-practices-with-developing-nations-

As an export-oriented economy, Israel has one of the most extensive networks of bilateral and multilateral preferential trade agreements. As a de-facto "island economy" in the Middle East with rather limited trade relations with its neighbors, except for Jordan and the Palestinian Authority, Israel is not part of regional trade groupings.198 Consequently, Israel had to develop preferential trade agreements with its major international trading partners. Thus, Israel is probably one of the only countries in the world that simultaneously has preferential trade agreements with the United States, the European Union, Canada, Mexico, Turkey and MERCOSUR. The Western world - including Europe (EU and non-EU), United States, and Canada - are the destination of more than 60 percent of Israel's exports. Currently, Israel is working to expand its network of preferential trade agreements with the two Asian economic powerhouses – China and India.

Israel has also invested efforts in advancing trade facilitation measures with its major trading partners. These measures offer tangible mutual benefits to the exporters and the consumers of the trading partners. A useful recent example is the EU-Israel Agreement on Conformity Assessment and Acceptance of Industrial Products (ACAA). Ratified by a vast majority of the European Parliament in October 2012, the agreement provides, for instance, easier access of Israeli-manufactured medicine to the European Union. In turn, this offers medicine to European consumers at lower prices. Furthermore, by entering into this agreement with Israel, the European Union recognized Israeli industrial standards as equivalent to European standards.

In their international bestseller, Start-Up Nation, Dan Senor and Saul Singer quip that "the West needs the innovation; Israel has it." This section demonstrates however, that Israel does not only have the innovation that the West needs, but rather that Israel seeks to work with the West to innovate together to address the common challenges they face. This remarkable record is evident not only in the economic and civilian realms of life, but as the following section will show, in the cardinal areas of defense and security.

In the middle of a vast economic crisis, innovation is one of the key solutions in order to increase the output and fight against the rise of unemployment, as predicted in 1987 by Nobel laureate in Economics Robert Solow; "Innovation is the primary source of productivity and growth." ²⁰⁰

Following the global financial crisis that began in 2008, the IMF wondered in a 2011 report²⁰¹ why the global recession affected Israel so lightly. Among other reasons, the report highlighted that, "The economy was open and flexible—reflected in exports of some 40% of GDP, significantly oriented towards advanced economies. Property markets were stable, capped by earlier supply overhangs. Financial—and especially banking—supervisory structures were, by global pre-crisis standards, highly activist and effective".

In the midst of such worrying outcomes like job destruction growth, Israel's unemployment rate was 5.7% by the end of 2014 according to Trading Economics and the Israeli Center Bureau of Statistics. ²⁰²

As Israel has just celebrated its 67th anniversary, the Jewish State has currently risen up as a model of innovation in the world. Considering that Israel is a country with an area of 22,145 square kilometers, surrounded by unfriendly neighbors, without natural resources, its economic success and its dynamic innovation-based paragon should serve as an example for Western countries. Innovations in medical, scientific, high-tech and business areas have led Israel to become a brilliant partner for Western countries in international trade, finance, R&D, and health.

INTEL INSIDE: AN EASTERN SILICON VALLEY

Intel's Development in Israel a telling paradigm

Intel´s achievements in Israel have served as a paradigmatic example on how successful is to develop new technologies and products in Israel. Operating in Israel since 1974, some of Intel's most important products were conceived, designed, and manufactured in Israel, according to Rony Friedman, Intel's corporate vice president and general manager of the Intel Architecture Development Group: "Intel Israel's biggest contribution has been in the development of microprocessors, which are being used in a wide variety of products, for desktop, mobile,

²⁵⁻nov-2014.aspx [retrieved: December 1, 2014].

¹⁹⁸ The exception to this is the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership that was intended to develop into a multilateral free trade area between and among the European Union and the non-European Union countries of the Mediterranean. However, for various reasons the parties failed to promote this ambitious agenda.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 47 p.22.

²⁰⁰ Robert Solow, Growth Theory and After, Nobel Prize Lecture. (December 8, 1987). http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/economicsciences/laureates/1987/solow-lecture.html

²⁰¹ Israel: Selected Issues, *International Monetary Fund.* (January, 2011). http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2011/cr1123.pdf

²⁰² Israel Unemployment Rate, Trading Economics (2015) http://www.tradingeconomics.com/israel/unemployment-rate



and workstation solutions...We also do work on connectivity products and security technologies here, as well as development of digital devices."²⁰³

Intel was indeed one of the first high-tech companies to bet on and trust Israel as a proper place to innovate and develop in the computer industry. The world's first processors, the 8088 computer processor, MMX technology and the Centrino mobile technology, were all invented by Israeli engineers at Intel's Israel branch – the international development center for Intel worldwide. From 2003 to 2006, the Pentium M series of processors for laptop computers using the Intel Centrino platform, as well as some of Intel's latest processors such as Yonah, Merom or Woodcrest, were also designed by Intel Israel.

Among the technologies Intel's Israel branch recently worked with are Cedarview, Intel's new processor for netbooks, and Cloverview, the processor that is used in the new Windows 8 tablets.

Intel's Israel division work is carrying on its good work in order to help make a better and more comfortable world, as Friedman has recently said; "We have numerous future technologies that we are already working on in Israel, although of course I can't discuss them, since they haven't been announced."²⁰⁴

203 "Israel Inside: A history of Intel's R&D in Israel", *ZDNet.* (August 28, 2012). http://www.zdnet.com/israel-inside-a-history-of-intels-rand-d-in-israel-700003122/

204 Ibid., 92

We have mentioned some top companies which have R&D centers in Israel like HP, Apple, Microsoft, or eBay. In a typical example, in 2006, Google opened two research centers in Israel. In 2008, the same year that Google Israel earned \$100 million in advertising—representing 10% of the advertising market in Israel—, these Google R&D centers were responsible for the development of the auto-complete function in the popular browser.

Israeli Medical Inventions

Whereas Israeli high-tech development is at the vanguard, medical advances are one of the flagships of Israeli innovation as well. The inventive spirit and the strength and constant support on R&D in such field have led Israeli companies to develop ground-breaking medical devices and treatments that are being used globally and providing benefits and better lives to people everywhere.

Medical devices, treatments and equipment pioneered in Israel fill therefore a huge list in the current history of medicine. In 2011, there were 56 life sciences companies, focused on the fields of medical devices, biotechnology, and pharmaceuticals, listed on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. Nowadays the estimate is about 1,000 life science companies in Israel, with approximately 70 new startups every year.

Israel's role in the world of medical innovation is undeniable. The president of the Weizmann Institute of Science, Professor Daniel Zajfman, declared that, "When people talk of concern for Israel's public image, science is a case where nobody would disagree that the impact of Israeli innovation on the world is tremendous." ²⁰⁵

As great examples of medical advances in Israel we can find the PillCam, which is a tiny camera in a pill form that is ingested by the patient. The PillCam provides a time-efficient and patient-friendly method to visualize the esophagus. The PillCam procedure can be performed in less than 30 minutes, and the results can be rapidly interpreted.

In the medication arena, Israel's drug maker Teva Pharmaceuticals has developed revolutionary treatments to serious diseases, which are difficult to treat. Teva has created Copaxone for the treatment of multiple sclerosis, and Azilect, for Parkinson's disease.

Hospitals across the world are using new and cuttingedge made-in-Israel devices and treatments.

For instance, in the mid-90s, Jerusalemite company Medinol revolutionized the development of stents by producing a collapsible stent that could be inserted through blood vessels and then easily erected in the proper place like a scaffolding. The pioneering stent become soon the basis for the most popular drug-coated stents in the most advanced hospitals.

Nowadays, thanks to the Israeli device EarlySense, hospital nurses can watch and record patients' heart rate, respiration, and movement through a contact-free sensor under the mattress. Oncologists are using Exablate 2000, created by the Israeli company based in Haifa In-Sightech, which is capable of ablating tumors inside the body without the need for an incision. In surgery, Mazor Robotics' Spine Assist and other surgical robots are transforming spine surgery from freehand procedures to highly accurate, state-of-the-art operations with less need for radiation.

Israeli companies have also been leaders in stem-cell research and in-vitro fertilization treatments for women having trouble getting pregnant, creating a new transcatheter aortic valve implantation. Likewise, an Israeli company, Super Dimension, recently developed a catheter that may probe the lung with 360-degree flexibility, enabling doctors to avoid cutting through the ribs to poke around the lung.

In emergency units, the widely-popular bandage known as the "Israeli bandage" was made by a company called

First Care Products Ltd. Since its invention in the beginning of the 1990s, the Israeli bandage has become the standard for militaries throughout the world.

Likewise, Israel's expertise in treating trauma patients, including those maimed in combat or terrorist attacks has made Israel a leader in reconstructive orthopedics. In 2004, Hadassah Hospital became the world's first hospital to do a computer-guided hip replacement.

In 2011, Argo Medical Technologies gave a breath of hope to people who are not able to walk. They launched Re-Walk, a robotic exoskeleton that enables paraplegics to walk.

In September 2012, the biotechnology company Nanomedicines Vecoy developed a new way to disarm viruses and lure them to attack resembling microscopic cells. This technique allows for, once inside these traps, the self-annihilation of viruses.

In August 2013, the American Journal of Ophthalmology published a new study revealing that the rates of preventable blindness in Israel have radically lowered by more than half during the past decade – from 33.8 cases per 100,000 in 1999 to 14.8 per 100,000 in 2010; thus making Israel the leading country on preventing blindness in the world. According to the leader of the study, Professor Michael Belkin, «these rates – and Israel's advancements in this field – are unparalleled elsewhere throughout the world."²⁰⁶

The ongoing developments in order to improve the lives of people and medicine as such continue in Israel. Nowadays, new products and treatments are in the testing phase and they promise to delight the public.

Bar-Ilan University Professor Zeev Zalevsky developed the Optical Heartbeat Monitor, which is able to detect the temporal shape of the heart beat signal from as far as a few meters, using a small laser light source and a fast camera. It could be used to diagnose soldiers' medical condition in the field, from afar, and has other potential applications in non medical fields.

The Ichilov Medical Center based in Tel Aviv has just isolated a protein that will turn the colonoscopy procedure to detect colon cancer into a simple blood test. Colon cancer kills about 500,000 people annually, and it is generally accepted that early detection of this type of cancer could prevent many deaths.

The Israel company Oramed is currently developing an insulin capsule in order to ease the daily life of diabetes

²⁰⁵ B´nai B´rith Magazine, (Summer 2011), p.17. http://d27vj430nutdmd.cloudfront.net/7040/72393/72393.1.pdf

^{206 &}quot;Israel world leader in blindness prevention", Yediot Aharonot. (August 2, 2013).

patients, making possible it to take a capsule instead of having to inject it.

These are just a few examples of the power of Israeli innovation and creativity. Israel has proven to be a reliable partner in the fields of innovation, health, economics, business, or R&D, and it has established itself as an important actor who can give creative and effective responses to the challenges that the world is facing in the mentioned fields. In the years to come, the West should consider strengthening ties with Israel because, from such a partnership, many mutual benefits will arise.

As the prominent Cuban writer Carlos Alberto Montaner pointed out "Israel is a major think-tank that innovates and creates for the benefit of all. Israel is a technological and scientific phenomenon, similar to what Renaissance Florence was for the arts or Scotland for the West's political and economic development in the Age of Enlightenment...destroying Israel would be a huge detriment to the planet."²⁰⁷

ISRAEL, A RESOURCEFUL PLAYER

"The Promised Land, from a natural resource point of view, could be ...

inch for inch the most valuable and energy rich country anywhere in the world."

Walter Russell Mead (The American Interest, 2012)

The prestigious economist and entrepreneur Paul Romer wondered, "What sustains economic development in a physical world characterized by reduced and limited resources? How societies address advances in technology."

Israel, given the scarcity and the need for energy and natural resources, has been able to develop an entire clean and renewable energy industry, cutting-edge water recycling techniques, and flourishing alternative resources that have made Israel become a world leader in these fields. Along Romer's line, Israel has devoted its technological advances to address these problems, solve them, and also help a world facing a shortage of resources to implement new and successful solutions. Certainly, Israel is one of the most advanced countries in the world in the development of solar energy, in the management of water conservation and renewable energy resources, drip irrigation, high-tech agriculture desalination, and geothermal energy.

In addition, Israel is not only exporter of new water treatment techniques or alternative and clean energy,

Medical advances are one of the flagships of Israeli innovation as well.

but it will also become a gas supplier because of the discovery of the Tamar, Dalit, and Leviathan gas fields.

Considering how reliable a partner Israel is, these developments could lead the West to reduce its oil dependence from others in the Middle East and to open the possibilities to newer and more beneficial global scenario on energy. In this understanding, in June 2012, under a U.S. high-level energy experts visit to Israel, Mark Brownstein, Chief Counsel of Energy Program of the Environmental Defense Fund said; "Israel is on the front lines in the fight for energy security and against the worst consequences of global warming. Some of the world's leading clean energy ideas and technologies were born in Israel."²⁰⁸ In the same vein, in January 2013 U.S. ambassador to Israel Daniel Shapiro stated that, "Israel is a true partner in renewable energy."²⁰⁹

The world is nowadays seeking a new model on energy and resources, and Israel is an alternative energy solutions pioneer, so the Jewish State comes up again as one of the guiding lights in these matters.

Clean Energy

According to the 2012 Global CleanTech Innovation Index²¹⁰, Israel ranks 2nd in providing the best conditions for clean technology start-up companies. In 2009 the CleanTech Group ranked Israel as the fifth clean-tech country in the world.²¹¹ In 2011, 8 Israeli companies were listed in the *Global CleanTech 100 List* —a top 100 of the private clean-tech companies in the world. Presently, Israel is the only Middle eastern country which have listed companies in the *Global CleanTech 100 List* —currently there are five companies in the list ²¹².

²⁰⁷ Carlos Alberto Montaner, "Un think tank al servicio del mundo", *El Medio.* (April 8, 2013). http://elmed.io/israel-un-think-tank-al-servicio-del-mundo/

^{208 &}quot;US energy experts in Israel to learn about green technology", Yediot Aharonot, (June 20, 2012)

^{209 &}quot;US envoy: Israel a true partner in renewable energy", *The Jerusalem Post.* (Febraury 1, 2013)

^{210 &}quot;Israel ranked #2 in the world by Cleantech Global Innovation Index", Israel New Tech, (March 1, 2012) http://israelnewtech.com/2012/03/israel-ranked-2-in-the-world-by-cleantech-global-innovation-index/

^{211 &}quot;Israel ranks 5th in world in clean-technology", *SodaHead*, (February 8, 2010) http://www.sodahead.com/united-states/israel-ranks-5th-in-world-in-clean-technology/blog-256303/

^{212 &}quot;8 Israeli companies win cleantech awards", Yediot Aharonot, (November 13, 2011)



The State of Israel also has 67.5 square meters of solar collectors per 100 people, the highest per-capita rate of solar collectors in the world, enabling that over 83% of Israeli homes use solar energy for hot water. ²¹³

In 2009, Israel was the planet's fastest-growing solar market, adding 21.5 MW capacity for a 20-fold annual increase²¹⁴. Indeed, Israel ranks 17th and 37th, respectively, in Ernst & Young's Renewable Energy Country Attractiveness Indices²¹⁵. According to Solarbuzz's analyst Michael Barker, in 2012 Israel added another 60 MW, and will more than triple its annual demand volumes in 2013²¹⁶. The Israeli government has set a goal of 5% of energy from renewable sources by 2014, and 10% by 2020²¹⁷.

Due to this powerful solar-energy infrastructure, Israel has enhanced the solar energy for the industry as well. There are several delighting examples of Israeli solar-energy ventures.

BrightSource Industries, for example, is currently building a solar power plant in California that will double the amount of solar thermal electricity produced in America. In the 1980s, BrightSource built the largest solar power installation in the world: nine separate trough power plants, called Solar Energy Generating Systems in the Mojave Desert, near Barstow, Nevada. These plants have a combined capacity of 354 MW. According to the expertise reports, the solar plants in Mojave power 232,500 homes (during the day, at peak power) and displace 3,800 tons of pollution per year —this is the amount of pollution that would have been produced if the electricity had been provided by fossil fuels. In 2011, BrightSource won the Continued Excellence award for being the highest ranked company on the Global Clean-Tech 100 List for the last three years²¹⁸.

^{213 &}quot;Israel's Practical Solar Energy Reduces Oil Dependence ", *The Philadelphia Jewish Voice*, (March, 2008) http://www.pjvoice.com/v33/33006solar.aspx

²¹⁴ James Montgomery, "New Solar Projects in Israel Will Significantly Increase Installed Capacity", *Renewable Energy World*, (March 14, 2013) http://www.renewableenergyworld.com/rea/news/article/2013/03/scaling-up-solar-in-israel

²¹⁵ Ibid., 193

²¹⁶ Ibid., 193

²¹⁷ David Sheen, "Born-again Ziontist' revolutionizing solar energy field", *Haaretz*, (October 7, 2011)

²¹⁸ Ibid., 191

The Israeli company Pythagoras Solar has created the world's first solar window —a photovoltaic transparent glass unit that may be integrated into conventional building design and construction; Solaris Synergy has invented solar energy grids that float on water, this invention not only generates energy but also protects reservoir surfaces and limits evaporation; and the world's largest solar parabolic dish is located at the Ben-Gurion National Solar Energy Center.

Israel has also reached collaboration agreements on alternative energy. On June 9, 2007, German Environment Minister Sigmar Gabriel pledged nearly \$2.2 million from his ministry to four separate German-Israeli alternative energy projects.²¹⁹ In January 2012, Israel and Canada signed an agreement to boost resource development ties and launch several renewable energy research projects.²²⁰

Reducing Oil Dependence

Israel has launched an alternative-oil-plan in order to reduce the oil dependence. On January 30, 2011 the Israeli cabinet approved the National Program to Develop Technologies that Reduce the Global Use of Oil in Transportation. The government will invest approximately \$422 million in this program over the next decade in basic and advanced R&D that will focus both on Oil Alternative technologies and Industry —opening the possibility for non-governmental funds. Through this plan to reduce oil dependence, setting 2020 in the horizon, the government of Israel will boost 60 alternative and renewable energy companies in order to achieve such an ambitious goal.²²¹

The Israeli government has also created in recent years several key programs oriented to the development of renewable energy and biofuel solutions, such as the Alternative Energy Administration, the Israel NewTech program, and the Israeli Centers for Excellence in Research and Development —known as the I-CORE program.

The need to reduce dependence on foreign oil has led Israeli companies to develop new techniques and technologies in the biofuel field. In fact, there are a number of those companies that have been internationally recognized as leaders.

For instance, Univerve Biofuel is developing a microalgae-to-oil process that addresses the major technological obstacles associated with providing cost-effective and high-quality oil as feedstock for biofuel through microalgae aquaculture.

Seambiotic, is the first in the world to utilize flue gases from coal burning power stations for algae cultivation. Seambiotic has been also recognized at the most important bio-fuel event in Europe, the World Biofuels Markets conference, held in Rotterdam in April, 2012.

Virdia develops extraction technologies for the conversion of cellulose biomass into highly refined fermentable sugars and high quality lignin —which is the most abundant renewable carbon source on Earth, after cellulose. Virdia has currently expanded to Virginia, where it plans to open a commercial plant in 2015.

Trans-Biodiesel is another innovative company on cellulose extraction research. It develops biocatalyst substitutes as an alternative to chemical catalysts -biocatalysts are environmentally benign and lower the total production costs of biodiesel fuels —the latter of which are presently used for the production of biodiesel. Trans-Biodiesel can produce small batches of biodiesel within 4 hours in its pilot plant.

Analysis of global oil market trends made by the Israeli Institute for Economic Planning reveals that, without significant change, global oil dependence, with the United States at the forefront, will grow in the coming decades—as well as significant increases in the oil price. Approximately 77% of the world's remaining oil is owned by the OPEC.²²² Proportionately, the largest oil reserves are in the hands of the Gulf States and the existing oil cartel operates in "unfriendly" states. These states will undoubtedly increase their power in the coming years if oil dependence is not curbed.

Moreover, according to 2012 Joint Operating Environment report, by 2015 there may be on output gap of up to 10 mbd (million barrels per day). Due to growing instability in the Middle East, and the increasing risks on monitoring and access to oil resources around the world, alternative and renewable energies have become a major issue, not only on Israel's agenda, but on the global agenda as well.

Becoming A Major Oil And Gas Supplier

On January 17, 2009, the Tamar natural gas field was discovered some 50 miles (80 kilometers) off Haifa's coast in the Mediterranean Sea. At the time, estimates indicated that the Tamar field contained 275 billion

²¹⁹ Ibid., 192

^{220 &}quot;Israel, Canada ink energy research deal", Yediot Aharonot, (January 7, 2012)

^{221 &}quot;Encouraging the Development of Oil Alternatives", *The Israeli Institute for Economic Planning*, (February 2011)

²²² Ibid., 200

cubic meters, (9.7 trillion cubic feet) of natural gas, which is about half of what Europe consumes per year. In November 2010, the same team announced the discovery of Leviathan, a bigger gas field to the west of Tamar, about 120 kilometers off the coast of Haifa, which alone contains about as much gas as what Europe consumes annually.

Between the Tamar and Leviathan discoveries, one more gas field has been found out in Israel's coasts: Dalit (March 2009.)

According to James Clarke Chace, Professor of Foreign Affairs and Humanities at Bard College and Editor-at-Large of *The American Interest* magazine Walter Russell Mead, "the Promised Land, from a natural resource point of view, could be ... inch for inch the most valuable and energy rich country anywhere in the world." Benjamin Ben Eliezer, who in early 2009 was still the acting Minister of Infrastructure, at that time called the Tamar finding an historic moment for the state of Israel for it will no longer depend on Egyptian gas supplies.²²⁴

In accordance with Noble Energy, the Israeli company Delek Group partner in the gas extraction project, the natural gas field named Leviathan, could be twice larger than Tamar, the largest gas discovery globally in 2009, "and it places Israel as a gas exporter in the years ahead." The Leviathan field is considerably enormous, home to 17 TCF of gross natural gas resource. ²²⁵

In this regard, the Israeli businessman Yitzhak Tshuva declared: "The preliminary results of the 3-D seismic survey of the Leviathan structure published by Noble Energy Inc. are exceeding all of our expectations". "The results will strengthen the country's economy. In these difficult times, Israel needs more than ever support and geopolitical power opposite other countries in the world."²²⁶

Noble Energy and Delek Group, in charge of the perforations, have divided the gas field found in two areas: Tamar-1 which corresponds to the original estimates, and Tamar-2 which is much larger than initially thought. It started from the base of 142 BCM (billion cubic meters) of gas, but it really seems to be around 180 BCM.

Together with the Dalit gas field, discovered off the coast of Hadera and consisting of about 14 million cubic meters of natural gas, this means an enormous change for Israel's electricity production. By 2020, Israel plans to increase the participation of gas power plants producing electricity in Israel, currently 30%, to about 45%. In the long term it could reduce the 20% participation of coal-fired power plants to produce electricity in Israel.

Delek CEO Tzvi Greenfield pointed out the discoveries free the Jewish State from dependence on foreign energy sources. As PM Netanyahu declared: "We have gas reserves that will make Israel totally energy independent, not only from Egypt, but from any other source."²²⁷

These discoveries may also help improve the coexistence and development of the region through energy cooperation with Israel's neighbors like Jordan or the Palestinian Authority, in line with what Energy and Water Minister Uzi Landau stated: "We believe that natural gas that will be available to us will be in quantities sufficient not just for our own needs, but also to provide our neighbors with it if they were interested. Cooperating on energy with them will be an additional contribution in the day-to-day contacts we have with them, enhancing the economy of all of us."228 These new resources could prove to be a turning point in Middle-East relations.

According to UBS investment bank energy broker Philip Wolfe, "having made the largest discovery globally in 2010, and given the additional potential, it is only a matter of time before Israel becomes a big gas exporter." Similarly, Citibank Group analysis estimated that the Leviathan field could make up for 3% of the world's shipped gas within the next years. 230

Israel is consequently rising as a new major gas supplier and targets Europe as the market with most potential, mainly because the EU is actually undergoing an energy crisis. Europe is facing a gas supply crisis because of the spread of instability in Algeria and the rest of North Africa. Also, the rise of an energy pro-Western alternative powerbase in the Middle East offers a serious counterpart to help offset the growing Islamist threat posed by the increasing instability in North Africa and the Middle East.

²²³ Walter Russell Mead, "Israel's Emergence As Energy Superpower Making Waves", *The American Interest*, (July 2, 2012) http://blogs.the-american-interest.com/wrm/2012/07/02/israels-saudi-sized-energy-potential-makes-first-political-impact/

²²⁴ Shmuel Even, "An Historic Development in Israel's Natural Gas Industry" INSS Inishgt No. 100, (April 14, 2009) http://www.inss.org.il/publications.php?cat=21&incat=&read=2812&print=1

²²⁵ Marin Katusa, "Two Sides of the Same Flag: How Israel's Natural Gas Will Change the World", *Casey Research*, (July 17, 2012) http://www.caseyresearch.com/cdd/two-sides-same-flag-how-israels-natural-gas-will-change-world

²²⁶ Sharon Wrobel, "Leviathan gas find spurts optimism", The Jerusalem Post, (June 4, 2010)

^{227 &}quot;Israel has enough gas reserves to make it energy independent", Israel Hayom, (April 24, 2012)

²²⁸ Sharon Udasin "New Natural Gas Wealth Means Historic Change for Israel", *National Geographic*, (July 3, 2012) http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/energy/2012/07/120703-israel-new-natural-gas/

^{229 &}quot;Israel Could Be New European Gas Supplier", *Utility Exchange*, (April 12, 2011) http://www.utility-exchange.co.uk/israel-could-benew-european-gas-supplier-13960/

²³⁰ Ibid.,208

The European Union Commission Directorate-General Energy representative Leonidas Kioussis agreed that, "for the next decade or two, until Europe can develop its renewable energy resources, there will be an increasing need for natural gas imports. By 2015, a substantial gap will emerge between demand and supply. The EU is therefore looking at the Eastern Mediterranean with fascination and hope, albeit also with uncertainty." 231

Plus, the gas to Israel, if it starts to be exported to Europe, could represent the marginal difference between the low supply and oversupply, which could cause gas prices decrease and have important geostrategic repercussions.

The deterioration of the situation in Egypt, and the dire consequences that the Arab Spring's aftermath is provoking in the Middle East and North Africa, are jeopardizing the supply of natural resources to the West. In many countries, the oil and gas fields could be attacked by radical groups and terrorists as has happened repeatedly in the Sinai pipeline, or worse, could fall into the hands of new anti-Western governments emerging from the constant turmoil.

Indeed, the discovery of gas fields in Israel have the potential to change the political outlook in the Middle East, especially if this development can place Israel as a major energy provider so that Europe would no longer depend on other countries in the region for energy supplies.

As former Israeli Energy Minister Silvan Shalom put it in October 2014, the Israel's gas bonanza "is a huge strategic advantage that allows us to enjoy both political and economic fruits [...]We are much more accepted in the world as a result of us finding natural gas." ²³²

Moreover, newfound gas fields aside, Israel may have the third largest **shale oil reserves** in the world, according to the World Energy Council: around 250 billion barrels.²³³ The first and second largest reserves are U.S. and China, with the U.S. believed to have the equivalent of well over 1 trillion barrels of potentially recoverable shale and China having perhaps one third of that amount.

In relation to this development, in January 2012, during the visit to Israel for signing the bilateral agreement of cooperation in renewable energies, the Canadian Natural Resources Minister Joe Oliver said; "Large un-

derground oil shale formations have been discovered in Israel, its vast potential is currently being explored, and grounds are being prepared for an expansion of activities."²³⁴

Tovia Luskin, one of Israel's oil pioneers and founder of Givot Olam, the first Israeli oil and gas exploration firm, has pointed out that Israeli tech could "solve the world's energy crisis if red tape doesn't tie it up." Along the same thought, the energy expert journalist Peter Glover has said "Israel is in prime position to give a lead in a new era of Middle East energy developments."

These recent discoveries are going to enable Israel as a major energy partner for the West. Eventual energy cooperation with Israel will definitely reduce the reliance in hostile countries and benefit the West's interests.

THE TREASURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST: WATER

In the pre-State of Israel, Jews began to build, produce, and innovate in order to set up their ancestral land. Due to the aridity and lack of natural resources, they had to create new irrigation techniques to make the desert bloom — as stated in the Declaration of Independence. Fighting drought became one of the top challenges many years before the establishment of the State of Israel —and it still is. New techniques were applied like the revolutionary drip irrigation, which has helped Israel to overcome drastic shortages.

In 1959, Israeli engineer and inventor Simcha Blass established the first experimental drip irrigation system. Later on, in 1965, he and his son started up an irrigation company called Netafim, and together developed and patented the first practical surface drip irrigation emitter. Today 70% of the world's water is transferred via irrigation. In some states in the U.S., these percentages are higher, with California using about 85% of its water through irrigation.²³⁷

Since its existence, Israel has been recognized as a world leader in the treatment of water and is now sharing its experience in this field with the rest of the world. In June 2012, Secretary General of the OECD Angel Gurría announced that the organization intends to distribute Israeli technology and know-how to third-world countries as part of the efforts to deal with the global water

²³¹ Sharon Udasin, "Cooperation on gas critical to regional stability", *The Jerusalem Post*, (June 10, 2013)

²³² Shoshanna Solomon and Caleb Ben David, "Israel Sees Gas as Key to Transforming Middle East Relations", Bloomberg, (October 14, 2014) http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-10-13/israel-sees-gas-as-key-to-transforming-mideast-relations

²³³ Peter C. Glover, "Israel: the coming energy superpower", *The Commentator*, (April 5, 2013) http://www.thecommentator.com/article/3168/israel_the_coming_energy_superpower

²³⁴ Ibid., 199

²³⁵ Ibid.,212

²³⁶ Ibid., 212

²³⁷ Karin Kloosterman, "Dipping into Israel's Water Technology", Israel21c, (August 20, 2009) http://israel21c.org/environment/dipping-into-israels-water-technologies/

crisis.²³⁸ The International Water Association has cited Israel as one of the leaders in innovative methods to reduce "non-revenue water"— water lost in the system before reaching the customer. Israel has also pioneered broadly used techniques of conserving or purifying water, including drip irrigation and reverse osmosis desalination.²³⁹ In addition, Israel has an exceptionally diverse water sources that include underground aquifers, surface water from the Sea of Galilee. In 2012 the State has invested \$825 million in water infrastructure.²⁴⁰

The United Nations published a 2009 report, which stated that Israel led global recycling and 70% reused wastewater, the highest level in the world —and it hopes to recycle up to 90% of its municipal effluent for irrigation in the next decade. ²⁴¹ ²⁴² According to Israel's Ministry of Environment, desalinated water presently constitutes 25% of the country's fresh water and 42% of drinking water for the household sector. ²⁴³

Israel has one of the world's highest percentages of waste water reclamation, second only to the American state of California.²⁴⁴ Although most of this reclaimed water is earmarked for agricultural and industrial use, a portion of it is purified by method of special chemicals and filtration devices that make the water pure enough for human consumption. The State of Israel now purifies a portion of the waste water reclamation —actually earmarked for agricultural and industrial use. The Dan Region Treat and Reclamation Plant, at the south of Tel Aviv, for instance, purifie about 130 million cubic meters of waste water annually.

Due to water scarcity, Israel had to find new ways to obtain drinking water. It has excelled as the world's top desalination technologies developer. Israeli firm IDE Technologies (winner of the Global Water Awards ceremony in Dubai in 2006) runs one of the world's largest desalination facilities off Israel's coastal town of Ashkelon.

The facility is currently producing about 100 million cubic meters of water per year through reverse osmosis.

The OECD and FAO in their Agriculture Outlook report both recognize Israel as a world leader in the provision of water technologies for agriculture. As we can read in the report, "a notable feature of Israeli agriculture has been its capacity to increase the efficiency of water use in agriculture. Efficiency has been improved in physical (technical) terms of water use per ton of output... As a result of these improvements in agricultural water use efficiency, Israel is now a world leader in the management and technologies related to irrigation in arid environments."²⁴⁵

On this subject, the Israeli government launched in 2006 the initiative in order to help countries access Israeli water technologies. Indeed, the high development of the Israeli water market is internationally recognized, having provided benefits caused by almost a century dealing with water scarcity, and, despite the complications, succeeding after all.

Hence, throughout the years a lot of countries have come to Israel in order to get the experience, knowledge, technology and expertise on Water Treatment. Recent examples are prolific.

In March 2013, the Israeli company Armandi closed a deal to provide Ghana water sector with modern and appropriate technology, according to Israeli Ambassador Sharon Bar-Li´s words. ²⁴⁶

Israeli firm Mapal Green Energy uses bubbles to clean water as part of aeration systems. Mapal's systems have been installed in Israel, as well as in Brazil, South Africa, and India for a total of 30 locations worldwide. In June 2013, Mapal reached a deal with U.K.'s Anglian Water to deploy its solution for a water company serving 4 million customers. Mapal's bubble-spreaders will be installed in as many as 400 of Anglian's 1,100 wastewater treatment facilities.²⁴⁷

In the same month, the President of the State of Israel, Shimon Peres, and the Mayor of Chicago, Rahm Emanuel, hosted a ceremony with the President of the University of Chicago, Robert J. Zimmer, and the President of Ben Gurion University, Professor Rivka Carmi to sign a new cooperation agreement between Ben Gurion University and the University of Chicago in the field of re-

^{238 &}quot;OECD: Israeli technology can alleviate global water crisis", Yediot Aharonot, (July 7, 2012)

²³⁹ Abigail Klein Leichman ,"Sorting through garbage for gold", *Israel21c*, (November 22, 2009) http://israel21c.org/environment/sorting-through-garbage-for-gold/

^{240 &}quot;Israel Invested \$825 Million USD in Water Infrastructure in 2012", Ooska News, (April 12, 2013) http://www.ooskanews.com/daily-water-briefing/israel-invested-825-million-usd-water-infrastructure-2012, 27122

²⁴¹ Martin Zhuwakinyu, "World's water-recycling leader has even higher aspirations", *Engineering News*, (July 5, 2013) http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/print-version/israel-2013-06-25

²⁴² Malkah Fleisher, "UN: Israel #1 World Leader in Water Recycling", Arutz Sheva, (Mach 23, 2009) http://www.israelnationalnews.com/ News/News.aspx/130565#.UjI6xsapW5M

²⁴³ OECD Environmental Performance Reviews Israel 2011-WATER, p.109 http://www.water.gov.il/Hebrew/ProfessionalInfoAndData/2012/03-From-OECD-Environmental-Performance-Reviews-Israel-2011-WATER.pdf 244 Ibid., 218

²⁴⁵ Agricultural Outlook 2012, OECD-FAO, p.71

^{246 &}quot;Israel Ready To Support Ghana's Water Sector—Israeli Ambassador", *Modern Ghana*, (March 15, 2013) http://www.modernghana.com/news/452737/1/israel-ready-to-support-ghanas-water-sectorisraeli.

²⁴⁷ David Shamah, "Israeli 'bubble tech' to help keep UK's water clean", *The Times of Israel*, (June 5, 2013) http://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-bubble-tech-to-help-keep-uks-water-clean/



search for new sources of drinking water. This research initiative will fund research projects aimed to creating nanotechnologies that address water shortages in arid climates. The main project's goal is to find by 2020 new processes and material for making clean, fresh drinking water less expensive and more abundant.²⁴⁸

Also in June 2013, a delegation of 16 high-ranking Indian officials of the water authorities of Rajasthan, Karnataka, Goa and Haryana arrived in Israel for a visit in order to seek water solutions and get lessons on the matter. One of the officials, Rajeev Jain stated that, "Israel is an expert at successfully implementing technologies that we are not able to implement. So we have come here to understand which technologies they use and how they manage these things." In fact, both countries are historically facing the same water challenges, so the bilateral cooperation began in the 1990s. In 2011, Israel and India signed an agreement to promote cooperation on urban water systems.²⁴⁹

In July 2013, Israel's national water company Mekorot has agreed to provide technical consultation and knowhow in order to help improve water resource management for Embasa, Brazil's Bahia state water utility. Embasa is currently providing 12 million residents with drinking water supplies and 4 million with sewage collection services. Embasa's coverage area consists of 362 cities and towns. In 2009, Mekorot signed cooperation agreements with two Brazilian water companies, Sabesp and Caesb. Sanesp provides water and sewage treatment to the State of Sao Paulo, which includes Sao Paulo — 41 million residents approximately. Caesb provides water and sewage treatment to the Federal District, Brasilia.²⁵⁰

248 Stacey St. Clair, "Israeli-Chicago plan to study water shortages touted", Chicago Tribune, (June 23, 2013)

Thanks to Israeli companies, many countries and places are applying revolutionary techniques and processes on water scarcity, water treatment, desalination, irrigation, purification, and others.

In August 2013, Israel, Greece and Cyprus signed in Jerusalem a tripartite energy memorandum of understanding in order to enhance energy and water cooperation. Cyprus's Minister of Agriculture Nicos Kouyialis said in this regard that Israeli companies were involved in the establishment of three of his country's four permanent desalination plants, highlighting strong cooperation ventures on energy and water issues between Israel and Cyprus. Kouyialis also declared that, "A new era of cooperation starts today in the field of sewage treatment and waste water reuse that will help Cyprus improve its water balance, as substantial and constant quantities of recycled water will be utilized in the best possible way." ²⁵¹

Recently, the Center for International Agricultural Development Cooperation's Spanish Division, organization belonging to the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture, hosted a new international delegation of 24 professionals from 10 South American countries, who participated in the International Seminar on Modern Irrigation, aiming to learn the Israeli approach in order to develop a modern and intensive agriculture in a water-scarce environments.

With this framework, Israeli companies are involved in an ongoing pursuit of new devices, technologies, and processes on water issues. As the head of the NEWtech initiative Oded Distel said, "There are tons of smaller companies with very advanced technologies. We are seeing a lot of people from IT and healthcare software taking their technologies and bringing them to the water world. It's wonderful."

The Jerusalem-based company SunDwater has developed a solar-powered distiller which uses sunlight for desalination, a ground-breaking, low-cost, and low-maintenance system that turns dirty or salty water into potable water without any need for infrastructure or an external energy source, according to SunDwater CEO Shimmy Zimels.

²⁴⁹ Debra Kamin, "India Seeks Water Management Lessons From Israel", *The New York Times-India Ink*, (June 12, 2013) http://india.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/06/12/india-seeks-water-management-lessons-from-israel/

²⁵⁰ Daniel Bland, "Israel, Brazil sign know-how agreement for Bahia water management", BN americas, (August 1, 2013) http://www.bnamericas.com/news/waterandwaste/israel-brazil-sign-know-howagreement-for-bahia-water-management

²⁵¹ Asher Zeiger, "Israel, Greece, Cyprus sign energy and water deal", *The Times of Israel*, (August 8, 2013) http://www.timesofisrael.com/israel-greece-cyprus-sign-energy-and-water-deal/

In 2011, the Israeli firm TaKaDu won the 'Technology Pioneers' category in The World Economic Forum's annual meeting in Davos, Geneva, a category reserved for companies that offer technology with a particularly positive potential impact on people's lives. The World Economic Forum stated that "TaKaDu is going to change the way the water sector works, bringing in the (power of math) in the water sector is a very revolutionary thing to do," ²⁵² In the same year, CleanTech Group awarded TaKaDu with the highest rating in Europe and Israel. ²⁵³

Only two years before, in 2009, TaKaDu was founded with the goal to provide a water network monitoring system service that gives water utility companies the capability to monitor in real-time their network, detect leaks, bursts, inefficiencies and problems with the equipment or operational matters.

In February 2013, Bet-Shemesh based company Atlantium raised \$9 million from European fund Aster Capital and Switzerland's Aeris Capital AG, in order to hasten the development of its new ballast water treatment product and to accelerate market development in power generation and advanced oxidation, which promises to be an emerging market in the following years. Atlantium has installations in Europe, the U.S., South America, the Middle East, Asia, and Australia.²⁵⁴

The U.N. appealed to an Israeli company to help purify the water for the Syrians suffering water contamination during the current violent conflict in the country. Medentech, based in Ireland, a subsidiary of Israel Chemicals, produces AquaTabs, effervescent tablets selling in the world and considered a better alternative to boiling water to remove contaminants. The government of Israel blessed the deal despite a law prohibiting trade with an enemy state.

One of the most important challenges the world is to reduce pressure on natural water resources, mainly due to rapid population growth. Thanks to Israeli companies, many countries and places are applying revolutionary techniques and processes on water scarcity, water treatment, desalination, irrigation, purification, and others.

It is estimated that new technologies and intelligent solutions contribute almost two-thirds of the extra water

252 Jonathan Revach, "TaKaDu: Using The Power Of Maths To Solve The World's Water Leaks", NoCamels, (February 3, 2013) http://nocamels.com/2013/02/takadu-using-the-power-of-maths-to-solve-the-

worlds-water-leaks/

that will be needed over the next 30 years, according to Watec Israel President Shimon Tal. Thereby, thanks to the broad experience and the continuing development of new innovative techniques and products, Israel is at the forefront of water solutions for the world's present and future.

THE FERTILE DESERT

Israeli farmers had to deal with a difficult environment and limited water resources for decades, so the innovative spirit on water treatment, clean energy, and alternative resources has been also applied to agriculture — and they are closely related. The ongoing R&D, the non-stop ventures and value-added pursuit has facilitated the development of a range of new techniques and farm products like the drip irrigation examined above, which has led the country to develop one of the most efficient water systems in the world, livestock, fish farming, greenhouse equipment, seed, and livestock propagation, fertilizers or pesticides, among others; all of them designed and implemented by scientists and farmers in order to defeat adverse conditions for cultivation and agriculture in the land of Israel.

Today, Israeli governmental-run organizations, firms and researchers are continuously providing agriculture solutions.

Israel is one of the world's leading greenhouse-food-exporting countries. The country exports more than \$1.3 billion worth of agricultural products every year, including farm produce as well as \$1.2 billion worth of agricultural inputs and technology. Israel is also a leader in the development of mechanized systems used to accelerate harvesting and other operations. Israel, as we just saw, has also become the world's leading producer of dripirrigation systems, exporting them to Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Africa, and South America.

Since 1993, as a delighting example, the International Arid Lands Consortium (IALC), a program which connects researchers from Israel with researches from the U.S. with Egyptian and Jordanian governments in order to develop and apply new applications in arid and semi-arid farming technologies, has funded about 100 projects, investing \$12.4 million approximately. The knowledge gained from this cooperation has been used to benefit countries like Kenya, Ethiopia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Australia, and Brazil, which have suffered similar adverse conditions as Israel has.

As with other fields, Israel and its firms have shared their know-how, new products, and methods across the world —without forgetting developing countries. That

²⁵³ Ibid., 191

^{254 &}quot;Water treatment co Atlantium raises \$9m", *Globes*, (February 14, 2013) http://www.globes.co.il/serveen/globes/docview.asp?did=1000822347&fid=1725

²⁵⁵ Nicky Blackburn, "The top 65 ways Israel is saving our planet", *Israel21c*, (April 14, 2013) http://israel21c.org/social-action-2/the-top-65-ways-israel-is-saving-our-planet/

ACHIEVEMENTS

In September 2012, according to the report Education at a Glance 2012 showing comparative education data among the 34 OECD member nations, Israel ranked second in terms of population percentage aged 25-64 that have attained tertiary education with 46%, behind only Canada at 51%. The OECD average for all countries was 30%.

Israel has 67.5 square meters of solar collectors per 100 people, the highest per-capita rate of solar collectors in the world, enabling that over 83% of Israeli homes use solar energy for hot water.

In 2009, the United Nations published a report, which stated that Israel leads global recycling efforts reusing 70% of the wastewater it generates—the highest level in the world—and it hopes to recycle up to 90% of its municipal effluent for irrigation in the next decade. According to Israel's Ministry of Environment, desalinated water presently constitutes 25% of the country's fresh water and 40% of drinking water for the household sector.

Israel enjoys free-trade agreements with North America and most of Western Europe, covering close to 80% of Israel's foreign trade.

In 2013, Israel ranked 19 out of 186 world nations on the U.N. Human Development Index, which places it in the category of "Very Highly Developed."

The 2014 Ease of Doing Business Index created by the World Bank ranked Israel 35 out of 185 countries.

The Heritage Foundation's annual Index of Economic Freedom ranking in 2015 gave Israel a score of 70.5, placing Israel 33 out of 185 countries.

The World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Report 2014-2015 ranked Israel 27 out of 133.

The 2014 Global Innovation Index Report ranked Israel as 15th out of 143 countries.

The IMD's World Competitiveness Yearbook ranked Israel the 11th most resilient economy among developed economies – an acumen taking into consideration that Israel's economy is export driven in 2014. The IMD further ranked Israel among the top five economies in the world – in total expenditure on R&D, total public expenditure on education, business flexibility and adaptability, and level of scientific research.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Israel had one start-up for every 1,669 inhabitants, a total of 4,800 home start-ups in 2013.

Israel spent 4.4% of GDP on R&D in 2011, 3.93% in 2014. According to the World Bank, Israel is the top country on expenditure in R&D in the world.

Israel is among the top 20 countries in patents per capita, according to the lists released annually by the World Intellectual Property Organization.

Israel ranks third in the production of scientific papers per capita, according to SASI Research Group.

Israel has the highest number of scientists, technicians, and engineers per capita in the world with 140 scientists, technicians, and engineers per 10,000 employees. In comparison, it is 85 per 10,000 in the United States and 83 per 10,000 in Japan, according to the report Israel: Factors in the Emergence of an ICT Powerhouse, published by the World Economic Forum in 2007.

In September 2012, according to the OECD's Education at a Glance report 2012, in comparative education data among the 34 OECD member nations, Israel ranked second in terms of percentage of population aged 25-64 that have attained tertiary education with 46%, behind only Canada at 51%.

The expenditure on education in 2011 represented 8.4% of Israel's GDP.

Israel's unemployment rate was 5.7% by the end of 2014 according to Trading Economics and the Israeli Center Bureau of Statistics.

Life expectancy in Israel is 82 years, ranking 14 out of 193 countries according to the World Health Organization index in 2012 – almost two years more than the OECD average (79.8 years.) – placing Israel at the 4th world place by Life expectancy at birth among men and women in 2014.

The infant mortality rate in Israel was at 3.7 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2010, lower than the OECD average (4.3 deaths).

82% of people in Israel reported to be in good health, higher than the OECD average of 69%, according to the 2013 Better Life Index.

Israel was ranked 4 out of 48 countries in the Countries with More Efficient Health Cares, published by Bloomberg.

is how Israel is building a model agricultural village in South Sudan, to teach local farmers Israeli agricultural methods and technologies to help the new African nation to prosper.

Israel is one of the world's top producers of milk, together with New Zealand, Denmark, Australia and the U.S., according to FAO figures.²⁵⁶ As a result, a new concept has risen related to this regard: "dairy diplomacy." Israel has thus helped a host of nations to improve their dairy output and to apply new solutions. In 2010, for example, an epidemic of foot and mouth disease almost wiped out the South Korean dairy industry, infecting over 50,000 milk cows —around 20% of the total. In 2011, the dairy cooperative Seoul Milk visited Israel to get new solutions the devastation of the epidemic caused in the industry, and they got from SCR Engineering, the world's largest manufacturer of electronic milk measurement devices based in Netanya, new systems of inoculations for healthy cows and models to help increase milk production in a short time period, and measure devices.257

The international consultant food technology Professor Shlomo Navarro, invented huge bags (now marketed by the U.S. company GrainPro,) which keep out the water and air to prevent mildew and pests damage the grain and the harvest. Such troubles cause a loss of 50% in developing countries.²⁵⁸

Tal-Ya Water Technologies has developed reusable plastic trays to collect dew from the air, reducing water needs of crops or trees up to 50%. The jagged square trays made from recycled and recyclable plastic than PET (polyethylene terephthalate) with UV filters and limestone surround each plant or tree. With the change

in temperature during the night, dew forms on both surfaces of the tray Tal-Ya, which channels the dew and condensation directly to the roots if it rains, rising up 27 times the effect each millimeter of water.

Researchers at Ben-Gurion University and the Research and Development Center of the Central and Northern Arava have combined the best of innovation in agrotechnology and clean technology to create a new artificial desert oasis, which could help feed millions of people in the desert. Oasis uses the experience of Israel in the growth of salt-tolerant crops in the Negev desert with little rain under a blazing sun, and desalination technology uses low-cost solar powered to convert brackish water into fresh water.

Morflora Israeli company has developed an alternative seed treatment that could revolutionize agriculture, called TraitUP, which inoculates seeds against any foreseeable challenges, without altering the genetic structure of the new generations, protecting plant seeds from infestation, fungi, bacteria, and even drought, without the side effects of genetic engineering.

Israeli company, Grow Fish Anywhere has found a way to breed saltwater fish anywhere, even in the desert, without any of the usual problems of pollution.

Agriculture solutions in Israel have been flourishing since the first kibbutz was set. In fact, making the dessert bloom was one of the main achievements of the pre-State era, highlighted in the Declaration of Independence, and has also become a hallmark of Israel. Before Israel delighted the world with new scientific, medical, military, or computer advances, it was already a pioneer in agricultural and irrigation issues.

²⁵⁶ Stefano Gerosa and Jakob Skoet, "Milk availability Trends in production and demand and medium-term outlook", FAO-ESA Working paper No. 12-01 (February 2012) p.24

²⁵⁷ David Lev, "Israel, World Champ in Milk Production, Helps Out S. Korea", *Arutz Sheva*, (September 22, 2011) http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/148175#.UjJJ08apW5N 258 Ibid., 234



ISRAEL'S EXTENDED HAND TO PEACE

The conflict between Jews and Arabs, and later between Israel and its neighboring Arab countries, and then between Israel and the Palestinians stems, as many other disputes, from opposing claims of entitlement on the same land. Much has changed but one persistent feature remains prevalent some 100 years later – while the Jews and Israel recognized the Arab/Palestinian entitlement to at least part of the disputed land, the Arabs and Palestinians have not accepted the entitlement of the Jewish People to self-determination in at least part of the land.

Compared to other conflict settings around the world, the Arab-Jewish conflict at first, later becoming the Arab-Israeli conflict, and in its final incarnation, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, has attained, over time, extensive (bordering exaggerated) diplomatic engagement and media reporting. The disproportionate diplomatic and media attention to the conflict, particularly in the last four decades, is often biased and discriminatory in its predominantly superficial perception of the conflict and its possible resolution, placing the onus of responsibility for the protraction of the conflict mainly, if not solely, upon Israel.²⁵⁹ Furthermore, until most recently the dominant conception of the conflict in international political and media arenas was excessively simplistic in suggesting that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the core conflict and problem of the Middle East and its resolution (following Israeli concessions to Palestinians) would magically and instantly transform the region for the better.

The regional turmoil, the "Arab Spring", and its aftermath have tempered the perception concerning the centrality of the conflict to all regional ailments. Most recently, President Obama addressing the UN General Assembly noted:

Understand, the situation in Iraq and Syria and Libya should cure anybody of the illusion that the Arab-Israeli conflict is the main source of problems in the region...²⁶⁰

259 A former Associated Press Correspondent in Israel tells the story of the exaggerated and biased international media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. See Matti Friedman, "An Insider's Guide to the Most Important Story on the Earth," *Tablet*, August 26, 2014 http://tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/183033/israel-insiderguide?all=1> [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

This recognition however, has not triggered a Western "soul search" or an overall reassessment of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and its supposed "culprit". If anything, a growing number of Western governments, including the United States, have become ever more vocal and harsh in their criticism of the Israeli government concerning the Peace process. They suggest that despite the regional turmoil, Israel should assume considerable risks, or as President Obama understated it at the UN General Assembly, do "the hard work of peace." 261

Over the past decade or so, Western criticism has focused primarily on the issue of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and on the Golan Heights, including Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem. The European Union has even moved from words to deeds and has taken action by forbidding any transfer of European Union funds to these territories. In addition, the European Union is considering to effectively ban the import of agricultural and food goods produced by Israelis in these territories. Curiously, the settlements issue was not as high on the Palestinians agenda as it is on the American and European agendas.²⁶²

American and European officials contend that their blatant objection to Israeli "settlement activities" derives from "the fact" that it constitutes a violation of International Law. They further contend that the continuation of settlement activities undermines the possibility of resolving the conflict and reaching a "two state solution". American and European officials explain their inclination to focus more on Israeli errs and alleged injustices and while taking a more forgiving (if not indifferent) view on Palestinian transgressions (such as anti-Israeli incitement in official media and school textbooks), by noting that if Israel aspires to be a Western democracy, it should act "accordingly". Said otherwise, the lack of progress in the Peace process causes American and European officialdom to question and cast doubt upon Israel's Western democratic credentials.

Western governments and officials have also been highly critical of Israeli security measures in face of Palestinian terror – be it the blockade on Gaza, the security perimeter between Israel proper and the West Bank, or military counter-terrorism operations (ranging from targeted interception of terrorists to larger-scale military operations). Some Western governments and officials have contended that these measures often violate

²⁶⁰ The White House, "Remarks by President Obama in Address to the United Nations General Assembly," United Nations General Assembly Hall, New York City, NY, September 24, 2014. http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/09/24/remarks-president-obama-address-united-nations-general-assembly [retrieved: September 30, 2014].

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² A useful illustration is the account of Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas concerning the US initiative to demand that Israel freezes settlement construction in 2010. Newsweek, "Palestinian Leader Mahmoud Abbas's Frustration with Obama," April 24, 2011 http://www.newsweek.com/palestinian-leader-mahmoud-abbass-frustration-obama-66509 [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

International Law, again undermining Israeli Western credentials.

Compared to the conventional Western wisdom, what follows is a more nuanced perspective on the Peace process, explicating its complexities and historical context and discussing Israeli practices and policies. In so doing, this section will seek to show several points.

First, the fundamental obstacle frustrating the resolution of the conflict was initially Arab, and then Palestinian, Century-long refusal to accept the Jewish People's right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland.

Second, the assertion that Israel's conduct and policies undermine its Western democratic credentials is misplaced, to put it mildly.

For instance, the issue of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and on the Golan Heights is highly contested within the Israeli democratic system. Furthermore, a range of Israeli and non-Israeli International Law experts cast considerable doubt on the merits of the obstinate and taken-for-granted Western claims that Israeli settlement activities violate International Law. The conflicting positions concerning the interpretation of International Law should entail a mutual acknowledgement that both perspectives are legitimate, even if debatable.

This section will also place in context Israeli counterterrorism measures and operations, suggesting that Israel's normative battlefield track record does not fall behind in comparison to those of NATO allies and partners in similar settings across the Broader Middle East. One could actually argue that Western policies towards Israel on this matter are not only discriminatory and prejudicial, but are also counter-productive and undermine the prospects of reaching a just and durable resolution of the conflict.

The Historical Context: How did it Start?

As Alan Dowty reminds us, this conflict is not "ageold". Furthermore, Jews and Arabs lived for centuries alongside each other, mostly in peace and in good neighborhood. Jewish communities continued to reside in the Holy Land since the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans in A.D. 70 even if in small numbers mainly in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias. In the sixteenth century, according to the Peel Report, 15,000

263 Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008, p. 2.

Jews lived in the Safad area.²⁶⁴ Since the 18th Century, elder ultraorthodox Jews continuously trickled into the land in small numbers wishing to die in *Eretz Yisrael* (the Land of Israel). Furthermore, by the mid-19th Century, Jews (mainly ultra-orthodox) constituted the majority of inhabitants in Jerusalem.²⁶⁵ Compared to the travails of Jews across Europe since the 13th Century, the Jews under Muslim, and later Ottoman, rule lived in relative peace in what would become Palestine.

The first wave of Jewish Zionist migration, starting in 1882 through 1903, and the desire of the new migrants to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine, would lead the Arab leaders of Palestine to reject the Zionist claims.

Not all the Arabs, however, rejected the Zionist aspirations. The Sharif of Mecca, Hussein Bin Ali was the most notable exception. An article published in the official daily newspaper of Mecca, *al-Qibla*, on March 23, 1918 asserted that Palestine was "a sacred and beloved homeland of its original sons," meaning the Jews, and that their return to the land would allow developing it to the benefit of the Arabs, "their brethren."²⁶⁶ Upon Hussein's instructions, his son Faisal concluded an agreement of cooperation with Dr. Chaim Weizmann and the Zionist movement in the run-up to the 1919 Paris Conference. Stipulated on the premises that the separate agreement between the British and Hussein would be honored, the Faisal-Weizmann agreement was never implemented either.²⁶⁷

However, the vast majority of Arab leaders and communities in Palestine rejected outright the Zionist's aspirations. In 1899, the Mayor of Jerusalem, Yusuf Diya Pasha al-Khalidi, wrote to the Chief Rabbi of France, Rabbi Zadok Kahn, who was acquainted with Theodor Herzl in an attempt to persuade the Zionist organization not to insist on settling Jews in Palestine because the Muslims and Christians would never allow Jews to establish a state. Although suggesting that Jews should settle elsewhere, Mayor al-Khalidi honestly conceded:

Who can challenge the rights of the Jews on Palestine? Good Lord, historically, it is really your country.²⁶⁸

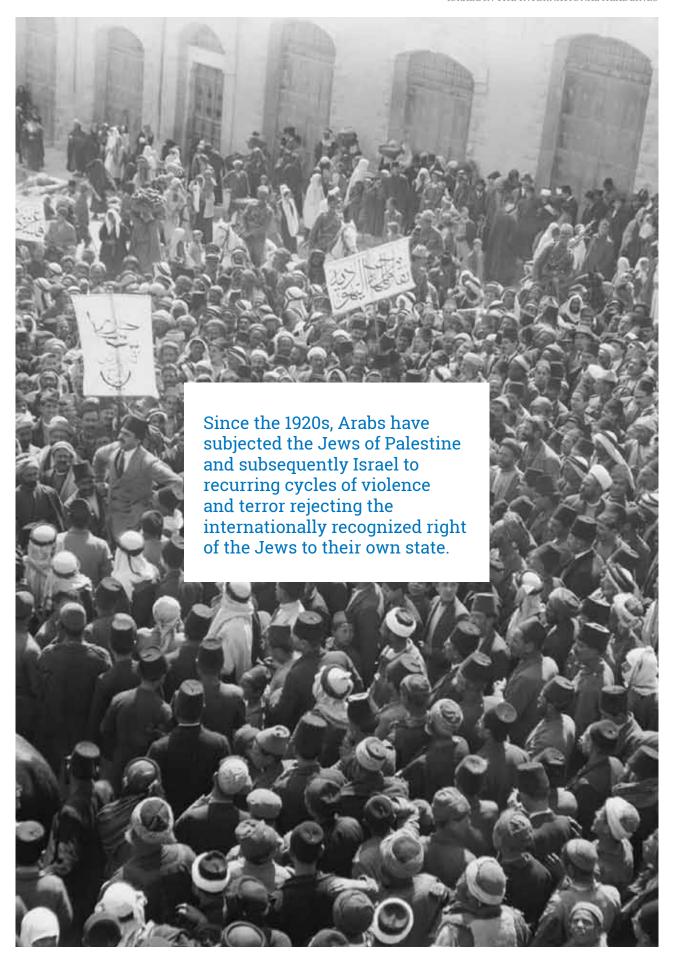
²⁶⁴ Palestine Royal Commission Report (Peel Report), London His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1937, pp.11-12.

²⁶⁵ Shlomo Avineri quotes a report by Karl Marx published in the *New York Daily Tribune* on March 18, 1854 that of the 15,500 residents of Jerusalem, 8000 are Jews. Shlomo Avineri, "The Roots of Zionism," *The Wilson Quarterly*, January 1983, p. 58.

²⁶⁶ Quoted in Isaiah Friedman, *Palestine, a Twice-Promised Land: The British, the Arabs & Zionism: 1915-1920.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000, p. xlvii.

²⁶⁷ Sharif Hussein was driven out of Mecca shortly thereafter by Abdul Aziz al-Saud, who would become the first monarch of Saudi Arabia

²⁶⁸ Neville J. Mandel, The Arabs and Zionism Before World War I. Los An-





The arrival of the British with their stated determination to implement their obligations to secure the establishment of a Jewish national homeland spurred Arab vehement opposition. Thus, just as the emergence of nationalism in Europe triggered and shaped the evolvement of the Jewish national movement, the latter triggered the emergence of Palestinian identity. Nonetheless, there was a main difference in the way Jews viewed the local Arab communities compared to how the Arabs viewed the growing Jewish population.

The Zionist movement realized early on that the aspired nation's homeland is not terra nullius. The new Jewish migrants did not aspire to cleanse the land ethnically or religiously, but rather extended its hand to peace. Most of the land the Jewish National Fund (JNF) purchased settled was sparsely populated. The majority of the Jews in Palestine, the mainstream leadership of the Zionist movement, and subsequently, the leadership of the Jewish community in Palestine represented by the Jewish Agency, all accepted from the very beginning the basic compromise of sharing or partitioning the land. The Balfour Declaration's wording was rather clear- the Jewish "national home" was to be established in Palestine - not that Palestine would be reconstituted as a Jewish national home, as some Zionists desired. Furthermore, the Balfour Declaration recognized the rights of "existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

When the British Mandatory Power decided to recognize the political rights of the Arabs in Palestine as in the

geles & Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976, p. 47. See also Alan Dowty, *Israel/Palestine*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008, pp. 63-64

1937 Peel Commission that proposed the first partition plan of Palestine, the Zionist Congress did not reject it in principle. Rather, the Zionist Congress contended that the Peel Commission's Partition Plan itself did not offer a viable Jewish State. The Peel Commission's proposal, although eventually rejected by the British government itself, stirred a debate among the Jews in Palestine and in the Zionist Congress.

Ten years later, a vast majority of the Zionist movement – in Palestine and in the Diaspora – endorsed the UN partition plan and in so doing recognized the rights of the Arabs to establish their own state in Palestine alongside a Jewish State. To this date, the anniversary of the UN General Assembly's vote in favor of the Partition Plan on November 29, 1947 is officially marked in Israel. Furthermore, Israel's Declaration of Independence on May 14, 1948 specifically stated:

The State of Israel is prepared to cooperate with the agencies and representatives of the United Nations in implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of the 29th November, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union²⁶⁹ of the whole of Eretz-Israel. ²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ With respect to the reference to the "Economic Union" – the UN Partition Plan included not only the partition of Palestine and the establishment of two independent states – Jewish and Arab – but also envisioned an economic union between the two states.

^{270 &}quot;Eretz Israel" literal translation is the "Land of Israel", i.e., Mandatory Palestine. Provisional Government of Israel, "The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel," Official Gazette, No. 1, 5 Iyar 5708, May 14, 1948, p.1 [in Hebrew]. The official translation of the Declaration is available at http://knesset.gov.il/docs/eng/megilat_eng.htm [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

However, Israel's extended hand to peace remained hanging in the air as the armies of the neighboring Arab countries invaded Palestine immediately after the British forces led by the British High Commissioner departed on May 14, 1948. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan occupied the West Bank and East Jerusalem and Egypt occupied the Gaza Strip undermining the full implementation of the UN Partition Plan. Needless to say, until the 1967 Six Day War, the Arab occupiers of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza did not take any measure towards the establishment of an Arab or Palestinian independent state on the territories they occupied.

Nonetheless, as noted above, the steady return of Jews to Palestine, the Jewish purchase of lands, and the establishment of new Jewish villages and towns angered the Arabs, prompted their organization and the evolution of a Palestinian national identity. The Arab opposition though, soon became violent.

Since the 1920s, Arabs have subjected the Jews of Palestine and subsequently Israel to recurring cycles of violence and terror rejecting the internationally recognized right of the Jews to their own state. The first round of Arab riots against Jews in Palestine occurred as early as 1921 when Arab mobs attacked Jews in Jaffa and nearby farms and villages killing 47 Jews during a seven-day spree of riots and violence. Mandatory police and British Army attempting to restore order were responsible for the vast majority of Arabs casualties, including 48 Arabs killed.

The second round of riots broke out in the summer of 1929 following a dispute between Jews and Arabs concerning Jewish worship rights at the Wailing (Western) Wall in Old Jerusalem, the holiest site of Jewish worship and the exterior of the Temple Mount. The riots spreadout from Jerusalem across Mandatory Palestine. The most notable and tragic incident of the riots was the massacre of the Jewish community of Hebron on August 24, 1929. On that day, Arab mobs brutally murdered 67 Jews, including women and children. The official British report of the events described the massacre in Hebron as "acts of unspeakable savagery." The British Mandatory Police force compelled the surviving Jews to leave Hebron, in which Jews resided continuously for centuries. The 1929 riots also brought about the end to two other centuries-old Jewish communities – Safed and Gaza.

As Avraham Sela points out, the 1929 Wailing Wall riots were "unprecedented in the history of the Arab-Jewish conflict in Palestine, in duration, geographical scope and direct damage to life and property" and constituted a "watershed in exacerbating the Arab-Jewish conflict in

271 Report of the Palestine Commission on the Disturbances of August, 1929. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1930, p. 490. Palestine", leading Jewish-Arab relations "to assume an increasingly hostile nature." One of the main outcomes of this round of riots was "the transformation of the Palestine Question from a local dispute into a Pan-Islamic and Pan-Arab issue." ²⁷²

Shortly after the 1929 riots, Syrian-born Sheikh Izz ad-Din al-Qassam founded in 1930 what would become the first Palestinian terrorist group, the "Black Hand" (al-Kaff al-Aswadý), based on what contemporarily is considered an Islamist ideology.²⁷³ Operating in the northern part of Palestine, the "Black Hand" was responsible for the murder of several hundred Jews (figures range from 200 to 800) and for a series of sabotage operations targeting British installations, mainly rail lines. Implicated in the killing of a British police officer in late 1935, the British launched a massive manhunt after al-Qassam, tracking him and several associates down in a cave near the village Yabed (West of Jenin). Having refused to surrender, the British Police killed al-Qassam and four of his followers in a fierce fire exchange.

Al-Qassam's mass public funeral near Haifa in November 1935 is widely considered as the starting point of the 1936-1939 Arab Revolt in Palestine. The revolt that emerged spontaneously brought about the founding of the Arab High Committee in 1936 that officially launched an all-Arab general strike in Mandatory Palestine and directed mass public demonstrations, which frequently turned violent against Jews. The revolt would later assume an even more violent strike with a growing number of terrorist attacks against Jews, Jewish villages and towns, and British infrastructure, particularly the Mosul-Haifa Pipeline that became operational in 1935. Eventually, the British Army quelled the revolt through a series of harsh counter-insurgency measures, including the proclamation of martial law. The British administration disbanded the Arab High Committee and many Arab leaders fled or found themselves incarcerated. While several hundred Jews and British servicemen and officials were killed during the revolt, some five thousand Arabs were killed. The Arab general strike and the military pressure of the British Army crippled the Palestinian economy, while the Jewish economy in Palestine thrived and expanded.

Although British forces cooperated with Jewish paramilitary groups during the Arab revolt (particularly in its early phases – till British reinforcements arrived to Palestine), the British government watered down its commitment to the Jewish People and placed considerable re-

²⁷² Avraham Sela, "The "Wailing Wall" Riots (1929) as a Watershed in the Palestine Conflict," *The Muslim World*, Vol. 84, No.1-2, 1994, pp. 60-

²⁷³ Baruch Kimmerling & Joel S. Migdal, *The Palestinian People: A History*. Cambridge MA & London: Harvard University Press, 2003, pp. 64-66

strictions on Jewish immigration and land purchasing by Jews. This process of reconsidering Britain's mandatory obligations to secure the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine occurred after every round of violence and culminated in the publication of 1939 White Paper.

Explaining this turn in policy, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was quoted saying:

we are now compelled to consider the Palestine problem from the point of view of its effects upon the international situation. If we must offend one side, let us offend the Jews, rather than the Arabs.²⁷⁴

The suffering of European Jewry prior and during World War II and the Holocaust and the increasing pressure to permit Jewish migration to Palestine exacerbated the conflict between the leadership of the Jewish Agency in Palestine and the mandatory government. David Ben-Gurion, the Chairman of the Jewish Agency and of the World Zionist Organization (later becoming Israel's first Prime Minister), sought a balance between supporting Britain's war effort and the natural alignment with the Western allies, on one hand, and the political campaign to overturn the new British policy on the Palestine question, on the other. In September 1939, Ben-Gurion phrased the balance simply: "We must assist the British in the war as if there were no White Paper, and we must resist the White Paper as if there were no war."

Despite their bitter and fierce objection to the British policy on Palestine, the Jews of Palestine raised to the cause of the war effort. Over 130,000 Jews (approximately a quarter of the total Jewish population in Palestine) registered for enlistment in the British forces and as the war pursued, 63 percent of the Jewish workforce in Palestine was producing materials for the British military.²⁷⁵

Thus, the Jewish mobilization for the war effort was possibly the first opportunity to demonstrate their natural "belonging" to the West and their reliability as an asset of the West. Furthermore, the Jewish acceptance of the 1947 UN Partition Plan, even though it entailed painful concessions, attested to their appreciation and adherence to International Law and to understanding the responsibilities of a soon to be nation-state.

One cannot however, say the same about the Arab side of the conflict. The Palestinian national identity as it evolved during the British Mandate was not able to accept any compromise on sharing the land. Furthermore, a major constituency within the emerging Palestinian society espoused early on an Islamist agenda and rejected any affiliation with Great Britain, let alone the war effort. Notwithstanding, some members of the Palestinian elite did chose to side with Britain and Arabs from Mandatory Palestine did enlist into the British military, but in far smaller numbers than the Jews of Palestine – in both absolute and relative terms. Others however, sided vocally with the Axis powers. The most notable example was the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, who willingly offered his propaganda services to the German Reich.

Although the repeated cycles of violence modified the British policy on Palestine, the Arab Palestinians paid an enormous price in terms of casualties, disunited leadership, and economic hardship. Their maximalist, bordering recalcitrant, position yielded more suffer to both parties, but would not bring them any closer to realizing their legitimate rights. As Israel's legendary Foreign Minister, Abba Eban, would years later put it: "The Arabs never missed an opportunity to miss an opportunity."

The dichotomy between the approaches and predispositions of the Jews and Arabs of Palestine was most likely in mind of Prime Minister Chamberlain when he preferred to offend the Jews rather than the Arabs. Apparently, Chamberlain understood that even if he were to "offend" the Jews, Britain could still rely on them.

From the Arab-Israeli Conflict to the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict

The invasion of the Arab states' armed forces into Palestine on May 1948 in attempt to seize it and to prevent the implementation of the UN General Assembly resolution on the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish State was not only a blatant violation of International Law. The 1948-1949 War also transformed an essentially intramural conflict into an inter-state conflict between Israel and it neighboring Arab countries, the Arab-Israeli conflict. A series of bilateral armistice agreements between Israel and its neighbors with the active participation of UN mediators established armistice border demarcations.

At the insistence of the Arab parties, the agreements stipulated that the armistice demarcations would not be considered internationally recognized borders. For instance, the 1949 Syrian-Israeli specifically stated:

It is emphasized that the following arrangements for the Armistice Demarcation Line between the Israeli and Syrian armed forces and for the Demilitarized Zone are not to be interpreted as having any relation

²⁷⁴ Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continumm, 2006, p. 139.

²⁷⁵ Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*. London: Hambledon Continumm, 2006, p. 139.

whatsoever to ultimate territorial arrangements affecting the two Parties to this Agreement.²⁷⁶

This insistence reflected the determination of the Arab countries not to recognize Israel's existence. The Arab states' humiliating defeat in 1967 perhaps even reinforced this position. The Arab League Summit convened in Khartoum shortly after the war in September 1967 and issued the "Three Nos": "no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, no negotiations with it..."

The 1973 War would be the last conventional war between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The Arab countries inability to dislodge Israel by the use of force compelled a rethinking in neighboring Arab capitals. To the East, the Jordan Monarch developed a strategic relationship with Israel that was put to test in September 1970 when he ousted the Palestinian leadership from the Kingdom in a violent exchange that almost cost him his throne. Israel, in close coordination with the US, played an important role in safeguarding the King's position. The second neighbor of Israel to reconsider was President Anwar Sadat of Egypt, who outreached to Israel in 1977 and concluded a separate peace treaty with Israel in 1979.

The Palestinians took over the lead of the anti-Israeli effort from the Arab countries during the 1970s. Noteworthy, through the 1967 War, the Palestinians played no substantial role in the conflict, which the Arab countries managed "on behalf" of the Palestinians. The Arab League itself established in 1964 the Palestine Liberation Organization, the umbrella organization of the Palestinian secular terrorist groups.

The PLO drew worldwide attention in the 1970s to the Palestinian cause through: (a) their affiliation with the Non-Aligned Movement, which gained considerable international influence in the mid-1970s; and (b) a series of international terrorist attacks against Israeli and

276 Article V(1) of Israeli-Syrian General Armistice Agreement. See United Nations Security Council, "Communication dated 20 July 1949 From the United Nations Acting Mediator on Palestine to the Acting Secretary-General transmitting the text of an Armistice Agreement between Israel and Syria," (U.N. S/1353) July 20 1949. http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/E845CA0B92BE4E3485256442007901CC [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

277 League of Arab States, Khartoum Resolution, 1 September 1967, Article 3. http://www.cfr.org/world/khartoum-resolution/p14841 [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

278 Steven L. Spiegel, "Israel as a Strategic Asset," Commentary, June 1, 1983 http://www.commentarymagazine.com/article/israel-as-a-strategic-asset/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014]. Amir Oren reveals the secret records on US-Israeli operational coordination over the 1970 "Black September" crisis (Israeli military code-named it "Ember Crisis" (Gahelet)) in a Hebrew-language article. See Amir Oren, "Revealed Protocols Portray the first Operational Coordination between Washington and Jerusalem in 1970," Haaretz, September 15, 2009 (in Hebrew; no available translation to English) http://www.haaretz.co.il/misc/1.1281416 [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

Western targets. While Western democracies refused to engage the PLO due its deep involvement in international terrorism and its close relationship with the Soviet Bloc and the Non-Aligned Movement, European countries shifted their position and in 1980 issued the Venice Declaration that recognized Palestinian's right to self- determination. The 1982 War that Israel initiated to destruct the "terror state" the PLO established within Lebanon led to the ousting of Palestinian terror organizations from Lebanon to Tunisia, which would become the Palestinian Headquarters until the 1993 Oslo Accords.

After several years in relative remote exile, the mid-1980s were the low point of the PLO efforts to drive their cause through terrorism and diplomatic engagements. The Cold War was winding down, as did Soviet interest in the PLO, the Non-Aligned Movement was falling from grace, and the PLO was left with no powerful patron. The international and regional disinterest in the Palestinian question increased however, the discontent among Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. This discontent catalyzed the spontaneous outbreak of the first Palestinian Uprising (*Intifada*) in December 1987. Compared to the Second Intifada (2000-2005), the First Intifada was a popular movement with locally based leadership.

The PLO's marginalization eventually led its leadership to renounce terrorism and seek a political resolution with Israel. The 1993 Oslo Accords created that opportunity and the PLO, led by Yasser Arafat, returned to Gaza and to the West Bank, recognized Israel and formed interim autonomous self-rule institutions pending a final status agreement with Israel. The Oslo Accords turned a page and brought about a new phase in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process.

The Twenty-Year-Old Peace Process: Terror Reciprocates Israeli Advances; Palestinians Continue Rejecting Jewish Self-Determination

In Israel, the Oslo Accord and the new chapter in Israeli-Palestinian relations became one of the major dividing points in the Israeli political arena. For many Israelis, the concessions associated with the peace process were unacceptable for ideological and religious reasoning. Most of the biblical sites with profound religious significance remain beyond the pre-1967 demarcations – be it East Jerusalem, the Wailing Wall, the century-old Jewish cemetery on Mt. Olive, and the City of King David, Bethlehem, Hebron, and numerous other sites. The West Bank, or Judea and Samaria in Jewish terms, was the heart of the ancestral Jewish homeland. In

addition, many Israelis did not trust the new peace partners, whom only recently still advocated the destruction of Israel and waged terror against Israelis. Yet many others were willing to give peace a chance and embraced the process.

When the Oslo Accords were signed in 1993, Israeli leaders, including then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, never promised a Palestinian state. It was still a political taboo in Israel. Twenty years and several waves of deadly terror since, most Israelis agree to the establishment of a Palestinian state, a position reiterated even by one of the notable opponents of the Oslo Accords, the incumbent Prime Minister, Binyamin Netanyahu.²⁷⁹

While it has become popular to cite an apparent rise of public opinion support for the right wing in Israel, the truth of the matter is that there has been a move from both sides of the political spectrum – from both right and left – to the center, hence the considerable electoral success of the centrist parties in the 2013 elections.²⁸⁰

Notwithstanding, there is considerable circumspection, mildly put, among the Israeli leadership and the society mainstream concerning the possibility of reaching a peace agreement with the Palestinians. Not surprisingly, Israeli public opinion polls repeatedly reveal a nuanced approach – a (small) majority of Israeli public support the peace process (i.e., holding peace negotiations with the Palestinians) while a (vast) majority of the Israeli public do not believe negotiations will lead to peace in the coming years.²⁸¹

Furthermore, Israeli concessions and measures to build peace over the past twenty years received in return new waves of violence and terror. A series of suicidal terrorism (1994-1997) killing more than 150 Israelis followed the Oslo Accords and the formation of the Palestinian Authority. The Second Intifada (2000-2005) started after the breakdown of the August 2000 Camp David Summit in which Prime Minister Barak presented what was regarded a "generous" offer to Chairman Arafat – 600 Israelis were murdered in suicide terrorist attacks on public transportation, cafes, etc. In 2002 alone, nearly 50 suicide bombings took place murdering 238 Israelis.

Following the Israeli Gaza Disengagement plan in August 2005, which entailed the uprooting of 21 Israeli settlements, the Gaza Strip has become a safe haven for Hamas and other terrorists. Since 2005, Gaza-based terrorists have fired more than 18,000 (!) rockets and mortars towards Israeli territory. 282 Shortly after Prime Minister Olmert offered his peace proposal to Palestinian President Abbas in 2008, rocket fire from the Gaza Strip intensified leading Israel to launch Operation Cast Lead. 283 With this poor track record in mind – of terror "reciprocating" and "rewarding" Israeli attempts to advance the peace process – one must appreciate Israeli reluctance to move ahead with the peace process.

Plus, the continued waves of terrorism reflect – at least from an Israeli perspective – that the Palestinian leadership and public have not come to terms with the existence of a Jewish state. The adamant refusal of President Abbas and Palestinian negotiators to recognize Israel as a Jewish State, or as the homeland of the Jewish People, suggests to Israelis that Palestinian leaders will never accept the finality conflict since they do not accept Israel's existence as legitimate, although the Palestinians have recognized the State of Israel. Furthermore, Palestinian leaders have even rejected Israeli offers to try to formulate together a language mutually recognizing the right of self-determination of both the Palestinian people and the Jewish people on their shared homeland.

Said otherwise, although Israeli leaders – left, right, and center – have recognized the inherent right of the Palestinians to self-determination in a state of their own, the Palestinian blatantly refuse to reciprocate and recognize what has been established by International Law – that the Jewish people are entitled too to self-determination in their ancestral homeland. Ultimately, the recognition of Israel's legitimacy is simply the only "deliverable" with which the Palestinians can reciprocate Israel's anticipated painful concessions in a final status agreement. In so

²⁷⁹ Also known as the "Bar-Ilan Address", see Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Israel), "Address by Prime Minister Netanyahu at Bar-Ilan University," June 14, 2009 http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2009/Pages/Address_PM_Netanyahu_Bar-Ilan_University_14-Jun-2009.aspx [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

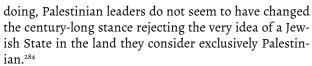
²⁸⁰ The Israeli centrist parties include "Yes Atid" with 19 Members of Knesset (MKs); "Hatnuah" with 6 MKs; and "Shinui" with 2 MKs – a total of 27 seats of 120-member Israeli Parliament, the Knesset.

²⁸¹ The "Peace Index" – a joint undertaking of the Israel Democracy Institute and Tel Aviv University's Evens Program in Mediation and Conflict Resolution – has been sampling Israeli public opinion on a monthly basis since 1994. The detailed sampling data is available at http://www.peaceindex.org/defaultEng.aspx

²⁸² The Pro-Palestinian and Pro-Peace organization, B'TSELEM, show that 13,800 rockets and mortar were fired from Gaza on Israel between 2005-2013. See, B'tselem, "Rocket and Mortar Fire into Israel," Updated July 24, 2014 http://www.btselem.org/israeli_civilians/qassam_missiles [retrieved: September 5, 2014]. In 2014, prior to Operation Protective Edge, 450 rockets and mortars were fired at Israel. See Israel Defense Forces, "Rocket Attacks on Israel from Gaza," n.d. http://www.idfblog.com/facts-figures/rocket-attacks-toward-israel/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014]. During Operation Protective Edge (July-August 2014), terrorists fired more than 4,500 rockets and mortars towards Israel. See, "Operation Protective Edge in Numbers," Ynetnews, August 27, 2014, http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4564678,00.html [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

²⁸³ Although not initially made public, the 2008 Olmert peace offer has been made revealed and confirmed by Former Prime Minister Olmert himself and Former US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. For a recent report on the offer, see Stuart Winer, "Hand-drawn Map Shows What Olmert Offered for Peace," *Times of Israel*, May 23, 2013 http://www.timesofisrael.com/hand-drawn-map-shows-what-olmert-offered-for-peace/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014].





Israeli concerns regarding the prevalent anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish incitement in Palestinian officially sanctioned media and schools only reinforces Israeli wariness about the Palestinian leadership's disinclination to secure peace with Israel, beyond a formal treaty. The glorification of terrorists, including post-Oslo suicide bombers, in Palestinian media and society is a recurring event. In one of many instances, a Fatah-affiliated youth center in the Ama'ari refugee camp named a football tournament after the first Palestinian female suicide bomber, Wafa Idris. In 2002, Idris carried out a suicide bombing in the center of Jerusalem murdering an 81-year-old man and woundng 150 civilians.²⁸⁵

284 For a review of the diplomatic machinations concerning the "Jewish State" question, see Raphael Ahren, "Abbas Rebuffed Bid to Find Mutually Acceptable Wording on 'Jewish State'," Times of Israel, May 1, 2014 http://www.timesofisrael.com/abbas-rebuffed-bid-to-findmutually-acceptable-wording-on-jewish-state/ [retrieved: September 6, 2014]. Israeli centrist opinion leader, Ari Shavit gives in a succinct piece four reasons justifying Israel's demand for recognition as a Jewish State - see, Ari Shavit, "Four Reasons Why Israel Must be Recognized as a Jewish State," Haaretz, February 13, 2014 http://www.haaretz. com/opinion/.premium-1.574000 [retrieved: September 6, 2014]. Tal Beker, the Deputy International Law Advisor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a member of Minister Livni's negotiating team authored a thorough legal and historical review of the "Jewish State" issue. See Tal Beker, "The Claim for Recognition of Israel as a Jewish State: A Reassessment," Policy Focus #108, Washington, D.C.: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, February 2011 http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus108.pdf [retrieved: September 6, 2014]

285 Tova Lazaroff, "Fatah Youth Center Names Event after Suicide Bomber," *Jerusalem Post*, March 9, 2011 http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Fatah-youth-center-names-event-after-suicide-bomber [retrieved: September 5, 2014].



Moreover, it is impossible to reconcile the airing of Palestinian girls singing that Jews are "the sons of apes and pigs" on the official TV station of the Palestinian Authority (PATV) with a commitment to peace. In a 2012 event of the Fatah (President Abbas's political party) aired on the PATV featuring an address of the Palestinian Authority's Mufti of Jerusalem, Sheikh Muhammad Hussein, the master of ceremonies invites the Mufti to the stage saying: "His words are necessary because our war with the descendants of apes and pigs is a religious war of faith." The Mufti, the highest official authority of the Palestinian Authority, then goes on to say:

Judgment Day will not come before you fight the Jews and the Jews will hide behind a stone or a tree and the stone or tree will say – Oh Muslim, Oh servant of Allah, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him.²⁸⁶

The question that ongoing Palestinian incitement and hate-speech raises however is far more profound: "Can the Jewish state sign an agreement with those who hate it?" The mainstream public glorification of terrorists and outright and prevalent hate towards Jews and Israelis casts serious doubts about the viability of any peace agreement.

True, the Israeli society itself is not entirely immune to anti-Palestinian/Muslim hate-speech and hate-crime. Israeli security services face a serious challenge in its ongoing efforts to eradicate and bring to justice the

^{286 &}quot;PA Mufti of Jerusalem Muhammad Hussein: The Muslims Will Kill the Jews before Judgment Day," Video Clip from Palestinian Authority TV aired January 9, 2012 [Video Clip #3275] http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/o/o/o/o/o/3275.htm [retrieved: September 5, 2014]. 287 On this point, see Elhanan Miller, "Incitement or Something More Profound?" *Times of Israel*, January 6, 2014 http://www.timesofisrael.com/incitement-or-something-more-profound/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014] – my italics.

While in Israel, as in Western democracies, racism, hate-speech, incitement to violence, and hate-crime fester in the margins of the society, in the Palestinian society these features are mainstream and are endorsed by some elements of the Palestinian establishment.

adolescent "price tags" gangs that target Palestinian property and mosques in the West Bank and in Israel proper. The kidnapping and murder of the three Israeli teenagers by Palestinians in July 2014 led to an outburst of racist sentiments among some Israeli Jews. Tragically, several Israeli Jews sought retribution by kidnapping and murdering an Arab teenager in Jerusalem shortly thereafter.

There is a world of difference, however, between these despicable, yet isolated, incidents of several Israelis and the state of affairs in the Palestinian territories. Unlike the Palestinian arena, the entire spectrum of the Israeli political, religious and thought leadership condemned hate-speech and hate-crimes and the government instructed law enforcement agencies to address these challenges vigorously. Police and security services demonstrated their determination to eradicate these phenomena as they apprehended within 72 hours the Jewish perpetrators of the kidnapping and murder of the Arab teenager.

While in Israel, as in Western democracies, racism, hate-speech, incitement to violence, and hate-crime fester in the margins of the society, in the Palestinian society these features are mainstream and are endorsed by some elements of the Palestinian establishment. Noteworthy, the Israeli political establishment is fully aware to the dangers emanating from the fringes—they were responsible for the assassination of Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in November 1995. In contrast, Palestinian leadership appears dismissive and indifferent to the prevalence of anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish hate.

The prevalence of mainstream anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish hate and violence incitement in the Palestinian territories underscores the ever-growing importance of formal Palestinian recognition of the Jewish People's rights in the Holy Land. As Prime Minister Netanyahu posited:

Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people ---where the civil rights of all citizens, Jews and nonJews alike, are guaranteed. The land of Israel is the place where the identity of the Jewish people was forged.

It was in Hebron that Abraham blocked the cave of the Patriarchs and the Matriarchs. It was in Bethel that Jacob dreamed his dreams. It was in Jerusalem that David ruled his kingdom. We never forget that, but it's time the Palestinians stopped denying history.

Just as Israel is prepared to recognize a Palestinian state, the Palestinians must be prepared to recognize a Jewish state. President Abbas, recognize the Jewish state, and in doing so, you would be telling your people, the Palestinians, that while we might have a territorial dispute, the right of the Jewish people to a state of their own is beyond dispute.

You would be telling Palestinians to abandon the fantasy of flooding Israel with refugees, or amputating parts of the Negev and the Galilee. In recognizing the Jewish state, you would finally making clear that you are truly prepared to end the conflict. So recognize the Jewish state. No excuses, no delays, it's time.

Now, my friends, it may take years, it may take decades for this formal acceptance of Israel to filter down through all layers of Palestinian society.²⁸⁸

Western officials may find it easy to dismiss Israeli misgivings concerning hate-education and incitement to violence in the Palestinian territories as an Israeli negotiating ploy. But, this stance reflects Western failure to compel the Palestinians to engage in attempt to prepare their citizens for peace. At the end of the day, Palestinian hate towards Israelis and Jews is yet the other side of the same coin – of the century-old Palestinian rejection of Jewish self-determination in the Holy Land that is the core of the conflict and the fundamental obstacle to its resolution.

Meeting International Standards: Israel's Measure and Policies vis-à-vis the Palestinians

Western governments have been leveling growingly harsh criticism at Israeli policy and measures. This criticism focuses on two main aspects – Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem and Israeli counter-terrorism security and military measures.

^{288 &}quot;Prime Minister Netanyahu's Speech at the AIPAC Policy Conference," Washington, D.C., March 4, 2014 http://www.pmo.gov.il/Media-Center/Speeches/Pages/speechaipac040314.aspx [retrieved: September 5, 2014] – my italics.

PEACE PROCESS

Palestine would have existed in the beginning.

In 1948 Arab countries rejected the Partition Plan designed by the U.N., which supposedly established two States: one Jewish State and one Arab State, and initiated a war against the newborn Israel. By this move, Arab countries denied both Israel and Palestine right to exist. Palestine could have existed since 1948, but the Arab countries avoided it.

The Palestinian groups began to claim the Gaza Strip and the West Bank since the end of the Six Day War (1967) when Israel took over those territories, and not before -their claims up to then aimed to the whole Israeli territory. Since 1949 the Gaza Strip and the West Bank were under Egyptian and Jordanian administration respectively; however Palestinians did not face these governments in order to obtain the sovereignty of those lands.

Arafat, the supreme leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) said in 1970: "We shall never stop until we can go back home and Israel is destroyed..." It was not until 1988 when the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist. PLO used the terrorism as a policy tool against Israel since its establishment, killing thousands of Israeli civilians.

Israel has already shown its will to achieve the peace by the withdrawal of the territories several times:

In 1979 Israel and Egypt signed a Peace Treaty by which Israel withdrew Sinai Peninsula; in 1994, Israel did so with Jordan.

In 1994 Israel ceded sovereignty to the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in Gaza and the West Bank with the aim to create a Palestinian State. Nonetheless, the corruption of the Al-Fatah (the PLO's leading party) and the violence of Hamas and other groups has made impossible to advance in the application of the Oslo Accords terms.

In 2005, Israel disengaged from Gaza unilaterally, but the peace was not the answer. On the contrary, Hamas took over the Strip and started a massive rocket launching campaign against Israeli southern cities that has led to three major Operations by the Israel Defence Forces in the last lustrum.

Palestinians have said no in every peace process:

In Camp David II Peace Summit (2000) Arafat rejected to create a Palestinian State and instead he launched the Second Intifada with other terrorist groups such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

In 2008, as Ehud Barak did in 2000, Ehud Olmert offered Mahmud Abbas the 100% of the territory claimed by Palestinians with the Barak-Clinton formula: Israel would retain the large settlement blocs, so in exchange would compensate that amount of land through land swaps until complete the 100% claimed. Abbas said no.

Israeli and Palestinian have been involved in eight peace talks since 2000 (Taba in 2001, Aqaba in 2003, Sharm el Sheik in 2005, Annapolis in 2007, Geneva in 2008, Jordan in 2012, and the last ones promoted by John Kerry over 2014) Palestinian have always said no.

Disputed issues have to be set by bilateral negotiations:

According to the Oslo Accords, signed by Israelis and Palestinians, the final borders, Jerusalem status, refugees, water and all the disputed issues have to be negotiated and settled by both parties.

The Green Line separates Israel pre-1967 borders and the West Bank; however the Green Line was drawn in 1949 by Israel and Jordan, without Palestinian intervention, and is not an internationally recognized border.

Given the Palestinian negative answer to each proposal, all the disputed issues have never been solved so far.

There is not a peace partner in the Palestinian side:

Hamas, that is ruling the Gaza Strip since 2006, does not recognize the Israel's right to exist and according to its Covenant (Articles 6, 11 and 13) seeks for its destruction. Besides, Hamas is leading a corrupt and theocratic government; its forces use Palestinian population as human shield, and are training children in military and terror tactics. During the Second Intifada, Hamas carried out 284 terror attacks against Israeli civilians. Since 2001, Hamas and other terrorist groups have launched more than 18,000 mortar, rockets and missiles against Israeli southern cities.

PNA promotes hate incitement against Israel in its schools textbooks and TV broadcasts, instead of teaching peace and coexistence to the coming generations.

Mahmud Abbas has rejected all the agreements and interim deals proposed in the negotiations. Plus, he has started a diplomatic offensive against Israel which is getting the parties away from the negotiations table.

Despite all the unsuccessful peace talks and the vast international support and aid granted to the Palestinians, today with an unviable democratic Palestine alongside Israel, there are two Palestines, the Hamas-ruled Gaza and the Al-Fatah-ruled West Bank, both corrupt and unwilling to achieve the peace.

The Settlement Issue: Legal context and facts on the ground

The criticism against Israeli settlements in the West Bank and East Jerusalem rests on two separate sets of arguments. First, Israeli settlements are "illegal" and violate International Law. Second, by establishing facts on the ground, Israeli settlement activity precludes the establishment of a viable Palestinian state and undermines the peace process.

The Merit in Israel's Legal Position

The current prevailing opinion in the US and Europe is that Israeli settlements are illegal under International Law. The alleged illegality of the settlements is associated with position that the pre-1967 demarcation is an internationally recognized border and that the territories acquired by Israel in 1967 are occupied territories from which Israel is duty bound to withdraw. Furthermore, as the West Bank and East Jerusalem are to be considered "occupied territories", the 1949 Geneva Convention prohibits the "transfer" of citizens of the "occupying power" to the "occupied territories", ergo the settlements are illegal.

This sweeping taken-for-granted position, however, is at the very least debatable and completely ignores an alternative legitimate Israeli narrative that is not without merit. ²⁸⁹ The ongoing international debate seems to ignore several features that permit to frame the matter in a more balanced historical and political context. The common international position contends that the relevant timeframe for any consideration of Israel's presence in the West Bank commences with the 1967 Six Day War during which Israel in an act of self-defense acquired the West Bank and East Jerusalem. While the common international position stresses that this act is one of "occupation", the Israeli position is more nuanced.

289 The former Legal Counsel of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Alan Baker, concisely outlines the Israeli counter position concerning the legality of Israeli settlements in the West Bank. He substantiates the Israeli position citing leading international authorities on International Law and this manuscript will address several of those points below. See Alan Baker, "The Settlements Issue: Distorting the Geneva Convention and the Oslo Accords," Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, January 5, 2011 http://jcpa.org/ article/the-settlements-issue-distorting-the-geneva-convention-andthe-oslo-accords/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014]. The 2012 Official Levi Commission on the Legal Status of Building in Judea and Samaria incorporated Baker's argumentation. The international position concerning the legality of settlements is outlined in the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice concerning the "Wall" or the counter-terrorism security barrier. See, International Court of Justice, "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," Advisory Opinion, I. C. J. Reports 2004 http://www. icj-cij.org/docket/files/131/1671.pdf [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

In order to clarify the legal implications on the so-called "Occupied Territories" it is necessary to go back over the aftermath of the 1967 War.

Definition of the Disputed Territories

Occupation implies to occupy that is under the sovereign of a State or of an International Organization. Before 1967 is worth noting that the West Bank and East Jerusalem were under the sovereignty of Jordan, and the Gaza Strip under the sovereignty of Egypt. Otherwise, large Jewish populations were settled in those territories before the establishment of the State of Israel. Jews were totally prohibited in the West Bank and Gaza from 1949 to 1967. The paradigmatic examples are Gush Etzion Bloc and Hebron, barely wipe out by the Arab forces in the Independence War.

There was not any Arab country called Palestine established in those territories. Hence, the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, are legally under a dispute between two parties -after Egypt and Jordan renounced to their respective sovereignty claims. Given this situation, the occupation can be described as a military control by the IDF and civil administration by the State of Israel, but there is no a legal occupation of the territories. They are under dispute.

Indeed, the international community did not consider the 1949 demarcation of the armistice borderline, drafted by Israel and Jordan without intervention of the Palestinians (commonly known as the 1967 border or the Green Line) as a recognized international border. The Arab countries insisted that their respective armistice treaties would specifically stipulate that the demarcations do not, in fact, constitute recognized international borders. The famous UN Security Council Resolution 242 that followed the 1967 War required:

Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.²⁹⁰

The text of the resolution did not require Israel to withdraw from "all the territories". More importantly, the omission of "all the" was intentional, not coincidental, reflecting an international consensus that Israel and its neighbours would need to redraw the borderlines. In an extensive interview to a Palestinian academic journal in 1976, Lord Cardon, the British Permanent Representative to the UN, one of the key authors of Resolution 242 explained the deliberate omission:

We could have said: well, you go back to the 1967 line. But I know the 1967 line, and it's a rotten line.

²⁹⁰ United Nations Security Council, Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, Article 1(i) http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/0/7D35E1F72 9DF491C85256EE700686136 [accessed: September 5, 2014.

You couldn't have a worse line for a permanent international boundary. It's where the troops happened to be on a certain night in 1948. It's got no relation to the needs of the situation. Had we said that you must go back to the 1967 line, which would have resulted if we had specified a retreat from all the occupied territories, we would have been wrong.²⁹¹

Israeli Civil and Military Activity in the Territories

Against this backdrop, the rules and norms that would guide the administration of the newly acquired territories and its Arab inhabitants were not straightforward.

On one hand, the Israeli Supreme Court, with the acquiescence of Israeli government, established that the Israeli military should uphold the rights of the Arab Palestinian residents of the West Bank and Gaza in accordance with Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention that addresses the rights of persons under belligerent occupation. Thus, Israel became the only country in the world to ever apply these standards and protect the rights of the residents of a territory seized following an act of war.

On the other hand, the Supreme Court and the Government of Israel did not formally determine that Israel held these territories under belligerent occupation. Thus, the application of Fourth Geneva Convention articles by the Supreme Court and the Government of Israel intended to safeguard the rights of the Palestinian residents and not to determine the status of the territories.

Furthermore, the Fourth Geneva Convention articles entitle the "occupying power" to carry out certain acts on military and security grounds. Within this legal construct, Palestinian residents were entitled to petition the Supreme Court. Since 1967, Palestinian residents submitted thousands of petitions to the Court.²⁹²

This unique legal regime created a delicate, yet reasonable, balance between three factors: (a) the civil and religious rights of the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza; (b) military and security needs; and (c) Israeli aspirations to establish ultimate borders to be determined through negotiations.

291 Lord Caradon, "An Interview with Lord Caradon," *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol. 5, No. 3/4, Spring-Summer, 1976, p. 144-145. Curiously, Lord Caradon actually suggest land swaps between a future Palestinian state and Israel to include transferring Arab villages in Israel adjacent to the 1967 border to the new Palestinian state. Palestinians vehemently oppose this proposal.

292 David Kretzmer, The Law of Belligerent Occupation in the Supreme Court of Israel," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 94, No. 885, Spring 2012 https://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/review/2012/irrc-885-kretzmer.pdf [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

This balance had direct bearing on the legal status of Israeli settlements in the newly acquired territories. The Supreme Court ruled that the military administration is not entitled to appropriate private land for the purposes of establishing settlements unless there is a clear security or military reason for such act. In this ruling, the Supreme Court favoured the rights of the Palestinian residents and determined that settlements cannot come at the expense of civil and propriety rights of Palestinians. The Government of Israel and the military authorities have upheld this precedent since the 1970s. In 2012, the Supreme Court ordered to evict and demolish houses built by Israeli settlers on privately owned Palestinian land.²⁹³

The main debate however, focused on the interpretation of the last sub-article of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention:

The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.²⁹⁴

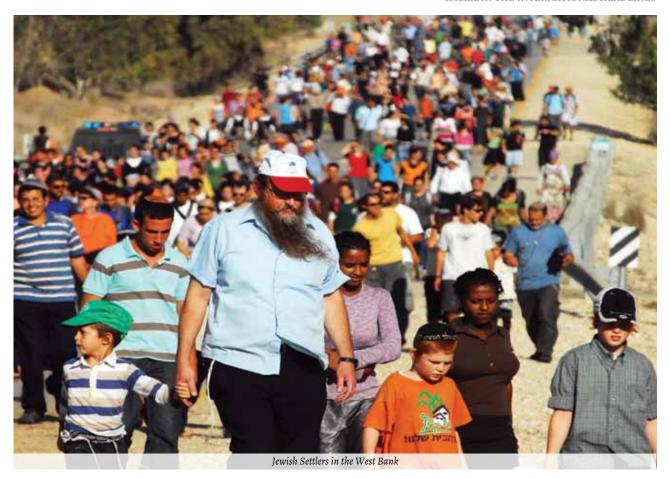
Since the 1970s, International Law experts have constantly deliberated the interpretation of "transfer" in this sub-article, specifically whether, in fact, this prohibits the voluntary settlement of citizens of the "occupying power" in the newly occupied territories. If "transfer" only refers to forcible movement of citizens, then the Convention does not prohibit Israeli settlement activity. If "transfer" includes the facilitation of such voluntary settlement, be it through zoning and construction permits, then Israeli settlement activity would be considered a transgression of the Geneva Convention. Nevertheless, in accordance with Professor Julius Stone and the former President of the International Court of Justice, Stephen M. Schwebel, most of the Jewish settlements beyond the Green Line are not illegal according to the Geneva Convention.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Fourth Geneva Convention, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) issued a commentary explaining the background of the Convention. Concerning the above Article 49(6), the ICRC noted:

This clause was adopted after some hesitation, by the XVIIth International Red Cross Conference. It is intended to prevent a practice adopted during the Second World War by certain Powers, which trans-

²⁹³ Decision of the Supreme Court sitting as the High Court of Justice, HCJ 9060/08, May 7, 2012 http://yesh-din.org/userfiles/file/Petitions/Jabel%20Artis/HCJ%209060-08%20ruling%20070512.pdf [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

²⁹⁴ International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (Fourth Geneva Convention), 12 August 1949, Article 49(6).



ferred portions of their own population to occupied territory for political and racial reasons or in order, as they claimed, to colonize those territories. Such transfers worsened the economic situation of the native population and endangered their separate existence as a race.

The paragraph provides protected persons with a valuable safeguard. It should be noted, however, that in this paragraph the meaning of the words "transfer" and "deport" is rather different from that in which they are used in the other paragraphs of Article 49, since they do not refer to the movement of protected persons but to that of nationals of the occupying Power.

It would therefore appear to have been more logical -- and this was pointed out at the Diplomatic Conference (14) -- to have made the clause in question into a separate provision distinct from Article 49, so that the concepts of "deportations" and "transfers" in that Article could have kept throughout the meaning given them in paragraph 1, i.e. the compulsory movement of protected persons from occupied territory.²⁹⁵

295 International Committee of the Red Cross, "Commentary – Art.49. Part III: Status and Treatment of Protected Persons #Section III: Occupied Territories," https://www.icrc.org/ihl/COM/380-600056

From this not-too-straightforward commentary, issued in 1958 (that is, well before the 1967 War), two points are essential. First, the point of reference of the authors of the Convention was Nazi Germany's practices, including the settlement of Germans in occupied Czechoslovakia and the deportation of Jews from Germany to concentration and death camps in Poland. To suggest that these actions bared any resemblance to Israeli settlement activity is incomprehensible. To suggest that the built-up areas of Israeli settlements in the West Bank that comprise collectively less than 2% of the territory "worsened the economic situation of the native population and endangered their separate existence as a race" is unfounded. Furthermore, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians work in Israeli enterprises in the West Bank, where they earn double what they would in the Palestinian economy.²⁹⁶

Second, the commentary acknowledges the ambiguity of the sub-article, but only insofar as it refers to the citizens of the occupying power, while all the previous sub-articles refer to the residents of the occupied territory. The commentary upholds the interpretation that both terms – "deportations" and "transfers" refer

[[]retrieved: September 5, 2014].

²⁹⁶ Khaled Abu Toameh, "Palestinians working in settlements earn double," *The Jerusalem Post*, April 22, 2011 http://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Palestinians-working-in-settlements-earn-double [accessed 23 December 2013].

to "compulsory movement". Empirically, the settlement of Israelis in the West Bank cannot be considered "compulsory", while actually the Government of Israel and the military authorities have on occasion compelled the restraint of settlement activity.

In sum, the Israeli position that the settlement activity in the West Bank is not illegal under International Law, and specifically under the Fourth Geneva Convention, has, at the very least, considerable merit. This position was apparently corroborated by the efforts of Arab countries to amend the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court so that "transferring, directly or indirectly, parts of the civil population into the occupied territory" would constitute a war crime, as International Lawyer Eugene Kontorovich reminded.²⁹⁷ In other words, the Arab countries sought to expand formally the existing legal formula, implicitly acknowledging that the Geneva Conventions did not prohibit settlement activity.²⁹⁸

The Future Status of the Territories after the Oslo Accords

The formal agreements concluded by Israel and the PLO following the Oslo Accords, and primarily the 1995 Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, established a unique regime of authority division between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. This agreement divided the Palestinian territories and the governing authorities between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. According to the agreement, Israel would retain zoning and planning authorities in Area "C", while the Palestinian Authority would assume these authorities in Areas "A" and "B". The settlements today cover approximately 1% of the West Bank, but under the Area C Israel controls 42% of it in accordance with NGO anti-Settlements B'tselem.299 Israel and the PLO also designated the issue of settlements as one of the core issues that the parties will negotiate in the final status negotiations.300 Should even one insist that the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem are occupied territories, there is no doubt that the Israeli-Palestinian agreements create a unique situation - one that the authors of the post-World War II Geneva Conventions could not have contemplated.

Thus, it would be plausible to contend that the current examination of the settlement issue in narrow legalistic terms is superficially detached from a rather dynamic reality. The blatant disregard to Israel's position and the assertion that Israel's stance on settlements is illegitimate is more a matter of political prejudice than law.

Consequently, the West wrongfully considers Israel's position as detrimental to its Western and democratic credentials. The concluding of the Oslo Accords and the subsequent agreements between Israel and the Palestinians, including the parties' joint agreement to negotiate the matter within the framework of the final status negotiations, has transformed the issue of Israeli settlements into a matter of politics and policy.

Eugene Rostow, one of the most highly regarded American diplomats and legal experts, elucidated this point some 30 years ago. As US Undersecretary of State in the Johnson Administration, Rostow played a key role in the formulation of UNSCR 242. Combined with his deanship of the Yale School of Law, Rostow held a unique point of vantage. In a short and succinct "Letter to the Editor" of the New York Times, Rostow established the legal case for Israeli settlements in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem. In his piece, Rostow noted that the West Bank was part of the British Mandate and the Mandate instruments permitted Jewish settlement in the West Bank. Contending that the provisions of the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention do not apply to the West Bank, he opined:

Israel has an unassailable legal right to establish settlements in the West Bank... Whether Israel's right to settle the West Bank should be exercised at a particular time is thus a matter of prudence, not of law.³⁰¹

An Assertion in Search of Evidence: Settlements Undermine Progress in Peace Talks

From a policy and political perspective, the basic question is – Does the continued Israeli settlement activity undermine the peace process? Israeli and international criticism of settlement activity focus on the assertion that expanding the settlement enterprise and establishing irreversible facts on the ground, steadily diminishes the feasibility of a viable Palestinian state and implementing the "two-state solution". Empirically, this criticism does not pan out.

The built-up areas of settlements in the West Bank and Jewish neighbourhoods in East Jerusalem do make up

²⁹⁷ Eugene Kontorovich, "Is the International Criminal Court biased against Israel?" The Washington Post, (January 5, 2015)

²⁹⁸ On this point, see Alan Baker, "The Settlements Issue: Distorting the Geneva Convention and the Oslo Accords," Jerusalem: Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, January 5, 2011 http://jcpa.org/article/the-settlements-issue-distorting-the-geneva-convention-and-the-oslo-accords/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

²⁹⁹ Group: Israel Controls 42% of West Bank" CBS News, (July 6, 2010) http://www.cbsnews.com/news/group-israel-controls-42-of-west-bank/

³⁰⁰ Ambassador Baker discusses this unique legal status – what he refers to as "a special independent regime – a *lex specialis*." Ibid.

³⁰¹ Eugene Rostow, "Israel's Settlement Right is 'Unassailable'," *New York Times*, September 19, 1983 http://www.nytimes.com/1983/09/19/opinion/l-israel-s-settlement-right-is-unassailable-170524.html [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

for less than 2% of those territories. Plus, nearly twothirds of the Israeli population growth in the West Bank is confined to three townships – two of which are adjacent to the 1967 line. Of the Israeli settler population, 80% live within several major blocks that are most likely to remain on the ground even after a final status agreement that will include land swaps. According to the peace process expert Shaul Aireli, the Israeli settlements "have not killed the two-state solution."³⁰²

Moreover, the recent history of Israeli peacemaking demonstrates that settlements have never impeded progress. Israel removed all its settlements and settlers from the Sinai Peninsula following the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. In 2005, Israel evicted some 9,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip implementing Prime Minister Sharon's Disengagement Plan. As a close advisor to Prime Minister Netanyahu pointed out:

...since Israel unilaterally withdrew 9,000 Israeli settlers from the Gaza Strip in 2005, the argument that a settler presence will undermine a future territorial compromise has lost much of its previous force.³⁰³

Onwards

The Settlements Issue and the Disputed Territories are a core issue in the peace process. As noted before, the final status and borders have to be set under a negotiation, according to the Oslo Accords. Israel has shown repeatedly that will be willing to dismantle settlements in pursuit of peace, as it accomplished in the Sinai (1982) and Gaza (2005) —with dramatic results in the latter case. Israeli governments have also transferred large areas to the Palestinian Authority and much security responsibility to Palestinian police.

Besides, the Israeli activity in the territories has been accountable by Israel Courts and other watchdogs, as should be in any other Western democracy. As a consequence, the Israeli Supreme Court has ordered to dismantle those outposts considered illegal, such as Migron in 2012.

302 For a detailed analysis, see Shaul Arieli, "Why Settlements Have not Killed the Two-State Solution," January 2013, BICOM http://static.bicom.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/121207-Arieli-Settlements-VIII.pdf [retrieved: September 5, 2014]. See also a media story on a report of "Peace Now" (an Israeli left-wing Zionist pro-peace advocacy group) on Israeli settlements and the "two-state solution" – Lara Friedman, "Two Blockbuster New Reports on Settlements," *The Daily Beast*, October 21, 2013 http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/10/21/two-blockbuster-new-reports-on-settlements.html [retrieved: September 5, 2014]

The Israeli activity in the territories has been accountable by Israel Courts and other watchdogs, as should be in any other Western democracy.

In last, the Settlements and the Israeli presence in the West Bank can distort the Israeli image in the world, but, in light of the facts, they are a matter democratically accountable and they should be resolved already if the Palestinians would have rejected to negotiate over the last decade.

Notwithstanding, the expansion of settlement activity does raise a question regarding the "true" intentions of Israel concerning the peace process with the Palestinians. If indeed, Prime Minister Netanyahu is honestly interested in reaching a final status agreement, why does Israel continue to expand settlements? Does this not prove that the Government of Israel prefers to sustain the status-quo and embed its presence in the territories?

To be clear, while extending Israel's sovereignty over the Jewish neighborhoods of East Jerusalem, enjoys broad domestic consensus, the question of expanding Israeli settlement activity in the West Bank is contested within the domestic political scene of Israel. Motivated by the cause of safeguarding Israeli presence across the entire ancestral Land of Israel, right wing Israelis, mostly national-religious Jewish groups, would indeed want to expand the settlement enterprise and create irreversible facts on the ground to undermine a possible Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank. The Israeli left wing and most supporters of the centrist parties do not necessarily consider Israel's attachment to the West Bank illegitimate, but in exchange for a final status peace agreement with the Palestinians, they would agree to withdraw from the vast majority of the West Bank. From their perspective, the pro-settlement advocates are a small interest group that not only frustrates the prospects for reaching peace and for creating growing international condemnation (even if unwarranted), but has also been able to secure disproportionate government funding compared to other sectors in the Israeli society.

Most Israeli centrist and left wing supporters do acknowledge that Israel is not the sole "culprit" for the lack of progress in the peace process. Many would assert that they do believe that President Abbas is unwilling or inca-

³⁰³ Dore Gold, "U.S. Policy on Israeli Settlements," *Jerusalem Issue Brief*s (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs), Vol. 9, No. 2, June 9, 2009 http://jcpa.org/article/u-s-policy-on-israeli-settlements/ [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

pable to reach an historical agreement with Israel. Nevertheless, they find no justification in the occasional media announcements of zoning and planning procedures of settlement activity that harm Israel's broader foreign policy and national security interests. In other words, many centrist and left wing voters would contend that the costs inflicted on Israel's broader national interests outweigh the cause of the settlers' movement. Most of them, however, would also admit that the issue of settlements was never a pre-condition for negotiations and its amplification – mainly by the US and Europe – has been counterproductive.³⁰⁴

The American position – under President Obama – has played a critical role in elevating the issue of settlements, starting with President Obama's 2009 Cairo speech. His envoy, Senator Mitchell pressured Israel to apply a nine-month settlement freeze to restart negotiations. Thus, in November 2009, Netanyahu's government was the first Israeli government ever to impose a moratorium on settlement activity in the West Bank and it implicitly extended a partial freeze on East Jerusalem. Despite this confidence building measure, the Palestinians refused to return to the negotiating table until the very last month of the nine-month freeze. Netanyahu obliged to extend the moratorium for another month, but the negotiations did not produce any substantial outcome.

Curiously, Palestinian President Abbas was particularly critical of President Obama for raising the settlement issue. In a widely known interview to *Newsweek* in 2011, the reporter documented Abbas's story:

he [Abbas] told me bluntly that Obama had led him on, and then let him down by failing to keep pressure on Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu for a moratorium on settlement building in the West Bank last year. "It was Obama who suggested a full settlement freeze," Abbas explained. "I said OK, I accept. We both went up the tree. After that, he came down with a ladder and he removed the ladder and said to me, jump. Three times he did it."³⁰⁵

Since the 2009/10 ten-month moratorium on settlement construction failed to produce progress, the government has been reluctant on repeating the experience for two related reasons. First, Israeli officials point out, not without merit, that Israeli settlement activity has a

rather counter-intuitive effect - freezing settlement activity does not yield progress, whereas the parties have achieved progress while settlement activity pursued. Said otherwise, the position that continued settlement activity is the main obstacle undermining the trust in negotiations is an assertion in search of supporting evidence. Secondly, if the moratorium would have created an opportunity for progress, it might indeed be reasonable for Prime Minister Netanyahu to assume the domestic-political costs of a settlement moratorium. However, if a settlement freeze positions Netanyahu on a collision course with his domestic political base (the right wing voters) and it still does not result in progress - why should he go ahead with it? Simply, Netanyahu's political costs of settlement freeze (and for that matter the political costs of any Israeli prime minster) outweigh by far the negligible benefits to the peace process from freezing settlement activity.

The domestic internal debate in Israel concerning the settlements underscores several points. First, the debate among the mainstream political factions is vibrant and the various factions field serious arguments with considerable merit. Secondly, it appears that there is a broad agreement that although settlement activity in the West Bank and routine building and construction in the Jewish neighborhoods of Eastern Jerusalem is exploited as an excuse not to negotiate in good faith, there is a growing appreciation in the Israeli government that their cost are increasingly detrimental to Israel's national interests. Nonetheless, the realization of this cost has also served to enhance Israeli wariness concerning what it considers Western bias and prejudice to Israel's positions.

One of the most recent and ongoing examples of European bias towards Israel has been in the application of the 2013 guidelines. Issued in July 2013, the guidelines plainly state that EU cooperation with Israel, which may also take the form of grants or prizes, must not geographically extend beyond the 1967 line. Their purpose, according to the guidelines document, is to ensure respect for EU positions including "the non-recognition by the EU of Israel's sovereignty over the territories occupied by Israel since June 1967."³⁰⁶

Although Israel never asserted its sovereignty over these territories, the EU is entitled to insist on how its resources are used and where they are invested. Granted, the EU may want to make sure that EU economic cooperation

³⁰⁴ For a good example of this line of argumentation, see David Horovitz, "It's the Settlements, Stupid!" *Times of Israel*, October 14, 2014 http://www.timesofisrael.com/its-the-settlements-stupid/ [retrieved: October 16, 2014]

³⁰⁵ Newsweek, "Palestinian Leader Mahmoud Abbas's Frustration with Obama," April 24, 2011 http://www.newsweek.com/palestinian-leader-mahmoud-abbass-frustration-obama-66509 [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

^{306 &}quot;Guidelines on the eligibility of Israeli entities and their activities in the territories occupied by Israel since June 1967 for grants, prizes and financial instruments funded by the EU from 2014 onwards," (2013/C 205/05) Official Journal of the European Union, C205/9, July 19, 2013 http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/israel/documents/related-links/20130719_guidelines_on_eligibility_of_israeli_entities_en.pdf [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

with partners abroad is not mired in contentious territorial disputes. However, the question then arises if these new restrictions in the case of Israel represent a broader policy that the EU is universally applying with respect to other cases of territorial disputes involving EU's partners and neighbors. A close review of several cases, some of which are on Europe's doorstep, such as the fishery agreement with Morocco over Sahara waters and funds to the Turkish community in Northern Cyprus, suggest that the EU guidelines constitute a discriminatory policy directed exclusively against Israel.

This sense of Israeli wariness vis-à-vis the West is reinforced by the international community's criticism of Israel's counter-terrorism security measures and military operations in the Palestinian territories.

Israel's Security Measures and Use of Force: Do they set Israel Apart from the West?

There is a broad international understanding that Israel faces *sui generis* circumstances in addressing terrorist threats emanating primarily from the West Bank and Gaza. The waves of Palestinian terrorism waged against Israeli citizens has drawn international condemnation coupled with a recognition of Israel's inherent right to self-defense and its duty to protect its citizenry.

Notwithstanding, Israel's security measures and use of force have frequently drawn the ire of the international community. This criticism however, has most often reflected double standards discriminating Israel compared to other Western nations. In the Palestinian arena, the criticism and actions against Israel centered on three mains issues – the security barrier along the West Bank, the blockade on Gaza, and Israeli counter-terrorism military operations.

The security barrier along the West Bank and crossing parts of East Jerusalem has drawn international condemnation leading to an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. The court opined that the barrier was constructed in contravention of International Law on two grounds. First, being constructed east of the 1967 line and also affording security to the Israeli settlers in the West Bank, the barrier was illegal. Secondly, the court questioned the grounds for Israel's right of self-defense from terrorist operations emanating from within territories it allegedly occupied.³⁰⁷ The second assertion that was even a far cry from most international criticisms of Israeli actions that recognized Israel's right to fight terrorist attacks. This extremist position rendered the advisory opinion rather questionable.

The criticism of the security barrier often overlooked several key aspects. First and foremost, the end result of the barrier was the near elimination of suicide terrorism against Israel from West Bank terrorists. Second, while demarcation of the barrier caused not insignificant hardship to several local Palestinian communities, Palestinian residents petitioned the Israeli Supreme Court against the route of the barrier and in several cases, the Court ordered to re-route the barrier. Thirdly, several pro-Palestinian advocates contended that Israel should have set up the barrier only along the 1967 line. This position however, was inacceptable, as it would have constituted unwarranted Israeli acceptance of the 1967 line as binding – in clear contravention to the intentions of the authors of the often-cited UN Security Council resolution 242.

Several international legal experts have referred to the blockade on Gaza as unlawful as it constitutes collective punishment against the Gaza civilian population. Curiously, however, these experts fail to note that the blockade is not only imposed by Israel, but also by Egypt, the southern neighboring country of the Gaza Strip. Furthermore, the UN Palmer Panel of Inquiry into the incident of the 2010 Mavi Marmara flotilla raid concluded that the naval blockade on Gaza is legal.³⁰⁸

Over the years, the Quartet Representative Tony Blair has criticized the Israeli blockade policy, but in a speech in Israel in August 2010, he has also stated that the policy is legitimate:

One thing I state repeatedly in interviews about Gaza – despite disagreeing with the previous policy on it – is to say to western media outlets: just at least comprehend why Israel feels as it does. In 2005 it got out of Gaza i.e. ceased occupying it, took over 7000 settlers with it and in return got rockets and terror attacks. Now I know all the counter-arguments about the unilateral nature of the withdrawal, the 2005 Access and Movement agreement and the closure of the crossings. But the fact remains: there is another point of view and you can't describe it as illegitimate.³⁰⁹

In that speech, Blair took an explicit stance against the too prevalent double standards applied against Israel about fighting terrorism:

A constant conversation I have with some, by no means all, of my European colleagues is to argue to

³⁰⁷ International Court of Justice, "Legal Consequences of the Construction of a Wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory," Advisory Opinion, I. C. J. Reports 2004 http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/131/1671.pdf [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

³⁰⁸ Geoffrey Palmer at al., "Report of the Secretary-General's Panel of Inquiry on the 31 May 2010 Flotilla Incident," September 2, 2011 http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/middle_east/Gaza_Flotilla_Panel_Report.pdf [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

³⁰⁹ Speech by the Quartet Representative Tony Blair, IDC Herzliya, August 24, 2010 http://www.tonyblairoffice.org/news/entry/tonyblair-welcomes-re-start-of-direct-peace-talks-during-herzliya-speech/[retrieved: September 17, 2013].

them: don't apply rules to the Government of Israel that you would never dream of applying to your own country. In any of our nations, if there were people firing rockets, committing acts of terrorism and living next door to us, our public opinion would go crazy. And any political leader who took the line that we shouldn't get too excited about it, wouldn't last long as a political leader. This is a democracy. Israel lost 1000 citizens to terrorism in the intifada. That equates in UK population terms to 10,000. I remember the bomb attacks from Republican terrorism in the 1970's. There weren't many arguing for a policy of phlegmatic calm.³¹⁰

The most revealing case of double standards has been the EU official stance on targeted killing of terrorists. According to international reports, Israel was the first nation to use drones or UAVs to kill terrorist suspects. The EU condemned this practice labeling it "extra-judicial killing." In a 2004 statement, the European Foreign Affairs Council condemned the killing of Hamas leader and noted:

The EU recognises Israel's right to protect its citizens against terrorist attacks. Israel is entitled to do this under international law. Israel is not, however, entitled to carry out extra-judicial killings.³¹¹

Oddly, and in contrast, the EU has kept silent on the growing and frequent American recourse to targeted killing of terrorists in what has become known as drone war. To date, the EU has not issued any condemnation of US "extra-judicial killings".³¹² In that sense, one cannot think of a better example of the application of European "double standards" towards Israel.

Moreover, Israel was the first nation in the world to set judicial parameters in conducting targeted killing of terrorists. In a 2005 ruling, Israel's Supreme Court set out the principles:

The examination of the "targeted killing" – and in our terms, the preventative strike causing the deaths of terrorists, and at times also of innocent civilians – has shown that the question of the legality of the preventative strike according to customary international law is complex... The result of that examination is not that such strikes are always permissible or that they are always forbidden. The approach of customary international law applying to armed

conflicts of an international nature is that civilians are protected from attacks by the army. However, that protection does not exist regarding those civilians "for such time as they take a direct part in hostilities" (§51(3) of The First Protocol). Harming such civilians, even if the result is death, is permitted, on the condition that there is no other less harmful means, and on the condition that innocent civilians nearby are not harmed. Harm to the latter must be proportionate. That proportionality is determined according to a values based test, intended to balance between the military advantage and the civilian damage. As we have seen, we cannot determine that a preventative strike is always legal, just as we cannot determine that it is always illegal. All depends upon the question whether the standards of customary international law regarding international armed conflict allow that preventative strike or not.313

It would take another seven years for the US to publish guidelines for conducting targeted killings. However, the Administration placed these principles on hold in the current ongoing campaign against ISIS.

The American military and intelligence establishment emulated the Israeli practice of employing UAVs for preventive strikes against terrorists. The US followed with much interest the Israeli legal debate on this matter.³¹⁴ Yet the Obama Adminsitration took the tool of "targeted killings" of terrorists to new levels in terms of scope and intensity, building a huge military infrastructure with clandestine bases in at least six foreign countries.³¹⁵

Only in May 2013, President Obama publicly outlined the parameters for the use of drone attacks stipulating that the US will use drone attacks only in cases of "nearcertainty that no civilians will be killed or injured — the highest standard we can set."³¹⁶ Clearly, President Obama set a far higher standard for drone attacks. Nonetheless, the Administration soon came to understand that this standard is not always applicable.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

^{311 2572}nd Council meeting - External Relations - Brussels, 22 March 2004, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_PRES-04-80_en.htm [accessed: September 5, 2014].

³¹² Anthony Dworkin, "Drones and Targeted Killing: Defining a European Position." Policy Brief No.84, European Council on Foreign Policy

Public Committee against Torture in Israel vs. Government of Israel and Others, HCJ 769/02, December 11, 2005 http://elyon1.court.gov.il/Files_ENG/02/690/007/a34/02007690.a34.htm [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

³¹⁴ Scott Wilson, "Israeli High Court Backs Military On Its Policy of 'Targeted Killings'," Washington Post, December 15, 2006 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/14/AR2006121400430.html [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

³¹⁵ Greg Miller, "Under Obama, an emerging global apparatus for drone killing," Washington Post, December 27, 2011 http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/national-security/under-obama-an-emerging-global-apparatus-for-drone-killing/2011/12/13/gIQANPdILP_story. html [retrieved: September 5, 2014].

³¹⁶ Office of the Press Secretary, The White House, "Remarks by the President at the National Defense University," National Defense University, Fort McNair, Washington, D.C., May 23, 2013 http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university [retrieved: October 11, 2014].

Responding to media queries concerning civilian casualties in American airstrikes in Syria against ISIS, National Security Council spokesperson, Caitlin Hayden stated in an email to Yahoo News that the standard of "nearcertainty" applied "only when we take direct action 'outside areas of active hostilities'." Hayden further added: "That description – outside areas of active hostilities – simply does not fit what we are seeing on the ground in Iraq and Syria right now."³¹⁷

In other terms, the US recognized that in the course of "active hostilities" the rules of military engagement could not be as strict, simply because it was impossible to determine in "near certainty" possible unintended civilian casualties. This also revealed that the use of airstrikes against terrorist targets is not an ideal tool. However, in contemporary asymmetric warfare against terrorists deeply embedded among civilians used as "human shields", airstrikes are often the only viable tool. In many cases, deploying ground forces amounts to placing one's own soldiers in a disadvantageous operational position and placing them in unnecessary risk.

The Western nation's reluctance to place "boots on the ground" in the military campaign against ISIS is thus similar to the Israeli reluctance to deploy ground forces in the two recent Israeli military operations against Hamas in the Gaza Strip - the 2012 Operation Pillar of Defense and the 2014 Operation Protective Edge. In the 2012 operation, Israel did not deploy ground forces into Gaza at all. In the 2014 operation, the government reluctantly ordered to deploy ground forces only after the Hamas repeatedly rejected ceasefire proposals and Hamas used its extensive offensive tunnel network to infiltrate the Israeli border to attack military posts and civilians. Even then, however, the deployment of Israeli ground forces was limited to a 2km strip adjacent to the border with Israel for the sole purpose of detecting and destroying the offensive terror tunnels.

During and following the most recent operation in Gaza, Operation Protective Edge in the summer of 2014, Israel was subject to widespread international condemnations for its military operations that resulted in considerable civilian Palestinian casualties. From the outset of the operation, and reflecting the learned lessons from previous operations, the IDF Military Advocate General's Corps (MAG) deployed legal teams to advise and monitor ground and aerial operations. MAG also established a "Fact-Finding Assessment Mechanism" to investigate specific incidents, some of which have resulted in opening full criminal investigations still pending.³¹⁸

Recently, and in commenting on IDF's ethical conduct in the Operation Protective Edge, US Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Martin Dempsey disclosed that the US military sent a "lessons-learned team" to Israel to learn first-hand the lessons of IDF's operation, including measures to prevent civilian casualties. General Dempsey unequivocally defended IDF's ethical conduct and noted:

I actually do think that Israel went to extraordinary lengths to limit collateral damage, ensuing casualties. ... Hamas had become very nearly a subterranean society. That caused the IDF some significant challenges. But they did some extraordinary things to try to limit civilian casualties, to include making it known that they were going to destroy a particular structure. They even developed some techniques to—they called it roof-knocking, to have something knock on the roof. They would display leaflets to warn the citizens and population to move away from where these tunnels were.

Look, in this kind of conflict, where you are held to a standard that your enemy is not held to, you're going to be criticized for civilian casualties. ... The IDF is not interested in creating civilian casualties. They are interested in stopping the shooting of rockets and missiles out of the Gaza Strip and into Israel. It's an incredibly difficult environment. But I can say you to with confidence that I think they acted responsibility—although I think Human Rights Watch just published a report that there were civilian casualties. And that's tragic, but I think the IDF did what they could.³¹⁹

One may even contend that the standards of IDF's military-legal procedures during and following military operations were considerably higher than the standards applied in practice by NATO forces in Afghanistan. In September 2009, a German commander ordered an airstrike against two oil tankers hijacked by the Taliban in Kunduz Province (North Afghanistan). Although it remains unclear what imminent danger the hijacked tankers posed, the airstrike resulted in over 100 civilians killed. Beyond the huge collateral damage of the airstrike, the German military reclined from investigating the incident for months.³²⁰

³¹⁷ John Hudson, "The Activists Assad Hates Most Are Now Obama's Problem," *The Cable – Foreign Policy*, October 10, 2004 http://thecable.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2014/10/10/the_activists_assad_hates_most_are_now_obama_s_problem [retrieved: October 11, 2014).

³¹⁸ IDF Military Advocate General's Corps, "Operation Protective

Edge: Update re Individual Incidents," September 10, 2014 http://www.mag.idf.il/163-6859-en/Patzar.aspx [retrieved: September 18, 2014].

³¹⁹ Martin E. Dempsey et al. "A Conversation with General Martin Dempsey, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff," Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, November 6, 2014 http://www.carnegiecouncil.org/studio/multimedia/20141106/index.html#section-31079 [retrieved: November 8, 2014].

³²⁰ Matthias Gebauer, "Aftermath of an Afghanistan Tragedy: Germany to Pay \$500,000 for Civilian Bombing Victims," Spiegel Online International, August 6, 2010 http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/aftermath-of-an-afghanistan-tragedy-germany-to-pay-

SETTLEMENTS



Jews were totally prohibited from East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza from 1949 to 1967.

The armistice line (the Green Line) was drafted by Israel and Jordan without intervention of Palestinians, and it is not internationally recognized.

In accordance with Professor Julius Stone and the former President of the International Court of Justice Stephen M. Schwebel, most of the Jewish settlements beyond the Green Line are not illegal according to the Geneva Convention.

The built-up areas of settlements in the West Bank and Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem do make up for less than 3% of those territories.

Nearly two-thirds of the Israeli population growth in the West Bank is confined to three townships – two of which are adjacent to the 1967 line. Of the Israeli settler population, 80% live within several major blocks that are most likely to remain on the ground even after a final status agreement that will include land swaps.

Israel removed all its settlements and settlers from the Sinai Peninsula following the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. In 2005, Israel evicted some 9,000 settlers from the Gaza Strip implementing Prime Minister Sharon's Disengagement Plan.

The settlements today cover approximately 2% of the West Bank.

Despite Israeli activity (military and civil administration) in the West Bank is seen as a condition of the democratic standards, it is truly accountable by Courts and watchdogs.

The Jewish Settlements and the military administration will be resolved in bilateral negotiations with the Palestinians, according to the Oslo Accords

Furthermore, one can only be taken aback comparing the international condemnations of Israeli military operations compared to the rather muted criticism of the 2009 Kunduz airstrike. Perhaps the most "damning" criticism was offered by French foreign minister. Bernard Kouchner contended that the airstrike "was a big mistake."³²¹ Unlike Israeli commanders, no one threatened to take the German commander who ordered the airstrike in Kunduz, Oberst (Colonel) Georg Klein, to face war crime charges even though the military investigation of the incident left much to be desired for.

There is no doubt that the war on terrorism waged against Israel and the other Western democratic nations poses not only an imminent and most serious threat to the well-being of their citizens, but also creates painful dilemmas in conducting self-defense measures. In facing these dilemmas and in negating and countering the threat of terror, Israel and the West are not set apart. This predicament – of Israel and the West – was well captured by the President Emeritus of the Israeli Supreme Court, Aharon Barak, in a famous ruling against the use of physical measures in interrogating cases of "ticking bombs":³²²

We are aware that this judgment of ours does not make confronting that reality any easier. That is the fate of democracy, in whose eyes not all means are permitted, and to whom not all the methods used by her enemies are open. At times democracy fights with one hand tied behind her back. Despite that, democracy has the upper hand, since preserving the rule of law and recognition of individual liberties constitute an important component of her security stance. At the end of the day, they strengthen her and her spirit, and allow her to overcome her difficulties.³²³

In that respect, the observation of the U.S. Supreme Court Justice, the Late William J. Brennan on Israel's experience in balancing civil liberties and national security was particularly straightforward. Addressing an academic audience at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Justice Brennan, who was widely considered the leader of the Supreme Court's liberal wing, contended that the United States –

In the Middle East, Israel is not the only country threatened by Iran.

has a long history of failing to preserve civil liberties when it perceived its national security threatened. ... It may well be Israel, not the United States, that provides the best hope for building a jurisprudence that can protect civil liberties against the demands of national security. For it is Israel that has been facing real and serious threats to its security for the last 40 years and seems destined to continue facing such threats in the foreseeable future. ... The nations of the world, faced with sudden threats to their own security, will look to Israel's experience in handling its continuing security crisis, and may well find in that experience the expertise to reject the security claims that Israel has exposed as baseless and the courage to preserve the civil liberties that Israel has preserved without detriment to its security...324

Indeed, sustaining a vibrant democracy and a free society in such an unfavorable environment would become one of Israel's greatest achievements.

IRAN'S EXISTENTIAL THREAT

Negotiations of various world powers, led by the US, and Iran have been going on since 2003 when after the invasion of Iraq, when Iran seemed to want to stop its nuclear program. However, the progress of Iran towards acquiring the atomic bomb has never been stopped except perhaps for the time some serious economic sanctions were in place, roughly between 2010 and 2012. U.S. President Barack Obama alerted world leaders in the September 2012 U.N. General Assembly and asserted that Iran has repeatedly failed to demonstrate that its nuclear program is peaceful and has failed to meet its obligations to the United Nations —indeed Iran violated of the Security Council Resolution that mandates to end enriching uranium. Despite that, the attitude during the negotiations has been focused on yielding Iran demands.

By November 2013, when Iran reached a so-called interim accord with the P5+1 (US, UK, France, Russia, China and Germany) to limit its nuclear program in exchange

⁵⁰⁰⁻⁰⁰⁰⁻for-civilian-bombing-victims-a-710439.html [retrieved: September 18, 2014].

³²¹ On European responses to the Kunduz airstrike, see "EU nations slam NATO strike in Afghanistan," *EUbusiness*, September 5, 2009, http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/afghanistan-unrest.ca [retrieved: September 18, 2014].

^{322 &}quot;Ticking bombs" refers to individuals suspected to hold critical and time-essential information concerning an imminent terrorist attack.

³²³ The Public Committee against Torture in Israel v. Israel, HCJ 5100/94, September 6, 1999 http://elyon1.court.gov.il/files_eng/94/000/051/a09/94051000.ao9.pdf [retrieved: September 6, 2014].

³²⁴ Associated Press, "Brennan Praises Israel's Protection of Civil Liberties," December 22, 1987 http://www.apnewsarchive.com/1987/Brennan-Praises-Israel-s-Protection-Of-Civil-Liberties/id-8fcbe-8ab5d1f07121fc5dec8ad1032be [retrieved: November 2, 2014].

for the relaxation of tough sanctions, the Islamic Republic had deployed nearly 20,000 centrifuges —it has about 100 old centrifuges at the beginning of the negotiations.

Finally, after 21 months of intense negotiations, the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPA) was signed in Vienna by Iran and the P5+1 on July 14th. The JCPA is not a good deal, nor for Israel, nor for the West. In the foreign-policy analyst Max Boot words, this agreement is an absolute capitulation to Iran: the P5+1 started negotiations with the goal of ending Iran's nuclear program, and ultimately legitimizes the status of aspiring nuclear power. It is impossible to not remind the North Korea agreement in 1994, praised unanimously worldwide that finally resulted failed.

Besides of the flaws in the inspections system, the unclear possibility to re-impose the sanctions in case of breach—the snap-back sanctions have loopholes—, and the permission granted to Iran to keep enriching uranium without limitations on weaponization and nuclear R&D, the JCPA also enables Iran to become a major destabilizing power in the Middle East, which will threat mainly the Sunni states and, above all, Israel. Although Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu has warned tirelessly about Iranian nuclear ambitions as an existential threat for Israel, the Gulf States in the Middle East and the Western world are also under the menace of an atomic bomb as well.

Over the negotiations, Iran's intentions of destroying Israel—claimed through the statements of the leaders and their constant illicit activity to develop its nuclear and ballistic missiles programs—have remained intact; and the concessions made by Iran, insufficient though, respond only to the desire to lift the sanctions.

In this regard, the deal not only paves the way to get a nuclear bomb —President Obama recognized that breakout time will drop to zero— it also reopen the Iranian economy to the world: terminating the sanctions will bring new incomes and revenues (estimated to \$ 100 billion) which allows Iran to increase the promotion of terrorism around the world and its involvement in the conflicts of the region. Under the tough economic sanctions, Iran achieved to influence and to control four Arab capitals (Bagdad, Sana'a, Damascus and Beirut); therefore, what the ayatollah's regime can reach with a stronger economy is more alarming.

The P5+1 approach, guided by the US, is aimed to balance the Middle East turmoil by enhancing Iran's position. Nonetheless, the ongoing civil war in Syria and the struggle against the Islamic State cannot be trusted to Iran and its proxy. Plus, Sunni and Gulf States, such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia, classic Western allies, will prob-



ably accelerate their nuclear programs, fearing to be put down by the Iran's power.

Thus, the JCPA leaves a more unpredictable Middle East in a mid-term, a sole Israel facing an existential threat, and at the end of the day, leaves a world more insecure.

In the Middle East, Israel is not the only country threatened by Iran. As the entire world could find out via the diplomatic cables leaked in 2011, Gulf states like Saudi Arabia and Bahrain encouraged the U.S. to attack Iranian nuclear facilities.

Israel, at this point, has been a retaining wall and has prevented several times nuclear proliferation in the region. In 1981, for instance, Israel prevented Iraq from developing nuclear capabilities by bombing the Osiraq nuclear facility in Iraq. The then U.S. government was opposed to such an operation, but 10 years later Washington was grateful when its vital interest in keeping oil flowing through the Gulf led it to declare war on Iraq over the latter's invasion of Kuwait. As Purdue University Professor Louis Rene Beres and Colonel (res.) Chatto Tsidon wrote in 1995, "Israel's citizens, together with Jews and Arabs, American, and other coalition soldiers who fought in the Gulf War may owe their lives to Israel's courage, skill, and foresight in June 1981. Had it not been for the brilliant raid at Osiraq, Saddam's forces might have been equipped with atomic warheads in 1991. Ironically, the Saudis, too, are in Jerusalem's debt. Had it not been for Prime Minister Begin's resolve to protect the Israeli people in 1981, Iraq's SCUDs falling on Saudi Arabia might have spawned enormous casualties and lethal irradiation."325

³²⁵ Louis Rene Beres and Tsiddon-Chatto, Col. (res.) Yoash, "Reconsidering Israel's Destruction of Iraq's Osiraq Nuclear Reactor," Temple International and Comparative Law Journal 9(2), 1995.

In 2007, the Israeli Air Force bombed Syria's secret nuclear facility at al-Kibar, and avoided Bashar al Assad's regime from developing nuclear capability. Then the U.S. government did not know that the Syrian nuclear facility existed —and less that it was built thanks to North Korean technology and resources. As the *New York Times* reported; "Until Meir Dagan, then the head of the Mossad (Israel's intelligence service) visited President George W. Bush's national security adviser and dropped photographs of the reactor on his coffee table."³²⁶ After this meeting, U.S. intelligence conducted its own investigation and confirmed these facts. ³²⁷

In June 2010, came to light the hitherto most successful attempt to curb Iran's nuclear ambitions: Stuxnet. It is a computer worm designed for spying: it subverts industrial systems, and it was the first to include a programmable logic controller kit in order to target Siemens industrial control systems technology – the same one used in the Iranian nuclear facilities. The worm spread to several countries like Pakistan, India, Indonesia, or Azerbaijan. In August 2010, cybersecurity firm Symantec said that 60% of the infected computers worldwide were in Iran.³²⁸

Stuxnet delayed and damaged seriously the Iranian nuclear program in 2010. As deputy director at the IAEA until August 2010, Olli Heinonen, "the virus might be responsible for delays in Iran's nuclear program."³²⁹

In September 2010, regarding the damage caused in the Iranian nuclear facilities, experts on Iran and computer security specialists were increasingly convinced that Stuxnet was meant "to sabotage the uranium enrichment facility at Natanz – where the centrifuge operational capacity has dropped over the past year by 30 percent.» according to *Haaretz*.

In November 2010, the Federation of American Scientists published revealing statistics on the matter. Accordingly, the number of enrichment centrifuges operational in Iran mysteriously declined from about 4,700 to about 3,900. In December 2010, the Institute for Science and International Security published a report pointing out that Stuxnet is "a reasonable explanation for the apparent damage" at Natanz and could have destroyed up to 1,000 centrifuges (10 percent of the total) sometime between November 2009 and late January 2010.

However, in February 2011 *The Washington Post* revealed that the nuclear facility in Natanz was recovering quickly³³⁰. Nonetheless, the IAEA cameras installed in the Natanz facility recorded the sudden dismantling and removal of approximately 900–1,000 centrifuges during the time the Stuxnet worm was reportedly active at the plant.

In the Stuxnet aftermath, newspapers and researchers from around the world tried to find the designer of the worm. The *New York Times* reported that Stuxnet was developed under a joint U.S. and Israel intelligence cooperation venture called *Operation Olympic Games*, accepted by former president George W. Bush and continued by current president Barack Obama.³³¹

In July 2013, Edward Snowden, computer specialist charged by U.S. federal prosecutors with espionage and theft of government property confirmed that Stuxnet was cooperatively developed by the United States and Israel.³³²

These are some examples of Israel's commitment and efforts against the nuclear proliferation in the Middle East. As we have seen, Israel has prevented the nuclear acquisition by evil totalitarian regimes and is still trying to curtail the nuclear ambitions of Iran.

³²⁶ Mark Landler and Choe Sang-Hun, "In Kim's Undetected Death, Sign of Nation's Opacity", *The New York Times*. (December 19, 2011).
327 "US memo: Israel bombed Syrian reactor", *Yediot Abaronot*. (De-

[&]quot;US memo: Israel bombed Syrian reactor", Yediot Aharonot. (December 24, 2010).

^{328 &}quot;UPDATE 2-Cyber attack appears to target Iran-tech firms", Reuters. (September 24, 2010). http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/09/24/security-cyber-iran-idUSLDE68N1OI20100924

^{329 &}quot;Stuxnet 'hit' Iran nuclear plans", BBC. (November 22, 2010). http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-11809827

^{330 &}quot;Iran's Natanz nuclear facility recovered quickly from Stuxnet cyberattack", *The Washington Post.* (February 16, 2011).

³³¹ David E. Sanger "Obama Order Sped Up Wave of Cyberattacks Against Iran", *The New York Times*, (June 1, 2012)

³³² Iain Thomson "Snowden: US and Israel Did Create Stuxnet Attack Code", *The Register*, (July 8, 2013)



THE ANTI-ISRAEL SENTIMENT AND WHAT'S AT STAKE FOR THE WEST

This document makes a two-fold case. First, Israel is part of the West – that is, of the community of Western liberal democracies. As the offspring of the Zionist movement that originated in 19th Century Europe so that the Jews could be like any other nation, the story of Israel tells the tale of the birth and growth of the most recent country of the West and of its most ancient people.

The recognition of Israel as the ancestral homeland and nation-state of the Jewish People rests upon solid foundations of international law. Israel is of course no "perfect" liberal democracy, which means it is *perfectly* comparable to the vast majority of nations known as the Western liberal democracies. By its very nature the advancement of the West is a work in progress and in Israel just like in its fellow Western nations, the embedding of liberal democratic principles evolves freely but constantly facing various internal and external tensions of both modernity and backwardness. The struggle to ingrain its liberal and democratic credentials only serves to underscore Israel's rightful belonging to the Western world, its natural habitat.

Arguably, and compared to all other Western nations, Israel faces the most inhospitable geopolitical environment, thus making this work in progress even more admirable. Furthermore, Israel's policies and conduct in the Middle East and with its immediate neighbors, the Palestinians, do not undercut its Western credentials. Undeniably, Israel's perception and understanding of its rule and administration of the West Bank sharply differs with that of most, if not all, Western nations. However, as we show Israel's interpretation of its legal standing in the West Bank is not unmerited and it has a legitimate take on the protraction of the conflict. This piece also casts considerable doubts on widely held assumptions in the West concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by arguing the case that the core problem of the conflict is not the realization of the Palestinian right to self-determination, but rather the recognition of the Jewish People's right to nationhood in their ancestral homeland. We also hope we demonstrated that Israel's military track record in handling unparalleled security threats is at the very least not inferior to the military conduct of Western nations.

Second, not only is it a rightful Western nation, over nearly seven decades since its establishment, Israel has been an asset and a net-contributor to the welfare, prosperity, and security of its Western peers. Israel has labored to share its remarkable achievements in all walks of life not only to its Western peers, but also to the developing world. While this contribution is unquantifi-

able, there should be no doubt that Israel has punched way above its weight as an asset of its fellow Western nations.

Nonetheless, over the past decade Israel faces a global campaign assaulting its right to exist as a Jewish nation-state, seeking to undermine its duty and right to exercise self-defense, and aiming to inflict economic and financial damages on Israeli business interests. This campaign encapsulates outright anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic discourse founded in a blatant denial of the Jewish People's right to self-determination.

Regrettably, Western mainstream media and political establishments have not been immune to this virulent campaign. In so doing, they have assumed what Britain's former prime minister, Tony Blair characterizes as a "more insidious" form of delegitimizing Israel:

There are two forms of de-legitimisation. One is traditional, obvious and from the quarters it emanates, expected. This is attack from those who openly question Israel's right to exist. It is easier to deal with, because it is so clear...

The other form is more insidious, harder to spot, harder to anticipate and harder to deal with, because many of those engaging in it, will fiercely deny they are doing so. It is this form that is in danger of growing, and whose impact is potentially highly threatening, in part because it isn't obvious.

I would define in it this way: it is a conscious or often unconscious resistance, sometimes bordering on refusal, to accept Israel has a legitimate point of view. ... an unwillingness to listen to the other side, to acknowledge that Israel has a point, to embrace the notion that this is a complex matter that requires understanding of the other way of looking at it.

The challenge is that this often does not come from ill-intentioned people; but well-intentioned. They would dispute vigorously such a characterisation of their mindset. They would point to the injustice of Palestinian suffering, acts of the Israeli Government or army which are unjustifiable and they would say, rightly, that you cannot say that to criticise Israel is to de-legitimise it. Such minds are often to be found in the west. They will say they advocate a two state solution and they will point to that as proof positive that they accept Israel's existence fully.

The problem is that though this is true in theory, in practice they wear Nelson's eye patch when they lift the telescope of scrutiny to the Israeli case. In a very real sense, they don't see it.

A constant conversation I have with some, by no means all, of my European colleagues is to argue to them: don't apply rules to the Government of Israel that you would never dream of applying to your own country...

So the issue of de-legitimisation is not simply about an overt denial of the State of Israel. It is the application of prejudice in not allowing that Israel has a point of view that should be listened to...³³³

The unfair and prejudicial scrutiny on the world stage has harmed the international perception of Israel, particularly in the Western world. The BBC World Service's international country ratings survey repeatedly ranks Israel the fourth most negatively perceived nation, with only Iran, Pakistan, and North Korea more negatively viewed. The most disconcerting finding of this annual survey is that the publics of most of the Western nations polled in the survey hold overwhelmingly negative attitudes towards Israel, including Germany, Canada, Australia, France, UK, and Spain. Actually, Pakistani public opinion is less negative of Israel than in the UK, Germany, France, and Australia.³³⁴

Indeed, the negative international public opinion of Israel harms Israel's interests and weighs down on Israel's relentless pursuit of peace, security, prosperity and innovation. Notwithstanding, the short history of Israel, as demonstrated also herein, strongly suggests that this challenge will only bolster Israeli determination to overcome this adversity and to prevail.

While the virulent campaign against Israel will most likely not succeed in effectively harming Israel, it might bear quite considerable negative consequences for the other Western nations. This campaign might not only hamper Israel's ability to share its successes with the West, but also undermine the security and welfare of the Western world. For instance, it is essential to understand that in unleashing unfair criticism of Israel's military conduct, Israel is a mere conduit for a broader effort to undercut the wherewithal and ability of the Western nations to secure their own populations growingly threatened. As detractors of Israel seek to undermine the very legitimacy of Israel's rightful existence as the ancestral homeland of the Jewish People, the truth of the matter is that they do not only challenge Israel, but also undercut the basic principles of international law, upon which Israel's establishment is predicated.

In the international arena, Israel has emerged as the most reliable strategic partner for Western democracies in the Middle East. Israel provides benefits and stability to the West in each paramount area, thanks to its political resolve and its non-stop innovation ventures, among other reasons.

This fact was highlighted in 2010 by the U.S. Speaker of the House of Representatives John Boehner. Boehner welcomed Netanyahu's official visit to the U.S. saying in Congress that, "We have no stronger ally anywhere in the world than Israel."

As noted before, world popular opinion about Israel is far from what it deserves. Nonetheless, in recent years, Israel is progressively shaking the usual cliché due to its economic success and global leadership in innovation, R&D, and entrepreneurship. Unfortunately, Western countries generally dismiss all the benefits and advantages that Israel contributes, and how important the State of Israel is for the global security.

Regarding this situation, in May 2013 Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper boldly warned Western countries for not supporting Israel. He strongly declared that "there's nothing more shortsighted in Western capitals in our time than the softening of support we've seen for Israel around the globe" he said, calling Israel "the one stable, democratic ally in this part of the world."³³⁵

The West is now in a crucial moment for its future and prosperity. Global economic challenges aside, the democratic countries are involved in a quest for a new paradigm on global security, natural resources, new energies, and world coexistence through freedom and human rights cooperation. Western leaders have reached a decision point, in which they will have to bet for the most reliable partners.

Thus, as we have seen along the sections sections, Israel is an important strategic partner in economics, development cooperation, health, innovation, security, and energy.

Thus, the anti-Israel campaign undercuts the moral standing of liberal democracies posing a challenge to defending their way of life and to protecting their citizens

³³³ Speech by the Quartet Representative Tony Blair, at IDC Herzliya, August 24, 2010 http://www.tonyblairoffice.org/news/entry/tony-blair-welcomes-re-start-of-direct-peace-talks-duringherzliya-speech/[retrieved: September 17, 2013].

³³⁴ BBC World Service, "Negative views of Russia on the Rise: Global Poll," June 3, 2014 http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/country-rating-poll.pdf [retrieved: December 1, 2014].

^{335 &}quot;Canada PM slams world leaders for not supporting Israel", *Times of Israel*. (May 17, 2013). http://www.timesofisrael.com/canada-pm-slams-world-leaders-for-not-supporting-israel/



A JUDENREIN WEST?

"The security of Israel is a moral imperative for all free peoples" Henry A. Kissinger

The West cannot be understood without the Jews. The culture of democracy and the protection of human rights have been established and have flourished in those countries that have been influenced by Judeo-Christian values. Israel and the Jews have thus been essential for the West's brightest political and economic achievements.

After the Holocaust, the greatest defeat that democracies may inflict to genocidal-racist ideologies is a prosperous and safe Israel to go with hand in hand in all the vital issues facing the world. As the American philosopher Eric Hoffer wrote in 1968; "Should Israel perish, the holocaust will be upon us."336 Moreover, even if Israel were not the State of the Jews, it is a democratic regime isolated and threatened; a part of the West that needs the help of its partners. In the wake of all the blood and sweat that building democracies has cost after two World Wars and during the Cold War, it is only natural that the West should stand by a free and liberal country, under the constant danger of annihilation. Israel, as South Korea or Australia, independently of their geographical location,

South Korea it is also at the origins of the West.

are part of the West, except that unlike Australia and

Western commitment to Israel should primarily take the form of an unrelenting support of freedom and democracy. As JFK stated, Israel "carries the shield of democracy and honors the sword of freedom."337 In the same line, former U.S. president Bill Clinton claimed that Israel "is an oasis of liberty, a home to the oppressed and persecuted."338 The British Muslim and proud Zionist Kassim Hafez put it clear as well: "Israel is not just a Jewish issue -it's about freedom, human rights and democracy, all the values that Western nations cherish."339

Certainly, as a Western country, Israel shares with its partners democratic values such as the rule of law, pluralism and human rights. In this regard, Zionism is the only liberation movement of the 20th century that has succeeded as a democracy and has remained so, even amid the constant threat that its neighbors represent. No authoritarian regression periods occurred in Israel for 67 years, despite the wars, constant menaces and, waves of massive terror attacks on civilians. Throughout the years, with plenty of hardships, Israeli democracy has flourished and thrived, has promoted and expanded rights and liberties, and has made a cosmopolitan and

³³⁶ Eric Hoffer, "Israel's Peculiar Position", Los Angeles Times, (May 26, 1968)

³³⁷ Ibid., 107

³³⁸ Ibid., 107

³³⁹ Kasim Hafeez, "Muslim, Zionist and proud", Yediot Aharonot, (April 25, 2012)

open society. Hence, the system of freedoms and legal guarantees of Israel is not only worth defending, it can and should serve as an example to many Western countries as well.

As a result, Israel is also a melting pot, in which all citizens are free and equal before the law, whether they are Muslims, Jews, Christians, Blacks, homosexuals, Baha'is, Zoroastrians, Druze... In fact, the Jewish State is the only place in the Middle East where human rights are guaranteed by law. Taking a look in the situation of human rights in the Middle East, Israel's benchmark position is undeniable. While the Christian population is decreasing all over the Middle East due to persecution and savagery, Israel is a refuge for them. As the vicar of the church of St. George in Baghdad has said; "The only place in the Middle East where Christians are truly safe is in Israel."340 The tolerance of the Middle East for homosexuals does not rank very high, but Israel rises as a contrast guaranteeing respect and legal equality in the region. As the statement of award-winning commentator Mark Segal points out; "Israel should indeed be applauded for being the one place in the Middle East that is a relative safe haven for LGBT people.-"341

And with all that, Israel shares the same problems with all other democratic countries. The State of Israel, as a country, has made mistakes like any other true Western democracy. This should not justify the campaign of deligitimization based on the double standard that one should ask more from the Jews than is asked from any other nation.

If Israel goes down, the West has failed to fulfill one of its great moral commitments of preserving the Jewish people, freedom, and democracy. The West has therefore a duty with one of its full-right members: to safeguard the independence of its statehood.

A Bastion Of The West Surrounded By Instability And Danger

"Israel is our first line of defense in a turbulent region that is constantly at risk of descending into chaos; a region vital to our energy security owing to our overdependence on Middle Eastern oil; a region that forms the front line in the fight against extremism. If Israel goes down, we all go down. To defend Israel's right to exist in peace, within secure borders, requires a degree

of moral and strategic clarity that too often seems to have disappeared in Europe. The United States shows worrying signs of heading in the same direction."

José María Aznar, The Times, (June 17, 2010)

However, the West should not support Israel only for historical political and moral claims, but also for its own security and prosperity. Israel is serving as a last frontier of Western freedom. If Israel's enemies finally accomplish their goals and wipe Israel off the map, Western countries and interests should be expected to go next.

During its existence, Israel has positioned itself as a major player in combating terror, becoming an essential Western bastion. According to the late Lebanese scholar and member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Fouad Ajami, Israel is essential to Western interests because, historically, it stopped both pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism. 342

Still in 1993, some time before Islamic terrorism escalated its attacks against all the West, Isaac Rabin said; "Our struggle against murderous Islamic terror is also meant to awaken the world, which is lying in slumber, this is a real and serious danger that threatens world peace in future years. And just as Israel was the first to perceive the Iraqi nuclear threat, so today we stand on the line of fire against . . . fundamentalist Islam." ³⁴³

Thanks to its position as an outpost, which remains vigilant of the West's enemies, Israel is a paramount part of Western civilization, as British journalist and writer Julie Burchill claimed; "If Israel were to be wiped out, then we will be wiped out, too, all of the modern world and its achievements — swept back into the Dark Ages mulch from whence we came. Israel represents mankind and the very future of our species." Also, in 2006, in the midst of the Second Lebanon war, former advisor in Reagan Administration and economist Lawrence Kudlow wrote: "All of us in the free world owe Israel an enormous thank-you for defending freedom, democracy, and security against the Iranian cat's-paw wholly-owned terrorist subsidiaries Hezbollah and Hamas." 345

³⁴⁰ Marcos Aguinis, "Angustia cristiana en Medio Oriente", *El Medio*, (August 23, 2013) http://elmed.io/angustia-cristiana-en-medio-oriente/

³⁴¹ Mark Segal, "Israel should be applauded for being a safe place for LGBTs in the Middle East", *LGBTQNATION*, (March 28, 2012) http://www.lgbtqnation.com/2012/03/israel-should-be-applauded-for-being-a-safe-place-for-lgbts-in-the-middle-east/

³⁴² Bret Stephens, "Is Israel Important?", Middle East Forum, (January 19, 2005) http://www.meforum.org/692/is-israel-important

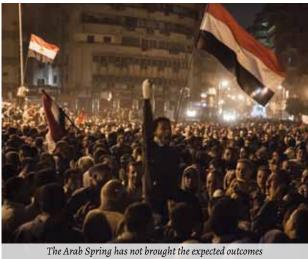
³⁴³ Michael Parks, "Israel calls itself bulwark against 'Islamic terror' Help to fight militants, U.S. is urged", *The Baltimore Sun*, (January 3, 1993)

³⁴⁴ Brendan O´neill, "Burdening Israel", *The American Conservative*, (March 9, 2009) http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/burdening-israel/

³⁴⁵ Lawrence Kudlow, "Israel's Moment, the Free World's Gain", Real Clear Politics, (July 17, 2006), http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2006/07/israels_moment_the_free_worlds.html











One of the main examples of this deed is Iran. The range of the Iranian missiles reaches the Gulf States to the European capitals. President Emeritus of the Hudson Institute, Herbert I. London, has clearly warned that a nuclear-capable Iran would be a threat to Europe and a long term threat to the U.S., but it is, apart from an inducement to proliferation in the region, a clear and present danger not only to Israel but to the oil-rich countries in the region.³⁴⁶ A nuclear Iran is unacceptable for the world's safety.

Hezbollah, Iran's proxy, is also extending its terror tentacles globally. The A-team of terrorists, through money laundering and drug trafficking is becoming strong in South America. In Europe, Hezbollah's cells are growing in all capitals, especially Berlin. On the other hand, al-Qaeda is increasing its influence in the Maghreb and North Africa and is setting ties with Iran, getting involved in the Syrian civil war, and keeping its ability to attack Western targets anywhere in the world, as we have seen in the menace uncovered in August 2013??.

However, the Islamic State is currently the clearest illustration. While the Middle East is descending into chaos due to the expansion of the Caliphate, Israel is holding on safe and democratic. As of now, Israel is the main deterrent to the expansion of ISIS in the Middle East; and as noted, is helping the international coalition to defeat it since day one.

But the Iranian nuclear ambitions and the expansion of radical Islamist groups like IS are not only threatening Israel, but the entire world. The enemies of Israel are the enemies of the West.

Israel and the Western countries should intensify and strengthen their ties on strategic, intelligence and counter-terrorism matters. Not only because of Israel's expert knowledge, but also due to how Israel has handled all its security challenges. The State of Israel, boasting a powerful army and a cutting-edge Air Force, could have applied no restraint in response to its enemies' attacks. But Israeli forces have always tried to avoid civil causalities, as occurred in Jenin in 2002, when the Israel Defense Forces, in order to minimize civilian casualties, chose to enter Jenin with infantry troops to seek terrorists house to house rather than using aerial bombardment.

Regarding this remarkable achievement, a reflection of Western values, in November 2012 David Frum, now a CNN contributor, outlined that: "Against this indiscriminate violence, Israel has responded with restraint. An

advanced country like Israel possesses fearsome powers of destruction. But while Israel's enemies respect no limits – while they are as happy to kill children as adults, to hit a hospital as to hit an airbase – Israel has applied its advanced technology to target as precisely as possible, to spare the innocent and to protect the vulnerable."³⁴⁷

In regards to Israel's role, Óscar Elías Biscet, human rights advocate and 2007 Presidential Medal of Freedom winner, has been unambiguous: «The Jewish State of Israel is deeply committed to democracy, freedom, and peace. It is without doubt a bulwark strong and authentic to ensure freedom and peace in Europe and the rest of the world. Its safety and survival are the responsibility of all men and women who love freedom in the world."³⁴⁸

In short, if we let Israel go down, an indispensable bulwark to the West's security disappears. A danger to Israel is a danger to the whole West first felt in Israel. The West needs a strong Israel in order to ensure a safe future.

Natural Partner

If you go to the Middle East looking for brains, for energy, for integrity, for imagination, the only stop you need to make is Israel.

Warren Buffet

The relationship between Israel and the rest of the Western countries has led to mutual benefits in politics, military, economic, and science since 1948. Israel has been providing sundry benefits to the world in diverse fields. According to intellectual George Gilder, Israel is today a crucial source of invention, military intelligence, and entrepreneurial creativity. Israel is, Gilder asserted, at the forefront of the next generation of technology.³⁴⁹

As noted previously, several international firms like Intel, Microsoft, Google, eBay, HP, Verizon, Cisco and many others strongly depend on Israeli know-how for some of their most innovative products and services. Today, over 250 multinationals have R&D centers in Israel, 80 of them Fortune 500 companies. The Director of Business Development and Strategy of Microsoft in Israel, Zach Weisfeld, has claimed that: "Innovation, together with the engineering excellence and the very

³⁴⁶ Herbert I. London, "Israel and the Existential Threat", *Gatestone Institute*, (November 23, 2011) http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/2603/israel-existential-threat

³⁴⁷ David Frum, "Stand With Israel", *The Daily Beast*, (November 20, 2012), http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/11/20/stand-with-israel.html

³⁴⁸ Dr Óscar Elías Biscet, "Israel, baluarte de la democracia occidental", Fundación Lawton de Derechos Humanos, http://es.lawtonfoundation.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=69:israel-baluarte-de-la-democracia-mundial&catid=1:latest-news&Itemid=50

^{349 &}quot;Choosing the Chosen People", *National Review Online*, (July 30, 2009) http://www.nationalreview.com/articles/227976/choosing-chosen-people/interview

quick to market production of high-quality products, really makes Israel shine."350

Medical advances, clean energies, warfare technologies, water treatment, and groundbreaking high-tech devices developed in Israel have made a better and safer world, and surely are going to provide new successful solutions for the challenges of the future.

Along these lines, U.K. Foreign Secretary William Hague praised Israel as a "scientific superpower." In the same vein, on June 18, 2012, Google Chairman Eric Schmidt called Israel "a tech miracle," and Bill Gates has also stated that Israel, "by any measure (relative to its population), has done the most to contribute to the technology revolution."

As we said, Israel is at the top of all global rankings on innovation, R&D, scientific and economic development and clean energy, among others.

Israel has therefore become an example of thriving in times of economic adversity, as U.S. State Department science and technology advisor Dr. E. William Colglazier declared: "Israel is a world leader and a model not only for small countries, but all countries." Actually, the State of Israel has led its economy in a successful pathway, as OECD Secretary-General Angel Gurría has pointed out, noting Israel has "done very well, exceptionally well, in a very, very difficult world economy." Also on this, journalist David Brooks mentioned in the New York Times that analysts at Barclays pointed out that "Israel is the strongest recovery story in Europe, the Middle East and Africa." 356

Israel's innovative economy is, mostly based on the human mind, in Rupert Murdoch's words, a light unto the nations.

Israeli development of clean and alternative energies aside, the large shale oil deposits and, above all, the newly-found huge gas fields have raised Israel as an eventual energy partner and provider for the West.

Western commitment to Israel should primarily take the form of an unrelenting support of freedom and democracy.

Paraphrasing the *Start-Up Nation* authors, "while Israel has much to learn from the world, the world has much to learn from Israel."

If Israel is wiped off the map, all the progress that Israel is to do in all fields will never come into the world. If Israel goes down, one of the world's most innovative lights goes down.

Logical Friend

The Middle East is suffering a dangerous geopolitical realignment. The West needs to be vigilant. After the instability caused by the Arab Spring, political Islam has re-emerged and threatens to seize power in countries that had adopted more pragmatic attitudes, or that have been stable. According to writer Carlos Alberto Montaner," it is possible that the economic success and the quality of life achieved by Israel as a result, among other things, of its way to organize coexistence, will finally become a state model exportable to other countries in the region, something that would reduce the danger of widespread war."³⁵⁷

Israel is the reliable ally of the West in a Middle East in profound transformation. In an emerging new world order – pace Henry Kissinger - Western civilization should reach a compromise with freedom, democracy, and stability as a guideline — and Israel appears as one of the most suitable partners and models in such an environment.

Israel is a key player in the region for the cause of prosperity and stability.

The reasons for granting stronger support to Israel are more than reasonable: Israel is an economic model for the world, Israeli advances and discoveries are helping create a better world, the Jewish State is to be an exporter of energy resources; it represents a vibrant democracy that is in constant development; it is also a retaining

^{350 &}quot;From Haifa to Herzliya, the Fertile Ground of Israeli Innovation", Knowledge@Wharton, (January 6, 2011), http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/10000women/article.cfm?articleid=6233

^{351 &}quot;Did you know?", $\it Israel Bonds$, http://www.israelbonds.com/about/today-s-israel.aspx

³⁵² Lior Kodner, "Google chairman Eric Schmidt: Israel is a tech miracle", *Haaretz*, (July 18, 2012)

³⁵³ Ibid., 253

³⁵⁴ Sharon Udasin, "US expert: 'Israel is model for the world", The Jerusalem Post, (May 6, 2012)

³⁵⁵ Ibid.,253

³⁵⁶ Rob Eshman, "David Brooks: Israel's 'Astonishing Success'", *Jewish Journal*, (January 12, 2010) http://www.jewishjournal.com/bloggish/item/david_brooks_israel_astonishing_success_20100112

³⁵⁷ Carlos Alberto Montaner, "Qué significa Israel para mí", *La Ilustración Liberal*, No.47, (Spring 2011) http://www.ilustracionliberal.com/47/que-significa-israel-para-mi-carlos-alberto-montaner.html

wall, the sole oasis of democracy and liberal values in the Middle East that restrains the dangers threatening the West.

It can be concluded that Israel's existence and prosperity are essential for the West's future. The West should constantly support Israel not only for moral reasons, but also because it is in its own interests. Martin Luther King said just 10 days before his assassination in Memphis, these wise words; "I see Israel, and never mind saying it, as one of the great outposts of democracy in the world, and a marvelous example of what can be done, how desert land can almost be transformed into an oasis of brotherhood and democracy. Peace for Israel means security and that security must be a reality."³⁵⁸

In short, Israel is a truly, faithful member of the West. The struggle of Israel is the struggle of the West.

THE DARK INTENTIONS OF BDS

Israel has been facing for over a decade a global campaign assaulting its right to exist as a Jewish nationstate, seeking to undermine its duty and right to exercise self-defence, and aiming to inflict economic and financial damages on Israeli business interests. This campaign, known as BDS (Boycott, Disinvestments and Sanctions) encapsulates outright anti-Israeli discourse founded in a blatant denial of the Jewish People's right to self-determination. Regretfully, Western mainstream media and political establishments have not been immune to this virulent campaign and often demonstrate prejudice by refusing to accept that Israel has a legitimate point of view. Israel's unfair and prejudicial scrutiny on the world stage not only undermines Israel's contribution to the Western world, but also questions the moral standing of liberal democracies posing a challenge to defending their way of life and protect their citizens.

The BDS movement, which disguises itself behind the flag of the fight for Human Rights and progressive causes, has otherwise dark intentions against Israel that have already been revealed. In 2002, Thomas Friedman was one of the first influential opinion makers to highlight BDS's true face: "Singling out Israel for opprobrium and international sanction—out of all proportion to any other party in the Middle East—is anti-Semitic, and not saying so is dishonest."

In February 2012, Norman Finkelstein, one of the most vocal critics of Israel, stated that the BDS movement was a "cult" and that those who ran it were dishonest. Finkelstein concluded that: "At least be honest what you want – 'we want to abolish Israel and this is our strategy for doing it.' ³⁶⁰

Along the same line, the New York Times columnist Roger Cohen, not necessarily a supporter of Israeli tutelage of the West Bank, was clear on February 10, 2014:

"Mellifluous talk of democracy and rights and justice masks the B.D.S. objective that is nothing other than the end of the Jewish state for which the United Nations gave an unambiguous mandate in 1947. The movement's anti-Zionism can easily be a cover for anti-Semitism.³⁶¹⁷

The Telegraph columnist Brendan O'Neill rightly defined, regarding the famous affair actress Scarlett Johanson and the Israeli company Soda Stream, the BDS movement³⁶²:

"There is nothing remotely progressive in this campaign to boycott everything Israeli, with its double standards about various nations' behaviour and its shrill rhetoric about everything that comes from Israel being covered in Palestinian blood. This movement is not designed to have any kind of positive impact in the Middle East but rather is about making certain Western activists feel righteous and pure through allowing them to advertise how Israeli-free their lives are. It's illiberal, because it effectively demands the censoring of Israeli academics and performers; it's hypocritical, because it is led by people who are only too happy to use iPhones made in undemocratic China and to vote for the Labour Party, which, er, bombed the hell out of Middle Eastern countries for the best part of 10 years; and it has unfortunate ugly echoes of earlier campaigns to boycott Jewish shops and produce. So three cheers for Ms Johansson for taking a very public stand against this right-on pressure to treat Israel as the most evil nation on Earth."

We are fortunate the statements of the BDS leaders make things even clearer. Omar Barghouti, head of the cultural branch of the BDS movement said the following³⁶³:

³⁵⁸ Abraham Cooper and Harold Brackman, "Jews, MLK and his 'March on Washington' fifty years later", Jewish Journal, (August 26, 2013) http://www.jewishjournal.com/opinion/article/jews_mlk_and_his_march_on_washington_fifty_years_later/

³⁵⁹ Thomas L. Friedman, "Campus Hypocrisy," *The New York Times*, October 16, 2002.

³⁶⁰ http://vimeo.com/36854424#sthash.dzSoqLv1.dpuf

³⁶¹ Roger Cohen, "The B.D.S. Threat", The New York Times, (February 10, 2014)

³⁶² Brendan O'Neill" Three cheers for Scarlett Johansson's stand against the ugly, illiberal Boycott Israel movement", *The Telegraph*, (January 30, 2014)

³⁶³ Omar Barghouti, "Relative Humanity: The Fundamental Obstacle to a One-State Solution in Historic Palestine (1/2)", The Electronic Intifada, (January 6, 2014), http://electronicintifada.net/content/relative-humanity-fundamental-obstacle-one-state-solution-historic-palestine-12/4939

"The current phase has all the emblematic properties of what may be considered the final chapter of the Zionist project. We are witnessing the rapid demise of Zionism, and nothing can be done to save it, for Zionism is intent on killing itself. I, for one, support euthanasia."

Barghouti, by the way, holds a Masters Degree in philosophy and ethics in Tel Aviv University and is currently pursuing a PhD³⁶⁴.

The Lebanese-American professor of political science at California State University and one of the main supporters of BDS movement in

the US, As'ad Abu Khalil, went even farther than Barghouti³⁶⁵: "Justice and freedom for the Palestinians are incompatible with the existence of the State of Israel."

This prejudiced and dark discourse of the BDS movement was unveiled, of all people, by Noam Chomsky himself, a long time strong and virulent critic of Israel. In July 2014 Chomsky said: "if we boycott Tel Aviv University because Israel violates human rights at home, then why not boycott Harvard because of far greater violations by the United States?366" Certainly, to boycott an entire people, with all of its institutions whether public or private, because of opposition to one administration's policies is pure racial prejudice.

And since prejudice may lead to obsession and absurdity, it of course did. The last and deplorable example was to blame Israel for the terrorist attacks against Charlie Hebdo's cartoonists via lunatic conspiracy theories. Greta Berlin, a spokesperson for the Free Gaza movement, posted on her Facebook page: "MOSSAD just hit the Paris offices of Charlie Hebdo in a clumsy false flag designed to damage the accord between Palestine and France...Here's hoping the French police will be able to tell a well executed hit by a well trained Israeli intelli-

364 Anshel Pfeffer, "Academic boycotter to study in Tel Aviv", The Jewish Chronicle, (Abril 23, 2009) http://www.thejc.com/news/israelnews/academic-boycotter-study-tel-aviv



gence service and not assume the Muslims would be likely to attack France when France is their freind (sic.) Israel did tell France there would be grave consequences if they voted with Palestine. A four year old could see who is responsible for this terrible attack."367

On top of everything else, the BDS movement makes abundant use of cynicism. While some Arab neighbours of Israel are violating Human Rights – indeed killing their own people

- on a daily basis, as Assad is doing in Syria (220,000 dead, and counting) the BDS chooses to focus its alleged engagement for the defense of Human Rights on Israel, the only democracy around.

All this could be, if not excused, at least overlooked if some practical good could be squeezed out of it. Alas, that's not to be either. Focused on the delegitimization of Israel as a State, the BDS movement is pursuing its end by fostering economic, academic and cultural boycott, international pressure and sanctions. Yet the BDS movement has failed to advance the peace process or to improve the day to day situation of Palestinians.

As The Economist noted in 2007, the BDS movement is "flimsy and ineffective" pointing out that "blaming Israel alone for the impasse in the occupied territories will continue to strike many outsiders as unfair,"³⁶⁸

The movement, for good reason, has failed to promote any mutual understanding between Israelis and Palestinians or among other social actors. BDS campaigns have not brought any positive outcome for the life of Palestinians, have made peace harder to reach and have shown an unusual hatred reflecting their true intent of attacking Israel through other means.

³⁶⁵ As'ad Abu Khalil, "A Critique of Norman Finkelstein on BDS," Alakhbar English, (February 17, 2012 http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/4289

^{366 &}quot;Chomsky says BDS tactics won't work, may be harmful to Palestinians" The Jerusalem Post, (July 3, 2014), http://www.jpost.com/Diplomacy-and-Politics/Chomsky-says-BDS-tactics-wont-work-may-be-harmful-to-Palestinians-361417

³⁶⁷ BDS Leaders Promote Anti-Semitic Conspiracy Theory Linking Mossad to Charlie Hebdo Atrocity, *The Algemeiner*, (January 8, 2015) http://www.algemeiner.com/2015/01/08/bds-leaders-promote-anti-semitic-conspiracy-theory-linking-mossad-to-charlie-hebdo-atrocity/ 368 "New pariah on the block", *The Economist*, (September 13, 2007)





Israel is the very young country of a very old people, a nation that from the very beginning reconciled the Zionists of a religious nature and the secular Zionists under the umbrella of a State that had to provide for the security and well being of its people, more than most.

Israel still faces today enormous vital challenges but it has managed over the years to remain a stable democracy with individual rights that stands strong and free. It is true indeed that Israel is a democracy as flawed as any other and that it can bear comparison, in this regard, with France, Italy, Greece or Portugal as analysts in The Economist concluded in 2013. This also means that for Middle Eastern standards it is at the top of the class.

It may perhaps not be saying much in this time of turmoil but Arabs are perhaps better off in Israel and freest than any other place in the Middle East.

Israel has also been helpful abroad and is a country open to cooperation and humanitarian concerns.

One could make the case that the stage of development of Israel is partly due to the familiarity of the Jewish people in the Diaspora with liberal institutions and democracy in 19th Century Europe.

This means that in today's world it shares a lot with the western European democracies and that it is of considerable help when facing crucial challenges on global security. The double geostrategic threat of Islamic fundamentalism coming from terrorist organizations or organized states is known to no one better than to Israel who should be heeded on this.

Israel is familiar with a sensitive environment that has become of late a host of civil wars and internecine conflicts engendering countless deaths and a number of refugees never seen since World War II. It is important for everyone to see how Israel copes with this and remains a free and democratic state.

It is also essential to recognize that the awful plight of Christians in the whole Middle East and Sahel areas is happening elsewhere in the zone but that Israel remains a haven for those who live there and a safe, and a religiously and spiritually unmatched, destination for those who want to visit the Holy Land.

But Israel is a secure place because it puts much into it and takes immense care of the defence and military aspect of its realm. It has in fact become one of the leading countries in this. The famous scholar Gerschom Scholem used to say that Jews though they were never particularly talented in military concerns were talented in general and that talent goes where it s needed. It happens to be needed in the military, so, it is going there.

This also means that Israel can be a good friend for the military alliances of the West and a good help in defensive endeavours. It has also become a major cyber security provider in the world and has amassed serious knowledge on the means of terrorism such as the combating of the financing of terrorism.

Yet the accomplishments of Israel are many in the fields of science, culture, R&D and strategy, innovation, food production, and economic statecraft. It is a joy to be able to celebrate them as they are all examples of a lively society. It is curious to note that particularly in the field of technology, from which the world and young people seem to draw more and more, Israel has participated in designing, conceiving and producing devices for the better known and more advanced companies.

This has spread to the field of medicine, traditionally a Jewish area of expertise. Its merging with the high tech areas is producing treatments and machines of interest to the world at large.

Technology is probably essential to Israel for it has traditionally lacked natural resources. Although that is probably changing this has proved to be more of a blessing than a curse. Israel launched in 2011 an alternative-oilplan but it had before discovered natural gas in its waters. The aridity of the soil made already the first settlers experts in the saving of water but Israel has today become the master of irrigation techniques and transformed the desert into fertile land.

Despite all this, as good news is never news as the saying goes, Israel makes headlines because of such stories as the never ending peace process and the Iranian nuclear program.

It is important when dealing with these issues to learn to see the whole picture. We hope to have provided some material to do so in this booklet. It is unfortunate that so much that goes into print – or to the waves or in the internet or in social media – these days fails to address complicated problems properly. As a result propaganda and obscure interests tend to prevail. It is therefore more than important that people learn to walk in Israel's shoes from time to time to better understand.

There seems to be this urge in the West to criticize Israel for its policies regarding territory or security and draw sometimes irrevocable conclusions from what are certainly misconceptions. But if we are right, that is if Israel is part of the West – that is, of the community of Western liberal democracies, and if the culture of democracy and the protection of human rights have been established and have flourished in the country as they have

in the west, then perhaps we are looking at a problem of excessive self criticism and a super critical mentality that should value not just Israel's but the West's brightest political and economic achievements.

However, the West should not support Israel only for historical political and moral claims, but also for its own security and prosperity. If Israel's enemies take the lead especially those committed to its destruction, Western countries and interests should be expected to go next.

The relationship between Israel and the rest of the Western countries has led to mutual benefits in politics, military, economic, and science since 1948. It should grow stronger amidst geostrategic realignments and growing Islamist turmoil coming from state and non-state actors.

Israel should also live free of the prejudice that has for so long been associated to it and its people for that would be an improvement of the West and the West's societies. Israel and the Jews in general have grown used not to trust beyond excess intellectual and cultural progress but Israel needs at least the chance to challenge simplistic and dishonest attacks at its very right to exist as those that have flourished lately.

As the early Zionists used to say as a complaint when finding in the emerging reality of the State weaknesses seen in any other nation characterized, as Israel, by human frailty: "So for all this, we needed a Jewish state?." Well, yes. We needed it and we need it. For some it was a way to right the wrong of 2,000 years in the Diaspora that had made the Jews faulty. If they had a state all would be better and the glory of biblical times would perhaps return. For others, it was the opposite; having a state of their own would make the Jews like the other nations, a people like all other peoples. Mainly in the end Israel has turned out to be about "the normalization of the Jewish people." Let's all try and get the most of it.

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The Friends of Israel Initiative (FOII) is a global organization devoted to fight the delegitimation of the State of Israel and to support its right to live in peace within safe and defensible borders. Furthermore FOII believes that Israel is an integral and vital part of the West, a dynamic, vibrant and prosperous democracy, and as such Israel deserves to be fully accepted as a normal Western nation, and treated with fairness as any other democracy in the World.

FOII was born in 2010 as a group of global leaders, former PMs, foreign and defense ministers, and eminent personalities from several fields. In order to carry out its message FOII members engage their peers in direct and frank dialogues, invite relevant people to field trips to Israel, call expert groups to prepare reports and papers, disseminate analysis affecting the future of Israel, and publish op-eds in pertinent media outlets, among other activities.

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