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Political-Climate Sustainability: The Core of Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century

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This policy paper introduces the concept of “sustainability-oriented policy”, which translates the principles of sustainability into the field of domestic and foreign policymaking. The term proposes a conceptual framework for shaping policy that corresponds with the main challenges of our time. Climate change is the greatest challenge facing humanity and is already affecting every aspect of our lives. It is also reshaping the role of the state and aligning it with current and future challenges. The more principles of sustainability can be incorporated into the process of conceptualizing and implementing policy, the more adapted and effective tools political systems will have to deal with the climate crisis and its consequences, and to leverage the crisis into opportunities.

This article proposes four fundamental sustainability principles as the basis of policy making based both on the political and climatic spheres: future orientation, equality, environment and diversity. It highlights the symbiosis between environmental change, economic and social change, and emphasizes that the indicators serving us to assess the desired good must also be redefined. A framework of sustainability-oriented policy provides a variety of tools and strategies for future-oriented decisions extrapolated from the current reality, inter-sectoral work processes, reliance on scientific methods, and stronger local resource management, among other benefits.

In the context of Israeli foreign policy, sustainability-oriented approaches propose: (1) the formation of regional partnerships to strengthen regional resilience, (2) the linking of Israel's integration into the Middle East to the promotion of Israeli-Palestinian peace, (3) the redefinition of who makes foreign policy, and (4) the analysis of geographic spaces even when disconnected from political borders. Adopting the conceptual framework of sustainable climate policy requires an examination of every action through two parameters - asking whether it is politically viable and climatically sustainable. The article offers several directions for examining these questions by using clear, simple metrics.

A. Introduction

Climate change proposes various challenges to physical and human systems and calls for behavioral change to ensure a viable future for ourselves and future generations. Human life since the Industrial Revolution, especially in the 20th century, has created unprecedented pressure on the planet that damages the foundations of our existence. Extreme events, changes in temperatures and rainfall regimes, rising sea levels, ecosystems' collapse – all are already a fact of life. We must adapt and repair, innovate and enable life. These changes are affecting the global economy and world politics, and reshaping the state's role in the 21st century.

This paper introduces a new concept – sustainability-oriented policy – and advocates adopting and developing it as the key to understanding, formulating and implementing policy in the 21st century, including foreign policy. The paper first presents the concept of sustainability as it has emerged in the framework of environmental discourse in recent decades, its main components, and the factual and normative assumptions on which it was based. Next, the paper proposes “translating” the concept of sustainability into the policy field and emphasizes the main components, values, practices, and questions that guide existing sustainability-oriented policy. The third part demonstrates the expression of sustainability-oriented policy in a state's foreign policy and foreign relations. These are key components of sustainability-oriented policy in the foreign arena, and several concrete examples from Israel's foreign relations arena to demonstrate the opportunities and challenges of adopting this paradigm for planning and implementing foreign policy. Finally, the paper discusses the need and the spaces for the development of this concept and describes its various manifestations in order to adapt it to the reality of our lives and make it an available tool for those making policy and those executing it.

Adopting principles of sustainability in policy and decision-making processes will facilitate communication with the environmental-climate system and adapt it better to the challenges of tomorrow. Therefore, it will also be able to define goals and objectives relevant to our lives and act more effectively and efficiently to achieve them. Adjustment to the principles of sustainability will also generate a normative and peace-seeking foreign policy, cooperation, and stability. In other words, these two aspects of sustainability naturally strengthen each other.

B. Environmental-climatic sustainability¹

The term "sustainability" that has permeated human discourse in recent decades defies a uniform, precise definition, as many organizations and researchers have discovered.

¹ The term "environmental-climatic" is confusing. First because the climate crisis stems from a large-scale environmental crisis and therefore the more accurate terminology may be "sustainable environmental policy". But we chose to rebrand the environmental issues as climatic (and thus existential) in order to engage the public and decision-makers, and motivate action. The second confusion stems from the fact that the term "sustainability" already embodies the climate issue. But since our goal is to find the sustainable space of overlap between the climatic (or environmental) and politics we define "climate sustainability" in a way that facilitates its examination and use in foreign policy discourse.

However, the preoccupation with the concept of sustainability has emerged from one clear understanding - that the way we conduct ourselves in the world today is destructive and will not allow the existence and prosperity of humanity and of living beings over time, and therefore must be redefined. The multiplicity of definitions indicates the moral, professional, political and cultural origin of the very definition of sustainability and what makes a system or thing "sustainable". At the same time, the various definitions share a number of characteristics, which converge into a common content field that presents guiding principles distinct from other fields.

The fundamentals of sustainability

The meaning of the word "sustainability" (as per its Latin and French origins) refers to providing the basic needs for life and the idea of support, endurance and continuity.² This, in turn, leads to two main conclusions. The first, that a "sustainable" system is one that will be able to maintain itself over time, and the second, that this system depends on a stable foundation enabling its prosperity. But what is this base that can provide support, endurance, prosperity and basic needs?

The primary place to examine the concept of sustainability is in a natural ecosystem. An ecosystem is productive - that is, it knows how to produce or obtain its own needs (food, suitable living space, etc.). It maintains a variety of relationships, metabolisms and connections within itself and with its environment, maintains the genetic diversity and wealth of living beings that exist within it, but also knows how to adapt evolutionarily to changing conditions. In addition, such a system frequently balances between different components and its various creatures. The diversity, balances and multiplicity of relationships and metabolisms enable the system to recover quickly and adapt itself in the event of disorder.³

Although many natural systems can be studied and adopted, the concept of sustainability in its popular form has emerged as an anthropogenic one - a concept that originates in human activity.⁴ Therefore, in order to understand sustainability, we need to talk about human people and societies – their attitudes towards the environment and the world and toward each other.

An interesting 1995 study on different methods of defining sustainability examined how different areas of knowledge relate to the concept of sustainability.⁵ For example, biologists address the interaction between humans and natural systems and the need to preserve nature and genetic diversity; economists use sustainability to define at what point modern

² See an etymological dictionary showing the origin of the word and words similar to it: <https://www.etymonline.com/word/sustainable>.

³ Ecosystem: definitions, examples, importance. In YouMatter, 17.2.2020: <https://youmatter.world/en/definition/ecosystem-definition-example/>.

⁴ Vogt, M., & Weber, C. (2019). [Current challenges to the concept of sustainability](#). Global Sustainability, 2, E4. doi:10.1017/sus.2019.1

⁵ Andrew D. Basiago, 1995. ["Methods of defining 'sustainability'"](#), Sustainable Development, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., vol. 3(3), pages 109-119.

production will crush the natural capital on which the economic system depends; and sociologists talk about the ability of individuals, communities and families to exist, and about environmental justice and access to resources. A number of shared characteristics can be extracted from the varied approaches and focuses, which help us discuss conditions that allow sustainability. They are presented here using four concepts - future, equality, environment and diversity.

Future – Discourse on sustainability examines a society's or system's capacity for continuity. Therefore, sustainable action in the present must be driven by the desired view of the future. Present conduct should be one that ensures the ability of future generations to exist and enjoy well-being. The legitimacy of the action in the present, as well as the nature of the action itself, are derived from that desired view of the future at a given moment.

Equality – The concept of equality examines aspects of the distribution of resources and power among people, communities, groups, countries, etc. As the gaps between groups grow, so will sustainability. Just as balances are vital to an ecosystem, so too are they vital to a social system. Without balances, disadvantaged populations devoid of access to resources are forced into enslavement to work, resulting in their extinction or undermining the social order, while rich groups, whose sole purpose is to maximize profits, will exploit natural resources to the fullest, undermine natural systems, and impair society's ability to exist over time - many arguments against capitalism center on these issues. References to equality also include aspects of environmental justice, which means a fair distribution of the profits from man's exploitation of the world's resources, but also of the costs imposed on humans for their activities. A classic example of environmental injustice is an enterprise whose owners profit financially from its activities, but it pollutes the area, the air, the land or the water, and harms nearby residents.⁶

Environment – The term “environment” refers to the interdependence between the physical environment and our human environment. The term refers to the need to benefit our world, its animals and plants, its atmosphere, water and earth, stemming from the understanding that we as humans are part of this great system. We influence the environment – and we need to minimize the negative impact and seek to create renewal and positive impact - and we are also affected by it. It is the environment that provides us with the infrastructure of life, and if we damage and undermine it, we are undermining our existence.⁷

Diversity - The diversity of our world is an amazing asset – both in terms of plant and animal species but also in terms of types of people, communities, cultures, and heritage. Diversity is what ensures balances in the system and the cross-fertilization necessary for existence. That is why agriculture experts recommend growing several types of plants on a

⁶ Keren Tzuriel Harari, [Poison streams from the tap](#). *Calcalist* magazine (Hebrew), July 12, 2014.

⁷ Lorey, David, Ed. “Global Environmental Challenges of the Twenty-First Century: Resources, Consumption, and Sustainable Solutions.” Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2003.

plot of land, because each contributes something different to the soil's fertilization and regeneration.⁸

These four elements help us understand the basic concept of sustainability, which has evolved and expanded over time in accordance with different needs and political concepts. In recent years, environmental and social movements have sought to redefine it in a bid to challenge the existing economic-political order and promote alternatives to political and global action that will better cope with current challenges.

Sustainability - conceptual development

One of the first definitions of sustainability is found in the Brundtland Report "Our Common Future," published by the United Nations in 1987.⁹ It defines the concept of "sustainable development" as "a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs." The definition of sustainability here emphasizes the desired "development" and how human activity can be continued so that the rate of resource "depletion" does not overtake the regeneration rate of those resources and can be preserved for future generations. Further to the concept of "sustainable development", the UN defined 17 indicators for sustainable development (SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals) that have become a basic concept through which companies, countries and organizations test themselves and define the "basic good".¹⁰ The United Nations indices are an institutionalized and global attempt to construct guiding principles for defining sustainability and to place them as objectives that societies must achieve. The indicators are: Eliminate Poverty; Erase Hunger; Establish Good Health and Well-Being; Provide Quality Education; Enforce Gender Equality; Improve Clean Water and Sanitation; Grow Affordable and Clean Energy; Create Decent Work and Economic Growth; Increase Industry, Innovation, and Infrastructure; Reduce Inequality; Mobilize Sustainable Cities and Communities; Influence Responsible Consumption and Production; Organize Climate Action; Develop Life Below Water; Advance Life on Land; Guarantee Peace, Justice, and Strong Institutions; Build Partnerships for the Goals.

The definition of sustainability according to these indicators is first and foremost social. Great emphasis is placed first on human rights, equality and the most basic human needs of modern society - energy, water, food, education, health, livelihood. The second part of the indices consists of economic and environmental aspects and seeks to define what humanity must do in order to maintain the stability of the planet. The objectives for sustainable development have been designed in a way that will allow different countries to accept them politically, but will not try to undermine the existing order, only to propose better behavior within the existing order.

⁸ UNCCC, [Why biodiversity matters?](#) Sept. 12, 2021.

⁹ "Our Common Future", Brundtland Report:

<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/5987our-common-future.pdf>

¹⁰ See the UN report explaining the choice of indicators in terms of sustainable governance:

https://www.sgi-network.org/docs/2020/basics/SGI_Concept.pdf

In 2009, 26 researchers from a variety of disciplines published an important paper on "planetary boundaries", giving birth to the development of a new concept.¹¹ This concept, which emphasizes the natural environment, argues that different systems are able to thrive under comparatively stable climatic and ecological conditions in so-called "safe zones", but if we exceed a certain limit and overload these systems beyond their capacity, they will reach a point of no return and collapse. The "planetary boundaries" divide the world into nine natural systems, each with a certain quantitative and measurable threshold according to its characteristics. All these systems are obviously intertwined, but the separation allows for assessment, measurement and understanding of each system's individual needs - and a better understanding of the whole. Climate change is perhaps the most well-known system among the nine, which include: Climate change; ocean acidification; stratospheric ozone depletion; interference with the global phosphorus and nitrogen cycles; rate of biodiversity loss; global freshwater use; land-system change; aerosol loading; and chemical pollution.

In 2012, economist Kate Raworth developed a theory called "The Doughnut Economics", which sought to add social and economic dimensions to the planetary boundaries. Raworth described the planetary boundaries as an "ecological ceiling" and added a "social floor" consisting of the basic social conditions necessary for human existence: food, water, health, energy, education, livelihood, peace and justice, political voice, social and gender equality, housing, and networks (support networks, communities). Together, the upper and lower "floors" form a doughnut-pretzel shape within which the safe, sustainable space exists. The concept of a "safe space of sustainability" is also promoted by an Israeli academic, Prof. Eran Feitelson, suggesting that even if sustainability cannot be accurately defined, it is possible to learn the desired range of action (safe and just spaces) that the concept of sustainability produces.¹²

Another aspect of sustainability deals with the management of our world's limited resources. One of the most recognized concepts in this field is the "circular economy"¹³, which focuses on the relationship between the environment and the economy and seeks to offer an alternative to the current economic system. This theory regards today's economy as a linear system that begins with wasteful resource mining, continues with massive production responsible for high pollution and greenhouse gas emissions, and ends after temporary consumption, with most of its products transformed into accumulated and polluting waste. Instead, a circular economy proposes dealing with resources in a circular and cyclical way. This entails planning their entire value chain in advance so that we can use them for a long time and return them to use, maintain their value, create new value

¹¹ Rockstrom et al. (2009) Planetary boundaries: exploring the safe operating space for humanity. *Ecology and Society* 14(2): 32. [online]: <http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol14/iss2/art32/>.

¹² Feitelson, E., & Stern, E. (2023). The double negative approach to sustainability. *Sustainable Development*, 2023 (October 2022), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.2525>.

¹³ A great deal of information on how the issue has evolved can be found in the OECD report: <https://www.oecd.org/cfe/regionaldevelopment/Ekins-2019-Circular-Economy-What-Why-How-Where.pdf>. One of the most prominent organizations in the world that promotes a circular economy in all its aspects is the Alan MacArthur Foundation, a link to their website here: <https://ellenmacarthurfoundation.org/>.

from them, share the resources where possible, restore nutrients to the natural system, and design and plan our products and space inspired by nature so that they contribute to the ecosystem and work in harmony with it. "From Cradle to Cradle: Remaking the Way We Make Things" is one of the pioneering books in this field, written some 20 years ago by Michael Braungart and William McDonough.¹⁴

Here, too, a complementary social aspect has been added to the environmental-economic dimension, as presented in Jason Hickel's book "Less is More".¹⁵ Hickel demonstrates how the economy today, based on production and linear consumption, serves a capitalist economic system in which surplus growth and products that deplete the environment are used to make the rich richer and preserve economic inequality. Hickel argues that it is possible to produce and consume much less, and also to distribute resources differently - in an equitable way, while investing in the welfare, health and stability of ecosystems and thus abandoning the idea of infinite growth and promoting prosperity and well-being for all - which are the precise expression of sustainability.

Measuring sustainability

Throughout history, various metrics have been used to assess states' achievements, wealth, and success. These indicators express a desirable norm. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is one of the most common indicators used in recent decades to quantify economic growth. The GDP index calculates a state's total economic activity (the total goods and services produced), but it does not address the accompanying phenomena of economic activity and its impact on the environment and human well-being. In fact, this indicator expresses, supports, and encourages the over-exploitation of resources for unbridled and unsustainable growth. This index rewards the linear economy and gives a positive score to countries based solely on expansion and growth.

Alternative indices have emerged in recent years in a bid to evaluate the good and the desirable according to more holistic principles that emphasize quality of life and sustainability. For example, the Human Development Index (HDI), developed in the 1990s¹⁶ and adopted by the UN, seeks to emphasize people and their abilities and consists of three indicators: life expectancy, education, and income – all on average per capita. Thus, the index tries to assess life and health, knowledge and human capital, and standard of living. An interesting metric is the RAW National Happiness Index, which examines mental well-being, time use, connection to community, cultural diversity, ecological resilience, standard of living, health, education and good governance. Another alternative is the Environmental Sustainability Index, developed by researchers in academia, which offers 21 indicators to examine the contribution and protection of shared global resources such

¹⁴ Michael Braungart and William McDonough, "From Cradle to Cradle: Remaking the Way We Make Things", Babel and Mashkel Publishing (2002).

¹⁵ Jason Hickel, "Less is more", Radical Publishing (July 2022).

¹⁶ [The Human Development Index on the UNDP website](#) (the UNDP is the UN Development Program).

as air and water quality, biodiversity, and more.¹⁷ The above-mentioned UN SDGs are also a key indicator in this regard.

The development of alternative indices being gradually adopted by different states reflects a change in perception and a redefinition of political systems' objectives. These metrics also serve as a tool to evaluate the actions of governments, companies and organizations and to reward those who act in accordance with them.

C. Sustainability oriented policy

The political system differs in its nature from the environmental-climate system. States have differentiated territory and boundary boundaries, while the environmental system knows no borders - water, animals and pollution move through territories and cross different jurisdictions. The environment and climate create geographical areas with unique characteristics and challenges – desertification and drought zones, cold zones, and floodplains that also traverse political borders. In the political system, states choose the degree of cooperation and dependence vis-a-vis each other. In the environmental-climate system, interdependence and interactions are not created by choice, so that neighboring countries are particularly interdependent, and climate-sensitive countries are affected by particularly polluting countries. The political system makes an artificial distinction between different areas of content and operates separate independent units in each of them - the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Energy, and the Ministry of Agriculture, while the climate system requires a systemic overview and integration. The state system, especially in its political aspect, seeks to reap short-term gains, while the environmental system requires investment in long-term processes that will ensure endurance and resilience.

The human-political framework has developed and been shaped throughout history by environmental, technological, economic, social and cultural changes. The gap between the political and climate-environmental systems indicates that further adaptation is required on the part of states. The accelerated pace of change and the threatening climate crisis are leading to the development of new paradigms about the role and functioning of the state.¹⁸ Climate change "pressures" the existing social contract between governments and citizens and affects this relationship and the connections between and within communities, necessitating its readjustment.

States have recognized that they must address environmental and climate changes. One of the resulting policy concepts deals with the question of environmental-climate security. This approach perceives climate change, resource depletion, water and food shortages as risk multipliers, which may lead to deterioration and additional conflicts and struggles in

¹⁷ [The environmental Sustainability Index.](#)

¹⁸ The following articles provide examples of different perceptions of the role of the state in light of the climate crisis and environmental crises: Arnauld de Sartre, X., & Taravella, R. (2009). National sovereignty vs. sustainable development lessons from the narrative on the internationalization of the Brazilian Amazon. *Political Geography*, 28(7), 406–415. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2009.09.008>; Posocco, L., & Watson, I. (2022). Reflexive Green Nationalism (RGN): A sociological antidote to the climate crisis? *Frontiers in Sociology*, 7. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2022.1021641>.

areas already afflicted by political instability and conflict.¹⁹ However, examining climate change in the political sphere as a security threat and as a risk multiplier narrows the understanding of the climate crisis. The climate crisis is shaping a new world order and we are not yet well acquainted with its laws. It moves on the axis between the global and the local, breaking down hierarchies and changing the natural systems on which we have built our society and economy. As such, the climate crisis demonstrates that the environmental-climate issue is an inherent part of any conflict resolution, in any design of an agreement, in any policy. Dealing with climate is not a privilege of developed and stable countries, but a basic tool for every country. It is more than a tool; it is a basic condition for understanding and action.

Given the concept of sustainability that has developed in the environmental field and its guiding principles, along with the vital need for fundamental change in 21st century policymaking, the political act must be adapted to the climate crisis, with new guiding principles formulated and adopted for human activity.

Guiding principles for sustainability policy

Future

A desirable future - A decision-making system based on the principles of sustainability will frequently seek to imagine a desired future and ask how each action advances us toward that goal. The climate crisis threat dwarfs current political conflicts. Therefore, the legitimacy of present action should be derived from a desired picture of the future, and not from distant history, as is often the case when political and strategic decisions are based on the perception of a historical narrative and past rights. Adopting this history-based guiding principle on the question of the rights of Jews and Palestinians to the land of Israel, for example, is secondary in importance. Instead, in accordance with our proposed guiding principle, Jews and Palestinians will have to deal with the question of how they would like to live tomorrow, and what kind of life they want for their children and grandchildren.

The desirable picture of the future changes at any given moment according to changes in the present, and will not always be agreed upon by all parties. A constant dialogue between all parts of society regarding the desirable picture of the future must be maintained and encouraged, given that the meaning of the past can sometimes be fiercely contested, but the future has not yet happened and thus leaves broader freedom to reach agreements. The ever-changing vision of the future is what will give value to planning, legitimization, and evaluation of current actions.

¹⁹ Chasek, P. S., Downie, D. L., & Brown, J. W. (2018). Global Environmental Politics. In Global Environmental Politics. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429495236>.

Models and data - In the climate-environmental world, models and data are often used to try to evaluate possible scenarios, predict desired outcomes, and derive appropriate actions. These methods should also be adopted by policymakers in other fields.²⁰ Constant learning processes are of great importance – collecting climate and environmental, as well as political and social information, and using public opinion polls and models to generate various forecasts and scenarios. Science seeks to discover the laws of nature, and even to search for the laws of human behavior and decision-making. On the one hand, reliance on science and knowledge in decision-making makes it possible to search for laws that facilitate common conventions and formulate policies and lines of action, and on the other hand to recognize that a margin of error and uncertainty must be considered. A precise depiction of the future and of desirable scenarios will never be possible, but setting an upper and lower limit to define “safe activity spaces” is feasible and will also tell us what limits should be maintained according to available resources.

Optimism and resourcefulness – In painting the picture of the future and our vision, optimism and resourcefulness must be preserved as a source of influence – as a worldview that believes we can change, influence and benefit. Neither political nor environmental reality is dictated from above. We as individuals, as a society and as a country shape it and our future, and can influence our destiny. This is what underlies the concept of human sovereignty and the sovereignty of the people, and it must also be translated into the new field of sustainability-oriented policy.

Environment and resources

1) Policy resources - States do not operate in a vacuum. They influence and are influenced by a variety of interactions and international relationships, and are mutually dependent on other countries, international organizations and business companies - all with their own interests and resources. Therefore, planning a political act requires an examination of the totality of regional and global complexities. Just as any natural system metabolizes with its environment, the state must ensure a fruitful, mutually beneficial relationship with other countries, especially neighboring ones, and learn how to treat borders not as dividing and blocking lines but as spaces for encounter and interaction. This interaction can manifest itself in the transfer of information, technology, entrepreneurship and more, and also in creating systems of collaboration, such as research and mutual help in times of emergency. Cooperation and relationships can be established through partnerships and active participation in international and regional institutions. By meeting international commitments and assuming responsibility for the environmental impact it produces outside its borders, a state will also encourage other countries to do the same – to their benefit and its own. Participation in regional and international negotiations can sometimes shrink the space for independent political action, but on the other hand, it allows each country to influence policies and decisions made in

²⁰ Climate science is based on various models and scenarios. For example, climate risk analysis is carried out while examining several potential scenarios of global temperature rise in accordance with scenarios of greenhouse gas emissions. IPCC reports illustrate this very well <https://www.ipcc.ch/>

other countries or in the region, and expands the range of resources and capabilities available to the state, thereby expanding its political influence.

What is more, just as our world is limited in resources, states also have largely limited policy resources that must therefore be managed correctly. These resources could include issues such as international legitimacy, independence, authority and the use of force, territory, and trust in state institutions. The resources we invest in a particular action must be adapted to that action and yield desirable results. Policy resources should not be wasted, either. We would do well to avoid linear actions that fully exploit a resource until it is rendered depleted and useless. Managing resources, including policy resources, is vital in order to ensure that they continue to sustain themselves and are available for reuse. Holocaust remembrance, for example, is a valuable resource for the Jewish people. After the Holocaust, Israel gained international legitimacy for authoritative decisions on what constitutes antisemitism and what does not. The more Israel uses this resource, and does so in an inappropriate manner, the more the resource is wasted and risks depletion. For instance, to the extent that Israel defines any criticism of its territorial occupation as antisemitic, even when the criticism conforms with international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it wastes this resource through inaccurate and incorrect use. Wise and precise use, on the other hand, will nourish itself and strengthen the resource. For example, to the extent that Israel uses the memory of the Holocaust to stand firmly and permanently on the side of human and civil rights, to prevent discrimination, to support the uncompromising fight against racism, and to serve as an example of such action; that resource will remain at its disposal and bolster its legitimacy as the adjudicator and grantor of normative training on the issue around the world.

2) Environment and natural resources – This issue is perhaps the simplest to understand in terms of the connection between the political and the environmental – we must manage our natural resources in an informed manner since they enable us to exist. The state must protect the groundwater, freshwater reservoirs and the sea that supply available water, enrich and fertilize the land that supplies food, stop turning valuable resources into polluting waste and instead use them to the fullest extent, recycle and innovate, stop air pollution and the use of chemicals detrimental to health, maintain natural systems that provide shade, health, oxygen, food and many other benefits that do not have an economic price tag. All this sounds fairly simple, but is very far from Israeli reality. Israel is drowning in waste, stuck in traditional agricultural methods, addicted to private vehicles, applies low environmental and planning standards, and fails to lead significant reforms in any of these areas.

Cooperation is a guiding principle in resource management since competition for a resource often dilutes and harms it. The more critical a resource is to existence, the greater the competition, most often with those with whom the resource is geographically shared. At the same time, the state has an interest in its neighbors' prosperity and sufficient resources in order to ensure stability and security. Water, for example, is a scarce resource for most of Israel's neighbors. Israel can ostensibly ensure water welfare for its residents through desalination plants. But a water shortage in neighboring Gaza or

Jordan will result in regional security instability. Israel must cooperate with its immediate neighbors on the over-pumping of shared groundwater, pollution of streams and seas, management of drainage basins and floods in order to ensure its own water security. Water is a resource that must be managed in cooperation while preserving and increasing the existing water sources so that the water supply meets the present and future needs of all residents of the area.

The cultivation of local productivity and localization is another important aspect of resource management. Supply chains in the global economy are often very long, with various products (telephones, clothing, food) assembled and manufactured in a number of different countries. The environmental implications include heavy greenhouse gas emissions in the transportation process, and increased waste as human society loses the ability and motivation to repair and reuse products, instead piling them up in polluting waste heaps. The political significance of the global supply chains comes into play in the event of a global crisis or a crisis in another country, which impairs the supply of goods, some of which are essential for the economy (just as the war in Ukraine affected the world's wheat supply and the energy sector, or the COVID-19 pandemic affected the availability of consumer goods and food). Therefore, bolstering productivity and the local economy are of significant importance. Converting global supply chains by adopting and sharing relevant knowledge and skills and translating global techniques and methods to local needs should be encouraged in order to strengthen local resilience and preparedness for times of crisis.

Equality

- 1) Shrinking gaps and ensuring access to resources – Equality is, in essence, a social concept focused on reducing gaps between populations and providing equal access by different individuals and groups to a variety of resources. The connection between equality and sustainability stems from the perception that inequality is unsustainable and undermines social order. Inequality makes people feel that what they have is not good enough, creates a sense of injustice and erodes social cohesion.²¹ Inequality causes groups to isolate themselves, reduces social mobility and impairs the subjective sense of happiness and well-being. Societies with unequal income distribution tend to be less happy.²²
- 2) Welfare rather than profit – Political sustainability should be guided by values of social and economic equality, based on maximizing welfare rather than profits and ensuring the best living conditions for its people. Therefore, other indicators must be adopted in all areas of policymaking to replace the traditional profit-based bottom-line measurement. These metrics include health, education, happiness, life expectancy, access to resources and opportunities, reducing gaps, etc. Reducing social inequality, strengthening solidarity, and improving the standard of living and welfare will lead to stability in the political sphere. The

²¹ Jason Hickel, "Less is More".

²² Richard Wilkinson & Kate Pickett, "The spirit level: why equality is better for everyone", Penguin (2010).

economic liberal approach that believes the invisible hand will balance the market does not produce social welfare. The political system, therefore, has a role to play in maintaining the balance sheet for the common good and ensuring that no actor receives excess and disproportionate power. Decision-makers must learn where balances exist on their own, and where they require external intervention. The political system, for example, can decide that projects and ventures in which it invests will be measured not only by economic profit, but by the added profit they provide for society and the environment in accordance with values of sustainability.

- 3) Equality between countries – It is important to strive for equality, even from an extra-state perspective. Each country has an interest in avoiding major gaps with neighboring states or those with which it has some kind of relationship. Large gaps in development, access to resources, supply of needs, and technologies undermine regional stability. The state has an interest in a happy neighborhood so that it does not have to shut itself in, can realize cooperation, and continue to evolve and act. Measures to promote political equality can include the transfer of knowledge and the sharing of policy, and even in the investment of government money to transfer technologies and patents so that they do not depend on economic-business motivations.
- 4) Equal transparency and accessibility – Another aspect of equality relates to ensuring access to shared resources at national and global levels. Accessibility to resources includes physical access to free open spaces and clean air, as well as access to knowledge. Access to knowledge requires increased transparency, especially in government institutions, but also as a basic requirement for every company, organization, association, etc. It also includes access to decision-makers and relevant officials (part of the basic values of democracy), and other types of political resources such as international bodies, international law processes, global organizations and institutions, etc.

Diversity

- 1) Diversity as wealth – Diversity enriches and strengthens the social and political system. Each person brings unique wealth to the world. We live in a multicultural society, where each culture or group has a history and a heritage. Diversity is what ensures balances in the system, and enables the cross fertilization necessary for existence. Diversity is what allows for variability and adaptation. Therefore, a sustainable political system is one that respects and supports a variety of communities and people, and the variety of relationships among them (relationships that are as beneficial as possible). These support measures include free channels of communication that facilitate the transfer of knowledge and culture, access to the public sphere as population groups, and more.
- 2) Diversity as enhancing decision-making - The issue of diversity also relates to the question of how different types of opinions, tools and ideas can be integrated into any political decision-making. Various arguments regarding the role of the sovereign state in the 21st century relate to the idea that all processes of formulating policy, finding solutions, and executing projects should involve all stakeholders who can contribute to the issue – civil

society organizations, the business sector, local authorities, private individuals and more.²³ The government must lead the thought process and the strategy, but there is also a growing understanding of the vast repository of knowledge and tools outside the government that should be mobilized for political action in order to strengthen it. The political system must strengthen its relationships with various sectors and support cross-sectoral cooperation. It should also ensure that minority voices, gender perspectives, etc. are heard.

- 3) Diversity as boosting relations – A state's international relations should also be as diverse as possible. A lasting relationship between two countries will be multi-dimensional and include economic, environmental and social issues. **Binding multiple interests together** strengthens the stability of relationships and enables agreement on complex matters. Tying relationships with many countries and diverse actors outside its borders will provide the state with greater resilience, political stability, and a broader and safer sphere of action, generating more opportunities for its citizens.

D. Sustainable foreign policy

Foreign policy is a government tool used for managing a country's relationships with other countries, international organizations, and various bodies and populations located outside the country. Foreign policy reflects the values and goals of the political system, and is designed to serve the interests of the state while promoting the welfare of its citizens through international relations and activity.²⁴

The severity of the climate change risks has forced world leaders to respond to the unfolding crisis. One such response in the field of foreign policy has been the development of the "climate diplomacy" concept. This concept refers to the various actions of countries in the international system and in their foreign relations that promote cooperation to enhance the response to the climate crisis. These include measures to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and prevent global warming (mitigation), as well as development a capacity to cope with the consequences of the climate crisis (adaptation). However, climate diplomacy is not limited to these actions alone. It also includes actions to leverage the climate crisis as a platform for other political action. For example, climate diplomacy suggests that the climate crisis can be used to emphasize the need for regional and global cooperation, thereby promoting other foreign policy objectives such as security, regional stability, confidence building and diplomatic relations, peace, and more.²⁵

The annual UN Climate Change Conferences (Conference of Parties - COP) is a striking example of the climate crisis's presence in the field of foreign policy. Diplomats and representatives from countries around the world gather in an attempt to cooperate to

²³ Karkkainen, B. C. "Post-Sovereign Environmental. Governance," Global Environmental Politics, February 2004, 72–96.

²⁴ There are different definitions of foreign policy, for example by [Universidad Europa](#) or [the University of York](#).

²⁵ The definition of climate diplomacy <https://climate-diplomacy.org/what-climate-diplomacy>.

reduce global greenhouse gas emissions and to adapt human life to the ongoing climate crisis. Israeli diplomats, for example, take advantage of the climate crisis as a convenient platform for political cooperation with countries in the region. This includes the Israel-Bahrain declaration of intent on agricultural cooperation for food security²⁶ and an Israel-Morocco agreement on technology and innovation cooperation, with an emphasis on desalination and water management, agriculture, desertification, food processing and renewable energies.²⁷

Climate diplomacy seeks to advance climate goals as well as provide tools to promote cooperation. **The concept we suggest here** of “political-climate sustainability” proposes a broader and deeper change in foreign policy. In fact, it seeks to reshape foreign policy, even on issues that ostensibly have nothing to do with climate or the environment. Its proponents argue that environmental-climate sustainability cannot be separated from political sustainability. They propose a new conceptual paradigm linking the political and environmental fields through the concept of sustainability, thereby reshaping the priorities, goals, objectives and tools used to make foreign policy. We will briefly demonstrate how adopting the concept and the paradigm it proposes could reshape the goals and tools of Israeli foreign policy.

Goals and tools

We in the Israeli arena must internalize the idea that the climate crisis will affect available resources and living conditions in the Middle East. However, we still retain control over shaping our shared future in the region. Competition for resources can intensify conflicts and generate political instability, but finding ways to increase a resource and distribute it equally and fairly serves as an infrastructure for stability and peace-building. Looking towards a shared future, we can simply state that war and conflicts are not sustainable in any way, they produce environmental, economic and social destruction on a vast scale, dismantle communities and undermine the most basic living conditions that every person deserves. In a space of conflict and war, people lack hope and a vision of their future; they are preoccupied with survival and efforts to resist attempts to dismantle the political and social order. Peace, on the other hand, is sustainable. Even when it is an ongoing process rather than an existing state of affairs, it can offer a future and a path to follow.

Adopting the paradigm of sustainability-oriented policy will help Israel understand, for example, the complex interdependence between Israeli-Palestinian peace and peace between Israel and other countries in the region. Within the framework of this paradigm, the discussion will not be limited to the question of whether it is possible to “bypass” the Palestinian issue and forge formal relations with other Arab countries. Relations between Israel and the Palestinians are part of the human, social, political, and physical picture of the region. The Palestinians are part of the political and climate space shared by Israel

²⁶ Barsky A. “Israel and Bahrain have signed a declaration of intentions and agricultural cooperation.” *Maariv online*. Oct. 19, 2022.

²⁷ Gorodisky S. “Historic technological agreement was signed with Morocco.” *Israel Hayom*. May 27, 2022.

and its neighboring Arab countries. A sustainable political and climate system in the Middle East cannot be achieved as long as the conflict continues.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which generates violence and human and environmental damage, is like environmental pollution that must be stopped, after which the sides must work to rehabilitate the system. Above all, this paradigm seeks to place the advancement of Israeli-Palestinian peace as a central goal for Israel and its citizens. In addition, it will force Israel and its partners to examine the nature of relations between Israel and the countries around it – do the new ties resulting from the 2020 Abraham Accords promote cooperation that benefits the political, civil, and physical environments? Are the dividends of these new ties distributed among all citizens and residents? How will these ties help promote a desirable future for the Middle East, and promote peace between Israel and the Palestinians? In shaping relations between countries, do the diversity of voices and identities in the region achieve a voice and expression? Can relationships resistant to political or environmental shocks be built, and how? Promoting peace processes and Israel's integration into the region, along with strengthening regional resilience and increasing and distributing available resources more equitably, should be the hallmarks of Israeli foreign policy.

Another key to progress on all these fronts is the understanding that each country exists in a system of interdependence with its human and physical environment in the climatic and political aspects – a water crisis in Jordan or the sedimentation and flooding of residential areas in Egypt will have a direct impact on the State of Israel. A severe economic crisis in Egypt that is not necessarily directly linked to climate change, a severe political crisis in Lebanon stemming from power and identity struggles, or a civil war in Syria – all will also have a direct impact on the State of Israel and its citizens. States are interdependent even when they are engaged in conflict or have severed their diplomatic ties. In order to ensure political existence and Israel's political stability, responsibility must also be assumed for developments outside the country's borders – especially at the regional level. We are part of the regional and global environment, and ensuring each state's resilience and national security strengthens regional stability. Under the paradigm of political-climate sustainability, one side's gain is not the other side's loss. On the contrary, it benefits all because it contributes to regional resilience and builds trust between the parties. In addition, inequality between countries undermines regional stability, and therefore action should be taken to support progress in neighboring countries through information and technology transfer, the formation of shared institutions, mutual emergency assistance, partnerships in regional institutions and more. Action must be promoted for the benefit of other countries, even if its fruits are not immediate.

To advance these goals, the concept of political-climate sustainability offers foreign policy decision-makers and agencies a diverse set of tools, which includes a number of key aspects:

Analysis of spaces rather than political borders – Foreign policy that relies on a concept of sustainability-oriented policy will analyze different spaces rather than limiting

itself to political borders. Each such analysis relates to risk assessment but also to identifying opportunities and using professional intelligence tools (that Israel has developed over the years) to ensure a comprehensive picture and the reliability of the geographical space with reference to resource management, cultural values, forecasts and models for different time periods, possibilities for cooperation and more. Constant learning, with sensitivity to change and its effects, will underlie this approach. This will be expressed, inter alia, in strengthening research departments and developing knowledge in the foreign service system in order to adapt the activity to changing reality, to study the field, collect data and process them in a constant and continuous manner.

Inclusive foreign policy – Multiple entities and individuals deal with some aspects of foreign policy, from professional government ministries, through businesses, civil society organizations, private individuals who participate in international organizations, and more. They include a wide variety of cultures, languages, worldviews and values, each of which has importance and value. It is important to actively introduce into the discourse voices that are not part of it. For example, Security Council Resolution 1325 discusses the need to integrate women into political processes and the assimilation of women's gender perspectives into decision-making processes. A study²⁸ by the Mitvim Institute on women's peace groups indicates that women contribute to an egalitarian, just and conciliatory discourse and, therefore, also to the advancement of the principles of political-climate sustainability. The Arab citizens of the State of Israel are also an important voice that has not been sufficiently heard, despite their unique capacity to forge connections and cooperation between Israel and other countries in the Middle East.²⁹ All of them must be harnessed and connected by foreign policy in order to achieve the goal of promoting a sustainable foreign policy.

Connecting Israeli and global developments – Israeli diplomats and other representatives scattered around the world are exposed to a broad variety of knowledge and practices developed over time in other countries. An integral part of their role should thus be to learn from developments around the world and link this knowledge and its potential use to local Israeli needs. Of course, as part of their job, ambassadors must also be well acquainted with various projects and policy tools in Israel, which they can offer to different regions of the world and contribute to their welfare. Strengthening ties between Israel and the world, integrating into the world, and contributing to global progress will also serve Israeli citizens. The same principle holds for diplomats, economic and military attaches, emissaries of Zionist institutions, professional communities such as academics, doctors, engineers, jurists, etc., and civil society organizations in various fields, artists, performers, etc.

²⁸ Levinas Shiri, August 2022, [Women's Peace Organizations in Formal Peace Processes: The Benefits of Partnership and the Prices of Exclusion](#). Mitvim Institute.

²⁹ Other Mitvim studies on this issue include: Sana Knaneh, [The similarity and difference in Jewish and Arab attitudes in foreign relations](#). October 2016. (Hebrew); Sana Knaneh, [The involvement of Palestinian Arab citizens of Israel in shaping and influencing foreign relations](#). 2018. (Hebrew)

Designing environmental agreements as infrastructure for long-term peace – The concept of peace has been excluded from the discourse in the Israeli-Palestinian context and feels far from achievable. The climate issue allows a more flexible platform around which compromises can be reached and cooperation formalized. Harnessing climate environmental agreements between the parties as gradual stages of a political peace process may make it possible to revisit the peace process. These agreements must be designed in a way that promotes equality between the parties, strengthens the institutions and the ability of each side to operate, and builds transparent and clear cooperative systems that enhance the quality of life for both sides.

Adopting the sustainable foreign policy tool expands the range of potential activity, changes the definition of goals and objectives as well as the outcome and definition of success, and provides a more adapted response to environmental threats and the challenges of the climate crisis. We would like to briefly illustrate this by examining two concrete foreign policy issues facing the State of Israel.

The trilateral Israel-Jordan-UAE water-electricity deal

In November 2021 and in November 2022, two memoranda of understanding were signed between Israel, Jordan and the UAE to promote the "Water for Renewable Energy" project, with Jordan slated to build a solar field to produce energy for export to Israel and Israel slated to build a desalination plant and export water to Jordan, all with Emirati funding. If implemented, the agreement will ease Jordan's dire, chronic water crisis and allow Israel to move forward with the transition to renewable energies and adherence to international commitments to reduce greenhouse gases.

The project's many components represent the political-climate logic of meeting basic needs through the supply of water to Jordan and the supply of renewable energy to Israel. It institutionalizes interdependencies and bolsters regional resilience; provides an opportunity to strengthen the peace agreement with Jordan through concrete measures; envisions action based on a desirable future picture while promoting long-term infrastructure, cooperation and trust. What is more, as an expression of an inclusive foreign policy, it is important to note that the idea and its initial implementation grew out of civil society at the initiative of the Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian organization EcoPeace. It serves as proof of the importance and value of including a variety of people, organizations and opinions in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy.

Nonetheless, there are several major deviations from the concept of political-climate sustainability in this project, first and foremost, the exclusion of the Palestinians. In the original project initiated by EcoPeace (as part of the Green-Blue Deal concept), the Palestinians were full partners, including the construction of an additional desalination plant in Gaza that would also sell water to Jordan in exchange for electricity that would also serve the Palestinians. In terms of sustainable political-climate thinking, excluding the Palestinians from the project is a serious obstacle which harms the sustainability of the project from both the political and climatic aspects. Such a deal is a missed opportunity

because it would have strengthened the Palestinian water and electricity infrastructure, boosted the Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian relationship, gained legitimacy on the Jordanian street, and created a Palestinian stock of resources that would reduce dependence on Israel. Today, the exclusion of the Palestinians from the deal is, among other things, a cause of public opposition among both the Jordanian public³⁰ and some of the Israeli public.

In order to improve the proposed deal and, with it, the future reality of our lives, its partners must adopt the paradigm of political-climate sustainability and act first and foremost to integrate the Palestinians into this regional project. They must also subsequently approach its implementation with the thinking and tools that the paradigm offers – seeking mutual profit, developing shared resilience and using data collection and knowledge to build a desirable future.

The oil pipeline within the framework of the Abraham Accords

The Abraham Accords were signed between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain in September 2020 (subsequently followed by normalization agreements with Sudan and Morocco). The agreements led to the opening of embassies, airline operations, direct investments between the countries, economic cooperation, business cooperation, student exchanges, tourism, and more. One of the initiatives promoted was expanding the capacity of the oil pipeline of the Europe Asia Pipeline Company (EAPC, also known as the Eilat-Ashkelon oil pipeline). This initiative was promoted behind the scenes, away from the public eye, and the agreement was signed in secrecy without involving even the relevant Israeli government ministries. Most of its specifications are still unknown.

While this move served to strengthen the fresh political relations between Israel and the United Arab Emirates, it lacked climate logic in several aspects. From the environmental-climate perspective, increasing oil capacity is an antithesis to efforts to cleanse the world of fossil fuels and switch to renewable energies. In addition, it poses an environmental hazard to ecologically sensitive areas that are a strategic asset for each of the countries. It poses a danger to the Red Sea with its unique coral reefs and to desert nature reserves in southern Israel. Past leaks from the pipeline caused unprecedented ecological damage for which we are still paying a price today. Even from a political aspect, this deal is deeply flawed due to its complete lack of transparency. The secrecy surrounding the agreement appears to serve the narrow interests of wealthy individuals and reflects environmental injustice, since any environmental damage will be a serious blow to areas in the public domain and to the public that is not a party to the deal and does not benefit from it. What is more, this secrecy and lack of transparency are critical obstacles not only for coordination between government ministries, but also for mobilizing public trust and participation in decision-making.

³⁰[Electricity in exchange for water: The Agreement of Jordan and Israel. between the opposition of the people and the explanations of the politicians.](#) Meidan (Arabic). The Jordanian public also opposes the unilateral dependence it claims will be created on Israel. Related article: On Dagan [Electricity agreement for water: Israel is drying up but newspapers are outraged.](#) *The Seventh Eye*. Dec. 23, 2021. (Hebrew)

This type of project forges relations that, to a large extent, deepen inequality - with energy companies (private) mostly at the expense of local residents and with the strongest and richest countries in the region (Israel and the UAE) at the expense of weaker ones – Egypt,³¹ the Palestinians, and the Jordanians who are not partners and do not benefit from this project.

The EAPC agreement, which lacked any climate-environmental logic, gave rise to widespread public opposition and to a legal and even internal governmental clash. The Ministry of Environmental Protection employed bureaucratic tools to delay and even freeze its execution, civil society organizations³² (Adam Teva V'Din, Zalul and the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel) petitioned the High Court of Justice against the agreement, and ultimately the state declared that it would act in accordance with the position of the Ministry of Environmental Protection, which set a policy of “zero additional environmental risk”. Following the government's declaration, civil society organizations withdrew their petition.³³ But the situation must continue to be monitored.

Many initiatives being proposed and implemented in Israel these days include various components of the political-climate sustainability concept, but too many do not. Foreign policy actions that simultaneously take into account both the political and climatic spheres are those that will succeed in creating continuity and sustainability. Significant action in the climate sphere (for example, the Israel-Jordan-Emirates tripartite deal) that is not backed by a political framework will not succeed/achieve its goals in the long term, and a political action that goes against both logics – environmental-climate logic (building an EAPC oil pipeline from the oil terminal in Eilat) and political logic (non-transparent conduct, inequality, and damage to relations with Egypt) will also not succeed in the long term. These are just two small examples that illustrate how political moves can be assessed through the lens of sustainability-oriented policy. This assessment is a necessary first stage, on the basis of which it is possible to understand what principles and logic proposed by political-climate sustainability should be integrated into various types of projects.

E. Summary

This document proposes a new paradigm, "sustainability-oriented policy", which is based on the idea that in a world beset by a growing climate crisis, political logic and environmental logic are critically interdependent in the planning and implementation of strategic policy. The document seeks to examine how this paradigm can shape the way we look at government, the role of the state in general, and foreign policy in particular. The

³¹ Increased traffic through the oil pipeline threatens to harm Egypt and Israel's relations with Egypt. The transfer of oil through an Israeli pipeline reduces the revenues that Egypt could derive from the transfer of that oil from the Gulf through the Suez Canal. While this is not a significant economic threat, the political message that emerges from it is problematic. Thus, the move to strengthen relations with the UAE risks harming relations with Egypt.

³² Shani Ashkenazi, [Is the EAPC agreement for the transportation of oil from the UAE on the way to a freeze?](#) *Globes*. July 25, 2021.

³³ Adam Teva V'Din, [Fighting EAPC's dangerous oil deal](#).

document also proposes adopting this concept for an assessment of government-promoted action, but more so for an understanding of reality, for planning policy and for its implementation. In the field of foreign policy, the paradigm of political-climate sustainability proposes the realization of partnerships in the field of climate to advance Israel's political objectives, chief among them the promotion of peaceful relations with its Palestinian neighbors and its surroundings and the establishment of deep and long-term regional relationships and partners, along with the use of political tools for long-term climate crisis management. The new paradigm is an invitation to the professionals responsible for formulating and implementing foreign policy, to adopt this perspective and its guiding principles, and to start acting accordingly, as soon as the third and fourth decades of the 21st century.

The conceptual field of sustainability imparts concepts, tools and principles that are an integral part of today's world and the essence of ensuring a better future: planning the present with a forward-looking perspective, strengthening diverse relationships of all kinds, sensitively managing resources, ensuring equality and equal access to opportunities for all, and more. These concepts, tools, and principles must be translated into the political field and provide decision-makers with new practices adapted to the challenges of the 21st century: prioritizing welfare over profits, finding a safe space for action, connecting climate logics to policy, and more.

All the principles of political-climate sustainability are related to building resilience and strengthening relationships between communities, between sectors, between the state and its residents, between the state and its neighbors, and between human life and the physical environment. This resilience is the cornerstone making it possible to overcome crises and to thrive in a changing reality and with limited resources.

The document presents the concept of political-climate sustainability and its constituent elements, and the importance and potential of adopting the perspective it provides, while understanding that the concept and its meaning must still be developed and fleshed out. While adopting the concept of "political-climate sustainability", it must also remain open to changes in the future, be linked to the environment and adapted to it, allow a variety of interpretations and emphases within the sustainable framework, and enable dialogue and equal accessibility to continue the discussion of its meaning.

The adoption of this paradigm has great potential for conducting a sustainable Israeli foreign policy. Israel is located in an area that is expected to be severely affected by climate change, and at the same time, its relations with its neighbors are complex and conflicted. Many major, complex challenges face Israel, its citizens, neighbors, and residents of the region. The paradigm of political-climate sustainability provides an important tool to turn these challenges into opportunities as well as achieving regional resilience and stability by promoting cooperation, equality and peace. Cooperation and peace will allow us to build together a desirable picture of the future for the region – and to realize it.