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THE INTERDISCIPLINARY CENTER HERZLIYA  
LAUDER SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, DIPLOMACY AND STRATEGY  
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY AND STRATEGY  
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ON THE BALANCE OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY  
"ISRAEL AT SIXTY: TESTS OF ENDURANCE"

JANUARY 20-23, 2008

**WORKING PAPER**

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**THE HERZLIYA ACCORD**  
**Prioritizing Israel's Social Needs**

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**Uzi Arad**  
**Rebecca Leicht**

**Draft for Comment**

THIS PAPER REFLECTS THE OPINIONS OF ITS AUTHORS ONLY

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Kanfei Nesharim Street, Herzliya

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## **The Idea**

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The Herzliya Accord Project aims to assess the greatest social challenges facing the State of Israel, and establish priorities among them.

Essentially, the Project asks difficult, even uncomfortable questions: With all the demands on the Israeli budget, how must we rank our social needs? Given that our resources are limited, what should come first? Among all the necessary social programs within Israel's allocation toward social needs, which areas are expected to give the country the greatest net return on our investment? Which will give us the least?

Of course, it isn't easy to compare the needs of one swath of Israel to another. The Herzliya Accord is admittedly comparing a category as broad as education to something as specific as the regional development of the Negev and the Galil. But such is the way governments spend their money. We take one priority, Education, and instead of investing in it, perhaps we invest in something else, say, Immigration and Absorption.

But what works best, from a cost-benefit analysis perspective?

We posed these questions to two separate panels over the course of January 2008. A panel of expert economists, and a panel of some of Israel's emerging young leaders.

The 2008 Herzliya Accord Project will begin its first year as a pilot program, with the intent that the Project will be ongoing. We expect to repeat this exercise next year, under the heading "The Jerusalem Consensus," at which time we anticipate a more rigorous level of both research and debate, and further opportunity to address Israel's national goals.

The Herzliya Accord Project was originally proposed and initiated by Professor Uzi Arad, Founding Director of the Institute for Policy and Strategy, who steadily guided the project to fruition, and in consultation and with the advice of Adv. Shraga Biran. Professor Rafi Melnick shepherded the Accord to completion as academic advisor and in his capacity as Dean of the Lauder School of

Government and Economics Professor at IDC-Herzliya. Finally, the Project was organized and implemented by Rebecca Leicht, Research Fellow at the Insitute for Policy and Strategy, with the support of Maya Tobias, Lirit Vasserman, Yaniv Ofek, and Yael Amit.

It is our hope that this project will place debate about the prioritization of Israel's resources firmly on the national agenda, making it possible not only to do good for the country, but to do the best that we possibly can.<sup>1</sup>

## **The Panelists**

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The primary panel, our Seven Stars, consisted of some of Israel's leading economic minds. To allow for a breadth of expertise, we invited experts from academia, government, journalism, and consulting. We aimed for and attained a tight, cohesive panel, well versed in the socio-economic condition and passionate about the direction of the country.

The Seven Stars Expert Panel derives its name from the emblem of Herzliya itself – seven stars, paying homage to Theodore Herzl's original proposal for the flag of the Jewish State, seven golden stars on a white banner.

The Herzliya Accord Expert Panel Members include Mr. David Brodet, Dr. Karnit Flug, Dr. Daniel Gottlieb, Professor Rafi Melnick (academic advisor), Mr. Sever Plocker, Dr. Yacov Sheinin, and Professor Manuel Trachtenberg.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to convening on January 4, 2008, the Seven Stars Panelists were given background information about the Herzliya Accord Project's inspiration and methodology. The panel was restricted to economists precisely because the Herzliya Accord was looking for an economic prioritization toward a rational approach to government spending.

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<sup>1</sup> Paraphrase from a statement made by Bjorn Lomborg.

<sup>2</sup> See Addendum for biographical information on the Expert Panel.

## **The Inspiration**

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The Herzliya Accord is based on The Copenhagen Consensus. The first installment of the Copenhagen Consensus, an ongoing project, took place in 2004. The Consensus brought eight of the world's top economists together to create a prioritized list of opportunities to "solve the 10 greatest challenges facing humanity."<sup>3</sup>

The project and methodology was originated by the staff of the Environmental Assessment Institute in Denmark, under the direction of Professor Bjorn Lomborg, and was co-sponsored by *The Economist* magazine.

While the Copenhagen Consensus assessed the world's greatest challenges, the Herzliya Accord aims to determine Israel's most pressing social needs. And, in fact, this was an expressed goal of the Consensus: "It is our hope that the Copenhagen Consensus methodology will be used for other prioritization issues," wrote Professor Lomborg.<sup>4</sup> Professor Lomborg will join us at the Eighth Annual Herzliya Conference.

## **The Method**

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To allow for a cost-benefit analysis approach, giving way to a rational approach to government spending, we focused the question: **If the State of Israel had an extra NIS 6 billion shekel to spend on social programs over the next three years, where should we spend it? Where would it do the most good?**

The quantity of NIS 6 Billion, like the rest of the method of the Accord, is deliberate. According to an assessment by economists at The Interdisciplinary

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<sup>3</sup> The outcome of this exercise, a ranked list of some of the "greatest challenges facing humanity," can be seen in the attached addendum.

<sup>4</sup> Lomborg, Bjorn (Ed). Global Crises, Global Solutions, (Cambridge University Press, 2004). p. 8.

Center Herzliya, NIS 6 Billion represents the 4 - 5 percent average yearly increase in the amount of new wealth being generated by the Israeli economy<sup>5</sup>.

Next, the project assessed *what* we aimed to prioritize. The Herzliya Accord only concerned itself with social needs, taking defense spending out of the equation.

To compile a list of some of the most pertinent social challenges facing Israel, we scoured the Ministry of Finance allocations and Knesset committee session conversations, creating an overall list of categorical projects currently being financed and discussed. We used these two sources so that we would not only be looking at current projects, but projects still being debated as necessary for financing.<sup>6</sup>

In discussions with Professor Rafi Melnick, the Project's academic advisor, and in consultation with the Herzliya Accord Seven Stars Expert Panel, the final categories are:

Public Health

Education<sup>7</sup>

Welfare

Environmental Protection

Infrastructure and Public Works Projects

Personal Security

Immigration and Absorption

Regional Development (Negev and Galil)

Higher Education, Science & Technology, Research & Development

The 'Agenda' (Fostering Employment, Reducing Poverty, Focusing on Special Populations)

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<sup>5</sup> In his briefing to the panel, Mr. Haber capped this growth at 2.5 percent.

<sup>6</sup> The overall list we worked with can be seen in the addendum, attached.

<sup>7</sup> This does not include Higher Education.

From this list, we chose some of the most frequently cited issues in current-day debate, and asked present or former executive officials in these fields to allow for us to learn from their expertise:

Mr. Yaakov (Koby) Haber, National Budget Director, Israeli Ministry of Finance

Dr. Miriam (Miki) Haran, former Director General, Israeli Ministry of Environmental Protection

Professor Dov Chernichovsky, Senior Lecturer, Department of Health Policy and Management, Ben Gurion University; Member, Governmental Committee to Examine Public Medicine and the Status of Physicians in Israel.

Along with the Seven Stars Expert Panel, these Field Experts joined IPS staff for a full-day meeting on January 4, 2008. Each expert gave a briefing to the panel. Mr. Haber presented a general overview of the current Israeli budget and specifically addressed infrastructure projects. Dr. Haran briefed the panel on the needs of the Office of Environmental Protection. And Prof. Chernichovsky, representing the Taub Center for Social Policy Studies in Israel, briefed the panel on Education, Welfare, and Public Health, and gave a non-governmental perspective on Israel's current budget for social needs.<sup>8</sup>

## **The Ranking**

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To make it possible for each of the seven expert panelists to judge the categories independently, in concert with the briefings and their prior knowledge, we provided them with three individual forms.

Form 1: The Prioritized List (1 – 10)

Form 2: The Cascade, Based on a cost-benefit analysis of investment (Very Good, Good, Neutral, Bad)

Form 3: The Budget Allocation and Potential Projects<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> A summary of these presentations, in Hebrew, can be found in this report.

<sup>9</sup> See addendum.

The panelists went through three rounds of deliberation, based on each of the three forms given. After each round, there was discussion based on individual preferences and to encourage collective reasoning. This deliberative process is based on the Delphi method, a communication method to allow for a group of individuals, as a whole, to deal with a complex problem and come to consensus.<sup>10</sup>

The Herzliya Accord was reached in calculating the average rankings of each panelist, and in the final round of discussion, which ushered the project to a point of consensus.

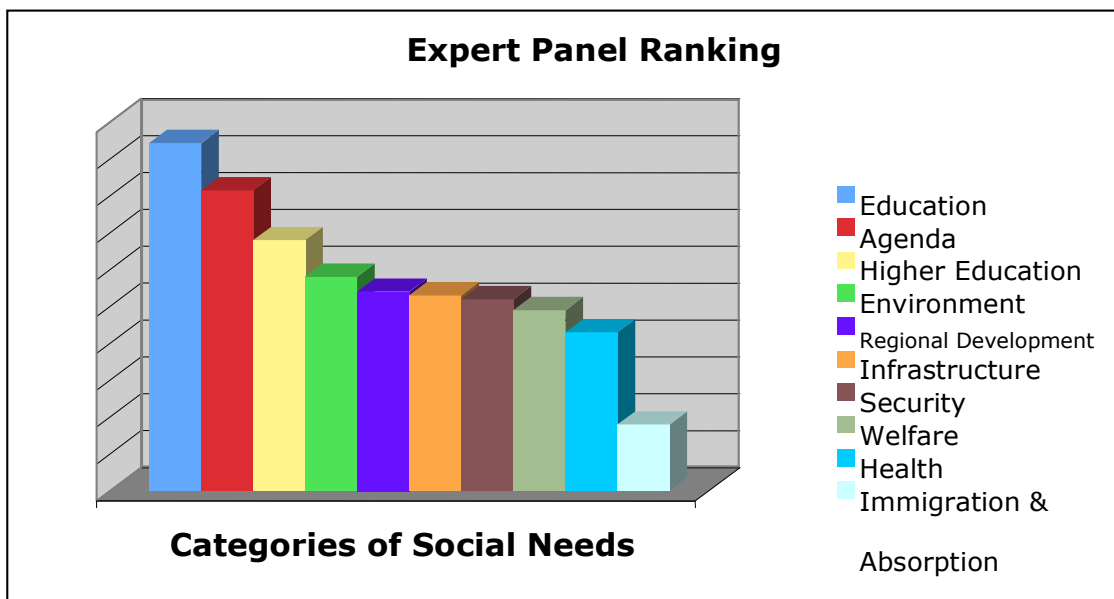
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<sup>10</sup> "Project Delphi" was the name given to a US Air Force-sponsored RAND Corporation study, starting in the early 1950's, concerning the use of expert opinion. The objective of the original study was to "obtain the most reliable consensus of opinion of a group of experts...by a series of intensive questionnaires interspersed with controlled opinion feedback." (N. Dalkey and O. Helmer, "An Experimental Application of the Delphi Method to the Use of Experts," *Management Science* 9, No. 3 (April 1963), p. 458.)



## The Results

The results of the Herzliya Accord Project are both surprising and, in many ways, in harmony with trends of the State of Israel. The most salient findings, to be sure, lie in the extremes of the prioritization.



At the top of the list is Education. It isn't just that primary education was ranked as number one – it's that education is number one, and Higher Education is ranked as number three. Taken together, there was overwhelming consensus in the panel that Education is the most important investment our country can make.

Also noteworthy is what came last. Of course, the categories at the bottom of the list do not state that these causes are unimportant, but that the panelists could not be sure how much of a benefit we might derive from investing in them at the present time. Coming in at number nine was Public Health – a big surprise. And last on the ranked list was Immigration and Absorption.

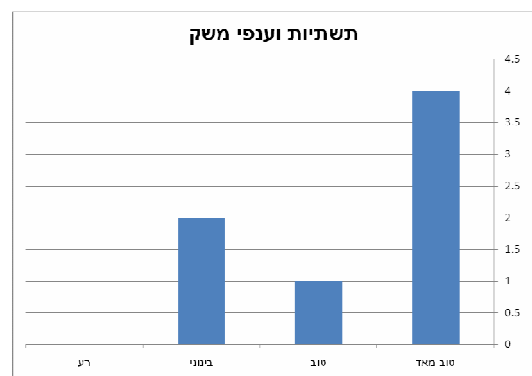
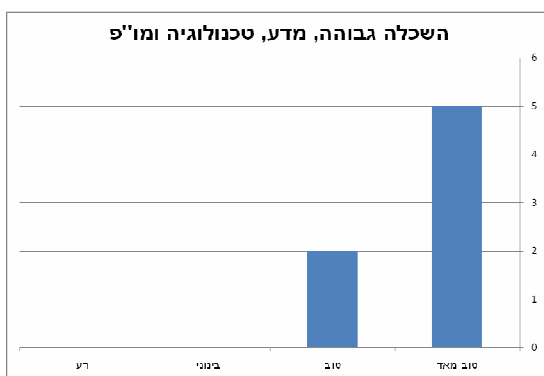
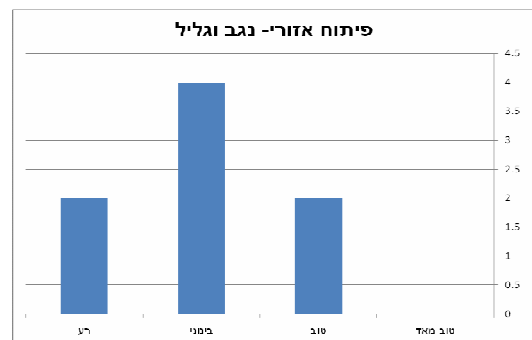
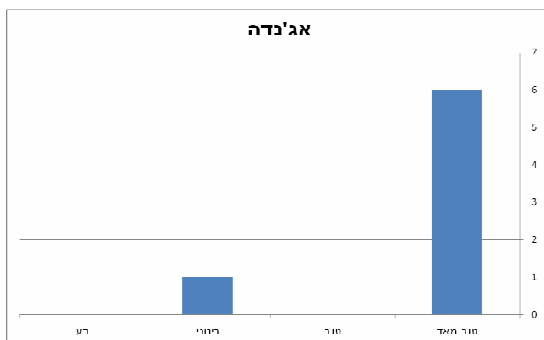
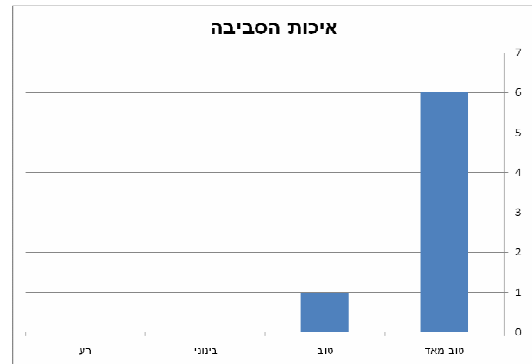
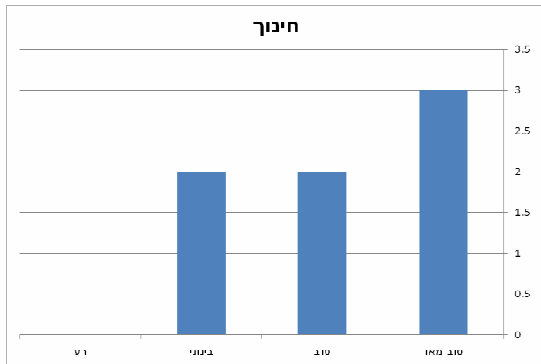
<b>FINAL RANKING</b>	<b>AVERAGE</b>
<b>1. Education</b>	<b>1.57</b>
<b>2. Agenda (Advancing Employment, Poverty Reduction, Focusing on Special Populations)</b>	<b>2.85</b>
<b>3. Higher Education, Science &amp; Technology, Research &amp; Development)</b>	<b>4.2</b>
<b>4. Environmental Protection</b>	<b>5.2</b>
<b>5. Regional Development (Negev &amp; Galil)</b>	<b>5.6</b>
<b>6. Infrastructure &amp; Sector Development (Ports, etc.)</b>	<b>5.7</b>
<b>7. Personal Security</b>	<b>5.8</b>
<b>8. Welfare<sup>11</sup></b>	<b>6.1</b>
<b>9. Public Health</b>	<b>6.7</b>
<b>10. Immigration and Absorption</b>	<b>9.2</b>

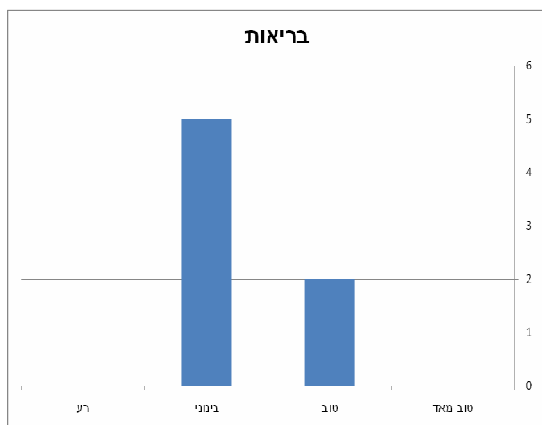
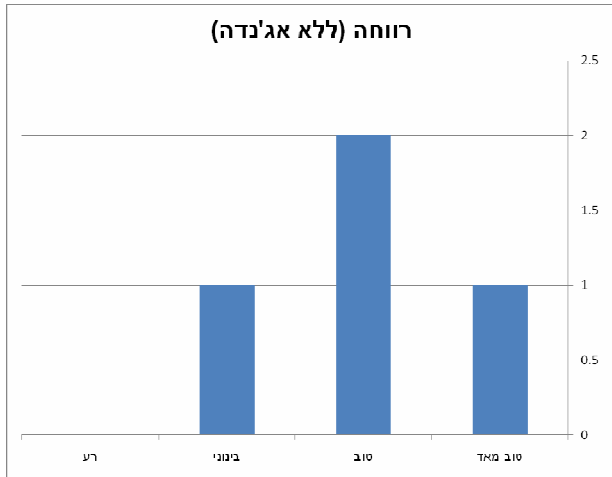
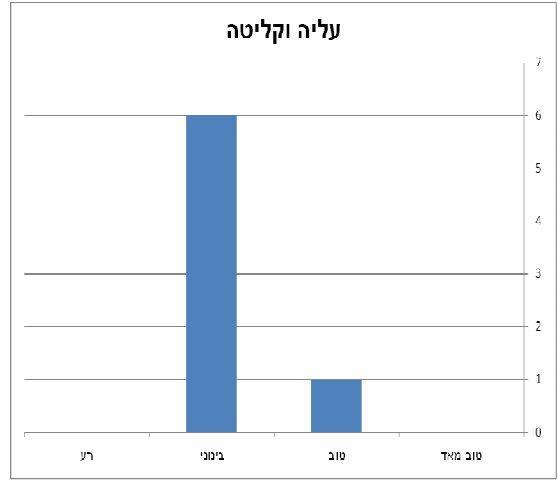
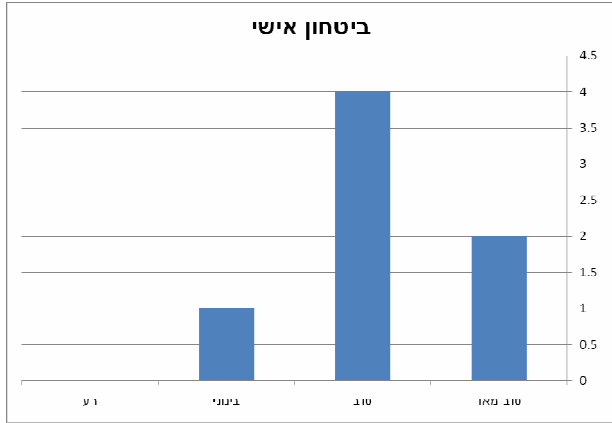
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<sup>11</sup> This does not include 'Agenda' submissions.

## The Qualified Assessment

The histograms below state the individual preferences of the expert panels as they relate to a cost-benefit analysis of each category, taken on its own and without comparison to the others:





## The Budget Allocation

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Finally, the panel doled out a supplement to the current budget – NIS 6 Billion on a categorical basis over a three-year term.

Seated at a round-table with just a few observers in the room, this stage of the process allowed for the Seven Stars panelists to each stir his or her specific expertise into the discussion, mixing pragmatism with purposeful enthusiasm.

“Higher education is indeed important,” said one panelist. “But we must ask if there is a market failure here, as in the case of Welfare, from the governmental point of view. If this is the case, I’d think there is a need to strengthen our system, even for one year, and to try and balance it.”

Demographic concerns also brought up the constraints placed on a country as unique as Israel, a country at once both challenged and strengthened by its diversity.

“As the State’s population is so diverse,” said an expert, “the divisions of society and the disadvantaged populations prevent Israel from excelling in education, relative to other countries. It makes sense, then, to invest in those populations.”

In this respect, it wasn’t just education that called for targeted funding – the idea of a negative income tax to fortify opportunities for those populations which include less-skilled workers who have trouble integrating into the Israeli workforce was offered, as well.

Integration also came up in a discussion of Israeli culture, which another panelist was sure to point to as a “must-fund” if Israel is to “return as a society of quality.”

As a point of interest, while the rankings related to budget allocations are similar to the initial list, they are not the same, implying perhaps that a thoroughly rational approach to spending, even in exercises like this one, is difficult to pin down.

These results may also speak to the deliberative process of the group – the first set of rankings was compiled prior to thorough discussion. While this set of rankings was also the average allocation based on the individual preferences of the panel, it took place at the end of the day-long meeting.

The panelists proposed various programs they believed would benefit most from supplementary funding, including differential tuition fees for Higher Education, new investments in waste and water treatment, and transportation infrastructure development. A full list of the proposed Expert Panel earmarks can be found in the addendum.

<b>CATEGORIES OF SOCIAL NEEDS</b>	<b>AVERAGE ALLOCATION*</b>
<b>1. Education</b>	<b>1547.9</b>
<b>2. Agenda (Advancing Employment, Poverty Reduction, Focusing on Special Populations)</b>	<b>1112.2</b>
<b>3. Higher Education, Science &amp; Technology, Research &amp; Development</b>	<b>926.5</b>
<b>4. Personal Security</b>	<b>576.5</b>
<b>5. Infrastructure and Sector Development (Ports, etc.)</b>	<b>497.9</b>
<b>6. Welfare</b>	<b>490.7</b>
<b>7. Public Health</b>	<b>419.3</b>
<b>8. Environment</b>	<b>397.9</b>
<b>9. Regional Development (Negev &amp; Galil)</b>	<b>31.1</b>
<b>10. Immigration and Absorption</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>6000</b>

\*The data in the table is the received panelists' average in NIS millions

## **The Herzliya Accord Youth Forum<sup>12</sup>**

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The goal of the Youth Forum, also based on a component of the Copenhagen Consensus, is to contrast expert opinion with youthful vision.

Over the course of one evening in Jerusalem, seven young leaders of Israel debated the country's priorities, its direction, and their vision for its future. The conversation lasted long into the night. As pots of coffee were made and nutshells piled up on the table, the delegates of the 2008 Herzliya Accord Youth Forum sought to represent their generation in a comprehensive statement of purpose.

In assessing the rankings of the Youth Forum, it may not seem too different from the rankings of the Expert Panel. But, at second glance, and in looking at the Forum's approach to budget allocation, the conclusions are indeed quite different. Forum delegates chose to focus on a long-term approach to allocating Israel's resources toward social needs, though the exercise did not specifically call for this.

"It's very mainstream to talk about money," said Barak Ben-Eliezer (Advisor to the head of the Israeli National Security Council). "But the question is not how we spend our money, but how we spend our most important strategic asset: Talent. The question is not what to do in the next three years, but what to do in the next thirty."

The Forum was in agreement that although the cost-benefit analysis approach to good governance is difficult to assess and not originally identified as a category, severe structural challenges in Israel's government, its leadership, and its handling of what many Forum delegates described as the national trust between citizen and government compelled them to include this topic in their assessment.

Another relevant point made by the Youth Forum was that the categories could often be interlinked. In discussing Absorption, Danny Admasu (Executive Director of the Israel Association for Ethiopian Jews) said, "It's the same mistake we've made since the 1950's, putting immigrants in a box. I wouldn't insert Absorption here at all. Absorption is Education, it is Welfare, it is employment opportunity." The same point was made for Regional Development.

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<sup>12</sup> The Institute for Policy and Strategy would like to thank Maya Tobias, Ezequiel Maman, Goor Tsalalyachin, and Ariel Rodal, among others, for their help in organizing the Youth Forum.



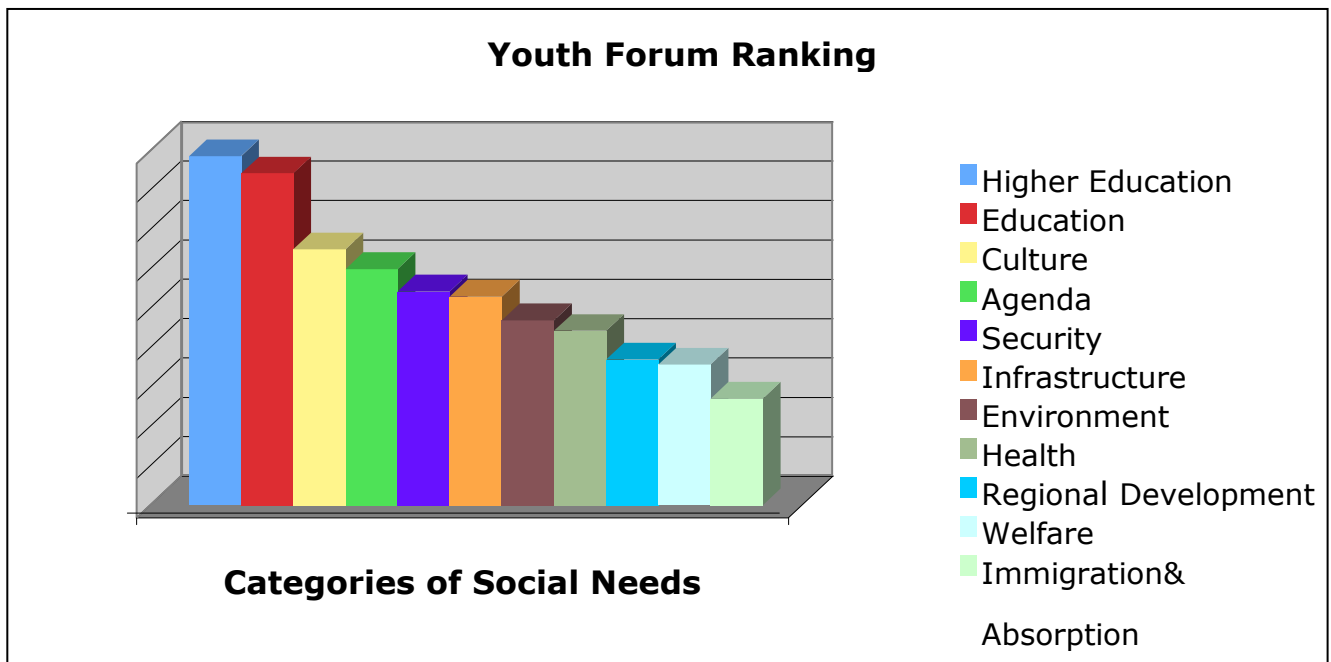
And lest we think of our delegates simply as young idealists, they also commented about the sum of supplementary funding itself. They realized that NIS 6 billion is not a great deal of money, and public-private partnership encouragement in sectors from education to personal security was offered as a solution to a lack of funding.

In addition, the final form – budget allocation – proved insufficient for what the Youth Forum sought to say. Instead of allocating a bit of the NIS 6 Billion to each category, the Forum unanimously decided to allocate the supplement to just two categories:

- **Education**
- **A Reconstitution of Public Service:**  
**That is, fulfilling the potential of the individual through a fulfillment of the potential of the state.**

They believed that making real change in any one sector requires real commitment – in this case, NIS 6 billion worth. The majority of the supplement, about 4 billion, would be applied to education, and projects related to accountability in government would be invested in the remainder of the sum.

## The Youth Forum Rankings



Just as in the Expert Panel, the Youth Forum ranked Education at the top of the list – when taking the average of the group, Higher Education was first, and basic Education ranked next.<sup>13</sup> And, just as in the Expert Panel, Immigration and Absorption was ranked last.

The Youth Forum also firmly believed that a category was missing entirely from the original list. And so, just as the Expert Panel amended the original categories, the Forum added “Culture and Identity,” bringing the list to 11 final categories.

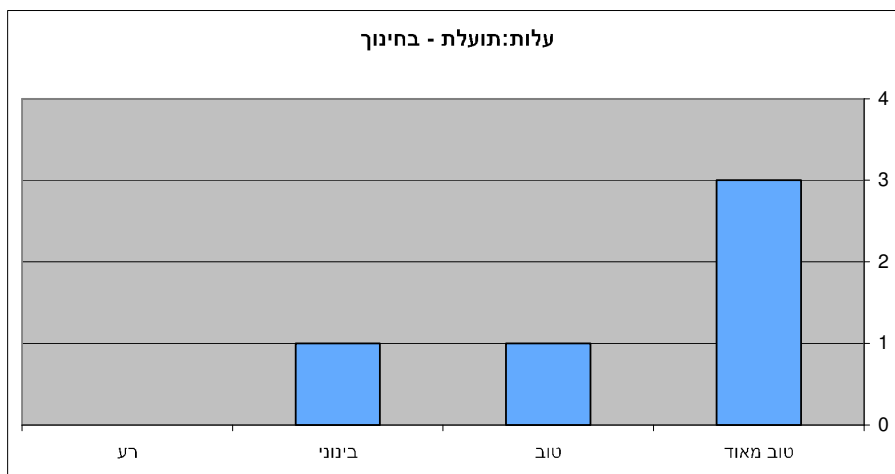
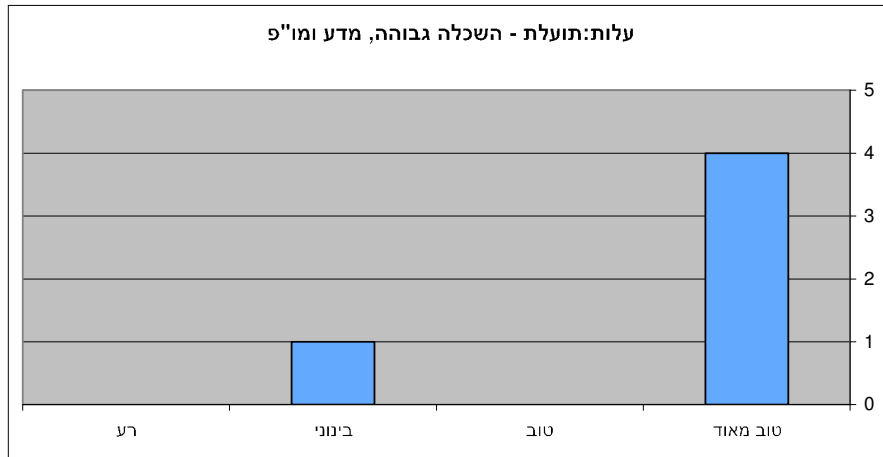
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<sup>13</sup> In taking the median of the Youth Forum, the results are slightly different – basic Education ranks first and Higher Education ranks second.

<b>FINAL RANKING</b>	<b>AVERAGE</b>
<b>1. Education</b>	<b>2.14</b>
<b>2. Higher Education, Science &amp; Technology, Research &amp; Development</b>	<b>2.57</b>
<b>3. Identity &amp; Culture</b>	<b>4.5</b>
<b>4. Agenda (Advancing Employment, Poverty Reduction, Focusing on Special Populations)</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>5. Personal Security</b>	<b>5.57</b>
<b>6. Infrastructure &amp; Sector Development (Ports, etc.)</b>	<b>5.71</b>
<b>7. Environmental Protection</b>	<b>6.3</b>
<b>8. Public Health</b>	<b>6.57</b>
<b>9. Regional Development (Negev &amp; Galil)</b>	<b>7.3</b>
<b>10. Welfare</b>	<b>7.4</b>
<b>11. Immigration &amp; Absorption</b>	<b>8.3</b>

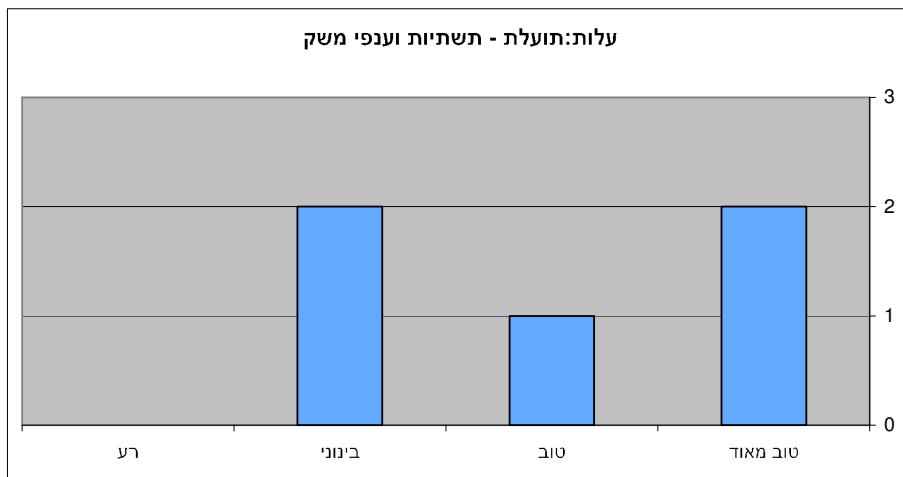
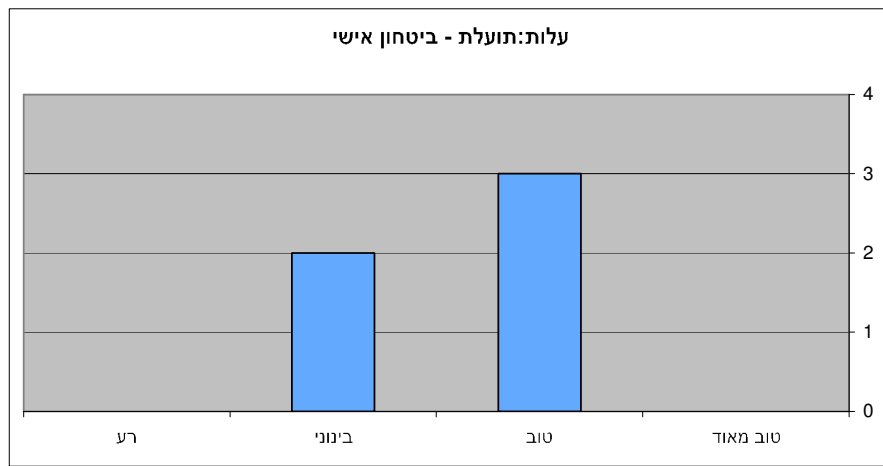
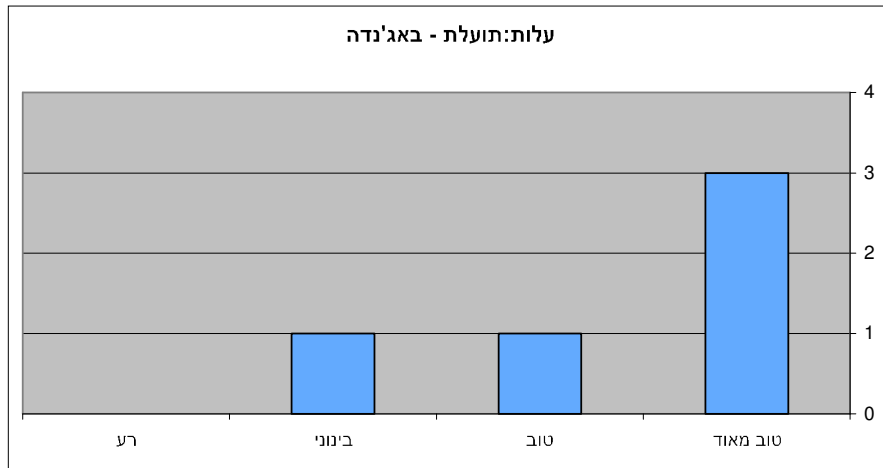
## The Qualified Assessment<sup>14</sup>

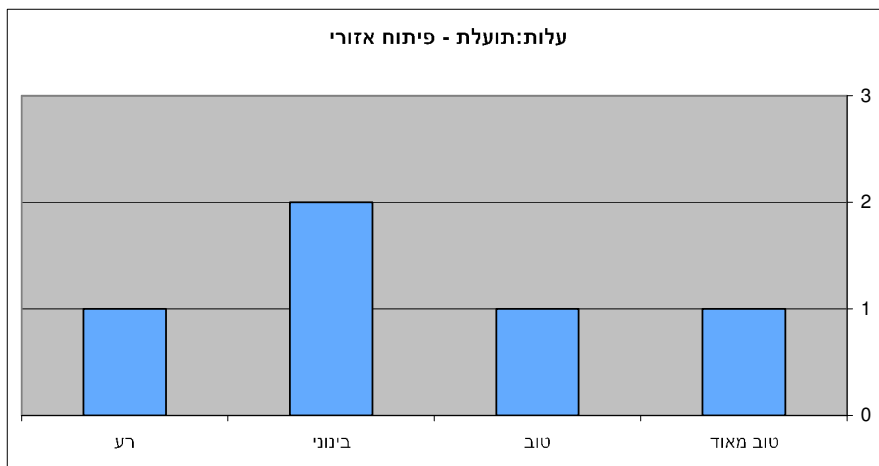
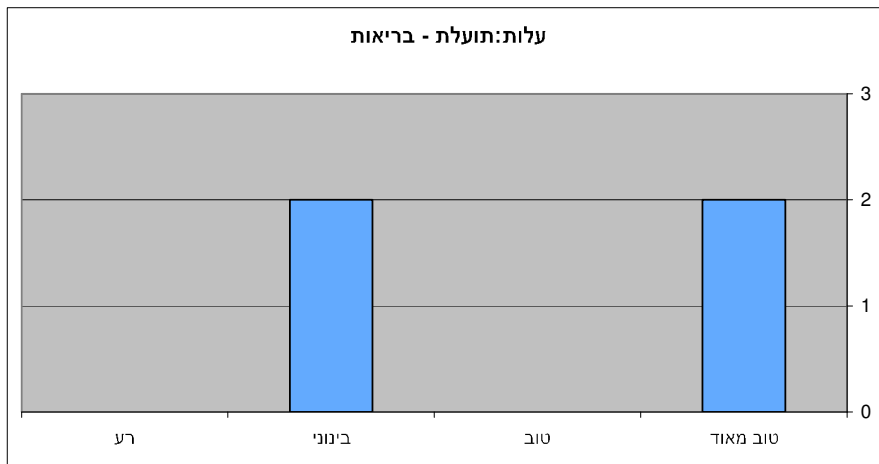
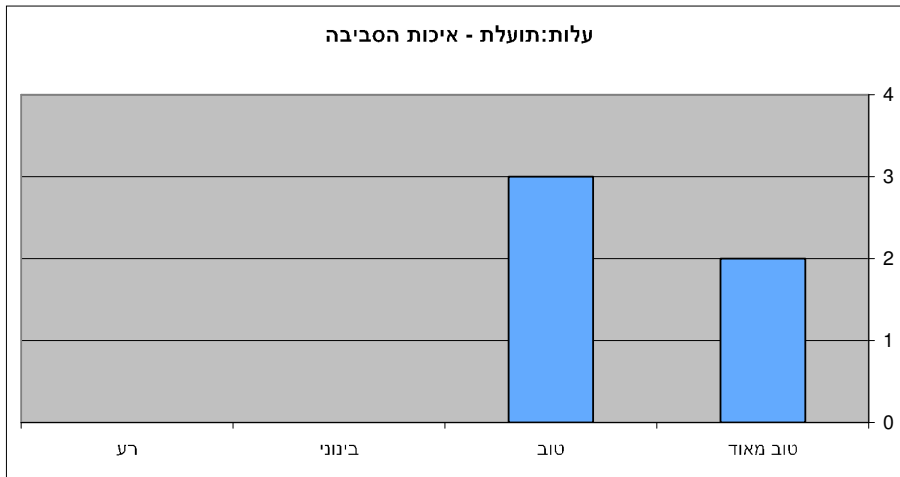
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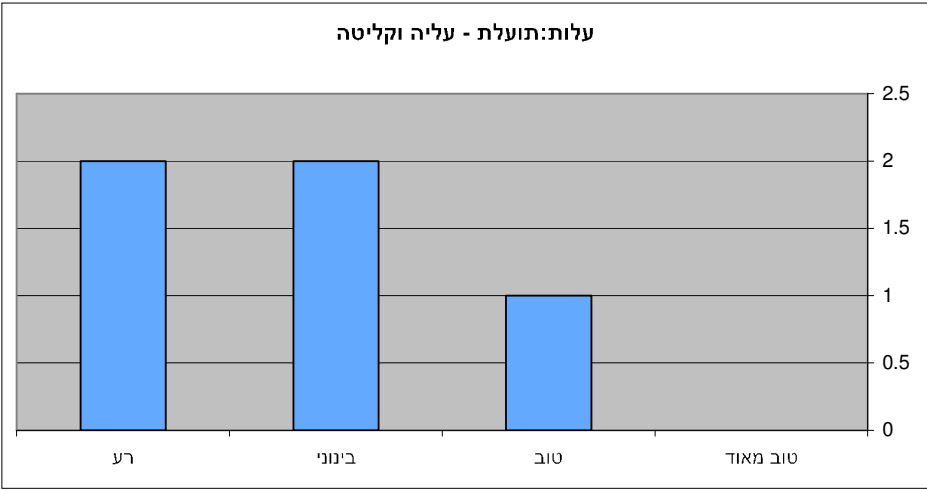


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<sup>14</sup> The category of Welfare was missing from this exercise.







## Youth Forum Projects

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While the Forum delegates finally decided to allocate all the supplementary funds to just two categories, they did each have ideas about what they might offer, given more funding. Projects included better technology in doctors' offices to cut down on hospital visits and bolster preventative medicine and health care, transportation infrastructure development in regions populated by Arabs, and technological advancements in the police force to allow for more efficient safeguarding of personal security.

But the most compelling projects, and the ones that created consensus in the group, were focused on education and leadership.

"I would invest all of my money in what would make me most proud of Israel," said Naama Elefant (Azrieli Fellow in the MD-PhD Bioinformatics Program at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem). "Top to bottom, I'd invest in accountability and assurance of more dependable government leadership. Bottom to top, I'd invest in education."

### The Projects at a Glance:

- Attaining a higher quality of teachers by 'buying out' low-performing teachers, in the form of early pensions, and by supporting new programs to recruit young leaders into teaching.
- Committing to raising teacher salaries in the long-term.
- Creating a "challenge grant" for schools in underprivileged socioeconomic regions, to allow schools to invest as they see fit.
- Investing in programs that augment accountability in government, such as law enforcement in tax evasion.
- Developing identity-building programs such as 'reverse Taglit-Birthright' for Israeli youth.
- Establishing "Seeds of the Trees of Tomorrow" programs, based on the (US) White House Fellows program, such as officer courses for the nascent public servant.



## Addendum

### (A) Copenhagen Consensus Final Rankings

The results			
Project rating		Challenge	Opportunity
Very good	1	Diseases	Control of HIV/AIDS
	2	Malnutrition	Providing micro nutrients
	3	Subsidies and trade	Trade liberalisation
	4	Diseases	Control of malaria
Good	5	Malnutrition	Development of new agricultural technologies
	6	Sanitation and water	Small-scale water technology for livelihoods
	7	Sanitation and water	Community-managed water supply and sanitation
	8	Sanitation and water	Research on water productivity in food production
	9	Government	Lowering the cost of starting a new business
Fair	10	Migration	Lowering barriers to migration for skilled workers
	11	Malnutrition	Improving infant and child nutrition
	12	Malnutrition	Reducing the prevalence of low birth weight
	13	Diseases	Scaled-up basic health services
Bad	14	Migration	Guest-worker programmes for the unskilled
	15	Climate	"Optimal" carbon tax
	16	Climate	The Kyoto protocol
	17	Climate	Value-at-risk carbon tax

Source: Copenhagen Consensus Note: Some of the proposals were not ranked

### (B) Overall List of Social Needs Budget (Abridged)

(BASED ON THE STATE BUDGET 2007-2008)

	כלכלה	Economy
גמלאות ופיצויים*	•	• Pension and Compensation
פיצויים לנפגעים וזקי רכוש במקרים חריגים*	•	• Compensation for casualties and damage to property in exceptional cases
הקלות במיסים*	•	• Tax Relief
העברה לרשות הפלסטינית*	•	• Transfer to the Palestinian Authority
תגמולים לנכים*	•	• Compensation for the Handicapped
טיפול ושיקום רפואי נכי מלחמה*	•	• Medical Treatment and

		Rehabilitation for war Handicap
יישום חוק הטבות לניצולי שואה נזקקים*	•	• Bonus Law Implementation for Holocaust Survivors and the needy
<b>חינוך</b>	<b>Education</b>	
חינוך*	•	• Education
בניית כיתות לימוד*	•	• Classroom building
הצטידות מבני חינוך*	•	• Educational Structure Equipment
השכלה גבוהה*	•	• Higher Education
פיתוח מוסדות להשכלה גבוהה*	•	• Development of Institutions for Higher Education
<b>רווחה</b>	<b>Welfare</b>	
אבטלה**	•	• Unemployment Insurance
כוח אדם*	•	• Job Services
שיקום*	•	• Rehabilitation
השרות לילד ולנוער*	•	• Child and Youth Service
השרות לזקן*	•	• Elderly Service
תוכנית לטיפול בעולים חדשים*	•	• New Immigrant Treatment Program
שירות לטיפול בהתמכרויות*	•	• Addiction Treatment Service
השרות לטיפול בנערות*	•	• Youth Treatment Service
פיתוח שרותים למפגר*	•	• Service Development for the Retarded
תמיכה בפיתוח במגזר הדרוזי והצ'רקסי*	•	• Support for the Development of the Druze and Circassians Sectors
האבטלה במגזר הערבי**	•	• Unemployment in the Arab Sector**
ביטוח לאומי*	•	• Social Security
השתתפות במימון קצבאות*	•	• Pension Financing Participation
סיוע למשפחות חד-הוריות****	•	• Single Parents Family Assistance
אלימות נגד נשים**	•	• Violence against Women
אלימות במשפחה**	•	• Domestic Violence
דיור הציבורי**	•	• Public Housing
<b>בריאות</b>	<b>Health</b>	
שירותי חרום*	•	• Emergency Services
שרותי אישפוז כלליים*	•	• General Hospitalization Services
התפתחות הילד*	•	• Child Development
שיקום ושילוב אנשים עם נכות נפשית בקהילה*	•	• Mentally Handicapped People Rehabilitation and Integration
שירותי שיקום לנכים**	•	• Rehabilitation Service for Handicaps
הקצאת מחלות קשות*	•	• Chronic Illnesses Allocations
הרפורמה בשירותי בריאות הנפש**	•	• Mental Health Service Reform
<b>בינוי ושיכון</b>	<b>Construction and Housing</b>	
מענקי בינוי ושיכון*	•	• Construction and Housing Bonus
עולים חדשים*	•	• New Immigrants
ותיקים חסרי דירה*	•	• Elderly and Homeless
קיבוצים ומושבים שיתופיים*	•	• Kibbutz and Moshav Cooperative
מבצע לעולי אתיופיה*	•	• Assistance for Ethiopian Immigrants
תכנית לפיתוח הנגב*	•	• The Negev Development Program

קליטת העליה	Immigration Absorption
• שירותי קליטה*	• Absorption Services
• סיוע לאוכלוסיות יחודיות*	• Special Population Assistance
תעשייה המסחר והתעסוקה	Industry Trade and Employment
• הכשרה מקצועית*	• Vocational Training
• ביטוח למבוגרים*	• Insurance for Elders
• מעונות יום*	• Day-care center
• תעשייה*	• Industry
תיירות	Tourism
• תיירות*	• Tourism
תחבורה	Transport
• תחבורה*	• Transport
• הרשות הלאומית לבטיחות*	• National Safety Authority
• כבישים עירוניים ובינעירוניים*	• Interurban and urban Highways

(C) **Summary of Herzliya Accord Expert Panel Meeting (January 4, 2008)**

**קובי הבר:**

דברי פתיחה. מתאר את שיקוליו לתמחור עלויות הסעיפים השונים.  
 עלויות הסעיפים המיועדים לתעדוף על ידי חברי הצוות:

**ביטחון אישי:**

עלותם של 1000 שוטרים מסתכמת ב - 250 מליון ₪ באופן שוטף. עלות חד פעמית של טיוב טכנולוגיה למשטרה – 0.5 מליארד ₪.  
 1.3 מליון ₪ דרושים בכדי למגן את כל הבתים באזור עוטף עזה.

**בריאות:**

עלות טיוב מערכות הבריאות, 580 – 600 מליון ₪. שדרוג מערכת חדרי המיון בבתי חולים – 500 מליון ₪ (חד פעמי).

**חינוך:**

עלותו השנתית של חינוך חובה חינוך מגיל 3 עד 5: 1 מליארד ₪.  
 עלות השגת היעד של גודל כיתות סביר של 35 תלמידים בכיתה היא 1.5 מליארד ₪ כהשקעה שתימשך לאורך חמש שנים. עוד 1.5 מליארד ₪ דרושים לבינוי כיתות באופן חד פעמי. יש לציין כי משאביו של מפעל הפיס כבר אינם רלוונטיים כי נוצלו עד תומו. תוספת שעות למע' החינוך מתומחרת לפי המפתח של 100 מליון ₪ = 17,000 שעות. לשם

השוואה, בחינוך העל יסודי קוצצו לאחרונה 80,000 שעות. ובחינוך היסודי כמעט ולא קוצצו שעות. כדי להחזיר את השעות שקוצצו דרושים 0.5 מיליארד ש.אם הרפורמה בחינוך תמומש, בעלייה בשכר השעות יש עלות הכלולה בתוספת שעות (לכן יש להיזהר מספירה כפולה).

#### **איכות הסביבה:**

תקציב המשרד הוא 200 מליון ש"ח בשנה. בסכום של עוד 100 מליון ש"ח ניתן ליצור מהפיכה.

#### **רווחה – טיפול באוכלוסיות חדשות:**

היום אנו מוציאים 500-600 מליון לשנה. כל גידול יעשה מהפך. לדעתי יש להוסיף כאן במקום מס הכנסה שלילי. מס הכנסה שלילי ניתן לבטל – זה נמצא ב 75% צד הוצאה ו – 25% צד הכנסה. מיליארד ש"ח בשלוש שנים הוא ה – 100% של מס הכנסה שלילי.

#### **תשתיות:**

קצב תוספת צריך להיות בסדר גודל של עד מיליארד ש"ח בשנה. זהו קצב גידול שהמשק יכול לעכל.

#### **השכלה גבוהה:**

השקעה בסכום של 1.5 מיליארד ש"ח ייתן תוצאה יפה, בכפוף להעלאת שכר הסטודנטים, בקבוע זמן יותר ארוך משלוש שנים. (לשם השוואה, ועדת שוחט מתייחסת לקבוע זמן של 5 שנים).

#### **רווחה אחרת:**

הקמת יישובים לפזורה הבדווית מוערכת 1.5 – 2 מיליארד ש"ח. שיפור התשתיות במגזר הערבי מוערכת ב - 500 מליון לערך. לגבי המגזר החרדי: במאה מליון ש"ח ניתן לעשות מהפיכה בהכשרה תעסוקתית למגזר.

השקעה בפריפריה: מעבר להקצאות המשרדים השונים, ויצירת תעסוקה איכותית – מדובר בכסף קטן יחסית. כדאי לסבסד מקומות עבודה, כל עוד הם מעל לשכר הממוצע במשק.

גודל מומלץ למענקי איזון שיופנו לפריפריה צריך לעמוד על 4 מיליארד ש"ח.

\* יש לקחת בחשבון יכולות ביצוע מאד נמוכות של ממשלה ושלטון מקומי – בכל תכנית תהיינה חריגות,

ויהיה קצב ביצוע איטי. לכן שערורך שכזה איננו סופי.

## **דב צ'רניחובסקי:**

לגבי הוצאה חברתית ביחס לתקציב הכולל – אנחנו נמצאים בנסיגה, אבל כאן זה בעיקר ממוקד בחינוך, בריאות ושירותים אישיים. אותה תמונה עולה כאחוז מהתמ"ג. (שאלת אי השויון עולה כאן אך לא בטוח שהפורום הוא המתאים לדון בסוגיה זו).

מסקנות הביניים מהצגת הנתונים הן, כי ההוצאה הציבורית איננה מפצה על שינויים דמוגרפיים, ולא על שינויי מחירים יחסיים של שירותי הרפואה. בנוסף, בהשוואה לחו"ל חלקו של המימון הציבורי בישראל הוא מן הנמוכים בעולם המערבי המפותח. כך, איפוא, מוטל רוב הנטל על ההוצאה הפרטית שגדלה והולכת על מנת למנוע שחיקה של סל הבריאות הבריאות

לגבי הוצאה על רפואה בשכבות החלשות: לכ – 2.4% מבתי האב, (כ – 161,000 נפש) ההוצאה על שירותי הרפואה מגיעה לכ – 20% מסך הוצאות משק הבית, הוצאה שאיננה ריאלית עד בלתי אפשרית.

ההוצאה הפרטית על סעיפים אלו מעמיקה את העוני וניתנת לכימות כהטלת מס בשיעור של כ – 7% על משפחות החיות מתחת לקו העוני. הגדלתו של המימון הפרטי הביאה לאינפלציה בעלות שירותי הרפואה במגזר הפרטי. בהמרת המימון הציבורי לפרטי, המשק עתיד לגלגל את ההוצאה הנ"ל להסכמי עבודה ושכר, דוגמת ארה"ב.

תכנית שכזו לתיקון המגמה צריכה לכלול רפואת שיניים (כמיליארד ₪), ביטוח משלים חובה (כמאה מיליון ₪ ביישום מיידי) ביטוח סיעודי ממלכתי לקשישים (עד כ – 3.5 מיליארד ₪ ביישום הדרגתי למשך עשור) התערבויות ממשלתיות באיזורי פריפריה (400 מיליון ₪ בשנה) וכן בית חולים נוסף בנגב (400 מיליון ₪ במשך 3 שנים עם גירעון תפעולי של כ 20 מיליון ₪).

בתחום החינוך, מומלץ לחזור להקצאה דיפרנציאלית לפי צרכים, בעלות של 700 מיליון ₪. בבנייתם של שירותי רווחה חברתיים יש ליצור הקצאה דיפרנציאלית ופחות מותנית בגבייה מקומית ביישובי המיעוטים, בעלות של כ – 100 מיליון ₪.

## **מיקי הרן:**

*אתגרים וסכנות:*

ישראל היא אחת המדינות הצפופות ביותר במערב. אתגריה הם מקורות המים המועטים והמזוהמים; התחממות כדור הארץ וזיהום האוויר, כתוצאה של תחבורה וחברה מתועשת; צמצום המרחב הציבורי והשתלטות עליו. האינטרס הציבורי מחייב פעולה כדי להגן על המרחבים הפתוחים, באמצעות חקיקה; לספק מענה לאתגר סילוקה של פסולת עירונית, תעשייתית וחקלאית; ולטפל בהתאדות של מאגרי מים טבעיים.

*תחומי התערבות ממשלתית אפשריים:*

טכנולוגיה: חייבים להשקיע בטכנולוגיה נקייה, ולתמוך בחינוך מדעי בפרספקטיבה ארוכת טווח בנושאים אלו. בסוגיית התחממות כדור הארץ, יש לחתור למציאת אנרגיה חלופית, ישראל איננה יכולה להישאר מאחור ולהצטרף למאמץ העולמי למציאת אנרגיה חלופית ולשנות את התלות הכלכלית בנפט הגולמי. יש לנצל את הסובסידיות שתציע ארה"ב ואחרים כדי לפתח טכנולוגיה ירוקה. יש להפוך אנרגיה סולרית ברת השגה על ידי סבסודה מן הקופה הציבורית. יש לתקן בנייה ירוקה ועל ידי כך לעודדה, כפי שמתבצע בקליפורניה.

יש לבצע הפחתת מיסים על אמצעי תחבורה ירוקים ולמסות תחבורה שאיננה ידידותית לסביבה. יש לזכור כי גם כך, איכות הסביבה הופכת לנטל על הקופה הציבורית, ולכן התערבות ממשלתית בסוגיה זו היא עניין של זמן בכל מקרה.

יש צורך בהתערבות אקטיבית ממשלתית לשיפור איכות הסביבה בהיקף תקציבי של 300 מיליון ₪.

יש לעודד מחזור, ושימוש יעיל של כסף בשימור המרחב הציבורי ולהשקיע בחינוך מונע וידידותי למטרה. טוב תמיד להשאיר את ההשקעה הגדולה למגזר הפרטי. יש לעודדו להשקיע בעצמו בפיתוח אנרגיה חליפית.

### **לאחר הדיון, מתבצעת הגדרה מחדש של הסעיפים המוצעים לדירוג בפירוט הבא:**

1. חינוך
2. בריאות
3. אג'נדה: קידום התעסוקה, צמצום העוני, (כולל טיפול באוכלוסיות מיוחדות).
4. איכות הסביבה
5. פיתוח תשתיות וענפי משק.
6. ביטחון אישי
7. עלייה וקליטה.
8. פיתוח איזורי (נגב וגליל).
9. השכלה גבוהה, מדע, מו"פ וטכנולוגיה.
10. רווחה אחרת, (מלבד האג'נדה).

### **דיון:**

#### **משתתף א':**

לפעם הבאה כדאי לשקול להזמין מומחים מתחומים רבים יותר, שמסתכלים על התועלות מזוויות שונות ורואים בהן תועלות אחרות.

ההשכלה הגבוהה חשובה אמנם, אך יש לשאול האם יש שם כשל שוק כמו בתחום הרווחה (מבחינה ממשלתית). אינני בטוח שכך הדבר. אני חושב שיש לחזק את הרווחה, אפילו לשנה אחת, כדי לאזן. לדעתי המו"פ חשוב יותר מההכשלה הגבוהה (וגם בתוך תחום זה חסר פירוט: לאן זה הולך? לשכל לימוד למשל?).

#### **משתתף ב':**

לדעתי יש לעודד השקעות לאומיות כיון שדרך זה אני מעודד את כל השאר – ומתמחר את זה ב מליארד ₪. אני רואה בזה השקעה. כנ"ל לגבי המו"פ, וגם את זה תמחרתי במליארד ₪.

לדעתי יש מחיר גבוה מדי באפשרות להעסיק עובדים זרים. למעשה זהו סבסוד של אפריקה. אין זה "כוח שוק" אלא הסתכלות צרה שאינה כוללת את כל המחיר. תמחרתי את איכות הסביבה ב 100 מיליון ₪ כי במעט ניתן לעשות הרבה. תמחרתי 400 מיליון ₪ כיון שזה חשוב בעיניי.

לבריאות הוספתי 500 מליון ₪ ולדעתי הבעיה היא בהתייעלות המערכת יותר מאשר בחוסר יכולת – ניהול לא נכון יותר מאשר חוסר תקצוב.

### **משתתף ג':**

כיון שאוכלוסיית המדינה כה מגוונת, הפיצול והשכבות החלשות יותר מונעות מישראל להצטיין ברמה העולמית באופן יחסי. לכן הטיפול בחלשים נראה לי הדבר הנכון בחינוך. הייתי מכניסה פריסה דיפרנציאלית לפי איזורים ו/או לפי רמות סוציו אקונומיות. היכולת של עובדי מיומנויות נמוכות להשתלב נפגעת. לכן השוק לבד לא יעשה את העבודה ולכן מס הכנסה שלילי הוא תמריץ מאד חשוב. לדעתי יש להגדיל את התקצוב, כנ"ל לגבי הכשרת אוכלוסיות מיוחדות. לגבי השכלה, מידע ופיתוח. לגבי רווחה – חשוב לקחת בחשבון אוכלוסיות שלא יכולות להשתתף בשוק העבודה: הכיוון שלקחנו היה נכון אבל המינון לא. נושא הילדים והעוני שם הוא גדול. שוב – המענה הוא מס הכנסה שלילי. אני תומכת במבנה קצבת הילדים האחידה. מאידך יש לטפל במשפחות הגדולות כיון שהן מוקד עוני. לגבי בריאות – יש להקטין השתתפות עצמית. בסל התרופות אנחנו בסדר, ובביטחון האישי הייתי מקצצת לכדי 250 מליון ש"ח הם אלף שוטרים.

### **משתתף ד':**

חייבים להקצות עוד לאמנות ותרבות כיון שאנחנו חייבים לחזור ולהיות חברת איכות.

הייתי מקצה 250 מליון ₪ לאכיפת חוקי העבודה. יש להשקיע אותו סכום ולזרז את סיום עבודת ההשקעות בתחבורה כמה שיותר מהר. לגבי ביטחון אישי – 800 מליון כדי להשיג חברת איכות. הייתי שם 400 מליון לסבסוד ממשלתי להסדר פנסיון חובה ופועל להבטחת ביטוח שיניים. לגבי 1.25 מליארד ₪, כולל הפחתה בשכר לימוד. 0.75 מליארד הייתי משקיע במו"פ, והייתי משקיע 1.5 בהעברה נקייה של אנרגייה, ובשורת תמריצים לעידוד פיתוח אנרגיה נקייה יותר.

**משתתף ה':** לדעתי אנחנו (היינו המשק הישראלי) יכולים לגדול ב 2010 – 2011 ב 2.5% ועד 2015 ב- 3.5%.

### **רפי מלניק:**

מסכם ומודה למשתתפים.

(D) Forms 1 – 3

**טופס 1: דירוג קדימויות**

עליכם לדרג, בטור הדירוג האישי, את הקטגוריות הבאות של הוצאה ממשלתית לפי סדר של קדימויות לאומי

(1- קדימות עליונה ו-10 קדימות תחתונה).

<b>ממוצע קבוצתי</b>	<b>דירוג אישי</b>	<b>קטגוריה</b>
		חינוך
		בריאות
		רווחה
		איכות הסביבה
		תשתיות וענפי משק
		בטחון פנים
		עלייה וקליטה
		פיתוח אזורי- נגב וגליל
		השכלה גבוהה, מדע, טכנולוגיה ומו"פ
		אג'נדה (קידום התעסוקה צמצום העוני וטיפול באוכל' מיוחדות)



**טופס 2: דירוג "עלות תועלת"**

Xעליכם לדרג את הקטגוריות הבאות של הוצאה ציבורית לפי שיקול של עלות תועלת- נא לסמן ב- את המשבצת המתאימה לכל קטגוריה בהתאם לרמת התועלת שניתן להשיג שלקל של הוצאה ממשלתית טוב מאד- ניתן להשיג תועלת רבה.  
 טוב- ניתן להשיג תועלת חיובית אך לא רבה  
 בינוני- ניתן להשיג מעט תועלת  
 רע- תועלת אפסית

קטגוריה	טוב מאד	טוב	בינוני	רע
חינוך				
בריאות				
רווחה				
איכות הסביבה				
תשתיות וענפי משק				
בטחון פנים				
עלייה וקליטה				
פיתוח אזורי- נגב וגליל				
השכלה גבוהה, מדע, טכנולוגיה ומו"פ				
צמצום העוני וטיפול באוכלוסייה , אג'נדה (קידום התעסוקה מיוחדות)				

קטגוריה	פרויקטים	שנה 1	שנה 2	שנה 3
חינוך	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
בריאות	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
רווחה	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
איכות הסביבה	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
תשתיות וענפי משק	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
ביטחון אישי	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
עלייה וקליטה	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
פיתוח אזורי- נגב וגליל	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
השכלה גבוהה, מדע, טכנולוגיה ומו"פ	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
צמצום העוני וטיפול באוכ', אג'נדה (קידום התעסוקה מיוחדות)	.1			
	סה"כ:	.2		
סה"כ		2 ביליון	2 ביליון	2 ביליון

(E) **Expert Panel Proposed Earmarks**

- Incentives to transfer to clean energy through the private and public sectors
- Occupational promotion among Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Arab populations
- Reductions in classroom density
- Teacher quality improvement
- Pension Allowance Subsidies
- Treatment for the physically disabled

- Compulsory education laws for ages three years and up
- Cultural encouragement and identity development
- A 'Progressive Health Care Basket,' including dental care
- The establishment of preventative medical clinics

**(F) The Seven Stars - Expert Panelist Biographies**

Mr. **David Brodet** Chairman of Board of Governors of Ben Gurion University and Former Director General of the Ministry of Finance. Serves as a consultant in economics, management and entrepreneurship. Chairman of the Board of Directors of Hadassah Hospital. Lectures at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Ben Gurion University, Midreshet Rupin, and the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya. Holds a BA in Economics and Political Science and MA in Economics.

Dr. **Karnit Flug** Director of Research at the Bank of Israel. Previous positions include Assistant Director of Research, senior research economist at the Inter-American Bank and economist at the International Monetary Fund. Holds an M.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a Ph.D. in Economics from Columbia University.

Dr. **Daniel Gottlieb** Senior Lecturer in the Economics Department at Ben Gurion University. Previous positions include Chief Economist in the Research Department of the Bank of Israel, Research Associate at the Institute for Third Sector Research at Ben Gurion University, lecturer of Economics at Tel Aviv University and Economist at the International Monetary Fund in Washington D.C. Participated in the Commission on Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations and the Commission on the Economic Cost of Defense in Israel. Has published extensively in his fields of interest, which include Poverty Economics, Economic and Social Policy, Inflation and the Palestinian Economy. Holds an M.Sc. from the London School of Economics and a Ph.D. in Economics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Prof. **Rafi Melnick** Professor of economics and a member of the Board of Directors of the Institute for Policy and Strategy at the Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya. Served as Senior Economist and Deputy Director in the Research Department of the Bank of Israel. Previously, he was a lecturer at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a visiting lecturer at Boston University and the University of California, Davis. He specializes in Macroeconomics, Econometrics, Israeli economy and monetary policy. He developed the "Melnick Index", a monthly measure of the state of the economy, published by the IDC. Prof. Melnick received a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of California, Berkeley.

Mr. **Sever Plocker** Chief economics editor of "Yediot Aharonot". Previously served as deputy editor-in chief of the newspaper. Mr. Plocker holds an M.A. in Economics and Philosophy from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Dr. **Yacov Sheinin** CEO and Scientific Director of Economic Models. The Israeli Center for Economic Planning. Chair of the Board of Modelim Capital Markets Ltd., and Economics lecturer at Tel Aviv University. He has over thirty years of experience as an economist, engaging in large and complex consulting projects and building computerized

micro and macro economic models in Israel and the U.S. Served as Chair of Investment Committee of the pension funds of the First International Bank and as an economic consultant for Israeli public companies. Earned a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Pennsylvania.

Prof. **Manuel Trachtenberg** Head of the National Economic Council at the Prime Minister's Office, a body that is responsible for improving socioeconomic conditions as well as making recommendations to the treasury regarding the state budget. Professor at the Berglas School of Economics, Tel Aviv University.

## **(F) The Youth Forum Biographies**

**Danny Admasu** is Executive Director of the Israel Association for Ethiopian Jews, where he works to improve policies and programs for Ethiopian-Israelis in the areas of education and employment and to promote community empowerment. Previously, he was director of Tzofe Sheva, a division of the Israeli Scouting Movement set up to integrate Ethiopian-Israeli youth into the scouting movement. He led the division's growth from 25 members to 1,500. He also worked as a project coordinator and educator for at-risk youth at the Fidel center in Tel Aviv, as an educational counselor at the Youth Village Kannot, and as a youth leader in the Israeli Ministry of Education. Admasu served in the IDF Air Force. He holds a BA in International Relations and Political Science from the Israel Open University, and a Certification in Telecommunications and Journalism from the Israeli Television Channel.

**Zvika Arran** is CEO of Midot, the new Israeli charities' rating service, which is a non-profit joint venture of the Meitav Investment House and JDC-Israel. Previously, Arran was a Fellow at the Jewish People Policy Planning Institute and a founder and board member of the Nachshon Organization, the Israeli Institute for Social Leadership, a one-year framework for high school graduates. He has also participated in BCI, a month-long gathering of young Jewish leadership from around the world, at the Brandies Bardin Institute in California. Arran served as an officer in the IDF National Radio Broadcasting Network (*Galei-Tzahal*). He was chairperson of the first National Student Council and a member of the Pedagogic Secretariat of the Ministry of Education. Arran holds an LLB from Tel Aviv University and an MA with honors in Public Policy from Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He lives in Haruv, a religious-secular community in the north of the Negev.

**Naama Elefant** is an Azreili Fellow in the MD-PhD program at Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A paper she published in *Science* magazine was recently highlighted by *Nature Medicine* magazine as one of the ten notable advances of the year 2007. Elefant's research focuses on viral infections, genetic diseases and cancer, in order to improve diagnoses and treatment. She is the recipient the Bryant and Lillian Shiller Scholarship in Computational Biology, Genomics and Medicine. In addition to her studies, Elefant volunteers as a tutor for new immigrants and has participated in the *Israel at Heart* student

delegation to the United States, aimed at promoting an understanding of Israel and its people. Elefant served in the Intelligence Unit in the IDF, where she received four awards for excellence during her years of service. She earned a BSc degree in Computer Science from Hebrew University in Jerusalem, where she graduated with honors, and an MSc degree in Genomics, Bioinformatics, and Microbiology from Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

**Barak Ben-Eliezer** is advisor to the head of the Israeli National Security Council. Previously, Ben-Eliezer worked at the Ministry of Science, where he was a member of the National Commission for Promoting Homeland Security Research and Development, and at the Israeli National Police Headquarters, where he was founder and commander of the Technological Strategy Team in the Planning and Organization Division, and Special Advisor to the General Commissioner, Head of the Israeli National Police Doctrine Team. Ben-Eliezer was an Officer in the Operations Research Branch in the Israeli Air Force and a Commander (Major) of the Talpiyot Program. He holds a BSc in Physics, Mathematics, and Computers from Hebrew University of Jerusalem and an MSc in electrical engineering from Tel Aviv University. Ben-Eliezer is currently working on an MA in History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Science at Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

**Aharon Horwitz** is CEO of MavenHaven.com, a new online tool for building community resources, as well as co-founder and director of the Presentense Institute for Creative Zionism, an incubator for socially-minded Jewish entrepreneurs. Horowitz has founded and directed initiatives such as the Azure Student Journals Project, the Grassroots Activist Network, the Creative Zionist Circle, and BlogsofZion.com. Horowitz regularly lectures in the Jewish community and consults on student programming, strategic planning, and innovative marketing, both in Israel and abroad. Horowitz volunteers for the Jerusalem-based organizations B'Maaglei Tzedek and Atzum's Task Force on Human Trafficking. In addition to his communal work, Horowitz has been published and cited on the subject of suicide terrorism. He holds a BA in Political Science and Arabic from Columbia University, from which he graduated with honors.

**Oren Magnezy** is Founding Director of the National Agency for the Economic Development of the Arab Sector in Israel, where he leads a process for the establishment of a new government agency which will strive to enable, cultivate and maintain economic prosperity in the Arab-Israeli sector. Magnezy served in several key positions on Ariel Sharon's staff, including as advisor to the Prime Minister and director of Parliamentary Affairs. Magnezy has done extensive public speaking engagements with organizations such as United Jewish Communities (UJC), American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), and the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and on behalf of General Consulates of Israel in the United States. Previous to his public service, Magnezy was a member of the executive board of a world youth NGO, and served in the Israeli Defense Forces for four years as an instructor and project manager. Magnezy holds a dual degree in Law and Government from the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel and a Masters Degree in

Public Administration from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University as a Wexner-Israel Fellow.

**Ahava Zarembski** is Founder and President of The Yesod-Masad Initiative, providing real time strategic support on Jewish Peoplehood issues to policy makers and influencers. The Initiative is composed of two separate, yet complimentary bodies: **Yesod**: Strategic Consulting Group on Jewish Peoplehood Issues and **Masad**: Real Time Policy Experts on Jewish Peoplehood Issues which works with Israeli policy makers and influencers, their staff, and the Israeli media to provide a comprehensive understanding of how a particular policy can impact the global Jewish collective. Prior to establishing this innovative model in 2006, Ms. Zarembski worked in some of the top think-tanks in Israel and the United States focusing on sculpting policy on internal Jewish relations, particularly fostering a better understanding of the issues impacting religious-secular relations within Israel as well as Israel-Diaspora relations . Ms. Zarembski is the recipient of awards, an invited lecturer for audiences both within Israel and abroad, and the author of numerous publications. Ms. Zarembski has an M.A. degree in the fields of International Relations and International Economics from The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.