Women Empowerment and Leadership

Lea Landman

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The Eleventh Annual Herzliya Conference on the Balance of Israel’s National Security and Resilience was held on the campus of the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya in February 2011. For the first time, Susan G. Komen and the Herzliya Conference partnered to deal with the issue of women empowerment and leadership as a comprehensive aspect of national security and resilience.

The Women Empowerment and Leadership session at the Conference was preceded by a high-level taskforce, whose work composed of influential women from the following sectors: policy and decision-making, science and health, defense and security, economy and business, and the legal world. The purpose of this taskforce was to devise methods to strengthen women’s status and empower them within the main sectors of social, economic and public life. The taskforce intended to show that women’s empowerment affects positively not only economies, but welfare and health, issues of social disparity and the overall strength and resilience of nations.

The taskforce concluded that it is imperative that the empowerment of women in the above-mentioned sectors be cultivated, and that concrete solutions exist and should be implanted at all levels, in all sectors. Such cultivation will enable policy makers to address those sectors’ existing gender discrepancies based on a gender perspective.

Based on the taskforce findings, the Women Empowerment and Leadership session at the Herzliya Conference presented in a comprehensive manner the taskforce’s research, as well as the ideas and insights of its additional participants. The session examined the challenges women face in five sectors: Health, policy-making, business, third-sector, military and management. All challenges were presented with concrete solutions. A special focus was given to health diplomacy as powerful tool for women empowerment.

Based on the Women Empowerment and Leadership session recordings and written documents, this paper reports the speakers’ main observations, each from a completing aspect of empowerment. By tackling the issue from a wide perspective, the taskforce and session allow to outline key observations, including challenges and solutions.

The Women Empowerment and Leadership session created an opportunity for decision-makers in Israel and abroad to convene and deliberate on how to best impact policy, as it will place recommendations directly into the hands of policy-makers.
The purpose of the women’s movement first wave of feminism in the early 20th Century was to enable women to vote and stand for public office. This first wave can be considered the first breakthrough for the women’s movement, at least in the industrial world. At the time, and in the effort to achieve the right to vote, women based their demands on two principles, the first being equality: in terms of democracy, women make up approximately 50 percent of the population and thus should be represented and have the right to vote and stand for office. The second principle was that of difference: this principle was based on the idea that women can offer a different viewpoint to the world of politics. In many ways it corresponded to the breakdown between the public sphere and the private sphere, between the public life and home. Women began to move out of the home or in addition to the home, into the public sphere. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed the second wave of women’s movement which saw a tremendous step forward in the number of women involved in the public sphere to the point where today society has become relatively accustomed to seeing women in leadership positions. But the statistics certainly indicate that women none the less make up a very small percentage of the leaders around the world, whether in politics, business, law or academia; thus, in reality, women are still a minority.

The panel on Women Empowerment discussed various reasons why women still remain a minority in the top positions, even though they have been “freed”, so to speak.
to work outside their homes and are involved in the public and political spheres. Prof. Golan commented that often society does not like to discuss the obstacles to women in reaching leadership positions. In most cases, women wish to be seen as equal to men, up to the task and certainly not in need of “special treatment.” Yet, most would admit that there are obstacles – statistics demonstrate that women are far behind in leadership positions. In view of this, once in a leadership position, women may be able to empower other women, by removing some of the obstacles and alleviating some of the problems. Moreover, given the different ways in which women have been socialized and educated by most societies and cultures, in whatever society, once women reach leadership roles, they might introduce new leadership and management customs.

Some of the questions that the panel intended to examine were as follows: 1. Which obstacles still exist on the path of women to positions of leadership and if so, identifying those obstacles; 2. Do women consciously or unconsciously adopt and adapt to the norms of behavior of the style of men in order to achieve the same positions and functions or whether they bring something different to the table; 3. What can be done to encourage women to aim for influential positions in business, politics, etc; 4. Should women achieving influential positions press for the advancement of other women and issues related to women, and whether said women “have a responsibility” to pursue a women’s agenda; 5. Is there in fact a woman’s way of doing things?; 6. Finally, what steps should be taken in order to implement and enforce existing legislation on gender equality.
Amb. Nancy Brinker is Founder and CEO of Susan G. Komen for the Cure, the most well-known breast cancer organization in the US. She also serves as a Goodwill Ambassador for Cancer Control for the UN World Health Organization. Previously, Amb. Brinker served as Chief of Protocol of the United States, and as US Ambassador to the Republic of Hungary under President George W. Bush. She was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian honor, by President Obama. Amb. Brinker graduated from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

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Amb. Brinker founded Susan G. Komen for the Cure 30 years ago, and the organization has changed the way society talk about and treat breast cancer in America. Amb. Brinker stated that Susan G. Komen is implementing the lessons learned in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. This global health diplomacy approach, with its focus on better access to care, is empowering women worldwide, and it is critical if research and doctors were to save lives through early detection and resolve the growing global cancer crisis.

Amb. Brinker recalled that her fight began 30 ago with a promise she made to her sister Suzy to do everything she could to find a cure for breast cancer. When her sister was first diagnosed, the world was much different. People crossed the street in her hometown because they thought the disease was contagious. There were no Internet and information hotlines. There were no global campaigns to educate people and spread awareness. Millions of women were facing death because they knew nothing of early detection, or cancer screening, or because even the most routine cancer treatments were unattainable.

While serving in the Bush Administration as ambassador to Hungary and later as Chief of Protocol to the President, Amb. Brinker witnessed firsthand the power to change women’s lives through health diplomacy. Better health for women is an end in itself, but it can also be a means of improving the political status of women in places where they have been marginalized. By focusing on health Susan G. Komen builds relationships within countries where traditional foreign policy has failed to do so.

Health programs have become extremely important over the last 50 years in bilateral and multilateral development initiatives. Amb. Brinker recalls traveling around Africa with President Bush and visiting a United States President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
(PEPFAR) clinic in Ghana. The US has spent tens of billions of dollars to build and supply PEPFAR clinics. HIV/AIDS victims in Africa knew their lives had been improved because of the anti-retroviral drugs the US provides.

Amb. Brinker is especially proud of the work Susan G. Komen has done in Israel to help women since the mid-1990s, donating almost USD3 million to research institutes, hospitals, universities, and advocacy groups in Israel. The activities in Israel include:

- Susan G. Komen’s first Race for Cure in Jerusalem in October and managed to gather women from many nationalities and religions to race through the streets of Jerusalem. Susan G. Komen set a new course for more treatments, more hope, and more life, which is important because in Israel breast cancer is the leading cancer killer of women in the country.

- Susan G. Komen met with Israeli government leaders at the Knesset, partnered with the mayor, worked with Mrs. Netanyahu, toured medical facilities such as the Hadassah Women’s Health Center at Abu Gosh, attended a women’s health fair for Orthodox Jewish women, and met with doctors serving Jewish, Arab and Christian women in the region. Susan G. Komen also convened in Tel Aviv scientists from around the world and challenged them to find new biomarker and detection technology.

Susan G. Komen’s approach in Israel is similar to the one taken around the world to empower women and fight breast cancer. As cancer is universally deadly, Susan G. Komen’s response is equally universal. Holding a race for the cure is important because it mobilizes people at the grass roots level. But as important is the need to engage government leaders, corporations, women’s groups, hospitals, and scientists in country. Both combined are the basis of health diplomacy in action. Komen has more than 1.6 million people who participate annually in races in more than 140 cities around the world. Susan G. Komen’s experience proves the approach is working to save lives and empower women.

The 5-year survival rate for breast cancer is now 98 percent in the US compared to 74 percent in 1982 when Komen was founded. Although Komen achieved tremendous progress in the past 30 years, there is still much more work ahead. The fight for breast cancer must be taken everywhere, especially to places where cancer victims often have no defenses, no advocates, and little understanding of what they are up against (breast cancer takes more lives every year than tuberculosis, malaria, and AIDS combined).

More so is to do that this leading world killer is often marginalized, and in many countries, flat out ignored. In the public health reports of many countries, cancer is not even mentioned by name. In the UN Millennium Development Goals, cancer is hidden away in the category of “other diseases.” Last year, 7.6 million lives were lost to this “other disease.”

An important factor for change and success is the grass root movement to change policy and create an economic response, gaining success over time. Therefore it is essential to gain access and connectivity to the grass roots.
From the Left: Prof. Galia Golan, The Hon. Dr. Ursula Plassnik, Ms. Nehama Ronen, Ms. Indrani Bagchi, Ms Alona Barkat, Col. (res.) Ahuva Yanai and Ms. Efrat Duvdevani listen to Amb. Nancy Brinker via video-conference
Dr. Ursula Plassnik is a Member of the Austrian Parliament and Special Envoy for International Women’s Affairs of the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs. She is former Minister of Foreign Affairs. Earlier Dr. Plassnik served as Chief of Staff for Wolfgang Schüssel, former Federal Chancellor of Austria. She also served as Austrian ambassador to Switzerland. Dr. Plassnik is a lawyer by training. Finally, she is a graduate of the University of Vienna and a postgraduate from the College of Europe in Bruges.

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Dr. Plassnik believes that in terms of global resources management, the energy of women is not sufficiently utilized around the globe in this age of energy shortage, which, in itself, is a waste of energy. Women need to be involved more directly, not only on the decision-making level but also on the grass roots level, particularly in those regions where peace really has to be rebuilt. All peace initiatives are locally and regionally determined; hence women must be involved on the local and regional levels.

A true landmark in the matter of women’s involvement in international affairs, Dr. Plassnik continued, was the passing of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 10 years ago which calls upon governments to include women in all matters of decision-making connected with war, peace and human security.

Resolution 1325 embraces two aspects of women’s involvement in peace making, the first being violence against women and the second being the empowerment of women leadership. Regarding violence against women, remarkable progress has been made in the world’s awareness of what women on the global, regional and local levels are willing to accept. For the first time, a statute of the International Criminal Court determines systematic sexual violence to be a crime, and under certain circumstances a crime against humanity.

Efforts are being made around the globe to bring perpetrators of violence against women to justice and thus to send the message to future perpetrators that this kind of violence will not be tolerated any longer by the international community. The Democratic Republic of Congo is one example of a country where this statute is gradually being implemented.

In 2007 Dr. Plassnik, then her country’s minister of foreign affairs, implemented Resolution 1325’s second aspect of empowering women and integrating them into leadership positions, when she organized a conference in Vienna on women leaders in the Middle East. Drafted
by high level women decision-makers such as Former US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, a letter was sent to UN Secretary General Ban Ki Moon pointing out that of the 56 special representatives to the UN Secretary General to various conflict areas, not even one representative was a woman, and that said ratio was unacceptable. During the 2011 Munich Security Conference, the female participants in the conference organized their own meeting for the first time on the margin of the Security Conference. Moreover, Secretary General Ban Ki Moon chose to speak on one subject which was Resolution 1325. Today, female special representatives of the UN are leading large UN missions, such as UN Special Representative Ellen Margrethe Løj who is leading the mission in Liberia that includes 10,000 UN soldiers, and UN Special Representative Rosalind Marsden, who is the Special Representative of the EU to Sudan.

Nevertheless, even today, women still find themselves having to explain and justify their added value as women and

the need to include women both in the top and grass roots levels in peace work. The solution, according to Dr. Plassnik, is for women to continue to argue the case and continue to do the work until the integration of women into peace keeping becomes a non-issue.

Moreover, peace building and international affairs have to tackle three categories—that have to be addressed by men and women alike— in order to enhance women empowerment:

1. Awareness: Women and men to change their mindset and know the challenges;
2. Access: Women need to access information, education, healthcare and finances in order to increase their participation in the public sphere;
3. Rules: There is a need to channel the rules to the grass root on the one hand and work on the international community level on the other.
Strengthening Women Leadership

MS. NEHAMA RONEN

Ms. Nehama Ronen is Chairwoman of Maman Cargo Terminals & Handling. She also serves as Chairwoman of the ELA Recycling Company. Ms. Ronen previously served as Director-General of the Ministry of Environmental Protection. She was a member of Knesset representing the Center Party and served as Deputy Speaker of the Knesset. She received a master’s degree in Public Administration from the University of Haifa.

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Ms. Ronen started by paraphrasing George Orwell’s Animal Farm with regard to equality between men and women in the 21st Century in saying that “all animals are equal but some of them are more equal”. This, she believes, is due in part to the phenomenon of women networking, which, although a generally positive development, inadvertently removes women from the professional fields dominated by men.

Ms. Ronen argued that the current global trend of women networking is clearly aimed at strengthening women leadership. However, if women want to level the playing field and gain true equality with men, Ms. Ronen claims that women must bring the game into the same arena and play by the same rules as men. It has taken years to enable women to achieve positions of leadership in politics and business. It is a fact that all sectors are dominated by males. Therefore the question that must be asked is what is the best method for women to tackle and break the barriers. Ms. Ronen believes that only through male networks can women gain entry into key positions and positions of power. She believes, in terms of the advancement of women, that it is imperative to develop a common discourse for men and women rather than solely a women’s discourse. Women’s networks do not enable women to become known among men networks and groups.

Networking is critical in every sector, but is particularly true in the business one. Since the business sector is more open than any other sector to everything - novelty, gender, etc. – inclusive networking is essential. The more women chose business and management studies and work in the field, the more they will be integrated in high level business positions. As managers they will be in key roles to form other women to achieve these positions, and implement existing laws, de facto providing change on the ground. This has to come with affirmative action, based on merit, that will make sure that women get the same chances.
Women Empowerment in India

MS. INDRANI BAGCHI

Ms. Bagchi is the Diplomatic Editor of The Times of India. She held senior editorial positions in journalism, including Associate Editor of India Today as well as Deputy Foreign Editor and Deputy Features Editor at The Economic Times. Ms. Bagchi previously worked as an Editorial Assistant at The Statesman. She was also a Reuters Fellow at Oxford University. She holds a BA in English Literature from Calcutta University and a Post Graduate Diploma in Journalism from the Indian Institute of Mass Communication in New Delhi.

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At this point in time in India, the head of the largest political party is a woman, the leader of the opposition in parliament is a woman, the speaker of the parliament is a woman, the president of the country is a woman, the minister of foreign affairs is a woman and India ambassador to the US is a woman. One of the largest bio-tech companies is led by a woman. However, there are still areas where girls children are unwanted so foeticide leads to adverse sex ratio etc.

Nonetheless, Indian women have travelled a fairly large distance although Indian women started out with a fairly big advantage in 1947 since women never had to fight for suffrage. From the beginning Indian women had the right to vote which was and still is a highly fought right in many countries around the world. However, women had to fight tremendous obstacles related to family and religious values, not merely in the Hindu society but in the Muslim one as well, where it is even more difficult to get girls and women out into areas of public importance. The factor that most helped women is the law. For example, there is a law in Indian parliament that has not passed yet but proposes a 33 percent representation for women. But at the ground level, in elections, there is already a 30 percent reservation for women. This leads to an organic empowerment. Rules and advocacy for women to access an implemented set of laws in critical. It will enable women to seek for political and legal redress.

Another factor that has helped is a very strong cooperative grass root movement that not necessarily came from women empowerment but definitely resulted in it. There is for example a very large cooperative dairy in the western part of India, which resulted in women empowerment and as a result in an increased number of women moving to positions of leadership: self-help group, micro-finance etc. Although women in India are still not on a confidence trajectory and huge challenges remain, all those changes created a perception that a women can get beyond the family, social or religious constrains, which undoubtedly leads to a growing sense of confidence. Despite the challenges, a movement has nonetheless started and there icons that women can identify with. This is particularly true for the media sector, which is exploding and washed with young girls. On balance, while there is a woman in leadership positions, in the same place there is also a girl who got her arms shopped because she resisted rape.
Ms. Alona Barkat is the owner and Chairperson of the Hapoel Be’er-Sheva Soccer Club and Chairwoman and Founder of the BRM Institute of Technology and Society at Tel Aviv University. She is a member of the Board of Directors of IVN—Israel Venture Network, a philanthropic organization of high-tech personnel active in the fields of education, society and employment in Israel. Ms. Barkat was an investor and member of the Board of Directors of the American magazine Red Herring. She also was a Member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Federation of Silicon Valley and represented the Elem organization in this region. Ms. Barkat Earned a BA in Middle East Studies.

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Ms. Barkat’s personal experience led her to believe in developing each person’s potential. Evolving in a typically masculine world such as football presented a challenge, but a couple of years after taking over the football club, being a woman was no longer an obstacle for running the club.

Women need to believe that no field is unattainable, while those women who achieved leadership positions must help open doors to other.

Although Ms. Barkat believes that in essence there are no real differences between men and women – as far as skills and capabilities are concerned, she believes women’s added value lies in management, for example and in the way women’s presence changes the atmosphere in a working place.

Investing in each child is also leading the philosophy of Ms. Barkat’s investment in football club for children in the peripheral town of Be’er Sheva. Football, especially in the periphery, like Be’er Sheva, is used as a tool for social change. Football unites society, and the football club teaches how to play in a team, how to lose, how to gain, how to never give up.
Women Leadership Belongs to Everyone

COL. (RES.) AHUVA YANAI

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Col. (res.) Yanai’s personal life passed through two different sectors: the IDF and the third sector-NGOs. While the IDF is inherently a masculine environment, the third sector is an open sector, practically gender-blind.

The army has a key role in the Israeli society, but the number of women in key positions and high ranks is still limited. The army is changing in that sense, opening more combat roles for women, which is almost the only way to climb in the military hierarchy. Society has made advances as well. Women are represented in high ranking command position in the army in very small number - not only in numbers but in the power of those positions. There is a built in problem in the army preventing women from getting to higher ranks positions and this has to be addressed as part of the comprehensive picture of the Israeli society. Moreover, the impact of the army on the civil society is tremendous, and gender issues within the army influence and very often set the tone for women in society as a whole.

In contrast, NGOs are gender and colour-blind. Some women in the third-sector have accomplished major changes in the Israeli society in health, social services, education and more and had a macro-impact on the society. Nonetheless, the feminization of the third-sectors is seen as a structural problem in the Israeli society. It is important for women to succeed in business and at the same time have a macro impact on society.

Col. (res.) Ahuva Yanai is CEO of Matan – Investing in the Community. She served for 28 years in the IDF in a series of senior positions, including IDF Ombudswoman, Head of the Academic Branch, Head of the Basic Instruction Branch and Head of the Family Liaison Branch. Col. (res.) Yanai has been involved in business and social initiatives and activities, as well as in public organizations. She received an MA in Political Science from the University of Haifa.
Ms. Efrat Duvdevani is Director-General of the Office of the President. She served in a series of senior management positions alongside Shimon Peres, including Director-General of the Deputy Prime Minister’s Office and the Ministry for the Development of the Negev and Galilee, Bureau Chief of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chief of Staff in the Ministry for the Development of the Negev and Galilee, and Advisor to the Prime Minister. Ms. Duvdevani also served as Advisor to Yitzhak Rabin during his second term as prime minister and as Head of the Social Branch in the Ombudsman’s Division in the Prime Minister’s Office. She served in command positions in IDF Intelligence units and received an MA in Public Policy from Tel Aviv University.

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Ms. Duvdevani insisted on the need to develop a work-life balance, but acknowledge that in early career stages, women will have lots of difficulties to develop their personal and family life. Ms. Duvdevani believes the solution might lie in different forms of management.

In order to develop new forms of management, there is a need to understand women executive power (at the President office for example, there is a majority of women executive). Women in executive positions have a different style of management that involves less personal ego and more cooperation. Women managers emphasize a more systemic, multi-disciplinary view that is essential in today’s world. They also give much more room for individual contribution and individual advancement and perspectives;

in order to better manage work-life balance, women are very often more efficient in maximizing work hours and waste less time than men and are more dedicated to their work place. Women management is very well adapted to today’s world and technologies.

The solutions for encouraging women to achieve leadership and management positions and grant them access should include: 1. Affirmative action and advancing women in the work place; 2. Adapt work to allow mothers to work (morning meetings, using internet and conference call later at night. It allows women to be full time mothers and career women); 3. Education from an early age.

There is a need for a conceptual change. If in the past women believed they had to adapt to the male management style in order to succeed in the work place, today seems to be the other way around. Women style of management which is more sensitive and cooperative is a role model for the success in an organization. This is backed up by studies emphasizing the benefits of women style management.
Conference Program

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 2011

The Balance of Israel’s National Security: The National Assessments

Opening Remarks: Maj. Gen. (res.) Danny Rothschild, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series

Amb. Rafi Barak, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The Balance of Israel’s National Security: The Herzliya Indices

MK Dr. Yuval Steinitz, Minister of Finance
MK Isaac Herzog, Fmr. Minister of Social Affairs and Social Services
Prof. Rafi Melnick, Provost, IDC Herzliya
Prof. Gabriel Ben-Dor, Haifa University

Inaugural Ceremony

Introduction: Mr. Tommy Steiner, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Greetings: Ms. Yael German, Mayor of Herzliya
Introduction: Prof. Uriel Reichman, President, IDC Herzliya

Keynote Address: H.E. Shimon Peres, President of the State of Israel

Prof. Alex Mintz, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Herzliya Assessment: Maj. Gen. (res.) Danny Rothschild, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series


Introductory Remarks: Prof. Jacob Frenkel, Chairman, JPMorgan Chase International; Chairman, Group of Thirty (G-30); Fmr. Governor of the Bank of Israel

Keynote Address: Hon. Prof. Lawrence Summers, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Fmr. Assistant to the US President for Economic Policy and Director of the National Economic Council; Fmr. US Secretary of the Treasury; Fmr. President of Harvard University

Shared Strategic Challenges: Panel of Defense Ministers

In cooperation with the European Friends of Israel (EFI)

Introduction: Mr. Tommy Steiner, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Greetings: Mr. Elmar Brok, MEP, Chairman, European Parliament Delegation for Relations with the United States

MK Maj. Gen. (res.) Matan Vilnai, Minister of Homefront Defense
Rt. Hon. Dr. Liam Fox, MP, Secretary of State for Defence, UK
Hon. Dr. Alexandr Vondra, Senator, Minister of Defense, Czech Republic
Hon. Dr. Csaba Hende, Minister of Defense, Republic of Hungary

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2011

Introduction: Mr. Israel Makov, Chairman of the Board, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Keynote Address: MK Tzipi Livni, Chairperson of Kadima Party, Head of the Opposition; Fmr. Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Herzliya Debate: Can the World Live with a Nuclear Iran?

Ms. Danielle Pletka, Vice President, Foreign and Defense Policy Studies, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)
Mr. Brian Katulis, Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress
Brig. Gen. (res.) Dr. Ephraim Sneh, Fmr. Deputy Minister of Defense; Chair, S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College
Mr. Efraim Halevy, Fmr. Head of the Mossad; Director of the Shasha Center for Strategic Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Moderator: Dr. Manfred Bleskin, Journalist and News Presenter, German News Television

From Da’wa to Jihad: The Nexus of Indoctrination and Violence

Dr. Shmuel Bar, Director of Studies, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Ms. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, Fellow Resident, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)
Ms. Judith Miller, Contributing Editor, City Journal, US
Dr. Boaz Ganor, Executive Director, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

The New Global Balance of Power: The Shift to the East

Amb. Bilahari Kausikan, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore
Dr. PANG Zhongying, Director, Centre on the New Global Governance, People’s University of China (Renmin)
Ms. Indrani Bagchi, Diplomatic Editor, The Times of India
Prof. Yaakov Vertzberger, Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Moderator: Mr. Arad Nir, Channel 2

All the Eggs in One Basket? America’s Place in Israel’s Foreign Policy

MK Amb. Daniel Ayalon, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
Amb. Zalman Shoval, Fmr. Ambassador of Israel to the US
Prof. Gabriela Shalev, Fmr. Permanent Representative of Israel to the UN, Ono Academic College
Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Vice Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations
Moderator: Mr. Arnon Perlman

Latin America: The Growing Economic Locomotive

Dr. José de Gregorio, Governor, Central Bank of Chile
Amb. Clifford M. Sobe, Fmr. US Ambassador to Brazil
Prof. Mario Szajfer, Chair, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Dr. Luis F. Rubio, President, Center for Research for Development (IDAC), Mexico
Prof. Rafi Melnick, Provost, IDC Herzliya
**Multiple Jewish Identities: Celebrating Pluralism, Maintaining Cohesiveness**

Prof. Mikhail Chlenov, Secretary General, Euro-Asian Jewish Congress, Russia

Prof. Jonathan Webber, UNESCO Chair in Jewish and Interfaith Studies, University of Birmingham, UK

Dr. Ruth Calderon, Founder and Executive Director, Alma — Home for Hebrew Culture

Rabbi Dr. Benjamin (Benny) Lau, Director of Jerusalem’s Center for Judaism and Society, Beit Morasha; Rabbi of the Ramban Synagogue in Jerusalem

Moderator: Mr. Nadav Peri, Channel 10

**Herzl Award Laureate Keynote Address**

Presentation of Award and Introduction:

MK Benjamin (Fuad) Ben-Eliezor, Fmr. Minister of Industry, Trade, and Labor

Keynote Address: Dr. Alexander Mashkevich, President, Euro-Asian Jewish Congress, Russia

**Securing the Future of Israel and the Jewish People**

Sir Ronald Cohen, Chairman, Portland Trust

Mr. Mick Davis, Chairman, UK Jewish Leadership Council (JLC); Chairman, United Jewish Israel Appeal (UIJA)

Amb. Dan Gillerman, Chairman, Markstone Israel; Fmr. Permanent Representative of Israel to the UN

Mr. Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Vice Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

Mr. Nathan Sharansky, Chairman of the Executive, Jewish Agency for Israel

**Rediscovering the Silk Road: Developing Israel’s Trade with Asia**

Mr. Israel Makov, Chairman of the Board, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Mr. Boaz Hirsch, Deputy Director General and Director, Foreign Trade Administration, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor

Dr. Orna Berry, Vice President, global EMC; CEO, EMC Israel; Chairwoman, Australia-Israel Chamber of Commerce

Mr. Clyde Prestowitz, Founder and President, Economic Strategy Institute, US

Mr. Tobby Simon, CEO, Synergia - Business Beyond Borders, India

Mr. Uriel Lynn, President, Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce

Concluding Remarks:

MK Benjamin (Fuad) Ben-Eliezor, Fmr. Minister of Industry, Trade and Labor

**Future Warfare and Battlefield: Implications for Force Structure**


Brig. Gen. Axel Binder, Commander of the Bundeswehr Transformation Centre, Germany

Dr. Bruno Tertrais, Senior Research Fellow, Fondation pour la Recherche Strategique (FRS), France

Dr. Dov Zakheim, Senior Fellow, CNA Corporation; Fmr. Under Secretary of Defense, US

Dr. Dan Schueffan, Director of the National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa

Moderator: Ms. Tallie Lipkin-Shahak, IDF Army Radio

Introductory Remarks: Amb. Ronald S. Lauder, President, World Jewish Congress

Keynote Address: Lt. Gen. Gabi Ashkenazi, IDF Chief of General Staff

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**The Broader Middle East Game: The US, Europe and Regional Stability**

Keynote Address: Gen. (ret.) James L. Jones, Fmr. US National Security Advisor; Fmr. Commander, US European Command and Supreme Allied Commander Europe

Mr. Francis Delon, Secretary General for Defence and National Security, France

Ms. Mary-Beth Long, Fmr. US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead, Director, Political-Military Bureau, Ministry of Defense

Moderator: Mr. Yoav Limor, Chief Defense Correspondent, Channel 1

**TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 2011**

**Is Israel Losing Europe?**

Mk Silvan Shalom, Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Regional Cooperation and Minister of the Development of the Negev and Galilee

Hon. Prof. Uri Rosenthal, Minister of Foreign Affairs, The Netherlands

Mr. Michael Dugher, MP, UK Shadow Defence Minister

Dr. Jürgen Rüttgers, Fmr. Minister President, North-Rein Westphalen, Germany

Moderator: Dr. Josef Joffe, Publisher-Editor, Die Zeit, Germany

**At Peak Oil: Strategic Implications for the World and Israel**

Brig. Gen. Axel Binder, Commander of the Bundeswehr Transformation Centre, Germany

Mr. R. James Woolsey, Chairman, Woolsey Partners LLC; Fmr. Director of the CIA

Mr. Yossie Hollander, Chairman, Israeli Institute for Economic Planning

Mr. David Hobbs, Chief Energy Strategist, IHS Cambridge Energy Research Associates (CERA), US

Dr. Brenda Shaffer, School of Political Sciences, University of Haifa

Mr. Shaul Zemach, Director General, Ministry of National Infrastructures

Moderator: Mr. Sam Kiley, Security Editor, Sky News

**Security in Cyberspace**

Maj. Gen. (res.) Prof. Itzhak Ben-Israel, Chairman, Israel National Council for Research and Development; Tel-Aviv University

Hon. Douglas Andrew Smith, US Assistant Secretary of Homeland Security for the Private Sector

Dr. Martin Libicki, Senior Management Scientist, RAND Corporation, US

Ms. Deborah Hausen-Couriel, Yuvat Ne’eman Tel Aviv Workshop for Science, Technology and Security

Brig. Gen. (res.) Nitzan Nuriel, Head, Counter-Terrorism Bureau, National Security Council, Prime Minister’s Office

Brig. Gen. (res.) Yair Cohen, Senior Director ICS, Elbit Systems Ltd.

**New Media as a Strategic Weapon**

Dr. Yossi Vardi, Chairman, International Technologies

Brig. Gen. Avi Benayahu, IDF Spokesperson

Dr. Noam Lemelstrich Latar, Dean, Ofer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya

Honorary Chair: Mr. Vladimir Gusinsky, Founder, Media-Most
Israel’s Role in Reducing Global Oil Dependency
Prof. Eugene Kandel, Head, National Economic Council, Prime Minister’s Office
Prof. Moti Hershkowitz, Vice-President and Dean for R&D, Department of Chemical Engineering, Ben Gurion University of the Negev
Dr. Sass Somke, Founder, Musea Ventures, US
Mr. Ariel (Aik) Rosenberg, Chairman, Metal-Tech Ltd.
Dr. Gal Luft, Executive Director, Institute for the Analyses of Global Security (IAG)
Moderator: Mr. Yossie Hollander, Chairman, Israeli Institute for Economic Planning

Turmoil in the Middle East: Economic Implications for Israel
Prof. Rafi Melnick, Provost, IDC Herzliya
Mr. David Brodet, Chair, Board of Directors, Bank Leumi
Brig. Gen. (res.) Pinchas Buchris, Fmr. Director General, Ministry of Defense
Prof. Amir Barnea, Founding Dean, Arison School of Business, IDC Herzliya
Dr. Gil Bafman, Chief Economist, Bank Leumi

Turkey - Cause for Concern?
Dr. Michael Leigh, Director General for Enlargement, European Commission
Prof. Barry Rubin, Head, GLORIA Center, IDC Herzliya
Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund, Turkey
Prof. Soli Öz, Professor of International Relations and Political Science, Bilgi University, Turkey
Dr. Ariel Cohen, Senior Research Fellow, Heritage Foundation, US
Moderator: Dr. Kenneth R. Weinstein, CEO, Hudson Institute, US

Employment in the Arab Sector
Mr. Mohammad Darawshe, Co-Executive Director, The Abraham Fund Initiatives
Dr. Masad Barhoum, Manager, Nahariya Hospital
Mr. Sharon Kedmi, Director General, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor
Mr. Ayman Saif, Director, Economic Development Authority in the Minority Sector, Prime Minister’s Office
Brig. Gen. (res.) Eival Giladi, Director, Portland Trust Israel
Ms. Evelyn Collins, Chief Executive, Equality Commission, Northern Ireland

Research and Development as an Ecosystem: Government, Industry, and Universities
Maj. Gen. (res.) Prof. Itzhak Ben-Israel, Chairman, Israel National Council for Research and Development; Tel-Aviv University
Prof. Eugene Kandel, Head, National Economic Council, Prime Minister’s Office
Mr. Avi Hasson, Chief Scientist, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor
Dr. Yossi Vardi, Chairman, International Technologies

On Criticism and Prejudice: The Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Assault on Israel’s Legitimacy
MK Dr. Nachman Shai, Kadima Party
Mr. Tommy Stein, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Ms. Brooke M. Goldstein, Director, The Lawfare Project, US
Mr. Dan Diker, Secretary General Designate of the World Jewish Congress
Ms. Lorna Fitzsimons, CEO, BICOM, UK
Amb. Ron Prosor, Ambassador of the State of Israel to the UK
Moderator: Mr. Gilad Adin, Samy Offer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya

Women Empowerment and Leadership – The Y Factor
Amb. Nancy Brinker, Founder and CEO, Susan G. Komen for the Cure, US
Hon. Dr. Ursula Plassnik, Fmr. Minister of Foreign Affairs of Austria; Special Envoy for International Women’s Issues
Ms. Nehama Ronen, Chairman, Maman Cargo Terminals and Handling Ltd.; Fmr. Director General, Ministry of the Environmental Protection; Fmr. Member of the Knesset
Ms. Alona Barkat, Owner and Chairperson, Hapoel Beer Sheva
Ms. Indrani Bagchi, Diplomatic Editor, The Times of India
Col. (res.) Ahuva Yanai, CEO, Matan – Investing in the Community
Ms. Efrat Duvdevani, Director General, Office of the President
Moderator: Prof. Galia Golan, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Online Learning: Leverage for Economic Growth and Alleviating Socio-Economic Polarization
Introductory Remarks:
MK Gideon Sa’ar, Minister of Education
Hon. Bob Wise, President, Alliance for Excellent Education; Fmr. Governor of West Virginia
Mr. Michael Yutzenka, Senior Director, Education and Economic Development, Cisco
Ms. Gila Ben-Har, CEO, Center for Educational Technology
Prof. Hagit Messer-Yaron, President, Open University
Dr. Ofer Rimon, Director for Science and Information, Ministry of Education
Adv. Ariel Deri, Executive Director, Haredi College of Jerusalem
Dr. Khaled Abu-Asbah, Director, Massar Institute for Research, Planning and Educational Counseling
Dr. Ofer Rimon, Acting Director, Science and Technology Administration, Ministry of Education
Moderator: Mr. Menashe Raz, Journalist

Challenges to Global Economic Governance: Trade and Monetary Aspects
Keynote Address: Prof. Stanley Fischer, Governor, Bank of Israel

Dr. José de Gregorio, Governor, Central Bank of Chile
Amb. Miriam E. Sapiro, Deputy US Trade Representative
Dr. Yossi Bachar, Chairman, Board of Directors, Bank Discount
Moderator: Mr. Eytan Avriel, Editor, TheMarker Online

Concluding Address: Hon. Prof. Giulio Tremonti, Minister of Finance and Economy of Italy
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2011

The Peace Process – Quo Vadis?
Lt. Gen. (res.) Shaul Mofaz, Chairman, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee
Hon. Robert Wexler, President, S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace, US
Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Fmr. Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mr. Israel Harel, Chairman, Institute for Zionist Strategy
Brig. Gen. (res.) Michael (Mike) Herzog, The Jewish People Policy Institute (JIPPI); Fmr. Envoys of the Prime Minister and the Defense Minister for the Peace Process
Moderator: Mr. Raviv Drucker, Political Analyst, Channel 10

Dilemmas in US Policy in the Middle East: Stability vs. Democracy?
Mr. Brian Katulis, Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress
Maj. Gen. (res.) Yaakov Amidror, Vice President, Jerusalem Academic Center, Lander Institute
Dr. David Gordon, Head of Research and Director, Global Macro Analysis, Eurasia Group; Fmr. Vice Chairman, US National Intelligence Council (NIC)
Prof. Martin Kramer, Senior Fellow, Shalem Center
Dr. Peter Berkowitz, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
Dr. Shmuel Bar, Director of Studies, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Bringing Down Socio-Economic Inequalities: The Government’s Strategic Challenge
Prof. Zvi Eckstein, Deputy Governor, Bank of Israel
Mr. Sharon Kedmi, Director General, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor
Ms. Esther Dominissini, Director General, National Insurance Institute
Mr. Nahum Itzkovitz, Director General, Ministry of Social Affairs and Social Services
Ms. Orna Hazman-Bechor, Director General, Ministry for the Development of the Negev and the Galilee and the Ministry for Regional Development
Dr. Shimshon Shoshani, Director General, Ministry of Education
Mr. Moshe Bar Siman Tov, Deputy Director, Budgeting Division, Ministry of Finance
Moderator: Mr. Sever Plotzker, Chief Economic Commentator, Yediot Aharonoth

Streets Rule? Middle East Domestic Instability and Regional Implications
Mr. Riad al Khouri, Member of the International Council, Questscope, Amman, Jordan
Dr. Israel Elad-Altman, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Mr. Sherif El Diwany, Senior Director, Middle East and North Africa, World Economic Forum, Switzerland
Ms. Judith Miller, Contributing Editor, City Journal, US
Mr. Salman Shaikh, Director, Brookings Doha Center, Qatar; Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution
Moderator: Ms. Smadar Perry, Middle East Editor, Yediot Aharonot

Binding the Ties: Leveraging the Israel Experience Programs among the World Jewish Young Generations
Ms. Amira Aharonovitz, Head of the Strategic Division, Jewish Agency for Israel

Mr. Eyal Dagan, Head of Diaspora Affairs, Ministry of Public Diplomacy and Diaspora Affairs
Ms. Michal Frank, Head of the Department for Policy Implementation, Prime Minister’s Office
Ms. Ayelet Shilo-Tamir, CEO, Masa Israel
Mr. Gideon Shavit, Chairman, Lapid Coalition
Moderator: Mr. Jonathan Davis, Vice President for External Relations and Head of the Raphael Recanati International School, IDC Herzliya

Governance and Competitiveness: Enhancing Performance and Uncooking Bureaucratic Bottlenecks
MK Dr. Uzi Landau, Minister of National Infrastructures

Mr. Shouky Oren, Accountant General, Ministry of Finance
Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Yaron, Chairman, Elat Ashkelon Pipeline Co (EAPC)
Mr. Dror Strum, Director, Israeli Institute for Economic Planning
Ram Belinkov, Fmr. Director of the Budget, Ministry of Finance; Fmr. Direct General, Ministry of Interior
Adv. Noga Rubinstein, Chief Legal Advisor, Ministry of Communication

Taking a Toll? International Sanctions and Iran’s Domestic Arena
Dr. Shmuel Bar, Director of Studies, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Mr. Mehdi Khalaji, Next Generation Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, US
Dr. Patrick Clawson, Deputy Director for Research, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, US
Mr. Meir Javedanfar, Founder of Middle East Economic and Political Analysis Company (MEEPAS)
Mr. Mark Dubowitz, Executive Director, Foundation for Defense of Democracies, US
Moderator: Mr. Richard D. Heideman, Chairman, International Advisory Board of the Herzliya Conference

Concluding Remarks:
Hon. Haley Barbour, Governor of Mississippi

Introductory Remarks: Mr. Tommy Steiner, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Keynote Address: H.E. Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Secretary General of NATO

Concluding Session: A New Middle East?
Lt. Gen. (res.) Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Chairman, Board of Directors, TAHAL Group; Fmr. Chief of the General Staff, IDF
Maj. Gen. (res.) Danny Rothschild, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series
Maj. Gen. Amos Yadlin, Fmr. IDF Director of Military Intelligence
Prof. Shlomo Avineri, Department of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Fmr. Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Concluding Remarks: Prof. Uriel Reichman, President, IDC Herzliya
Maj. Gen. (res.) Danny Rothschild, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series
About

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Israel’s premier global policy gathering, the Herzliya Conference exclusively draws together international and Israeli participants from the highest levels of government, business and academia to address the most pressing national, regional and global issues.

Convened by the IDC Herzliya’s Institute for Policy and Strategy, the Conference proceedings, reports and recommendations provide leaders with real, timely and authoritative assessments and policy recommendations needed to guide their organizations through challenging geopolitical, economic and social developments. As strategic and political processes and events emanating from an ever-turbulent Middle East increasingly impact the global arena, the deliberations at Herzliya cover a broad span of issues, ranging from nuclear proliferation and the Middle East peace process to world finance, energy security and global warming.

Harnessing path-breaking methodologies, the Herzliya Taskforce reports and the commissioned studies present an accurate, coherent and comprehensive picture of the region and the world.

The Herzliya Roundtable sessions – small interactive focus group discussions with officials, experts and business executives, held off-the-record and by invitation only on the sidelines of the Conference – provide plenty of prospects for professional networking and relationship building; the informal exchanges that occur create unique opportunities for discourse and the discussions shape regional and international policy debates.

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY AND STRATEGY (IPS)

The Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) is headed by Maj. Gen. (res.) Danny Rothschild. The Institute operates as part of the Lauder School of Government at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya. Its primary objective is to engage in research activities which contribute to Israel’s national policy and to the upgrading of its strategic decision-making process. The range of IPS projects encompasses a variety of issues crucial to Israel including national security and strategy; foreign policy; intelligence; the Jewish people; economics; science and technology; welfare; social policy and education.

IPS conducts research on a broad analytical scope, concentrating on identifying emerging issues and trends. It also invests in improving analysis and in innovative methodologies. IPS is characterized by its variety of disciplines and inputs, as well as by its interdisciplinary, integrative, comprehensive and future-oriented approach.

IPS cultivates close working relations with governments, active public institutions, think tanks and research institutes around the world. It convenes meetings with experts and holds seminars and debates. The annual Herzliya Conference on the Balance of Israel’s National Security is the flagship of IPS activities.
INTERDISCIPLINARY CENTER (IDC) HERZLIYA

The Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya is Israel’s first private institution for Higher Education. Founded by renowned Israeli Professor Uriel Reichman in 1994, IDC Herzliya is a non-profit organization modeled after Ivy League universities in the U.S.

IDC Herzliya’s success has drawn both international recognition and some of the finest lecturers and researchers from around the world to our doorstep. Our faculty is dedicated to IDC Herzliya’s primary goal: giving our students the tools they need to become leaders in all the Social Science fields, both in Israel and abroad.

We at IDC Herzliya believe that leadership and social responsibility are elements that are lacking in the Israeli Higher Education system. These elements, coupled with the constant striving for our students’ academic and personal excellence, underlie our programs and activities. IDC Herzliya is an organization dedicated to improving Israel and Israeli society. In addition to the aforementioned goals, we are committed to dealing with issues of: Israel’s social & moral agenda; constitutional & governmental reconstruction; economic growth based on a free enterprise system; and reevaluation of Israel’s diplomatic strategies and policies.

LAUDER SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT, DIPLOMACY AND STRATEGY

The Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy was established in 1999 thanks to a contribution by Ambassador Ronald S. Lauder. Originally head by the late Prof. Ehud Sprinzak, the Lauder School of Government is modeled on the world’s leading government schools and aims to educate Israel’s future leaders. The school’s curriculum is designed to provide students with the necessary tools to develop effective governmental, administrative and social systems as well as to prepare them to fulfill senior positions in national and local government, the public sector and non-profit organizations. Since its establishment, the Lauder School has attracted leading academics, including the best of Israel’s scholars in the fields of government, public administration, security and intelligence. The Lauder School offers M.A. and B.A. degrees in five tracks: diplomacy and strategy; conflict resolution; public administration and policy; the Middle East; and security and terrorism. Students work with faculty members and lecturers on research projects that are designed to promote better government and improve Israel’s public administration.
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