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THE ANNUAL HERZLIYA CONFERENCE SERIES ON THE BALANCE OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY

CONFERENCE CONCLUSIONS

The Eighth Herzliya Conference
January 20-23, 2008



In cooperation with the Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center

HERZLIYA CONFERENCE

2008

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Preface

The Eighth Annual Herzliya Conference on the Balance of Israel's National Security was held in January 2008 – at the beginning of Israel's 60th year of Independence. To mark the occasion, the first day of deliberations and the opening ceremonies were held at the Knesset in Jerusalem.

Leaders, senior officials, practitioners, business people and experts – from Israel and abroad – deliberated emergent and topical issues related to three main dimensions: national and domestic policy, including the intensifying security risks and the increased direct threat to the civilian population, the crisis in the education and higher learning systems, and the perceived deterioration in the functioning of the branches of government; regional trends, focusing on the responses to the nuclearization of Iran and the risks of nuclear proliferation, along with an assessment of attempts to revive the Israeli-Arab negotiation process; and finally, the intricate and interdependent global processes, including the risks and crises arising from the fluctuations of the finance and credit markets, the decreasing supply of food, the soaring demand for energy, and climate change.

In-depth surveys presented at the Conference revealed that the Israeli public possesses internationally comparative high levels of patriotism, fortitude and resolve despite the continuing erosion of the public's confidence in the branches of government – most worryingly concerning the judicial branch.

To deal with these challenges, the Conference participants examined alternative strategies and policy recommendations across the five principal components of Israel's national security – defense and foreign policy; economics; education and society; governance; and Jewish Peoplehood policy. A broad span of policies and courses of action were presented and debated – ranging from more assertive military strategies and operations to reforms and transformations in educational and economic systems. Some pointed out that Israel could lead the way in promoting excellence as a national value and that it should not settle for minor adjustments, but rather aspire to achieve a qualitative leap in all the dimensions of its national policy.

Written by Goor Tsalalyachin and the research team of the Institute for Policy and Strategy, the following document reflects the sense of the Conference's deliberations. It neither incorporates all that was discussed, nor is it binding upon the Conference's participants.

Issued on the eve of Israel's 60th Anniversary of Independence, I trust you will find this document of interest.

Prof. Uzi Arad
Conference Chairman

Herzliya, May 2008

1 Israel – Strategic Trends

The 60th year of Israel's statehood is critical for shaping its policies to confront the evolving nuclear threat from Iran and significant for the renewed attempt to reach political accommodation with the Palestinians. These assertions are held by the highest levels of Israel's government and among foreign leaders who understand Israel's security needs and unique existential conditions. Israel faces increasingly serious and complex security challenges – in the short-term, as well as in the medium- to long-term.

The common denominator of Israel's security threats is the **increased direct threat to its civilian population. The familiar conceptual distinction of home front and battlefield is no longer valid. The need for preparedness to defend the home front is as vital and urgent as improving fighting capabilities.**

The most dramatic threat to the State of Israel is the one developing in Iran, which continues to expand and expedite its nuclear weapons program. The significance of this existential threat is clear and present, and at times Israel has officially stated that it cannot allow a nuclear Iran. Israel needs to carefully weigh its actions – emphasizing to the international community that Iran's nuclear program constitutes a serious threat to world peace and stability and that it is not only Israel's particular problem. Israel is examining alternatives, including the use of force to stop Iran. Additionally, some have recommended enhancing active and passive defense capabilities, and to consider the need to define and shape deterrence strategies should the efforts to thwart the nuclearization of Iran fail.

The nuclear issue is not the only threat Israel faces from Iran. The regime in Tehran operates its proxies in Lebanon and the Gaza Strip, supplying arms, money and know-how. Thus, while Israel is subject to evolving threats from its distant periphery and the threat of Syrian missiles, **entire areas of Israel are under more immediate threats**; townships in the North (which, at the time of writing, is quiet) are threatened by Hezbollah; Sderot and other communities bordering Gaza are under nearly incessant attack from steep-trajectory fire by Palestinian terrorist elements from within the Gaza Strip (Qassam and Grad missiles). The

scope of threat and the amount of weaponry in the hands of terrorist organizations are both growing, and there is also growing concern that more civilians will come under threat. Notwithstanding, **the patriotic sentiment of citizens in the Northern and Southern areas, which face the rocket threat, remains high.** This reflects the public's resilience, but **this should not be regarded as unlimited credit.** This requires Israel to update its security concept and **its plans of action in a practical manner**, to formulate a **revised posture of deterrence** and to take real action to **strengthen threatened populations.**

In spite of the erosion of Israel's image as a result of the Second Lebanon War, Israel has sought to restore its **deterrent posture vis-à-vis the northern front** (Syria and Lebanon), although the extent of success is difficult to assess. Arguably, the attack against a nuclear reactor in Syria (which was attributed to Israel) helped to bolster Israel's deterrence. The northern border has remained quiet since the end of the Second Lebanon War, though Hezbollah continues to build its strength. The organization has replenished its weaponry, including its stock of rockets, to beyond pre-war levels. At the time of writing, Hezbollah appears to be deterred and in no rush to act against Israel, notwithstanding the fierce rhetoric of its leader, Nasrallah.

Syria maintains close relations with Iran and Hezbollah, including military and operational coordination. This accentuates the **difficulty in assessing Damascus' intentions**, which recently adopted dual rhetoric and action. Preparations for war, accompany declarations about peace. Syria's participation in the Annapolis Conference should not be disregarded, but Israel emphasizes that it is not clear what Syria would be prepared to give in return for a peace accord, or whether it would be ready to completely sever its ties with Tehran and Hezbollah. In the event of terrorist attacks or attempts to attack its northern borders, **Israel would need to decide whether to adopt a policy of containment or forceful retaliation.**

The internal divisions among Palestinians make Israel's diplomatic activity and security operations more difficult. In particular, such divisions challenge Israel's capacity (and the

The growing capabilities of terrorist organizations will expose additional populated areas to danger

Israel has bolstered its deterrent posture vis-à-vis Syria and the Hezbollah

There is difficulty in assessing Syria's intentions

The threat to the Israeli home front is growing

The Iranian threat is not limited to the nuclear issue

It is considered likely that not engaging in dialogue with the PA will lead to a Hamas takeover of Judea and Samaria

aspiration of the international community) to reach a durable accommodation with the Palestinians. Some see the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip and the rift between Palestinian factions as a change so dramatic and fundamental so as to make an agreement with a single Palestinian entity impossible. The Israeli prime minister, foreign minister and defense minister still all regard the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, as a partner for dialogue, and view the **continuation of diplomatic dialogue as the preferred course of action**. The common assumption is that the result of not engaging in such dialogue will result in a Hamas takeover of Judea and Samaria, which would adversely affect Israel.

Senior European officials are opposed to dialogue with Hamas

However, in light of the Palestinian rift, it is unclear whether an agreement with the Palestinian Authority and Fatah would bring the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians to an end. The international community demands that Israel shows restraint in its military actions against Palestinian terrorism and refrains from so-called disproportionate actions and harming innocent civilians. At the same time, the international community seems to better appreciate Israel's security needs. While there are voices in Israel calling for talks with Hamas, a number of senior foreign statesmen have expressed strong reservations in this regard. **Top-level officials in Europe publicly declare their opposition to any dialogue with Hamas**, because it is a terrorist organization, which calls for the destruction of the State of Israel. There are those who believe that while there is no room for diplomatic engagement and negotiations with Hamas, there are opportunities to conclude arrangements that would achieve a lull in hostilities. **Thus, Israel must navigate in an extremely divided Palestinian arena between negotiations with Fatah, whose relevance and potential results are unknown, an ongoing war against Palestinian terrorism from the Gaza Strip, and the formulation of a policy toward Hamas.**

A final status accord might include multilateral land swaps

A final status accord between Israel and the Palestinians is also likely to include a component of territorial exchange. In addition to the various ideas and plans presented in the past, a new plan was introduced for **comprehensive multilateral land swaps between the Palestinians, Israel and its neighbors**. Further discussion of these alternatives is likely to generate additional creative ideas that can serve the quest for peaceful resolution.

Improving the Palestinian economic condition could support the negotiating process

Senior Israeli and international officials emphasize the importance of **the economic component in creating conditions that are likely to lead to diplomatic dialogue and accommodation**. This approach has gained support, despite the internal

divisions among Palestinians, based on the assumption that economic well-being is likely to reduce frictions, raise the "price of loss" and make the strategy of resorting to terrorism less attractive. The international community is showing renewed economic involvement in the territories, mobilizing large sums of money to bolster the Palestinian economy and to build effective institutions of government. Several international officeholders have emphasized that stability between Israel and the Palestinians is vital for overall stability of the Middle East and beyond.

Global trends are also exposing Israel to new threats

Despite remarkable economic growth in the past few years, there is a growing concern that **Israel's economic performance is not sufficient for withstanding future challenges**, particularly in light of the instabilities of the world economic system. Global trends are also exposing Israel to new threats that are rising from the intricate and emerging interdependencies among crises and developments in global climate, energy, finance, and food supply chains.

Moreover, the economic growth has not significantly benefited the Israeli society, which is **experiencing a number of ongoing internal crises**, some of which have reached new low points. These crises require in-depth and fundamental treatment.

It is essential to raise the level of teachers and increase resources for scientific research

The first and most severe of these is the **crisis in the Israeli education and higher learning systems**. The comparative data on Israel's performance in relation to the developed countries and international examination standards point to **the education system's extremely inferior situation**, low achievement, mediocre teaching quality and **ongoing governmental failure** to deal with these problems. The state of the education system is a source of concern and demands comprehensive reform that includes, first and foremost, the **improvement of the quality and level of teachers**.

The state of **higher education in Israel** is not encouraging either. While most of the developed countries have substantially increased resources allocated to scientific research, the opposite has happened in Israel. Israel can no longer rely on attracting Jewish scientists from abroad, and it lacks the resources to compete for scientists in the global academic marketplace.

A leap forward in scientific research would require strategic planning and the allocation of suitable resources, and it is vital for economic growth and national security. Israel cannot allow itself to fail to maintain its qualitative advantage, and it must **aspire to excellence** and a high ranking among leading countries. The need to invest additional resources in education was

further confirmed and emphasized in the "**Herzliya Accord**" project for setting national social priorities in Israel.

The erosion of public confidence in the institutions of government endangers the stability of democracy in Israel

The Israeli citizenry demonstrates **a significant lack of confidence in all of the institutions of government**. There has been a pronounced erosion of public confidence in the standing of the Knesset and the Supreme Court. Members of the legal elite are cognizant of the need to reform the legal system, but there is also criticism concerning the state of relations between the president of the Supreme Court and the minister of justice, and in particular his attacks on the court. **The erosion of public confidence in the institutions of democracy poses a danger for the stability of Israel's democracy**, and calculated action should be taken to rebuild confidence.

The level of corruption in the political system and public agencies calls for drastic action by law enforcement authorities, without fear or favoritism.

The public's sense of patriotism and level of identification with the State and its values remains high, despite the security threats. There is however, a clear sense of contempt for and frustration about the functioning of institutions that are supposed to provide the citizenry with the services to which it is entitled. Elected representatives and government officials face a challenge that demands immediate attention.

The tension between Jews and Arabs in Israel needs to be eased

Neutralizing tensions and increasing equality between Arab and Jewish citizens of Israel is a challenge that can no longer be ignored. Israeli society and governmental authorities should recognize the existence of racist sentiments and take action to eradicate them. The decline in support among the Jewish public for granting political equality and bringing Arab parties into the coalition illustrates the severity of the situation. Current government action on this subject is not sufficient. Perpetuating discrimination is not in Israel's interest, and it should adopt calculated

measures for providing practical and real equality for all of its citizens, while preserving the Jewish character of the state.

While the Arab leadership in Israel expresses strong opposition to the idea of **civilian national service**, it appears that young Arabs are supportive, seeking to participate in the community and contribute to society. Nonetheless, it is clear that decision-making on this question is a personal and family matter for the young volunteer. A framework of national civilian service is likely to constitute an opportunity to improve relations between Jews and Arabs, but additional action is needed to raise awareness about this initiative and to explain its intention and potential value.

Whereas the Arab Israeli leadership opposes national civilian service, young Arab Israelis are supportive

The trend that has seen a distancing between Diaspora Jewry and Jews living in Israel has continued. Moreover, the connection felt by Israeli and Diaspora Jews to Jerusalem has also weakened. The polarization between secular and religious Jews and other communities in Israel as regards Jewish identity represents a threat to the future of the Jewish people. Among world Jewry there is consensus that this trend demands urgent attention because without a strong connection between Jews in Israel and Jews in the Diaspora, world Jewry would face existential problems. **However, many Israeli Jews do not share this sense of urgency, which further contributes to the widening of the gap between the two parts of the Jewish people.**

The trend that has seen a distancing between Diaspora Jewry and Jews living in Israel has continued

This widening gap might bear adverse consequences for Israel since the **Diaspora Jewry is an important strategic component** in Israel's foreign relations with many countries of the world. Israel should maintain and conduct **ongoing dialogue with Jewish communities** around the world regarding certain political and diplomatic issues. Israel must work together with Diaspora Jewry to achieve common goals.

2 Political - Security Cluster

Global and Regional Strategic Trends

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The world is experiencing profound change, including transformations in international relations, in the division of international power, in global economic trends, and in the condition of the planet and its climate. These transformations are creating complex, and not always lucid, interdependencies, which are posing new and emergent challenges and risks. The existing international institutions and mechanisms do not possess the capacity to govern and deal effectively with these challenges, which require **closer international cooperation and coordination.**

In light of the complex challenges in the Middle East, **the United States and Europe have increased their involvement in the region.** The European Union and its key member states have sought to play a more significant role in the negotiation process between Israel and the Palestinians. And **there are senior European leaders who express readiness to dispatch military forces to the region under the provisions of a variety of international frameworks** in order to enforce accords that promise stability. Recent European experiences in the face of radical Islam and attendant terrorism, the internal Palestinian rift and Israeli readiness to make concessions have led to some **improvement in the attitude of several European states towards Israel** and greater understanding for its security needs. In a few cases, there have even been expressions of self-criticism for previous conduct. At the same time, **there is still criticism of Israel** for its policy of exercising force in the ongoing struggle against Palestinian terrorism and in relation to the humanitarian situation in the Palestinian territories. In particular, Europeans demand that Israel strictly limits itself to what is referred to as **"proportional" military operations.**

The United States is devoting more attention to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. U.S. President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice have thrown their political weight behind the negotiation process, but many are doubtful as to whether they will achieve their goals in the short time that remains until the end of the Administration's term in office. **U.S. involvement in the Middle Eastern arena is broad and deep,** and senior American officials emphasize **the great importance of success in Iraq,**

and not only because it is the most significant project of the Bush administration. From the American perspective, **Iraq is a most important test and symbol** that will have profound impact on the international credibility, prestige and power of the United States, and, by association, the entire free world. For this reason, the American administration will continue to invest resources **to create a winning strategy.** This has profound significance that extends beyond political discussion about the legacy of President. This insight is shared by Americans from both ends of the political spectrum.

To date, the international community has not succeeded in halting the nuclear program of Iran, as demonstrated by the latter's continued and defiant policy. Despite the broad agreement that exists between the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council and Germany (P5 + 1) regarding the need to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, action in this regard remains weak and has not sufficiently influenced the regime in Tehran. The international community and Israel have declared their preference for solving this matter through diplomatic channels. The U.S. and Israel, in particular, clearly state that other option could be considered. Contradictory assessments of the pace of progress Iran has achieved in enriching uranium, and of the date by which Iran will possess a nuclear weapon, **accentuate the difficulty in estimating the time remaining for diplomatic efforts prior to practical consideration of military means to stop Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.**

Iran's nuclearization process affects the entire Middle East and beyond. Other states in the region, as well as European countries, are concerned about an evolving trend toward nuclear proliferation in the region and even **fear that a new nuclear arms race is developing unchecked, which may lead to the disintegration of the global non-proliferation regime.**

Iran plays a dominant, negative role in disseminating radical Islam. Tehran's defiant activities are not met with sufficient determination and **its use of terror, as a strategic tool, does not elicit the required response.** Iran's support and guidance of Hezbollah is conspicuous, as well as its ties with global *ji*had groups across the world, and its ongoing efforts to operate in the Palestinian territories and in Israel.

Iraq is seen as a test of the credibility of the United States and the entire free world

The international community has not yet succeeded in thwarting the Iranian nuclear program

It is difficult to assess how much time remains for diplomacy, and there is fear of the emergence of an arms race in the region

Western governments are not coping well with the spread of radical Islam

Al-Qaeda is gaining footholds in various parts of the world and there is growing fear of radiological terrorism

Western governments have not succeeded in countering the spread of Islamic "*dawa*" [proselytizing], accompanied by extremist indoctrination, throughout Europe and in parts of the United States. While the U.S. is making gains in its fight against al-Qaeda infrastructure in Iraq, the infrastructure of **global jihad** is continuing to take root in South and Southeast Asia, North Africa and other places in the Middle East, in part through proxy organizations with Iranian backing. Radical ideas bridge traditional gaps between Shiite and Sunni Muslims, while the West does not formulate an agreed-upon definition for the terrorism nesting in its midst and has not learned to cooperate in a way commensurate with the global character of this developing threat. There is however, a growing concern in some government quarters about unconventional weapons – chemical, biological and other warfare agents – falling into the hands of terrorist organizations. In particular, there are those who express **fear of radiological terrorism**. It seems that **terminological disparities, combined with a measure of naiveté and fear of being politically incorrect** have generated consistent failure in understanding this problem and dealing with it effectively.

There is increased demand for energy worldwide

A phenomenon that is not limited to a particular region of the world is the formation of **armed militias (non-state entities)**. These have come to acquire considerable strength and power and create new challenges for countries threatened by their action. Such groups pose **asymmetrical threats**, which are **difficult to deter**, since they have no state-based responsibility and accountability.

The international community is increasingly concerned about how to ensure secure and inexpensive **supplies of energy**. Increasing demand for energy in the quickly expanding economies of India and China, along with dependence on Middle Eastern oil and the fear of regional destabilization as a result of Iran's behavior, are of concern to both official decision-makers and energy suppliers. While the most recent projections show that **energy resources are sufficient to cater for humanity's needs during the coming decades**, there is recognition of the **severe environmental pollution** caused by a variety of energy uses, particularly the emission of greenhouse gases. There is a developing trend towards demand for, and use of, energy **from sources in the Caspian Black Seas**, particularly in light of concern over readily available, inexpensive and more diversified sources of energy, including renewable energies.

More attention is being paid to the security of energy supplies

Environmental damage and global warming also impact national security

Global warming is a complex challenge for the world's security and stability. There is growing recognition of the importance of addressing climate change and the need to prevent, or at least reduce, **severe damage to the condition of the planet**. There is disagreement over the ways to deal with the evolving crisis, but it seems that most experts agree that **greenhouse gases are being emitted at a more rapid pace** than previously projected. Large-scale action is necessary to stop global warming and to prepare for the

natural disasters engendered by it. Plans of action are needed for dealing with the **security ramifications of global warming**. In order to cope with anticipated crises, the countries of the world must begin to prepare for various contingencies, establishing cooperative efforts in this regard.

Contradictory indicators make it **difficult to assess trends in the world economy**. Is the world economy sliding into recession? Or is the world experiencing the decline and slowdown of several of its large economies? It is considered likely that the world financial markets will behave differently from the commodities and labor markets and from regional markets, despite the fact that the world economy has become significantly more interdependent. These evolving inter-relationships are not always lucid and comprehensible, but they do seem sufficiently powerful to rock financial markets and to generate new crises and risks effecting energy security and the supply chain of food.

It is difficult to assess trends in the world economy

One of the explanations for the lack of clarity concerning economic trends points to the **large gaps in the balance of trade between different countries and the disparate levels of national deficits between the U.S. and Southeast Asia**. This does not only refer to the interactions between deficits, levels of consumption and national savings, but also to the fact that the main financiers of the American deficit are East Asian financial markets. One of the proposals was to carry out financial reforms of the East Asian financial markets. The goal of the reform would be to reduce the level of savings, while maintaining the existing level of growth and, at the same time, instituting reforms in the United States that would increase national saving levels.

Much attention is devoted to China, which today manufactures about 15% of world GDP (compared to 20% by the European and 20% by the American economies respectively). It is a highly competitive developing economy in the global market, primarily due to the low cost of labor, which is about 80% lower than in Western countries. Even so, an analysis of long-term demographic trends reveals that none of the economies seen as threatening U.S. dominance will be able to supplant its role as world economic leader, even in the future.

China's ability to compete is impressive and significant

The Iranian Challenge and Possible Responses

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2008 will test the international community's capacity to stop Iran's nuclear program, which is advancing at vigorous pace. There is indeed broad consensus in the international community that the Iranian regime

seeks to acquire nuclear weapons and that it is producing fissile material for this purpose.

The Iranian nuclear program includes three components:

- Uranium enrichment for the eventual production of weapons grade material;
- Continued developing of delivery systems, such as long-range, surface-to-surface missiles (SSM's - Shahab-3, Ashura and BM-25);
- Actual weaponization.

There is disagreement regarding the time that remains to stop Iran

Despite the broad consensus regarding Iran's nuclear ambitions, **there is considerable disagreement over the question how long Iran still requires to acquire nuclear weapons.** The question of the timetable has critical implications for **assessing the period of time remaining to stop Iran**, and thus also regarding the preferred methods of preventing or significantly delaying the realization of Iran's nuclear ambitions.

There are errors and contradictions in the American National Intelligence Assessment (NIE)

The U.S. National Intelligence Assessment (NIE) published at the end of 2007 raised considerable controversy regarding its interpretation. The intense media focus on just one aspect of the report contributed to a distortion of its contents. Some have claimed that it was the intention of the report's authors to amplify public attention to this particular finding: in 2003 Iran disbanded its "weapons group", assigned to design a nuclear warhead; during the same period, it also aborted a clandestine centrifuge enrichment program run by the defense establishment. This finding demonstrates that while Iran ostensibly shelved its nuclear weapons program and that there is no evidence that it renewed it through the middle of 2007, it proves, in effect, that up until 2003 the Iranians pursued a covert clandestine nuclear weapons program.

The earliest date mentioned in the NIE Report for the Iranian program to produce nuclear weapons is nevertheless 2009, while the latest date is 2015. Thus, **the report contradicts its own conclusion** by stating that the Iranians are continuing to seek nuclear weapons and may even be able to produce them within a time frame of a year in the worst case, or seven years in the least worst case.

Senior Israeli officials stated clearly that **Israel cannot tolerate the military nuclearization of Iran.** Moreover, the nuclearization of Iran could lead to a regional nuclear arms race and nuclear weapons might even reach terrorist organizations. Thus, Iran's nuclearization would trigger regional instability with adverse consequences beyond the Middle East.

Failure of the international community to address the Iranian threat is liable to engender the collapse of three essential pillars of nuclear non-proliferation:

- The NPT [Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty] regime;
- The United Nations Security Council;
- The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The working assumption is that the bottleneck in the Iranian nuclear program is in producing fissile material. Therefore, it is clear that the moment that fissile material becomes available to the regime in Tehran, the matter of weaponization becomes secondary and relatively easy to implement.

There is also consensus that the NIE report seriously undermined the freedom of action of the current U.S. administration in its efforts to halt the Iranian nuclear program. **According to sources close to the administration in the past, the report forcefully and irrevocably pulls the rug out from under the feet of President Bush**, and he is no longer capable of carrying out a military operation to stop Iran. Therefore, **they recommend that Israel take responsibility upon itself for halting the Iranian nuclear program**, and if it is necessary to thwart it through military means. Thus, Israel should consider whether to do this independently. One way or another, it was asserted that during the remaining year of his term, President Bush will not take significant steps to bring the Iranian program to a halt.

There is little chance of a U.S. military operation against Iran

Regarding approaches to preventing the military nuclearization of Iran, **there is broad consensus that the preferable approach is the diplomatic channel.** In exchange for complying with international demands, **Iran is being offered attractive incentives** in various areas, including assistance with nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. **Sanctions have a chance of influencing Iran, but only if they are sufficiently harsh.** However, **doubt as to the likelihood of success of diplomacy is growing**, in light of Iran's constant march forward and the significant decline in the resolve of the international community.

Thus, in effect, **the timetable is moving toward a critical juncture, even if the end timing remains unknown.** At that juncture, it will be decided whether it is possible to accept the future military nuclearization of Iran or, alternatively, whether the military option should be exercised to prevent this. There are different assessments as to the timing of this juncture. Some argue that it is expected within a short period of time – several months, a year or perhaps two years. Others argue that this critical juncture is further off and, consequently, there is ample time left to stop Iran using diplomatic means.

China's ability to compete is impressive and significant

The goal of the diplomatic campaign is to take all necessary measures to completely isolate Iran and to threaten its economy with collapse, thus convincing the Iranian leadership that it is in its own interest to discontinue and dismantle the nuclear program. Such a result requires rapid, decisive and effective action, and **it does not appear that the international community has so far succeeded in formulating an appropriate response to this challenge.**

Iran has ignored, in effect, rejected, the UN Security Council resolutions demanding that it stop its nuclear activity, including all activities related to uranium enrichment and the construction of the large heavy-water research reactor at Arak. Iran even rejects the right of the UN Security Council to intervene on this issue and demands that the "Iranian file" be sent back and handled by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) instead. The additional sanctions Washington initiated and coordinated outside of the UN framework, in collaboration with European economic and financial entities, have also failed to bring about the desired turnabout in Iran's policy, despite the fact that these sanctions have had greater impact than those of the UN.

There is a dispute regarding whether the Iranian threat can be stopped using military means

There is fierce dispute over the question of whether it is at all possible or practical to stop Iran's nuclear program using military means – that is, whether military operations have a chance of succeeding.

Some argue that the U.S and Israel too, lack the capacity to strike Iran's nuclear program so that it would no longer constitute a threat. Several arguments have been made in this regard, including:

- Iran has secret facilities – the existence and locations of which are completely unknown and that, therefore, cannot be targeted;
- Iran would be able to restore its program within a short time following any military attack, so there is no real gain in military action, especially when taking into account the heavy price of the anticipated retaliatory actions Iran would certainly launch against the U.S. and / or Israel and their interests.

In contrast, **some argue that an Israeli military operation to thwart Iran's nuclear program is possible and necessary**, and that it carries a good chance of success. According to one view, at least, the anticipated retaliation by Iran is not expected to exceed the limited dimensions Israel can successfully withstand and has already successfully withstood in the past. Thus, Israel should not be deterred from taking action.

A minority view, loud and salient, calls upon President Bush to ignore all of the impediments and obstacles in his way and to bomb the Iranian facilities before leaving the White House. According to this view, President Bush might reach the conclusion that there is no alternative to a military option and will order the bombing of Iranian nuclear facilities. This conclusion could be drawn from an assessment that not only would Israel would face severe challenges and limited capacities and maneuverability vis-à-vis a nuclear Iran, but that the United States itself would find it difficult to protect its citizens, its allies and its interests. A further view is that **the Iranian threat is not limited to the nuclear program, but derives from the overall activity of the regime in Tehran**. This mandates comprehensive counter-action including perhaps an attempt to replace the regime. **And if regrettably all of the efforts to prevent the military nuclearization of Iran fail, or if**

the world unexpectedly and suddenly finds itself faced with a *fait accompli* and Iran clandestinely succeeds in acquiring a military nuclear capability, the important question is: How would it be possible to deter Iran from using its nuclear arsenal?

Can a nuclear Iran be deterred?

Already today, some attention is being devoted to examining the most appropriate leverages to exercise vis-à-vis the leaders of the Iranian regime in an effort to convince them that any use of nuclear weapons would be incomparably more damaging than beneficial to the regime itself. Thus, for example, **it is recommended to clarify to Iran's leaders that the end effect will be Iran's total defeat**, pulling the plug on its ideological objectives.

According to one approach, in order to attain the desired deterrent, it is necessary to **threaten matters that are likely to be seen as most important and valuable by the regime's leaders**. A study was conducted on the decision-making process of the Iranian leadership to date, which indicates that its decisions are largely based on rational cost-benefit considerations. A psychological profile of the decision-makers in Tehran could be constructed in order to better understand the factors that are likely to influence their decisions.

Noteworthy, **deterrence must be specifically designed and tailored to the target** ("actor-specific behavioral modeling"). In practice, one can identify **a range of targets in various fields in Iran** (population, infrastructure, the regime's assets, and reconstruction capacity) and to make it clear that they would be regarded hostages to restrained Iranian behavior in the nuclear field. It is also recommended to clarify **that Iran's major cities would be targeted and even destroyed if Iran launched a nuclear attack on any country in the region**.

In addition to the dimension of severe "punishment", active and passive defense capabilities should also be emphasized in order to convince Iran that it has no chance of negating Israel's capacity to launch an "effective response" (or "second strike") to a nuclear attack (an Iranian "first strike"). Therefore, defenses – both active and passive – should be added to the three cornerstones of Israel's strategy – deterrence, warning and decisive victory.

Thus, the survival and vitality of the Iranian state top the considerations for tailoring the required deterrence and are based on the assumption that the leaders of Iran, to the extent this is known, generally tend to make decisions on a rational basis, derived from "cold national cost-benefit calculations". There are those that posit that developing a "first strike" capability against Iran could prevent escalation, by deterring Iran from the outset. Others, however, argue that such a step would undermine the stability of deterrence. Furthermore, senior officials have maintained that the rationality of the Iranian leadership cannot be trusted

and there will always be a measure of doubt surrounding its behavior in a crisis.

In sum, it is necessary to redesign the model of deterrence so that it can influence the views and values of Iranian decision-makers, taking into consideration their cultural, political, historical and subjective context and circumstances, along with common human weaknesses. For deterrence to succeed, ways must be found to overcome all these obstacles by also possibly reassessing the quantity of required deterrence ("sufficiency").

The Negotiating Process between Israel and its Neighbors

There is ambiguity regarding the chances of reaching an accord between Israel and Syria as a result of the uncertainty surrounding Syria's strategic intentions

The 2008 Herzliya Conference convened not long after the Annapolis Conference in the United States (held in late November 2007), where U.S. President George W. Bush and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice assembled representatives from forty-nine countries, including Israel and the Palestinian Authority. At the Annapolis Conference, under the auspices of President Bush, Israel and the Palestinians jointly announced the opening of negotiations on a permanent accord. The summary statement of the conference determined that the accord should be attained by the end of 2008.

Israel and the Palestinians embarked on talks along the path charted at Annapolis, vowing to discuss what are commonly referred to as "the core issues" – borders, settlements, Jerusalem, refugees and security arrangements. While the talks have continued since Annapolis, the basic questions that accompanied the renewal of the process remain unanswered:

- To what extent is an accord with the Palestinian Authority relevant in light of the internal Palestinian rift and the coalescence of two separate Palestinian entities (the Gaza Strip, controlled by Hamas and the West Bank, controlled by Fatah)?
- Can Chairman Abbas deliver?

The negotiating process in regional context

Many believe that the most significant achievement of the Annapolis Conference was that it demonstrated the existence of a moderate political axis, which includes Arab states, in counter-position to the radical axis led by Iran. Syria's participation in the conference was an achievement for the American administration, despite its comparative low-level representation.

Syria's presence in Annapolis was particularly significant in light of the tensions between Damascus and Jerusalem prior to the conference, expressed in an exchange of threatening declarations between the two parties, and ambiguous rhetoric and actions by the president of Syria. Syrian presence at Annapolis and attempts to reduce tensions brought to the fore the question of the chances for reaching a diplomatic accord between Israel and Syria. **Contradictory assessments were heard regarding the extent of Syria's interest in a peace accord with Israel.** Some believe that the Alawite minority ruling Syria is not ready, and not able, to reach an accord with Israel. On the other hand, an Israeli official noted that this possibility should not be rejected out of hand, primarily in light of the 1995 agreement by the previous Syrian president, Hafez Assad, for a "cold peace" after abandoning his efforts to reach a strategic balance of power with Israel.

In any event, it is clear that Syria maintains close strategic relations with Iran, as well as military coordination with Hezbollah. It is not clear whether Syria is interested in severing such relations, or whether it would be willing to do so in the framework of a peace accord with Israel. While to Israel it is clear that Syria would demand all of the Golan Heights in the framework of such an accord, it is not clear what Syria would be willing to give Israel in return. These questions, along with the question of whether Syria would indeed sever relations with Iran and Hezbollah, heighten the **ambiguity surrounding the chances of a peace accord between Syria and Israel being reached in the foreseeable future.**

It is argued that the measure of the Annapolis Conference's success, in its regional perspective, is linked to the extent of U.S. success in forming a coalition against Iran. **The formation of an anti-Iran coalition including the Gulf States is doubtful**, primarily due to the competing interests they find themselves subject of and that pull them in divergent directions. They are currently forced to maneuver between Iran, which is breathing down their necks, and Washington's demands for a secure supply of oil and its attempts to mobilize their support for the Israeli-Palestinian process. In other words, the situation of the Gulf States does not allow for the formation of any serious anti-Iran axis, or at least it makes this task very difficult.

Policy alternatives – new ideas

Initiatives to renew the diplomatic process and dialogue require a **reexamination of previous ideas and the development of new policy alternatives** for a comprehensive solution to the conflict between Israel and its neighbors.

One of the essential components of this conflict is **the struggle over land**. Most of the proposals and plans discussed over the years, whether by international entities or by the parties themselves, have included a territorial component and redefinitions of existing borders.

Due to the protracted nature of the conflict and the demographic reality that has developed since 1948, a number of ideas for land swaps have been discussed in recent years. The idea of land swaps has become even more relevant in light of the fact that most recent plans regard the 1967 lines as the basis for calculating land swap arrangements. Underlying the idea of land swaps is the principle that **each side reserves the right to its net territorial size, but that the precise borders of the land are subject to demarcation in accordance with demographic and security considerations**.

In recent decades, several agreements between countries in the Middle East have “broke” the “sanctity” of existing borders. Examples of this include not only the agreements between Israel and Egypt and between Israel and Jordan, but also border arrangements between Jordan and Saudi Arabia (1965), between Iran and Iraq (several times; the latest in the Algiers Agreement in 1975), between Jordan and Iraq (1982), between Jordan and Syria (2004) and between Yemen and Saudi Arabia (2005).

Most existing plans propose bilateral land swaps between Israel and the Palestinian Authority (the Geneva Initiative, the Beilin–Abu Mazen Plan, the “Umm al-Fahm – First” Plan). Only **one proposal discusses a trilateral swap of territory** between Israel, Egypt and the Palestinian Authority (the Ben-Arieh – Eiland plan).

At the 2008 Herzliya Conference, **a new plan was proposed for multilateral and comprehensive land swaps, the Biger-Arad plan**.

A new proposal: multilateral and comprehensive land swaps

The plan's key points are:

- **Israel-Syria-Jordan:** Israel would annex part of the Golan Heights, Jordan would transfer an identical size of land to Syria along its border with Jordan and Israel would transfer territory in the Arava to Jordan.
- **Israel-Syria-Lebanon:** Israel would keep parts of the Golan Heights, including the Jewish population centers (first and foremost, Katzrin). Lebanon would transfer a territory of similar size to Syria and receive compensation from Israel at various points along the border, including seven Shiite villages and the Shaba

Farms. The Hermon area would become a joint development and tourism area for the three countries.

- **Israel-Syria-Lebanon-Jordan:** Israel would withdraw to the line of the cliffs and control territory in the Golan Heights; Jordan would compensate Syria along their joint border; Israel would compensate Lebanon and Jordan along its joint border with them by ceding land of the same approximate size as the land that Lebanon and Jordan transferred to Syria; The Hermon area would be a joint tourism / vacation area for all parties.

This plan also proposes the transfer of territory from Israel to Egypt (the Paran desert area) and the creation of a free passageway from Egypt to Jordan. Egypt would transfer territory to the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip in the area between Rafah and El Arish.

The Biger-Arad plan has yet to be discussed in Israeli and international political fora and could serve as a platform for the discussion and development of creative alternatives to underpin a multilateral accord. However, it has been argued that Egypt would strongly oppose transferring territory to the Palestinians for reasons of national security, and that the plan, being too ambitious and dependent on too many constraints, will make its realization all too difficult.

Nevertheless, **the principle of land swaps has already gained official diplomatic status and is present** in various plans for an Arab-Israeli accord. In addition, **official recognition has been accorded to the change in the demographic situation on the ground**, and it is understood that a return to the pre-1967 situation, for example, is not realistic. Arguably, such a comprehensive plan is an attempt to stimulate new policy alternatives, especially since the ideas proposed so far have not yet yielded a resolution.

Negotiations for a permanent accord

Discussion about the negotiation process has intensified in recent months in light of the reality on the ground, mandating a deliberation of three profound questions and problems:

- In the current situation, it is at all possible to reach an accord?
- What needs to be done in order to create conditions that would facilitate the reaching of an agreement?
- What would be the character of a final status accord?

The talks between Israel and the Palestinian Authority since November 2007 are being conducted while friction and violence continue on the ground, including ongoing Qassam rocket-fire at the city of Sderot and other Jewish communities near Gaza, consistent attempts to carry out terrorist activity in the heart of Israel, and IDF

The internal Palestinian rift increases the difficulty of reaching an accord

operational activity in the Gaza Strip and throughout Judea and Samaria. **The Palestinian arena has significantly changed during the past year, following the Hamas takeover in the Gaza Strip.** Israel and the international community are trying to find their way in this new reality and still regard the chairman of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, as a partner for dialogue.

In the current reality, there are in effect two Palestinian entities: Hamas, and its prime minister, Ismail Haniyeh, rule in the Gaza Strip. Fatah, and the chairman of the Palestinian Authority and of the PLO, Mahmoud Abbas, rule the Palestinian territory in Judea and Samaria. This split makes it more difficult for Israel on both the diplomatic and security fronts. In particular, it creates obstacles to reaching a sustainable permanent accord with the Palestinians. Some regard this rift as an internal Palestinian problem that can be overcome. **Others see it as a dramatic and fundamental change that makes it impossible to reach an accord with a unitary Palestinian entity.**

Some have argued that the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip (itself an indication of the takeover of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by jihadist Islam) makes the discussion about territorial compromise irrelevant. There are two reasons for this:

- According to the Islamists, they have no authority to relinquish land because of its status as sacred (*waqf*);
- Unilateral withdrawals, aimed at defusing the argument of occupation, have actually strengthened jihadist Islam.

There are those who suggest abandoning what they call "the failed concept", which assumes that it is possible to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the near future. Instead, they propose adopting measures of **conflict management**. The strategy of conflict management would entail:

- Preserving and strengthening Israeli interests, while preparing the ground for stabilizing the situation in the distant future;
- Reinforcing the political separation between Israel and the Palestinian Authority;
- Gradual and complete disengagement between Israel and the Gaza Strip (without causing a humanitarian crisis in the process, but while aspiring to disconnect water infrastructure, electricity, the movement of goods, and so on).

Others, however, argue that the **Roadmap** charted by U.S. President Bush and the Quartet is **still relevant** and action should be taken along the following lines:

- The Palestinian security organizations: The Palestinians should fulfill their commitments regarding security arrangements and the building-up of security mechanisms;

- The settlements: Israel should fulfill its commitments and enforce its laws in regard of illegal construction in the West Bank.

Additional components that are likely to lead to a stabilization of the situation and the creation of better conditions for a political accord were also reviewed. The recommendations and ideas concentrate on two main areas:

- **The economic component:** Investment in the Palestinian private sector – for example, joint tourism ventures;
- **Building Palestinian governmental capacity:** law and administration, effective democratic institutions – institutions that provide real content for future Palestinian sovereignty.

The **economic dimension** has great importance in creating conditions and supporting processes for the facilitation of peaceful resolution, and that **investment in the Palestinian private sector** would lead to real change in the situation on the ground, such as investing in construction to meet the growing demand for housing.

The leader of the opposition also proposed a conceptual framework he coined as "**economic peace**" – an economic corridor leading to political solutions, which is likely to engender the ripening of conditions for negotiation and accommodation. By way of example, he suggested that there is potential for joint Israeli-Palestinian tourism projects in the Jordan River area. The proposed formula was that **the projects would be based on Israeli security arrangements and on free market forces.**

Building Palestinian governance capacity is an essential component in creating the conditions for a future Palestinian entity in the framework of a permanent accord. The international community now recognizes this. **Real Palestinian effort and international assistance is required for improvements in the fields of security, education, justice, and law enforcement.** Improvements in these fields would contribute to internal Palestinian stability and would likely enhance the Palestinians' capacity to govern effectively. In the Israeli government's eyes, **if the Palestinians do not exert effective governance and control on the ground to fight terrorism, it will be impossible to move ahead in the process.** Israel continues to regard real action by the Palestinians to prevent terrorist attacks as a necessary condition for an accord, as also stipulated in the Roadmap.

The character of the accord will depend on the issues that will be discussed in the negotiations. It was argued that the customary terminology used in the international discourse adopts the Palestinian narrative – that the occupation of the Palestinian territories was the reason for the conflict. Israel maintains that, in fact, the conflict erupted prior to its conquest of the West Bank. Thus, for example, some propose reformulating a **precise**

The grievances of Jewish refugees should be considered a core issue in the negotiations on a permanent accord

definition of the core issues to be addressed in the permanent accord negotiations. In this view, the core issues would take into consideration the grievances of Jewish refugees who were forcibly expelled or displaced from Arab states or fled in fear. As an additional example, it was noted that while it is customary to define the settlements as a core issue, it is not customary to define the cessation of incitement to violence (i.e. ongoing Palestinian inflammatory and anti-Semitic statements and indoctrination encouraging terrorist acts) as a core issue. **Issues such as the cessation of incitement, the grievances of Jewish refugees and compensation for stolen Jewish property must also be placed in the framework of negotiations on a permanent accommodation.**

Jerusalem – The heart of the matter

Jerusalem continues to be the central and most difficult issue in the negotiations towards a permanent accord between Israel and the Palestinians. The fate of Jerusalem should be also determined in the context of Israel's relations with Diaspora Jewry.

Dividing sovereignty in Jerusalem would damage the urban fabric of the city

The search for creative political arrangements in the attempt to resolve the fierce conflict over Jerusalem in the framework of negotiations with the Palestinians has generated various ideas in the past for partitioning the city.

In any negotiations on a future accord, **Israel should demand full sovereignty over Jerusalem**, not only because Jerusalem is Israel's capital city or because of the indisputable Jewish historical connection with the city, but also because of the anticipated damage to the city's fabric that a division of sovereignty would entail. If sovereignty were to be divided in the city, it would require the construction of borders and barriers, which would inflict real damage to its unique urban fabric and to its capacity to function as **a single organic urban unit. Such damage is not in the interest of any group or party to the conflict.**

Full Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem would not hinder the independent administration granted to quarters of the Old City or other neighborhoods in the city in an arrangement of "blurring sovereignty". Such an arrangement would enable Muslims and Christians, for example, to independently conduct their lives and run their institutions and would not violate the peace treaty with Jordan – which grants it a special status in regard to the holy places in Jerusalem. Notwithstanding, the matter of the "Old City" and the "Holy Basin" are at the heart of the conflict and any arrangement seems to require the involvement of a third party.

Since the conflict over Jerusalem has yet to be resolved, **it is recommended to adopt a conflict management**

approach. In any case, it is proposed that Israel work to ensure the well being and welfare of Arabs in Jerusalem by providing appropriate services, out of a realization that there is no Israeli interest in perpetuating or exacerbating discrimination.

The various proposals to change the status of Jerusalem are affected by the Israeli law. On the one hand, there are proposals to divide the city's sovereignty, and on the other, there are proposals to declare Jerusalem the capital of the entire Jewish people. **A look at the legal situation indicates that it would be more difficult to implement legal changes regarding Jerusalem's sovereignty, but easier to pass declarative changes.** The status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is anchored in legislation and it is stipulated that any change – including the transfer of authority to a foreign political entity – requires amendment of a basic law to be approved by a majority of sixty-one members of the Knesset. On the other hand, a declarative change pertaining to the status of Jerusalem as the capital of the Jewish people could be implemented via regular legislation, which does not require a special majority. This change would not have an effect on the area of jurisdiction or borders of the capital city.

Changes in the sovereignty of Jerusalem would require the enactment of a basic law

Jerusalem has profound symbolic, cultural and religious value for the Jewish people at large, and not only for the Jewish citizens of Israel. However, **the standing of Diaspora Jewry** is not clear in regard to concessions on Jerusalem in the framework of diplomatic negotiations on a permanent accord. While Diaspora Jewry has no formal legal standing in the negotiations conducted by the sovereign government of the State of Israel, the positions and emotions of Diaspora Jewry have an important weight that should be taken into consideration.

This conclusion is all the more important, if not alarming, in light of the parallel development in the Arab world in recent years: **Jerusalem has become a dominant component of the discourse, taking on a religious and national role that unites around it even rival Islamic streams.** This phenomenon primarily characterizes radical Islam. At the same time, among Jewish Israelis, a trend of diminishing connection to Jerusalem and less familiarity with its history and centrality for the Jewish people has been observed.

Jerusalem is an important component of the relationship between Israel and Diaspora Jewry

A weakening of Jewish connection to Jerusalem is not only characteristic of young people (as revealed in the 2008 Herzliya Conference Patriotism Survey and in a survey of the Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies). The diminishing connection to the city is also shared among leading intellectuals in their forties and fifties. **Negative attitudes to Jerusalem are expressed in colloquial references to the city as "a city of the ultra-Orthodox", "a city of stones" and "a dead city", to mention just a few.**

Two factors contribute to the weakening connection of Jews to Jerusalem, and feed off each other:

- The depressed economic situation and growing poverty in Jerusalem;
- Migration of "stronger" population groups (in socio-economic terms) away from Jerusalem.

The connection to Jerusalem needs to be strengthened among all segments of the population

These negative phenomena and trends point to the depth and severity of the rupture in the general public's connection to the capital city, encompassing all segments of the population in Israel and thus **should be regarded as a call for action** mandating a **comprehensive strategic national plan**. Such a plan should include a **reallocation of resources to strengthen the population's connection to Jerusalem** particularly through **education** – formal and informal – throughout the country and aimed at all age groups. Israelis, and especially the younger generations, should become more informed about Jerusalem, its history and centrality in Jewish culture and heritage.

The Challenge of Radical Islam

Global jihad is taken root and growing in strength

Radical Islam continues to take root, whilst Western governments are trying to find their way in challenging this phenomenon and are experiencing difficulty in formulating an effective strategy to counter it. Experts and observers noted **the spread of the Islamic "dawa" in Europe and the United States**, accompanied by extremist religious indoctrination. **Global jihad is expanding and strengthening its hold in various regions throughout the world**. The major current trends of Global *jihad* consist of the following:

- **Al-Qaeda in South Asia** is strengthening its capacity to attack Western targets;
- **Al-Qaeda in Iraq** – during the second half of 2007, the U.S. recorded a number of achievements in the war against al-Qaeda's infrastructure;
- **Al-Qaeda in North Africa** (the Maghreb States) is changing patterns of action, including increased use of suicide attacks on Western targets;
- **Al-Qaeda in the Middle East** – is pursuing attempts to penetrate into Turkey, Lebanon, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank;
- **Hezbollah activity around the world** – attention is usually focused on al-Qaeda as a global network, but Hezbollah also operates around the world. Hezbollah acts as an Iranian proxy organization and directs, in turn, other proxies, such as Islamic Jihad and Hamas;
- **Iranian activity bridges traditional divisions between Sunni and Shiite Muslims** – as part of the effort to export the Islamic Revolution, while executing acts of terror around the world, utilizing proxy organizations and collaborating with al-Qaeda and spontaneous organizations in Iraq;
- Growing fear that weapons of mass destruction and/or radiological materials will fall into the hands of

The West does not understand the challenge of radical Islam and is therefore unable to adequately deal with it

and be used by the above and other terrorist networks.

While Global *jihad* continues to strengthen and expand, it seems that the West has yet to develop an effective strategy and appropriate tools for dealing with it, exacerbated by **ongoing failure to define the problem**.

American researchers list several reasons for this:

- The West does not understand the nature of radical Islam, and generally only wakes up when a terrorist attack occurs;
- People do not understand that the theology of the Muslim Brotherhood is subversive and that its spread undermines stability;
- In the name of political correctness, erroneous terminology has become part of the public discourse, and this influences government policies and law enforcement in the West, thus mitigating their capacity to deal with the phenomenon effectively.

The Atlantic Community, the Middle East and Israel

The Atlantic community faces significant security threats as a result of developments in the Middle East. **"Globalized" insecurity reigns in the region and in the world. This is the result of a combination of globalization, radicalization of Islamic ideology and movements, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. This reality places the Atlantic community, alongside Israel, on a battlefield of threats.** Common security challenges constitute a basis for collaboration and closer strategic cooperation between Israel and the Atlantic community and its primary institutions – the European Union and NATO.

Israel and the Atlantic community share common interests

These security challenges are so significant that some argue that the new strategic reality calls into question the territorial-geographic limits of the Atlantic community. A **more important** framework, according to this argument, would be **the community of democratic nations**, which extends beyond North America and Europe.

These trends also explain the growing strategic involvement of the entire Atlantic community in the Middle Eastern arena. **The involvement of the Atlantic community, led by the U.S., is also expected to continue after the change of administration in Washington in January 2009.** However, American leadership in the region will require that the next administration fosters further engagement with its European partners and ensures domestic support in the U.S. for its involvement.

The U.S. and Europe demonstrate increased involvement in the Middle East

In addition to the United States, **key countries in Europe are expanding their military and diplomatic presence in the region.** France under the Nicolas Sarkozy is prominent among the European states in its regional activity. France now defines its international and regional role as complementary to that of the United States. France increased its military presence in the Persian Gulf and Lebanon in 2007, is promoting a new framework for Mediterranean cooperation (its formation will be accelerated during the French presidency of the European Union in the second half of 2008), and is supporting the development of nuclear programs for peaceful uses in Arab states. Britain, Italy and Germany have also increased their diplomatic-security profile in the region.

The U.S. welcomes this involvement, as it reflects **renewed integration of the Middle East policies of the members of the Euro-Atlantic alliance.** This strategic rapprochement between the U.S. and Europe has however accentuated American demands for Europe to contribute more, both militarily and financially, to the confrontation in Afghanistan and in other regional arenas.

In a paradoxical way perhaps, **the complexity of the security challenge enhances Israel's international standing vis-à-vis the Atlantic community.** Israel is a **natural ally of Europe and of North America** and it should be an integral part of the strategic-diplomatic alignment of Western countries. Israel does not need to resort to the Atlantic community as an appendage, but rather as a full and natural partner. Israel should be examining new ideas for a closer strategic partnership with the U.S., but, at the same time, there is also room to strengthen political dialogue and concrete **cooperation with the institutions of the Atlantic community.**

Israel should aspire to attain formal and full partnership with the North Atlantic Alliance. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue makes it difficult for Israel to promote practical cooperation in which both sides have an interest. Attaining full partnership would require however, transforming NATO's structure of relations with non-allies. **The upgrading of Israel's status requires a diplomatic campaign and lobbying in Europe and in the United States.**

In recent years, cooperation between Israel and NATO has broadened into a series of fields and activities of mutual interest. It is clear to NATO that Israel could contribute more and significantly to the issues on its strategic-security agenda, including missile defense systems, defense research and development (R&D), protection of energy infrastructure, use of unmanned aerial vehicles, and dealing with improvised explosive devices. Israel could derive considerable concrete benefits from strengthening its relations and upgrading its standing in NATO, including participation in projects and frameworks that have not been open to it so far.

Moreover, **the growing strategic understanding between the U.S. and Europe makes NATO even more significant in confronting the strategic challenges in the Middle East** – and, consequently, Israel has a clear diplomatic-security interest in being a key partner in measures to be decided upon in the framework of the Alliance.

Israel also has common interests and much room for deeper security cooperation with the European Union – especially in relation to the “war on terror”. In mid-2008, a joint European-Israeli “Reflection Group” is expected to submit its conclusions regarding how to upgrade relations between the European Union and Israel. Nonetheless, some mutual misunderstandings do exist between Europe and Israel and those cannot be ignored. Europe has not always been able to appreciate or take into consideration the security challenges and diplomatic and strategic dilemmas Israel faces. However, this tendency is beginning to change, also against the backdrop of the growing threat of terrorism in Europe and increasing awareness of radical Islam. To a large extent, this changing trend is a mirror image of the deepening strategic understanding between the U.S. and Europe.

There is a basis for deeper cooperation with the EU

While strengthening bilateral relations between Israel and the institutions of the Atlantic community, Israel should not completely neglect the Mediterranean frameworks these institutions have established. Indeed, in recent years, the European Union and NATO have emphasized the development of bilateral ties with the countries of the region at the expense of multilateral frameworks. Nevertheless, some believe that the Mediterranean could become an alternative organizing concept, supplanting a broad view of the Middle East. Israel could become a natural part of this type of framework. Moreover, President Sarkozy's Mediterranean initiative could create new opportunities for Israel to foster regional relations and it is preferable to the existing framework of the Barcelona process, because the new framework is not expected to make regional cooperation conditional upon the state of Israeli-Palestinian relations and accords.

Energy Security

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Ensuring the supply of energy is a growing challenge in light of contemporary fluctuations in the global energy market and geo-political developments, particularly in the Middle East. There is an increasing focus on the subject of energy security in Western countries, and also in Israel, as a global issue with broad ramifications for international stability.

Experts' projections anticipate **a significant rise in demand for energy in the coming decades. There is however, no increase projected in the supply of oil,**

The gap between demand and supply in the world energy market is growing

and some key oil reserves are in states that do not attract Western private capital. The developing economies of **China** and **India**, and their soaring rates of growth, are consuming greater amounts of energy. This is exemplified by the staggering growth of transportation development in China and the increased use of, and demand for, fossil fuels and coal-generated electricity. **The experts forecast a 50% increase in global demand for energy by 2030.** The energy economy faces very significant and lasting changes that are similar in scope to those the global energy market experienced in the 1970s. Decision-makers in Israel and world over face **a central challenge: to ensure the continued supply of energy in a secure, reliable and economically viable way.**

The main projections for the coming decades:

- Demand for oil will constitute 80% of the total demand for energy;
- Demand for natural gas will rise, but coal will still be the second most common source of energy;
- The world's energy resources will be sufficient for human consumption during the coming decades, but this consumption is expected to have a large-scale negative impact on the environment.

What can be done?

Proposed solutions focus on three main areas of action:

- Developing new reserves of natural gas in order to ensure the supply, particularly to Europe;
- Improving the transparency of data and dialogue between states, consumer organizations and suppliers with the aim of enabling them to make more informed decisions;
- Technological improvements that will enable improved quarrying and better energy efficiency.

The more the crisis with Iran intensifies, the higher the price of fuel is expected to rise. This assessment is consistent with an analysis of trends in the energy market according to which, **there is a greater trend towards the consumption of oil and gas produced in OPEC countries and Russia.**

Due to Israel's sensitive geo-political situation, the challenge of securing the supply of energy is likely to be even more complicated. Israel aspires to increased collaboration with Turkey and Egypt. The minister for national infrastructure presented ambitious goals for the distribution of energy sources for local use in the coming decade:

- 50% coal;
- 40% natural gas;
- 10% "renewable energies" (wind, solar energy).

According to official forecasts, during the coming decade the Israeli economy will consume twice as much electricity. Therefore, most effort is now being invested in natural gas. The sources of gas Israel currently uses are not sufficient for its needs, and it is turning to additional sources.

Israel is one of the leading countries in the world in the development of solar energy technologies, yet it is unclear how much electricity Israel can produce in this way. In addition, Israel is not turning to nuclear energy as an alternative source. **A professional study should be conducted to examine practical options for producing energy from renewable and other sources.**

The changes and trends in the global energy market position **Israel as a strategic focal point between energy sources in Eurasia and the developing markets in East Asia.** A joint venture of the Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline Company and international corporations will enable the transportation of fuel from the countries of the former Soviet Union, via the Black and Caspian Seas, to the markets in the East. This project is likely to reduce dependence on Gulf State oil, especially for East Asia.

Israel could be a strategic focal point for energy security

Climate Change and National Security

There is growing understanding that problems that used to be termed "environmental" have far-reaching ramifications on a broad range of vital and existential interests that impact national security. The Bali Conference, which convened about a month and a half prior to the 2008 Herzliya Conference, focused international attention on issues of climate change and the environment. The Bali conference raised awareness to the global dimension of the matter – disasters, economic crises and environmental processes can no longer be considered as isolated, local events.

The 2008 Herzliya Conference included a discussion on the implications of climate change in the Middle East region for national security. Up-to-date data was presented on global warming, its scope and its global ramifications, from both the environmental and national security perspectives. The implications of the climate crisis on the national security and strength of Israel were discussed and practical recommendations were offered.

In examining the global picture, the pace of greenhouse gas emissions, primarily carbon dioxide, is larger and more rapid than experts previously projected. The pace of emissions is accelerating, and the most tangible consequence is the melting of the glaciers in the Arctic region.

While planting trees to counteract the emission of greenhouse gases and the massive clearing of the world's forests is certainly likely to delay environmental damage, it is clear that it is not going to resolve the crisis of global warming. **Israel and Keren Kayemet L'Yisrael (Jewish National Fund) have the opportunity to**

Planting forests is a delaying tactic, but it is not a long-term solution for global warming

contribute to counteracting global warming, based on their experience of large-scale tree planting in semi-arid regions. This contribution would not only be expressed in planting additional trees, but by disseminating knowledge and by providing training to other areas of the world where these are needed.

Various studies conducted in recent years have shown that **significant climate change is also occurring in Israel** – summer is becoming hotter and winter colder; unseasonable temperatures occur more frequently and there is a significant increase in the number of hot days; heat waves are more common; the sea level is rising at a pace of ten millimeters per year; the amount of annual rainfall is declining; aridity and desertification are increasing.

There was consensus that the most significant solutions for global warming can be found by transitioning to more environmentally friendly and renewable energies, among them nuclear and solar energy. However, while consensus exists in regard of the need for a significant reduction in greenhouse gas emissions, carbon dioxide in particular, an alternative view that offered a different interpretation of the data on global warming was also presented. Professor Bjørn Lomborg from Denmark argued that the global warming data has been interpreted in an exaggerated manner. In his view, rich countries can better cope with the ramifications of global warming. By way of example, he cited the Netherlands, which will certainly do better at coping with the flooding, which will result from rising sea levels (as a result of its level of development). Lomborg does not claim that global warming is an illusion, but he proposes that the greater benefit can be derived from providing assistance to developing countries and regions that have other dire needs, such as to eradicate diseases. Such assistance would help developing countries and regions to better cope with the consequences of climate change. This should take priority, he argues, over large-scale investment in reducing carbon dioxide emission. **The government of Israel must conduct an in-depth study of the significance of climate change in all its aspects, including the diplomatic-security aspect, and prepare accordingly.**

There are ramifications of climate change on national strength and security

Israel should immediately initiate suitable preparations in regard of existing and future water resources. Israel's water reserves are sparse and climate change is already tangibly affecting the water market, which is experiencing a difficult crisis. Some water reservoirs are polluted and have sunk below the so-called "red line". Climate change will further reduce the amount of available water and water quality will deteriorate, the level of the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea will drop, and the instance of flooding is expected to increase (due to the greater intensity of rains), resulting in soil erosion and a reduction in the amount of water seeping through the ground into the aquifers. Israel should promote agriculture that is adapted to conserving

water and energy, and it should plan for the replenishment of the country's water reserves.

It is necessary to formulate programs of action for emergency situations that can be anticipated to arise as a result of climate change. These changes are expected to affect the agricultural sector, tourist facilities along the coastline, industry, residences and more. Population groups that are weak in socio-economic terms will find it difficult to cope with crisis situations of this type, and distress is likely to increase as prices for basic food products and energy rise. Health services need improved capacity and tools for coping with wide-scale breakouts of infectious diseases and disease-carriers (for example, mosquitoes, ticks).

Some fear destabilization in the region as a result of climate change

Israel will need to be prepared for the eventuality that climate change may engender regional destabilization. A rise in the sea level and possible flooding, on the one hand (for example, in the Nile delta), and drought and increased desertification, on the other hand, are liable to undermine stability in some of the countries of the region and lead to the migration of populations around the Middle East. Under such circumstances, Israel may face increased demands to accommodate refugees and to transfer water to neighboring states.

In light of the implications of climate change for the water economy, Israel will need to closely study its capacity to fulfill existing diplomatic accords and to enter into future agreements. In conditions of aridity, it will be difficult for Israel to continue to fulfill its part of the water agreement signed with **Jordan**, which includes shared water sources: the Jordan and Yarmuk rivers, the Dead Sea, Nahal Arava and the Red Sea. In this context, the water sources shared by Israel and the Palestinian Authority should also be noted. In future diplomatic accords with **Syria** and **Lebanon**, the water issue will play a significant role, since some of the Jordan River's water comes from the Golan Heights and some of the sources of the Dan and Hatzbani rivers pass through Syrian and Lebanese territory. The question of pumping Syrian water from the Sea of Galilee is also likely to be a subject for discussion. Israel will need to protect its water rights.

Israel must examine ways to best cope with the extensive ramifications that climate change is expected to bring to a wide range of fields, including national security. This should be ensured in addition to maintaining emphasis on high-quality research in the field of ecology, encouraging the production of solar energy, and implementing real steps to reduce the polluting activity that contributes to global warming.

3 Socio - Economic Cluster

National Strength and Patriotism in Israel

Economic and social strength

Israel's economic performance has improved but its social strength is declining

It is possible to detect mixed, and sometimes contradictory, trends pertaining to Israel's national strength from the economic, social and governance perspectives.

The Herzliya Indices examine Israel's situation in comparison to members of the OECD, along a range of economic, social and political indicators. The results of the specially-commissioned annual study reveal that **Israel's performance has improved in the economic sphere**. Israel is transitioning from a period of crisis, following the wave of terrorism in the beginning of the decade, to a period of recovery. Israel maintains its position as the strongest economic power in the Middle East, though some of the other states in the region have also noted improved economic performance.

Israel is in an inferior position compared to most OECD countries

On the other hand, **an examination of Israel's performance on social indicators is less encouraging – Israel's social strength is declining** and growing disparity with OECD countries is easily observed. Thus, for example, the trend of widening income gaps, which characterized the years 2000-2003, has remained unchanged, despite the overall economic improvement.

From the perspective of political governance (including an examination of the level of corruption, law enforcement and political stability), Israel has a low ranking, and no improvement has been recorded since the beginning of the decade.

An analysis of the findings over time indicates that between 2000 and 2003 a decline was recorded for all indices, and while recovery has been taking place, it is limited to the economic dimension alone. In the social and political dimensions, no recovery has been recorded and the indices point toward even lower levels than those recorded prior to the crisis.

Further analysis shows that Israel is maintaining its advantage in comparison to other states in Europe that are seeking to join the OECD. Nevertheless, Israel is worse off than most of OECD members, with the

exception of some southern Europe countries (Greece, Portugal and Spain). At the same time, those southern Europe countries are taking clear strides to narrow and even close the gap.

The participants in the discussion agreed that Israel should define its vision and set clear goals in order to enhance its situation, to "leap" forward and position itself higher in the ranking of leading states.

It was suggested that **the Herzliya Indices** be regarded as **a practical tool** for dual use: to precisely assess Israel's shortcomings and to measure improvements in performance.

The Herzliya Indices should be used as a practical tool for encouraging improved performance

Patriotism

The level of patriotism in Israel remains stable and high. The annual Patriotism Survey, which was conducted during the last week of December 2007, indicates that the level of patriotism in Israel has remained stable in comparison to the level measured in the previous survey. The survey this year examined separately the level of patriotism among residents of confrontation zones: the northern border, Sderot and the communities bordering Gaza. The residents of these areas display a high sense of patriotism.

The level of patriotism is high in conflict areas

The survey revealed a moderate recovery on parameters which declined in the aftermath of the Second Lebanon War. On the other hand, the survey revealed a disturbing trend of continued erosion of public confidence in the institutions of government, particularly in the Supreme Court. This is especially dramatic in light of the strong support the Supreme Court had enjoyed.

The index of the values of the Israeli public remained stable, and most of the survey sample chose "love of country" as the value associated with the concept of patriotism. One of the conclusions that can be derived from the survey findings is that the citizens in Israel indeed feel strength and fortitude, but they perceive their government institutions as less strong and less worthy than those they feel they deserve.

Interpretations of the survey findings have led to two distinguishable perspectives. Some consider very positive the fact that those with the highest score of

patriotism in the survey are religious (although, not ultra-Orthodox) Jews. Others see this as a sign of decline in the level of commitment of those groups previously considered as the Israeli "elite" (secular Jews from various backgrounds) and identify a need to bolster patriotism among these population groups.

One elected official pointed with concern to the growth in economic disparities in Israel and its impact on the patriotic sentiment of the population – reflected in the correlation between low incomes and low levels of patriotism.

The impact of the security situation on patriotism

The majority of the Jewish Israeli population would not leave the country in the event of a nuclear Iran

It seems that the evolving security threat in the Middle East and the emergence of a nuclear threat from Iran do not have a detrimental effect on the level of Israeli patriotism. The survey examined whether the presence of a hostile state in the region armed with nuclear weapons would constitute a reason for leaving Israel. According to the data collected, the overwhelming majority (86%) of the Jewish Israeli public would not consider leaving the country because of this.

In addition, against the backdrop of continued Qassam rocket attacks on communities bordering Gaza and on the city of Sderot, the social solidarity of Jewish citizens has become more evident. Most respondents believe that the distance of these communities from central Israel is the reason for their neglect, and think that the resilience of the local residents in the face of regular rocket fire is admirable. At the same time, the survey also suggests that a large majority of Israeli citizens would be prepared to assist residents of Sderot and the region in a variety of ways.

Evasion of military service

The phenomenon of evading military service is a challenge for the whole society

Close examination reveals a gap between the personnel needs of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and of the defense establishment, and forecasted rates of military enlistment for the coming years. Among the factors contributing to this is the widespread instance of evading compulsory military service, accompanied by an erosion of the perceived value of military service and a reduction in the number of inductions over the years. The IDF chief of staff said that the defense forces would have to fight for each and every recruit in the future.

Both the chief of staff and the IDF chief education officer emphasized in their remarks that the problem is not only of concern to the military, but that it should engage and trouble the entire society and all governmental authorities.

The situation requires action, including education for Israeli young people about the value of military service and reserve duty. The chief of staff expressed support for expanding national service in Israel in order to narrow the gap between those who are prepared to sacrifice themselves for the state's security and those who are not serving at all.

The Herzliya Accord – Prioritizing Israeli Social Needs and Programs

The objective of the **Herzliya Accord** project is to provide a methodology for defining priorities and for allocating resources for social issues at the national level. In order to conduct an in-depth study of the question "What constitutes a worthwhile investment?" from the national perspective, two different groups were formed and asked to deliberate this subject in a structured and controlled framework. The project focused on a discussion of the priorities for national investment in **social areas**, and did not deal with the allocation of resources for security needs.

The first group consisted of seven renowned Israeli experts in the field of economics. A second group, made up of young people with outstanding academic achievements and leadership potential, was asked to address the same issues in order to generate a "second opinion" from members of a younger generation. While the Copenhagen Consensus, which inspired the Herzliya Accord, refers to prioritizing projects for the good of humanity, the **Herzliya Accord** has more modest ambitions and focuses on the Israeli case only.

The following question was posed to both groups for discussion:

If Israel had an additional NIS 6 billion¹ to spend on social programs during the next six years, how should the money be invested?

The members of the panel were asked to allocate the money, taking into account **cost-benefit** considerations.

Before the panel of senior economists began ranking issues, they received a list of projects collected from Knesset debates and working papers from various government ministries. Experts appeared before the panels to deliver briefings and present options for investing the funds. After a preliminary discussion, the teams chose projects in ten fields: health, education, social welfare, environmental protection, infrastructure, personal security, *aliyah* [Jewish immigration] and absorption, developing the Negev and Galilee,

¹ In January 2008, 6 billion NIS represented approximately 1.6 million USD.

technological R&D, and a national "agenda" (employment, poverty reduction, promoting special population sectors). The panels held three rounds of discussions, making an effort to quantitatively rank and give numerical expression to the preferences of each of the participants individually. The Delphi method was used to conduct the discussions: Members of the panel were asked to discuss a problem and to reach a consensus. In essence, the **Herzliya Accord** is a calculation of the average rankings of the members of the panel of senior economists.

There was consensus that investment in elementary education should be the priority

There was consensus among the senior experts that investment in education is the central objective. The members of the panel did not reach a consensus on the rest of the allocation. On the other hand, the members of the young leadership panel proposed focusing investment on just two main fields: education and improving public services.

The main conclusions reached by the panels were as follows:

- The youth panel proposed that maximum benefit would derive from allocating NIS 1.55 billion (25.8% of the sum) to education; emphasis should be placed on elementary education in the first place, with secondary and higher education coming in second and third. These rankings express consensus among the panel members that investment in education is the most important investment the state can make to enhance Israel's qualitative advantage, for narrowing social disparities and for promoting equal opportunities;
- The panel of experts did not manage to reach a consensus and clear decision regarding the benefit derived from investing in the categories at the bottom of the list, including investment in health and investment in *aliyah* [immigration] and absorption;
- **Unlike the team of economists**, which allocated funds to projects in all of the categories, **the young leadership panel chose to focus on only two categories: education and enhancing the public services.**

The youth panel proposed to focus only on education and improving public services

Promoting Excellence: The Challenge of Education in Israel

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Israel should aspire to position itself as a world leader in academic achievement

Promoting excellence as a national value

Education in Israel has reached an unacceptably and disturbingly low level. This can certainly be attributed to, among other things, the unusual and difficult conditions in which the state exists. **Vigorous action and sweeping reform are needed** to halt and reverse this alarming trend. Considering its special

characteristics, **Israel must attempt to position itself among the world's leaders in educational achievement and excellence.**

The **2008 Herzliya Conference** included a discussion of ways to advance Israeli society through **excellence in education**. There is general concern about the relative position of the Israeli education system in comparison to developed countries and relative to its position in previous decades. It is true that there are "islands" of excellence in the fields of science (notably, in computer science and biotechnology), innovation and technology. This is expressed in the number of patents registered in Israel relative to the size of its population. These achievements help to keep Israel in an average position in most of the professional rankings, but they cover up growing **mediocrity that is spreading from the education system to many other areas of society.**

Gaps between Israel and the OECD countries in the field of education can be observed

The basis for comparison between Israel's achievements in the field of education and those of other countries are data gathered and interpreted by the OECD, which is considered to have the most sophisticated and reliable of all the indices for assessing and ranking education. In this framework, the PISA² test and ranking has gained prominence. According to the most recent test data (2006), Israel is ranked in fortieth place, a bit below the average score. But, closer analysis of the data reveals that the **disparity between high and low scorers in Israel is wider than the norm for OECD countries.** This data requires in-depth study, given that the level of resources invested in education in Israel (as a percentage of GNP) is significantly higher than the level of resources invested in the education systems of countries that are at the top of the rankings, for example, South Korea and Finland.

A lack of correlation between the level of financial investment and improvements in the level of educational achievement is not unique to Israel. The United States, for example, has systematically increased its education spending since the late 1970s, but the performance of the American educational system has not, and in certain fields, it has even declined. Similarly, the common assumption about the relationship between educational success and classroom size seems not to be empirically supported. In this case too, **the American experience indicates that an impressive reduction in classroom size has not led to an improvement in the students' level of educational achievement.** South Korea and Singapore are countries positioned at the top of educational achievement rankings and they are both countries in which students learn in crowded classrooms.

In the context of this discussion, a study conducted by McKinsey was presented. This study attempted to

² The PISA examination has been administered once every three years since 2000. The test examines 15-year-old students in the areas of language skills, mathematics and science. 62 countries – including both OECD members and non-members – participated in the last test, held in 2006.

identify factors for success and excellence in education. It argues that it is impossible to achieve educational quality that exceeds the quality of the teachers. That is, the quality of **teaching staff is the most important factor for success**. In all of the countries positioned at the top of the world ranking, outstanding graduates of the higher education system seek to work in education, usually as teachers. By way of example, graduates from the top five percentiles in South Korea, from the 90th percentile and above in Finland and from the 70th percentile and above in Singapore, turn to teaching. On the other hand, in the United States, the education system recruits university and college graduates whose achievement level is at the 30th percentile or below. South Korea, Finland and Singapore also devote special attention to recruiting and training school principals. All three countries maintain a sophisticated, comprehensive and systematic mechanism for the training and continual professional development of teachers and school principals. In Singapore, school principals are also accorded a special and high social status.

In light of these findings, the **status of teachers and the education system in Israel is particularly worrying**. Nearly one third of the teachers in elementary education in Israel lack an academic qualification and teachers are at the bottom of the public sector wage scale. A survey conducted by the Society for Excellence through Education in late 2007 reveals that the perceived status of teachers in the population is low in all measures related to excellence. High-tech and the military are professional fields that project excellence at the highest level.

At the 2008 Herzliya Conference, the minister of education presented a plan for improving the education system, including the following measures:

- The dramatic improvement in teachers' salaries;
- Developing frameworks for training teachers with strong academic backgrounds;
- The raising of entrance requirements for teacher training colleges.

Another principle in the Ministry's plan is to foster a **closer individual relationship between teachers and students**. The work plan creates structured encouragement for teachers to work with small groups of students and even with individual students, both outstanding and weak. Special attention is devoted to individual work in grades 1 and 2 in order to verify the learning of basic skills that the student requires for life and to achieve academic excellence.

Reducing the number of students per classroom to a maximum of thirty-two is another of the plan's goals. This objective will be implemented differentially and gradually, with priority for schools defined as weak. A school for educational leadership has been established as part of the plan to foster and promote the status of school principals.

There is room to define the aspiration for excellence as a value in all fields, and particularly in the field of education. It is argued that "excellence" is not a goal, but rather a path whose practical meaning is to always strive for improvement. Curiosity and independence, two interlinked qualities, were defined as necessary conditions for generating excellence. It is argued that people excel in areas that personally interest them. Therefore, a system that seeks to encourage excellence must allow a high degree of independence and choice in the fields of endeavor. The president of the Weizmann Institute of Science defined those who excel as people who know how to "identify the answers to questions that have yet to be asked." These answers, which constitute scientific innovations, are a product of the curiosity that drives those who excel. Therefore, the system in which they operate must make sure to provide them with independence and freedom.

Israel must invest in encouraging excellence in academia. It can no longer rely on improving the scientific community's performance by absorbing Jewish scientists from abroad, and it lacks the resources and conditions to compete with the world's leading universities for outstanding scientists on the global academic market place. Some speakers **proposed the establishment of a national authority for encouraging excellence in education** in order to better address all of the problems discussed.

Excellence and reform in the Israeli higher education system

Scientific research is a condition for achieving ambitious economic objectives. The economic and technological breakthrough Israel achieved in the early 1990s cannot be replicated without a strategy and advance planning. That breakthrough resulted from a coincidence of circumstances: the maturation of defense technologies and their conversion to civilian use in the private market, the influx of educated immigrants from the former Soviet Union, progress in the peace process, and economic globalization.

Total investment in scientific research worldwide is estimated at about U.S. \$250 billion a year. Market forces are not capable of financing and promoting scientific research and even the research conducted at independent universities in the U.S. is federally funded. **In the world's leading countries, the budgets for scientific research are growing, while no comparable trend is to be observed in Israel.** The United States and the United Kingdom have doubled their research budgets in recent years. Germany recently launched a new program, and the European Union established the European Research Council (ERC) in 2008, with a research budget of 2 billion euros. Israel, on the other hand, is not increasing its allocations for scientific research in line with this Western trend. Scientific research in Israel is budgeted at about U.S.

Israel is not increasing its budgets for scientific research, contrary to the global trend

\$100 million per year. (Officially, according to data from the Central Bureau of Statistics cited in comparative indices, 0.75% of GDP is allocated for scientific research). For the purpose of comparison, the annual research budget at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) is U.S. \$950 million. **Israel must allocate greater resources for scientific research and encourage this research systematically.**

The next breakthrough will not be spontaneous, but planned, and it must be based on structural change in higher education and research funding. One of the proposals for comprehensive reform in the higher education system includes a number of structural changes, as follows:

- Post-secondary training should be provided for about 75% of high school graduates;
- An echelon of "elite universities" should be established;
- An echelon of regular research universities should be established;
- Colleges should be strengthened.

Reform of the budgeting practices of the Planning and Budgeting Committee and the Council for Higher Education is required in order to give more administrative authority to the academic institutions themselves. National budgets for research should become more heterogeneous and give **priority to research in the fields of nanotechnology and biotechnology.**

Future Growth Engines for the Israeli Economy

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Improvement in the economic situation will not provide solutions for all Israel's future problems

The performance of Israel's economy is positive and its current situation seems to be sound as it continues to grow. Since the 1990s, Israel has become a global economic player. The success of the Israeli economy is reflected by a 45% growth of GDP, increased investment, a high credit rating, high regard from financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, and an invitation from the OECD to join the organization. However, **there is concern that Israel's performance is not sufficient to successfully meet the challenges of the future.**

Forecasts of demographic trends (birth rates) and employment, along with anticipated trends in competition from other economies in the world, place **Israel in a less-than-desirable position.** Discussions revealed a consensus that even if the current data points toward continued economic growth, the pace of growth in a multi-year (one decade) perspective is not satisfactory. This is true in comparison to other countries

in the Western world, and also relative to the pace of advancement required of Israel when considering its basic economic data.

The heads of the **Israeli Institute for Economic Planning** expressed concern that the sense of **euphoria generated by the positive economic situation** that currently prevails will lead to the "allocation of the fruits of wealth" instead of an effort to stimulate and accelerate growth, which would ultimately turn out to be a **serious mistake.** The feeling that the economy is "secure" may turn out to be a mirage because **the strength of an economy is measured by its ability to cope with medium-term problems,** and not by its successful performance in the short term.

Israel should promptly formulate an economic policy that takes into consideration the anticipated growth in demand for employment, as well as demographic and social changes, both current and future. Israel's rate of growth is not sufficient and the disparity between Israel and the leading countries are widening. In addition, there is **significant poverty and inequality** in Israel. It is clear that the problems in Israel's economy are not only attributable to its unstable security situation. **Socio-economic instability and the lack of a national decision to encourage defined growth engines are also to blame.** The deputy governor of the Bank of Israel proposed setting a goal of reaching a GNP-per-capita level equal to 80% of U.S. GNP per-capita over the next ten years.

What is the appropriate extent of government involvement? There is **consensus that some government involvement is required in designing policy,** but there is a **disagreement over its extent.** Some support government involvement for regulating foreign labor, for investing in industry and services, and even for regulating support to the business sector. However, the accepted view was that the government should not continue its policy of investment incentives in its current format, and that it **should rather move in the direction of encouraging investment in growth engines.**

Israel must stop focusing only on industry and should become engaged in service sectors. One proposal was to combine investment in high-tech industries (with growth potential) and investment in the services field, such as **Israeli tourism,** which requires a low-educated work force. In this area, it was suggested that the government should assist the hotel industry by **marketing Christian tourism in Israel,** while providing investment guarantees in the event of security-related instability.

The Bank of Israel and economic growth

In order to maintain the current level of growth, there is a need to strengthen the independence of the Bank of Israel. The Bank of Israel Law of 1954 is no longer appropriate for the global environment. According to the recommendations of the Levin Committee, greater transparency is needed, particularly on interest rate policy.

In addition, the Bank of Israel should also promote the following objectives:

- Maintain price stability;
- Support for government objectives, particularly in regard to growth and employment;
- Support for the economy's financial stability, especially during crisis periods;
- Enhance transparency in the bank's management processes, including periodic reports to the legislative and executive branches.

Developing Opportunity

Millions of people around the world, and a great many in Israel, are living below the poverty line. Today, about a billion human beings live in impoverished neighborhoods of cities around the world, compared to 715 million in 1990. According to projections based on current trends, by 2020, 1.4 billion people will reside in impoverished neighborhoods.

Israel is not immune to this phenomenon. For example, **about half of the children of Jerusalem and a third of its households are estimated to be living below the poverty line.**

Poverty is defined in relative terms in Israel; anyone who earns less than half of the average wage is defined as poor. This definition is actually more a measurement of

relative disparities in society than an evaluation of the level and quality of life in absolute terms. Poverty in Israel is concentrated mainly in two populations: 60% of the ultra-Orthodox population and a similar proportion of the Israeli-Arab population. Several studies point to the relationship between depressed social conditions and fundamentalism. One of the ways to deal with this conundrum is by encouraging **opportunity** and by developing opportunities.

In order to narrow the polarization in Israel between the "haves" and the "have-nots", several key policy principles were set forth:

- Free the economy from the current unjustified tax burden and unchecked monopolies;
- Continue to strengthen and institutionalize economic partnership between Israel and the Palestinians, which will strengthen the opportunity for peace and security;
- Promote economic ventures that will encourage positive discourse in the Palestinian Authority;
- Initiate "islands" of prosperity in agriculture, industry and tourism;
- Focus on prioritizing Israel's resources with the aim of developing and promoting the most deprived sectors in a responsible manner and in the framework of a long-term vision.

The development of liberal economic and capitalist forces worldwide has enabled growth in new regions. Thus, for example, the transition to capitalism has enabled China to triple the size of its economy. Global trade now accounts for 30% of all trade in the world, up from 18%.

Noteworthy, two thirds of the contemporary global economy is based on ideas and intellectual capital, rather than on physical assets. The government should develop a strategy to enable the citizens to participate in the growing economy. It should create the conditions for anchoring opportunity itself as an asset and property of economic significance in a similar manner to the incorporation of intellectual property into law.

4 Governance Cluster

Decision-Making on National Security

Private legislation has been proposed to anchor the position of the NSC, which will reshape decision-making processes in the field of national security

The discussion on national security decision-making in Israel was conducted in continuation of previous deliberations held over the years in the Herzliya Conference Series and several days prior to the publication of the final report of the Winograd Commission on the Second Lebanon War (2006). The discussion was also held against the backdrop of an ongoing debate in the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee on legislative proposals pertaining to reforms in the National Security Council (NSC). **This legislation might reshape Israel's national security decision-making processes.**

The decision-making process that led Israel to embark on the Second Lebanon War serves as a negative example of performance at a time of crisis. Among the flaws that were cited, special attention was devoted to the absence of viable alternative courses of action at the critical stage of policy formulation. **Choosing between alternative courses of action is a basic component** in an effective process of decision-making – something that did not take place prior to going to war in this case. Participants in the discussion concurred that **clear objectives were not defined for the war**. One of the participants suggested three guiding principles for decision-makers when discussing the initiation of military action, formulated as questions:

- Is there a reason to go to war? That is, is there a “trigger”?
- What should be achieved? What are the objectives of the war?
- What are the attainable missions defined by the decision-makers and guiding the military apparatus?

Even after the Second Lebanon War, **Israel still lacks effective mechanisms and well-structured and defined working procedures to support senior decision-makers**. Orderly and serious staff work has not taken root in Israel, and the National Security Council – which is responsible for this type of staff work – has not been utilized effectively. Two legislative proposals pertaining to the National Security Council are set before the Knesset: a private bill and a government-sponsored bill. **It was argued that the government bill will perpetuate the status quo**, in which the NSC has no real impact on the decision-making process. The

private bill, on the other hand, seeks to anchor the status of the NSC and make it into a significant politico-military staff organization that works alongside the prime minister. Emphasis was placed on the need to institutionalize orderly processes for briefing and informing elected decision-makers upon entering their new positions. This is intended to equip them with sufficient information about the background to, and developments in, the principal policy arenas. A leader lacking basic knowledge and experience in the fields of diplomacy and security cannot be expected to deal effectively with a national security crisis.

This principle applies not only to the elected officeholders, but also to the advisors and staff who are supposed to assist and support decision-makers. It was argued that it is not enough to rely on the personal excellence of advisors and other personnel. Rather, **it is vital to establish staff procedures and mechanisms that facilitate effective decision-making processes to also facilitate the development and integrated examination of policy alternatives and their ramifications.**

Nevertheless, and while the participants agreed on the importance of effective decision-making, even the **most well-structured processes of decision-making cannot substitute leadership and statesmanship.**

The Status of the Supreme Court and Corruption in the Political System

Discussions and survey findings underscored that **the public's confidence in government institutions in Israel has been further eroded**, and that this is especially salient in gauging the public's **confidence in the Supreme Court**. The discussion regarding the proposed reform to the justice system, including the appointment procedures of judges, is being conducted under the influence of fierce disagreements between the minister of justice and the Supreme Court.

Several factors are cited as contributing to the erosion of the Supreme Court's standing in the eyes of the Israeli public:

- Free access to the Supreme Court – “everyone can

Public confidence in the Supreme Court has been considerably eroded

petition”;

- Excessive intervention by the Supreme Court in government activity;
- The behavior of the minister of justice – while there is agreement on some of the reforms the minister seeks to implement, there are reservations about his attitude and practice.

The former president of the Supreme Court, Justice **Aharon Barak (retired)**, **warned against politicizing the appointment of judges**. He expressed concern about the extent of the changes already made without prior professional deliberation or public debate and noted three outcomes of these changes:

- An overturning of several major legal achievements, including the institution of key principles such as reasonableness, proportionality, standing and justifiability;
- Fierce and ongoing political attacks on the Supreme Court and its president;
- Significant harm to the quality and independence of judges.

The former president of the Supreme Court called upon the Knesset to complete a constitution for Israel that guarantees human rights, equality, respect for the individual, and that protects the standing and independence of the Supreme Court and its president.

The leaders of the three branches of government, together with all elected officials, must act to defuse the acute tension currently surrounding the Supreme Court. This tension has led to a continuous devaluation of the court's standing and an erosion of the public's confidence in the justice system in general.

There is a growing need for determined action against corruption

The war against corruption has become critical for preserving democracy and the rule of law in Israel and for its stability. The data indicating the low standing of government institutions in the eyes of the general public reflects the **severe blow corruption has dealt to the foundation of trust between the citizen and the state**. Despite growing awareness of the depth of the problem, including among elected officials, cases of violation of integrity, breaches of confidence and exploitation of public resources are still common in Israel.

The state comptroller warned against the scope of corruption and cited three guiding principles for action against it:

- **Real-time oversight** – conducting inspection and review as the events are occurring and not only in retrospect;
- **The principle of transparency** – and, as a by-product, publishing the names of those under review, while protecting their rights;
- **Taking personal responsibility** – the demand for personal consequences in cases that the liable official is at the top of the pyramid, or close to it.

The state comptroller emphasized the significance of **personal responsibility**, which includes the possibility of imposing sanctions on public employees if they act in violation of the law. Personal responsibility is a deterrent and contributes to proper and legal administration. The larger the failure, the greater the personal responsibility of the public employee should be.

The phenomena discussed are severe and disturbing, and it is doubtful that adequate measures are being taken to reverse these negatives trends.

Jewish-Arab Integration, Equality and National Civilian Service

The rise in ethnocentrism among Israel's Jewish and Arab citizens is continuing. In light of this trend, it has become urgent to initiate comprehensive action to reduce disparities and alleviate tensions between Jews and Arabs.

Polarization between Jews and Arabs in Israel is growing

A review of data, research and studies conducted over the past decade points to growing polarization between Arabs and Jews in Israel. **The Abraham Fund** presented empirical data illustrating this trend, which includes a **decline in the level of support among the Jewish public for granting political equality to Arabs and including Arab political parties in the government coalition**. Only 22% of the Jewish public supported granting political equality in 2007, compared to 45% in the year 2000.

The widening of disparities is not only explained by familiar national arguments, but also in the feelings of **mutual fear** between Jews and Arabs:

- Jews fear a growing threat to their personal security and a change in the state's identity;
- Arabs fear population transfer (disguised as land swaps) and the strengthening of the state's Jewish identity.

Two approaches were presented for defining the origin of this problem. The growing disparity derives from:

- The Israeli-Palestinian conflict;
- Ongoing discrimination, non-allocation of resources, and unequal rights.

It was noted that **when Israeli governments have invested in narrowing disparities and allocating resources for development in the Arab sector, the Arab society has responded positively**. It was also noted that the Arab sector is diverse, with various groups and divergent views, including a group that is

unlikely to be affected by policies aimed at reducing discrimination.

The way in which the conflict in Northern Ireland was addressed could inspire developing methods that have positive impact on the fabric of relations between hostile groups. Several examples were presented to illustrate the central objectives of government policy aimed at bridging gaps between the rival groups in Northern Ireland:

- Building a prosperous and decent society with a dynamic economy;
- Waging a battle against racism;
- Power-sharing between the rival groups at the highest levels of government;
- Publication of an inter-ministerial plan of action.

It was emphasized that the examples are not necessarily a prescription for action that precisely fits the Arab-Israeli case, but that it is possible to draw ideas from it for developing policy in Israel. **It was claimed that expressions of racism and separatism appear as early among three year-old children** due to the influence of the environment in which a child lives. There is, therefore, a need to change the outlook of adult citizens and institute appropriate changes in the education system. A significant insight is that in order to achieve the required results, **comprehensive change** is needed, with **persistent activity in a range of areas, as part of a process that continues over time.**

Expressions of racism expose the need for broad action to boost Jewish-Arab equality

Among the participants in the discussion, which included both Arabs and Jews, there was agreement in regard of the **existence of expressions of racism in Israel**. This is a central problem that requires comprehensive and in-depth treatment. It was argued that Arab citizens in Israel are excluded from the general public discourse, except in negative security contexts, and that this exclusion contributes to polarization. Thus, for example, the cultural discourse in Israel ignores the Arab culture and population. The Arab public and its affairs do not receive real expression in television broadcasts (for example in news broadcasts).

A primary conclusion, though not a new one, is that **real equality between the citizens of the state has to be established**. This applies to a range of areas: the allocation of resources, suitable representation, closing gaps in education, solving problems of poverty (particularly among the Bedouins), and so on. This requires the investment of resources, and it was argued that budgetary considerations are secondary in matters involving basic rights.

The Office of the Prime Minister has presented an approach that is somewhat different from the familiar formula. Instead of defining equality as "narrowing disparities", it was redefined as **"integration and partnership on the path to equality"**. However, it was argued that in order to attain the desired integration, an

effort must be made to narrow disparities. It seems that the correct path is a combination of these two approaches. The government should pursue policies that increase the equality between Arab and Jewish citizens. It should also **take additional steps and develop new initiatives** in this relation, recognizing that **discrimination and deprivation are not in the interest of Israel**.

National Civilian Service

A possible framework for bridging gaps, in particular between Jews and Arabs, could be national civilian service, which is now coordinated by the National Civilian Service Authority in the Office of the Prime Minister. The National Civilian Service Administration was established following the recommendations of the **Ivri Committee**, which presented a comprehensive report on the subject, later translated into an official government resolution. According to this decision, the option of **national civilian service** should be gradually expanded to include all citizens of Israel who do not serve in the defense forces, while maintaining priority and precedence for military service in the framework of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF). As noted, this framework is open to both Jews and members of minority groups. Since the establishment of the new authority, the number of Arabs volunteering for national civilian service has doubled and they serve in institutions of education, social welfare and health.

National civilian service could provide a framework for narrowing gaps between Arabs and Jews

Nevertheless, the integration of Arab citizens through national civilian service is far from self-evident, and it has encountered strong opposition from dominant segments of the Arab leadership in Israel, including the Higher Monitoring Committee. **The opposing Arab view** states that:

- Service and contribution to the community should depend on the existence of real equality. It was argued that the Arabs cannot be expected to contribute to the community if they are not treated equally in that community (as an example, the discrimination in land allocation was cited);
- The national civilian service project is another expression of the attitude that views the Arab citizen in Israel as a "security object". (It was noted, among other things, that the project administration is headquartered in the Office of the Prime Minister, which is also responsible for security organizations).

The findings of an opinion survey conducted among the Arab public just prior to the 2008 Herzliya Conference shed additional light on the arguments of opponents to national civilian service. The results of the survey indicate concern among Arabs that voluntary service:

- Will turn into compulsory service;
- Will accelerate the "Israelization" process and blur Arab national identity;

- Will lead to acceptance of the state's Zionist Jewish character;
- Is contrary to the aspirations of Arabs for non-territorial autonomy.

As an alternative framework, one participant proposed that volunteers could operate under the auspices of **Arab local authorities**, with priority given to the needs of the Arab community.

In contrast to the Arab leadership's formal position, an alternative Arab-Israeli position supports national civilian service arguing that national service should be considered as one of the rights granted to the Arab citizens of Israel. Moreover, national civilian service could even lead to reducing discrimination over time. The question of civilian service reflects dilemmas in the identity of Arab citizens of Israel: whether to adopt a separatist approach or an approach of participation and integration in society.

Despite the Arab leadership's strong position on this matter, **75% of young Arab Israeli citizens support national civilian service**. A dominant factor in support for national civilian service among Arab citizens is the

personal benefit they would receive, similar to those of army veterans. Other encouraging factors include assistance in admission to universities, and an awareness that it would contribute to the promotion of equality between Jews and Arabs. Young Arabs who oppose national civilian service cite nationalist reasons and argue that the service would not promote equality.

The survey shows that **most young Arabs decide on this question on a personal/family basis**. The survey reveals a rift between the position of the Arab public at large and the position of its leadership. Apparently, the Arab leadership, which is not associated with official institutions, opposes national civilian service because it does not legitimize Israel as a Jewish and democratic state. Most of the Israeli Arab population however, seem to recognize the reality of Israel as such, and consequently, many young Arabs are in favor of national civilian service.

It is apparent, however, that there is a low level of awareness among young Arabs regarding national civilian service. This can, perhaps, be attributed the fact that it is a new project. The government should work to increase the awareness and exposure of the voluntary service track within the framework of national civilian service, emphasizing the personal benefits of this service and its advantages for the Arab community.

5 Jewish People Cluster

Trends and Challenges in Relations between Israel and Diaspora Jewry

Diaspora Jewry is an important strategic component in Israel's foreign relations with many countries of the world, and **ongoing dialogue should be conducted with Jewish communities** on complex issues pertaining to Israel's present and future. Israel must work towards strengthening its connection with Diaspora Jewry and partnering to achieve common goals.

In this relation, **current trends characterizing Israel-Diaspora relations are worrying.** Diaspora Jewry and Jews living in Israel continue to grow apart. There is consensus that this trend requires urgent attention because a weak affiliation and connection between Jews in Israel and Diaspora Jewry would have adverse consequences for Israel's national interests, and the world Jewry would face existential problems.

Israel's place and standing on the agenda of Diaspora Jewry has become less important. The perception of Israel as a Jewish nation-state is gradually being replaced by a more multicultural perspective, developed in the context of international academic discourse. Positive images that were associated with Israel in the past, such as the kibbutz or making the desert bloom, are fading. Israel was seen in the past as a refuge for persecuted Jews, but this image is no longer relevant in the contemporary geo-political reality. On the contrary, there are even Jews who claim that Israel's actions engender anti-Semitism and that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict fans Islamic fanaticism. The data on inter-faith marriages, assimilation and the extinction of Diaspora communities are very troubling and indicate an existential danger for Diaspora Jewry.

Young Diaspora Jews increasingly identify with the non-Jewish environment they live in, and more and more Jews are moving to neighborhoods, which by majority are non-Jewish. Young people born after 1974 tend to draw and shape their knowledge about Israel based on what appears in the media. As a result, they are likely to distance themselves from the State of Israel.

Thus, a dramatic change and the adoption of a new paradigm for Israel – Diaspora relations is necessary:

- Israel must see itself as a partner in solving the problems of Diaspora Jewry and not treat it as if it was an instrument in the service of the State of Israel;
- Israel may need to abandon ideas about the Diaspora that, while relevant in the past, have less relevance today – for example, the idea that world Jewry regards Israel as the center of the Jewish nation;
- Israel should consult Diaspora Jewry on Israeli national affairs, such as the question of Jerusalem;
- Israel should reconsider its strong attachment its policy of *aliyah*, which some see as outdated. The reality of contemporary *aliyah* is characterized by its partial nature, with Jews residing in Israel during only part of the year, and spending the rest of the time in other countries. This phenomenon requires Israel to reexamine residency status laws and the taxation system;
- The history of the Jewish people should be included in the program of studies in Israel. Many students in Israel and parts of the elite and civil service have only rudimentary knowledge about the history of the Jewish people;
- It is important to strengthen the perception of Jerusalem as the capital of Jewish culture, and not only as the political capital of the State of Israel;
- Responsibility for the connection with Diaspora Jewry should not only be the purview of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is recommended to establish a dedicated ministry for relations with the Diaspora and to upgrade the role of the Jewish Agency for Israel.

These recommendations, together with projects such as *Taglit* (Birthright-Israel) and *MASA*, lay a foundation for coping with demographic change.³ *Taglit* and *MASA* are projects that focus more on the individual than on communities. This year, about 40,000 Jews from around the world came to Israel under the auspices of the *Taglit* program. The *MASA* program will bring 10,000 Jews each year to live in Israel for a period of one year.

The experience gained through the *Taglit* program shows that:

- Young Jews want to be connected with Israel and are taking a greater interest in what is happening in Israel;
- Person-to-person encounters are the key to the project's success;

The gap between Israeli and Diaspora Jewry continues to widen

A new model of aliyah to Israel has evolved, involving part-time residence in Israel

³ *Taglit-Birthright Israel* provides first time, peer group, educational trips to Israel for Jewish young adults ages 18 to 26 free of charge. *MASA* is a program that enables thousands of Jewish youth to spend a semester or a year in Israel in any of over 160 programs.

- The combination of study and emotional experience provided by the project is very important for the young people who participate;
- Institutions in Diaspora communities are not able to provide the connection and sense of community created by projects like *Taglit*.

From these findings, it can be concluded that more attention and resources should be given to programs that **help to strengthen the connection of young people in Diaspora Jewish communities to Israel.**

Jewish Philanthropy

Philanthropy is an important tool for strengthening the connection between Diaspora Jewry and Israel. Jewish philanthropy has expanded of late. Jewish philanthropists seek to be more directly involved in the areas and initiatives to which they contribute, and their donations are not only perceived as a financial commitment, but as a framework within which a connection can develop through visits and direct human contact. Israel must design its relations to donors accordingly.

A norm of philanthropy is also developing in Israeli society – prominent examples include initiatives such as *Or Yarok*, a non-profit organization to encourage safe driving, and *Shahaf Communities*, an organization that assists at-risk young people. These activities yield social “dividends” that can be measured. In addition, a phenomenon of volunteering has developed in Israel among young people who have completed their military service. These young people work in the social and geographic periphery, in education and social services.

Philanthropy is a channel through which personal and direct connections can develop

Identity and Judaism in the Modern Era

Secular Jewish culture developed during the 18th century, but did not develop into an identifiable movement in the same way as other strands of contemporary Judaism (orthodox, conservative, liberal, reform, etc). Nevertheless, most of the Jews living in Israel and the Diaspora define themselves as secular. Those who view themselves as belonging to a secular Jewish worldview believe that the categorization of Judaism as a religion is not accurate, and note that the religion is only one of the aspects of Judaism.

It is difficult to objectively define the components of secular Jewish identity. One position was that the secular viewpoint sees Jews as a pluralistic people whose identity is rooted in traditions of discussion, argument, doubt and critical discourse. Another approach argues that secular Jewish identity is based on nationalism, religion, culture, ethics, sensitivity to injustice, humanism and openness to other cultures. It was emphasized in the discussion that the view of Judaism as a culture is not anti-religious. It entails a general tendency of people who see themselves as belonging to the Jewish people in a way that goes beyond observance of the religion's commandments.

In Israel, Jewish identity is defined using the Orthodox religious framework. There are power struggles and suspicion regarding this subject, particularly in regard of the extent of independence that individuals are accorded in defining what “Jewish” means for them. As a consequence, there is a great deal of animosity towards the power of the religious institutions in Israel.

The polarization in Israel in regard of Jewish identity – ranging from a rejection of secularity and opposition to a liberal-democratic dialogue, on the one hand, to a hyper-secularity that completely rejects Jewish religious identity, on the other – is a threat to the future of the Jewish people. It would serve Israel to adopt a more pluralistic and encompassing approach towards Judaism.

Sunday, January 20th

Knesset, Jerusalem

Morning Sessions

Assessing National Security – The Annual Update

Opening Remarks—"Tests of Endurance"

Prof. **Uzi Arad**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Herzliya Conference

The Balance of Israel's National Security – The "Herzliya Indices" in Israel's 60th Year

Chair: MK **Tzachi Hanegbi**, Chairman, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Prof. **Amir Barnea**, Founding Dean, Arison School of Business, IDC Herzliya

Ms. **Leah Achdut**, Van-Leer Jerusalem Institute

Prof. **Gabriel Ben-Dor**, Head of the School of Political Sciences, University of Haifa

Mr. **Gideon Grinstein**, Founder and President, Re'ut Institute

Discussion

Maj. Gen. **Ido Nechushtan**, Head of Plans and Policy Directorate, IDF

Mr. **Joseph (Tommy) Lapid**, Chairman, Yad Vashem Council

The Patriotism Survey in Israel's 60th Year

Chair: Prof. **Michael Oren**, Senior Fellow, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center

Prof. **Ephraim Yaar**, Head of the Program in Mediation and Conflict Resolution, Tel Aviv University

Adv. **Dalia Rabin**, Chair, Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel Studies

Brig. Gen. **Eli Shermeister**, Chief Education & Youth Officer, IDF

MK Brig. Gen. (res.) **Effie Eitam**, Member, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

MK **Avshalom (Abu) Vilan**, Member, Knesset State Control Committee

MK **Gilad Erdan**, Chairman, Knesset Economic Affairs Committee and Member of the Lobby for Jerusalem

Afternoon Sessions

Key Issues on the National Agenda

Beyond Bali: Climate Change and National Security

Introduction: Mr. **Effi Stenzler**, Chairman of the Board, Jewish National Fund

Prof. **Dan Yakir**, Head of the Department of Environmental Sciences & Energy Research, Weizmann Institute of Science

Dr. **Shlomit Paz**, Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Haifa

MK **Ophir Pines-Paz**, Chairman, Knesset Internal Affairs and Environment Committee

Discussion

Introduction: Adv. **Shraga Biran**

Prof. **Bjørn Lomborg**, Director, Copenhagen Consensus Center

The Winograd Commission and National Security Decision-Making

Chair: MK Amb. **Colette Avital**, Deputy Speaker of the Knesset

Dr. **Kori Schake**, Deputy Director of Policy Planning, US Department of State; US Military Academy at West Point

Adv. **Dan Meridor**, Former Minister of Justice and Minister of Finance; Former Chair, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Uzi Dayan**, Former National Security Advisor

MK **Gideon Sa'ar**, Former Secretary to the Government

Discussion

Justice **Micha Lindenstrauss**, State Comptroller and Ombudsman

The Heart of the Matter: Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel and the Jewish People

Chair: MK **Yuli Edelstein**, Deputy Speaker of the Knesset

Amb. Dr. **Oded Eran**, Israel Representative, World Jewish Congress

Ms. **Ora Achimeir**, Director, Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

Dr. **Eilat Mazar**, Institute of Archeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Senior Fellow, Shalem Center

Dr. **Zvi Zamaret**, Director, Yad Ben-Zvi

Prof. **Zeev Segal**, Tel Aviv University

Discussion

Opening Ceremony and Dinner

Opening Address:

Mrs. **Dalia Itzik**, Speaker of the Knesset

Addressees:

Mr. **Shimon Peres**, President of the State of Israel

Lt. Gen. **Gabi Ashkenazi**, Chief of General Staff, IDF

Greetings:

Prof. **Uriel Reichman**, Founding President, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Natan Sharansky**, Chairman, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center; Former Deputy Prime Minister

Moderator:

Prof. **Uzi Arad**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Herzliya Conference

Musical Interlude:

The Camerata Jerusalem Orchestra – Conductor: Avner Biron

Monday, January 21st

Daniel Hotel, Herzliya

INTERNATIONAL HERZLIYA ROUNDTABLE: Deterrence in a Poly-Nuclear Middle East (by invitation only)

Morning Sessions

National, Economic, and Social Challenges in the Global Era

The "Herzliya Accord" – Prioritizing Israel's Social Needs and Programs

Introduction: Mr. **Zvi Ziv**, CEO, Bank Hapoalim

Presentation of the "Herzliya Accord" findings- Dr. **Karnit Flug**, Director, Research Department, Bank of Israel

Panel Members: Prof. **Manuel Trachtenberg**, Mr. **David Brodet**, Dr. **Daniel Gottlieb**, Prof. **Rafi Melnick** (Academic Coordinator), Mr. **Sever Plotzker**, Dr. **Yaacov Sheinin**

Advisors: Prof. **Dov Chernichovsky**, Mr. **Kobi Haber**, Dr. **Miriam (Miki) Haran**

Ms. **Naama Elefant**, Herzliya Youth Forum Delegate

MK Prof. **Avishay Braverman**, Member, Knesset Finance Committee

Mr. **Zeev Boim**, Minister of Housing and Construction

Discussion

Mr. **Eliyahu Yishai**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Industry, Trade, and Labor

Engines for Growth: Energizing the Israeli Economy

Chair: Adv. **Dror Strum**, Director, Israeli Center for Economic Planning

Mr. **Yossi Hollander**, Chairman, Israeli Center for Economic Planning

Prof. **Zvi Eckstein**, Deputy Governor, Bank of Israel; Eitan Berglas School of Economics, Tel-Aviv University

Dr. **Yaacov Sheinin**, CEO, Economic Models

Mr. **Shaul Tsemach**, Director General, Ministry of Tourism

Discussion

Discussant: Mr. **Eli Gonen**, President, Israel Hotel Association

The Era of Creative Opportunity

Chair: Adv. **Shraga Biran**

Introduction: Mr. **Robert Rechnitz**, Principal, Bomel Companies

MK **Benjamin Netanyahu**, Leader of the Opposition; Former Prime Minister

Prof. **Bjørn Lomborg**, Director, Copenhagen Consensus Center

Mr. **Simon Rosenberg**, President, NDN

Discussion

Prof. **Stanley Fischer**, Governor, Bank of Israel

Lunch Session

Chair: Prof. **Uzi Arad**

President **José María Aznar**, Former Prime Minister of Spain; President of FAES Fundación

Secretary **William Cohen**, Chairman and CEO, Cohen Group; Former US Secretary of Defense

Afternoon Sessions

Global Economic Trends and Processes

Chair: Prof. **Jacob Frenkel**, Former Governor of the Bank of Israel; Chairman, Group of Thirty (G-30); Vice Chairman, American International Group (AIG)

Mr. **Thomas Donohue**, President and CEO, US Chamber of Commerce

Dr. **Péter Medgyessy**, Former Prime Minister of Hungary

Mr. **Ben J. Wattenberg**, Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute

Energy Security and Policies – National and International Contexts

Introduction: Mr. **Robert McNally**, Managing Director, Tudor Investment Corporation
Ms. **Ann Eggington**, Head of Division for Europe, Middle East and Africa, International Energy Agency
Maj. Gen. (res.) **Oren Shachor**, Chairman and President, Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline Company

Mr. **Binyamin (Fuad) Ben Eliezer**, Minister of National Infrastructures

Foreign Policy Challenges Against the Backdrop of Regional Developments

Arab-Israeli Negotiations – Forecasts for the Region

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Director, Political-Military Bureau, Ministry of Defense
Prof. **Martin Kramer**, Senior Fellow, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center
Prof. **Gideon Biger**, Department of Geography and Human Environment, Tel Aviv University
Mr. **Lee Smith**, Visiting Fellow, Hudson Institute
Discussion

Dinner

Introduction: Ms. **Shula Bahat**, Associate Executive Director, American Jewish Committee
Lt. Gen. (res.) **Ehud Barak**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense; Former Prime Minister
Mr. **Maxime Verhagen**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands

“NIGHT OWLS”

The Challenge of Radical Islam

In cooperation with the Atlantic Forum of Israel
Chair: Dr. **Boaz Ganor**, Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Mr. **Edward (Ted) M. Gistaro**, US National Intelligence Officer for Transnational Threats
Ms. **Judith Miller**, Adjunct Fellow, Manhattan Institute for Policy Research
Dr. **Uzi Landau**, Former Minister for Internal Security; Research Fellow, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, IDC Herzliya
Mr. **Steven Emerson**, Executive Director, Investigative Project on Terrorism
Dr. **Peter Ackerman**, Chair, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict

Tuesday, January 22nd

Daniel Hotel, Herzliya

Morning Sessions

Negotiating the Final Status Agreement

Introduction: Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Chairman of the Board, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Amb. **Robert Serry**, United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Envoy of the Secretary-General to the Quartet – A message from the UN Secretary General to the Herzliya Conference
Lt. Gen. (res.) **Moshe Ya'alon**, Senior Fellow, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center
Amb. Prof. **Daniel Kurtzer**, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University
Sir **Ronald Cohen**, Chairman, Portland Trust
Prof. **Irwin Cotler**, Member of Parliament, Canada
Prof. **Stephen D. Krasner**, Department of Political Science, Stanford University
Amb. **Robert Serry**, United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process
Discussion

The Atlantic Alliance and the Broader Middle East: American and European Approaches

Introduction: Mr. **Hermann Bünz**, Director, Representative in Israel, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
Mr. **Peter Flory**, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Defense Investment
Amb. Dr. **Robert Hunter**, President, Atlantic Treaty Association; Senior Advisor, RAND Corporation
Dr. **Josef Joffe**, Publisher and Editor, Die Zeit
Col. (res.) Dr. **Eran Lerman**, Director, Israel and Middle East Office, American Jewish Committee
Dr. **Israel Elad-Altmann**, Senior Research Fellow, Atlantic Forum of Israel; Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Discussion

Lunch Session

From the Outside, Looking In: International Perspectives on the Middle East

Chair: Mr. **Natan Sharansky**, Chairman, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center; Former Deputy Prime Minister
Mr. **Franco Frattini**, Vice President, Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security, European Commission
Prof. **Li Zhaoxing**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China
Dr. **David Wurmser**, Executive Member, Delphi Global Analysis Group & Former Senior Advisor for Middle East and Strategic Affairs to US Vice President

*Presentation of the Herzl Awards to Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Horev**, CEO, Israel Technion Society
by Brig. Gen. (res.) **Pinchas Barel-Buchris**, Director-General, Ministry of Defense*

Afternoon Sessions

The Iranian Nuclear Threat

Assessing Iran's Nuclear Intentions and Capabilities

Chair: Adv. **Aaron Abramovitch**, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Amb. **John Bolton**, Former US Ambassador to the United Nations
Dr. **Kori Schake**, Deputy Director of Policy Planning, US Department of State
Dr. **Jon B. Alterman**, Director, Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies
MK Dr. **Yuval Steinitz**, Member and Former Chairman, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee
Discussion

Can a Nuclear Iran be Prevented?

Chair: MK Maj. Gen. (res.) Prof. **Isaac Ben-Israel**, Member, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee
Mr. **Norman Podhoretz**, Editor-at-Large, Commentary Magazine
Dr. **Patrick Cronin**, Director, Institute for National Strategic Studies
Prof. **François Heisbourg**, Chairman, International Institute for Strategic Studies (France)
MK Brig. Gen. Dr. **Ephraim Sneh**, Member, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee
Discussion

Can a Nuclear Iran be Deterred?

Chair: Prof. **Alex Mintz**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Maj. Gen. (res.) **Matan Vilnai**, Deputy Minister of Defense
Dr. **Adir Pridor**, Head of the Institute for Industrial Mathematics
Dr. **Jerrold Post**, Director, Political Psychology Program, George Washington University
Dr. **Shmuel Bar**, Director of Studies, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Dr. **Oded Brosh**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Discussion

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Shaul Mofaz**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Transportation and Road Safety; in charge of Strategic Dialogues

Dinner

Introduction: Prof. **Herbert London**, President, Hudson Institute
Ms. **Tzipi Livni**, Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs
Mr. **Carl Bildt**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Former Prime Minister of Sweden

Presentation of the Herzl Awards by
Mr. **Lester Crown**, President, Henry Crown & Co.
Recipient: Mr. **Robert H. Asher**, Chairman, Society for Excellence through Education

"NIGHT OWLS"

Upgrading Israel's Relations with the Atlantic Community

In cooperation with the Atlantic Forum of Israel
Chair: Amb. **Michael Žantovský**, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Israel and NATO Contact Point Ambassador
Amb. **Dan Gillerman**, Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations
Mr. **Rafael L. Bardají**, Director, International Studies, FAES Fundación
Mr. **Tommy Steiner**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Atlantic Forum of Israel
Mr. **Matthew Mark Horn**, National Policy Director, American Jewish Congress

Wednesday, January 23rd

Daniel Hotel, Herzliya

INTERNATIONAL HERZLIYA ROUNDTABLE: The Sunni-Shiite Rift – Origins and Strategic Implications (By invitation only)

Morning Sessions

The Next 60 Years: Goals and Directions for Israel and the Jewish People

Promoting Excellence as a National Value

Introduction: Mr. **Robert H. Asher**, Chairman, Society for Excellence through Education
Prof. **Jehuda Reinharz**, President, Brandeis University
Mr. **Tony Danker**, McKinsey & Company's Global Education Practice
Mr. **Hezki Arieli**, Director-General, Society for Excellence through Education
Mr. **Miki Kesary**, Director, Center for Excellence Enhancement
Mr. **Martin Kraar**, President, Society for Excellence through Education – USA
Prof. **Daniel Zajfman**, President, Weizmann Institute for Science
Conclusions: Mr. **Lester Crown**, President, Henry Crown & Co.

Reforming Education and Higher Learning

Chair: Prof. **Amnon Rubinstein**, Former President, IDC Herzliya; Former Minister of Education
 Prof. **Yuli Tamir**, Minister of Education
 Prof. **Menachem Yaari**, President, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities
 Dr. **Shimshon Shoshani**, CEO, Birthright-Israel; Former Director-General Director of the Ministry of Education
 Prof. **Zeev Tadmor**, Chairman of the Board, Shmuel Ne'eman Institute, Technion – Israel Institute of Technology
 MK **Limor Livnat**, Former Minister of Education
 Prof. **Zvi Galil**, President, Tel Aviv University

Arab Israelis and National Service

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **David Ivry**, President, Boeing Israel
 Dr. **Reuven Gal**, Prime Minister's Office
 Dr. **Hanna Swaid**, Member, Knesset's Economic Affairs Committee
 Prof. **Sammy Smootha**, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Haifa
 Mr. **Nabil Ouda**, Writer and Journalist
 Discussion

Afternoon Sessions

Israel-Diaspora Relations

Prof. **Yehezkel Dror**, Founding President, Jewish People Policy Planning Institute

Jewish Secularism in the 21st Century

Chair: Prof. **Gabriel Motzkin**, Director, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute
 Prof. **Yehuda Bauer**, Academic Advisor, International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem
 Prof. **Menachem Brinker**, Department of Jewish Thought, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
 Prof. **Shmuel Feiner**, Department of Jewish History, Bar-Ilan University
 Discussion
 Introduction: Mr. **Felix Posen**
 Mr. **Amos Oz**, Writer

Trends in the Connection of the Diaspora's Young Generation to Israel

Introduction: Mr. **Gideon Mark**, Birthright-Israel
 Mr. **Isaac Herzog**, Minister of the Diaspora, Society, and Fight against Anti-Semitism
 Prof. **Leonard Saxe**, Director, Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University
 MK Prof. **Menahem Ben-Sasson**, Chair, Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee
 Discussion

Rethinking Jewish Philanthropy – Interrelations between Israel and the Diaspora

Introduction: Mr. **Zeev Bielski**, Chairman of the Executive, Jewish Agency for Israel and World Zionist Organization
 Dr. **John Ruskay**, Executive Vice President and CEO, UJA-Federation of New York
 Mr. **Avi Naor**, Chairman, "Or Yarok" – Association for Safer Driving in Israel; Member of the Executive, Jewish Agency for Israel
 Discussion

Government Responsibility for Jewish-Arab Equality and Integration

Chair: MK **Nadia Hilou**, Chairperson, Knesset Committee on the Rights of the Child
 Introduction: Mr. **Amnon Be'eri-Sulitzeanu**, Executive Director, Abraham Fund Initiatives, Israel
 Mr. **Muhammad Darawsha**, Director, External Relations, Abraham Fund Initiatives, Israel
 Mr. **Drew Haire**, Head of the Community Relations Unit at the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, Northern Ireland
 Prof. **Shimon Shamir**, Tel Aviv University
 Mr. **Jafar Farah**, Director, Mossawa Center
 Discussion

Mr. **Raanan Dinur**, Director-General, Prime Minister's Office

Law, Governance, and National Security

Justice Prof. **Aharon Barak**, Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Radzyner School of Law, IDC Herzliya

Summing Up: Endurance Forever

Prof. **Uzi Arad**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Herzliya Conference

Closing Ceremony and Dinner

Chair: Prof. **Uriel Reichman**, Founding President, IDC Herzliya
 Amb. **Ronald S. Lauder**, President, World Jewish Congress
 "Herzliya Address" – Mr. **Ehud Olmert**, Prime Minister
 Prof. **Uzi Arad**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Chair, Herzliya Conference

Partnering Institutions

The Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya

The Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya, was founded in 1994 by renowned Israeli scholar **Prof. Uriel Reichman**. Modeled after Ivy League schools in the United States, IDC Herzliya is a private, non-profit entity which takes no government subsidies, allowing for full academic freedom. The Center is dedicated to the pursuit of excellence in research and education whilst aiming to create an Israeli university where personal achievement goes hand-in-hand with social responsibility.

IDC Herzliya's student body consists of some 4,200 Bachelor & Master degree students who study at the Center's seven internationally recognized schools: the Radzyner School of Law; the Arison School of Business, the Efi Arazi School of Computer Science, the Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, the Sammy Ofer School of Communications, the New School of Psychology and the Raphael Recanati International School. IDC Herzliya is also home to some ten research centers.

Its faculty consists of lecturers who studied in some of the best schools around the world and Israel. Their goal is to train Israel's leaders of the future, as well as nurture business, political, technological and judicial leadership of the highest caliber.

The Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy

The Lauder School was founded in 1999 by **Amb. Ronald S. Lauder**, and headed by the late **Prof. Ehud Sprinzak**. The school was modeled after the foremost international Schools of Government and based on the recognition of the needs of government, administration and the private sector in the modern era. Its goal is to prepare a future leadership for the State of Israel by providing students with the skills to develop political, administrative and social aspects of governmental systems. A wide range of research activities is conducted by institutes under the auspices of the Lauder School, which is headed by the Dean, **Prof. Alex Mintz**. Students from around the world study in the Lauder School of Government's International Program, which focuses on topics of Security and the Middle East and is taught by Israel's leading academic experts and professionals.

The Institute for Policy and Strategy

The Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), was founded and headed by **Prof. Uzi Arad** in 2000. The Institute is 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, and 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.

The Chairman of the Institute's Board of Directors is Amb. Zalman Shoval. The members of the Board of Directors are: Prof. Amir Barnea, Prof. Moshe Barniv, Mr. Avraham Bigger, Maj. Gen. (res.) Ilan Biran, Mr. Yossi Hollander, Prof. Alex Mintz, Prof. Uriel Reichman, Dr. Mordechai Segal, Maj. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Yanai.

The Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center

The Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies at the Shalem Center in Jerusalem is an academic and research institute founded by its Chairman **Natan Sharansky** in 2007, that develops, articulates and builds support for the strategic principles needed to address the challenges currently facing Israel and the West. Israel, as the only democracy in this region surrounded by totalitarian governments, is on the cutting edge of the challenges and dangers confronting Western civilization everywhere. As part of this overall effort, the Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies seeks to explore how the advancement of freedom, democracy, and human rights can be marshaled as an effective measure to secure and strengthen international stability and security. The Adelson Institute also seeks to examine international law in light of the new forms of asymmetric warfare and terror; the establishment of credible deterrence against guerilla and terror organizations and the states that sponsor them; the appropriate response to weapons of mass destruction; and the strengthening of Israel's relations with its strategic allies.

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Acknowledgements

Principal Supporters

Amb. Ronald S. Lauder

President of the World Jewish Congress, international businessman and former President of the Jewish National Fund. Additionally serves as Chairman of the International Public Committee of the World Jewish Restitution Organization and Chairman of the Jewish Heritage Council. Former Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Served as U.S. Ambassador to Austria and as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for European and NATO Policy. Established the Ronald S. Lauder Foundation, which has focused on Jewish education and outreach programs in Eastern Europe. Holds a B.A. in International Business from the Wharton School and a Certificate in International Business from the University of Brussels.



The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is a non-profit organization with its roots in the German and International Social Democracy. The FES office in Israel contributes to enhancing German/European-Israeli relations, promoting peaceful coexistence between Israel and its neighbors, and strengthening Israeli civil society. For additional information: www.fes.org.il



Nadav Fund For the Advancement of Jewish Heritage

The NADAV Fund, founded in 2003 by Leonid Nevzlin and his partners with the vision of strengthening Jewish Peoplehood and fostering Jewish continuity, supports initiatives designed to advance understanding of Jewish Peoplehood and strengthen pride in being part of the Jewish People. The Fund's activities are centered on building meaningful and pluralistic Jewish identity and creating lasting connections among Jews in Israel and the world over, with an emphasis on the young generation. Through its grants the NADAV Fund seeks to ensure that Jewish Peoplehood in the 21st century is rooted in thoughtful engagement with and profound understanding of the rich cultural, religious and historical legacy of the Jewish People.



The Russell Berrie Foundation
Making A Difference

The Russell Berrie Foundation

The Russell Berrie Foundation carries on the values and passions of the late Russell Berrie by promoting the continuity of Jewish communal life, fostering religious understanding and pluralism, supporting advances in diabetes and humanistic medical care, recognizing unsung heroes and elevating the profession of sales.



The Israeli Institute
for Economic Planning

The Israeli Institute for Economic Planning

The Israeli Institute for Economic Planning is a non-profit organization, working to change the Israeli economy into a free market, competitive modern economy.

The Institute's research focuses on the problems that prevent the Israeli economy from reaching its full potential. The Institute's main goal is to offer practical solutions for such problems.

The Institute's current areas of activity include: the desired future direction of the Israeli economy, the poverty problem and solutions, structural and legal changes in the land and housing sector, Israel capital needs, the excess bureaucracy, the defense budget and the freedom of information legislation.

The Institute is led by Mr. Dror Strum, former General Director of the Israeli Antitrust Authority. The Institute is not affiliated with any political party. It employs experts in the specific fields of operation and is committed to a professional problem analysis and to presenting practical recommendations to the decision makers in the parliament, the government and to the general public.

The Institute has an ongoing relationship with public figures from all sectors of the Israeli society and with parliament and government members. The Institute consults and supports legislative initiatives in its areas of interest.



The Society for Excellence through Education (SEE)

The Society for Excellence through Education (SEE) was founded in Israel in 1987 to foster the concept of leadership, excellence and social responsibility throughout the entire educational community. In 1990, SEE established and continues to operate the Israel Arts and Science Academy (IASA), a national, residential senior high school in Jerusalem. The students are immigrants and sabras, religious and secular Jews and Israeli Arabs. SEE also operates national programs throughout Israel which provide unique learning opportunities for bright and motivated students. The major program is Excellence 2000 (E2K), which reaches over 10,000 students and 1,000 teachers in Israel and approximately 2,500 students and 300 teachers in the United States. SEE has been chosen by the Israeli Ministry of Education to partner in expanding excellence throughout Israel's education system. The Herzliya Conference session on "Excellence as a National Value" is sponsored by the Carylton Foundation, Chicago, Illinois. For additional information: www.see.org.il



Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael – Jewish National Fund

Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael – Jewish National Fund, was established by Theodore Herzl 105 years ago, at the 5th Zionist Congress. The purpose was to create a National Fund that would fulfill the Zionist vision of bringing the Jewish People to their Homeland by purchasing and developing land in Eretz Yisrael. Today, at the beginning of the 21st century, this goal still serves as the ideological and practical platform on which the principles of KKL-JNF are based. The achievements of KKL-JNF, as the caretaker of the land of Israel on behalf of the Jewish People and as the biggest environmental movement in Israel, are evident throughout the

country. These include more than 650,000 acres of land purchased, 1,000 towns and villages established on KKL-JNF land, 229 million trees planted, 200 water reservoirs built, tens of polluted rivers rehabilitated, hundreds of parks and recreational areas developed, endowment of heritage and education for the love of Israel, vigorous actions taken for rolling back the desert, and the significant impact of tree planting and forestry research in the Negev region on the prevention of global warming.

Our actions demonstrate the enormous impact of KKL-JNF on the development of the modern State of Israel, as partners of the People of Israel and the Jewish People. KKL-JNF will continue to fulfill its mission to develop, settle, build, protect and create - as the caretaker and guardian of the Land of Israel for Jewish People everywhere.

For additional information: kkl.org.il/kkl/kklmain_blue.aspx



IDB Group

IDB Group is the largest business concern in Israel, with a diversified portfolio encompassing some of the most influential companies in Israel. Through majority holdings in four main subsidiaries – Discount Investment Corporation, Clal Industries and Investments, Clal Insurance Enterprise Holdings and Koor Industries - the IDB Group holds major stakes in key industries such as communications, insurance and finance, real estate, high-technology, bio-technology, retail and tourism. For additional information: www.idb.co.il

Roger Hertog

Governmental Departments



Ministry of Defense



Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Foundations



The Posen Foundation

The Posen Foundation works internationally as a service provider to support educational initiatives on Jewish culture in the modern period and the process of Jewish secularization over the past three centuries. At a time when the majority of world Jewry defines itself as secular and is not well educated in Jewish culture, the Foundation offers this growing community the opportunity to deepen and enrich the study of its cultural and historic heritage. The foundation's pioneering program supports the development of university curricula and syllabi on Jewish secularism and secularization. It funds publishing ventures of substantial reference works, and teacher training programs to equip teachers to teach Jewish culture, modern Jewish history and its vast literatures. The Foundation supports academic research for PhD candidates and post-Doc fellowships to help to understand this modern phenomenon as well as diverse aspects of Jewish identities, and supports demographic surveys to better understand the growing population. Programs supported by the foundation are taught in 50 junior and senior high schools in Israel; 33 colleges and universities in the U.S., Canada and Israel; and will be underway shortly in Europe. Felix Posen is Founding President and Chair of the Foundation. Daniel Posen is Managing Director.



The Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies



The Alan B. Slifka Foundation and The Abraham Fund Initiatives

The Abraham Fund Initiatives is a social change organization working to promote Jewish-Arab coexistence, cooperation and equality.

For additional information: www.abrahamfund.org

The Robert & Ardis James Foundation

Organizations



The American Jewish Committee

The American Jewish Committee protects the rights and freedoms of Jews the world over; combats bigotry and anti-Semitism and promotes human rights for all; works for the security of Israel and a deeper understanding between Americans and Israelis; advocates public policy positions rooted in America's democratic values and in the Jewish heritage; and enhances the creative vitality of the Jewish people. Founded in 1906, it is the pioneer human relations agency in the United States. For additional information: www.ajc.org



The National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa

The Center studies a wide variety of national security issues – social, political, military, economic and others – seeking to enhance the understanding of the complex web of interactions affecting national security. The Center brings together social scientists, historians and other scholars from Israel and abroad, drawing on a wide range of relevant disciplines in an effort to integrate their respective studies into the overall interdisciplinary picture of national security.

The Center's research has focused on the national security strategy of Israel, the changing global and regional strategic environment, the study of terrorism and the psychology and politics of a society coping with protracted conflict. Since the beginning of the decade, the Center has conducted an ongoing and methodical series of comprehensive studies on the diverse components of national resilience in Israeli society. For additional information: nssc.haifa.ac.il



The Jewish Agency for Israel: Partnering with purpose, all over the world

The Jewish Agency for Israel is a global non-profit organization that works towards Aliyah and integration, connecting the next generation through Jewish Zionist education and creating an Israel of equal opportunity by bridging social and economic gaps and investing in the Negev and Galilee.

For additional information: www.jewishagency.org.il



Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia

The Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia sees a flourishing global Jewish community – today and for future generations – that is continually strengthened by:

- inspiring participation in Jewish life and learning through Jewish day school opportunities, enhanced synagogue schooling and programming, a coordinated outreach effort by community organizations to young Jews and Jewish families, and increased educational and leadership opportunities for young adults.
- caring for people at-risk or in need through programs that help seniors to age with dignity, aid for the chronically poor, self-sufficiency initiatives for Jews facing poverty, hunger relief, and transformative social action efforts.
- Connecting Jews in Greater Philadelphia to each other and to Jews in Israel and around the world through Israel advocacy, overseas hunger relief and security programming, and support for Jewish seniors, children and immigrants in Israel and other overseas nations.

Benefactors

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Principal Sponsors



Bank Hapoalim

Bank Hapoalim is Israel's leading bank and was recently ranked by "Dun & Bradstreet" as the most financially sound financial institution in Israel for the year 2008. Bank Hapoalim has over 250 branches throughout Israel and is also the leading bank for corporate business in Israel. The Bank provides its clients with banking products and services of the highest quality available in the sector. Abroad, the bank is successfully taking part in the globalization process of the international banking community; the Bank has 44 branches, subsidiaries and representative offices active in financial centers worldwide, including New York, London, Zurich, Hong Kong, Singapore and others.

The Bank group also includes 2 commercial banks and subsidiaries engaged in financial and other activities. For further details: www.bankhapoalim.co.il



Dor Alon

Alon started off as a young and dynamic fuel company. Today, 15 years later, Alon is a leading brand name in Israel and operates in the energy and retail sectors. In these sectors, Alon is leading a green vision and invests great deal of sources for the community and for the quality of the environment.



Tamares

Tamares Hotels, Resorts and Spas is part of the Tamares group which was founded nearly 60 years ago, and is currently owned solely by Poju Zabłudowicz. Tamares is a private investment group with significant interest in real estate, technology, manufacturing, leisure and media in many parts of the world. For additional information: www.tamareshotels.co.il.



Israel Discount Bank

The Israel Discount Bank Group is the third largest banking group in Israel. It operates mainly through 129 branches providing a wide range of banking services offered to its customers.

Israel Discount Bank, established in 1935, is involved in a variety of banking, trade and commercial activities, aspiring to be the leader in retail banking in Israel. The Bank has two banking subsidiaries in Israel, Mercantile Discount Bank and Discount Mortgage Bank, and also an affiliated bank, the First International Bank of Israel. The Bank operates overseas mainly through Israel Discount Bank of New York, Discount Bank Latin America (Uruguay), Israel Discount Bank (Switzerland), and the Bank's branch in London. The Bank has representative offices in Paris, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Sao Paulo.



Boeing

With a heritage that mirrors the first 100 years of flight, the Boeing Company provides products and services to customers in 145 countries. Boeing has been the premier manufacturer of commercial jetliners for more than 40 years and is a global market leader in military aircraft, satellites, missile defense, human space flight, and launch systems and services. Total company revenues for 2006 were \$62 billion.



First International Bank of Israel (FIBI)

First International Bank of Israel (FIBI) is Israel's fifth largest banking group. FIBI provides its clients with a full range of financial services including credit, deposits, securities, foreign exchange, financial derivatives, international trade, mortgages, portfolio management, underwriting and leasing. FIBI places the customer at the center of its activities, leading to an overall focus on excellent customer service. FIBI group has 157 offices and branches in Israel, including those of its three main banking subsidiaries in Israel: Bank Otsar Hahayal – a bank that focuses on the household segment and serves customers from the security force; Bank Poalei Agudat Israel (PAGI) - a commercial bank which continues to broaden its customer base and number of branches serving the ultra-orthodox community; UBank – a bank that specializes in private banking, capital markets and asset management. In September 2007, FIBI implemented an agreement with Bank Hapoalim for the purchase of Hapoalim's control in Bank Massad, a bank that serves the teaching profession, the transaction is expected to be completed shortly. FIBI also operates two overseas subsidiaries: FIBI Bank (UK) in London and FIBI Bank (Switzerland) in Zurich.



Raytheon

Raytheon is a global leader in technology-driven solutions, providing customers with integrated mission systems. Raytheon provides integrated mission systems to meet the critical defense and non-defense needs of its customers. Raytheon is an industry leader in defense and government electronics, space and information technology. Raytheon's 2005 sales summed up to \$21.9 billion, it has more than 80,000 employees worldwide, and its headquarters are based in Waltham, Massachusetts. Raytheon's "Super Rep" in Israel is "Del-Ta systems" LLP, which is the central point of contact for all Israeli customers. For additional information: www.raytheon.com



orange

Partner Communications Company Ltd. is a leading cellular operator in Israel well known for its leadership in technology innovation, marketing creativity and personal approach to its customers. Partner has been operating in Israel under the orange brand since 1999. The orange brand is currently operated in 17 countries worldwide and serves approximately 70 million customers. In Israel, orange serves 2.796 million customers (as of September 30, 2007) offering a wide variety of plans, advanced services, a high quality customer service and the largest content portal in Israel. orange has been chosen several times as the number one brand in the Israeli telecom market and as a leading brand in customer service.



Riwal (Israel)

"Riwal (Israel)" is the Israeli branch of the worldwide Riwal Company, and represents the Dutch parent company, considered as one of Europe's leading companies in the field of solution for aerial work. "Riwal (Israel)" also represents Hovago, one of the world's ten largest crane companies. In addition, "Riwal (Israel)" is the representative of JLG, the world's leading producer of aerial work platforms, and Terex-Demag – crane manufacturers.

"Riwal (Israel)" is prepared to offer complete solutions and full support on worksites including the supply and operation of cranes, scissor lifts and other mechanical equipment. "Riwal (Israel)" supplies the construction, general, security and energy industries with varied solutions at the very highest of standards.



Lockheed Martin

Headquartered in Bethesda, Md., Lockheed Martin employs about 140,000 people worldwide and is principally engaged in the research, design, development, manufacturing, integration and sustainment of advanced technology systems, products and services. The corporation reported 2006 sales of \$39.6 billion. For additional information: www.lockheedmartin.com

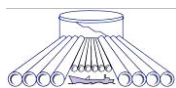
SIEMENS

Siemens (Israel)

Siemens AG - Siemens Company is a global powerhouse in electronics and electrical engineering, operating in the industry, energy and healthcare sectors. The company has around 400,000 employees (in continuing operations) working to develop and manufacture products, design and install complex systems and projects, and tailor a wide range of solutions for individual requirements. For over 160 years, Siemens has stood for technical achievements, innovation, quality, reliability and internationality.

Siemens Israel Ltd. - Siemens Israel is a subsidiary of Siemens AG and is mainly active in the fields of Energy, Automation and Control, Mobility and Healthcare. The Company combines the tradition, quality and capabilities of Siemens brand which have been accumulated for more than 160 years together with the local knowledge and requirements of the Israeli market. Siemens Israel, headed by Oren Ahronson, currently has about 200 employees.

Sponsors



Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline Company Ltd. (EAPC)

EAPC deals with handling, storage and the transit of crude oil to the domestic and international markets. Furthermore, EAPC deals with handling, storage and the distribution of oil products and LPG. EAPC operates oil ports and oil terminals in Eilat and Ashkelon and owns pipeline infrastructures throughout Israel.



Dexia Israel (Public Finance) Bank Ltd.

Dexia Israel (Public Finance) Bank Ltd. (formerly Otzar Hashilton Hamekomi) is of an AA rating, and part of the international Dexia Group, which is a worldwide leader in the public sector finance. (The balance sheet is approx. 584 billion €, international rating of main entities: AA-AAA)

They specialize in: Providing banking and credit services to the municipal sector, financing infrastructure projects for public and private companies working with the wide public sector, in Israel and in over 30 countries around the world. Moreover, they have a substantial scope of activity in the capital market.



NDS Technologies Israel Ltd.

The NDS Group, a majority owned subsidiary of News Corporation, supplies open end-to-end digital technology and services to digital pay-television platform operators and content providers. For additional information: www.nds.com



Shlomo Sixt Group

The Shlomo Sixt Group is the leading vehicle group in its field in the Israeli market. The group provides a wide range of vehicle services, including car rental, leasing, car sales, maintenance, repairs and roadside service and general insurance. Shlomo Sixt represents the international Sixt Group, one of the world's largest vehicle rental companies. The Group has a combined fleet of 60,000 vehicles and includes several companies providing a large number of services in the automotive field. The Group includes Shlomo Sixt Car Rental, offering comprehensive rental services in Israel and around the world; New Kopel Sixt Holdings, a public company traded on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange which includes New Kopel Sixt Leasing, which holds 30% of the leasing market in Israel; New Kopel Sixt Vehicle Sales, the sales arm for all of the group's rental and operational leasing vehicles from first hand owners; and New Kopel CAL, which offers private leasing. In addition, the group includes Shlomo Sixt Road Services and Garages, the largest repair and bodywork service center in the country, and the second largest roadside services company in Israel. Recently, a new insurance company has been added to the Shlomo Sixt Group, New Kopel Insurance, which began operating in January 2008. The New Kopel Insurance will first begin with providing general insurance, and will grow considerably, aspiring to be one of the top five leading Israeli insurance companies in the next five years. For additional information: www.shlomo.co.il.



Mikal

An International defence group, established in 1998, focused in ground systems and products. The group is composed of 20 companies located in Israel, USA, Europe, India and Africa, organized in 3 divisions – Soltam, ITL Optronics & Saymar. Ranges of technolgis include electro-optics, laser, ordnance, protection, 3D, weapon systems and C²I.



The Central Bottling Company Ltd.



United States Embassy, Tel Aviv, Public Affairs Office



B. Yair Building Corporation Ltd.

B. Yair – Building Corporation Ltd, owned by the developers Yossi and Yair Biton, is one of Israel's leading and largest construction companies, and the largest in Jerusalem. The corporation was founded in 1988, and deals with initiating and constructing real estate projects, among them residential neighborhoods, housing units, rural construction, and commercial projects.

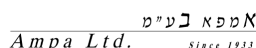
B. Yair is constructing its flagship project, the "MISHKENOT HA'UMA" complex, in the most luxurious area of Jerusalem - in close proximity to the city entrance, near the Knesset and the Supreme Court. This complex offers its inhabitants a combination of prestigious apartments, style and high quality of life.

In 2006, B.Yair started its international activity through its subsidiary Sidi Investments Kft, and the company is currently building thousands of residential, public and commercial buildings.



RAFAEL Advanced Defense Systems Ltd.

RAFAEL Advanced Defense Systems Ltd. develops and produces state-of-the-art armaments for the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) and Israel's defense system, while deriving its economic strength from international sales. The company provides innovative solutions on the technological cutting edge from underwater, naval, land and air through space systems.

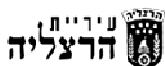


Ampa Group

Established in 1993, the Ampa Group today is active in a range of areas: **Financial services** – a wide variety of non-banking financing solutions for the business and household sectors. **Real estate** – investments in yielding real estate, initiating, developing, building and marketing of projects. **Industry** – manufacture of a variety of plastic packaging products for food and beverages, pharmaceutical and chemical industries in Israel and overseas. **Consumer products** – the development, production and marketing of consumer products in Israel and abroad, including air conditioners, GPS systems and bath accessories. **Household services** – provision of service and guarantee for consumer products and ancillary services.

Additional information may be found on our website: www.ampa.co.il

Cooperating Organizations



The Municipality of Herzliya



IDF Radio

93.9 FM Northern Galilee
96.6 FM Jerusalem and environs
100.7 FM Mitzpe Ramon
102.3 FM Haifa and Beer Sheba and environs
104 FM Central Israel and Eilat



Ifat Group

Ifat Group is Israel's leading information center. Operating since 1947 and a member of the International Association of Information and Media Companies (FIBEP), Ifat Group has a staff of over 280 skilled workers, employed in the following group companies: Ifat Media Information, Ifat Advertising Monitoring, Ifat Advanced Media Analysis, Ifat On Disc, Ifat Tenders, Dekel Ifat and Ifat Mivzakei Shilton.



The Israel Postal Company

The Israel Postal Company stands at the top of the Israeli marketplace, providing a variety of services to the public via its skilled and knowledgeable staff, using advanced technology to improve the services and work methods. The Postal Company has the largest deployment of service units throughout Israel. In addition to a full range of mail services the company offers postal banking services, messenger services, logistics and state of the art on-line services.

The Israel Postal Company provides universal service to the general population under the motto "From everyone, to everyone, everywhere, everyday, and at an equal price to all".



The Daniel Hotel

The Daniel Hotel is numbered among Israel's leading hotels in the corporate sector, with a wealth of experience in organizing conferences and seminars. The Daniel Hotel complex includes the Shizen Lifestyle Spa Resort, designed in the spirit of the Far East.

Tamars Hotel Group operates an additional hotel in the Dead Sea resort area: the Daniel Dead Sea. For additional information: www.tamreshotels.co.il



Federman & Sons (Holdings) Ltd.

The group is fully owned by Mr. Shali Federman (ex-"Elite" partner) and deals in agricultural inputs (fertilizers) and food products (roasted coffee). In the food business, the group controls "Landwer Coffee Ltd.", the oldest local coffee roaster. In recent years, the company upgraded its production facilities and deepened its involvement not only in the retail sector but also in Horeca (hotels, restaurants, cafes). The group manages and distributes high quality international brands such as "Illy" Espresso, "Rombouts" Filter coffee, and "Landwer" Espresso and Turkish coffee.



Israel Hotels Association

The Israel Hotel Association (IHA)

The Israel Hotel Association (IHA) is the umbrella organization for Israel's hotels and also represents them. It acts to promote, develop and expand tourism in Israel and to offer assistance in raising the hotels' levels of professionalism.



The Zionist Council in Israel

The Zionist Association of Israel is an Israeli Zionist movement and an arm of the World Zionist Congress in Israel. The mission of the Israel Zionist Association is to strengthen the Jewish-Zionist identity of Israel. The thrust of its activities deals with the leadership development and involvement of youth in social and Zionist action. The Zionist Association includes a National Youth Organization called 'Tzameret', which prepares youth for the army, offers Zionist education workshops, seminars, panel discussions and educational forums which take place in numerous schools throughout the country.