



#### The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy Institute for Policy and Strategy

# The Seventh Annual Herzliya Conference on the Balance of Israel's National Security

# January 21-24, 2007

# Sunday, Jan. 21, 2007

8:30 Morning Sessions

# Opening Session

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

Prof. Amnon Rubinstein, Israel Prize Laureate; President, IDC Herzliya

Yael German, Mayor of Herzliya

# ❖ Perspectives on the Balance of Israel's National Security

Chair: Michal Abadi-Boiangiu, Executive VP, Beinleumi

Prof. **Gabriel Ben-Dor**, Director, National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa

Dr. Ian Bremmer, President, Eurasia Group

Eli Hurvitz, Chairman, Teva Pharmaceutical Industries

**Shlomo Nehama**, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Bank Hapoalim

Dan Margalit, Ma'ariv

# **❖** National Policies for Promoting Excellence in Education

Chair: Dan Meridor, Head of Task Force

Prof. **Miriam Ben-Peretz**, Israel Prize Laureate; Department of Education, University of Haifa

Hezki Arieli, Director-General, The Society for Excellence through Education

Robert H. Asher, Chairman, The Society for Excellence through Education

Margaret Spellings, US Secretary of Education

Prof. Yuli Tamir, Minister of Education

Dr. Shimshon Shoshani, CEO, Taglit-birthright Israel

12:30 Lunch Session

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

14:00 Afternoon Sessions

# Geostrategic Shifts in the Global Arena

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

Torkel L. Patterson, President, Raytheon

Dr. Horst Teltschik, Former National Security Advisor to the German Chancellor

Stanley O. Roth, Vice President for Asia/International Relations, Boeing

#### **❖** Bolstering Israel's Defense Forces

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.), **Ilan Biran**, Board of Directors, Institute for Policy and Strategy

MK Tzachi Hanegbi, Chairman, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Col. (res.), **Gideon Hoshen**, President and CEO, Hoshen-Eliav Systems Engineering

Prof. Micha Popper, Department of Psychology, University of Haifa

Brig. Gen. Udi Dekel, Plans and Policy Directorate, IDF

MK Maj. Gen. (res.), **Matan Vilnai**, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

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

Dr. **Yacov Sheinin**, CEO, Economic Models; The Israeli Institute for Economic Planning

# ❖ Reviewing the American-Israeli Strategic Dialogue

Chair: Amb. Richard H. Jones, US Ambassador to Israel

Amb. Nicholas Burns, US Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs

Lt. Gen. (res.), **Shaul Mofaz**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Transportation

# **Strategic Implications of the Changing Global Nuclear Order**

Chair: Dr. Oded Brosh, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Dr. Ariel (Eli) Levite, Deputy Director-General (Policy), Israel Atomic Energy Commission

Amb. Thomas R. Pickering, Former US Under Secretary of State

Prof. Paul Bracken, Yale University

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

# **\*** Coping with a Nuclearizing Iran: Options for Prevention and Deterrence

Chair: Prof. Uzi Arad

Dr. Gary Samore, Vice President, Council on Foreign Relations

Dr. Robert Einhorn, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Richard Perle, American Enterprise Institute

Maj. Gen. (res.), Prof. **Isaac Ben-Israel**, Head, Security Studies Program, Tel Aviv University

MK Dr. **Yuval Steinitz**, Member and Former Chairman, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

20:30 Dinner Session

Chair: Dr. Eran Lerman, Director, Israel and Middle East Office, AJC

Gordon England, US Deputy Secretary of Defense

# Monday, Jan. 22, 2007

8:30 Morning Sessions

# \* Knowing Thy Enemy: Decision-Making of Regional Adversaries

Chair: Prof. **Alex Mintz**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Prof. Margaret Hermann, Syracuse University

Prof. **Martin Kramer**, Washington Institute for Near East Policy and the Shalem Center

Dr. **Shmuel Bar**, Director of Studies, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

# **❖** The Changing Paradigm of Israeli-Palestinian Relations in the Shadow of Iran and the War Against the Hizballah

Chair: Amb. Dr. Dore Gold, President, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

Lt. Gen. (res.), Moshe Ya'alon, Shalem Center; Former Chief of General Staff, IDF

Prof. Bernard Lewis, Princeton University

James Woolsey, Former Director, CIA

Amir Peretz, Minister of Defense

### ❖ Israeli Arabs and the Jewish State

Chair: Hagai Meirom, Treasurer, Jewish Agency for Israel

**Eti Livni**, Former MK

Dr. **Dan Schueftan**, Deputy Director, National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa

Aida Toma-Suleiman, Follow-Up Committee for the Arab Population of Israel

13:00 Lunch Session

Chair: Jack Rosen, Chairman, American Jewish Congress

Shimon Peres, Vice Premier; Former Prime Minister

#### 14:00 Afternoon Sessions

# **❖** Upgrading Israel's Strategic Partnerships with the Atlantic Community: The US, NATO and the EU

Chair: Aharon Abramovitch, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

General the Lord **Charles Guthrie** of Craigiebank, Former Chief of the UK Defense Staff

Craig Kennedy, President, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Dr. Marvin C. Feuer, Director of Policy and Government Affairs, AIPAC

Dr. Josef Joffe, Herausgeber/Publisher-Editor, Die Zeit

Maj. Gen. (res.), **David Ivry**, President, Boeing Israel; Former National Security Advisor

Bruce P. Jackson, President, Project on Transitional Democracies

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

❖ Prof. Alan M. Dershowitz, Harvard Law School- via satellite

# **European Foreign Policy under the German Presidency**

Chair: **Hermann Bünz**, Director, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Israel Office

**Ana Palacio**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain

Prof. **Gert Weisskirchen**, MdB, Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee

**Christian Leffler**, Director for Middle East and Southern Mediterranean, DG External Relations, European Commission

Dr. **Rolf Mützenich**, MdB, Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee Prof. **Karl Kaiser**, Harvard University; Former Head, German Council on Foreign Relations

Amb. Avi Primor, Director, Trilateral Center for European Studies, IDC Herzliya

Chair: Moshe Ronen, Chairman, Canada-Israel Committee

Peter MacKay, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Canada

# **US Middle East Policy Following the Midterm Elections**

Chair: Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Chairman of the Board, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Former Israeli Ambassador to the US

Dr. Robert Satloff, Executive Director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Amb. Dr. **Robert Hunter**, President of the Atlantic Treaty Association; RAND Corporation

Stephen E. Herbits, Secretary-General, World Jewish Congress

Amb. Dr. Richard N. Haass, President, Council on Foreign Relations

20:00 Dinner Session

# ❖ Foreign Policy Challenges - Views from Israel, Europe and America

Chair: **Poju Zabludowicz**, Chairman and CEO, Tamares Group

Tzipi Livni, Vice Prime Minister; Minister of Foreign Affairs; Minister of Justice

Alexandr Vondra, Deputy Prime Minister, Czech Republic

Chair: Shula Bahat, Associate Executive Director, American Jewish Committee

Senator **John Edwards**, Head, One America Committee; Candidate for the 2008 Democratic Presidential Nomination – via satellite

# Tuesday, Jan. 23, 2007

8:30 Morning Sessions

### **❖** Policy Implications of Regional Economic Trends

Dr. Edward L. Morse, Chief Energy Economist, Lehman Brothers

Sir Ronald Cohen, Chairman, Portland Capital & Portland Trust

MK Prof. Avishay Braverman, Knesset Finance Committee

# ❖ Israel's Financial Strength Following the Reform

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

Dr. Yossi Bachar, Director-General, Israel Tax Authority

Gabriela Ravid, Former CEO, Psagot Ofek Investment House

**Zvi Ziv**, CEO, Bank Hapoalim

Prof. Stanley Fischer, Governor, Bank of Israel

#### **\*** Energy Security and Alternative Energy Sources

Chair: Amir Makov, Chairman, Israeli Institute of Petroleum and Energy

Maj. Gen. (res.), **Oren Shachor**, Chairman and President, Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline Company

Yossi Maiman, President, Merhav Group

Dr. **Sass Somekh**, President, Novellus Systems

Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, Minister of National Infrastructure

# Challenges for Next Generation's Leaders

Chair: Dr. Shimshon Shoshani

Prof. Oz Almog, University of Haifa

Maj. Yifat Greenwald, IDF Behavioral Sciences Department

Brig. Gen. (res.), Yair Cohen, Intelligence Corps, IDF

Dr. Jeffrey R. Solomon, President, Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies

**Matthew Bronfman**, Chair, Budget and Finance Commission, World Jewish Congress

13:30 Lunch Session

Dr. Charles Murray, American Enterprise Institute

**15:00** Afternoon Sessions

Chair: Amb. **Ronald S. Lauder**, Founder, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Governor Mitt Romney, Former Governor of Massachusetts

❖ Newt Gingrich, Former US Speaker of the House of Representatives – via satellite

#### Jewish Identity and National Strength

Chair: David Gappell, Managing Director, Schusterman Foundation-Israel

Rabbi Prof. David Ellenson, President, Hebrew Union College

Prof. Aliza Shenhar, President, Emek Yezreel College

Dr. **Meir Buzaglo**, Department of Philosophy at the Hebrew University.

Rabbi Dr. **Michael Marmur**, Dean of the Jerusalem School, Hebrew Union College

### Strategies for Confronting Anti-Semitism

**Malcolm Hoenlein**, Executive Vice Chairman, The Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations

Dr. Stanley Greenberg, The Israel Project

Ze'ev Boim, Minister of Immigrant Absorption

# ❖ Israel and the Diaspora - The Global Partnership of the Jewish People with the State of Israel

Chair: **Zeev Bielski**, Chairman of the Executive, The Jewish Agency for Israel and the World Zionist Organization

Ofra Strauss, Chair, Strauss-Elite Group

Benny Landa, Founder, HP Indigo

Israel Maimon, Cabinet Secretary

20:30 Dinner Session

# **❖** Combating the De-legitimization of the Jewish State and Winning the Battle of Public Opinion

Chair: Dr. Fania Oz-Salzburger, Faculty of Law, University of Haifa

MP Prof. Irwin Cotler, Member of Parliament; Former Justice Minister, Canada

#### ❖ Senator **John McCain**, Senator from Arizona – via satellite

**Natan Sharansky**, Head, Institute for International and Middle Eastern Studies, Shalem Center

Dr. **Richard Landes**, Boston University; Director & Co-Founder, Center for Millennial Studies

# Wednesday, Jan. 24, 2007

8:30 Morning Sessions

# ❖ Initiatives for Diplomacy and Statecraft in the Arab-Israeli Context

Dr. Salam Fayyad, Former Minister of Finance, Palestinian Authority

David Makovsky, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

MK **Silvan Shalom**, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee **Gidi Grinstein**, Founder and President, Reut Institute

MK Prof. Shlomo Breznitz, Knesset Foreign Affairs & Defense Committee

**Akiva Tor**, Director, Department for Jewish Communities, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

# **❖** The Future of the Israeli Economy: Reducing Poverty through Economic Growth

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

Dr. Yacov Sheinin

Leah Achdut, Deputy Director General, National Insurance Institute

Prof. **Rafi Melnick**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Nehemia Strasler, Chief Economic Editor, Ha'aretz

12:00 Lunch Session

Avraham Hirschson, Minister of Finance

#### 13:00 Afternoon Sessions

### **❖** Land, Environment, and the Sustainable Future of Israel

Chair: Effi Stenzler, Chairman, Jewish National Fund

Dr. Izhak Schnell, Department of Geography, Tel Aviv University

Chen Altshuler, Director of Research, Altshuler Shaham Fund

MK Prof. **Menahem Ben-Sasson**, Chairman, Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee

#### ❖ A Shared Galilee: Jewish-Arab Post-War Development of the Galilee

Chair: Dr. **Ramzi Halabi**, Department of Labor Studies, Tel Aviv University; Board Member, The Abraham Fund Initiatives

Prof. **Ezra Sadan**, Managing Partner, Sadan-Lowenthal, Ltd.; Former Director-General, Ministry of Finance

Raanan Dinur, Director-General, Prime Minister's Office

#### **\Delta** Law, Governance and National Fortitude

Justice Micha Lindenstrauss, State Comptroller and Ombudsman

Isaac Herzog, Minister of Tourism

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

Hagai Golan, Editor, Globes

# **❖** Patriotism and National Resilience in Israel after the Second Lebanon War: The National Survey 2007

Chair: Prof. Amnon Rubinstein

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

Prof. **Aaron Ben-Ze'ev**, President, University of Haifa

**Ari Shavit**, Ha'aretz

Awarding of prize for photography on "Patriotism during the War in Lebanon"

# ❖ 19:30 Closing Session and the Prime Minister's "Herzliya Address"\*

Dinner

Chair: Prof. Amnon Rubinstein

Amb. **Ronald S. Lauder**, Founder, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

# Ehud Olmert, Prime Minister

Prof. **Israel (Robert) J. Aumann**, Nobel Prize Laureate; Center for the Study of Rationality, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

#### **Aharon Yadlin**

#### Geula Cohen

#### Prof. Uzi Arad

<sup>\*</sup>by special invitation only