

June 8-10, 2014



כנס הרצליה ה-14
ע"ש אדמונד בנימין דה רוטשילד
THE EDMOND BENJAMIN de ROTHSCHILD 2014
HERZLIYA CONFERENCE
IPS Institute for Policy and Strategy | Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy

Press Release

14th Herzliya Conference

Israeli Survey of Iran: Majority of Iranians Willing to Give Up Nuclear Program for Lifting of Sanctions

Survey by IPS – Institute of Policy & Strategy conducted ahead of Annual Herzliya Conference

A new survey, released in its entirety today, is painting a rarely seen picture of Iranian public opinion. The Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) at IDC Herzliya conducted an academic survey in Iran by phone throughout May and June.

Among the key findings:

54.3% of those polled are willing to give up a part or their entire nuclear program for the full lifting of sanctions

81% of those polled say the lifting of sanctions will make their lives easier

74.2% believe there should be diplomatic and trade relations with the United States

The United States also topped the list of Iran's greatest enemy with 39.4 percent with Israel second with 31.5 percent.

The random phone poll included eight questions on different topics with 529 respondents and a response rate of 27 percent. Professor Alex Mintz who wrote and oversaw the poll said "We initiated the survey to better understand what the Iranian people think about the sanctions and the country's nuclear program. We were definitely surprised by some of the results."

The poll itself was conducted in Farsi and controlled for gender and urban/rural areas.

Professor Mintz consulted with IDC Herzliya's Meir Javedanfar when putting together the poll's questions. Eli Mograbi assisted with the survey's implementation.

Attached is the summary of the poll, including an executive summary, the questions and subsequent results and key findings.

The full results of the poll come on the first day of the annual Herzliya Conference, the Middle East's premiere gathering of domestic and international policy makers.

Israeli Leaders Debate Peace At 2014 Herzliya Conference

President of the European Commission and Ambassador of the United States to Israel Underscore the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process on First Day of Herzliya Conference

The Middle East's leading security & policy gathering runs through June 10th at the IDC Herzliya Campus

“Peace between Israelis and Palestinians is not a magic wand that will solve all problems of the Middle East overnight. But it will eliminate a key fault line running through the region,” said **H.E. Jose Manuel Barroso**, President of the European Commission during his keynote address closing the first day of the 14th annual Herzliya Conference. “What History teaches us is that it [peace] belongs to those who continue it and move forward and not to those who hijack it, looking backwards. This place is full of History - some even say too much History - but the pages of the peace chapter of Middle East's History book are still waiting to be written.”

Barroso focused much of his address on the conflict and the need for the two sides to find a way to peace, while Europe would support any and all efforts. “We cannot create such an agreement – only you and the Palestinians can – but through understanding and support, through commitment and dialogue, we hope we can play our part in bringing it about.”

Touching briefly on some current issues facing Europe, he said, “As the outcome of last month's European elections has shown, these momentous changes [that Europe has faced in the last ten years] have also caused anxiety amongst some of our citizens. In a democracy, doing the right thing is not enough – you also have to convince citizens that it is right, that it is to their advantage.

“We have to continue to provide answers to legitimate questions and at the same time fight populism and extremism wherever necessary and uphold the values on which the European project is based. Uncertain economic and social times can never be an excuse for dehumanising political narratives.”

He also used the opportunity to strongly oppose all levels of anti-Semitism, “Europe, as the continent where the Holocaust took place, has a particular responsibility to lead the fight against any resurgence of anti-Semitism, whenever and wherever it occurs,” and recognized “the particularly difficult challenges ahead addressing the phenomenon of radicalised European jihadis returning to our streets from Syria.”

Offering the concluding remarks at the Strategy in the Face of Regional & Global Transformations panel, H.E. Daniel Shapiro, Ambassador of the United States to Israel commented that the current pause in the peace negotiations was a “period of pause and reflection to reassess and reflect on the benefits on peace and the costs of rejection.” Shapiro confirmed that both sides would still be held accountable to prior obligations and that the US would continue to evaluate the policies of the new (Palestinian) government.

Shapiro reiterated that Hamas is still listed as a terrorist organization and US will not support or have contact with Hamas, and that recent reports to the contrary are “nonsense”.

Shapiro ended his remarks by reaffirming President Obama's “strong alliance and commitment to Israel's security”.

IDF Chief of Staff at 2014 Herzliya Conference “There is dramatic instability in our region...we have no safety net”

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“There is dramatic instability in our region and we have to always keep on our toes. If we veer to either the right or left we will see things dropping. We don’t have a safety net. I’m sure there is one but we can’t see it yet,” said **Lt. Gen. Benny Gantz**, IDF Chief of Staff, speaking on the “Challenges to Israel’s National Security” at the opening session of the second day of the 14th Annual Herzliya Conference.

“We get up in the morning, drink our coffee and realize that everything could change in a moment,” he said, explaining that one hour we could be drinking coffee, the next we could be fighting a war.

Gantz gave an extensive review of the Middle East, explaining the possible dangers from Egypt, Sinai, Syria, Gaza and the West Bank. “We have seen various dramatic changes to this threat [facing Israel]. On one hand, the threat of armies has not disappeared but has, perhaps moderated ... But other threats are surfacing.” He mentioned the threat of surface to surface missiles, as well as that of even more precise missiles. He also stressed that even though the Syrians were currently busy with their own internal issues, they continued to accumulate their abilities and could “not be put on the back burner” regarding Israeli military considerations.

“I hope our strategic peace with Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia remains and is reinforced but if this stability crosses any lines, we could face a very different reality,” said Gantz. He specifically emphasized the threats facing Israel as a result of Hamas and Hezbollah, adding that Hezbollah boasts a cache of weapons that many other countries would be proud of.

Gantz also used the opportunity to discuss the threat of the growing jihadist movement, to which no number could be attributed as it is a “decentralized foe” with forces spreading throughout the world. This was “very unfamiliar” territory and it made it “difficult to plan [militarily] like we used to.” He noted that jihadists were spending time in Syria and then dispersing around the world. “The Russians should also be concerned.”

Moving slightly further afield, Gantz touched on the issue of Iran and stressed the importance of preventing Iran from reaching nuclear capabilities “as swiftly as possible” because once they started, it would be impossible to stop the flow.

Ending on a positive note, Gantz confirmed Israel’s determination to be prepared for all situations and eventualities. “We have to grapple with new threats as they pop up and prepare ourselves for the new areas ... Sometimes we have to use old maneuvering capabilities but we have also made shifts and changes and adapted ourselves to the new realities ...” He also mentioned dramatic change in Israel’s air force, which would be launched next month.

Following the speech, the Chairman of the Herzliya Conference, Prof. Alex Mintz, revealed a new survey conducted by the IPS - Institute of Policy & Strategy at IDC Herzliya.

The poll was conducted in Israel and reached at least 500 respondents over the age of 18 and included minorities and from all parts of the country. (Margin of error +/- 4.4%)

Should the Defense budget be raised, cut or not changed?

33.9% - Raised

32.8% - Not Changed

25.7% - Cut

7.6% - Don’t Know/Not Sure

Should Israel negotiate with a Palestinian Government made up of experts from the PLO and Hamas?

18.9% - Yes, without pre-conditions

32.1% - Yes, but only if they meet the criteria set by the Quartet

44.6% - No, we should not negotiate with such a government

4.4% - Don’t Know/Not Sure

Should our special relations with the United States continue or not continue to be a central factor in Israel's security?

65.8% - Should be a central factor

30.7% - Shouldn't be a central factor

3.5% - Don't Know/Not Sure

Should Israel aim for the forming of a regional alliance with moderate Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States?

19.6% - Yes, even if it means a unilateral withdrawal from the West Bank

56.4% - Yes, but not at all costs

20.6% - No, it shouldn't

3.4% - Don't Know/Not Sure

Israeli Minister of Strategic Affairs Steinitz at 2014 Herzliya Conference: "Don't Leave Iran on Threshold of Nuclear Capability"

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"An international agreement that leaves Iran on the threshold of nuclear capability is worse than no agreement at all", Strategic Affairs Minister Yuval Steinitz said today at the Herzliya Conference.

Steinitz said bilateral talks between Iran and the United States set to begin today have far-reaching consequences. "What is now at hand is not just the fate of Israel in the Middle East but the fate of the world," he said.

A successful agreement, he said, would allow Iran to access nuclear power for civil use but leave it incapable of enriching enough uranium to produce nuclear weapons.

An unsuccessful agreement, he said, would lead to a dire scenario over the next decade where Iran crosses the nuclear threshold, threatens Israel as well as targets in Western Europe and even the US, and leads to an arms race in the Arab world.

"When we speak to our allies, the Americans, we stress the main point is to prevent Iran from being on the threshold," he said.

If Iran is left on the threshold, he said, "Sooner or later Iran will reach nuclear capability, just like North Korea, which signed many agreements. Two or three years later, it broke through to nuclear weaponry. Today, we know it has 5-12 nuclear missiles."

A bad agreement would embolden other states to seek nuclear weapons without concern for sanctions. "They will say, if it's possible for Iran to be considered legitimate and on the threshold of nuclear capability, why not give the same to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Algeria, or Turkey?"

"When we look at the political negotiations, we are not against it, but we watch with concern," he said. "Always, we remind them that they need to ask themselves the same question – what will the Middle East look like in 10 years. The future is going to arrive, quicker than you think."

Following the speech, the Chairman of the Herzliya Conference, Prof. Alex Mintz, revealed a new survey conducted by the IPS - Institute of Policy & Strategy at IDC Herzliya. The poll was conducted in Israel and reached at least 500 respondents over the age of 18 and included minorities and from all parts of the country. (Margin of error +/- 4.4%)

The one questions dealing with Iran said:

If an agreement will be reached between Iran and the West on its nuclear capabilities Israel should:

22.3% - Support it

22.9% - Oppose it

30.8% - Depends on what it says

7.8% - Oppose it and attack Iran's nuclear facilities

16.2% - Don't know/Not Sure

Former Israeli Minister of Defense & Chief of Staff, Shaul Mofaz: “We need a joint political agenda with the United States.”

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On the issue of Iran, MK Lt. Gen. (res.) Shaul Mofaz, Former Minister of Defense & Chief of Staff ; Chairman, “Kadima” Party is clear, “we cannot stick to the doctrine of we are all alone, we have to do what is best for us. We need to have good relations with the West and United States.”

Mofaz was giving the concluding address of the session on “Facing Turbulent Global and Regional Arenas: reformulating Israel's National Security Doctrine” at the 14th annual Herzliya Conference. He said that the United States had negotiated with Iran for over a year, behind closed doors, on their nuclear situation, but Israel, to whom this is “Perhaps one of the most important issues to do with existential threats” was not privy to these meetings. He said that because of Israel's attitude of wanting to “attack Iran tomorrow” and standing alone, “we missed the opportunity to be in that closed room” and to be a part of the solution to this issue. “We need a joint political agenda with the United States.”

Regarding Israel's national security doctrine, Mofaz felt that it was something that needed updating every decade, “We need a refreshment of the mind not every year or every month but every decade.” Referring to the address of Lt. Gen. Benny Gantz, Chief of the IDF General Staff, who spoke at the conference earlier in the day, Mofaz said he felt the idea of a national multi-plan was “too big a challenge for the State of Israel, at this time ... our security doctrine needs to be based on a long-term view and budgeting.”

He stressed, “When the army has a horizon of one year [thinks only a year ahead], it wastes money because it doesn't know what is to be.” He said that it was a mistake for the army to talk of the uncertainties in order to increase its budget. “We need money to be earmarked for our capabilities ... a protected flower that exists every year and every year it needs to be budgeted for.”

Mofaz also mentioned that Israel's defense community needed to work on its deterrence capabilities. “When did Khaled Mashal ever dream of reaching the Gaza strip? ... If our deterrence were so good, how did we enable him to reach the Gaza strip with such trumpets?”

At the 2014 Herzliya Conference - Experts Debate Arab Peace Initiative: Best Bet for Peace?

The Middle East's leading security & policy gathering runs through June 10th at the IDC Herzliya Campus

A diverse group of political figures representing the right and left, including Yuval Rabin, co-author of the Israeli Peace Initiative and Dani Dayan, former head of the Yesha Council, debated the merits of the Arab Peace Initiative at a round-table discussion at the Herzliya Conference on Monday.

The Arab Peace Initiative was originally proposed in 2002 by the Saudi government. It offered Israel full peace with the Arab world in exchange for a withdrawal to the 1967 border and the return of Palestinian refugees. Since then, panelists said, the plan has been modified repeatedly, offering more flexibility on the Arab side.

"The Arab Peace Initiative can give Israel what it needs all along - peace with the Arab world, the regional envelope, and international support," said Ashraf al Ajrami, former PA Minister for Prisoner Affairs. "It's the only plan that can give Israel the ability to be integrated in the region."

However, he added, Israeli leaders have repeatedly rejected the plan as unrealistic or irresponsible.

Rabin said he launched his own plan because he felt that Israel lost the initiative by failing to respond properly to the Arab peace plan. He added that the issues of peace with the Arab world will have to be addressed sooner or later.

"There is no stable state," he said. "It's an illusion to rely on the relative calm to disregard the burning issues we need to deal with."

Dayan said he believed a negotiated settlement with the Palestinians was no longer possible. "The expectation that Israel will accept in a governmental decision returning to the 1967 lines and the 'right of return'...no responsible Israeli leader will accept that," he said. "[A two-state solution] is the prelude another regional conflict."

Shalom Turgeman, who served as an advisor to Prime Ministers Ariel Sharon and Ehud Olmert disputed that the demands of the Arab plan were unrealistic. The problem with the plan, he said, was not its content but its timing.

"The Arab Peace Initiative is about two issues – borders, which are negotiable, and refugees, which are negotiable," he said. "Israel wasn't ready in 2002, but was ready in 2007, and the Arabs hesitated. Now, the Arabs are ready, and Israel is not."

Omer Bar-Lev, and MK with the Labor party, said he was not deterred by the fact that the plan may be unrealistic. "The whole Zionist movement was illogical and irrelevant," he said. "It was based on leadership, will, spirit, and courage."

Those qualities, he said, were echoed in comments from Yair Lapid and Tzipi Livni at a Herzliya Conference session the previous evening.

Danny Rothschild, former chairman of the Herzliya Conference, said the next development he'd like to see in the plan is to bring Arab leaders into the process, rather than just offering normal relations at the very end.

"It's hard to explain to the man in the street what he's getting," Rothschild said. "That way, we can show that there is something in it for him."

Former Putin Advisor at 2014 Herzliya Conference: The Taking Over of Crimea is Legal

The Middle East's leading security & policy gathering wraps up on June 10th at the IDC Herzliya Campus

"The Cold War was declared over with the collapse of the Iron Curtain," Russia academic **Sergey Karaganov** a former advisor to Russian President Putin said Tuesday at the Herzliya Conference. "But the West has continued it by a different means, by expanding its sphere of influence and control of NATO."

Karaganov said called the period after the collapse of the Iron Curtain the "second run of the Versailles policy" – referring to the post-WWI policy against the defeated Germany – "It [Germany] was run to the corner and became the source of the Second World War in a generation. The same thing has been conducted against my country."

"To heal this syndrome, we went to arms...against Chechnya, and again when Georgia attacked and killed our peacekeepers. But the problem was that the Cold War was not over and an open wound was left in the heart of Europe and it became infectious. Then there was the Ukrainian infection."

He said the open wound would remain until the Cold War against Russia was finished.

Karaganov also took issue with suggestions that Russia's annexation of Crimea was illegal. "We have drawn a red line by taking over Crimea. Of course, one could say it is against the law, we can say it is within the limits of law," he said.

"Living in Israel, which took over several lands, or the history of Turkey taking over Cypress, or even worse, NATO attacking Yugoslavia, or the US in Libya or Iraq, so it is worthless to talk in terms of law. We have to talk in terms of interests and the political facts of life."

Karaganov said he understands the bitterness of the West towards Russia on this issue. "I have sympathy for the feelings of failures and losses which the US has inflicted on itself during the last decade, especially after the fantastic victory in the Cold War."

He said he understands the feeling because Russians "are used to being winners" and did not take to losing the Cold War easily. "And of course we fought back."

The 2014 Herzliya Simulation Game: What happens the day after a deal with Iran?

Summary of the Herzliya Conference's Unique Roundtable Event June 10th, 2014

Following the opening address by MK Lt. Gen. (res.) Moshe (Bogie) Ya'alon, Minister of Defense on the third and final day of the 14th annual Herzliya Conference, Iranian experts sat down to discuss and simulate the regional and global implications that the world could be facing the day following an agreement with Iran over its nuclear program.

The simulation game was divided into two parts, first with participants answering questions related to Iranian military activity in Syria, namely the movement of missiles there; while the second dealt with the potential of Iran inciting a situation in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia designed to add to its regional power and take control of oil reserves in those areas.

Representative countries in the simulation game included Israel, the United States, China, Saudi Arabia and the GCC, Russia and Iran. A control group assisted in tying the various elements under discussion together.

The overwhelming idea pervading the session was the need for proper measurement channels to ensure that Iran is kept in check in the event of an agreement regarding its nuclear program. As noted by **Dr. Shaul**

Shay, Director of Studies, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya, “what are the red lines regarding Iranian activities in Syria?” What is unacceptable for Israel or the United States?” In short, “it really matters what the agreement says”, said Dr. **Anthony H. Cordesman**, Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), who sat in the control group.

The Honorable **James B. Steinberg**, Former U.S. Deputy Secretary of State and Dr. **Gary Samore**, Former White House Coordinator for Arms Control and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), representatives from the United States, explained that the nuclear problem has been a problem in its own right, but it is symptomatic of a bigger problem and that it should be made clear that a deal regarding the nuclear program “is not a shield” against the U.S. or other powers taking the necessary steps if Iran chooses to take other undesirable steps – even if they do not defy the principles of the nuclear agreement. “Just because the nuclear file is on track does not mean we are indifferent to Iran trying to dominate the region.” The United States would need to make it absolutely clear that Iran is to be held accountable for all hostile threats that it

communicates, even in other countries. “Iran has not been given a hand to act badly in other respects, even if it lives up to terms of the agreement.”

According to the Saudi point of view, imparted by Dr. **Jon B. Alterman**, Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy and Director of the Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), in the event of Iran attempting to militarize Syria, the Saudis do not view the problem with Iran as a nuclear issue anyway. “If someone has a gun to your head, what does it matter if they put a cannon to your back?” Regarding possible instigation in Bahrain, Alterman said that Bahrain is perceived to be a domestic issue by Saudi Arabia and that in the event of any provocation; they would be to activate the US and all its antennae.

Prof. **Wang Suolao**, Director, Center for Middle East Studies, School of International Studies, Peking University, expressed his view that China would welcome a comprehensive deal between Iran and the P5+1.

From the Russian perspective, Prof. **Sergey A. Karaganov**, Honorary Chairman, Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia Honorary Chairman, Presidium of the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy of Russia, noted that potential assertive or aggressive Iranian behavior in the Levant would be dealt with from the understanding that the actions of the Iranians are not being directed at Russia. “A nuclear Iran is not that big a danger for Russia ... but it is a danger for regional peace.” It was added that much of Russia’s response would be dependent on its relationship with the US at the time. Dr. **Jennifer Shkabatur** added that Russia would probably also welcome the attempt of a world power to help and solve the conflict in Syria and as such, would probably join the efforts.

Karaganov also hinted at the need for a new peace process in and for the Middle East as “the security void there is deepening.” He said that the problem wasn’t the Iranians but rather that “the Middle Eastern area is in a shambles.” He added that NATO was a problem-creating institution and that “it would be better for us if NATO shrinks back to its original purpose.” He agreed that a multi-national institution in the European sense of the word could not be created in the Middle East but said that something in that sense was needed.

Meir Javedanfar, IDC Herzliya, representing Iran, said that he felt that it would be very provocative for Iran to send missiles to Syria as it would pit the Saudis against Iran and generally create a lot of tension within Iranian politics. In addition, with the number of missiles in Syria which are reported to have been attacked and destroyed by foreign countries, sending missiles to Syria would be risking them being attacked.

Prof. **Alireza Nader**, Senior International Policy Analyst, RAND Corporation, also on behalf of Iran, added that such action would leave Iran’s foreign policy “dead in the water.” Javedanfar added, “It’s a very sensitive time for Iran to take such a step.” Similarly, on the topic of a hypothetical instigation in Bahrain, Nader said that foreign investment was a goal of the current Iranian government and that instigation was in complete opposition to those goals.

Speaking for the European Union and NATO, **Rafael L. Bardaji**, Former Spanish National Security Advisor to Prime Minister Aznar, noted that Europe’s first concern was its own safety and any possibility of Israeli action

against Iran, even against Iranian interests in Syria, would negatively impact on Europe. Discussing how to keep Iran from becoming emboldened, he stated that Europe had always been led by the United States from the “front seat” and “we don’t know how to be led from behind.”

Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Former Ambassador of Israel to the US said that after any Iranian nuclear agreement, Israel’s role would be as the “watch dog of the watch dog,” explaining that what looks less dangerous to those in America, looks far more dangerous to us in Israel.

The Herzliya Conference is the flagship of the Institute of Policy and Strategy (IPS) at the Lauder School of Government of IDC Herzliya. The Herzliya Conference addresses Israel’s national agenda by encouraging public debate and influencing the country’s public policy planning. This is achieved through convening Israeli and international elite policy makers, conducting cutting edge research, fostering a global network of contacts in a public forum by attracting the best and the brightest to take part in the conference and its discussions.

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