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# The Balance of Israel's National Security

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The Seventh Annual Conference

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**CONFERENCE CONCLUSIONS**

**2007**

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# Preface

The 7<sup>th</sup> Herzliya Conference on the Balance of Israel's National Security was held during January 21-24, 2007. The conference examined the array of dangers, threats and difficulties Israel has faced since early 2006, identified a broad web of problems in all of the fundamental strata upon which national security is based, and proposed strategies for action. The impression arising from the conference was that Israel is embroiled in a profound and multifaceted strategic crisis, with its systems in collapse. Several speakers noted the depth of the breakdown in leadership and government, and serious defects in the functioning of basic systems such as national decision-making, the army, law enforcement and the educational system. Top figures in Israeli public life, leaders of the Jewish world and renowned experts sounded sharp warning calls.

The contribution of the conference was, first and foremost, to display a panoramic view that facilitated recognition of the problems and a realization of how widely and deeply they have spread. Secondly, it contributed by offering strategies for dealing with these problems. Concurrently, the conference presented an encouraging assessment of the national mood and the relative strength of other systems, including the economic and financial ones. The gathering was marked by expressions of optimism and confidence in the ability of the society and the state to successfully address the defects at home and the threats from abroad.

The conference called for the reinforcement and enhancement of tools for confronting the threats and, in this context, ways to renew and strengthen the army were suggested. A proposal for a major reform that would reorganize and enhance the education system also figured prominently at the conference.

The conference conducted a penetrating discussion regarding the strategy required vis-à-vis Iran. All, including those who think it is impossible to deter Iran, agreed that the principal effort must be aimed at prevention, and that the use of economic and political leverage could perhaps enable reaching an arrangement that would slow down the Iranian nuclear project. The question of deterrence as a practical alternative vis-à-vis the current Iranian regime – or even if this regime were to change – remains open to debate. Some believe there is no way to avoid a military confrontation against the threat and that policy and the buildup of forces should be adapted to this alternative in any case.

This document presents for your consideration the main findings, conclusions and policy recommendations proposed at the conference. Written by Dr. Israel Elad-Altman and Dr. Amos Carmel (with the help of Efrat Peleg), the document reflects the essence of the conference's deliberations, but does not presume to include everything that was discussed; therefore, it is not binding on the conference participants. I hope you will find it of interest.

Professor **Uzi Arad**  
Conference Chairman  
Herzliya, May 2007

## Key Points

There is a feeling that governance in Israel is in profound strategic crisis, expressed in a lack of leadership and malfunctioning of government systems, which generates considerable insecurity and uncertainty. The leadership **lacks vision**, and does not define objectives or chart a strategic path. At the same time, the effectiveness of government systems is declining and the government has difficulty ruling, planning and implementing. This is due to **a lack of governmental stability, a dearth of tools for planning and decision-making, and the weakening of the system of balances between the branches of government**. One proposal is to change the system of government in order to ensure stability, to build a proper system of decision-making on the national level, and to achieve the **correct balance between criticism and a fight against corruption, on one hand, and the ability of the government to function, on the other hand**: No one disputes the importance of the fight for integrity, of a tireless battle against corruption, of the effective activity of the state's oversight systems and of media vigilance. Nonetheless, these things must be conducted in a measured way because excessive vigilance in this battle is liable to create alienation toward the elected democratic institutions, undermine the work of elected officials and loyal public servants, and lead to other phenomena that ultimately harm national strength.

**The Second Lebanon war did not, in fact, significantly influence** the main elements of national and social strength: The Jewish public displays high levels of **faith in the justness of the path**; it is satisfied with the society's resilience; and it clearly distinguishes between that resilience and the fact that the national leadership and defense systems did not live up to expectations. The public's level of patriotism did not weaken compared to the previous year,

*The social strength and patriotism of the Jewish public did not weaken due to the Second Lebanon war*

and its emotional attachment to the state even strengthened to a certain extent.

Concurrently, erosion clearly was evident in the confidence and appreciation the citizenry feels toward the government and Knesset, and a more moderate decline was found in the public's appraisal of the defense establishment. The Jewish public in Israel draws a clear line between **the strength and capability of the society and the individuals within it**, on one hand, and the failures of the political leadership, on the other.

**At the same time, the financial and economic strength** of Israel is **good**: Despite the heavy economic price of the war, 2006 ended as a year of growth (a 5% increase in GDP), with a balanced 2007 state budget that was approved on time, an increase in foreign investments and a decline in unemployment. But a conspicuous contrast exists between the economic situation and the state of governmental systems, raising the question of whether the economy will manage to maintain its strength over time without a significant improvement in governance.

*The financial and economic strength of Israel is good, despite the war's price*

The decline in public confidence in the systems of government, including the national security systems, is occurring precisely when Israel faces a series of strategic and political challenges that demand the best of leadership, statesmanship and professionalism. First and foremost, these include:

*Israel is facing challenges that demand the best of leadership, statesmanship and professionalism*

- The growing strength of Iran, in its various components.
- The distancing of the chance of reaching an accord with the Palestinians, while Hamas grows stronger.
- The widening of the gap between Arabs and Jews in Israel (also against the background of the war), and the growing trend among the Arab Israeli leadership to reject the legitimacy of the Jewish national enterprise.

- The increasing erosion in Israel's international standing and in the recognition of its right to exist.

For the purpose of discussing these challenges and the possible responses to them, it is fitting to note the relevant global contexts:

- The global leadership of the **United States continues to weaken**, and its interest in and ability to bear the burden of repairing the world is diminishing. Its ability to collaborate with Europe also continues to ebb. At the same time, **China and India** are getting stronger. Within five years, China is liable to close the technological and military gap with – and perhaps even to surpass – the U.S.
- As America's global power wanes, the world increasingly is endangered by **rogue states** that obtain weapons of mass destruction, **by non-state groups** like Hezbollah that possess advanced military capabilities, and by the entry of weapons of mass destruction into the global confrontation between radical Islam and the West. At the base of this confrontation is not only “Muslim rage,” but also an ideological aspiration to **restore the Middle East** to Islam and to free the Arabs from the hands of the U.S. and Israel. Radical Islam does not seek to reach accords with its enemies, but rather **to defeat them**.
- The nuclear test by **North Korea** illustrates the **weakening of the global nuclear order**. This move did not harm North Korea's situation; today, it is less vulnerable to the use of force against it. North Korea's nuclear capability will provide it with fissionable material that it is liable to export, as it has exported its other resources. Some of the speakers believe that the erosion of deterrence in the nuclear area **must be addressed, perhaps even with force**.

Apparently, Iran's nuclear program is encountering specific technical difficulties, despite the fact that Tehran claims it is capable of enriching uranium. But it is reasonable to assume that within two to three years it will possess the technologies for manufacturing a nuclear weapon.

The leaders of the first generation of the Iranian revolution, whose political power is founded upon an alliance between the religious power of Qom and the economic power of the bazaar, grow weaker. For their part, the leaders of the revolution's **second generation** are active in the top echelons of the Iranian regime. Under the leadership of President Ahmadinejad, these veterans of the war with Iraq and leaders of the Revolutionary Guards are trying to take over the regime's center of gravity from Supreme Leader Khamenei and the forces supporting him. While members of the first generation regard the **regime's survivability** as the top priority, the president's men are characterized by a messianic outlook and a tendency toward brinkmanship. According to some of the speakers, Ahmadinejad sees himself as a representative of the hidden imam and aspires to expedite the Day of Judgment, when Islam will rule the earth. Thus, when speaking of him and those who share his beliefs, the question arises of whether it is possible to deter them.

The argument is made, therefore, that Iran – whose regime defines itself by its basic hostility toward the U.S. and Israel – **must not be allowed to acquire nuclear weapons**, and that the argument suggesting that it would be possible to live with a nuclear Iran should be rejected. There is some doubt whether Iran, as a nuclear state, would act responsibly; the principles of **deterrence**, which operated on the Soviet Union, apparently **operate in a different way** in the case of a ruling elite that harbors a messianic worldview.



The **alternatives** available to the West for preventing the completion of Iran's nuclearization include:

- **Engagement: Negotiation** and inclusiveness toward Iran ("carrots") that would make its non-nuclearization more worthwhile, from its perspective, than the continued efforts to equip itself with nuclear weapons. Some believe that this alternative is not appropriate now, while others call for negotiation because even if it does not lead to an accord, it would clarify Iran's intentions and positions.
- **Intensification of pressure** on Iran in order to generate cracks in its leadership and cause it to reassess its balance of profit and loss. This appears to be the more practical alternative today, and the U.S. is now working to promote it.
- **Military attacks** against nuclear installations and perhaps also against key sites of the regime. This option could be implemented in the near term, and it would almost certainly disrupt the Iranian nuclear project. But it would entail Iranian retaliatory moves in the Gulf, against Israel and throughout the world, and it is not clear whether the length of the resulting delay in the project's completion would justify the price. This alternative does not need to be the first one, but it should not be removed from consideration.
- **Regime change:** Some believe this is a practical option in light of the opposition to Ahmadinejad among both the top echelon and the general public. Others believe that the regime has a strong hold and that it is not possible to generate a change in the regime from the outside.

**Israel's position** is that a diplomatic-political solution of the Iranian issue is still the preferred path, and that Israel itself **is not spearheading** the battle against the Iranian nuclear project – a fight that should be led by the world's powerful countries. Nonetheless, the restraint and responsibility Israel is displaying

*The dilemma posed by Iran: It is necessary and possible to act to prevent its nuclearization, even at the price of military and terrorist responses on its part. If this does not succeed, the question arises of whether it will be possible to successfully cope by deterrence with an Iran armed with a nuclear military capability*

today do not mean that it would not act determinedly to defend its vital interests if necessary.

On the other hand, some believe that Israel, together with world Jewry, should lead a campaign to forge an **international front** against the Iranian threat. This front would work toward Iran's political isolation and impose an economic siege on it, including divestment by pension funds, financial institutions and individual investors from companies doing business with Iran.

*Israel and world Jewry should work to politically isolate Iran and impose economic sanctions against it*

Regarding the **Palestinian issue**, the government of Israel is still adhering to the solution of two states for two peoples – the State of Israel as the home of the Jewish people, and the Palestinian state as the complete and sole solution for the problem of the Palestinian refugees. But this solution cannot be implemented via the "road map" because the Palestinians are incapable of eliminating terror and are not interested in a state with temporary borders. Thus, a three-stage plan was proposed that moves the task of eliminating terror to the second stage, and focuses the first stage on building economic and security achievements that would motivate the Palestinians to take action to eliminate terror.

*It is doubtful whether the solution of two states for two peoples is still possible*

According to several approaches, achieving a two-state agreement through bilateral negotiations is not a realistic goal:

- Some believe that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is an inseparable part of the clash of civilizations and the **conflict between radical Islam and the West**; that it cannot be resolved without winning the wider battle against radical Islam; and that Hamas cannot be defeated without defeating Iran. Thus, it is illogical to seek bilateral solutions, and unilateral withdrawals only play into the hands of radical Islam.
- Some argue that while there is no Palestinian leadership capable of implementing the vision of two states, the

*Some see the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as part of the overall confrontation between radical Islam and the West*

Palestinian forces that do not want two states are strengthening. These forces seek **a single Palestinian Arab-Islamic state and do not even want an end to the Israeli occupation** because its continuation, in their assessment, will lead to the collapse of Israel. To end its control over the Palestinian population, Israel should ensure that the Palestinian Authority will be an "address" (that is, an entity capable of making decisions and carrying them out), leading to an **upgrading of the PA's status** toward eventual statehood. Hence, **if a Palestinian national unity government is formed**, Israel should enable it to operate and obligate it to make a series of tough decisions, which will force it to choose between the ideology of rejecting Israel and the need to serve its citizens. A series of agreements on the ground would upgrade the PA's standing and independence.

*An option for ending Israel's control of the Palestinian population: make the PA an "address" and upgrade its status toward statehood*

- The Arab-Israeli leadership is now propounding an approach that essentially **rejects the legitimacy** of the Jewish people's national enterprise, and demands the elimination of the Jewish character of Israel and the establishment of a "consensual democracy," which means the creation of **a binational state**.
- Some believe that in the current situation, the only possible solution is the establishment of **an international trusteeship** in the territories, which would be managed and funded by the European Union, because the U.S. would not be interested in dealing with this.

Indeed, the "peace process" receives little attention from **the American administration**, which is focusing on Iraq, and this will continue to be the case for the next two years. The U.S. wields great influence, but it is losing its dominance in the region. Moreover, one cannot anticipate its success and victory in **Iraq**, and the administration's policy there during the next two years will focus more on cutting its losses than notching up achievements. **Israel** is still not a subject of political dispute in the

U.S., but it should prepare for the possibility of becoming a focus of debate prior to the 2008 elections. In fact, a debate about the wisdom of U.S.'s pro-Israel orientation has recently begun.

**Israel's network of relations with international strategic partners**, led by the U.S. and Europe, is a central component of its national strength and security. There are signs of negative trends and processes that are liable to weaken these relations and, consequently, the strength of Israel. Alongside the rise of anti-Semitism in the West, an **anti-Israel** trend is growing– that is, the denial of Israel's right to exist. The enlightened world is even more prepared today for a world without Israel than it was prepared in 1938 for a world without Jews. Statements like "Israel is an experiment that has failed and should disappear" and "the world would be better off without it" have become legitimate.

**In the U.S.**, support for Israel is weakening among the general public and the non-evangelical elite, and the right of Jews to support Israel is being increasingly challenged. The trend of delegitimizing Israel is moving from the extreme fringes of the American political community to its center, as is the contention that the Jewish lobby constitutes a threat to the U.S. Increasingly, the argument is made that the Jewish lobby is pushing the U.S. toward a foreign policy that is not in its interest – for example, toward a war against Iran. Some believe that **Israel should prepare for the loss of American political and economic assistance** in the coming years.

Therefore, Israel should intensify its efforts to **upgrade its strategic relations** with the West – the U.S., the European Union and NATO. This upgrading would serve as a counterweight to the efforts to isolate Israel and to make the denial of its existence an acceptable position in the West. Israel, however, is having difficulty deciding on a significant upgrading of its relations with

*The trend of delegitimizing Israel and the Jewish lobby is moving from the fringes of American society to its center*

*Upgrading Israel's relations with strategic partners in the West is a response to the campaign of delegitimization of Israel and to the challenge from radicals*

NATO and is wary of building a broad strategic partnership with the U.S. and Europe. Some believe that this type of partnership would restrict Israel's freedom of strategic action. But others believe that Israel should work to promote its relations with NATO as a building block in **developing multilateral relations** with the Atlantic community, and even aspire to membership in the organization, assuming that NATO will implement the political and military transformation that it has set as a goal for itself.

The onslaught of anti-Semitism mentioned above is befalling the **Jews of the West** at a time when they are mired in a deep **crisis**. Salient expressions of this crisis include:

- The demographic dwindling of the Jewish people.
- The decline in the connection to Jewish culture and a Jewish orientation.
- The weakening of the connection between Israel and the Diaspora and the feeling of affiliation toward the Jewish people, especially among the young generation.
- The weakness of the leadership and a lack of a vision and plan for addressing the crisis.
- The continuing decline in *aliyah* [Jewish immigration] to Israel.

Therefore, an effort is needed to "upgrade" the Jewish people in the Diaspora: strengthening its self-awareness and its connection with Jewish culture, increasing its solidarity and reinforcing its connections with Israel. An important step in this direction is the establishment of the World Jewish Forum, a meeting of Jewish leaders from Israel and the Diaspora to develop comprehensive and joint strategies for confronting the crisis. An effort should also be made to bring Israeli expatriates back to Israel, especially from the U.S., and to bring larger numbers of Jewish youth to Israel via projects like Taglit-birthright israel.

*Jewish identity  
in the Diaspora  
and its  
connection with  
Israel should be  
strengthened*

Another response to the strategic challenges is to **renew and strengthen the IDF**, including bolstering **intelligence** and its availability at all levels, fostering the **qualitative advantage** in advanced technology, and increasing the training of all combat forces, especially the reserve corps, while developing fighting capabilities in diverse settings. At the heart of the required change is a renewal of the **fabric of values**, including a sense of partnership, truthfulness and mutual trust.

The **financial strength** that Israel now enjoys is dependent on the consistent management of a proper and clear economic policy, and on maintaining the human, technological, regulatory and legal infrastructure that encourages business development. Clear expressions of this are found in fiscal discipline (which has contributed to a significant reduction of Israeli debt), in lower taxes, in a reduction of absolute poverty (which has been accompanied, however, by a moderate rise in relative poverty), in a high level of competition, in encouraging people to work, in privatizations and in reforms. To maintain and even augment this strength, it is necessary, among other things, to continue the momentum of growth and **to create sustainable growth**, to institute negative income tax, to increase incentives for entering the workplace, to raise the level of bank competition, and to develop the real estate market and release it from bureaucratic tethers.

*Financial strength depends on continuing a correct economic policy, while also dealing with the high rate of relative poverty*

To improve Israel's competitiveness and ensure its continued integration in the global economy in light of the threats to its growth engines, the regulatory and legislative environment, and the taxation system must be improved, so they are not inferior to those in other countries. After all, capital can depart from Israel just as fast as it enters.

Alongside Israel's financial vigor, growth is accompanied by high **relative poverty**: a weighted average of 20.6% (including a third of all children) in comparison to 13.5% in OECD countries. Among Arabs and ultra-Orthodox Jews, more than 50% of the households are poor, and 15-16% of the general working-age population is not part of the labor force.

Among the proposed solutions: increasing investment in education; reducing the number of foreign workers; expanding the social security net; measuring poverty by overall income (not only financial income); adopting a differential approach to the problem of poverty; and broadening the Wisconsin Plan.

The crisis in the Israeli **education system** continues. Its measurable achievements are in **significant decline** and the standing of Israeli pupils in international exams continues to deteriorate. Most parents, teachers and principals believe that **the education system responds only to the needs of average students** and does not suitably address outstanding or struggling students; they perceive the achievements of the general student population as low to very low, think that the system has failed in providing the tools and skills needed in the modern world, and see an urgent need for fostering outstanding students.

Not only must the education budget be increased, but education should be placed at the top of national priorities. The **aspiration for excellence** should be fostered and implemented via reforms, starting with early childhood education and continuing to higher international standards for academic institutions. This should be done from an egalitarian approach leading to **equality of opportunity** (including eliminating the connection between the students' socioeconomic status and the options available to them), and **not an aspiration toward equalization** (which inevitably means imposing mediocrity).

*Education should be placed at the top of national priorities; the aspiration for excellence should be fostered along the entire education track*

# Global Strategic Trends

## General characteristics

The common assessment is that four years after the **United States** conquered Iraq, its global leadership continues to weaken, as do its interest in and ability to bear the burden of repairing the world. Some observers expect a "conservative isolationism" to replace the "new conservatism" in the 2008 elections. The erosion in the ability of **Europe and the U.S.** to collaborate, which has occurred mainly as a result of the dispute on Iraq, continues: Many Europeans express a lack of confidence in the American political elite and are not interested in collaboration with the U.S.; and the number of European nations that look positively upon U.S. dominance in managing the world's affairs has declined dramatically.

*The weakening of America's global leadership and the erosion of its collaboration with Europe weaken the West's ability to confront the growing threats to the world order*

Some describe the U.S. and Europe as a "coalition of the waiting" – waiting for the end of the Bush administration's term, after which it will be possible to rebuild confidence and cooperation. But this position is mistaken because any new administration, whether Republican or Democratic, will not range far from the current administration's outlook on issues such as the use of force in international relations, which the Europeans oppose in principle. Still, Germany, the current president of the European Union, as well as other countries, attribute great importance to strengthening the cooperation between the U.S. and the EU. A possible means for helping to strengthen this cooperation would be an Atlantic economic pact or a free-trade agreement between the U.S. and the EU.

Senior officials in the U.S. administration actually emphasize America's **achievements** in the international arena, including the global partnership it has forged with India, progress in its relations with China, increasing involvement in Africa, and the fact that some Latin American states, like Brazil and Chile, are



moving toward democratic regimes that support a market economy. These senior officials regard the strategic partnership between the U.S. and Europe as stronger today than ever and note that increased pressure by the U.S. has made Iran switch from the offensive to the defensive.

In any case, it seems that the limits of U.S. power and the gaps that remain between the U.S. and Europe weaken the West's ability to confront the growing dangers to the world order posed by **rogue states** attaining weapons of mass destruction and by **non-state groups** that possess advanced military capabilities, like Hezbollah. Similarly, the West is weakened in various aspects of its global confrontation with extremist Islam. In the framework of this confrontation, the radical Sunni-Wahabi forces, under the leadership of Al-Qaeda, and the Shiite forces, under the leadership of Iran, are seeking to defeat the Christian West, under the U.S.'s leadership. This is happening as **Iran is undergoing a new revolutionary wave**, the second since 1978. One characteristic of this wave is a messianic worldview that exacerbates the threat posed by Iranian unconventional weapons.

At the root of the confrontation between **radical Islam** and the West is not only Muslim rage, but also an **ideological vision** of liberating the Middle East from the hands of the U.S. and Israel and restoring it to the hands of Islam and the Arabs. Radical Islam does not aspire to reach agreements with its enemies, but rather **to vanquish them**. Therefore, it is only an illusion to assume that Hezbollah will surrender if Israel cedes the Shaba Farms, or that Iran will abandon its nuclear program under the pressure of international sanctions, or that Hamas will recognize Israel if Israel recognizes it. The brutal battle now being waged between Sunnis and Shiites perhaps makes it easier for the West in that

*Radical Islam does not aspire to reach accords with the West, but to defeat it*

radical Islam is not forming a single front. But this fight also constitutes a warning for the West: If the Muslims are capable of inflicting such harm upon each other every day in Iraq, for example, just think what they will do to those they perceive as enemies of Islam.

This global confrontation has links to the **world energy market**:

- Oil, a very central element in globalized societies, is the biggest exception to the rules of the global economic order because it also serves as an **instrument of foreign policy**, and everything connected to it is a zero-sum game. The unstable Middle East holds **63% of the world's known oil reserves**.
- **Petrodollars** serve to support **terrorist and radical** groups, and help Iran to support Shiite groups in the region and Saudi Arabia to disseminate its version of Islam.
- The U.S. itself, which has encouraged the politicization of oil since the Cold War, uses oil intensively for the purposes of foreign policy; moreover, it also has a huge appetite for fuel. The big hike in oil prices since 1990 derives largely from rising American consumption.
- The system of OECD countries and OPEC is not properly prepared to assimilate China and Russia, two central global players that tend to adopt a "contrarian" approach to the U.S., and this situation has potential for turbulence.

*The West's dependence on Mideast energy sources reduces its ability to confront the Islamic challenge*

**China** and **India** greatly influence the energy market in light of their dizzying growth: Their economies are growing at an annual pace of 9-10% and 7%, respectively, while the industrialized world is growing at an average rate of just 2.8%. The **rate of savings** in China and India are 50% and 25% of GDP, respectively, compared to a rate of only 10% in the U.S. As a consumer economy, the U.S. has a huge deficit in its balance of payments, while China, as a

savings economy, has large capital reserves. In China and India, a wealthy and advanced class is developing that will reach the dimensions of the U.S. population and its buying power, and will then compete with it. Today, the U.S. is a decade ahead of China technologically and militarily, **but in another five years, the U.S. is liable to fall behind China** in some ways due to the rapid pace of technological developments.

## Directions in U.S. policy in the Middle East

Some believe that **the curtain has gone down on the American era in the Middle East** due to the cost of the U.S. presence in Iraq, the price of globalization, the dependence on oil, and the unwise focus on elections in the early stages of political reforms in Middle Eastern countries. This does not mean the U.S. will no longer wield **influence** in the region, but it will no longer have **dominance**. And this is occurring when the Middle East is embroiled in a long period of problems and instability. Others claim that the American era in the Middle East **has not ended**: The U.S. is the most active force in the region, and the Arabs are begging it not to leave Iraq and not to let up on Iran. The question is how the U.S. will exercise this power.

*The U.S. is still the most active and influential force in the Mideast, but is no longer as dominant as it was in the past*

So what will be the **characteristics of U.S. policy in the Middle East** during the final stretch of the Bush administration, as it operates vis-à-vis a Congress controlled by the Democrats (since the November 2006 midterm elections)? It seems that the main characteristics will be the following:

- Congress will rediscover its power to demand explanations from the administration regarding its foreign policy.
- At the top of its agenda will be **Iraq**. Many doubts have been raised concerning a surge of American combat forces there and the reliance on the al-Maliki government, which is perceived as having an ethnic rather than national orientation.

*The U.S. will not leave Iraq during the next two years and will focus on damage control more than notching up achievements*

But both sides of the political divide in Washington are looking for the middle road between the approach of the president, who seeks to increase the involvement in Iraq, and that of the Democrats, who advocate reducing it: Many of those calling for a cutback in military involvement support an increase in involvement in training the forces of the Iraqi government. Success and victory should not be expected, and the administration's policy during the next two years will focus on what can be prevented more than on what can be achieved. **The president will not quit Iraq** and Congress will not succeed in passing legislation to leave it.

- The issue of **Iran** is more important than ever before, but this has still not found expression in the political debate in the United States. This issue is likely to become a political one during the coming year or two, and Iran will take center stage with its nuclear program. There is some support for negotiation with Iran, and naturally, this support would have been stronger were it not for the Ahmadinejad phenomenon (see below for more on the issue of dealing with Iran's nuclearization.)
- Like Iran, **Israel** has not become a topic of political dispute, but the country should prepare for the possibility that it will become a focus of debate prior to the 2008 elections: An argument has recently begun concerning the wisdom of America's pro-Israel orientation, and support for Israel among the general public has weakened. The **Palestinian** issue still receives little attention. Interest in this issue will increase a bit during the next year or two, but not to the extent of a breakthrough.
- The policy of pushing for political **reforms** in Middle Eastern countries, which stood high on the Bush administration's list of priorities during its first term, has garnered a negative

*Israel is still not a topic of political debate in the U.S., but it is likely to become one prior to the 2008 elections*

reputation and needs to be reassessed – apparently by the next administration. Questions that must be asked include: What is the correct sequence and pace of reforms? And where do elections fit into this process? The fact that Egypt and Saudi Arabia have increased their support for the U.S. in matters pertaining to Iraq and Iran indicates their assessment that the topic of reforms has become less important from the administration's perspective.

- **The Baker-Hamilton report** is not being implemented, but neither has it been buried. And it is likely to reappear on the agenda.

It should be noted that many have attributed the administration's hawkish foreign policy to the influence of the "new conservatives," but in fact the president adopted a tougher policy toward Iraq and Iran after the group's most salient representatives – like Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith – left the Department of Defense.

## **A new world nuclear order?**

One of the most immediate and difficult global challenges facing the U.S. and the West is the **changes in the global nuclear order**, many of which are transpiring in the Middle East, and require the international community to reorganize. These changes include:

- North Korea's nuclear test.
- Growing proliferation of nuclear technology.
- The danger of the emergence of a nuclear Iran, followed by an anticipated spread of nuclear weapons to neighboring countries.
- The interest of **terrorist groups** in nuclear weapons and the possibility of them gaining assistance from nuclear-capable states such as Iran, Pakistan or North Korea. Terrorist entities pose a new strategic threat because, as opposed to nuclear states in the old nuclear order, they are not concerned about

*The old nuclear order has weakened and there is a need to create a new order*

the response to the use of nuclear weapons since they are driven toward self-sacrifice.

- The continuation of the conflict **in the Indian subcontinent** and the possibility of escalation to a nuclear conflict, while fundamental instability continues in Pakistan itself.
- The reappearance of nuclear energy as an available alternative in the energy industry without attaching any oversight arrangements that would prevent exploiting it for destructive purposes.

The nuclear test by **North Korea** was not detrimental to its situation: No crisis ensued, its trade increased, its borders are open, and the circumstances make it less vulnerable to the use of force against it. Thus, the test demonstrated **the failure of the international system to prevent the nuclearization of rogue states**. It is reasonable to assume that Iran has also taken note of this. Moreover, North Korea will have fissionable material in such quantities that it is liable to export it, in light of the fact that the country has exported all of its other resources. **Japan** is likely to become a nuclear state if it feels that it cannot rely on the United States. An effort should now be made **to prevent the sale of nuclear materials and knowledge** by North Korea. The diplomatic efforts should also continue, including the bilateral negotiations conducted between the U.S. and North Korea under a multilateral (six-party) umbrella.

*The nuclear test by North Korea testifies to the failure of the global nuclear order*

The **erosion in deterrence** must be addressed, perhaps even at the risk of **exercising force**. Avoiding this is liable in certain cases to lead to the collapse of deterrence. There should also be a reassessment of the meaning of arms control, which is becoming outdated, as opposed to the field of disarmament, which is still relevant. Some think that the U.S. should unilaterally declare that it will not make first use of nuclear weapons, in any circumstance, while making it clear that it would definitely carry out a second-

*The erosion in deterrence must be addressed, perhaps even risking the exercise of force*

strike policy in retaliation. If any state makes use of a nuclear weapon of any type, for any reason, the U.S. would suspend its commitment to refrain from first use. Some argue that this type of declaration would have a sobering affect on Iran and North Korea. Anti-missile defense, which is a cornerstone in defending the U.S. and its allies against North Korea and Iran, should also be reassessed.

Other paths have been proposed as well. For example, it has been suggested that the U.S. and Russia discuss **security and nuclear safety**, including new agreements on reducing the quantities of warheads and launchers under effective supervision. Additional measures could include:

- Increasing the stability of nuclear military forces.
- Reducing the amount of weaponry deployed, especially cutting back or even completely eliminating the deployment of tactical nuclear weaponry.
- Removing warheads from launchers when the state of alert is low.
- Destroying old weaponry, ensuring full control of the location of nuclear weapons and improving the storage methods of nuclear materials.

Still others recommend taking steps to form **an international nuclear fuel authority** that would supply all civilian nuclear fuel and handle the removal and storage of used fuel. This would be accompanied by revision of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to close the loophole that today enables non-nuclear states to engage in uranium enrichment and in the reprocessing of plutonium. Efforts should also be made to ratify and activate the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), and to complete negotiations on the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT).

*Action should be taken to establish an international nuclear fuel regime*

# Strategic and Political Challenges for Israel

## The Iranian nuclear program – the nature of the threat and how to confront it

**How close** is Iran to attaining nuclear capability? Tehran claims that it has attained an enrichment capability, but it apparently faces technical problems including an unsuccessful installation of centrifuges. Not enough information is available to properly assess Iran's current capabilities. In principle, if it builds a central facility, it will be able to attain nuclear capability within a few years.

It is possible that Iran is operating secret nuclear facilities; if so, this would shorten the timetable. Its strategy is to develop weaponry under the guise of a nuclear program for peaceful purposes. But even if Iran does not yet have secret manufacturing facilities, the danger is that the moment it gains control of centrifuge technology, it will attempt to build them with the help of components intended for overt facilities.

Some believe that Iran will not produce nuclear weapons during the coming years, but will try to develop the technology that would give it the option to produce nuclear weapons later on. Others believe that Iran will indeed produce nuclear weapons within two to three years.

*Iran will be able to attain a nuclear capability within a few years. It is still an open question whether it will immediately turn to producing weapons or remain on the verge*



**The Iranian regime** is caught up in a power struggle between two camps:

- The leaders of the revolution's first generation – based on an alliance between the religious powers in Qom and the economic power base of the bazaar, under the leadership of the Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei: They seek to maintain their power and influence, and their highest priority is regime survival.
- The revolution's second generation – the military-economic elite of the leaders of the Revolutionary Guards, veterans of the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), characterized by a **messianic outlook** and a clear tendency for brinksmanship and risk-taking in decision-making.

Under the leadership of President Ahmadinejad, members of the second generation are seeking to wrest the reins of power out of the hands of Khamenei and his supporters. The latter have recently begun a counterattack and the decision-making processes in Iran, clearly also in regard to the nuclear issue, reflect the power struggles between the two camps. Ahmadinejad regards himself as the representative of the hidden imam, and aspires to expedite the Judgment Day, when the imam will return and establish an era of global justice – that is, Islamic rule throughout the world.

*The decision-making processes in Iran pertaining to the nuclear issue reflect the power struggles between the two camps in the ruling elite*

The argument that it would be possible to live with a nuclear Iran raises complex problems regarding the issue of deterrence. Some contend that once Iran is allowed into the nuclear club it would act responsibly. It is not clear whether the **principles of deterrence**, as formulated during the Cold War, will act upon Iran, as a nuclear state, in the same way as they acted upon the Soviet Union:

- The principles of deterrence, which worked against the Soviet Union, do not work – certainly not to the same extent – against

*From the perspective of the principles of deterrence, there is no direct correlation between Iran and the former Soviet Union*

the Iranian ruling elite, which includes a strong suicidal-martyrological element. In any case, since the cultural basis is different, the conduct is expected to have different characteristics.

- The nuclearization of Iran could lead to the nuclearization of additional states in the Middle East, which would further complicate the balance of deterrents throughout the entire world.
- Iran is liable to transfer nuclear weapons to third parties, such as Hezbollah or other terror groups.

Nuclear weapons in the hands of Iran would have far-reaching implications for the Middle East and the world:

- Until now, Israel faced an Arab world that did not unite in an attempt to defeat it militarily due to the assumption that Israel's military superiority would not allow this. **The Iranian nuclear capability is liable to be perceived as neutralizing Israel's superiority**, and under this umbrella a coalition is liable to form that would threaten Israel. Iran's aid to Palestinian terror through the supply of funds, weaponry and information, the exposure of the capabilities transferred by Iran to Hezbollah and Hezbollah's assistance to Hamas – all these illustrate the severity of the Iranian threat.
- Under the protection of its nuclear arms, Iran would feel free to **support terror attacks** against anyone it sees as an enemy.
- The Arab states that are fearful of the Iranian threat, like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, are liable to decide to nuclearize, too.

*The presence of nuclear arms in Iran is liable to encourage a military coalition that would threaten Israel*

**The Iranian threat is already creating a common denominator between Israel and Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan.** It also creates a common interest to weaken Iran's proxies and strengthen the rivals of these proxies: the Palestinian camp led by Mahmoud Abbas and the camp that supports the Siniora government in Lebanon.

The West has four main **alternatives** for preventing the completion of Iran's nuclearization:

- Engagement: Negotiations between the U.S. and Iran in a bilateral or multilateral framework, and a package of diplomatic and economic incentives.
- Intensification of the pressures on Iran in order to generate dissension among its leaders and lead to changes in its nuclear policy.
- Military attacks against nuclear facilities, and perhaps also against the regime's key sites.
- Regime change through the use of overt and covert means.

**The advantages and disadvantages** of these alternatives are as follows:

- **The negotiation option:** Engagement focuses on involving Iran in processes that would make its non-nuclearization more worthwhile, from its perspective, than the continued efforts to equip itself with nuclear weapons. According to one interpretation, this alternative could have worked had it been implemented in mid-2003, when U.S. prestige was at a peak following the victory in Iraq, and Iran feared that it was next in line. Iran was on the defensive after the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) exposed many examples of Iranian deception, and U.S. relations with Russia were good. Today, the U.S. is in an inferior position due to Iraq, and Iran believes that Russia will protect it from tough sanctions, so Iran does not feel pressured to give up the enrichment program.
- **Intensifying pressure:** Iran has grown confident in its ability to continue to enrich uranium without paying a real price, and this option seeks to make Iran reassess its balance of profit and loss. This would be conducted mainly through the exercise of U.S. economic power – with the aim of isolating Iran, while pressing governments and financial institutions in Europe and

in Japan to cut off all activity with it – and through an increased American military presence in the region. Some signs indicate that this reassessment has already begun in Iran: Support for Ahmadinejad is declining, the country's energy minister is finding it difficult to raise funds internationally for projects, and businessmen and conservatives are criticizing the president for his provocative behavior on the nuclear issue.

- **The military option:** This option enjoys two clear advantages:
  - A. It could be implemented in the near term. This is an important advantage if the goal is to prevent Iran from gaining control of enrichment technology for centrifuges. Moreover, the advantage of a short-term timetable does not exist in the other alternatives. It is almost certain that military action would indeed disrupt the enrichment effort because the enrichment facility in Natanz, a central link in the enrichment operations, is vulnerable.
  - B. Nonetheless, it is not clear how much time it would take for Iran to rebuild and renew its nuclear activity. At the same time, one can anticipate Iran's retaliation: striking against Israel in various ways; severe anti-American terror in Iraq and throughout the world; attacks against ships in the Gulf; and disruption of oil exports from southern Iraq (about a million barrels a day). Thus, the military option cannot be the first choice, especially if the Iranians have alternative enrichment facilities that would remain in their hands after the attack.

*Military attacks would delay the nuclear project, but it is not clear whether the length of the delay would justify the price Iran would exact*

- **Regime change:** Despite widespread dissatisfaction among the Iranian public about the current situation, the regime maintains a tight hold and the criticism expressed against President Ahmadinejad by both conservatives and reformists has not ripened enough to mount a challenge to the regime itself. According to one view, the opposition in Iran should be assisted in changing the regime and this is a promising alternative. Many believe that a regime change will eventually occur, but that it will come from within and not due to outside intervention, and that **it will not happen soon – that is, not before Iran attains nuclear arms.**

It seems, therefore, that intensifying pressure is the preferred option for the time being. The effort to build an international coalition for stepping up the pressure should continue. Iran should also be offered an enticement – normalization of relations with the U.S. and a package of economic incentives – if it is truly prepared to abandon the nuclear program and the other aspects of its unacceptable conduct. At the same time, the military option should remain on the table. However, another aspect that should be taken into consideration is that **economic sanctions would harm the interests of the old elite more than those of the "second generation,"** which is likely to emerge even stronger. Thus, before the international economic siege generates popular pressure on Ahmadinejad, it is actually likely to strengthen him in the internal power struggles.

*The option of increasing pressure is the most practical one, but economic sanctions are likely to hurt the old elite and play into the hands of Ahmadinejad's men*

What should **Israel's place** be in the fight against the Iranian threat? The Israeli government's position is that a political-diplomatic solution to the Iranian matter is still the preferred outcome, and that Israel – which holds nothing against the Iranian people and has no interest in a conflict with Iran – is **not spearheading** this fight. Israel is at the forefront of the battle to place this issue on the agenda of world leaders and world opinion, but the threat itself should be handled primarily by the major powers and by other key states. Nonetheless, the restraint and responsibility Israel is displaying today do not mean it will not act determinedly to defend its vital interest when necessary.

*Israel is not spearheading the fight against the Iranian nuclear threat, which should be handled by the major powers. But Israel and world Jewry should work to delegitimize Iran and mobilize economic pressure against it*

On the other hand, some believe that when it comes to a threat of genocide against the Jewish people in Israel, then **Israel and world Jewry** are obliged to lead a campaign to build an international front against this threat. The government of Israel should work together with world Jewry to enlist all possible partners in creating a wave of international delegitimization of Iran, and in bringing heavy economic pressure to bear to stop its nuclear program or undermine the regime. In regard to delegitimatization, for example, the possibility of placing Ahmadinejad on trial for incitement to genocide under the law of nations is being considered.

The regime in Iran bears responsibility for sowing the seeds of its own failure. It is economically vulnerable because it does not channel sufficient resources toward its people's welfare and obstructs the economic freedom that generates growth. The economic pressure on Iran can be intensified and the wave of hatred that Ahmadinejad is spreading throughout the entire world can be used against his own regime. An effort must be made to ostracize this regime so that it is unacceptable in the community of nations, thus weakening it politically, morally and economically to the point of undermining its existence. A growing

campaign of delegitimization will either lead to a halt in the Iranian armament program without the need for the use of force, or prepare international public opinion for applying such force.

The 100 largest pension companies in the U.S. invest in about 70 companies that trade with or invest in Iran. Divestment of these holdings would apply enormous pressure on the Iranian regime. The U.S. should privatize the sanction efforts by launching a divestment campaign – persuading individuals, pension funds and financial institutions to withdraw their investments in companies engaged in business with Iran. This type of campaign would intensify the debate within Iran about whether the current policy serves the interests of the Iranian people or serves only the elite that is leading it astray.

*A divestment  
campaign  
should be waged  
against Iran*

If the UN continues to drag its feet regarding the demand to impose sanctions on Iran, the **United States** will need to lead a group of states that agree to impose multilateral sanctions outside the framework of the United Nations. Iran needs, for example, to import gasoline. It should be made clear to countries like China and Malaysia, which have signed deals with Iran for developing gas fields, and Russia, which sells it weapons, that their relations with Iran will play a central role in U.S. policy toward each of them. From the American perspective, it should be examined whether these deals with Iran constitute a violation of the Iran Freedom Support Act of 2006.

## **The Israeli-Palestinian conflict: what is the correct paradigm?**

The government of Israel continues to adhere to a solution of two states for two peoples – the State of Israel as the home of the Jewish people, and the Palestinian state as the complete and only solution for the problem of the Palestinian refugees. It sees itself as committed to preventing the establishment of a terror state next to Israel and to keeping control of most of the places inhabited by a majority of Israeli citizens. Israel prefers an agreement to other alternatives, but the terms of the agreement must enable the protection of Israel's security, even if the agreement is violated. The Palestinians must fulfill their commitment to fight terror, but Israel must engage even now in discussions with their moderate leadership in order to strengthen it and together create a moderate alternative to the way in which Hamas is leading the Palestinians.

The problem is how to translate these general principles into real steps toward an accord when the agreed-upon path for this – the road map – is blocked. The road map cannot be implemented now in light of the fact that the Palestinian Authority is unable to take action to eliminate terror, which is required during the road map's first stage, and is not interested in a state within temporary borders, which is included in the second stage. A direct transition to negotiations on a final-status accord would contradict the logic of the road map, which is based on a gradual process in which the success of each stage leads to the next one.

*A direct transition to final-status talks would be contrary to the logic of the road map*

In light of this situation, a new three-stage plan was proposed for a permanent two-state accord that combines the road map and the Saudi initiative adopted by the Arab League summit in Beirut in March 2002. According to its proponents, the new plan's advantages include the realistic political horizon it offers to the



Palestinians and its gradual nature, which enables the results of each stage to be examined. The plan's stages are:

- Forging a new economic and security reality during a six-month period. This would include a complete cease-fire, the return of the captured soldier Gilad Shalit and the release of Palestinian prisoners, the removal of illegal outposts and the acceleration of economic activity.
- These steps should strengthen the PA chairman and enhance his ability to deal with the dismantling of terror infrastructure during the second stage, which would also last for six months. During this stage, the Palestinian Authority will be given complete control (as Area A) of territory currently defined as Area B, and the airport in Gaza and a controlled passage between Gaza and the West Bank will be opened. That is, the PA will receive the characteristics of a Palestinian state in temporary borders, without being called by this name.
- All of this will prepare the ground for the third stage, which comprises the negotiation of a permanent accord.

Are these positions and plans realistic, and do they correspond to reality? According to three different approaches, the answer is no. According to **one approach**, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is part of the clash of civilizations and the **overall confrontation** between radical Sunni (the Muslim Brotherhood and Al-Qaeda) and Shiite (Iran and Hezbollah) **Islam with the West**. Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, with their links to Iran and Hezbollah, clearly reflect this reality. Therefore, the Palestinian problem cannot be solved without winning the overall battle against radical Islam, rendering it illogical to seek immediate bilateral solutions to this problem. Moreover, there is no effective leadership on the Palestinian side capable of implementing the vision of two states, and the option of unilateral withdrawals should certainly not be chosen since this would only strengthen the Islamist front. **It is a mistake to claim that the Palestinian**

*Some believe that it will not be possible to solve the Palestinian problem without first defeating radical Islam*

**problem is the root of instability in the Middle East, and that its resolution would pave the way to resolving all the other focal points of conflict in the region.**

According to a **second approach**, the basic Israeli assumption that a two-state solution is what the Palestinians desire is incorrect, and continued belief in this expresses a broader problem – the irrelevance of Israel's perception of national security. No leadership on the Palestinian side is capable of realizing the two-state vision, and the forces among the Palestinians that **do not want two states** are growing stronger. These forces aspire to a **single Palestinian Arab-Islamic state** and are not interested in ending the Israeli occupation. They **actually are interested in the continuation of the occupation** because, in their assessment, this will foil a two-state solution.

*Some of the Palestinians are unable to do what is needed to reach a two-state solution, and others do not want this solution or an end to the occupation because they believe that its continuation will lead to Israel's collapse*

Hamas, which constitutes a link in the "resistance alignment" led by Iran, is seeking to bring about Israel's collapse by delegitimizing its existence, while using terror to ensure the continuation of the occupation and Israeli control over the Palestinian population. It is also trying to push the international community into adopting the one-state solution, based on the principle of "one man, one vote," instead of a two-state solution. For this purpose, Hamas is creating a dead-end in negotiation processes and is intensifying the Palestinians' representation crisis, as it aspires to dismantle the PA.

The question that arises in light of this approach is how Israel should deal with the strategy aimed at bringing about its destruction through the continuation of the occupation. Israel **should make sure that the PA will be an "address"** – that is, an entity that is capable of making decisions and implementing them. Israel should anchor its separation from the Palestinians through civil, political and democratic means, and should work to **upgrade**

*An option for ending the occupation: upgrading the status of the PA to that of a state and strengthening its characteristics of independence*

**the PA's status** to that of a state. Without all of this, Israel will not be able to end its control over the Palestinian population.

There are three alternatives that attempt to **create a Palestinian "address"** and **to upgrade the PA** to the status of a state:

- The **obstruction** option: This is Israel's present policy, which is centered on the demands for explicit recognition of Israel, explicit ratification of the agreements that have already been signed, and a cessation of terror. These demands are accompanied by an internationally backed boycott aimed at toppling Hamas, or at least changing its positions, without leading to the collapse of the PA. This policy has failed: Hamas is not falling and is not amending its positions, while the PA is verging on collapse.
- The **exposure** option: This will be applicable if a Palestinian national unity government is formed. Israel would then allow the PA government to operate, while obliging it to accept a series of difficult decisions. Among these decisions, the unity government would have to address the existing series of agreements with Israel and thus decide between the ideology of rejecting Israel and the need to serve the population. It would be possible, for example, to ask the PA government whether it is interested in continuing the customs arrangements. If it answers in the affirmative, this would constitute acceptance of one of the appendixes of the interim accord – that is, *de facto* ratification of existing agreements between the PA and Israel. If the PA government says it is not interested in continuing the customs arrangements, this would represent an upgrading of the PA's independence and underline the fact that Israel is not controlling it.
- The **confrontation** option: Assuming that the Fatah organization and the PLO have already recognized Israel, the end of control over the Palestinians would be coordinated with Fatah after it wins the struggle against Hamas. It follows

from this that if a civil war erupts, Israel should facilitate a victory by Fatah, thus making it an entity with which it is possible to achieve an end to the occupation, upgrading it to a state.

According to the proponents of this approach, an examination of the alternatives for ending Israeli rule over the Palestinians is only one part of a much broader process that is necessary for **adapting Israel's security outlook to the current reality**, also beyond the Palestinian issue.

According to the **third approach**, neither the Palestinians nor Israel is capable of establishing a Palestinian governmental authority that will be a partner to an agreement. Yet they also cannot continue to wait until such an authority is created. Therefore, it is necessary to establish an international **trusteeship regime** in the territories that will assist in taking control from the terror organizations, in building Palestinian institutions of government, and in channeling funds to the field to dramatically improve the quality of life. The European Union is capable of and suitable for taking on this mission (though some have reservations about this, believing that the EU is incapable of such heavy involvement because it is mired in its internal problems).

*Some believe that there is no alternative to establishing an international trusteeship regime in the territories, under European management*

From the perspective of the Palestinians who are interested in a two-state solution and peace with Israel, the treatment of the conflict during the past six years (since the failure of the Camp David summit and outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in 2000) has focused exclusively on the security aspect – that is, the security of Israelis, while ignoring the close connection between the Israelis' lack of security and the Palestinians' lack of freedom. According to this view, it is not a security conflict with political implications but rather a political conflict with security implications. However, all of the contacts held between the two sides during this period did

not address the essence of the problem: ending the occupation. The immediate problems of the Israelis and Palestinians should be addressed, but this should be done with a clear view toward the general lines of a permanent accord. Both sides should work only toward this type of accord and not toward interim agreements or unilateral moves.

Leaders in the business community are working to improve the conditions for resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on the perception that **national conflicts are driven by specific economic conditions**, and the resolution of such conflicts can be facilitated by mobilizing market forces and economic entrepreneurship to alleviate these conditions. This perception draws inspiration from the experience of the peace process in Northern Ireland, where **economic measures** reduced the violence and **advanced the peace talks**. Based on this experience, proponents of this outlook aspire to promote the development of economic infrastructure to create employment, housing, savings and capital among the Palestinians, including joint projects for Palestinians and Israelis.

*Improving economic conditions should contribute toward resolving the conflict*

### **Rise in the extent of de-legitimization of the state among the Arab citizens of Israel**

In addition to the complex of strategic challenges facing Israel, an increase in the level of de-legitimization of the State of Israel appears to be discernible among the Arabs of Israel. Some argue that the discussion in the Arab public about the state's character derives from the lack of equality, and once equality is established, this discussion will no longer be needed. On the other hand, however, some believe that the essence of the debate **is not the question of equality** between Jews and Arabs but rather **a challenge to the very legitimacy of the state**. Thus, even if the state continued to work toward reducing disparities, it would **not win legitimacy**. From this perspective, "The Future Vision for

the **Palestinian Arabs in Israel**" document reflects the developments of the current decade in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is clear that during this period, each of the two sides correctly assessed the meaning of the other's adherence to its fundamental national positions:

- The Arab minority – Israel's determination to fortify the Jewish majority in the Jewish nation state, even at the price of serious security and political risks.
- The Jewish majority – the alignment of the Arab population behind a national leadership that is fighting against the Jewish nation-state at the expense of the struggle for economic and social integration.

It is also clear that the recognition of the rival's determination reinforced each side's adherence to its own path, creating a deep gap and lack of trust between Arabs and Jews in Israel – to the point of readiness to accept physical violence toward citizens (8% of the Jews and 31% of the Arabs). **The gap deepened** during the Second Lebanon War, even though Hezbollah's rockets did not distinguish between Jews and Arabs.

*The Second Lebanon War deepened the gap between Arabs and Jews in Israel*

The Future Vision document states that "Israel is the outcome of a settlement process initiated by the Zionist-Jewish elite in Europe and the West, and realized with colonial countries contributing to it ..." This clearly constitutes a rejection of the legitimacy of the essence of the Jewish people's national enterprise, such that only its elimination could right the wrong. This document includes a demand that the Jews confront their past and completely ignores all of the Palestinian and Arab efforts to wipe out the Jewish community in Israel. A demand is also voiced to eliminate the Jewish character of Israel and to institute a "consensual democracy" with the aim of strengthening "the presence of two national groups in the state, the Jews and the Palestinians ... guaranteeing a real partnership in governance, resources and

decision-making for the two groups." The implied intention here is to create a binational state. Further reinforcing this, it is repeatedly emphasized that "the Palestinian Arabs are the indigenous people of the country."

The document fits in with the failed attempt to define majority and minority relations in the state and their mutual connection via a joint covenant of Jewish and Arab intellectuals in Israel. In the current stage, and regardless of the accelerated process of reducing disparities between Jews and Arabs (a process that is taking place in any case), it seems that the two sides realize that no mutually acceptable solution exists on the near horizon and it is only possible to examine methods of damage control for the current reality.

### **The worsening of anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism in the West and its ramifications for the status of Israel and the Jews**

Israel's international image and prestige are in decline. At the top of this slippery downward slope is criticism of Israel, which reflects in part the internal Israeli discourse. But at the bottom of it are two underpinnings that are growing stronger: anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism. **Anti-Israelism** is a rejection of Israel's right to exist; it is sometimes linked to anti-Semitism and sometimes separate from it. This rejection can be in principle – that is, a perception that Israel should never have been established; or a judgment that Israel has no right to exist in light of its actions and behavior. Another type of anti-Israelism is revealed when Israel is demanded to meet standards that are not required of other states, and when no distinction is made between Israeli society as a diverse society, engaged in an ongoing democratic debate, and a monolithic or “governmental” Israel.

*The rejection of Israel's right to exist is moving from the fringes of Western society to its center, and is winning growing legitimacy*

The mainstream media in the West contribute to anti-Israelism. The bias with which the media present the Arab-Israeli conflict serves Islamist propaganda and denies the right of Israel and the Jews to defend themselves.

Some believe that a second Holocaust could not occur in our time, but **the enlightened world is today prepared for a world without Israel** even more than the world was prepared to live without Jews in 1938. Statements like "Israel is an experiment that failed and should disappear" and "the world would be better off without it" have become legitimate. Thus, while denial of the Holocaust is a criminal offense in some Western countries, the denial of Israel's right to exist is not, and the deniers can even derive benefits from it.

Despite this, Israel and the Jewish people **are not mobilizing** sufficiently to fight anti-Israelism. When Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch charged Israel with war crimes after Lebanese civilians were hit during the summer of 2006 (despite the manipulation conducted by Hezbollah), Israel failed to respond effectively and in real time, and remained labeled as an illegitimate state.

The war in Lebanon illustrates the challenge posed to Israel's international standing in that Hezbollah could indiscriminately barrage a civilian population with deadly munitions for weeks without upsetting the world. The same is true regarding **the indifference with which Iran's threats against Israel's very existence are accepted**. Many Europeans are more troubled by the human rights situation in Iran than by its threats. In its information efforts, Israel should confront this challenge by educating the West, and especially Europe, about the nature of the Iranian threat. The information campaign related to Iran must include creating a dichotomy between the radical elements

*The world's indifference to Iran's threats and Hezbollah's attack on the civilian population in Israel illustrates the challenge to Israel's international standing*



endangering world peace and the moderates, and Israel must be positioned on the moderate and positive side.

Recently, **a worsening of anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism has been discernible in the United States.** The expressions of this include:

- Publication of former **President Jimmy Carter's book**, which describe Israel's relations with the Palestinians as apartheid. This marks a turning point in Israel's relations with the United States and in regard to U.S. Jews. Carter raises the specter of the old fabrication about Jewish control of the media that prevents fair and balanced coverage of the Palestinians' plight, which is worse, according to Carter, than the plight of blacks in South Africa under apartheid. Carter argues that the involvement of Jews in U.S. politics makes it impossible for American politicians to bring about change in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and he presents AIPAC's power as an example of this. Carter attributes the harsh reviews of his book to a conspiracy against him by Jews in the media. He also says that Palestinian terror must end only when Israel accepts the road map, and refused to condemn the firing of rockets against civilians as acts of terror. This is a watershed because it grants legitimacy to the **delegitimization of Israel in the center of the political community**, while until now this delegitimization did not extend beyond the extreme fringes of the right and left.
- Publication of the document by Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer, which gave legitimacy in academic circles to the outlook Carter legitimized among the public at large. Mearsheimer, who comes from the academic mainstream, brought to the mainstream a perception of the Jewish lobby as constituting a threat to the United States. This carries a strong impact today on academicians and students, who are the future leaders of the U.S.

*Carter's book and the debate surrounding it moved the anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic offensive from the fringes to the general public*

- Hezbollah and Hamas discovered the way to succeed in the media war against Israel by presenting it as the one killing civilians – the same civilians whom Hezbollah and Hamas intentionally expose to danger by conducting warfare from within civilian-populated areas.
- Some claim that the Jewish lobby is pushing the U.S. toward a foreign policy that is not in the country's best interests – for example, toward a war against Iran.

Some predict that during the coming years the U.S. will experience the **British model** of growing anti-Semitism on campuses and in social organizations, where it is also moving from the fringes to the center. In the U.S. today, Jews are the victims of seven times as many attacks as Muslims.

It is clear that support for Israel among the American general public has weakened, and support is also declining among the non-evangelical elite. **Jews were the only ones to attack Carter's book**, but had it been published a decade ago, top non-Jewish figures, politicians and academicians, would have called Carter to order. **Israel should prepare for the loss of American economic and political assistance** during the coming years.

*The support for Israel among the American general public and among the non-evangelical elite is weakening*

# Responses to Strategic and Political Challenges

## How to reinvigorate and strengthen the army

The Lebanon War of summer 2006 exposed a series of **failures in deploying the IDF** as the force responsible for creating deterrence and for winning on the battlefield. Some of these failures are attributable to the echelon in charge of the IDF, both past and present, which made erroneous decisions or erred in assessing threats and developing strategy (for example, the paralysis of life in the North due to the firing of "short-range" rockets, and the preparedness of the home front for this type of scenario). **The IDF itself** was responsible for other failures, primarily in conducting the war at various levels, in handling the reserve forces, in preparing the ground troops (while coping with the armed intifada), in training commanders, in allocating and utilizing resources – and, some say, in relying too much on technology.

All of these failures do not overshadow the displays of courage and devotion by the soldiers themselves. The failures should not obscure the IDF's enormous potential or its ability to learn lessons (as expressed in the comprehensive debriefings following the war). Indeed, there is an urgent need to draw conclusions, primarily with a view toward addressing conflicts and threats that are anticipated in the future.

**The political echelon needs to fundamentally revise the processes of decision-making and staff work** (including a review of the role and status of the National Security Council and parliamentary oversight by the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee.) In addition, it is necessary to formulate a multiyear defense budget (enabling long-term planning) and address home-front policy. At the same time, the political echelon

*A key lesson of the Second Lebanon War is the need to fundamentally improve the decision-making processes and staff work of the political echelon*

must orchestrate a social revolution for renewing confidence in the army, with the understanding that the IDF will continue to be a people's army and not a professional organization separate from the people.

In the IDF itself, comprehensive reforms are needed in the following areas:

- Strengthening **intelligence** so that it can warn of changes and provide ongoing warnings; enhancing collection and availability of intelligence at all levels – from the top echelon to the field.
- Maintaining and fostering the **qualitative edge** in advanced technology.
- Improving the ability to make the transition between combat situations, stressing the centrality of ground maneuvers, developing fighting capabilities in various settings (especially in asymmetrical confrontations).
- Eliminating politics from the ranks of the army and purging the mentality that gives precedence to image over substance.
- Increasing training for all combat forces, especially the reserve corps.
- Developing promotion tracks for command echelons, including the definition of junctures that require training; coordinating between studies, drills and training, with an emphasis on professionalism.
- Improving the management culture and instituting ongoing assessment of operational capability.
- Improving efficiency, increasing the use of outsourcing and removing non-military tasks from the IDF's shoulders.
- And, above all, renewing the fabric of values – including a sense of partnership, speaking the truth and strengthening the mutual faith in all ranks of the army.

*A social revolution is needed to renew public confidence in the army*

*Many reforms are needed in the army, but above all, the fabric of values, the sense of solidarity, truthfulness and mutual trust must be strengthened and renewed within its ranks*

## Upgrading Israel's strategic alliances

An important response to the challenges facing Israel – from the "resistance alignment" or the "radical axis" in the Middle East, as well as from the growing anti-Israelism in the West – is to upgrade Israel's strategic relations with its partners in the West: the U.S., the European Union and NATO. This upgrade would provide a counterweight to the efforts to isolate Israel and to make the denial of its existence an acceptable position in the West as well.

*Increasing Israel's involvement in international organizations will create a counterweight to the trend of denying its right to exist*

The first area in which to conduct a **strategic upgrade** is the security field: Improving Israel's qualitative superiority so that it cannot be defeated militarily is a central element in the relations with the United States. But security is only one component of national strength: Israel's economic power was boosted by an association agreement with the European Union, and its political power could be upgraded by including it in international groups and organizations, thus generating a reversal of the trend of delegitimizing Israel. In addition, **upgrading the members of the moderate Arab axis** who accept Israel and are attacked by the "resistance alignment," such as PA Chairman Mahmoud Abbas and Lebanese Prime Minister Fuad Siniora, would indirectly upgrade Israel and show that the attempt to reject its existence will engender the opposite result.

According to one view, upgrading Israel's strategic relations with its Western partners could **entail some shortcomings**, and it will be accompanied by limitations that restrict Israel's freedom of action. Indeed, sometimes a formal upgrade is not necessary, because great advantages can be derived from a more informal collaboration that makes it possible to enjoy the advantages of cooperation without the disadvantages that come with formalization. The fact that no **defense pact** has been signed between Israel and the **U.S.** provides an example of a case in

which there is no reason to formally upgrade relations: Israel today enjoys a range of advantages provided by a defense pact without paying the price entailed in the formalization process. Moreover, according to its defense doctrine, Israel does not tend to rely on the U.S. for its protection. From America's perspective, signing a defense pact with Israel would harm its relations in the Arab world and its standing as a regional mediator. Nonetheless, an upgrade should be encouraged in areas like **technological cooperation**.

Nor do the interests of **European** countries in the region currently correspond with a formal upgrade of relations in the defense field. This situation could change if there is a significant and sustained positive development in Israel's relations with the Arabs.

Israel's relations with **NATO** have grown closer in recent years. As a democracy whose natural environment is the Atlantic community; Israel shares the strategic values and worldview of NATO and its member states. The organization's expansion to Eastern Europe has meant that NATO now includes a bloc of countries that show great affinity toward Israel as a democracy under threat, and these countries can help build new relations between Israel and the organization. Israel is the first state outside of the Euro-Atlantic community to sign an Individual Cooperation Program (ICP). The program deals with 27 fields of cooperation such as: responses to terror; intelligence exchanges; protection against nuclear, chemical and biological threats; military doctrine; and preparedness for emergency situations. It creates a framework that enables broadening the sphere of cooperation.

*The Atlantic community is the natural home of the Israeli democracy*

But Israel finds it hard to decide whether to significantly upgrade its relations with NATO. Israel traditionally conducts its foreign policy **on a bilateral basis**, and it has limited experience in conducting policy and diplomacy multilaterally. Some in Israel argue that bilateralism ensures greater room for maneuver and freedom of action. The historical experience also influences Israel in this direction: Israel has had much less success in getting its message across in multilateral frameworks than in bilateral ones. Some members of the Israeli foreign relations establishment reject the need to try to build a broad strategic partnership, not to speak of a formal alliance, either with the U.S. or with Europe. From their perspective, this is impractical and ineffective, and would restrict Israel's strategic freedom of action.

*Israel should not fear conducting its foreign relations in a multilateral framework; it should decide to substantially upgrade its relations with NATO*

The aspiration for a wide partnership with both the U.S. and Europe does not stand counter to the vital strategic alliance between Israel and the United States. Moreover, "the broad Middle East" is the main arena in which the U.S. and Europe have drawn closer in recent times – because this region is the source of the primary threats facing the Atlantic community: radical Islam, terror, weapons of mass destruction and illegal immigration. These are threats that are also directed against Israel, thus making it a natural partner of the Euro-Atlantic camp. The U.S. even looks positively upon greater European involvement in the Middle East. Israel should take action to promote its ties with NATO as a building block in **forging multilateral relations** with the Atlantic community. Some also advocate aspiring to membership in the organization, assuming that NATO implements the political and military transformation it has set as a goal for itself.

The recurring question is whether the members of NATO **would restrict Israel's freedom of action**. According to one view, the answer is negative, with Britain cited as an example: Britain went to war in the Falkland Islands without any restrictions stemming from its membership in NATO. According to another view, the answer is positive: Any membership in an international alliance entails a dilemma – each side wants to pull in its allies to fight alongside it in its hour of need, but does not wish to be dragged by them into fighting their wars. Thus, NATO would grant Israel the right of membership only in exchange for strict oversight of its military activities. Each of the organization's 26 members has the right of veto, and some of them have greater affinity for the Arab states than for Israel and have no interest in being dragged into Israel's wars. According to proponents of this view, the advantage of deterrence that Israel would receive as a result of membership in the organization is not worth the danger, and perhaps the price, entailed in the fact that key member states do not share Israel's position in its conflict with Arab states.

Against this background, some believe that even though Israel deserves this upgrade, it should not expect – or even want – to receive it. Israel has not yet been invited to join NATO and it is unlikely to get such an invitation before the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is resolved. But even without full membership, Israel can still upgrade its relations with NATO beyond the existing ties. Toward this end, Israel should decide how important it considers this strengthening of relations to be and what kind of relations it is seeking. It should formulate a comprehensive and long-term **Euro-Atlantic strategy**, and it is important to do this before NATO's next summit meeting, scheduled for April 2008.

*Israel should formulate a comprehensive and long-term Euro-Atlantic strategy in advance of the NATO summit in spring 2008*



Israel is suitable for membership in the **European Union** in terms of its gross national product, but it will not be accepted as a member state for the following reasons:

- The EU cannot accept Israel while rebuffing Turkey.
- Israel cannot be invited to join without inviting the Palestinians, but the Palestinians do not meet the EU's economic and political criteria.
- Pro-Arab member states would oppose bringing Israel into the EU due to concern for their relations with Arab states.

Nonetheless, it is possible to reach an agreement on Israel's participation in the European common market – that is, economic partnership without membership in the EU.

# Challenges of Governance, Economy and Society

## The crisis of governance

There is growing feeling that governance in Israel is in a deep strategic crisis, which is reflected in a lack of leadership and the malfunctioning of governmental systems, creating insecurity and uncertainty. The national leadership **lacks vision**, does not define objectives and is not charting a path and a strategy. It does not instill the confidence necessary for realizing its goals. Concurrently, the effectiveness of governmental systems is in decline; many necessary decisions are not taken and those that are taken are not implemented. The governments have difficulty ruling, planning and executing. Without a rapid and profound change, it is doubtful whether Israel will be properly prepared to face the mounting external threats in the coming years.

*The crisis in government mandates a change in the political system and the development of a system of decision-making at the national level*

The decline in government effectiveness can be attributed to:

- **Lack of governmental stability** – During recent years, the Knesset and government served much shorter terms than those stipulated in the law. Therefore, the political system should be revised to ensure governmental stability.
- **Lack of tools for planning and decision-making** – The model of decision-making at the national level is deficient. There is no clear system for dealing with threats, and the National Security Council is ineffectual. An appropriate system for decision-making at the national level must be developed immediately.
- The system of balances between the branches of government – legislative, executive and judicial – has weakened to an extent that undermines the successful functioning of the government.

In historical perspective, some believe, the crisis reflects the lack of balance in the development of the **elites** in Israel: The political elite became inferior and unworthy; the academic, legal and media elites did not provide optimal leadership; the economic elite orchestrated the privatization process, which succeeded from an economic perspective but created social injustice, a conceptual and normative crisis, and a political-public structure that does not work. A situation has been created in which **the economy is strong, yet the state is not functioning**; the nation is healthy, but the elites are faulty. According to this perspective, Israel needs an immediate revamping of the structure of its elites, as well as a new normative system.

National strength clearly depends on sound governmental procedures and public norms of integrity and transparency. Thus, the fight for ethical standards, a tireless war against corruption, effective action by the state's oversight systems, and vigilant awareness by the media are all enormously important. But controversy arises regarding the question of **determining the correct balance between criticism and the battle against corruption, on one hand, and the government's ability to function, on the other**. A public atmosphere expressed, for example, in the opinion of 87% of the public that the state is corrupt, is liable to cause real damage to national strength. This includes: increasing alienation toward the elected democratic institutions; undermining the work of elected officials and devoted public servants; sowing fear of making decisions (which is sometimes liable to paralyze even the executive branch); deterring foreign investors; and directing the focus of law enforcement officials to investigations highlighted by the media at the expense of waging war against "ordinary" crime. Public disregard also arises from the fact that **quite a few of the affairs ended with a whimper**.

*The exaggerated public and judicial criticism against corruption is liable to harm national strength*

Alongside the recognition of the importance of criticism, it is also necessary to preserve the sovereignty of the Knesset, the separation of the branches, the limitations on supervisory officials and the presumption of innocence. These will also be achieved **via reforms in governmental procedures** while conducting a straightforward (not personal) examination of the need for state institutions such as the presidency.

The oversight authorities, for their part, need to be equipped with new tools they currently lack and which would increase their effectiveness, such as confirming implementation of the state comptroller's reports and imposing sanctions in the event of non-implementation, including disciplinary proceedings. Another such tool would be to publish the names of those under scrutiny in the most serious cases. (This measure is presented as a very important means of deterrence in the fight against public corruption.)

Besides this oversight function, the correct way to fight corruption is through **proper functioning of the law enforcement system** – starting with an effective and sophisticated police force and more severe punishment. The connection between money and government, such as corruption in building commissions, must also be addressed.

## **How the war affected national strength**

**The Second Lebanon War did not have a significant impact** on the "core indicators" of national strength. This conclusion is based on an assessment of the social component of national strength ("Haifa indicators"). This assessment is drawn from 13 public opinion surveys, involving thousands of respondents, which were conducted since the outbreak of the Al-Aqsa Intifada in September 2000. These surveys were aimed at gauging five variables in the Israeli public: the fear of threats; militancy;

*The Israeli public believes in the justness of the cause and in the strength of the society*

patriotism; optimism; and confidence in public institutions. In the wake of the Second Lebanon War, questions were added to the most recent survey relating to the fear and militancy variables, and the extent of belief in the moral "justice of the cause" of the State of Israel was also assessed.

An analysis of the responses yields the following conclusions:

- **The level of fear from threats** has been declining continually since 2003 in regard to terror, but rose steeply in 2006 in regard to external threats (primarily missiles and rockets). This level is particularly high among the minorities and new immigrants, who were within missile range during the war.
- **The level of militancy** (the public's readiness for extreme responses to external threats) remained stable. The general public did not press the government to go to war, and is not demanding another round to restore deterrence. After a rise in militancy among Christians and Druze since 2002, there was a decline among Christians and a sharp rise among Druze.
- **The level of patriotism** in the Jewish public remained stable despite the relative failure in the war, with no differences detected between those who were and were not within missile range. The level of patriotism began to rise again among settlers (after declining because of the disengagement), and dropped sharply among the minorities, further widening the gap between them and the Jews.
- **The level of optimism** declined slightly among the Jews (regardless of whether they live within missile range) and dropped sharply among the minorities. A large gap was found between Christians who were within missile range and Christians in other parts of the country. A parallel, though more moderate, gap was found among Muslims and Druze.

- **The level of confidence in public institutions** continues to erode among the general public. Jewish citizens reached a new nadir in the level of confidence in the Supreme Court and a significant decline in the level of confidence in the IDF, particularly among new immigrants. The level of confidence in the media showed a moderate decline among new immigrants and a steeper one among the minorities.

*Throughout the entire public, there is a decline in the level of confidence in institutions. Among Jews, there is a significant decline in confidence in the army*

There is, therefore, evidence of relative stability in the fundamental infrastructure of beliefs of Israeli citizens. The Jewish public displays high levels of faith in the justice of the cause, satisfaction regarding the resilience of the society, and clearly distinguished between the society, on one hand, and the leadership and defense system that did not meet previous expectations, on the other.

## **Trends in Israeli patriotism**

Patriotism is an all-inclusive name for a feeling of connection, belonging, identification and commitment that citizens have for their state – that is, their native or adopted homeland. These feelings motivate them to be ready to act for the benefit of the national collective and to defend it if necessary, even at the cost of self-sacrifice. In recognition of this emotion's central place in creating and maintaining national strength, the development of patriotic feeling in Israel is examined in the annual survey of Israeli patriotism (conducted by the Institute for Policy and Strategy).

This year, in addition to the standard measurements of patriotic affinity (readiness for sacrifice, rootedness, pride and symbols), the survey also examined the specific impact on patriotism of the central event of 2006 – the Lebanon War and its concomitant problems – as well as a series of additional developments. These included an assessment of the results of the unilateral

disengagement from the Gaza Strip, the unabated firing of Qassams in southwestern Israel, the deployment of the IDF for the non-military purpose of evacuating Jewish settlements, the proliferating signs of corruption in the government system, the intensified internal Palestinian battles between Hamas and Fatah, and the escalation of the Iranian threat.

The main conclusion of the survey (which was conducted in December 2006) is that **the high level of patriotism** found in late 2005 **did not weaken**. On the contrary, the Jewish public's emotional attachment to the state as a collective of citizens strengthened somewhat, in contrast to clear erosion in the confidence and appreciation felt by the citizenry toward the government and Knesset, and a more moderate decline in their evaluation of the defense system. The Jewish public in Israel draws a clear line between the strength and ability of the society and its individual members, on one hand, and the failures of the political leadership, on the other hand. During the past 18 months, the IDF has disappointed various groups in the Jewish population due to its performance in the war, but also because of its involvement in the evacuation of settlers from the Gaza Strip (which was seen by many as deviating from its role of protecting against an enemy, and even as undemocratic).

*The war did not erode, and even augmented to some extent, the patriotism of the Jewish public. However, there was a clear decline in its confidence in the government*

Other key findings:

- There was no change in the extent of **rootedness**, which is reflected in the preference for Israeli citizenship (among 89% of the respondents) and readiness to encourage the next generation to live in Israel (87%). But a decline was recorded in the level of absolute preference for Israeli citizenship (from 71% to 64%) and the level of absolute readiness to encourage the next generation to remain in Israel (from 69% to 63%). Some 77% of the respondents expressed an aspiration to remain in Israel permanently and non-willingness to emigrate.

The main motives for considering emigration are the economic situation (32%), the security situation (26%), government corruption (11%) and an aspiration for personal development (10%).

- Some increase was registered **in the emotional attachment to the state** and the Jewish public's high assessment of the strength of the civilian population. This trend, as well as the willingness to go to war if necessary, is higher than average among residents of Haifa and the North (who were within missile range of Hezbollah). This group is also more moderate in its criticism of the IDF.
- The level of patriotism in all of the aspects measured continues to be lower among **young people**. For example, the level of willingness to mobilize for combat decreased from 59% to 55%, compared to the previous year. But the level of preference for Israeli citizenship rose from 50% to 53%, and the level of readiness to encourage the next generation to remain in Israel rose from 49% to 56%.
- As in the previous year, the highest level of patriotism was found among the **religious**, and the lowest level (lower than in early 2006) was recorded among the ultra-Orthodox.
- The level of patriotism of the **right-wing** camp remained higher than that of the **left**, though the gap narrowed – due to both a rise in patriotism among the left and a decline in patriotism among the right. (In this context, the decline in the preference for Israeli citizenship among the right was particularly salient.)
- **University-educated** Israelis tend more than others to define themselves as patriots and are more ready to fight, and their support for conscientious objection also declined. However, erosion was evident in the strength of their willingness to fight and in their rootedness, a decline in the absolute readiness to mobilize in times of emergency (from 70% to 64%), in preferring Israeli citizenship (from 64% to 54%), and in their

*The level of patriotism is lower among young people*



readiness to encourage the next generation to remain in Israel (from 68% to 52%).

- The trend of alienation among **low-income** Israelis is continuing. They tend to define themselves as patriots to a lesser extent than others do, and their readiness for self-sacrifice is more hesitant. They are less proud than other groups of being Israeli and their affinity for the symbols of the state is weaker.
- The patriotism of **new immigrants** (who arrived in Israel since 1990) has declined, and they express less patriotism than long-time Israelis in all dimensions of patriotism, with the exception of the dimension of pride.
- The Israeli public is most proud of Israel's scientific and technological, artistic, literary and sports achievements – most of which are **the work of individuals in non-governmental entities**. Pride in the **Knesset and government** is **very low**, and has clearly declined in comparison to the previous year (also against the background of the Lebanon War).

*The patriotism of new immigrants declined*

Among the **Arab** public, the following trends stand out:

- Some 85% see themselves as Arab patriots, 52% as Palestinian patriots and only 32% as Israeli patriots.
- In most of the dimensions, erosion is evident in the level of Israeli patriotism in comparison to the previous year. For example, the level of pride in Israeliness dropped from 50% to 44% and the level of readiness to encourage the next generation to remain in Israel fell from 58% to 45%.
- The war weakened the emotional affinity of the Arab public toward the state, and most of this public has a low assessment of the strength of the civilian population. These trends are contrary to what was found in the Jewish public.
- Contrary to the situation among the Jewish public, the weakening of emotional affinity for the state was more salient among residents of Haifa and the North than among residents

*The war weakened the Arab public's emotional affinity to the state*

of other regions (43% versus 33%). This same is true in regard to the assessment of the civilian's population's strength: 26% of the Arabs of Haifa and the North rank this resilience as very weak, while this assessment is shared by only 9% of the Arabs living in other regions.

## **How to maintain Israel's financial strength**

The excellence of Israel's human resources, accelerated globalization and the penetration of high-tech into almost every area of life have opened broad horizons and exciting opportunities for Israel. The fact that Israeli technology is advancing at the pace of American technology, and much more rapidly than that of China and India, enables Israeli companies to create next-generation products for these two enormous markets.

**Israel now enjoys financial strength** that relies on consistent management of a correct and clear economic policy, and on maintaining a human, technological, regulatory and legal infrastructure that encourages business development. Clear expressions of this include fiscal discipline (which contributed to a significant reduction of Israel's debt), the lowering of taxes, a decline in absolute poverty (though accompanied by a moderate increase in relative poverty), high competition, work incentives, privatization and reforms.

The economic policy, in fact, is based on three reforms that were designed and implemented for the second consecutive year: taxation of financial investments; opening capital markets outside of Israel; and reforms related to pension funds and designated bonds. These reforms occurred in parallel to changes in the economic environment: global economic recovery and growth of liquidity (which accelerate the flow of capital to Israel for long-term investment); changes in the way the state raises capital; low inflation; reevaluations; and an active equity-issue market. The

*The reforms in the capital market contributed to high growth in 2006, despite the war*

goals of the three reforms were to create tools that would facilitate a secondary credit market and distribution of risks for non-banking institutions; to solve the problem of conflict of interests; and to reduce the centralization of the capital market and of the banking sector itself.

After a long series of problematic events – the disengagement, the illness of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, the Hamas victory in the Palestinian Authority elections and the war (which exacted an enormous monetary cost and shut down 25% of the economy) – **the year 2006 ended in growth** (a rise of 5% in GDP), a balanced government budget for 2007 (which was approved in time), an increase in foreign investment and a decline in unemployment. All of this occurred without the flight of dollars and without harming the shekel exchange rate. It can be stated that **the system is functioning and is not consumed by corruption**. (Evidence of this includes a record level of tax collection in January 2007, despite the dramatic police investigations at the Income Tax Authority.)

Not all of the reforms' goals were achieved in their entirety. Foreign strategic investors have yet to arrive and there is room to improve oversight and control in credit market. But the warnings about harm to the financial sector all turned out to be false: It maintained its stability and even grew. Even the large banks acknowledge the general success of the reforms (though they express reservations about the ensuing regulatory activity and the restrictions on their own financial affairs.)

*The warnings about how the reforms would harm the financial sector did not turn out to be true*

The challenges that loom in the context of financial strength include:

- Maintaining the momentum of growth and creating sustainable growth.
- Proper and effective institution of negative income tax.

- Increasing incentives for entering the workplace.
- A reform in the financing of the higher education system (via the Shochat Committee), which is producing much higher returns.
- Increasing banking competition for the benefit of consumers.
- Developing a real estate market and releasing it from bureaucratic constraints.
- Re-examination of the process of budgeting government ministries and local authorities.

To enhance Israel's competitiveness and to ensure its continued integration in the global economy in light of the threats to its growth engines, it is necessary to improve the regulatory and legislative environment and the tax system so that they will not lag behind other countries. After all, capital can leave Israel just as quickly as it enters it.

## **Economic growth and reducing poverty**

The public discourse features the ceaseless use of concepts of poverty (usually for purposes of political goading) and includes little practical discussion of the complex of relevant problems. First and foremost, answers to the following questions are required:

- Are polarization and the increase in relative poverty problems that the market will not solve on its own? If not, what is the preferred strategy for addressing the problems of poverty?
- Is universal intervention required or is individualized intervention sufficient?
- What steps are needed in the short term, medium term and long term to put Israeli society on a normal path? Can the economy bear the cost of these steps?

The economy's growth up until the Yom Kippur War was 5%-8% annually. Following that crisis, it fell to a level of 2% and the situation only really changed three years ago. In 1973, downward trends began in the level of participation in the workforce (related both to a change in the policy of transfer payments and, especially, to the separation of child allowances from employment), and today only 50% of the workforce is being utilized (compared to 60% in Europe). Later, large numbers of foreign workers were introduced into the Israeli economy (300,000 in 1999), which pushed Israelis out of the job market and also slowed down the increase in mechanization and productivity. All of this contributed to the rise in the poverty rate, which grew during the years 1998-2004 (especially from 2001-2004) and leveled off in the middle of 2004, but remains high.

The weighted average poverty rate in OECD countries is 13.5%, compared to 20.6% in Israel (including a third of the country's children). The poverty is most salient among Arabs and ultra-Orthodox Jews (more than 50% of the households in these sectors). Seventy percent of the poor are of working age. Some 15-16% of the working-age population is not part of the labor force.

*The poverty rate is particularly high among the Arabs and the ultra-Orthodox – 50% of these households are poor*

Among the proposed solutions:

- **Increasing investment in education** – on this matter, there is a consensus.
- A significant **reduction** in the number of **foreign workers**, with various emphases on the steps required for this – such as raising the tax on their employment and changes in the Israeli agricultural system.
- According to the National Insurance Institute, it is necessary to **expand the social safety net**; formulate a multiyear plan that reflects priorities and commits to mobilizing the required resources; develop an intervention plan that targets deprived

*To reduce poverty, it is necessary to increase the investment in education, reduce the number of foreign workers and expand the social safety net*

population groups; and increase the child allowances for all eligible recipients.

Others demand:

- A transition to measuring poverty according to overall income (not only monetary).
- Differential treatment of the problem of poverty (including, for example, individualized supplements to bring income above the poverty line for those who leave the workforce due to age).
- Instituting **an extended school day** through progressive taxation.
- Channeling child allowances directly to children (for example, via an extensive nutrition program in the educational institutions).
- Strengthening the Wisconsin Program – and first and foremost, raising productivity.

Emphasis must also be placed on the need to increase employment options. This includes making sure that Israel builds factories in advanced fields (and is not just an exporter of know-how and startups), and seeks to upgrade the traditional industries from low-tech to motech (mind-oriented technology).

## **The Arab sector and the economic changes**

The Arab sector numbers about 1.4 million people (18.3% of the population); 82% are Muslim, 9% Christian and 8% Druze. Some 49% of this population is under the age of 18 (though the birth rate is declining) and families are larger than among the Jewish population; only 20% of Arab women work outside the home. This combination of factors makes it difficult to adapt to the changes in employment in the Israeli economy against the backdrop of globalization, and the result is a high unemployment

rate (14% of the men) and a low average standard of living (49% of the families live below the poverty line, compared to 16% of Jewish families). However, processes of westernization are evident, particularly in central and northern Israel. These processes are encountering various impediments – for example, the high-tech industry's lack of openness to Arab workers.

The government is now preparing four initiatives for changing the current situation:

- Involving the Arab sector in a program for strengthening Haifa and the northern region in the wake of the Lebanon War. Some NIS 4 billion in state funds and contributions from Jews abroad will be invested in this program – a third in the Jewish sector, a third in the Arab sector and a third in infrastructure.
- Making the Arab sector part of a program that assists at-risk children and teenagers, designed to address 330,000 youngsters, a third of them Arabs.
- Establishing an economic development authority for the Arab sector, whose declared aim would be to develop ways to bypass obstacles, adapt financial instruments and promote the employment of women and those with academic degrees.
- Development of an equity capital fund for investments in small businesses in the Arab sector that would help not only with money, but also in marketing.

These and other proposals focus on developing joint industrial/employment zones for Jewish and Arab communities, especially in the Galilee; professional retraining for those with academic degrees; encouraging tourism; and joint projects for social bridging between the sectors (including projects with the assistance of the Jewish Agency).

## Problems and challenges in the energy field

The world energy market is facing far-reaching changes due to a number of factors, including:

- The shrinking of oil reserves (expected to last for 45 years according to current estimates), which will lead to further increases in oil prices and will result in oil being used primarily as a raw material and not as fuel.
- The increasing weight of the ecological factor and awareness of the pollution and greenhouse gases generated from the use of oil.
- The growth in energy consumption (primarily in transportation, and also due to the growth in the world's population).

Throughout the world, efforts are being made to face the anticipated changes by accelerating the transition to the use of natural gas, production and exploitation of biological fuels (for example, ethanol produced from plants) and mandatory technological adaptation of means of transportation. **Israel should become part of this trend** by drawing lessons from the wider world (including from Brazil, which makes wide use of ethanol), encouraging energy savings, considering the construction of nuclear power plants, promoting R&D in producing alternative energy (for example, solar energy) – and, especially, ensuring the supply of natural gas from a number of sources, increasing its use and liquefying it.

*Israel should become part of the global trend of moving to alternative sources of energy*

Egypt is an important, close and relatively inexpensive source of natural gas. Given the scope of Israeli contracts with Egypt (a billion dollars a year), it seems to have a clear interest not to stop the supply, even during times of crisis.

Another Israeli aspect of the changes in the oil industry is the use of the transshipping capability via the Eilat-Ashkelon pipeline



(including the oil that now reaches the Mediterranean from the Commonwealth of Independent States for marketing in fast-growing regions in Asia.)

## **How land and ecology are related to national strength**

The return to land and nature was one of the most basic elements of the Zionist ethos. The program to renew Jewish sovereignty as a solution for "the Jewish question" was anchored in the physical entity of the Land of Israel, as an antithesis to the extraterritorial nature of Judaism for nearly 2,000 years and also in defiance of the "reverse pyramid" of Jewish occupations (which was seen, in itself, as a central catalyst for the hatred of Jews). A number of concepts were derived from this, including the "redemption of the land" and "making the wilderness bloom." This, no less than geo-economic and social constraints, was the source of the centrality of agriculture – not only in Zionist rhetoric but also in the allocation of the limited Zionist resources. A clear expression of this attitude can be found, for example, in the writings of A.D. Gordon, who argued that working the land binds man to nature and the reward for this bond is expressed in a new identity that grounds the people's right to its land.

But in reality, urban settlement easily outpaced rural settlement. Agriculture was relegated to the margins of the national economy and little or no attention was accorded to environmental values and considerations.

Today, it is clear that a change in direction is needed for reasons of national strength (that is, in light of the importance of territory in forging national identity), for quality of life and aesthetic reasons, and for practical purposes. The dangerous global warming due to "the greenhouse effect," the severe pollution of

*Fostering  
environmental  
values is a  
component of  
national  
strength*

the air, water and soil, the depletion of resources – all these sharpen the awareness of the importance of ecology and emphasize the need for environmental consciousness.

Thus, new paradigms need to be formulated in various areas of public policy (such as traffic, sewage, establishing nature preserves – to name just a few). This entails economic and technological innovation (wind turbines, solar power plants, "clean" vehicles and so on). Israel has considerable potential in this context, and realizing this potential will be one of the most important challenges of the coming years.

### **The contribution of the education system to national strength: the reality and the vision**

In the era of information and technology, **human capital** is one of the most important resources, if not the most important of all, available to national communities and societies. This is especially true in a state like Israel, which faces existential challenges, is in a unique geopolitical situation, is limited in its physical resources and climatic features, and aspires to maintain a high standard of living along with social solidarity and to ensure its strong standing in the competitive global market. The nurturing of human capital is a basic component in ensuring social welfare and national strength everywhere, and even more so in Israel, and the responsibility for this lies in the hands of the education system. This system must know how to combine the aspiration to exploit the potential of each pupil and relentless determination to address their problems. It should not settle for mediocrity; the education system should aspire to an **ethos of excellence** and the uncompromising need to instill this ethos.

*Human capital is the basic component of national strength, but the achievements of the education system are on the decline*

The value of excellence guided the Jewish collective in the Diaspora for hundreds of years, with the erudite scholar as the standard model of emulation. The education system in Israel also

operated in this spirit in the past, including the years of massive immigration, when it played a central role in absorption. However, for several years, the system has appeared to be seriously disrupted. Its assessed **achievements are in a process of significant decline** and the ranking of Israeli students in international exams is dropping.

The decline and deterioration is salient in comparison to developed Western countries such as Finland, whose investment in elementary education and secondary education (in per capital GDP) is less than the investment in Israel by 37% and 12%, respectively. These trends are also evident in regard to countries with low GDP, such as Malaysia, Romania and Thailand. And what is even more serious, this is also the case vis-à-vis Iran, which is approaching us rapidly with giant strides in all fields of educational output. For example, in 2003, Iran's representatives won 17<sup>th</sup> place in the international math Olympics, while Israel's representatives had to settle for 21<sup>st</sup> place. In 2004, this gap was 9<sup>th</sup> place versus 15<sup>th</sup> place.

Teachers' salaries in Israel are much lower than the accepted standard in the West. This fact bodes poorly for the effectiveness of the system, the attractiveness of the teaching profession and its level in the future. Meanwhile, surveys clearly indicate, in accordance with the findings of international exams, that most of the parents, teachers and principals believe that **the education system provides a response for average students only** and does not suitably address outstanding or struggling students. The surveys show that most of the parents, principals and teachers perceive the achievements of students in the Israeli education system as low or very low. They think the system is failing to provide the tools and skills needed in the modern world, and cite an urgent need to foster outstanding students. Some 78% of the parents consider this need to be very important, though most of

*The education system does not provide appropriately for outstanding or struggling students*

the parents do not consider their children to be outstanding students.

Therefore, the circumstances mandate not only an increase in the education budget, but also, first and foremost, the promotion of education to head the list of national priorities. Action must be taken **to promote education for excellence**, based on the assessment that this engine will continue to drive the entire train forward. The **aspiration for excellence** should be developed and placed among the system's declared objectives, starting in elementary school, and continuing through secondary school to higher education. This should be implemented via reforms, ranging from early childhood education through to higher international standards for academic institutions. All of this must be based on an egalitarian approach, meaning **equality of opportunity** (including eliminating the connection between students' socioeconomic status and the options available to them), and **not the aspiration toward equalization** (which inevitably means imposing mediocrity).

*Action should be taken to promote education for excellence*

This requires a differential investment of the education system's resources, enlarging the allotment to suitable programs and funding for outstanding students, from which future generations of artists, scientists, researchers and entrepreneurs are expected to emerge. In addition to identifying this population, which is estimated to comprise about 10% of all students in all educational institutions throughout the state, **high-quality personnel must be drawn in to the system and excellent teachers must be trained to teach the top decile.** (And this, by the way, will set higher standards for the entire system.) Non-institutional, professional personnel should also be recruited from all sectors of society to become involved in nurturing the outstanding students and to serve as models for broadening horizons and social involvement.

The outstanding students should be encouraged to think critically, to be ethically committed, and to take responsibility.

In addition, the following action is required:

- The **Ministry of Education** should form a steering committee devoted to shaping national policy for promoting outstanding students. The committee would coordinate the drafting of a multiyear master plan, set criteria for operating specific programs to foster excellence in schools, assess the implementation of these programs and help various educational frameworks take part in the effort to promote excellence.
- The **local government** system must develop community programs for advancing excellence via local committees, headed by the mayors. Operating in accordance with each community's characteristics, these committees will recruit the assistance of community groups and local companies, and will increase the outstanding students' involvement in the local setting.
- Action must be taken to properly train school principals to carry out most of the fieldwork of promoting excellence, to form teams of skilled teachers who are devoted to their work, and to work in optimal cooperation with other schools.
- A **National Fund for Excellence in Education** must be established, and the commitment to education for excellence must be delineated as one of the Education Ministry's basic requirements for schools and the local authorities that operate them. In addition, alternatives to matriculation certificate grades must be developed for schools recognized by the Council of Higher Education for their unique quality.
- The education system should study and apply lessons from school systems around the world, including lessons from the No Child Left Behind program that has been operating in the U.S. for five years with impressive success.

*A national steering committee should be formed to develop a policy of promoting excellence in education*

In parallel to developing programs for promoting excellence in education, and perhaps as an inseparable part of them, in-depth study should be devoted to the proposal for **a fundamental reform** designed to overcome all of the serious constraints of the Israeli situation.

The educational system of modern Western societies positions its graduates at the starting gate for the race of life when they are 22 years old on average. At this age, they have 16 consecutive years of schooling behind them – 12 years of elementary and secondary school and another four years of college (expressed in an academic "bachelor's" degree) – and they are ready to enter the skilled employment market or to embark upon an advanced academic specialization. But the overwhelming majority of their Israeli peers are only beginning their academic training at this age after having left the classroom at age 18, after performing long and often strenuous army service, and usually also after taking a year "to let off steam." The Israeli education system's current structure is therefore adapted to embarking on a career at about age 25, a delay of about three (perhaps critical) years that is compounded by a set of other serious problems that repeatedly come up in the public discourse.

The main step required to reform the system is to provide the opportunity for 14-15 years of consecutive study in school frameworks, starting from age 4. The advantages of this step include:

- It would provide **a way to receive a matriculation certificate** (or its equivalent) **at age 15-16**, and an initial academic degree (or its equivalent) at age 18-19.
- Would better address the needs of population groups whose learning abilities are not strong.
- Would enable young Israelis to become involved in serious social-economic activity or advanced study at the same age as

*A reform  
should be  
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from age 4*

is customary in the enlightened and advanced West for their own benefit and for the common good of society. This would be an important contribution to maintaining the state's relative qualitative advantage and its ability to compete in the fields of economy, science, society and defense.

The proposed structure is composed of four age divisions, with the possibility of stronger or weaker organizational links between them, depending on social, economic and geographic considerations:

- Pre-elementary division for ages 4-8.
- Elementary division for ages 8-12.
- High school division for ages 12-16.
- Post-secondary division for ages 16-19 (or 15-18, as explained below).

In general, the first three divisions are designed to achieve the expected educational products of kindergarten, elementary school, middle school and high school studies in the current structure, and to accomplish this in 12 years rather than 14 years. The fourth division will include an academic track of studies for a bachelor's degree in an institution of higher learning, as well as a track for those who are not prepared for this. The second track will offer studies to be a technician/practical engineer, studies of two-year professions, pre-military preparation for technological professions, a second and third opportunity to attain a matriculation certificate or its equivalent, and so on.

The state will not abandon the approach calling for mandatory education through age 18 (and from its funding, if necessary, through age 19), utilizing the best public frameworks available today outside of the compulsory education system.

This reform includes these and other **advantages**:

- Instilling new spirit in a system that is now in a severe crisis.
- Contributing significantly to closing gaps between the most talented personnel in Israel and abroad.
- Offering the possibility of generating an educational revolution on a budget that is not much different than that of the existing system.
- Providing an educational-training security net for the entire young generation, better possibilities for exploiting the individual abilities of top students, and a second and third opportunity for students whose achievements do not allow them to enter academia.
- Providing a possibility for uninterrupted learning momentum through the basic educational level needed today for successful entry to an advanced and enlightened society.
- Assisting the IDF, which already supports the initiative, in enhancing its personnel and in optimizing the training of soldiers and commanders prior to their induction.

*The proposed reform constitutes an educational revolution without a significant budget increase*



# The Condition of the Jewish People and its Future

## The crisis of the Jewish people in Israel and in the Diaspora

The rise in anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism described above is hitting the Jewish people at a time of deep crisis. Salient expressions of this crisis include:

- **Demographic shrinkage** of the Jewish people: Outside the borders of Israel, the number of Jewish people is diminishing: The rate of intermarriage in the U.S., Russia, Ukraine and Hungary is over 50%. In general, the birth rate falls below the replacement rate, and the long-term projections forecast a deepening of these trends.
- A decline in the connection to Jewish culture and Jewish orientation.
- **A weakening in the connection between Israel and the Diaspora**, especially in the young generation: Two-thirds of U.S. Jews have never visited Israel; the average Israeli is not familiar with the Diaspora; and neither side is sufficiently infused with a sense of affinity for the Jewish people.
- A weakness of leadership in all areas related to confronting these manifestations of the crisis. This is the result of the multiplicity of Jewish organizations and **the lack of vision and strategic programs** to address the crisis.

*World Jewry is experiencing a demographic and cultural crisis, and its connection to Israel is weakening*

*There is not much in common between the identity of the secular Jew in Israel and identity of the American Jew*

A central component in this crisis is **the question of identity** – of the Israeli in Israel and of the Jew in the Diaspora – and the problematic nature of the **connection between these identities**.

**Today's Israelis** have been exposed for several years to profound processes of change. They live in a society that is much more feminist and unisex. Following an impressive success in inter-

ethnic assimilation, they are much more "Ashke-Mizrahi." They are more global and more open to the world outside of Israel. Their orientation is more careerist, capitalist, hedonist and high-tech. They have transitioned from a **collectivist ethos**, which emphasized toughness, repression of emotions, downplaying of intimacy and dedication to the Zionist vision, to a much more **individualistic** ethos. They are experiencing a transition from a melting pot to cultural pluralism. However, they **still identify very strongly with the state**, are socially involved in its failures and successes, and see themselves as belonging to a chosen tribe. They almost always have a "hyphenated" identity – they are not only Israeli, but yuppie-Israeli or ultra-Orthodox-Israeli or Shasnik-Israeli, and so on. They are situated within a range of cultures and subcultures and sub-lifestyles.

However, the Jewish identity of the secular Israeli is in need of broad cultivation. The Shenhar Committee, back in 1994, noted the need for the education system to confront **the decline in Jewish studies** in light of the poor state of humanistic education in the technological society and of the disagreements that divide Israeli society. The committee also emphasized the need for students to become familiar with the various streams in Judaism. However, the committee's report was never implemented as required. The damage resulting from this includes: disengagement of young Israelis from their brethren overseas, which is liable to lead to the creation of two cultures and two peoples; and a continued decline in the number of students majoring in Jewish studies at the universities, which leads to a growing shortage of suitable teachers for the state education system.

Regarding the **Diaspora**, there is a feeling among U.S. Jews, for example, that they have not succeeded in instilling the special attitude toward Israel in the younger generation. This younger generation is different from its predecessors. Among those aged 20-30, only **12%-14%** are successful products of **Jewish education with a connection to Israel**, are proud of their Jewishness, connected to the community, will marry a Jew and will give their children the same Jewish education and experience they received. A third of them are lost to Judaism – being a Jew has no meaning for them. About 20% are looking for spiritual experiences, and whether these experiences are Jewish or Buddhist makes no difference to them. Many young Jews throughout the world disregard the centrality and importance of the State of Israel for their Judaism or future. **Young Jews in the U.S. are ashamed of their Judaism** and do not feel a connection to Israel or its politics when they are exposed to a discussion of Israel in the media.

*Only 1/7 of the young generation of American Jews is a product of Jewish education with a connection to Israel*

The weakening of Diaspora Jewry's connection with Israel is also expressed in the **weakening of aliyah** [Jewish immigration]: Since the large wave of Jews came from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s, immigration to Israel has been in continuous decline. In fact, the reservoirs of immigrants from communities in distress have dried out. Most of the Jewish people live in liberal, democratic welfare states and **aliyah is a matter of choice, based on a desire to live in a Jewish environment whose identity is clear**. It seems that the potential for *aliyah* is relatively high among what is defined as the world's third largest Jewish community (after Israel and the U.S.), comprising some 700,000 *yordim* [expatriate Israelis]. The number of returnees currently stands at only 8,000 per year.

*The dwindling of aliyah is continuing*

## What needs to be done?

An effort must be made to "upgrade" the Jewish people in the Diaspora – strengthening its self-awareness and its connection to Jewish culture, increasing its solidarity and linking it closer to Israel, including through projects like Taglit-birthright israel. An important step in this direction is the establishment of the World Jewish Forum, a meeting of leaders of the Jewish people in Israel and the Diaspora to develop comprehensive and joint strategies for confronting the crisis. Slated to meet for the first time in spring 2008, the forum has set goals including expanding and enhancing Jewish education, strengthening solidarity and the sense of belonging to one people, deepening the connection between Jewish youth in the Diaspora and Israel, and promoting the growth of the Jewish population.

In the framework of this effort, action must be taken **to formulate a Jewish identity that will be common to Israelis and Diaspora Jews** in light of the differences in identity today. In Israel, in what is referred to as the "secular sphere," Jewish identity is perceived in collective-national terms. In the Diaspora, on the other hand, since the French and American revolutions and as part of modernity, the political power of the community waned. The subjective consideration became central in defining Jewish identity, with each Jew allowed to choose whether to participate in the community and express his/her Jewish identity, and the emphasis in this identity is on religious and individual components. Therefore, to create a strong bridge between the Jews in Israel and the Diaspora, components of the collective must be **incorporated** in Jewish identity with those of the individual – **national components with spiritual ones**. In parallel, the Jews of the Diaspora must find ways to **restore group consciousness to Jewish identity**, together with a feeling of responsibility toward the Jewish people and, consequently, toward the State of Israel.

*The Jewish people in the Diaspora, and its identity and connections with Israel, should be "upgraded"*

*In order to create a bridge between the Jews in Israel and in the Diaspora, there is a need to incorporate national elements in Jewish identity together with spiritual-individualistic components*

The need to strengthen Jewish identity in the Diaspora and to foster solidarity between the Diaspora and Israel has found expression for some years in programs like "Taglit" – birthright israel and Masa. Some 120,000 young Jews (ages 18-26) have visited Israel via the Taglit program, one of whose important components is spending 5-10 days with IDF soldiers. This joint experience has proved to be enriching for both sides. The Masa program, which began in 2003, focuses on bringing young Diaspora Jews (ages 18-30) to Israel for a semester or year, with the financial support of the State of Israel. The program currently serves 9,000 participants per year, and the aim is to reach 20,000 participants annually.

Israel needs *aliyah* and should exert a national effort to encourage it. In particular, the *aliyah* potential among the community of expatriates ("*yordim*") should be exploited by encouraging their return to Israel and removing obstacles that make this difficult for them.

*The potential for aliyah among expatriates ("yordim") should be exploited*

At the initiative of the Jewish Agency, various entities in the Israeli business community have been working for some years to promote the absorption of immigrants. They do this via several programs, including the At Home-Together project, which mobilizes thousands of Israelis to personally accompany new immigrants. These social projects of the business community are carried out in collaboration with Diaspora Jewish communities and businesspeople, and as such also contribute to national strength.



# Conference Program

<b>Sunday, Jan. 21, 2007</b>
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**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

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

**Margaret Spellings**, US Secretary of Education

Prof. **Yuli Tamir**, Minister of Education

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**Dr. Shimshon Shoshani**, CEO, "Taglit" -birthright israel

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**12:30 Lunch Session**

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

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**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

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

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### **20:30** Dinner Session

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

**Gordon England**, US Deputy Secretary of Defense

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**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

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**Amir Peretz**, Minister of Defense, Chairman of the Labor Party  
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❖ **Israeli Arabs and the Jewish State**

Chair: **Hagai Meir**, Treasurer, Jewish Agency for Israel

Adv. **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

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**13:00 Lunch Session**

Chair: **Jack Rosen**, Chairman, American Jewish Congress

**Shimon Peres**, Vice Premier; Former Prime Minister

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## 14:00 Afternoon Sessions

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

Chair: Adv. **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

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**Mr. José María Aznar**, President, FAES; Former Prime Minister of Spain  
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❖ Prof. **Alan M. Dershowitz**, Harvard Law School – via satellite  
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### ❖ 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

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Chair: **Moshe Ronen**, Chairman, Canada-Israel Committee  
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**Peter MacKay**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Canada  
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### ❖ 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

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20:00 Dinner Session

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

Chair: **Poju Zabłudowicz**, 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

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**13:30 Lunch Session**

Dr. **Charles Murray**, American Enterprise Institute

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**15:00 Afternoon Sessions**

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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

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❖ **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, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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

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**Ze'ev Boim**, Minister of Immigrant Absorption

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❖ **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

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**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

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**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 and 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*

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**12:00 Lunch Session**

**Avraham Hirschson**, Minister of Finance

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**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

❖ **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 photography prize – "Patriotism during the War in Lebanon"*



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

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Dinner

Chair: Prof. **Amnon Rubinstein**

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

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**Ehud Olmert**, Prime Minister

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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**

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## 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 while aiming to create an Israeli university where personal achievement goes hand-in-hand with social responsibility.

IDC Herzliya's student body consists of some 3,600 Bachelor & Master degree students who study at the Center's six 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 and the Raphael Recanati International School. IDC Herzliya is also home to some ten research centers.

Its staff, led by IDC President **Prof. Amnon Rubinstein**, 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 a 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 Ambassador Ronald S. Lauder, and headed by the late Professor 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. Rafi Melnick. 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 by Prof. Uzi Arad in 2000. The Institute operates as part of the Lauder School of Government at the Interdisciplinary Center (IDC) Herzliya. Its primary objective is to engage in research activities which contribute to Israel's national policy and to the upgrading of its strategic decision-making process. The range of IPS projects encompasses a variety of issues crucial to Israel, including national security and strategy; foreign policy; intelligence; the Jewish people; economics; science and technology; welfare; social policy and education.

IPS conducts research on a broad analytical scope, concentrating on identifying emerging issues and trends. It also invests resources 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, 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 Ambassador 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. Rafi Melnick, Prof. Uriel Reichman, Dr. Mordechai Segal, and Maj. Gen. (res.) Shlomo Yanai.

# Conference Participants

## International Participants

Mr. **Asem Ababneh**, Political Officer, Embassy of Jordan  
Mr. **Kenneth Abramowitz**, Managing General Partner, NGN Capital  
Ms. **Nira Abramowitz**, Abramowitz Family Foundation  
Mr. **Yosef Israel Abramowitz**, Director, Arava Power Company  
Amb. **Ali Hamdan Alayed**, Ambassador of Jordan to Israel  
Amb. **Jon Allen**, Ambassador of Canada to Israel  
Mr. **Paul Amir**, CEO, Amir Development Company  
Ms. **Herta Amir**, Amir Development Company  
Mr. **Isaac Applbaum**, General Partner, Opus Capital  
Mr. **Bruce Arbit**, Co-Managing Director, A.B. Data Direct Marketing Services  
Mr. **Robert Asher**, Chairman, The Society for Excellence Through Education  
Dr. **Ronald Asmus**, Executive Director, Transatlantic Center, The German Marshall Fund of the United States  
Mr. **José María Aznar**, President, FAES; Former Prime Minister of Spain  
Ms. **Shula Bahat**, Associate Executive Director, American Jewish Committee  
Mr. **Rafael Bardaji**, Director, International Politics, FAES Foundation  
Mr. **Gary Beaton**, Vice President, The Lassa Foundation  
Ms. **Orly Benny-Davis**, Political Advisor, Pomegranate  
Dr. **Peter Berkowitz**, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University  
Mr. **Howard P. Berkowitz**, President, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy  
Mr. **Paul Besnainou**  
Mr. **Pierre Besnainou**, President, European Jewish Congress  
Mr. **Christophe Bigot**, Deputy Head of Mission and Charge d' Affaires, Embassy of France  
Ms. **Catherine Bly Cox**, English Literature Instructor, Rutgers University  
Mr. **Joern Boehme**, Director, Heinrich Boell Foundation  
Mr. **David Borowich**, Senior Vice President, RAI Group  
Ms. **Ana Botella**, Councilperson for Employment and Citizen Services, Madrid City Council  
Prof. **Paul Bracken**, School of Management, Yale University  
Dr. **Ian Bremmer**, President, Eurasia Group  
Ms. **Gerda Brender**  
Sir **Joseph Brender**, Founder, Katie's Clothing  
Mr. **Matthew Bronfman**, Chair, Budget and Finance Commission, World Jewish Congress; Chairman and CEO, BHB Holdings  
Mr. **Charles Bronfman**, Chairman, Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies Inc.  
Mr. **Matthew Herbert Brooks**, Executive Director, Republican Jewish Coalition  
Mr. **Ken Brower**, President, Spectrum Associates

Mr. **Hermann Bünz**, Director, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Israel Office  
 Amb. **Nicholas Burns**, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, US Department of State  
 Mr. **Don Burris**, Senior Partner, Burris & Schoenberg LLP  
 Ms. **Claudia Camozzi**, Assistant to Ambassador Ronald Lauder  
 Mr. **Herve de Carmoy**, European Deputy Chairman, The Trilateral Commission  
 Mr. **Mark Chais**, Member of the Board, Chais Family Foundation  
 Amb. **Francois Chappuis**, Ambassador of Switzerland to Israel  
 Mr. **Henry J. Charrabe**, COO, W2W - Water 2 Water  
 Ms. **Jill Charrabe**  
 Ms. **Nadja Choeb**, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Israel Office  
 Ms. **Alison Clarke**, Director, News International Ltd.  
 Mr. **Sean Cleary**, Faculty Member, Parmenides Foundation  
 Mr. **David Cohen**, Chairman, REIT Property Management India  
 Mr. **Efraim A. Cohen**, Cultural Affairs Officer, Embassy of the United States of America  
 Sir **Ronald Cohen**, Chairman, Portland Capital & Portland Trust  
 Mr. **Thomas M. Cohn**, Arcadis  
 Dr. **John Cohn**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia  
 Ms. **Sherry Cohn**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia  
 Mr. **Bruce Cole**, Vice Chairman, Morgan Stern Merchant Bank  
 Ms. **Nanette Cole**, Attorney and Beverly Hills Commissioner  
 Prof. **Irwin Cotler**, Member of Parliament; Former Minister of Justice, Canada  
 Mr. **Gene Cretz**, Deputy Chief of Mission, Embassy of the United States of America  
 Ms. **Monica Crowley**, Host, Westwood One Radio  
 Dr. **Robert Danin**, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, US Department of State  
 Amb. **Sandro de Bernardin**, Ambassador of Italy to Israel  
 Amb. **A. Carsten Damsgaard**, Ambassador of Denmark to Israel  
 Mr. **Morris Dean**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia  
 Ms. **Beryl Dean**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia  
 Mr. **Samuel Delug**, Owner, ANI Networks  
 Ms. **Rosette Delug**, Owner, ANI Networks  
 Prof. **Alan M. Dershowitz**, Harvard Law School  
 Mr. **Knut Dethlefsen**, Director, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), East Jerusalem  
 Mr. **Chris Donnelly**, Senior Fellow, Defence Academy of the United Kingdom  
 Amb. **Milan Dubcek**, Ambassador of Slovakia to Israel  
 Mr. **Trevor Michael Dunbar**, Director, The Lassa Foundation  
 Mr. **David Edman**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia  
 Senator **John Edwards**, Head, One America Committee; Candidate for the 2008 Democratic Presidential Nomination  
 Dr. **Robert Einhorn**, Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic and International Studies  
 Rabbi Prof. **David Ellenson**, President, Hebrew Union College  
 Mr. **Alfred Ellis**, Managing Partner, Zimble & Brettler, LLP  
 Mr. **Gordon England**, United States Deputy Secretary of Defense

Mr. **Bain Ennis**, Senior Vice President of Operations, The Reffe Group

Mr. **Steven Erlanger**, Jerusalem Bureau Chief, *The New York Times*

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

Mr. **Joel Feerst**, Executive Director, Jewish Community Endowment Foundation

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

Dr. **Helena Kane Finn**, Counselor for Public Affairs, Embassy of the United States of America

Mr. **Peter Fischer**, Deputy Head of Mission, Embassy of Germany

Dr. **Cheryl Fishbein**

Ms. **Erica Fishbein**, Jewish Service Corps

Ms. **Lorna Fitzsimons**, CEO, BICOM

Mr. **David Flaum**, National Chairman, Republican Jewish Coalition

Dr. **Hans-Georg Fleck**, Resident Representative of Naumann Foundation in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, Friedrich Naumann Stiftung

Prof. **Joel Fleishman**, Professor of Law and Public Policy, Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University

Amb. **Michael Finian Forbes**, Ambassador of Ireland to Israel

Mr. **William Fox**, Headmaster, Abraham Lincoln School

Dr. **Hillel G. Fradkin**, Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute

Ms. **Lorraine Friedman**, Realtor, Luxurybocahomes.com

Mr. **Troels Froling**, Secretary General, Atlantic Treaty Association

Lord **Robert Gascoyne-Cecil of Salisbury**, Marquess of Salisbury

Dr. **Jeffery Gedmin**, Director, Aspen Institute, Berlin

Ms. **Chaya Gil**, Columnist, *Daily Herald*

Mr. **Ephi Gildor**, Managing Partner, Argos Capital (Gildor Investments)

Mr. **Newt Gingrich**, Former US Speaker of the House of Representatives

Mr. **Gary L. Ginsberg**, Executive Vice President for Corporate Affairs, News Corporation

Mr. **Dean Godson**, Research Director, Policy Exchange

Mr. **Marc Gold**, Vice President, Maxwell Cummings and Sons Holdings Ltd.

Mr. **Mark Goldberg**, Founder, Unite Israel Foundation

Mr. **Jacob Goldfield**, JG Fund

Mr. **Neil Goldstein**, Executive Director and CEO, American Jewish Congress

Ms. **Laurel Grass**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia

Dr. **Stanley Greenberg**, Senior Polling and Strategic Consultant, The Israel Project

Mr. **Michael Gross**

Mr. **Andrew Groveman**, Senior VP, Belz Enterprises

Mr. **Bernard Groveman**, Senior Managing Director, First Manhattan Co.

Amb. **Danielle Guilbert del Marmol**, Ambassador of Belgium to Israel

General the Lord **Charles Guthrie** of Craigiebank, GCB, LVO, Former Chief of Defense Staff, U.K.

Mr. **Bob Guzzardi**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia

Amb. Dr. **Andras Gyenge**, Ambassador of Hungary to Israel

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

Mr. **Jonathan Hakakha**, Loan Consultant, Commercial Realty Consultants

Mr. **Ari Harow**, National Executive Director, American Friends of Likud

Ms. **Alexandra (Sasha) Havlicek**, Executive Director, Weidenfeld Institute for Strategic Dialogue

Mr. **David Hearst**, Associate Foreign Editor, *The Guardian*

Mr. **Stephen E. Herbits**, Secretary General, World Jewish Congress

Prof. **Margaret Hermann**, Director, Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Maxwell School, Syracuse University

Amb. **Bob Hiensch**, Ambassador of the Netherlands to Israel

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

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

Mr. **Avraham Infeld**, President, Chais Family Foundation

Mr. **Baruch Ivcher**, Entrepreneur

Mr. **Bruce P. Jackson**, President, Project on Transitional Democracies

Mr. **Stephen C. Jacobs**, Attorney, Kramer, Levin, Naftalis and Frankel LLP

Mr. **James Jamerson**, Vice President for Business Development, Middle East/ Africa, Lockheed Martin Corporation

Dr. **Alex Joffe**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia

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

Amb. **Richard H. Jones**, Ambassador of the United States of America to Israel

Ms. **Karla Jones**, Europe Project Director, JINSA

Prof. **Karl Kaiser**, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Former Head of Council on Foreign Relations

Ms. **Laura Kam**, Senior Advisor for European Affairs, The Israel Project

Ms. **Esther Kandel**

Mr. **Harvey Karp**, Co-Founder, Israel Up Close News Magazines

Mr. **Daniel Kaufthal**, Development Manager, Roseland Property Company

Mr. **Ilan Kaufthal**, Vice Chairman - Investment Banking, Bear, Stearns and Co. Ltd.

Ms. **Linda Kaufthal**

Mr. **Trevor Kavanagh**, Associate Editor, *The Sun*

Ms. **Jacqueline Kavanagh**, BICOM

Mr. **Craig Kennedy**, President, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Amb. **Harald Kindermann**, Ambassador of Germany to Israel

Mr. **Ariel Kor**, Israel Venture Network (IVN)

Mr. **Benoit Koukebene**, President, TELEMA

Amb. **Tarek El Kouny**, Charge d' Affaires, Embassy of Egypt

Ms. **Iryna Krasouskaya**

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Mr. **Harvey Krueger**, Vice Chairman, Lehman Brothers, Inc.

Mr. **Tom Kully**, President, Rail-Splitter Capital Management

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

Mr. **Jay Lefkowitz**, Special Envoy, United States Department of State

Mr. **Marc Leland**, President, Marc E. Leland and Associates

Mr. **Bernard Leventhal**, Senior Vice President, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Ms. **Phyllis Leventhal**, Trustee, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Mr. **Jaromir Levicek**, Near East Unit, DG External Relations, European Commission

Mr. **Alvin Levitt**, Chairman of the Board, Jim Joseph Foundation

Mr. **David Levy**, Private Investor

Prof. (Emeritus) **Bernard Lewis**, Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University

Amb. **Jakken Biorn Lian**, Ambassador of Norway to Israel

Mr. **Doron Livnat**, President and CEO, Lima Holdings B.V.

Mr. **Jeffrey A. Lovitky**, Attorney, Law Office of Jeffrey A. Lovitky

Ms. **Lori Lowenthal Marcus**, President, Greater Philadelphia District of ZOA

Ms. **Ying Ma**, Associate, Simpson Thacher and Bartlett LLP

Mr. **Peter MacKay**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Canada

Amb. **Agnieszka Magdziak-Miszewska**, Ambassador of Poland to Israel

Mr. **David Makovsky**, Director of the Project on the Middle East Peace Process, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Mr. **Marvin Markowitz**, President and CEO, The Lenmar Companies

Rabbi **Levi Matusof**, Director for Public Affairs, European Jewish Community Center

Ms. **Isabel Maxwell**, Chair, Social Entrepreneurial Program, Israel Venture Network

Senator **John McCain**, Senior US Senator from Arizona; Candidate for the 2008 Republican Presidential Nomination

Mr. **Scott W. McHugh**, President, The Lassa Group

Mr. **Robert McNally**, Vice President, Tudor Investment Corporation

Ms. **Camilla Mellander**, Advisor to the EU Special Representative to the Middle East Peace Process, European Union

Mr. **David J. Menton**, Investment Manager, Tamares Group

Dr. **Julio Messer**, President, American Friends of Likud

Mr. **John Miller**, Director, International Business Development, Raytheon

Amb. **Eudaldo Mirapeix Martinez**, Ambassador of Spain to Israel

Ms. **Maureen Miskovic**, Chief Operating Officer, Eurasia Group

Dr. **Edward L. Morse**, Chief Energy Economist and Managing Director, Lehman Brothers

Ms. **Dorrit Moussaieff**

Mr. **Joel Mowbray**, Syndicated Columnist

Dr. **Rolf Muetzenich**, Head of Parliamentary Group on the Near and Middle East, German Bundestag

Mr. **Aziz Mulay-Shah**, Global Security Reporting Program

Ms. **Katja Muller**, The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Israel

Dr. **Charles Murray**, W. H. Brady Scholar, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research



Dr. **Ronny Naftaniel**, Centrum Informatie en Documentatie Israel

Mr. **Willy Nagel**, De Beers

Ms. **Amalia Negreponti**, Foreign Affairs Journalist and Editor, *Ta Nea*

Mr. **Sigurd Neubauer**, Graduate Student, Modern Jewish History, Yeshiva University

Mr. **Jeremy Newmark**, Director, Jewish Leadership Council

Mr. **Ben Novick**, Director of Media Relations, BICOM

Col. **David O'Meara**, Defense and Air Attaché, Embassy of the United States of America

Ms. **Ana Palacio**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain; Senior Vice President and General Counsel of the World Bank

Mr. **Jonathan Paris**, Adjunct Fellow, Hudson Institute

Mr. **Torkel Patterson**, President, Raytheon International

Ms. **Anne Penketh**, Diplomatic Editor, *The Independent*

Mr. **Richard Perle**, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

Mr. **Ross Perrone**

Mr. **Bruce Pezzlo**, Vice President of Investment Management, Product Development, Bowne and Co.

Mr. **Didier Pfirter**, Ambassador at Large for Special Assignments, Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Amb. **Tom Phillips CMG**, Ambassador of Great Britain to Israel

Amb. **Thomas Pickering**, Former United States Under Secretary of State

Dr. **Gerry Platt**, American Friends of Likud

Mr. **Daniel Posen**, Managing Director, Posen Foundation

Mr. **Felix Posen**, Founder and President, Posen Foundation

Amb. **John Price**, United States Ambassador to Mauritius

Mr. **Steven Price**, Senior Managing Director, Centerbridge Partners, L.P.

Ms. **Adrienne Price**, Managing Member, S.V. Price and Co., LLC

Mr. **Gary P. Ratner**, Executive Director, American Jewish Congress

Mr. **Paige Reffe**, President, The Reffe Group

Ms. **Cynthia Reich**

Mr. **Gideon Reichman**, Foreign Affairs Editor, *Financial Times*

Mr. **Ira Reiner**, Riley and Reiner Law Firm

Mr. **Paul Revay**, European Director, The Trilateral Commission

Mr. **Alexander Ritzman**, Visiting Fellow, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

Mr. **Berel Rodal**, Vice Chair, International Center on Non-Violent Conflict

Ms. **Alti Rodal**, Principal Consultant, Consulting and Audit Canada

Gov. **Mitt Romney**, Former Governor of Massachusetts; Candidate for the 2008 Republican Presidential Nomination

Mr. **Moshe Ronen**, Chairman, Canada-Israel Committee

Mr. **Jack Rosen**, Chairman, American Jewish Congress

Mr. **Godel Rosenberg**, Representative in Israel, Daimler Chrysler

Ms. **Nina Rosenwald**, Co-Chair of the Board, American Securities Holding Corporation

Ms. **Ingrid Ross**, Project Assistant, The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Israel

Mr. **Stanley Roth**, Vice President for Asia and Middle East/International Relations, Boeing

Dr. **Colin Rubenstein**, Executive Director, AIJAC

Ms. **Janet Rubenstein**  
 Amb. **Robert Rydberg**, Ambassador of Sweden to Israel  
 Mr. **Michael I. (Motty) Sacks**, Chairman, Netcare  
 Dr. **Rachel Salamander**, Editor, *Die Literarische Welt*  
 Mr. **Steven Saltzman**, President, Arthur Freed Productions  
 Dr. **Gary Samore**, Vice President and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations  
 Dr. **Robert Satloff**, Executive Director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy  
 Mr. **Stefan Sattler**, Senior Editor, *Burda*  
 Mr. **Randy Scheunemann**, President and Owner, Orion Strategies LLC  
 Mr. **Jacob Schimmel**, Director, IDB Group  
 Mr. **Yoni Schimmel**, UKI Investments  
 Mr. **Uwe Schmalz**, First Secretary, German Embassy  
 Mr. **Serge Schmemann**, Editorial Page Editor, *International Herald Tribune*  
 Ms. **Mary Schmemann**  
 Mr. **Steven Schneier**  
 Mr. **Jim Schreiber**  
 Dr. **Boaz Schwartz**, Managing Director, Head of Israel Office, Deutsche Bank  
 Mr. **Jacob Schwartz**, Embassy of the United States of America  
 Mr. **Danny E. Sebright**, Associate Vice President, The Cohen Group  
 Dr. **Roberta Seid**, Historian, American-Israel Demographic Research Group  
 Amb. **Melvin Floyd Sembler**, Former United States Ambassador to Italy  
 Mr. **Dan Senior**, Former Advisor to the United States Presidential Envoy to Iraq  
 Prof. **Haim Shaked**, Director, The Sue and Leonard Miller Center for Contemporary Judaic Studies, University of Miami  
 Mr. **Pinchas Shapiro**, Deputy Director, World Jewish Congress  
 Mr. **Daniel Shavit**, Director, Lorimar  
 Ms. **Shannon Shibata**, Israel Director, Standwithus.com  
 Mr. **Elad Shraga**, Managing Director – CIB Global Markets, Deutsche Bank  
 Mr. **Edwin Shuker**, Vice Chairman, World Sephardic Congress  
 Ms. **Orna Shulman**, Founder, OLS Ventures, LLC  
 Mr. **Bill Siegel**, Consultant, News America Marketing  
 Ms. **Blossom Siegel**, Co-Founder, Israel Up Close News  
 Mr. **Marc Sievers**, Political Counselor, Embassy of the United States of America  
 Mr. **Alan B. Slifka**, Chairman of the Board of Directors, The Abraham Fund Initiatives  
 Mr. **Charles Small**, Director, The Yale Initiative for Interdisciplinary Study of Anti-Semitism  
 Ms. **Ruth Smeeth**, Director, BICOM  
 Mr. **David Snyder**, Greater Philadelphia Director, AIPAC  
 Dr. **Jeffrey R. Solomon**, President, Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies  
 Ms. **Carole Solomon**, Chairperson of Board of Governors, Jewish Agency for Israel  
 Dr. **Sass Somekh**, President, Novellus Systems Inc.  
 Ms. **Eta Somekh**  
 Sec. **Margaret Spellings**, United States Secretary of Education

Mr. **Philip Stephens**, Associate Editor, *Financial Times*

Mr. **Jeffrey Stern**, Managing Director, Forum Capital Partners

Mr. **Steven Stern**, Chairman, Braver, Stern Securities Corp.

Ms. **Marilyn Stern**, Jewish Federation of Greater Philadelphia

Mr. **Ori Strassberg**

Mr. **Howard Sumka**, Mission Director, USAID – West Bank & Gaza

Amb. **Namik Tan**, Ambassador of Turkey to Israel

Dr. **Horst M. Teltschik**, Former National Security Advisor to the German Chancellor; Boeing International Corporation

Mr. **Owen T aylor**, Counselor, Embassy of Great Britain

Ms. **Sharon Tzur**, Founder and Executive Director, Media Watch International

Mr. **Alberto Ucelay**, Special Representative to the Middle East Peace Process, European Union

Mr. **Jan Willem van der Hoeven**, Director, International Christian Zionist Center

Mr. **Alexandr Vondra**, Deputy Prime Minister, Czech Republic

Mr. **Harry Wall**, CEO, Wall and Associates, Intl.

Ms. **Anne Walter**, Public Affairs Specialist, Embassy of the United States of America

Mr. **Shai Waxman-Abramson**, Saban Family Foundation

Ms. **Rachel Webber**, Corporate Communications Manager, News Corporation

Mr. **Larry Weinberg**, Executive Vice President, Israel 21C

Dr. **Kenneth R. Weinstein**, CEO, Hudson Institute

Mr. **Boaz Weinstein**, Managing Director, Deutsche Bank

Prof. **Gert Weisskirchen**, Spokesman on Foreign Affairs, SPD, German Bundestag

Mr. **Adrian Weller**, Private Investor

Ms. **Dina Wind**, Dina Wind Art

Prof. **Jerry (Yoram) Wind**, Lauder Professor and Professor of Marketing, The Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

Dr. **Michael Wise**, American-Israel Demographics Research Group

Mr. **James Woolsey**, Former Director, CIA; Vice President, Booz Allen Hamilton

Dr. **David Wurmser**

Dr. **Meyrav Wurmser**, Director, Center For Middle East Policy, Hudson Institute

Dr. **Glenn Yago**, Director, Capital Studies, Milken Institute

Mr. **Michael Yudin**, Partner, Madison Partners, LLC

Mr. **Poju Zab ludowicz**, Chairman and CEO, Tamares Group

Amb. **Michael Zantovsky**, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Israel

Mr. **Bennett Zimmerman**, Project Leader, American-Israel Demographic Research Group

Mr. **Dror Zoreff**, Member of Advisory Council, Ariel Center for Policy Research

Amb. **Vadim Zverkov**, Ambassador of Kazakhstan to Israel

## Israeli Participants

Adv. **Liat Aaronson**, Director, IDC Herzliya Entrepreneurship Center

Adv. **Michal Abadi-Boiangiu**, Executive Vice President, Comptroller Division, First International Bank of Israel

Ms. **Rahab Abed'l Halim**, Principal, Al-Roaa Elementary School

Mr. **Shmuel Aboav**, Director General, Ministry of Education

Adv. **Aharon Abramovitch**, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Hussam Abu-Baker**, Director of Programs and Initiatives, The Abraham Fund

Ms. **Leah Achdut**, Deputy Director General, National Insurance Institute

Lt. Gen. (ret.) **Orit Adato**, Director General, Adato Consulting Ltd.

Dr. **Rachel Adatto Levy**, Deputy Medical Director, Shaare Zedek Medical Center

Mr. **Gilaad Adin**, CEO, Channel 10 News

Prof. **Haim Adler**, The Mandel Leadership Institute, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Mr. **Ehud Afek**, CFO, "Taglit" – birthright israel

Prof. (Emeritus) **Joseph Agassi**, Department of Philosophy, Tel Aviv University

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Asaf Agmon**, Head of The Fisher Brothers Institute for Air and Space Strategic Studies

Ms. **Talia Aharoni**, President, Maala

Ms. **Michal Aharoni**, Liberman Aharoni PR Company

Mr. **Ido Aharoni**, Media Advisor to the Foreign Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Yossi Ahimeir**, Editor, The Quarterly Journal *HaUmma*

Prof. **Niv Ahituv**, Director, Netvision Institute, Tel Aviv University

Mr. **Oren Ahronson**, President and CEO, Siemens Israel Ltd.

Mr. **Ofir Akunis**, Media Advisor to the Likud Chairman

Ms. **Galia Albin**, CEO, Almedia Holdings

Mr. **David Alchuli**, Deputy Comptroller, Ministry of Defense

Mr. **Shraga Alkalay**, General Director, Herzliya Development

Prof. **Alean Al-Krenawi**, Department of Social Work, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

Mr. **Doron Almog**, Chairman, IFG Israel Ltd; Former Head of IDF Southern Command

Prof. **Oz Almog**, Land of Israel Studies, Haifa University

Dr. **Nimrod Aloni**, Head, The Institute for Educational Thought, Kibbutzim College of Education

Mr. **Yair Aloni**, Director General, Israel Broadcasting Authority

Mr. **Yossi Alpher**, Co-Editor, Bitterlemons

Mr. **Roni Alsheich**

Prof. **Rachelle Alterman**, Technion – Israel Institute of Technology

Ms. **Chen Altshuler**, Founder, Green Fund Altshuler Shacham Investment House

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Yaakov Amidror**, VP, Lander Institute

Mr. **Aharon Amir**, Editor in Chief, *Keshet Ha-Hadasha*

Mr. **Giora Amir**, Former Director, Israel Atomic Energy Commission

Adv. **Nurit Amitay**, Rafael Arms Development Authority

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### Amb. Ronald S. Lauder

International businessman and President of the Jewish National Fund. Additionally serves as Chairman of the International Public Committee of the World Jewish Restitution Organization, Treasurer of the World Jewish Congress 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](http://www.fes.org.il)

## Governmental Departments



### Ministry of Defense



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## Foundations

### Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael – Jewish National Fund



Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael – 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, 180 water reservoirs built, tens of polluted rivers rehabilitated, 1000 parks and recreational areas developed, thousands of acres in the Negev saved from desertification, as well as many educational activities including love of the Land, Eco-Zionism and Zionist Heritage.

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](http://kkl.org.il/kkl/kklmain_blue.aspx)

### Schusterman Foundation



The Schusterman family has been active in Israel for more than a decade. One year ago they established the Schusterman Foundation – Israel in Jerusalem. The Schusterman Foundation – Israel is active in furthering initiatives for the benefit of children, victims of abuse and severe neglect, the advancement of pluralistic Judaism, and the expansion of that which is shared and unique in the Jewish world. Furthermore, the foundation is active in cultural projects and the arts in Israel. For additional information: [www.schusterman.org](http://www.schusterman.org)



## The Posen Foundation

The Posen Foundation seeks to promote Jewish education for secular Jews. The Foundation is committed to the development of curricula, teaching strategies and reference works to train a cadre of secular Jews who will be professionally equipped to teach precepts of Jewish civilization, history and culture to children at all school levels, as well as to students on the undergraduate and graduate levels. The Posen Foundation pioneered curricula and syllabi for a course on Judaism as Culture, which is now taught in fifteen universities and colleges in the US and Israel. The Foundation also supports academic research into diverse aspects of Jewish identity, offers fellowships and supports literary projects in the field of Judaism as culture. Felix Posen is the Founding President of the Foundation; Daniel Posen is its Director-General.



## 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 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](http://www.abrahamfund.org)



## Joseph and Harvey Meyerhoff Family Charitable Funds

The Joseph and Harvey Meyerhoff Family Charitable Funds are a group of Baltimore-based family foundations whose philanthropic contributions have had a significant impact not only on the city of Baltimore, but nationally and internationally as well.

Joseph Meyerhoff, a premier Baltimore businessman, philanthropist, and fundraiser, most well known for his leadership of the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra and his work in the creation of the state of Israel, began the tradition of giving in his family that continues to be a legacy today through his children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren.

Joseph's son, Harvey (Bud) Meyerhoff, was instrumental in the building of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. and the Foundation's gift still remains the single largest gift to the Museum. Bud Meyerhoff is also a long standing supporter of Johns Hopkins University, Johns Hopkins Hospital, and the Johns Hopkins Health

System, where he was Chairman of the Board and currently a Trustee Emeritus.

The Meyerhoff Family Funds have always recognized the value of higher education and have made contributions to nearly every university or college in the Baltimore Metropolitan area, and to every major university in Israel. In addition, they are involved in supporting cultural arts, health care, and community redevelopment. In Israel, their funds have built projects from Kiryat Shemona to Eilat, including museums, youth enrichment centers, hospital emergency rooms, libraries, daycare centers, and currently, the Performing Arts Center in Beersheba.

Bud Meyerhoff's daughter, Terry Meyerhoff Rubenstein, is now the Executive Vice President of the Family's Funds. His other children and grandchildren serve as Trustees on several family foundation boards and his sister, Eleanor Meyerhoff Katz and her children are all actively involved in family foundations, as well as in their own communities.

## 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](http://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](http://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](http://www.jewishagency.org.il)



## "Taglit" - birthright israel

"Taglit" - birthright israel is breaking ground in relations between Israel and the Diaspora: its 120,000 participants, students from 50 countries to date who have come for their first educational trip in Israel, are spreading a network of support throughout the world, strengthening their Jewish identity and bringing a new spirit to the Diaspora communities.

Taglit" Birthright Israel is an innovative initiative by the Israeli government in cooperation with leading Jewish philanthropists and Jewish communities in the Diaspora (United Jewish Communities, The Jewish Agency, Keren Ha'yesod). For additional information: [www.birtherightisrael.com](http://www.birtherightisrael.com)



## 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 8,000 students and 600 teachers in Israel and approximately 2,000 students and 150 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 in Education" is sponsored by the Carylton Foundation, Chicago, Illinois. For additional information: [www.see.org.il](http://www.see.org.il)



## The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs was founded in 1976 as an independent, non-profit institute for policy research. The Jerusalem Center is engaged in a multi-faceted effort to bring high-quality information and analysis to the attention of policymakers and leading opinion-makers through a broad range of Internet publications: Daily Alert, Jerusalem Viewpoints, Jerusalem Issue Briefs, and NGO Monitor. Much of the Jerusalem Center's research in recent years has focused on Israel's rights under international law in its conflict with the Palestinians, examining new paradigms for regional diplomacy in the Middle East and identifying the connections between local terrorism against Israel and the global jihad effort against the West. For additional information: [www.jcpa.org](http://www.jcpa.org)



## **The Israel Institute of Petroleum & Energy**

The Israel Institute of Petroleum & Energy was established in 1964, for the purpose of advancing and enhancing the technological and economic knowledge of petroleum and energy in Israel. All of the major energy and infrastructure companies in Israel are members of the Institute. The Institute's professional activities include an information center, professional committees, a testing and research lab, pollution by fuels department and a training center which offers courses and seminars on petroleum and energy. For additional information: [www.energy.org.il](http://www.energy.org.il)

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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 2005 were \$55 billion.





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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](http://www.raytheon.com)



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Bank Hapoalim is Israel's leading bank and was recently chosen by "Dun & Bradstreet" as the most financially sound company in Israel for the year 2007. Bank Hapoalim has 248 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 28 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](http://www.bankhapoalim.co.il)



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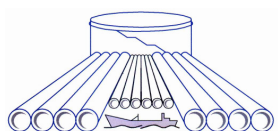


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EAPC deals with handling, storage and the transit of crude oil to the domestic and international markets. Furthermore, EAPC deals with handling, storage and the distribution of oil products and LPG. EAPC operates oil ports and oil terminals in Eilat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

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Siemens Israel is a subsidiary of Siemens AG and is mainly active in the fields of power generation and distribution, automation and control, transportation systems and medical solutions. Siemens Israel currently has about 150 employees with a total of more than 500 Siemens employees in the country. For additional information: [www.siemens.co.il](http://www.siemens.co.il)



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The Israel Discount Bank Group is the third largest banking group in Israel. It operates mainly through 124 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.



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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, sales, maintenance, repairs and roadside service. Shlomo Sixt represents the international Sixt Group, one of the world's largest vehicle rental companies. The Group has a combined fleet of 50,000 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. For additional information: [www.shlomo.co.il](http://www.shlomo.co.il).

## 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, commercial projects etc. Approximately two years ago the corporation began extending its activities to the coastal plain, initiating construction projects in Rishon Letzion and Netanya, also extending to Bet-Shemesh and Modi'in. Recently the corporation purchased lands in Eilat for construction of a new residential neighborhood. The company shares are traded on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange and it was classified last year 12th on the BDI classification and 16th on the D& B classification for construction companies. Mr. Biton, Chairman of the Board of Directors and joint General Manager, also serves as the Chairman of the Association of Constructors and Builders in Jerusalem. For additional information: [www.b-yair.co.il](http://www.b-yair.co.il)

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Soltam is an industrial group focused on development and production of defense systems and products for ground forces. Product range includes artillery systems, night vision equipment; infantry based systems, vehicles retrofit, C4I systems and camouflage.

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Established in 1993, the Ampa Group today is active in a range of areas: household services – consumer products and ancillary services, as well as developing, manufacturing and distributing consumer products in Israel and abroad; financial services – a wide variety of non-banking financing solutions for the business and household sectors; real estate- initiating, developing, improving, marketing and managing projects; industry-manufacturing packaging products for food and beverages, pharmaceutical and chemical industries in Israel and overseas. For additional information: [www.ampa.co.il](http://www.ampa.co.il)

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### The Municipality of Herzliya



### 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 Hotel, designed in the spirit of the Far East.

As of January 1, 2007, the Tamares Hotel Group will be proud to introduce an additional hotel in the Dead Sea resort area: the Daniel Dead Sea. For additional information: [www.tamareshotels.co.il](http://www.tamareshotels.co.il)



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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 Filters", and locally renowned "Landwer".



## Express Tours

Express Tours is part of the Diesenhaus-Unitours group and is the leading company in the field of business trips in Israel and around the world. The company employs approximately 500 professionals and its sales volume in 2006 was approximately \$268 million. The company provides a large variety of services for all kinds of tourists including business travelers, conventions and events both local and international. The company advantages lie in its efficient organizational structure and professional reliable and personal services provided by its employees 24 hours a day all year around.