

THE 21st HERZLIYA CONFERENCE

On the Path of Strategic Surprises

The conference was held on June, 2024



Insights and Recommendations

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Preface

The 21st Herzliya Conference (June 2024) sessions focused on national security and resilience which, together, form the basis for Israel's overall strength. The conference was held at an extraordinary time in Israeli history. For while a terrible national human and security disaster was underway, Israeli society was also exhibiting its inner strength as the security forces and IDF were displaying remarkable capabilities and heroism.

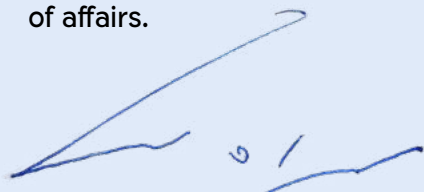
The achievements of both IDF and security forces vis-à-vis Iran, Hizballah and Hamas provide Israel, in view of their emerging outcomes, with the latitude to shape a new strategic reality in the Middle East in general, and in Gaza and Lebanon in particular. To do so, Hamas rule in Gaza must be toppled, and new order created in Lebanon by restoring the central Lebanese government's power. These remarkable accomplishments further provide an opportunity to weaken the multidimensional threat posed by Iran, and curb the progress made by the Islamic Republic's military nuclear program. To do so, Israel's alliance with the United States, inter alia, must be deepened, and collaborations with Arab states strengthened.

Thus, an overall multifrontal strategy must be formed to end the war and ensure the return of Israel's 101 hostages as the most pressing and urgent overarching goal. Otherwise, Israel could sink in a path of weakness, and the war may be prolonged with no clear horizon in sight.

Furthermore, there is an urgent need for internal change that would lead Israel to the path of bridging divides, and provide a fundamental solution for domestic weaknesses and distresses, as well as maladies in various areas, including, among others, the economy, society, internal security, education, and health.

The profound strategic changes that are underway in the Middle East and Israel were thoroughly analyzed in a range of reviews and discussions conducted during the 21st Herzliya Conference, and attended by high-ranking officials in the government, defense establishment, academia and media in Israel and overseas, including the United States, Europe, and the Arab world.

Following are the key insights and recommendations that have emerged from the conference with regard to the policy required to address the strategic state of affairs.



Maj. Gen. (res.) Prof. Amos Gilead

Director of the Institute for Policy & Strategy, Reichman University

Key Insights & Recommendations

1. The achievements of both the IDF and security forces on all fronts are remarkable, contributing greatly to Israel's security. Nevertheless, a creative and bold strategy is needed to turn these operative successes into fruit of victory that would strengthen Israel's national security. In fact, we face an unprecedented opportunity to generate profound and fundamental changes that would redirect Israel to a path of overall political, security, and economic power.
2. Prime Minister Netanyahu must actively pursue the release of all hostages within the immediate timeframe, otherwise their fates will be sealed, and this failure will resound for all time. Such an agreement harbors the potential for a combined political effort with the Arab states and international community, led by the United States, for the reconstruction of Gaza, and building of an alternative leadership to Hamas as a crucial precondition to its toppling as ruler. The Palestinian Authority should also be included in this effort, once it has undergone profound changes in its functioning and attitude toward Israel.
3. The ceasefire agreement with Hizbullah may lead to a change in the security situation in the north. One of the key questions will depend on Israel's ability to enforce the settlement and ensure that Hizbullah will not return and re-arm and will not re-deploy its forces south of the Litani river. Furthermore, Israel has the opportunity, with the support of the American administration, to advance a historic normalization agreement with Saudi Arabia and to deepen the regional alliance with the Arab countries against the Iranian axis.
4. The West Bank is of unique importance to Israel's security. It is an incubator for harsh terror attacks, the vast majority of which are thwarted by the IDF and ISA. Nevertheless, the growing explosivity in this area is on the rise, causing grave concern. This trend results primarily from the Palestinian Authority's loss of governance, and the policy led by Israeli government ministers who strive to weaken the PA to the point of the latter's collapse in preparation for takeover. Thus, a fundamental change in Israeli governmental policy is required, at the basis of which would be steps taken to strengthen the Palestinian Authority, and enable the collaborations with the Palestinian apparatuses that are essential to thwarting terror to be deepened. At the same time, Israel should help bolster the internal stability in Jordan, and deepen its collaboration with the Hashemite Kingdom, since the latter is vital for Israel's security architecture. Doing so should include, inter alia, transferring the water quotas needed for a lengthy period of time, and avoiding any provocative action on Temple Mount that could spark a religious conflict, and weaken the legitimacy of King Abdullah.

5. Restoring national resilience and social cohesion is a challenge that Israel must address immediately to prevent its weakening and internal unraveling. One required step is setting up a state commission of inquiry that would investigate the horrific events of October 7. Such a commission should thoroughly examine all aspects of this historical failure, learn the necessary lessons, and recommend the needed systemic changes. It could also help Israel deal with the legal threats it faces in the international arena.
6. Israel is at a fateful crossroad likely to impact its future. Since its inception, this country's strength has relied on a combination of remarkable military, technological, and economic capabilities, coupled with the state leadership's political wisdom. The atrocious failure of October 7 clearly shows that the security-military capabilities and combined political-military steel dome provided by the United States must continue to serve as vital pillars of Israel's national security. It is time for Israel's leaders to engage in Churchillian decision making. Otherwise, in the absence of political action, Israel could find itself at the heart of a domestic and external multifrontal and multidimensional weakness.

Hamas' Gender-Based Atrocities as a Strategy

The Herzliya Conference was opened with a special session on the gender-based atrocities perpetrated by Hamas as a preconceived strategy that aimed to humiliate, deter, and crush Israeli society's spirit as part of the broader violence and abuse that characterized the vicious murderous attack on October 7. This form of violence is still being used against hostages to date.

Mrs. Michal Herzog, the First Lady of the State of Israel, reiterated that many international institutions and organizations, including UN agencies and committees for women's status and rights, preferred to turn a blind eye and blatantly ignore the atrocities committed, despite the numerous testimonies citing Hamas terrorists' use of systematic sexual violence as a weapon of war.

In an attempt to reflect and resonate the magnitude of these atrocities, the documentary *Screams Before Silence* was produced, documenting Hamas terrorists' sexual violence. An excerpt from this film was viewed during the session. *Sheryl Sandberg*, the director, said in a special message to the Herzliya Conference that rape is always unacceptable, and such acts of sexual violence should never happen again. She further insisted that the perpetrators be held accountable for their heinous crimes. *Joey Low*, the film's executive producer, underscored the importance of having the world watch this documentary to understand who Hamas really is, and what atrocities it has committed, especially in view of biased global media coverage. He also stated that we must remember who stood with us and who remained silent.

Hamas' cruel methods on October 7 included the kidnapping of Israelis, both dead and alive, in an effort to use them as bargaining chips, while deepening the sense of shock and humiliation in Israeli society. Meirav Leshem Gonen, the mother of Romi, who has been held hostage in Gaza since October 7, called upon the country's leaders from the conference podium to take the necessary steps to bring home her daughter as well as all the other hostages as soon as possible. The failure to do so will be remembered as an eternal disgrace in the history of the State of Israel and the Jewish People.

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H.E. Mrs. Michal Herzog,
The First Lady of the
State of Israel with:
Miri Michaeli
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Joey Low, The
Executive Producer
of "Screams Before
Silence" Documentary
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Sheryl Sandberg,
Led the "Screams Before
Silence" Documentary
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Meirav Leshem Gonen,
Mother of Romi Gonen,
who was kidnapped and
has been brutally held
hostage in Gaza
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Rachel Goldberg-Polin,
Mother of Hersh Goldberg-
Polin, who was kidnapped
and brutally murdered in
Gaza
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Danny Elgarat,
The Brother of Itzik Elgarat,
who was kidnapped and
has been brutally held
hostage in Gaza
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Israel's National Security - Core Challenges

The Iron Swords War - Initial Takeaways and the Required Exit Strategy

Hamas' murderous terror attack is the **single most severe state-security calamity in Israeli history**. This colossal failure entailed: The surprise invasion of Israel by thousands of Hamas terrorists, who successfully conquered localities within Israeli borders for the first time since the 1948 War of Independence; savage murder of 1200 civilians and soldiers; injuring of thousands; and kidnapping of 250 men, women, and children. In fact, on October 7, 2023, **the three main pillars of Israel's deterrence perception since the 1950s - warning, deterrence, and defense - collapsed**.

Since its establishment, **Israel has sought to engage in short wars that lead to clear achievements**. The alternative - prolonged wars such as the First Lebanon War - has led Israel to stalling and strategic distress. If the Iron Swords War should go on for much longer with no clear exit strategy ending with broad agreements, it could turn into a source of multidimensional weakness.

Under the current circumstances, the following heavyweight risks can already be outlined: sinking knee-deep into the Gazan swamp in the absence of a foreseeable alternative to Hamas rule, and due to the inability to bring back all the hostages; slipping toward direct occupation of the West Bank and Gaza de facto; Iran positioning itself as a weapons-grade nuclear threshold state activating a ring of fire around Israel; legal risks; growing financial distress, and so on. In fact, **the main goals of the war** - returning all hostages alive, destroying Hamas' ruling capabilities, and enabling Israeli northern residents to return to their homes safely - **have yet to be achieved**.

If one compares the IDF's actions and accomplishments during the Yom Kippur War and Iron Swords War, lessons may be learned with regard to force-building processes. **In October 1973, Israel managed to defeat the Egyptian and Syrian militaries within 3 weeks**, primarily thanks to correct preparation and force buildup. The situation in October 2023 is utterly different due to a combination of nonexistent political strategy and improper military preparation on October 7.

Nevertheless, following the October 7 disastrous failure, **the IDF and defense establishment have made some remarkable operative and tactical achievements**. Particularly impressive are: the IDF's ability to effectively utilize all its forces, while displaying high technological and operative collaboration between its intelligence, air force, and ground forces; its commanders' current control of the areas maneuvered thanks to highly advanced technologies; its troops extraordinary fighting spirit, and remarkable learning curve under difficult fighting conditions; as well as the Israeli defense establishment's cutting-edge thwarting capabilities, including the elimination of the leadership of Hezbollah and Hamas.

Recommendations

The IDF's achievements in Lebanon and Gaza demonstrate the need for an ending strategy that would allow for a regional strategic reality that is more convenient for Israel to be shaped. **First and foremost, the most immediate and urgent overarching goal should be ending this multifrontal war and returning all the hostages to their homes.** In Gaza, Israel should promote an alternative regime to Hamas, thereby garnering support for this process from the international community and Arab states. In Lebanon, a historical opportunity has been presented for strengthening the central Lebanese government, while causing substantial detriment to Hizballah's abilities and domestic clout. These processes will create the conditions under which the multidimensional Iranian threat, and primarily the Islamic Republic's pursuit of weapons-grade nuclear, will be addressed more effectively.

The multidimensional and multifrontal threats that Israel faces, alongside the rapid changes on the battlefield demonstrated during the Iron Swords War and war in Ukraine, require **systemic flexibility, a change of perception, and decision making toward rapid force buildup processes.** Thus, Israel must, inter alia, examine the contribution of the ground operation to the IDF's ability to defeat the enemy. It should also engage in a thorough process during which all lessons from the terrible intelligence failure will be learned, and an **updated alert model for the multidimensional and multifrontal threats formed** to successfully grapple with any surprise from any of our enemies at any given time. Israel is further required to provide a solution for the matter of the chains of supply to prevent a situation whereby developments in the global arena will impact manufacturing processes. Thus, it must define **areas in which we would like to create independence in essential components, primarily with regard to weapon and ammunition arsenals,** while realizing that, with respect to key weapon systems, Israel's dependence on the United States will remain profound and lasting.

The Israeli government must provide a solution for the aggravating socioeconomic crisis in this country. Thus, it should bolster social cohesion, including **by following the Supreme Court's ruling on enlisting the ultra-Orthodox as a pillar** of Israel's overall strength. Doing so should **retain human Israeli capital,** which enables the development of the defense establishment's remarkable technological capabilities.

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Strength or Weakness?
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Security Adviser, Head of the
National Security Council, Prime
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Brig Gen. (res.) Aviv Tamir, Israel
Aerospace Industries
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The Future Battlefield
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Edelstein, Elbit Systems
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MK Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein, Chair
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Lt. Gen. (res.) Benny Gantz,
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Party; Former Israeli War
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MK Yair Lapid, Leader of the
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Israeli Prime Minister
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MK Avigdor Lieberman, Former
Minister of Defense, Finance, and
Foreign Affairs of Israel; Head of
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The Strategic Struggle Between the Iranian Axis and Israel

Iran poses a potential existential threat to the State of Israel. The Iranian threat's magnitude stems from the combination of its ideological perception, which calls for Israel's annihilation, and the development of its weapons-grade nuclear program, coupled with the firewall it has established against Israel.

In nuclear, Iran has cemented its status as a **nuclear threshold state**, and currently possesses enough enriched material to produce several nuclear bombs. According to senior U.S. defense officials, it can, within a short timeframe, begin enriching uranium to the required 90% weapons-grade. All the information available to us on the Iranian nuclear program, similarly revealed by the nuclear documents obtained by the Mossad, leads to the assumption that Iran will be able to develop a nuclear detonation mechanism within several months of deciding to do so. For the time being, Iran refrains from breaking out to nuclear and obtaining a nuclear weapon, probably primarily due to American deterrence. It is likely that Iran is also waiting for the expire of the SnapBack mechanism in late 2025, which allows the European countries that have not withdrawn from the JCPOA to pursue the renewal of sanctions in the UN Security Council, while prohibiting Russia and China to use their right to veto.

At the same time, **Iran continues to improve its military capabilities**, particularly ballistic missiles and UAVs. In concurrence, it is **establishing and activating a ring of fire against Israel** – from the Houthis in Yemen, through the Iraqi and Syrian militia groups, to Hizballah and Hamas. Furthermore, it has formed a strategic axis with Russia, while deepening its ties with China, and growing closer to the moderate Arab states, led by Saudi Arabia.

An ongoing multifrontal war could bolster Iran's belief that Israel can, in fact, be critically harmed, Its missile and drone attacks were Iran's first daring attempt to directly and overtly target Israel, reflecting its growing self-confidence. Carrying out such attacks within a defined timeframe, and using such means, is a demonstration of Iran's technological and operational progress. These attacks are a show of capabilities that very few countries worldwide possess. On the other hand, Israel's attack against Iran has demonstrated its capabilities and Iran's weaknesses, especially due to the fact that Israel destroyed huge part of Iran air defense systems.

In view of these processes, **Israel's strategic policy planning must take into account that Iran is a military nuclear threshold state that could obtain nuclear weapons in less than a year, once its leader makes this decision.** Such a development would have severe repercussions for Israel's regional status, its power and image. Iran and its proxies' self-confidence could increase, and they may exhibit growing boldness in their actions against Israel. Under such circumstances, weapon control regimes will destabilize, and the Middle East could enter a nuclear race. The implication would be that other countries (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey) might also get closer to the nuclear threshold.

Recommendations

Israel is required to build an updated strategic plan that places contending with Iran as its top priority, alongside ending the multifrontal war. Its two overarching goals should be: stopping Iran from becoming a nuclear state, and weakening the ring of fire built against Israel. The necessary response should be based on allocating resources to building the required military capabilities, while deepening the alliance with the United States, and strategic collaborations with the Arab states. At the

same time, Israel must already prepare for the possibility that Iran and the United States will attempt to reach JCPOA 2.0 – a development that would have weighty implications for Israel's freedom of action against the Iranian nuclear program.

In view of the Iranian regime's aspiration to annihilate Israel, one is forced to conclude that **Israel must actively prepare the ground for its toppling**, while harnessing the social and economic weaknesses within Iran.

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[The Strategic Struggle Between the Iranian Axis and Israel - Where are we heading?](#)

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[The Iranian Nuclear Race – Are We At the Finish Line?](#)

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[Israel's Strategic Balance: Strength or Weakness?](#)

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Israel-U.S. Relationship

Israel's strategic alliance with the United States has been a central pillar in the former's national security and resilience for the last seven decades. The special relations between the two countries are part of the foundations of Israel's power, deterrence, and regional status. **The Iron Swords War has demonstrated the robustness of this strategic alliance in the form of the multidimensional steel dome with which the U.S. administration has been providing Israel.** This steel dome consists, inter alia, of extensive military aid, as well as the forming of an international and Arab coalition to counter Iran's direct attacks. The IDF is also an active participant in the CENTCOM-led regional military coalition. It is therefore clear that **Israel would significantly weaken in the absence of U.S. support, and that there is no alternative to the strategic U.S.-Israeli alliance.**

Despite this, the relationship between President Biden and Prime Minister Netanyahu was characterized by great tension. The U.S. President perceives the Israeli Prime Minister's policy as an obstacle on the path of forming a new outline for the return of the hostages, delaying the end of this multifrontal war, increasing the risk of broad regional escalation, and jeopardizing the promotion of a regional alliance between Israel and the Arab states.

However, Trump's election will likely lead to a change in the relationship between the White House and the Israeli government.

Another aspect that must be considered is the **trends in American society today**, reflected in the growing gaps between Republicans and Democrats, as well as between the younger and older generations' support for Israel. These trends found expression in the harsh criticism that certain circles within the Democratic party had directed toward President Biden for supporting Israel to such a great extent, as well as in the antisemitic protests held on college campuses across the United States against Israel.

Recommendations

Under the leadership of the U.S. administration, The Israeli Prime Minister must promote the historical opportunity Israel currently faces to deepen the regional alliance with the Arab states against the Iranian axis, including normalization with Saudi Arabia. Such an alliance could enable Israel to return to the path of political, military, and economic strength. At the same time, **Prime Minister Netanyahu must prioritize the retention of bipartisan support in the United States**, which is a cornerstone in these bilateral relations.

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H.E. Amb. Jacob J. Lew,
U.S. Ambassador to Israel

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Israel-U.S. Relationship

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U.S.-Israel Relations:
What's Next?

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Terrorism as a Strategic Factor

A special session held during the conference examined terrorism as a strategic factor for the State of Israel. The head of the Iranian snake has been involved in and directly guided the terror organizations and Shiite militia groups across the Middle East in recent years. In fact, since October 7, Israel has been in direct war with Iran.

During the discussion, a perception was presented whereby **Iran had planned, prepared, financed, initiated, and perhaps even set the timing of the murderous attack carried out by Hamas**. Three main reasons were given for Iran to have done so. First, to prevent the establishment of the regional alliance against it entailing normalization between Israel and Saudi Arabia that was on the verge of being set up. Second, to divert global attention away from the progress it was making with its nuclear program. And finally, revenge for actions taken against it over the years. **Iran had even put together a public diplomacy plan that would enable it to deny allegations of involvement**, thereby preventing the creation of a snowball that would ultimately cause it detriment. Moreover, **Iran expected Israel to do exactly what it did, and that is the second misconception that followed October 7**, and the initial misconception that led to the events that took place that day. In fact, Israel was wrong to have focused on the tactical threat in Gaza instead of the strategic one posed by Hizballah, or the existential one posed by Iran.

As for Hamas, a perception was presented whereby **it is a hybrid terror organization**, to a large extent since it rules over territory. Describing Hamas as an Iranian proxy is only partly accurate, as it has characteristics, capabilities, and financial sources that are not associated with the Islamic Republic. In other words, Hamas is a multidimensional organization. On the one hand, it is a terror organization driven by ideology. On the other hand, it is a socio-political organization. Thus, **the campaign against it must be diverse and multidimensional**. It must be fought in the classis sense, as one would combat

a terror organization; however, at the same time, actions must be taken to force it to dissociate from Iran, while countering its control over its territory, and its responsibility toward the local population. Another aspect that must be tackled in the anti-Hamas campaign is the war over hearts and minds. Hamas invests many resources in information warfare, spreading its narratives across the global arena, which focus on delegitimizing and dehumanizing Israel.

In the north, Hizballah has created a security zone within Israeli territory, resulting in dozens of thousands of Israeli residents who have been displaced with no prospects of returning to their homes. This state of affairs has numerous negative and multidimensional repercussions on the security and economic levels, as well as implications on the residents' personal lives, social lives, education, and occupations. The residents must be assured that, when the war will end, they will be able to return to their homes safely, not to a reality in which rockets and missiles are sporadically fired, and the Radwan Force lies in wait on the border.

Recommendations

First and foremost, the Israeli government should foster the path of state-security resolution, form **a new arrangement that would bring about the return of the hostages, and end the multifrontal war**. In concurrence, it must actively restore its strategic capabilities by deepening the regional alliance, and establishing a normalization agreement with Saudi Arabia under U.S. leadership. This path is key to coping with the head of the Iranian snake.

Watch conference session on this topic:

[Terrorism as A Strategic Factor](#)

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Israel and the Middle East: A Negative or Positive Horizon Forecast?

The state-security architecture in the Middle East may be divided into two main camps. One is the radical axis led by Iran and its proxies across the Middle East – from the Houthis in Yemen, through the Iraqi and Syrian militia groups, to Hizballah and Hamas terror organizations. The other is the camp headed by the United States, consisting, alongside Israel, of the moderate Arab states as well. King Abdullah II had rightfully warned two decades ago that the Shiite crescent would spread across the Middle East. Turkey is also of special importance, for, although it cannot be placed in either camp, its hostile anti-Israel policy has exacerbated since the war began, and has many political, security, and economic effects.

Until October 7, Israel and Saudi Arabia seemed to be on route to a historical, groundbreaking agreement. Normalization would have radically altered the system of alliances in the Middle East, and was highly likely to lead to other agreements with more countries across the Muslim and Arab world. Such a development would have projected greatly onto collaborations in a wide range of areas – political, economic, technological, and more. For instance, the U.S. administration's plan to

establish an economic corridor from India to Europe that would go through the Gulf states, Jordan, and Israel. Normalization with Saudi Arabia was justly set by Prime Minister Netanyahu upon entering office as one of the two overarching goals in the international arena (the second being curbing the Iranian nuclear program). The brutal Hamas attack has impeded this process, if only temporarily, and President Biden has even stated that this was one of the murderous rampage's main aims.

The multifrontal war has highlighted Israel's crucial strategic need to deepen the regional alliance and multidimensional collaborations with the moderate Arab states. Such a step would help it contend with the aggravating threat posed by Iran and its proxies in the region, particularly that of missiles and drones, under CENTCOM's auspices. The need for this coalition was demonstrated by the collective effort to counter the Iranian missile and drone attacks. It is a shared interest and force multiplier of Israel's overall power. Since the Iron Swords War broke out, the peace and normalization states have been trying to juggle their internal constraints and concern for their own regimes' stability with broader strategic interests. They realize that the war in this region is a conflict between two camps with extensive regional implications.

Recommendations

Prime Minister Netanyahu should foster the U.S. administration regional plan. At present, it is the main option leading Israel back to a path of overall power. It would enable Israel to **deepen its regional multidimensional alliance**, led by the United States, against the Iranian axis. At the same time, the Israeli government should actively **preserve and deepen the peace and normalization agreements, since they serve as a central pillar of its national security.** Concretely, Israel should help the Jordanian regime address its internal struggles, inter alia by providing **the water and gas quotas needed for an extended period of time.** Vis-à-vis Egypt, Israel would do well to promote strategic collaborations designed to identify an alternative ruler to Hamas, as well as advance a fundamental solution to the tunnels and smugglings.

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Dr. Phil Gordon, Assistant to the President of the United States and National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States
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Hélène Le Gal, Managing Director for Middle East and North Africa, European External Action Service
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The Strategic Struggle Between the Iranian Axis and Israel - Where are we heading?
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The Global Order – Is the World Changing Its Course?

A new world order is being shaped in recent years, at the heart of which are two blocs – the democratic-liberal camp led by the United States versus the authoritarian bloc led by China, which challenges the existing order as well as American dominance. **The ongoing war in Ukraine** has shaped the power relations in the international arena, effectively reflecting **the transition to a multipolar world.** Prominent manifestations of this shift are the historical changes in NATO since Sweden and Finland have joined it, and the institutionalization of security collaboration frameworks in Asia led by

the United States. In contrast, the axis headed by China and Russia is stabilizing, having been joined by Iran and North Korea. Other manifestations are the expansion of BRICS, and attempts to use possible alternatives to the U.S. Dollar.

The risk of a nuclear conflict between states has resurfaced for the first time in six decades during the war in Ukraine. Russia has threatened to use its nuclear weapons to deter the West. In fact, a unique and unprecedented situation has developed that did not exist during the Cold War, whereby a conventional war is underway in Europe, and the possible use of nuclear is hovering over it. This new state of affairs could possibly affect Iran, as it may be driven to obtain nuclear weapons as an insurance policy and means of deterring others from attacking it. The Islamic Republic may do so as a lesson learned from Ukraine, which forewent the nuclear weapons it had possessed three decades ago in exchange for western security guarantees that have since proven themselves useless.

Another challenge that Europe is facing is continued U.S. aid. Voices are being heard in the United States recently, arguing that European countries should be investing the resources required to ensure their security themselves. Although Europe is realizing more and more that it should build its own independent military capabilities with which to contend with Russia, and in preparation for the possibility that the United States would diminish its security-military support, this process is long, requiring the investment of much resources, as well as considerable capability-building. It is also particularly challenging in view of Europe's great dependence on the United States in several areas, such as air defense, logistics, and command and control.

Recommendations

The conflict between the two camps in the global arena, alongside the multifrontal war forced upon Israel, reveal just how important it is that Israel stand by the Pro-American coalition. It should also further its strategic alliance with the United States, and strengthen its ties with the Arab world and other western countries, inter alia as a counterweight for the radical axis led by Iran and supported by Russia and China. Yet **Israel should also exhibit sensitivity and caution in its conduct vis-à-vis China and Russia** due to their impact on its crucial interests, so as not to be seen as a frontline force in the international campaign against them.

Watch all conference sessions and discussions on this topic:

[The Global Order - Is the World Changing Its Course](#)

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[The War in Ukraine - Global Impact](#)

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Israel's National Resilience - Core Challenges

Shouldering the Burden Equally - A Matter of National Resilience Put to the Test

The issue of trust between state and citizens was prominent at the 2024 Herzliya Conference due to its importance to Israeli society's national resilience. It is particularly striking in view of the fact that, even after the disastrous October 7 attack, political and sectorial considerations have prevented the Israeli government from taking the required steps and making the necessary changes, especially where **the equal sharing of IDF enlistment and service** is concerned.

The Swords of Iron War has demonstrated the importance of enlisting the ultra-Orthodox as a key factor in the effort to generate social cohesion, the latter being an essential prerequisite for the country's overall strategic power. Failing to do so also places immeasurable strain on both conscript and reserve soldiers, impacting their private and family lives, as well as their finances. It is necessary to enlist the ultra-Orthodox in order to meet the needs of the defense establishment during this ongoing war.

The data presented during the Herzliya Conference also shows **large gaps between the IDF needs and limited scope of ultra-Orthodox recruits**. In the last cohort, 66,000 young ultra-Orthodox men were eligible for military service. In practice, however, a mere 6-10 percent of them have been enlisted in recent years.

The recent annual survey conducted by the Institute for Policy & Strategy shows that most Israelis believe it is the government's duty to ensure that the ultra-Orthodox are indeed enlisted. **An astounding 71 percent of the Israeli public reported strong or very strong agreement with the statement that the government should legislate a law for equal enlistment among the ultra-Orthodox.** Another question on this topic was: "To what extent do you feel that Israeli society is united?". According to the survey, **only 17 percent of the Israeli public believe there is unity in Israeli society.**

Recommendations

It is the Israeli government's duty to take immediate action toward the implementation of the Supreme Court's judgment whereby all those potentially eligible for military service in the ultra-Orthodox sector be enlisted, similarly to other citizens in Israel who are obligated to serve in the IDF. It should also promote legislation that would anchor this arrangement in accordance with the Supreme Court's ruling. Moreover, the government should build educational programs for the ultra-Orthodox sector, as well as systems for their integration into the labor market. The strategy for the implication of these steps should be formed with the ultra-Orthodox sector's **broadest agreement and greatest coordination possible**. However, at the same time, significant sanctions (legal, financial, and other) should be put in place against anyone who continues to evade enlistment.

Watch all conference sessions and discussions on this topic:

Lt. Gen. (res.) Benny Gantz,
Head of The National Unity
Party; Former Israeli War
Cabinet Minister

[Watch >>](#)

MK Yair Lapid, Leader of the
Knesset Opposition; Former
Israeli Prime Minister

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MK Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein, Chair
of the Knesset Foreign Affairs &
Defense Committee

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MK Avigdor Lieberman, Former
Minister of Defense, Finance, and
Foreign Affairs of Israel; Head of
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Eyal Waldman In an interview
with: Hen Zender

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Arnon Bar-David
Chair of The Histadrut

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Hon. Yariv Fisher, Mayor of the
city of Herzliya, Israel

[Watch >>](#)

Shouldering the Burden Equally
Are We Really All in This
Together?

[Watch >>](#)

Adv. Dr. Eliad Shraga In an
interview with: Lior Akerman

[Watch >>](#)

Is the Governmental Coup Ongoing?

Is the Israeli government still promoting the governmental coup designed to weaken the judicial system, despite the events of October 7? A special discussion was dedicated to this issue against the backdrop of the Attorney General's claim that the governmental coup continues to date.

Concretely, it seems **the government is persisting in efforts that could lead to a weaker judicial system**. One striking example is Minister of Justice Yariv Levin's repeated attempts to appoint judges who align with his worldview by changing the rules of the game. Thus, for instance, he is trying to modify the method practiced in Israel for decades for the election of the Supreme Court president, whereby the longest-presiding judge is appointed president. The government is concurrently continuing with its attempts to appoint loyalist gatekeepers so as to mitigate oversight of its actions, rejecting the Attorney General's opinions on various issues time and again. Moreover, it is opting for private legal representation, thus undermining its own legal advisors.

It is extremely important to investigate the disastrous October 7 attack by setting up a state committee of inquiry. Doing so would also be an essential step toward restoring public trust and proper order in Israel. In this context, it is important to mention the warnings issued by the heads of the defense establishment throughout 2023, whereby the governmental coup was detrimental to Israel's image of power and deterrence. An independent state committee of inquiry could investigate all levels of this historical colossal failure thoroughly and reliably, draw the required conclusions, and recommend the necessary systemic changes in the various state institutions. A state committee of inquiry would also help Israel cope with the threats posed to it by the International Criminal Court in the Hague, first among which is the issuing of arrest warrants against senior Israeli officials.

Recommendations

The Israeli government must **put an immediate stop to all steps associated with the governmental coup**, and get back on the track befitting a democratic and liberal state, in accordance with the Declaration of Independence's underlying principles. From a practical perspective, the Israeli government should **defend the status of the Attorney General** as a pillar of Israeli democracy. In addition, the **Prime Minister should set up a state committee of inquiry, and none other than such a committee, as soon as possible** to investigate the disastrous October 7 attack.

Watch all conference sessions and discussions on this topic:

[Is the Governmental Coup Ongoing? What are Its Implications?](#)
[Watch >>](#)

[Adv. Dr. Eliad Shrager In an interview with: Lior Akerman](#)
[Watch >>](#)

How Should Israel's Internal Security be Restored and Rebuilt?

A strategic roundtable attended by former senior-ranking officers at the Israel Police was dedicated to the issue of restoring and rebuilding of internal security from various perspectives. **The Israel Police has become significantly weaker in recent years**, and does not receive the budgets and prioritization needed for its development and empowerment. As a result, many officers have resigned, leading the police force to lower its recruiting threshold drastically, while also considerably shortening the duration of its officer training courses.

One direct outcome of these processes is that **many positions are being filled by officers who have not been properly trained, and are not suitable for them**. They also work under worse conditions and are expected to grapple with unreasonable workloads. The steps taken by the government as part of the governmental coup had led to extensive protests, as well as to the events of October 7 and the ensuing war, placing a heavy burden on the organization. In addition to all that, the Israel Police is also tasked with countering political corruption. It faces harsh criticism expressed by elected officials, **severe internal struggles between the operational levels and political echelon supervising them**, and the Minister of National Security's desire, as manifest in his statements and actions, to turn the police force into his own private militia group.

The recent annual survey conducted by the Institute for Policy & Strategy shows that **less than half of Israelis (46 percent) report high or very high levels of personal safety** (compared to 52 percent last year). **The main reasons cited for these feelings of insecurity were:** the dire security situation; the government's dysfunction; the Minister of Internal Security's conduct; and worrying rise in crime and violence. As for the Israel Police, only 34 percent of the public trusts the police highly or very highly. In other words, two-thirds of Israelis do not trust the police. The main reasons cited for this lack of trust are: unprofessionalism; shortage of human resources; the conduct of the minister in charge of the police; police brutality; and selective enforcement.

Recommendations

The State of Israel must defend the status of gatekeepers and law enforcement agencies. **The Israel Police has a special status and is extremely important, it must remain apolitical and professional** as an expression of Israeli democratic values.

The police should undergo extensive reorganizational processes in order for it to perform its missions professionally. Inter alia it must optimize its recruiting and training processes, as well as improve its ability to respond to the wide range of challenges it faces at present, as well as the quality of its response. Among these challenges are fighting crime, keeping the peace, building and training rapid response units and the National Guard, and more.

Watch all conference sessions and discussions on this topic:

[How Should Israel's Internal Security be Restored and Rebuilt?](#)
(Hebrew)

[Watch >>](#)

[Commissioner Yaakov Shabtai, The Chief of Israel Police Address](#)

[Watch >>](#)

Challenges to the State Education System of Israel

The state of education in Israel was examined throughout the conference from various angles, as it is understood to be a key contributor to Israel's national resilience and multidimensional strategic power. The backdrop to this discussion was **the processes weakening the state education system, and reduced core curriculum studies in the ultra-Orthodox sector.** In the absence of a fundamental, basic solution for these issues, Israel stands to lose its status as a world-recognizable flagship of quality and excellence, and turn into a backward country.

This past year, **the education system has contended with a series of challenges and constraints due to the Swords of Iron War.** There was a need to provide educational infrastructure and facilities on the home front for thousands of students who had been evicted from their homes and have yet to return, despite the conditions of high uncertainty prevalent in recent months in Israel. In addition, **a solution had to be offered to thousands of higher-education students who had been called to reserve duty,** and effectively missed a large portion of the academic year. The Israeli government, in collaboration with the Council for Higher Education, has formed a program providing financial and pedagogical assistance to students to make it easier for them to pursue their degrees.

Another challenge faced by the Israeli education system is **the changes that the Israeli government seeks to make to the teaching of humanities in Israel** as part of the steps associated with the governmental coup. For instance, it is attempting to take over public institutions such as libraries and the Central Bureau of Statistics. These political efforts to control education facilities in Israel form **a real threat to science studies,** beyond the many consequences to which the fighting since October 7 has led. The implication of such threats is a lower level and quality of science studies in Israel, which could also have extensive negative projections on national security in view of the inability to develop original technologies independently.

The Israeli academia has also been forced to grapple with **increasing challenges in the international arena**, inter alia as a result of the government's policies, as well as the ongoing war, the end of which is not in sight. Among the manifestations of these challenges are considerable detriment to Israeli scholars' ability to take part in international conferences, publish papers in global journals, and engage in international collaborations with academic establishments worldwide.

Recommendations

The Israeli government must provide a fundamental and comprehensive solution for challenges in education while allocating the required resources so as to enable studies to continue properly, as well as prepare for a speedy and seamless return to academic routine once the war is over. In addition, since the reservists will probably be overloaded in the next academic year too, **the appropriate solution must be offered to students who serve on reserve duty for extended periods of time.**

The government must actively bolster state education and the core curriculum while imposing economic sanctions on educational facilities that avoid teaching it. The government is further required to **promote a comprehensive reform in the Ministry of Education** to ensure that its conduct meets educational standards, and is not subject to coalitional and sectorial constraints.

Watch all conference sessions and discussions on this topic:

[The Threats on Science,
Education and Culture in Israel](#)

[Watch >>](#)

[Hon. Yoav Kisch
Israel's Minister of Education](#)

[Watch >>](#)

Selected Topics

The Role Played by the Business Sector in Generating Civil and National Resilience in an Era of Environment, Society, and Government (ESG)

In Cooperation with the Arison Center for ESG, Reichman University

A special strategic roundtable examined the role played by the business sector in generating civil and national resilience in an era of ESG (environment, society, and government) in view of the risks posed by climate change. These risks are among the ten most significant that the world currently faces, and include extreme weather, heat stress, water shortages, immigration, and disputes over natural resources. Addressing them requires preparation as well as clear policymaking to reduce the likelihood of their occurrence, and prepare as soon as possible for any surprises that may be encountered.

The Chairman of the Arison Center for ESG advisory board noted at the opening of this discussion that the implementation of ESG realms forms a leadership agenda. It is part of the realm of value-based leadership, the implementation of which requires the individual and collective leadership of shareholders, boards of directors, executives, investors, and policymakers. The special importance of aspects of business continuity and operational resilience as an integral part of the implementation of ESG principles was also underscored.

During the session, participants' attention was drawn to the fact that the transition required to a zero-carbon economy harbors potential for considerable economic growth in both mid and long range; however, in the short range, the process could harm certain populations. Polluting industry workers may be particularly affected, as well as secondary workers who support such industries, who often typically acquire a low occupational skillset, and belong to lower socioeconomic deciles. Thus, the transition and preparation must be handled with great sensitivity toward these populations, and care taken to refrain from overburdening the weaker parts of society, thereby perpetuating social gaps based on economic means, gender, ethnicity, or health, which, in turn, would increase inequality.

Recommendations

The effects of the challenges and risks posed to our planet are severe and significant, and could potentially lead to catastrophes. A clear and correct policy is therefore required if we are to avoid encountering multidimensional strategic surprises in future. In fact, it is our duty and responsibility to create a suitable roadmap that would turn the threat into an opportunity. This roadmap must be accompanied by suitable legislation and the allocation of governmental resources, as well as the identification of additional sources of funding.

It is imperative to introduce the realms of ESG (environment, society, and government) into the leadership DNA in both government and corporate worlds. Moreover, action must be taken to bridge existing gaps in addressing ESG, particularly vis-à-vis countries with whom Israel has trade relations, inter alia with regard to fostering standards and standardization. In addition, solutions must be offered for expected labor market changes with respect to employees' expectations of a greener, more considerate and equal world, as well as to changes derived from the transition from brown to green economy.

Watch conference session on this topic:

[The Role Played by the Business Sector in Generating Civil and National Resilience](#)
(Hebrew)

[Watch >>](#)

Israel's International Status and Soaring Antisemitism

The Swords of Iron War has led to a **leap in verbal and physical antisemitism**, as threats to Jews' safety worldwide have increased. This phenomenon is prominent in almost any high-intensity security incident that occurs in our region, yet, it seems that, this time, intensity and scopes are far greater. Especially striking are incidents on U.S. campuses and in Europe, where large protests against Israel and Jews have been held, and growing sympathy expressed for Hamas, in a way that projects onto Jewish students' personal safety too. These campus incidents reflect much broader in-depth trends in American society, as manifest in a series of surveys conducted in the United States that indicate the growing gaps in support for Israel between the younger and older generations.

For a long time, U.S. universities have failed to contend with the threats of antisemitism and protests held on their grounds. One such example is the testimony given in U.S. Congress by the presidents of Harvard, PennU, and MIT – three ivy league institutions – during which they refused to unequivocally state that calling for the killing of Jews is in violation of their code of ethics, claiming, inter alia, that it "depends on the context". In fact, universities clearly can and should do a lot more to counter this phenomenon. Indeed, they have a wide range of actions they can take at their disposal. Prime examples are prohibiting any activity of organizations or individuals who promote hatred and antisemitism, creating a code of conduct that prohibits such phenomena, strictly enforcing rules against any display of hatred, and investing in Jewish history and Israel studies.

Antisemitism and its range of manifestations are like a chronic disease, and, in times of crisis, it is easy to point the finger at Jews. Israeli public diplomacy's dismal failure is particularly striking against this backdrop, for it is practically non-existent, leaving the stage open to the dissemination of fake stories of a clear antisemitic nature. Another approach was presented at the conference that argues that, for this very reason, Jews in Israel and worldwide should be proud of their roots, boast their identity, and not feel ashamed of it.

Either way, the Israeli government must address the rise in antisemitism, and view it as a **challenge to national security and imminent threat to world Jewry**. Thus, it should form a long-term strategy that will provide a systemic multidimensional solution, while investing the required resources, as well as significant efforts, into public diplomacy.

Watch all conference sessions and discussions on this topic:

Hélène Le Gal, Managing
Director for Middle East and
North Africa, European External
Action Service
[Watch >>](#)

Prof. Ronald D. Liebowitz,
The Ninth President of Brandeis
University, U.S.
[Watch >>](#)

The Soaring Antisemitism as an
Evolving Threat
[Watch >>](#)

DecisionHuddleAI: Using AI to Predict and Analyze Leaders' Decisions

Professor Alex Mintz, Director of the Computerized Decision-Making Lab at Reichman University, presented the research that is being carried out at the lab, which uses the artificial-intelligence-based software DecisionHuddleAI to analyze leaders' decision rules. According to Professor Mintz, to correctly predict leaders' decisions, one must first analyze and understand their decision rule using a matrix that consists of various parameters impacting their decisions. The analysis is based on reverse engineering the decisions made by a particular leader using the software. When many of this leader's decisions are reverse-engineered and analyzed, his or her decision rule and decision DNA may be obtained. The latter form the decision maker's cognitive algorithm, helping to correctly identify an adversary's future decisions and actions.

Among the examples provided by Professor Mintz for this research was the study on Sinwar's decision-making process. The outcomes of the attempt to examine his decision rule using the software based on an analysis of many of the decisions he has made showed that Sinwar's decision rule is founded on his rationality as he sees it, which is derived from his goals, as well as the ideological/religious nature of the terror organization known as Hamas. Professor Mintz further noted that it is important to take the adversary's point of view into account when analyzing his or her decisions, not ours. Notably, this study has successfully predicted several Hamas decisions before they were actually made.

Professor Mintz went on to explain that the Pentagon has recently announced an AI-based initiative that aims to give it an advantage by predicting adversaries' decisions. Using AI for this purpose has many advantages: It saves researchers a lot of time; prevents analysis bias; and renders the process methodology more effective. The outcomes contribute by providing various brainstorming angles, generating simulations, and increasing the potential for correctly predicting an adversary's decisions.

Watch conference session on this topic:

[DecisionHuddleAI: Using AI to Predict and Analyze Leaders' Decisions](#)

[Watch >>](#)

Dedicated to the Memory of Hersh Goldberg-Polin ZL

The Herzliya Conference placed an important emphasis on the hostages, and the immediate need to return them home alive. One of the most prominent symbols of the human tragedy that befell us on October 7 is Hersh Goldberg-Polin of blessed memory. Hersh was taken to Gaza after fighting bravely in the mobile shelter (migunit) in Re'im. While fighting, he was severely injured, and lost his left hand. After being held captive for 328 days, Hersh was brutally murdered in captivity by Hamas terrorists.

Rachel and Jon, Hersh's parents, have become the role-models, both in Israel and worldwide, for a determined and inspiring fight due to their actions to save their son, as well as all the other hostages. During the Herzliya Conference, two months before her son was shot dead by his captors in a Gazan tunnel, Rachel spoke with great feeling, calling upon Israeli leaders to actively pursue Hersh's speedy return along with all the other hostages. She said "decisionmakers must decide if they want to be remembered for all time and judged eternally based on interests, equities, and politics, or upon having the courage to do righteousness, integrity, justice, and grace".

The Herzliya Conference, Institute for Policy & Strategy, and Reichman University extend their condolences to Rachel and Jon Goldberg-Polin, Hersh's parents, as well as to the families of all hostages who were savagely murdered by Hamas terrorists, and call for the immediate return of all those who remain in Hamas captivity.



Hersh Goldberg-Polin ZL with his mother Rachel

Dr. Phil Gordon Keynote Address ¹

Assistant to the President of the United States and National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States



Dr. Phil Gordon, Assistant to the President of the United States and National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States

It is my pleasure to be here to speak about the U.S.-Israel partnership, and how things look from Washington.

We all know the past 8 and a half months have been an extraordinarily difficult time. There are still not words to describe the horrors of Hamas's brutal massacre of 1200 people on October 7 – or of the taking of 250 innocent hostages and unthinkable acts of sexual violence.

And the war triggered by that attack has had devastating consequences. Tens of thousands of Palestinian civilians, including women and children, have been killed—and humanitarian conditions for the people of Gaza, where the majority of the population has been displaced, remain dire.

In Israel, almost 200,000 Israelis have had to evacuate their homes, and many have yet to return.

In addition: Just over two months ago, Iran launched an unprecedented direct attack on Israeli territory. Houthi militants and Shia militia groups continue to strike at Israeli and other targets. Hezbollah attacks Israel regularly across its northern border, and Israel is responding.

Meanwhile, Israel is facing growing international criticism and pressure from the United Nations and other international bodies. Vocal segments of the American public have spoken out against the war in Gaza. As a result, over the past eight and a half months the U.S.-Israel partnership has been tested, perhaps as never before.

It has been a profoundly trying time for all. But I need not remind everyone here: the U.S.-Israel partnership has always faced challenges. There have been many difficulties – even crises – in our shared history – and we have survived all of them, together. And while it will require work on both sides, there is no reason why this time needs to be different.

Indeed, notwithstanding all the very real challenges and tests I have mentioned, I believe there is a positive path forward for Israel, the United States, and our strategic partnership.

And that is what I want to talk about today – not the risks and problems we all know but the possibility of a more hopeful path forward, for Israel, U.S.-Israeli relations, and the people of the region.

The path to a more hopeful future starts with the ceasefire deal spelled out by President Biden on May 31, based on Israel's proposal. That proposal offers the opportunity to end the war in Gaza in a way such that Israel is secure; all the hostages are returned; Hamas no longer governs Gaza; and the Palestinian people have a hopeful political horizon to freedom, security, and an eventual state living side by side with Israel in peace.

You are familiar with the terms of this proposal but they are worth repeating: Phase 1 would be a 6-week full and complete ceasefire; withdrawal of Israeli forces from population centers; and the release of hostages, including women, the elderly, and the wounded. In this time, Palestinian civilians could return to their homes, and humanitarian assistance would surge...

[To read Dr. Phil Gordon full speech >>](#)

[To watch the full speech >>](#)

1. [whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/06/24/remarks-by-national-security-advisor-to-the-vice-president-dr-phil-gordon-at-the-herzliya-conference/](https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2024/06/24/remarks-by-national-security-advisor-to-the-vice-president-dr-phil-gordon-at-the-herzliya-conference/)

H.E. Annalena Baerbock Keynote Address ²

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany

1



H.E. Annalena Baerbock, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany

Some images, some words don't leave you. And maybe they never will. Like the words I heard from Yoni, whose wife Doron and two daughters Raz and Aviv were cruelly taken by Hamas on 7 October. For endless days and nights, Yoni feared for their lives. When the three were released on 25 November, it was a moment of immense joy - in a time of enduring pain. One hundred and twenty hostages are still being held in Gaza.

"I am just glad that my wife's grandmother did not live to see this." That's what Yoni said, referring to Safta Tirtza, who was born in Munich and who survived the Shoah. Yoni's words have stayed with

me since. The images of 7 October have stayed with me since. As a human, a parent. But also as the Foreign Minister of a country that was responsible for the worst crime in history: the Shoah, the state-planned murder of six million Jews - with the aim of extinguishing Judaism in Europe. The Nazis hunted down Jews, dragged them out of their homes and murdered them systematically and in cold blood.

The hope of Israel's founders was that Israel would be the place where Jews would never have to experience this again, where they would be safe. On 7 October, this assurance was shaken to its core, not only for Jews in Israel, but for people of the Jewish faith worldwide.

It was important to me to come to Israel directly after 7 October - in order to understand this trauma. To meet with relatives of the hostages, like Yoni. To sit in the situation room in Netivot, forcing myself to watch the horrific video of the 7 October atrocities. To see, to understand. And to make sure that in everything we do, we help to prevent Hamas' cynical terrorist playbook from succeeding.

I've been to this region ten times in nine months, and with every visit, my concerns have been growing that we are slip-sliding towards a dead end... all together. This is why I am thankful for your invitation to this conference. Because I believe we can only prevent this all together.

The security of the State of Israel is paramount for my country. It is part of our *raison d'état*, as Chancellor Angela Merkel put it when she addressed the Knesset in 2008. You have heard that many times from German politicians. But what does this mean - today, in this time of anguish? It means standing up for Israel's security when it is under attack. A 7 October must never happen again. It means saying very clearly that Israel has the right to defend itself, like any other country in the world. Hamas wanted to destroy Israel's security, but also Israel's legitimacy.

Hamas started this war. And it must end this horror. Hamas must release all of the hostages - some of whom are German citizens. Hamas must cease its attacks on Israel. It's Hamas who has sought to spark a regional escalation with the help of its international backers.

Standing up for Israel's security means reiterating this message again and again, particularly when talking to those who are cynically seeking to move the focus away from the atrocities of 7 October. This also means that Israel has the right to defend itself against Hizbollah's relentless attacks in the north. It's Hizbollah who started this violence on 8 October, forcing tens of thousands of Israelis from their homes.....

[To read H.E. Annalena Baerbock full speech >>](#)

[To watch the full speech >>](#)

2. <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/en/newsroom/news/herzliya-conference/2664674>

3

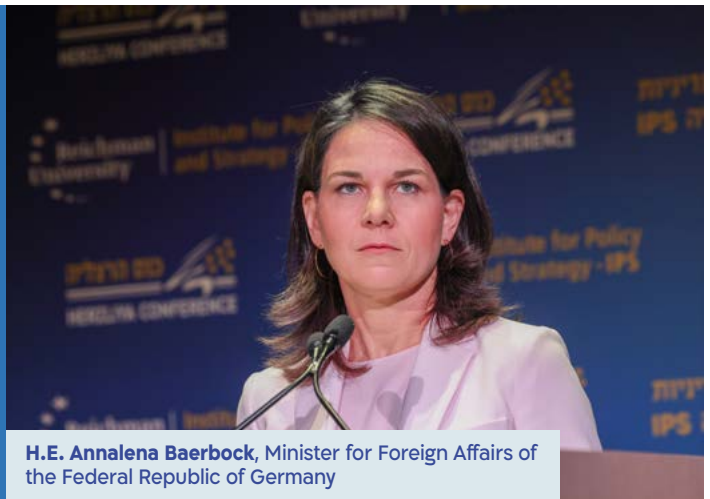
A woman with blonde hair and glasses is speaking at a podium. She is wearing a dark jacket over a light-colored top. The background is a large screen displaying a presentation slide with a blue header and white text. The podium has a microphone in front of her.

The day after the attack, the Israeli flag lit up the European Commission building in Brussels in solidarity with the people of Israel. On 11 October, the Presidents of the Parliament, the Council, and the Commission, gathered together in front of the European Parliament, with MEPs and citizens, to observe a minute of silence for the victims of Hamas, followed by the playing of "Hatikva" [Israel's national anthem].....

24



Dr. Phil Gordon, Assistant to the President of the United States and National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States



H.E. Annalena Baerbock, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany

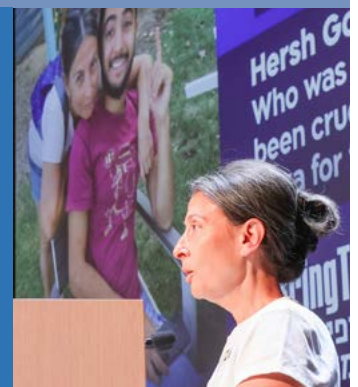


Terrorism as A Strategic Factor

Adv. Ofir Yehezkeili | Col. (ret.) Miri Eisin | Prof. Assaf Moghadam | Prof. Boaz Ganor | Moderator: Dr. Dana Wolf



Meirav Leshem Gonen, Mother of Romi Gonen, who was kidnapped and has been brutally held hostage in Gaza



Rachel Goldberg-Polin, Mother of Hersh Goldberg-Polin ZL, who was kidnapped and has been brutally murdered in Gaza



H.E. Amb. Jacob J. Lew, U.S. Ambassador to Israel with Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead



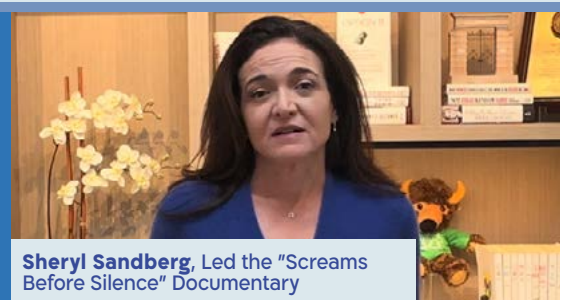
H.E. Mrs. Michal Herzog, The First Lady of the State of Israel In an interview with Miri Michaeli



Is the Governmental Coup Ongoing? What are Its Implications?
Prof. Suzie Navot with Prof. Jonathan Gershoni



How Should Israel's Internal Security be Restored and Rebuilt?
Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Meni Itzhaki | MK Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Yoav Segalovich | Lior Akerman | Deputy Commissioner (ret.) David Tsur | Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Ahroon Aksool



Sheryl Sandberg, Led the "Screams Before Silence" Documentary



Lt. Gen. (res.) MK Gadi Eisenkot
In an interview with: **Ben Caspit**



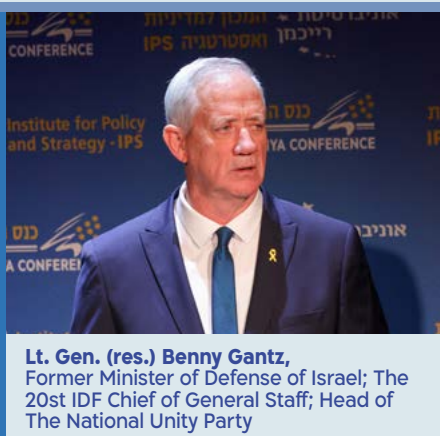
The Global Order – Is the World Changing Its Course?
Hon. Roderich Kiesewetter | Antonia Dimou |
Prof. Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky | Moderator: Shashank Joshi



The Iranian Nuclear Race – Are We At the Finish Line?
Gideon Frank | Amb. Jeremy Issacharoff | Sima Shine | Dr. Shay Har-Zvi | Brig. Gen. (res.) Dr. Ephraim Sneh | Dr. Ephraim Asculai



MK Yair Lapid,
Leader of the Knesset Opposition;
Former Israeli Prime Minister



Lt. Gen. (res.) Benny Gantz,
Former Minister of Defense of Israel; The
20st IDF Chief of General Staff; Head of
The National Unity Party



Hon. Yoav Kisch,
Israel's Minister of Education



MK Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein,Chair of the Knesset Foreign Affairs &
Defense Committee with: **Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead**



MK Avigdor Lieberman, Former Minister of Defense, Finance,
and Foreign Affairs of Israel; Head of Yisrael Beiteinu Party
with: **Tal Shalev**



The October 7 Murderous Attack: Are Strategic Surprises Preventable?
Maj Gen. (res.) Noam Tibon | Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead | Tamir Pardo | Moderator: Ben Caspit



Dr. Phil Gordon and
Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead



Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University



Joey Low, Executive Producer of "Screams Before Silence" with **Roni (Fantanesh) Malkai**



Hélène Le Gal, Managing Director for Middle East and North Africa, European External Action Service



The National Resilience Balance: Has the Contract Between the State and its Citizens Been Breached?
Adv. Dr. Eliad Shrager with Lior Akerman



Hon. Yariv Fisher, Mayor of the city of Herzliya, Israel



Commissioner Yaakov Shabtai, The Chief of Israel Police



Israel and the Middle East: A Negative or Positive Horizon Forecast? And How Does the Palestinian Arena Impact It?
Dr. Eyal Hulata | Abdulla Al-Junaid | Robert Greenway | Abdalaziz Al-Khamis | Moderator: Ksenia Svetlova



The Role Played by the Business Sector in Generating Civil and National Resilience in an Era of Environment, Society, and Government
Dr. Amit Marmor | Rani Amir | Adv. Linor Deutsch | Yair Avidan | Galit Cohen | Noam Goldstein



The National Resilience Balance: Has the Contract Between the State and its Citizens Been Breached?
Eyal Waldman with Hen Zender



Jonathan Davis, Vice President for External Relations & Head of the Raphael Recanati International School, Reichman University



Danny Elgarat, The Brother of Itzik Elgarat, who was kidnapped and has been brutally held hostage in Gaza



DecisionHuddleAI: Using AI to Predict and Analyze Leaders' Decisions
Prof. Alex Mintz





The War in Ukraine - Global Impact
Shashank Joshi | Antonia Dimou | Dr. Emmanuel Navon |
H.E. Dr. Nina Nordström | Dr. Arvid Bell



U.S.-Israel Relations: What's Next?
Amb. Zalman Shoval | Moderator: Tal Schneider |
Amb. Danny Ayalon



Arnon Bar-David, Chair of The Histadrut
Address (The General Organization of Workers
in Israel)



Dr. Victoria Coates, Former Deputy National
Security Advisor to the U.S. President



Prof. Ronald D. Liebowitz, The Ninth
President of Brandeis University, U.S



Abdalaziz Al-Khamis, Saudi Journalist;
Middle East, Arabian Gulf and Islamic
Movements Researcher



Abdulla Al-Junaid, Geopolitics & Security
Columnist, Bahrain



The Future Battlefield
Maj. Gen. (res.) Michael (Miki) Edelstein,
Elbit Systems



Shouldering the Burden Equally - Are We Really All in This Together?
Rabbi Dr. Moshe Kahan | Prof. Yedidia Stern | Col. (res.) Nira Shpak | Eyal Naveh | Prof. Karine Nahon | Moderator: Lior Akerman,



The Threats on Science, Education and Culture in Israel
Prof. Varda Liberman with Prof. David Harel



National Security Challenges Tested by Evolving Threats
Brig Gen. (res.) Aviv Tamir, Israel Aerospace Industries



Yair Avidan, Chair of the Advisory Committee and Peers Forum, Arison Center for ESG, Reichman University; Former Supervisor of Banks, Bank of Israel



The War in Gaza: Its Impact on Israel's Status Internationally and Soaring Antisemitism as an Evolving Threat
Irina Nevzlin with Roni (Fantanesh) Malkai



Hon. Tzachi Hanegbi, National Security Adviser, Head of the National Security Council, Prime Minister's Office, Israel, with **Dr. Shay Har-Zvi**



Israel Without the U.S. - Can This Be?
Moderator: Gil Tamary | Lt. Gen. (res.) Moshe (Bogie) Yaalon | Prof. Yossi Shain | David Makovsky | Dr. Victoria Coates



The Strategic Struggle Between the Iranian Axis and Israel - Where Are We Heading?
Moderator: Udi Segal | Gideon Frank | Elliott Abrams | Sima Shine | Maj. Gen. Amikam Norkin

About the Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS)

The Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) at Reichman University, the convener of the prestigious annual Herzliya Conference Series, aspires to contribute to Israel's national security and resilience. The IPS viewpoint is based on the understanding that addressing strategic and security challenges requires not only military might, but political wisdom, national resilience, and social cohesion.

Founded in the year 2,000 the IPS, and its Herzliya Conference, has gained world fame, and became over the years, a most influential research center (think tank) on Israel's national strength.

The work performed by the IPS is based on an integrative and comprehensive view that examines the mutual impact of the various components within the overall national security tapestry. It strives to present the most accurate and up-to-date situation report, while generating policy and strategic insights as well as recommendations for decisionmakers, opinion shapers, and other parties engaged in Israeli and global policymaking.

The Institute's Policy Agenda Consists of Two Main Pillars:

The first and primary one is identifying opportunities and risks for Israel in both the Middle East arena and globally. The IPS strives to characterize geostrategic and geopolitical trends shaping the Middle East, including the involvement of superpowers and key regional players. Special emphasis is placed on identifying dynamic regional shifts that elevate the threat posed by Iran, alongside the development of new strategic relationships between Israel and the Arab states.

The second focus area is Israel's national resilience as a foundation for national security. In this area, the IPS seeks to promote an understanding of the risks resulting from the destabilization of liberal democracy and Israel's gatekeepers, alongside demographic processes that are reshaping the Israeli society. It also aims to show that domestic weakness negatively impacts Israel's ability to cope with internal as well as external crises.

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Prof. Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

IPS Team: Ms. Hila Ziv | Dr. Shay Har-Zvi | Adv. Ophir Elkis | Mr. Lior Akerman | Ms. Nirit Gil | Ms. Edna Bachar

Senior Fellows: Mr. Tamir Pardo | Maj. Gen. Amikam Norkin | Mr. Gideon Frank | Prof. Rafi Melnick | Prof. Assaf Moghadam | Dr. Eyal Hulata | Amb. Jeremy Issacharoff | Amb. Yoram Ben-Zeev | Dr. Ephraim Asculai | Mr. Oren Nahari | Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Meni Itzhaki | Mr. Gil Tamary | Ms. Ksenya Svatlova | Prof. Amnon Cavari

[All Conference sessions can be viewed on the IPS website >>](#)



Conference Program

Plenary Sessions
Monday, 24 June 2024

Opening Ceremony

A moment of silence in memory of the victims who were brutally murdered in the October 7 barbaric attack, and the IDF soldiers and security forces who fell in the swords of iron war



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Israel's Strategic Balance: Strength or Weakness?

Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Chairman, Annual Herzliya Conference Series, Reichman University



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Hamas' Gender-Based Atrocities as a Strategy

H.E. Mrs. Michal Herzog, The First Lady of the State of Israel

In an interview with: Miri Michaeli, Chief News Anchor, i24NEWS, Journalist, Communicator and Lecturer

Screams Before Silence

The viewing of a segment of the documentary on the gender-based violent crimes committed by Hamas during the brutal October 7 attack



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A Special Message From:

Sheryl Sandberg, Founder of the Sandberg Goldberg Bernthal Family Foundation, *Led the "Screams Before Silence" Documentary*



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A Conversation with The Executive Producer of "Screams Before Silence":

Joey Low, Founder of "Israel At Heart" and Star Farm Ventures



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Meirav Leshem Gonen, Mother of Romi Gonen, who was kidnapped and has been brutally held hostage in Gaza

Moderator: **Roni (Fantanesh) Malkai**, Social Activist, Attorney & Journalist



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Hon. Yariv Fisher, Mayor of the city of Herzliya, Israel



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In-Depth Trends in Israeli Society

A Review of the Herzliya Conference Annual Survey

Lior Akerman, Research Fellow, Head of National Resilience Section, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

Conference Program



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Keynote Address:

The U.S.-Israel Strategic Relationship: The View From Washington

Dr. Phil Gordon, Assistant to the President of the United States and National Security Advisor to the Vice President of the United States



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The October 7 Murderous Attack: Are Strategic Surprises Preventable?

Lt. Gen. (res.) MK Gadi Eisenkot, Former Israeli War Cabinet Minister; The 21st IDF Chief of General Staff

[In an interview with:](#) **Ben Caspit**, Journalist and Senior Commentator, Maariv, Radio 103, Meet the Press, Channel 12 News



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Moderated Discussion:

Tamir Pardo, Former Head of the Mossad

Maj Gen. (res.) Noam Tibon, Former Commander of the Northern Corps, IDF

Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead

[Moderator:](#) **Ben Caspit**



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Is the Governmental Coup Ongoing? What are Its Implications?

[A One-on-One Conversation:](#)

Prof. Suzie Navot, Vice President (Research), The Israel Democracy Institute

Prof. Jonathan Gershoni, Tel Aviv University



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Hélène Le Gal, Managing Director for Middle East and North Africa, European External Action Service



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H.E Amb. Jacob J. Lew, U.S. Ambassador to Israel

[In a conversation with:](#) **Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead**



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Keynote Address:

H.E. Annalena Baerbock, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany



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[Q&A session moderated by:](#)

Amb. Jeremy Issacharoff, Former Israel's Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany

[Moderator:](#) **Jonathan Davis**, Vice President for External Relations & Head of the Raphael Recanati International School, Reichman University

Conference Program

Plenary Sessions | Tuesday, 25 June 2024



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Commissioner Yaakov Shabtai, The Chief of Israel Police Address



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Danny Elgarat, The Brother of Itzik Elgarat, who was kidnapped and has been brutally held hostage in Gaza



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The Strategic Struggle Between the Iranian Axis and Israel – Where Are We Heading?

Moderated Discussion:

Maj. Gen. Amikam Norkin, Former Commander of the Israeli Air Force (IAF)

Sima Shine, Head of the Iran and the Shia Axis Program, Institute For National Security Studies (INSS)

Gideon Frank, Former Head of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission; Chairman of the Council, Technion

Elliott Abrams, Former Deputy Assistant to the U.S. President for Middle East Policy & Deputy National Security Adviser; Senior fellow for Middle Eastern Studies (CFR), Washington, DC

Moderator: Udi Segal, Chief Political Correspondent & Anchor, Channel 13 News; Sammy Ofer School of Communications, Reichman University



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Hon. Tzachi Hanegbi, National Security Adviser, Head of the National Security Council, Prime Minister's Office, Israel

In an interview with: Dr. Shay Har-Zvi, Research Fellow, Head of the International and Middle East Arenas, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University; Former Acting Director General, Israeli Ministry of Strategic Affairs



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The Global Order - Is the World Changing Its Course?

Moderated Discussion:

Roderich Kiesewetter, Member of the the Foreign Affairs Committee, The German Parliament (Bundestag)

Antonia Dimou, Director, Middle East and Persian Gulf Unit, Institute for Security and Defense Analysis, Greece

Prof. Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky, Head of the Honors Track in Strategy, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, Reichman University

Moderator: Shashank Joshi, The Economist's Defence Editor



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Interview with:

Arnon Bar-David, Chair of The Histadrut Address (The General Organization of Workers in Israel)



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MK Yoel (Yuli) Edelstein, Chair of the Knesset Foreign Affairs & Defense Committee

In a conversation with: Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead



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MK Yair Lapid, Leader of the Knesset Opposition Address; Former Israeli Prime Minister

Conference Program



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The National Resilience Balance: Has the Contract Between the State and its Citizens Been Breached?

Eyal Waldman, 2024 Israel Prize Laureate in Entrepreneurship and Technological Innovation; Chairman, Waldo Holdings; Former President & CEO of Mellanox

[In an interview with:](#) **Hen Zender**, Journalist, News Anchor, Channel 13 News, Israel



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Adv. Dr. Eliad Shraga, ounder and Chairman, The Movement for Quality Government in Israel

[In an interview with:](#) **Lior Akerman**, Research Fellow, Head of the National Resilience Section, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University



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Hon. Yoav Kisch, Israel's Minister of Education Address



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National Security Challenges Tested by Evolving Threats

Brig Gen. (res.) Aviv Tamir, Head of Israel, Strategic Unit, Israel Aerospace Industries



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Israel Without the U.S. - Can This Be?

[Moderated Discussion:](#)

Dr. Victoria Coates, Former Deputy National Security Advisor to the U.S. President; Vice President, Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy, The Heritage Foundation

Lt. Gen. (res.) Moshe (Bogie) Yaalon, Former Minister of Defense; The 17th IDF Chief of General Staff

Prof. Yossi Shain, Professor Emeritus, Tel Aviv University; Georgetown University, Washington D.C.; Assistant to the President and a Representative of Brandeis University in Israel

David Makovsky, Director, Koret Project on Arab-Israel Relations, Washington Institute for Near East Policy, U.S.

[Moderator:](#) **Gil Tamary**, Chief International News Editor and Commentator, Channel 13 News



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U.S.-Israel Relations: What's Next?

[Ambassadors Talk:](#)

Amb. Zalman Shoval, Former Ambassador of Israel to the U.S.

Amb. Danny Ayalon, Former Ambassador of Israel to the U.S. and Deputy Foreign Minister; Chairman, Silver Road Capital

[Moderator:](#) **Tal Schneider**, Political & Diplomatic Correspondent, The Times of Israel

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The War in Gaza: Its Impact on Israel's Status Internationally and Soaring Antisemitism as an Evolving Threat

Prof. Ronald D. Liebowitz

The Ninth President of Brandeis University, U.S.



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Irina Nevzlin, Chair, Board of Directors, Anu – Museum of the Jewish People; President, Nadav Foundation; Founder & Chair, Improve; Author of *The Impact of Identity – The Power of Knowing Who You Are*

[In an interview with:](#) **Roni (Fantanesh) Malkai**, Social Activist, Attorney & Journalist



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The Global Campaign for the Return of Hostages Held By Hamas Terrorists In the Gaza Strip

Rachel Goldberg-Polin

Mother of Hersh Goldberg-Polin ZL, who was kidnapped and has been brutally Murdered in Gaza



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The Threats on Science, Education and Culture in Israel

[A One-on-One Conversation:](#)

Prof. Varda Liberman, Provost, Reichman University

Prof. David Harel, President, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Israel Prize Laureate in Computer Science



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MK Avigdor Lieberman, Former Minister of Defense, Finance, and Foreign Affairs of Israel; Head of Yisrael Beiteinu Party

[In an interview with:](#) **Tal Shalev**, Political Correspondent, Walla!News



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Terrorism as A Strategic Factor

[Moderated Discussion:](#)

Prof. Boaz Ganor, President, Reichman University

Prof. Assaf Moghadam, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, Reichman University

Col. (ret.) Miri Eisin, Managing Director, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), Reichman University

Adv. Ofir Yehezkeili, Deputy Mayor of Kiryat Shmona

[Moderator:](#) **Dr. Dana Wolf**, Head of the Law and Security Program, Head of Diplomacy and Conflict Studies Track, Lauder School of Government Diplomacy and Strategy, Reichman University



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DecisionHuddleAI: Using AI to Predict and Analyze Leaders' Decisions

Prof. Alex Mintz, Director of the Computerized Decision-Making Lab; Former Provost, Reichman University

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Israel and the Middle East: A Negative or Positive Horizon Forecast? And How Does the Palestinian Arena Impact It?

Moderated Discussion:

Robert Greenway, Former Deputy Assistant to the U.S. President; Director, Allison Center for National Security, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC

Abdalaziz Al-Khamis, Saudi Journalist; Middle East, Arabian Gulf and Islamic Movements Researcher; Facts4All

Abdulla Al-Junaid, Geopolitics & Security Columnist, Bahrain

Dr. Eyal Hulata, Former Israel's National Security Adviser, Head of the National Security Council, Prime Minister's Office; Senior Fellow, FDD (Foundation for the Defense of Democracies), Washington, D.C.

Moderator: Ksenia Svetlova, Executive Director, ROPES; Senior Research Non-Resident Fellow, The Atlantic Council; Former Knesset Member



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Lt. Gen. (res.) Benny Gantz, Head of The National Unity Party; Former Israeli War Cabinet Minister; Former Minister of Defense of Israel; The 20st IDF Chief of General Staff



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Shouldering the Burden Equally - Are We Really All in This Together?

Moderated Discussion:

Prof. Karine Nahon, Head of Data, Government and Democracy Program, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, Reichman University

Eyal Naveh, Brothers in Arms

Col. (res.) Nira Shpak, Former Member of the Israeli Knesset

Prof. Yedidia Stern, President, Jewish People Policy Institute (JPPI)

Rabbi Dr. Moshe Kahan, Founder and CEO, Pardes Project

Moderator: Lior Akerman, Research Fellow, Head of the National Resilience Section, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University



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The Future Battlefield

Maj. Gen. (res.) Michael (Miki) Edelstein

Executive Vice President of Strategy, Israel, Elbit Systems

In a conversation with: Maj. Gen. (res.) Amos Gilead

Conference Moderator: Roni (Fantanesh) Malkai, Lawyer and Activist, Author of Black Strength: Ethiopian Jews and the Journey to Equality

Conference Program

Strategic Discussions

Roundtable Format – Was held parallel to the main assembly panels | June 25, 2024



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(Hebrew)

How Should Israel's Internal Security be Restored and Rebuilt?

Chair: Lior Akerman, Research Fellow, Head of the National Resilience Section, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

MK Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Yoav Segalovich, Former Deputy Minister of Internal Security

Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Meni Itzhaki, Former Head of Investigations and Intelligence, Israel Police

Deputy Commissioner (ret.) David Tsur, Former Head of Israel's Counter-Terror Unit; Former Head of the Israel Border Police; Former Commander of the Tel Aviv District, Israel Police

Deputy Commissioner (ret.) Ahroon Aksool, Former Commander of the Tel Aviv District, Head of Security and Policing Division, Israel Police



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(Hebrew)

The Iranian Nuclear Race – Are We At the Finish Line?

Chair: Dr. Shay Har-Zvi, Research Fellow, Head of the International and Middle East Arenas, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

Gideon Frank, Former Head of the Israel Atomic Energy Commission; Chairman of the Council, Technion

Sima Shine, Head of the Iran and the Shia Axis Program, Institute For National Security Studies (INSS)

Dr. Ephraim Asculai, Former Senior Official at the Israel Atomic Energy Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency

Amb. Jeremy Issacharoff, Former Israel's Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany; Senior Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), Reichman University

Brig. Gen. (res.) Dr. Ephraim Sneh, Former Deputy Minister of Defense



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The War in Ukraine - Global Impact

In Cooperation with: The European Leadership Network (ELNET)

Chair: Dr. Emmanuel Navon, CEO, ELNET Israel; International Relations Lecturer, Tel Aviv University

Shashank Joshi, The Economist's Defence Editor

H.E. Dr. Nina Nordström, Ambassador of Finland to Israel

Antonia Dimou, Director, Middle East and Persian Gulf Unit, Institute for Security and Defense Analysis, Greece

Dr. Arvid Bell, CEO, Negotiation Task Force (NTF); Lecturer on Government, Harvard University



The Role Played by the Business Sector in Generating Civil and National Resilience in an Era of Environment, Society, and Government

In Cooperation with:

The Arison Center for ESG, Reichman University

Chair: **Mr. Yair Avidan**, Chair of the Advisory Committee and Peers Forum, Arison Center for ESG, Reichman University; Former Supervisor of Banks, Bank of Israel

Adv. Linor Deutsch, Co-Founder & Executive Director, Lobby 99

Galit Cohen, Program Director, Climate Change and National Security (INSS)

Rani Amir, Senior Deputy Director General Nature Resources Planning and Climate Resilience, Israeli Ministry of Environmental Protection

Dr. Amit Marmur, VP Sustainability and Safety, Nesher Israel Cement Enterprises

Noam Goldstein, Executive Vice President, Chief Risk Officer, ICL

Discussants:

Prof. Niron Hashai, Dean, Arison School of Business and Co-Academic Head of the Arison ESG Center, Reichman University

Dr. Moran Ofir Senior Lecturer & Researcher, Reichman University

Prof. Eli Bukspan, Radzyner School of Law, Co-Academic Head of the Arison ESG Center, Reichman University

Dr. Ruth Dagan, Director of Climate Change and International Network, Arison Center for ESG, Reichman University

