



Lauder School
of Government,
Diplomacy & Strategy

IPS
Institute for
Policy and Strategy



THE EIGHTH ANNUAL HERZLIYA CONFERENCE
on
THE BALANCE OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY

"ISRAEL AT SIXTY: TESTS OF ENDURANCE"

JANUARY 20-23, 2008

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

PROGRAM

Sunday, January 20th

Knesset, Jerusalem

08:00 Entrance to the Knesset and Registration

09:30 Morning Sessions

Assessing National Security – The Annual Update

OPENING REMARKS—"TESTS OF ENDURANCE"

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

THE BALANCE OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY – THE "HERZLIYA INDICES" IN ISRAEL'S 60TH YEAR

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

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

THE PATRIOTISM SURVEY IN ISRAEL'S 60TH YEAR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13:00 Lunch

14:00 Afternoon Sessions

Key Issues on the National Agenda

BEYOND BALI: CLIMATE CHANGE AND NATIONAL SECURITY

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

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

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

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

Discussion

Introduction: Adv. **Shraga Biran**

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

THE WINOGRAD COMMISSION AND NATIONAL SECURITY DECISION-MAKING

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

THE HEART OF THE MATTER: JERUSALEM AS THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

19:45 Opening Ceremony and Dinner

Opening Address:

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

Addresses:

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

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

Greetings:

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

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

Moderator:

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

Musical Interlude:

The Camerata Jerusalem Orchestra – Conductor: Avner Biron

Monday, January 21st

Daniel Hotel, Herzliya

08:00-13:00

INTERNATIONAL HERZLIYA ROUNDTABLE: Deterrence in a Poly-Nuclear Middle East

By invitation only

08:30 Morning Sessions

National, Economic, and Social Challenges in the Global Era

THE "HERZLIYA ACCORD" – PRIORITIZING ISRAEL'S SOCIAL NEEDS AND PROGRAMS

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

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

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

Mr. **Sever Plotzker**, Dr. **Yaacov Sheinin**

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

ENGINES FOR GROWTH: ENERGIZING THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

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

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

THE ERA OF CREATIVE OPPORTUNITY

Chair: Adv. **Shraga Biran**

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

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

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

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

Discussion

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

14:00 Lunch Session

Chair: Prof. **Uzi Arad**

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

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

15:30 Afternoon Sessions

GLOBAL ECONOMIC TRENDS AND PROCESSES

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

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

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

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

ENERGY SECURITY AND POLICIES – NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS

Introduction: Mr. **Robert McNally**, Managing Director, Tudor Investment Corporation

Ms. **Ann Eggington**, Head of Division for Europe, Middle East and Africa, International Energy Agency

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

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

Foreign Policy Challenges Against the Backdrop of Regional Developments

ARAB-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS – FORECASTS FOR THE REGION

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

Prof. **Martin Kramer**, Senior Fellow, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center

Prof. **Gideon Biger**, Department of Geography and Human Environment, Tel Aviv University

Mr. **Lee Smith**, Visiting Fellow, Hudson Institute

Discussion

20:00 Dinner

Introduction: Ms. **Shula Bahat**, Associate Executive Director, American Jewish Committee

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Ehud Barak**, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense; Former Prime Minister

Mr. **Maxime Verhagen**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Netherlands

21:30 "NIGHT OWLS"

THE CHALLENGE OF RADICAL ISLAM

In cooperation with the Atlantic Forum of Israel

Chair: Dr. **Boaz Ganor**, Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Edward (Ted) M. Gistaro**, US National Intelligence Officer for Transnational Threats

Ms. **Judith Miller**, Adjunct Fellow, Manhattan Institute for Policy Research

Dr. **Uzi Landau**, Former Minister for Internal Security; Research Fellow, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Steven Emerson**, Executive Director, Investigative Project on Terrorism

Dr. **Peter Ackerman**, Chair, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict

Tuesday, January 22nd

Daniel Hotel, Herzliya

08:30 Morning Sessions

NEGOTIATING THE FINAL STATUS AGREEMENT

Introduction: Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Chairman of the Board, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Amb. **Robert Serry**, United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and Envoy of the Secretary-General to the Quartet – a message from the UN Secretary General to the Herzliya Conference

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Moshe Ya'alon**, Senior Fellow, Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies, Shalem Center

Amb. Prof. **Daniel Kurtzer**, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University

Sir **Ronald Cohen**, Chairman, Portland Trust

Prof. **Irwin Cotler**, Member of Parliament, Canada

Prof. **Stephen D. Krasner**, Department of Political Science, Stanford University

Amb. **Robert Serry**, United Nations Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process

Discussion

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND THE BROADER MIDDLE EAST: AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN APPROACHES

Introduction: Mr. **Hermann Bünz**, Director, Representative in Israel, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

Mr. **Peter Flory**, NATO Assistant Secretary General for Defense Investment

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

Dr. **Josef Joffe**, Publisher and Editor, Die Zeit

Col. (res.) Dr. **Eran Lerman**, Director, Israel and Middle East Office, American Jewish Committee

Dr. **Israel Elad-Altmann**, Senior Research Fellow, Atlantic Forum of Israel; Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Discussion

12:00 Lunch Session

FROM THE OUTSIDE, LOOKING IN: INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE MIDDLE EAST

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

Mr. **Franco Frattini**, Vice President, Commissioner for Justice, Freedom and Security, European Commission

Prof. **Li Zhaoxing**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China

Dr. **David Wurmser**, Executive Member, Delphi Global Analysis Group & Former Senior Advisor for Middle East and Strategic Affairs to US Vice President

Presentation of the Herzl Awards by

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Pinchas Barel-Buchris**, Director-General, Ministry of Defense

14:00 Afternoon Sessions

The Iranian Nuclear Threat

ASSESSING IRAN'S NUCLEAR INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES

Chair: Adv. **Aaron Abramovitch**, Director-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Amb. **John Bolton**, Former US Ambassador to the United Nations

Dr. **Kori Schake**, Deputy Director of Policy Planning, US Department of State

Dr. **Jon B. Alterman**, Director, Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies

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

Discussion

CAN A NUCLEAR IRAN BE PREVENTED?

Chair: MK Maj. Gen. (res.) Prof. **Isaac Ben-Israel**, Member, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Mr. **Norman Podhoretz**, Editor-at-Large, Commentary Magazine

Dr. **Patrick Cronin**, Director, Institute for National Strategic Studies

Prof. **François Heisbourg**, Chairman, International Institute for Strategic Studies (France)

MK Brig. Gen. Dr. **Ephraim Sneh**, Member, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Discussion

CAN A NUCLEAR IRAN BE DETERRED?

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

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Matan Vilnai**, Deputy Minister of Defense

Dr. **Adir Pridor**, Head of the Institute for Industrial Mathematics

Dr. **Jerrold Post**, Director, Political Psychology Program, George Washington University

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

Dr. **Oded Brosh**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Discussion

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

20:00 Dinner

Introduction: Prof. **Herbert London**, President, Hudson Institute

Ms. **Tzipi Livni**, Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Carl Bildt**, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Former Prime Minister of Sweden

Presentation of the Herzl Awards by

Mr. **Lester Crown**, President, Henry Crown & Co.

Introduction: Mr. **Robert H. Asher**, Chairman, Society for Excellence through Education

21:30 "NIGHT OWLS"

UPGRADING ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

In cooperation with the Atlantic Forum of Israel

Chair: Amb. **Michael Žantovský**, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to Israel and NATO Contact Point Ambassador

Amb. **Dan Gillerman**, Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations

Mr. **Rafael L. Bardají**, Director, International Studies, FAES Fundación

Mr. **Tommy Steiner**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Atlantic Forum of Israel

Mr. **Matthew Mark Horn**, National Policy Director, American Jewish Congress

Wednesday, January 23rd

Daniel Hotel, Herzliya

08:00-13:00

INTERNATIONAL HERZLIYA ROUNDTABLE: The Sunni-Shiite Rift – Origins and Strategic Implications

By invitation only

08:30 Morning Sessions

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

PROMOTING EXCELLENCE AS A NATIONAL VALUE

Introduction: Mr. **Robert H. Asher**, Chairman, Society for Excellence through Education

Prof. **Jehuda Reinharz**, President, Brandeis University

Mr. **Tony Danker**, McKinsey & Company's Global Education Practice

Mr. **Hezki Arieli**, Director-General, Society for Excellence through Education

Mr. **Miki Kesary**, Director, Center for Excellence Enhancement

Mr. **Martin Kraar**, President, Society for Excellence through Education – USA

Prof. **Daniel Zajfman**, President, Weizmann Institute for Science

Conclusions: Mr. **Lester Crown**, President, Henry Crown & Co.

REFORMING EDUCATION AND HIGHER LEARNING

Chair: Prof. **Amnon Rubinstein**, Former President, IDC Herzliya; Former Minister of Education

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

Prof. **Menachem Yaari**, President, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities

Dr. **Shimshon Shoshani**, CEO, Birthright-Israel; Former Director-General Director of the Ministry of Education

Prof. **Zeev Tadmor**, Chairman of the Board, Shmuel Ne'eman Institute, Technion – Israel Institute of Technology

MK **Limor Livnat**, Former Minister of Education

Prof. **Zvi Galil**, President, Tel Aviv University

ARAB ISRAELIS AND NATIONAL SERVICE

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **David Ivry**, President, Boeing Israel

Dr. **Reuven Gal**, Prime Minister's Office

Dr. **Hanna Swaid**, Member, Knesset's Economic Affairs Committee

Prof. **Sammy Smoocha**, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Haifa

Mr. **Nabil Ouda**, Writer and Journalist

Discussion

13:00 Lunch

14:00 Afternoon Sessions

ISRAEL-DIASPORA RELATIONS

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

JEWISH SECULARISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Chair: Prof. **Gabriel Motzkin**, Director, Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

Prof. **Yehuda Bauer**, Academic Advisor, International Institute for Holocaust Research, Yad Vashem

Prof. **Menachem Brinker**, Department of Jewish Thought, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. **Shmuel Feiner**, Department of Jewish History, Bar-Ilan University

Discussion

Introduction: Mr. **Felix Posen**

Mr. **Amos Oz**, Writer

TRENDS IN THE CONNECTION OF THE DIASPORA'S YOUNG GENERATION TO ISRAEL

Introduction: Mr. **Gideon Mark**, Birthright-Israel

Mr. **Isaac Herzog**, Minister of the Diaspora, Society, and Fight against Anti-Semitism

Prof. **Leonard Saxe**, Director, Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies, Brandeis University

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

Discussion

RETHINKING JEWISH PHILANTHROPY – INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE DIASPORA

Introduction: Mr. **Zeev Bielski**, Chairman of the Executive, Jewish Agency for Israel and World Zionist Organization

Dr. **John Ruskay**, Executive Vice President and CEO, UJA-Federation of New York

Mr. **Avi Naor**, Chairman, "Or Yarok" – Association for Safer Driving in Israel; Member of the Executive, Jewish Agency for Israel

Discussion

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR JEWISH-ARAB EQUALITY AND INTEGRATION

Chair: MK **Nadia Hilou**, Chairperson, Knesset Committee on the Rights of the Child

Introduction: Mr. **Amnon Be'eri-Sulitzeanu**, Executive Director, Abraham Fund Initiatives, Israel

Mr. **Muhammad Darawsha**, Director, External Relations, Abraham Fund Initiatives, Israel

Mr. **Drew Haire**, Head of the Community Relations Unit at the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister, Northern Ireland

Prof. **Shimon Shamir**, Tel Aviv University

Mr. **Jafar Farah**, Director, Mossawa Center

Discussion

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

LAW, GOVERNANCE, AND NATIONAL SECURITY

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

SUMMING UP: ENDURANCE FOREVER

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

20:00 Closing Ceremony and Dinner

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

Amb. **Ronald S. Lauder**, President, World Jewish Congress

"Herzliya Address" – Mr. **Ehud Olmert**, Prime Minister

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