

The Ninth Annual Herzliya Conference

— Policy, Statecraft and Leadership for Trying Times —

February 2-4, 2009

Monday, February 2, 2009

The Balance of Israel's National Security

08:15-09:30 The Security Dimension

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

Mr. **Dan Meridor**
Former Member of the Cabinet; Chairman of the National Security
Doctrine Commission

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

Prof. **Uzi Arad**
Chairman, Herzliya Conference

open discussion

09:30-11:00 The Foreign Relations Dimension

Chair: Mr. **Aaron Abramovich**
Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Amb. **Yossi Gal**
Senior Deputy Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Naor Gilon**
Director, Bureau for International Affairs, Center for Policy Research,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Eran Etzion**
Director, Policy Planning Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

open discussion

08:15-09:45 The Societal Dimension

Chair: Col. (res.) **Ahuva Yanai**
CEO, Matan

Mr. **Isaac (Buji) Herzog**
Minister of Welfare and Social Services and Minister of the
Diaspora, Society, and Fight Against Antisemitism

Mr. **Nahum Itzkovich**
Director General, Ministry of Welfare and Social Services

Prof. **Mooli Lahad**
School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Tel-Hai Academic
College

open discussion

09:45 -10:00 Mr. Elyahu Yishai

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Industry, Trade and Labor

10:00 -11:00 The Economic Dimension

Chair: Mr. **Eli Hurvitz**
Chairman, Board of Directors, Teva Pharmaceutical Industries

Prof. **Rafi Melnick**
Provost, IDC Herzliya

Dr. **Karnit Flug**
Director, Research Department, Bank of Israel

Mr. **Roni Bar-On**
Minister of Finance

open discussion

11:15-12:45 Formal Opening

Chair: Prof. **Uzi Arad**
Chairman, Herzliya Conference

Greetings: Prof. **Uriel Reichman**
President, IDC Herzliya

Ms. **Yael German**
Mayor of Herzliya

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

The Balance of Israel's National Security and the 2009 "Herzliya Indices"

Prof. **Rafi Melnick**
Provost, IDC Herzliya

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

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Uzi Dayan**
President, Sderot Conference for Society

13:30-15:00 **The Negev as the New Frontier:
Re-prioritizing its Development**

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

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

Prof. **Avishay Braverman**
Chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee

Mr. **Eitan Wertheimer**
Chairman of the Board, "Daroma"

Mr. **Zeev Bielski**
Chairman of the Executive Jewish Agency for Israel and the WZO

Mr. **Ofer Isseroff**
Director, "Daroma"; Regional Director, Jewish Agency for Israel

open discussion

15:15-17:00 **Perspectives on the Changing Global
Landscape**

Chair: Sir **Michael Pakenham**
Former Chairman of the UK Joint Intelligence Committee

Amb. **Igor S. Neverov**
Director, North American Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of
the Russian Federation

Prof. **Brahma Chellaney**
Professor of Strategic Studies, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi

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

Mr. **Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff**
Senior Director for Policy Programs, German Marshall Fund of the
United States

Amb. **Zalman Shoval**
Chairman, Friends of the Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC
Herzliya; Former Ambassador of Israel to the US

open discussion

15:00-16:30 **Are Mixed Cities the Face of the
Future for Israel?**

Chair: Prof. **Aliza Shenhar**
President, Emek Yezreel College

Mr. **Amnon Be'eri-Sulitzeanu**
Co-Executive Director, Abraham Fund

Prof. **Rassem Khamaisi**
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, Haifa
University

Mr. **Kamel Agbaria**
Chairman, Neighborhood Committee, Jaffa Arab Quarter

Mr. **Shimon Gafsou**
Mayor, Nazareth-Iit

Prof. **Amnon Rubinstein**
IDC Herzliya

open discussion

17:15-18:00 **Prime Ministerial Candidate's "Herzliya Address"**

Chair: Mr. **Israel Makov**
Chairman of the Board of Directors, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

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

18:00-19:30 **Can European-Israeli Relations be Decoupled from the Palestinian Issue?**

Chair: Amb. **Raphael Barak**
Deputy Director General for Western Europe, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Tomas Pojar**
Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic

Mr. **Thomas Oppermann**, MdB
Deputy Chairman, SPD Parliamentary Group, Germany

Dr. **Liam Fox**, MP
Shadow Defense Secretary, United Kingdom

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

Amb. **Marc Otte**
European Union Special Representative to the Middle East Peace Process

open discussion

18:00-19:15 **Multi-Faceted Jerusalem**

Chair: Dr. **Gavriel Barkay**
Department of Land of Israel Studies and Archaeology, Bar-Ilan University

Father **Pierbattista Pizzaballa**
Custos of the Holy Land

Prof. **Yossi Shilhav**
Department of Geography, Bar-Ilan University

Dr. **Dore Gold**
President, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

Mr. **Hanna Siniora**
Co-CEO IPCRI

open discussion

19:15-19:30 **MK Avigdor Liberman**
Chairman, Yisrael Beiteinu

20:30-22:30 **Change of Guard and the Future of US World Leadership**

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

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

Mr. **R. James Woolsey**
Venture Partner with VantagePoint;
Former US Director of Central Intelligence

Mr. **Richard Gordon**
President, American Jewish Congress

Amb. **Alfred H. Moses**
Chair, UN Watch; Partner & Senior Counsel, Covington & Burling LLP; Honorary President, American Jewish Committee

open discussion

Conversation between:

Mr. **Thomas L. Friedman** and Dr. **Josef Joffe**
New York Times Columnist Editor-Publisher, Die Zeit

08:15-10:00 **Dealing with Asymmetric Islamic Terrorism**

Chair: Dr. **John Chipman**
Director General and Chief Executive, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)

Prof. **Brahma Chellaney**
Professor of Strategic Studies, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi

Dr. **Jamie Patrick Shea**
Director, Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Moshe (Bogie) Yaalon**
Former IDF Chief of Staff

Mr. **Glenn Carle**
Former US Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Transnational Threats

Mr. **Matthew Mark Horn**
Co-Executive Director, American Jewish Congress

open discussion

10:00-11:30 **Coping with Hamas: Lessons from Operation "Cast Lead"**

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

Prof. **Avraham Sela**
Department of International Relations, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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

Dr. **Anat Kurtz**
Senior Research Associate, Institute for National Security Studies

Col. (Res.) **Daniel Reizner**
Former Head of the IDF International Law Department

MK Dr. **Yuval Steinitz**
Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

open discussion

11:45-13:15 **Israel's Legitimacy under Attack – New Tools for Advocacy**

Chair: **Mr. Gidi Mark**
C.E.O Taglit-Birthright Israel

Mr. **Isaac (Bujji) Herzog**
Minister of Welfare and Social Services and Minister of the Diaspora, Society, and Fight Against Antisemitism

Mr. **Ben-Dror Yemini**
Maariv

Dr. **Boaz Mourad**
Insight Research Group

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

Amb. **Ron Prossor**
Ambassador of Israel to the UK

Mr. **David Horovitz**
Editor-in-Chief, The Jerusalem Post

open discussion

08:15-09:45 **Why Do Israeli Students Fail? Can the Digital Revolution Change the Educational Reality?**

Chair: Dr. **Shimshon Shoshani**
Former Director General of the Ministry of Education

Ms. **Gila Ben-Har**
Director, Center for Educational Technology

Mr. **Yoram Yaacovi**
CTO, Microsoft Israel Development Center

Mr. **Meir Brand**
Google Israel Country Director

Prof. **Michal Yerushalmy**
Faculty of Education, Haifa University

Prof. **Yuli Tamir**
Minister of Education

open discussion

09:45-11:00 **Economic Concepts for Higher Education**

Chair: Mr. **Dror Strum**
President, The Israeli Institute for Economic Planning

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

Mr. **Avraham Shochat**
Former Minister of Finance; Chairman of the Shochat Commission on Higher Education

Prof. **Hagit Messer-Yaron**
President, The Open University

Maj. Gen. **Avi Zamir**
Head of Personnel Branch, IDF

Prof. **Yuli Tamir**
Minister of Education

open discussion

11:20-12:35 **R&D National Policy: Higher Education – Moving from Basic Science to R&D**

Chairs: Prof. **Oded Abramsky**
Chairman, National Council for Research and Civilian Development

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

Moderator: Prof. **Rivka Carmi**
President, Ben-Gurion University

Mr. **Guri Zilka**
Advisor, National Council for Research and Development; Former Director of Council for Higher Education

Prof. **Mina Teicher**
Chair, National Committee for International R&D Relations, National Council for Research and Development

Dr. **Lea Nass**
Former Chair of the Science and Technology committee

open discussion

14:00-15:15 **Jumpstarting the Israeli-Palestinian Process: Economic Initiatives and Political Derivatives**

Chair: Sir **Ronald Cohen**
Chairman, The Portland Trust

Dr. **Robert Danin**
Head of Mission, Quartet Representative to the Middle East

Dr. **Maher S. El-Kurd**
Chairman of the PLO Economic Committee

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**
President, Council for Peace and Security

Amb. **Irit Ben-Abba**
Deputy Director General for Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr. **Shavit Matias**
Deputy Attorney General, in charge of International Issues

open discussion

15:30-17:00 **A Matter of Historic Justice: Jewish Refugees from Arab Countries**

Chair: Dr. **Avi Bitzur**
Director General, Ministry for Pensioners' Affairs; Specialist for Home Front Defense, Bar-Ilan University

Mr. **Raffi Eitan**
Minister for Pensioners' Affairs, also in charge of Restitution of Jewish Rights and Assets

Ms. **Rachel Machtiger**
Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Atlantic Forum of Israel

Dr. **Zvi Zameret**
Director, The Ben Zvi Institute

Mr. **Edwin Shuker**
President, Justice for Jews from Arab Countries

open discussion

13:20-14:45 **From R&D to Commercial and Economic Application as Part of National Policy**

Chairs: Prof. **Oded Abramsky**
Chairman, National Council for Research and Civilian Development

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

Moderator: Prof. **Leah Boehm**
Member, National Council for Research and Development; Chief Scientist, Israel Aerospace Industries

Prof. **Moshe Oron**
Chief Scientist, KiloLambda, National Council for Research and Development

Dr. **Eli Opper**
Chief Scientist, Ministry of Industry, Trade and Labor

Prof. **Zvi Eckstein**
Deputy Governor, Bank of Israel

Mr. **Yigal Erlich**
Deputy Chairman, National Council for Research and Civilian Development; President, Yozma

open discussion

Mr. **Ghaleb Majadle**
Minister of Science, Culture and Sports

15:00-16:30 **Global Jewish Peoplehood: Metrics and Policies**

Chair: Mr. **Leonid Nevzlin**
Chairman, Nadav Fund

Prof. **Yoav Shoham**
Stanford University

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

Prof. **Steven M. Cohen**
Jewish Institute of Religion, Hebrew Union College

Dr. **Shlomi Ravid**
Director, International School for Jewish Peoplehood Studies, Beit-Hatefutsot

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

Dr. **Misha Galperin**
Executive Vice President and CEO, The Jewish Federation of Greater Washington

Prof. **Na'ama Sabar Ben-Yehoshua**
Head of the unit for Jewish peoplehood studies, School of Education, Tel Aviv University

open discussion

17:15-18:00 **Prime Ministerial Candidate's "Herzliya Address"**

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

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

18:00-19:30 **The Syrian Tier and Regional Statecraft**

Chair: Dr. **Israel Elad-Altman**
Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Dani Yatom**
Former Head of the Mossad

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Giora Eiland**
Former Head of the National Security Council

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

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

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

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**
Head, Politico-Military Bureau, Ministry of Defense

open discussion

18:00-19:30 **National Sustainability and Israel's
Green Safety Net**

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

Prof. **Uri Shani**
Director, Water Authority

Prof. **Yakov Karni**
CTO, HeliFocus Ltd.

Prof. **Yael Moriah**
Faculty of Architecture, The Technion Institute

Mr **Shamai Assif**
Head of the Planning Administration, Ministry of Interior

open discussion

20:30-22:00 **Europe on the World Stage**

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

President **José María Aznar**
Former Prime Minister of Spain

Dr. **John Chipman**
Director General and Chief Executive, International Institute for
Strategic Studies (IISS)

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

open discussion

The David Slings Project

8:15-10:15

Iran on the Nuclear Threshold – Feasibility of Prevention and of Deterrence

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **David Ivry**
President, Boeing Israel; Former Head of the National Security Council

Prof. **Scott Sagan**
Co-Director, Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University

Amb. **Yossi Gal**
Senior Deputy Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr. **Bruno Tertrais**
Senior Research Fellow, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS)

Dr. **Michael Makovsky**
Foreign Policy Director, Bipartisan Policy Center

MK Gen. (res.) Prof. **Isaac Ben-Israel**
Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

open discussion

10:30-12:15

Nuclear Proliferation and Arms Control Initiatives

Chair: Dr. **Ariel Levite**
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

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

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

Mr. **Sverre Lodgaard**
Senior Research Fellow, NUPI and former Director of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

Gen. **Vladimir Dvorkin**
Principal Researcher, IMEMO, Russian Academy of Sciences

Amb. **David Danieli**
Deputy Director General for Policy, Israel Atomic Energy Commission

open discussion

8:15-10:00

Energy, Security and Global Geopolitics

Chair: Dr. **Sass Somekh**
Founder, Musea Ventures

Dr. **Ed Morse**
Managing Director and Chief Economist, LCM Commodities

Mr. **R. James Woolsey**
Venture Partner with VantagePoint; Former US Director of Central Intelligence

Dr. **Jamie Patrick Shea**
Director, Policy Planning, Office of the Secretary General, NATO

Dr. **Brenda Shaffer**
Energy Management and Policy Program, University of Haifa

Dr. **David Wurmser**
Director, Delphi Global Analysis; Former Senior Advisor on National Security Affairs to the US Vice President

Mr. **Yossie Hollander**
Chairman, The Institute for Israeli Economic Planning

open discussion

10:30-12:15

The World Economic Crisis: Recalibrating Financial Risk Management and Regulation

Chair: Mr. **L. Jack Staley**
President, Stanford Group (Suisse)

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

Mr. **Michael G. Oxley**
Vice Chairman, NASDAQ Stock Market; Former Chairman of the US House of Representatives' Financial Services Committee

Dr. **Stephen J. Canner**
Vice President, Investment and Financial Services, US Council for International Business

Ms. **Joanne Thornton**
Senior Vice President, Policy Research, Stanford Group Company

open discussion

13:00-14:30

Israel's Financial Governance: Recalibrating Financial Risk Management and Regulation

Chair: Mr. **Shlomo Zohar**
Chairman of the Board of Directors, Discount Bank

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

Mr. **Rony Hizkiyahu**
Supervisor of the Banks, Bank of Israel
Mr. **Yadin Antebi**
Commissioner of Capital Markets, Insurance and Savings, Ministry
of Finance

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

Mr. **Zvi Lubetzky**
Chairman, IBI Investments House

open discussion

14:45-17:00

Weathering the Storm: Israel and the World Economic Crisis

Chair: Mr. **Yossie Hollander**
Chairman, The Institute for Israeli Economic Planning

Prof. **Manuel Trajtenberg**
Head of the National Economic Council, Prime Minister's Office

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

Prof. **Avishay Braverman**
Chairman of the Knesset Finance Committee

Mr. **Yarom Ariav**
Director General, Minister of Finance

Mr. **Israel Makov**
Chairman of the Board of Directors, Institute for Policy and
Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Gidi Grinstein**
President, Reut Institute

open discussion

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

13:00-14:45

Risk Sharing: Bolstering Israel's Strategic Partnerships

Chair: Amb. Dr. **Oded Eran**
Director, Institute for National Security Studies; Atlantic Forum
of Israel

Dr. **Bruno Tertrais**
Senior Research Fellow, Fondation pour la Recherche
Strategique, (FRS)

Mr. **Christian Schmidt**, MdB
Parliamentary State Secretary Federal Ministry for Defense,
Germany

Mr. **Ralf Fuecks**
President, Heinrich Boll Foundation

Mr. **Rafael Bardaji**
Director of International Policy, FAES Fundacion

Mr **Tommy Steiner**
Senior Research Fellow, The Institute for Policy and Strategy,
IDC, Herzliya

open discussion

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Shaul Mofaz**
Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Transport and Road Safety;
Responsible for the Strategic Dialogue

15:00-16:30

Passive and Active Defense Options to Cope with Strategic Threats

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **Herzle Bodinger**
Chairman of the Board, IMDA; Former Commander of the Israeli
Air Force

Mr **Uzi Rubin**
CEO, Rubinkon

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Yair Dori**
Former Commander, Anti-Aircraft Warfare

Mr. **Michael D. Brown**
Former US Under Secretary of Homeland Security, Emergency
Preparedness and Response

Dr. **Avi Bitzur**
Director General, Ministry for Pensioners' Affairs; Specialist for
Home Front Defense, Bar-Ilan University

Dr. **Max Singer**
Senior Research Fellow, BESA Center for Strategic Studies,
Bar-Ilan University

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

open discussion

17:00-17:45 **Prime Ministerial Candidate's "Herzliya Address"**

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

Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu
Head of the Opposition and Former Prime Minister

18:00-19:30 **Reconnecting Israel with its Expatriates**

Chair: MK Brig. Gen. (Res.) **Amira Dotan**
Chairperson, Subcommittee for Foreign Affairs and Public Diplomacy

Mr. Erez Halfon
Director General, Ministry of Immigrant Absorption

Prof. Zaki Shalom
The Zionist Council In Israel

Ms. Shulamit Aloni
Former Minister of Education and Culture

Prof. Moshe Oron
Chief Scientist, KiloLambda; National Council for Research and Development

MK Avshalom (Abu) Vilan
Member, Internal Affairs and Environment Committee

Mr. Mano Geva
CEO, Midgam Research and Consulting; Chairman of Israel Research Institutes Association

open discussion

18:00-19:30 **The Imperative for Government Reform**

Chair: **Gad Zeevi**
CEO, Japan Auto

Prof. Uriel Reichman
Founder and President, IDC Herzliya

Mr. Dror Strum
President, The Israeli Institute for Economic Planning

Mr. Haim Ramon
Vice Premier and Minister in the Prime Minister's Office

MK Gideon Sa'ar
Chairman, Likud Parliamentary Group

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

Mr. Sami Friedrich
Chairman, Shaldor Inc.

open discussion

20:15-22:00 **Concluding Session**

Chair: Prof. **Uriel Reichman**
Founder and President, IDC Herzliya

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

Prof. Uzi Arad
Chairman, Herzliya Conference

Prof. Shlomo Ben-Ami
IDC Herzliya

Prof. Ruth Gavison
Founding President, Metzilah Center