



Lauder School
of Government,
Diplomacy & Strategy

IPS
Institute for
Policy and Strategy



The Twelfth Annual Herzliya Conference כנס הרצליה השנתי השנים עשר

HERZLIYA 2012 הרצליה

The Balance of Israel's National Security מאזן החוסן והביטחון הלאומי

Program

IN THE EYE OF STORMS: ISRAEL & THE MIDDLE EAST

Preliminary Agenda and Program

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PROGRAM

- PLENARY SESSIONS
- HERZLIYA ROUNDTABLE SESSIONS
- SPECIAL EVENTS
- EXPERT IDF FIELD TRIP

January 29	January 30		January 31	February 1				February 2		
08:30-17:00 Expert IDF Field Trip	09:00-12:00 Short-Term Scenarios for the Middle East	09:00-13:00 Toward a New European Strategy for the Middle East	09:00-14:00 The 2012 Herzliya Game: Oil @US\$250	09:00-09:45 Contemporary Challenges <i>Head of the Opposition</i> <i>Fmr. Prime Minister of Greece</i>		08:00-09:30 The Future of Long-Term Savings and Pensions in Israel		09:00-09:30 Opening Briefing <i>Director of IDF Military Intelligence</i>		
	13:00-16:00 Middle East 2020: Scenarios for the Coming Decade	13:30-16:00 Advancing Israel's Diplomatic Normalization in the International Community		09:45-11:15 It's the Economy: The US and Europe in the Global Marketplace	10:00-11:30 Making a Difference: Women in International Security	10:00-12:30 Cyber Warfare and Security in Social Networks	10:00-12:30 The Nexus of Terror and Crime	09:30-11:00 The Rise of Political Islam across the Middle East: Arab Spring or Islamist Winter?	09:45-11:15 Ethics, Auditing and Governance Performance	09:45-11:15 Keep or Export? The Gas Findings and Israel's Energy Independence
	16:30-18:30 Iran: Will Sanctions Work?	16:30-18:30 Shift to the East? Can Asian Powers Play a Role in the Middle East?	16:30-18:30 The Libel and Slander Act: Should the professional investigating media fear the new amendments?	16:00 Inaugural Ceremony: The Balance of Israel's National Security <i>President of the State of Israel</i>	15:30-17:00 The Strategic Implications of the Global Economic Crisis: The Rise of Asia?	15:30-17:00 Post Social Protest: New Media, Citizen Empowerment and Policy-Making	15:30-17:00 Do Israeli Policies affect the State of Jewish Diaspora?	16:00-18:30 Strategy and Deterrence in the Arab and Muslim World	15:45-17:15 The Strategic Roles of the US, Europe and NATO in the Middle East	15:45-17:15 The Future of Israel's Higher Education
	18:30 <i>HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal</i>		18:30 <i>HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal</i>	17:15-18:45 Israel and the West: Foreign Ministers	17:15-18:45 Market Concentration and Competitiveness: Toward a Level Playing Field?			17:30-19:00 The Shifting Balance of Power: Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt and Turkey in the Middle East	17:30-19:00 Divine Law vs. Human Law: To where is Israel's Society Headed?	
	19:00 On Leadership <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada</i> <i>Prof. Clarence Johns, Stanford University</i>		19:00 The Future of the Global Economy <i>President of the World Bank</i>	19:15 Zionism in the 21st Century <i>IDF Chief of Staff</i>			19:15-21:00 In the Eye of Storms: Israel's National Security in a Different Middle East ----- <i>Minister of Defense</i>			
19:30 Reception in Honor of the International Participants of the 2012 Herzliya Conference			19:45 The Official Opening Cocktail Reception of the 2012 Herzliya Conference	20:30 Reception in honor of the 110 th Anniversary of the Keren Kayemeth Le'Israel-Jewish National Fund						

Preliminary

PARTICIPATION IN THE "HERZLIYA ROUNDTABLE" SESSIONS AND SPECIAL EVENTS IS OPEN ONLY TO EXECUTIVE OR GOLD EXECUTIVE PARTICIPANTS OR BY PERSONAL AND SEPARATE INVITATION

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HERZLIYA PLENARY SESSIONS (January 31-February 2)

Tuesday, January 31, 2012

15:00

WELCOME AND REGISTRATION

16:00

INAUGURAL CEREMONY: THE BALANCE OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY

- Welcome: Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series
- Opening Remarks: Prof. **Alex Mintz**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
- Herzliya Indices: Prof. **Rafi Melnick**, Provost, IDC Herzliya
Prof. **Gabriel Ben-Dor**, Haifa University
- The Herzliya Assessment: Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series

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

Keynote Address: H.E. **Shimon Peres**, President of the State of Israel

MC: Mr. **Jonathan Davis**, Vice President for External Relations and Head of the Raphael Recanati International School, IDC Herzliya

18:30

Keynote Address: HRH **Prince El Hassan bin Talal** of Jordan (via live video conference)

19:00

THE FUTURE OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

Interview with: The Honorable **Robert B. Zoellick**, President of the World Bank

Moderator: Dr. **Josef Joffe**, Publisher-Editor, Die Zeit; Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and Marc & Anita Abramowitz Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

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Wednesday, February 1, 2012

09:00-09:45

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Keynote Addresses: MK **Tzipi Livni**, Head of the Opposition; Fmr. Minister of Foreign Affairs
The Honorable **George A. Papandreou**, Fmr. Prime Minister of Greece

09:45-11:15

IT'S THE ECONOMY: THE US AND EUROPE IN THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE

Prof. **Jacob Frenkel**, Chairman, JPMorgan Chase International; Chairman, Group of Thirty (G-30); Fmr. Governor of the Bank of Israel

Dr. **Min Zhu**, Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund; Fmr. Deputy Governor of the People's Bank of China

Ms. **Abby Joseph Cohen**, President, Global Markets Institute and Senior Investment Strategist, Goldman Sachs

Prof. **Niall Ferguson**, Laurence A. Tisch Professor of History, Harvard University

Moderator: Mr. **Sever Plotzker**, Yedioth Ahronoth

10:00-11:30

WOMEN IN NATIONAL SECURITY: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Hon. Dr. **Marta Lucia Ramirez de Rincon**, Fmr. Minister of Defense of Colombia

Hon. **Elisabeth Rehn**, Fmr. Minister of Defense of Finland

Ms. **Mary-Beth Long**, Fmr. US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Lt. Gen. (ret.) **Orit Adato**, Fmr. Commissioner of the Israeli Prison Service

Dr. **Ofra Graicer**, Center for Intelligence Research, IDF

Moderator: Ms. **Lea Landman**, Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Acting Executive Director, WIIS Israel

11:30-13:00

ISRAEL AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY: THE GATHERING STORM

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

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

Dr. **Yossi Bachar**, Chairman of the Board, Israel Discount Bank

Mr. **Sharon Kedmi**, Director General, Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Labor

Mr. **Doron Cohen**, Acting Director General, Ministry of Finance

Ms. **Ayelet Nir**, Chief Economist and Strategist, Psagot Investment House

Moderator: Ms. **Stella Korin-Lieber**, Globes

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

11:30-13:00

NO PEACE, NO PROCESS: ISRAEL-PALESTINIAN RELATIONS

Opening Remarks:

Dr. **Saeb Erekat**, Palestinian Chief Negotiator

Hon. **Robert Wexler**, President, S. Daniel Abraham Center for Middle East Peace

Dr. **Robert Danin**, Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Mr. **Jacob Perry**, Chairman of the Board, Mizrahi Tefahot Bank; Fmr. Head of Israel Security Agency

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

Mr. **Adi Mintz**, Fmr. Chairman, Yesha Council

Moderator: Ms. **Tamar Ish-Shalom**, Channel 10

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13:45-15:15

ISRAEL – A STRATEGIC ASSET FOR THE UNITED STATES?

MK **Daniel Ayalon**, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Amb. **Daniel Shapiro**, Ambassador of the United States to Israel

Prof. **Uzi Arad**, Fmr. National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister; Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy, and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Amb. **Robert D. Blackwill**, Henry A. Kissinger Senior Fellow for U.S. Foreign Policy, Council on Foreign Relations

Amb. **Alon Pinkas**, Fmr. Consul General of Israel in New York

Moderator: Ms. **Tali Lipkin-Shahak**, IDF Radio

13:45-15:15

GOVERNING ISRAEL'S ECONOMY: SOCIAL JUSTICE VS. CAPITALISM

Prof. **Zvi Eckstein**, Dean, School of Economics, IDC Herzliya

Prof. **Dan Ben-David**, Executive Director, Taub Center for Social Policy Studies; Department of Public Policy, Tel-Aviv University

MK **Amir Peretz**, Fmr. Chairman of the Histadrut Labor Union

Mr. **Dan Propper**, Chairman, Osem Group
Ms. **Basha'er Fahoum-Jayoussi**, Chairwoman of the Board, Jewish-Arab Center, University of Haifa

Mr. **Daniel Doron**, Founder & Director, Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress

Moderator: Mr. **Nehemia Shtrasler**, Haaretz

MK Dr. **Yuval Steinitz**, Minister of Finance

13:45-15:15

OIL @\$250: THE HERZLIYA GAME DEBRIEF

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

Sir **Mark Allen**, CMG, Senior Advisor for British Petroleum (BP); Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford University

Dr. **Brenda Shaffer**, School of Political Science, Haifa University

Mr. **Aad van Bohemen**, Head, Emergency Policy Division, International Energy Agency

Prof. **ZHOU Dadi**, Founding Director, Beijing Energy Efficiency Center (BECon), Energy Research Institute (ERI), National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), China

Mr. **R. James Woolsey**, Chairman, Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD); Fmr. Director of the Central Intelligence

15:30-17:00

THE STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS: THE RISE OF ASIA?

Dr. **Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament; Fmr. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of India

Amb. **Vanu Gopala Menon**, Deputy Secretary (Asia-Pacific), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore

Prof. **Chung Min Lee**, Dean, Graduate School of International Relations, Yonsei University, Republic of Korea

Dr. **Vyacheslav Nikonov**, President, The Unity of Russia Foundation; Executive Director, The Rusky Mir Foundation

Prof. **François Heisbourg**, Chairman, International Institute for Strategic Studies; Special Advisor, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS)

Prof. **Aron Shai**, Rector, Tel Aviv University

Moderator: Mr. **Arnon Perlman**

15:30-17:00

POST SOCIAL PROTEST: NEW MEDIA, CITIZEN EMPOWERMENT AND POLICY-MAKING

MK **Michael Eitan**, Minister of Improvement of Government Services

Mr. **Peter Fritz**, Group Managing Director, Global Access Partners, Australia

Dr. **Noam Lemelstrich Latar**, Dean, Ofer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya

Dr. **Oren Zuckerman**, Ofer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya

Ms. **Stav Shaffir**, #J14*

Mr. **Lior Chorev**, Founding Partner, Euro Israel Group

Moderator: Ms. **Dana Weiss**, Channel 2 News

15:30-17:00

FACING DELEGITIMIZATION AND ANTI-SEMITISM: DO ISRAELI POLICIES AFFECT THE STATE OF JEWISH DIASPORA?

MK **Yuli Edelstein**, Minister of Public Information and Diaspora

Mr. **Dan Diker**, Secretary General, World Jewish Congress

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

Mr. **Claude Kandiyoti**, Coordination Committee of Jewish Organizations in Belgium (CCOJB)

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

Moderator: Ms. **Tamar Shchory**, Vice President, World Jewish Congress

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17:15-18:45

ISRAEL AND THE WEST: A FOREIGN MINISTERS' DISCUSSION

Hon. **John Baird**, PC, MP, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada
Hon. **Karel Schwarzenberg**, First Deputy Prime Minister and
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

Moderator: Dr. **Constanze Stelzenmüller**, Senior Transatlantic
Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the US

17:15-18:45

MARKET CONCENTRATION AND COMPETITIVENESS: TOWARD A LEVEL PLAYING FIELD?

Opening Remarks:

Mr. **Haim Shani**, Fmr. Director-General, Ministry of Finance;
Chairman, Committee on Increasing Competitiveness in the Economy

Mr. **Dror Strum**, President, Israeli Institute for Economic Planning
Prof. **Lucian Arye Bebchuk**, William J. Friedman and Alicia Townsend
Friedman Professor of Law, Economics, and Finance and Director,
Program on Corporate Governance, Harvard Law School*

Mr. **Nathan Hetz**, President and CEO, Alony Hetz Properties and
Investments

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

Moderator: Mr. **Eytan Avriel**, Editor, TheMarker's Website*

19:15

ZIONISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Prof. **Uriel Reichman**, President, IDC Herzliya
Mr. **Efi Stenzler**, Chairman, KKL-JNF

Keynote Speaker: Lt. Gen. **Benny Gantz**, Chief of the IDF General Staff

20:30

RECEPTION

In honor of the 110th Anniversary of the Keren Kayemeth Le'Israel-Jewish National Fund
by special invitation only

Preliminary

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Thursday, February 2, 2012

09:00-09:30

Opening Briefing: Maj. Gen. **Aviv Kochavi**, Director of Military Intelligence, IDF

09:30-11:00

THE RISE OF POLITICAL ISLAM ACROSS THE MIDDLE EAST: ARAB SPRING OR ISLAMIST WINTER?

Mr. **Riad al Khouri**, Member of the International Council, Questscope, Amman, Jordan

Dr. **Israel Elad-Altman**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Salman Shaikh**, Director, Brookings Doha Center

Dr. **Mira Tzoreff**, Research Fellow, Moshe Dayan Center for Middle East and African Studies; Department of Middle Eastern and African History, Tel Aviv University

Moderator: Ms. **Judy Miller**, Adjunct Fellow, Manhattan Institute

09:45-11:15

ETHICS, AUDITING AND GOVERNANCE PERFORMANCE

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

MK **Zevulun Orlev**, Fmr. Chairman of the Knesset State Control Committee

Mr. **Boaz Aner**, Acting Director-General, State Comptroller's Office

Mr. **Eliad Shraga**, Chairman, Movement for Quality Government in Israel

Mr. **Ruvik Danilovich**, Mayor of Beersheba

Ms. **Efrat Duvdevani**, Director General, Office of the President of the State of Israel

Moderator: Mr. **Nadav Perry**, Channel 10

09:45-11:15

KEEP OR EXPORT? THE GAS FINDINGS AND ISRAEL'S ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

MK Dr. **Uzi Landau**, Minister of National Infrastructures

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

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Yiftach Ron-Tal**, Chairman of the Board, Israel Electric Corporation

Mr. **Yossi Abu**, CEO, Delek Drilling

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Yaron**, Chairman, Eilat-Ashkelon Pipeline Co.

Mr. **Nick Butler**, Visiting Fellow and Chair, King's Policy Institutes, King's College; Fmr. BP Group Vice President for Strategy and Policy Development

Mr. **Hezi Kugler**, CEO, Adira Energy; Fmr. Director General, Ministry of National Infrastructures

11:15-13:00

THE TICKING CLOCK: DISSUADING AND CONTAINING IRAN'S STRATEGIC AMBITIONS

MK Lt. Gen. (res.) **Moshe Ya'alon**, Vice Prime Minister and Minister for Strategic Affairs

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

Prof. **Shaharam Chubin**, Non-Resident Senior Associate, Carnegie Nuclear Policy Program

Ms. **Danielle Pletka**, Vice President, Foreign and Defense Policy Studies, American Enterprise Institute (AEI)

Mr. **Efraim Halevy**, Fmr. Head of the Mossad

Moderator: Mr. **Ron Ben-Yishai**, Yedioth Ahronoth/YNET News

11:30-13:00

CYBER WARFARE: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT – THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY AND THE YUVAL NE'EMAN WORKSHOP FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SECURITY, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

Prof. Maj. Gen. (res.) **Itzhak Ben-Israel**, Tel-Aviv University; Chairman, Israel National Council for Research and Development – Ministry of Science & Technology

Lt. Gen. (ret.) **Charles Croom**, Vice President of Cyber Security Solutions, Lockheed Martin Information Systems & Global Services

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Yair Cohen**, Senior Director ICS, Elbit Systems

Ms. **Michal Blumenstyk-Braverman**, General Manager, RSA Israel

Mr. **Adi Sharabani**, Security Architect and Strategist, IBM

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14:00-15:30

POST ASSAD: WHAT NEXT FOR SYRIA AND LEBANON?

Amb. **Edward P. Djerejian**, Founding Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University

Mr. **Tony Badran**, Research Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD)

Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Dean, Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities, Tel Aviv University

Ms. **Smadar Perry**, Middle East Editor, Yedioth Ahronoth

Moderator: Mr. **Zvi Yehezkeili**, Channel 10

14:00-15:30

GALILEE: SETTING PRIORITIES FOR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Eival Gilady**, Chairman, Western Galilee College

Mr. **Aharon Valency**, Mayor of the Upper Galilee Regional Council

Mr. **Adi Eldar**, Mayor of Karmiel

Mr. **Nahed Khazem**, Mayor of Shfaram

Ms. **Orna Hozman-Bechor**, Director General, Ministry of Development of the Negev and the Galilee

Mr. **Natie Shelev**, MBE, Regional Director for Israel, UJIA UK

MK **Silvan Shalom**, Vice Prime Minister of Israel and Minister for Regional Development and the Development of the Negev and the Galilee*

14:00-15:30

ISRAELI R&D AND THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE

IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT – THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Prof. Maj. Gen. (res.) **Itzhak Ben-Israel**, Tel-Aviv University; Chairman, Israel National Council for Research and Development – Ministry of Science & Technology

Prof. **Ruth Arnon**, President, Israel Academy for Sciences and Humanities

Mr. **Haim Shani**, Fmr. Director-General, Ministry of Finance; Fmr. President & CEO Nice Systems

Mr. **Avi Hasson**, Chief Scientist, Ministry of Industry, Trade, and Labor

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Ophir Shoham**, Director, Directorate for Research and Development, Ministry of Defense

Dr. **Yosi Ben-Dov**, CEO, Time To Know

Mr. **Shlomo Herskowitz**, Israel National Council for Research and Development – Ministry of Science & Technology

MK Prof. **Daniel Hershkovitz**, Minister of Science and Technology

15:45-17:15

THE STRATEGIC ROLES OF THE US, EUROPE AND NATO IN THE MIDDLE EAST

MdB. **Christian Schmidt**, Parliamentary State Secretary to the Federal Minister of Defense of Germany

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Gabi Ashkenazi**, Fmr. IDF Chief of Staff

Mr. **Cem Özdemir**, Co-Chair, German Green Party

Mr. **James Appathurai**, NATO Deputy Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs and Security Policy

Ms. **Mary-Beth Long**, Fmr. US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

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

15:45-17:15

THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL'S HIGHER EDUCATION

Prof. **Dan Shechtman**, Philip Tobias Professor of Materials Science, Technion; 2011 Nobel Prize Laureate

Prof. **Manuel Trajtenberg**, Chairman, Planning and Budgeting Committee, Council for Higher Education

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

Prof. **Rivka Carmi**, President, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev; Chairperson, Committee of University Heads in Israel.

Prof. **Mordechai Sokolov**, President, Afeka School of Engineering

Moderator: Dr. **Ayelet Ben-Ezer**, Vice President for Student Affairs, IDC Herzliya

MK **Gideon Saar**, Minister of Education

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17:30-19:00

THE SHIFTING BALANCE OF POWER: SAUDI ARABIA, IRAN, EGYPT AND TURKEY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

IN COOPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES (IISS)

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

Dr. **David Gordon**, Head of Research and Director, Global Macro Eurasia Group; Fmr. Vice Chairman, US National Intelligence Council

Amb. **Alexander V. Saltanov**, Vice President, Russian Railways; Fmr. Special Representative for Middle East of the President of the Russian Federation and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Sherif El Diwany**, CEO, Al Marsad Inc., Egypt

Dr. **Bruno Tertrais**, Senior Research Fellow, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS)

Mr. **Adam Ward**, Director of Studies, International Institute for Strategic Studies

17:30-19:00

DIVINE LAW VS. HUMAN LAW: WHERE IS ISRAEL'S SOCIETY HEADED?

Prof. **Amnon Rubinstein**, Radzyner School of Law; Fmr. President, IDC Herzliya; Israel Prize Laureate

Rabbi **Shmuel Chaim Pappenheim**, Fmr. Editor of "Ha'Eda Ha'Cheridit" Bulletin

Mr. **Dani Dayan**, Chairman, Yesha Council

Maj. Gen. (ret.) **Alik Ron**, Fmr. Commander of Israel Police Northern Command

MK **Zahava Gal-On**, New Movement – Meretz

Moderator: Dr. **Ilana Dayan**, Channel 2

19:15-21:00

IN THE EYE OF STORMS: ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY IN A DIFFERENT MIDDLE EAST

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Danny Haloutz**, Fmr. Chief of IDF General Staff

Prof. **Shlomo Avineri**, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Fmr. Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Ilan Biran**, Chairman of the Board, RAFAEL – Advanced Defense Systems; Fmr. Director General of the Ministry of Defense

Mr. **David Brodet**, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bank Leumi Le-Israel

Moderator: Mr. **Yoav Limor**, Yisrael Hayom and Channel 2

Keynote Address: MK Lt. Gen. (res.) **Ehud Barak**, Minister of Defense

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

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference

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HERZLIYA ROUNDTABLE SESSIONS

The Herzliya Roundtable sessions are intended to facilitate in-depth conversations on topical issues involving a limited number of senior-most practitioners and experts. Held under the Chatham House Rule, participation in the Herzliya Roundtable sessions is only open to EXECUTIVE and GOLD EXECUTIVE PARTICIPANTS or by personal and separate invitation.

Monday, January 30

09:00-12:00

SHORT-TERM SCENARIOS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Chair:

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

Discussants:

Sir **Mark Allen**, CMG, Senior Advisor for British Petroleum (BP); Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford University

Prof. **Martin Kramer**, Senior Fellow, Shalem Center

Mr. **Riad al Khouri**, Member of the International Council, Questscope, Amman, Jordan

Amb. **Edward P. Djerejian**, Founding Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University

Ms. **Mary-Beth Long**, Fmr. US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Dr. **David Gordon**, Head of Research and Director, Global Macro Eurasia Group; Fmr. Vice Chairman, US National Intelligence Council

09:00-13:00

TOWARD A NEW EUROPEAN STRATEGY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

Chair:

Mr. **Ralf Fücks**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation

Discussants:

Mr. **Cem Özdemir**, Co-Chair, German Green Party

Amb. **Ran Curiel**, Senior Deputy Director General for Political Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Amb. Dr. **Oded Eran**, Institute for National Security Studies

Sir Dr. **Michael Leigh**, KCMG, Consultant and Senior Advisor, Transatlantic Center Brussels, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Dr. **Constanze Stelzenmüller**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the US

Dr. **Bruno Tertrais**, Senior Research Fellow, Fondation pour la recherche stratégique (FRS)

13:00-16:00

MIDDLE EAST 2020: SCENARIOS FOR THE COMING DECADE

Chair:

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

Discussants:

Mr. **William F. Wechsler**, Deputy US Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counternarcotics and Global Threats

Dr. **Gal Luft**, Executive Director, Institute for the Analyses of Global Security (IAGS)

Dr. **Vyacheslav Nikonov**, President, The Unity of Russia Foundation; Executive Director, The Rusky Mir Foundation

Mr. **Sherif El Diwany**, CEO, Al Marsad Inc., Egypt

Dr. **Dan Schueftan**, Director, National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa

13:30-16:00

ADVANCING ISRAEL'S DIPLOMATIC NORMALIZATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Chair:

Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Fmr. Ambassador of Israel to the US

Discussants:

Amb. **Ron Prosor**, Permanent Representative of Israel to the UN

Amb. **Dan Gillerman**, Chairman, Markstone Capital Group; Fmr. Permanent Representative of Israel to the UN

Mr. **Dan Diker**, Secretary General, World Jewish Congress

Mr. **Richard D. Heideman**, Chairman, International Advisory Board of the Herzliya Conference

Dr. **Jürgen Rüttgers**, Fmr. Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia

Hon. Prof. **Irwin Cotler**, PC, OC, MP; Fmr. Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada

Ms. **Lorna Fitzsimons**, CEO, Britain Israel Communications and Research Centre (BICOM); Senior Visiting Fellow, UK Defence Academy

Amb. **Michael Žantovský**, Ambassador of the Czech Republic to the United Kingdom

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16:30-18:30

IRAN: WILL SANCTIONS WORK?

Chair:

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Yossi Kuperwasser**, Director-General, Ministry of Strategic Affairs

Discussants:

Dr. **Josef Joffe**, Publisher-Editor, Die Zeit; Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and Marc & Anita Abramowitz Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Mr. **Robert McNally**, President, Rapidan Group

Mr. **Ash Jain**, Visiting Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

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

Dr. **Emanuele Ottolenghi**, Senior Fellow, Foundation for Defense of Democracies

16:30-18:30

SHIFT TO THE EAST? CAN ASIAN POWERS PLAY A ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

Chairs:

Mr. **Doron Bergerbest-Eilon**, President & CEO, ASERO Worldwide

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

Discussants:

Dr. **Shashi Tharoor**, Member of Parliament; Fmr. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of India

Amb. **Vanu Gopala Menon**, Deputy Secretary (Asia-Pacific), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Singapore

Prof. **Chung Min Lee**, Dean Graduate School of International Relations, Yonsei University

Prof. **Yaacov Vertzberger**, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Ms. **Carice Witte**, Executive Director, Sino-Israel Global Network & Academic Leadership (SIGNAL)

Dr. **Yoram Evron**, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies; Department of Asian Studies, University of Haifa

16:30-18:30

THE LIBEL AND SLANDER ACT: SHOULD THE PROFESSIONAL INVESTIGATING MEDIA FEAR THE NEW AMENDMENTS?

Chair:

Dr. **Yuval Karniel**, Ofer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya

Discussants:

Judge **Dvora Berliner**, President of Tel Aviv District Court

Mr. **Ben Dror Yemini**, Senior Journalist, Maariv

Ms. **Ayala Hasson**, Political Commentator, Channel 1

Mr. **Yossi Bar-Mocha**, CEO, Tel Aviv Journalists Association

Mr. **Arik Bachar**, Secretary General, Israeli Press Council

Mr. **Ilan Bombach**, Legal Advisor to the Tel Aviv Journalists' Association; Member, Israeli Press Council

Dr. **Tamar Gidron**, Former Dean, Faculty of Law, College of Management

Dr. **Aviad Hacoheh**, Dean, "Sha'arei Mishpat" Law School; Faculty of Law, Hebrew University; The Van Leer Institute, Jerusalem

Mr. **Moshe Negbi**, Journalist and Legal Affairs Pundit, Channel 1

Mr. **Baruch Kara**, Legal Affairs Reporter, Channel 10

MK Dr. **Nachman Shai**, Member of Knesset, Kadima

Mr. **Uri Shinar**, CEO, UniBoom; Fmr. President & CEO of Keshet

Mr. **Menashe Raz**, Journalist; Kinneret College

Judge (ret.) **Edna Kaplan-Hagler**, Fmr. Deputy President of the Tel Aviv- Jaffa District Court

Dr. **Noam Lemelshtrich-Latar**, Dean, Sammy Ofer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya; Chairman, Israel Communication Association

Preliminary

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Tuesday, January 31

09:00-14:00

THE 2012 HERZLIYA GAME: OIL @US\$250

Control Group:

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

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series

Mr. **Aad van Bohemen**, Head, Emergency Policy Division, International Energy Agency

Mr. **Nick Butler**, Visiting Fellow and Chair, King's Policy Institutes, King's College; Fmr. BP Group Vice President for Strategy and Policy Development

Dr. **Gal Luft**, Executive Director, Institute for the Analyses of Global Security (IAGS)

Mr. **Ori Slonim**, Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy

USA

Mr. **R. James Woolsey**, Chairman, Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD); Fmr. Director of the Central Intelligence

Mr. **Robert McNally**, President, Rapidan Group

China:

Prof. **ZHOU Dadi**, Founding Director, Beijing Energy Efficiency Center (BECon), Energy Research Institute (ERI), National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), China

Saudi Arabia and GCC:

Sir **Mark Allen**, CMG, Senior Advisor for British Petroleum (BP); Senior Associate Member, St. Antony's College, Oxford University

Amb. **Edward P. Djerejian**, Founding Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy, Rice University

Russia:

Dr. **Vyacheslav Nikonov**, President, The Unity of Russia Foundation; Executive Director, The Rusky Mir Foundation

Prof. **Vladislav Inozemtsev**, Professor of Economics; Director, Centre for Post-Industrial Studies (Moscow)

Dr. **Brenda Shaffer**, School of Political Science, Haifa University

Iran:

Prof. **Shaharam Chubin**, Non-Resident Senior Associate, Carnegie Nuclear Policy Program

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

Europe (EU/NATO & EU-3 Germany, UK, France):

Sir Dr. **Michael Leigh**, KCMG, Consultant and Senior Advisor, Transatlantic Center Brussels, German Marshall Fund of the United States

Dr. **Constanze Stelzenmüller**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the US

Brig. **Ben Barry**, Senior Fellow for Land Warfare, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Moderators:

Dr. **Josef Joffe**, Publisher-Editor, Die Zeit; Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies and Marc & Anita Abramowitz Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

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

Preliminary

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Wednesday, February 1

08:00-09:30

THE FUTURE OF LONG-TERM SAVINGS AND PENSIONS IN ISRAEL

Chair:

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

Discussants:

Prof. **Oded Sarig**, Commissioner of Financial, Savings, and Insurance Markets, Ministry of Finance

MK **Haim Katz**, Chairman, Knesset Labor, Welfare and Health Committee

Ms. **Hanna Pri-Zan**, Deputy CEO, Member of the Board of Management and Head of Client Asset Management, Bank Hapoalim

Mr. **Zeev Hushinsky**, Head of Insurance, Savings, and Financial Markets, Histadrut Trade Union*

Mr. **Meir Uzan**, Chairman, Shekel Group

Mr. **Ronen Tov**, CEO, Psagot Investment House

10:00-12:30

CYBER WARFARE AND SECURITY IN SOCIAL NETWORKS

IN COOPERATION WITH THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT – THE MINISTRY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY AND THE YUVAL NE'EMAN WORKSHOP FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND SECURITY, TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

Chair:

Prof. Maj. Gen. (res.) **Itzhak Ben-Israel**, Head, Yuval Ne'eman Workshop for Science, Technology and Security, Tel-Aviv University; Chairman, Israel National Council for Research and Development – Ministry of Science & Technology

Discussants:

Mr. **Yehuda Zisapel**, RAD-Bynet Group

Ms. **Keren Elazari**, Cyber Security Product Manager, Verint*

Dr. **Haim Assa**, Research Fellow, Yuval Ne'eman Workshop for Science, Technology and Security, Tel Aviv University

Dr. **Tal Pavel**, Research Fellow, Yuval Ne'eman Workshop for Science, Technology and Security, Tel Aviv University; Netanya Academic College; Ariel University Center of Samaria

Mr. **Yoav Pridor**, CEO, Buzzilla

Mr. **Gadi Evron**, Research Fellow, Yuval Ne'eman Workshop for Science, Technology and Security, Tel Aviv University

Dr. **Roni Potsman**, Vice President for R&D, RAFAEL – Advanced Defense Systems

Mr. **Lior Tabansky**, Research Fellow, Yuval Ne'eman Workshop for Science, Technology and Security, Tel Aviv University; Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

Mr. **Eyal Udassin**, Co-Founder and CTO, C4 Security

Mr. **David Nordell**, Founder & CEO, New Global Markets

10:00-12:30

THE NEXUS OF TERROR AND CRIME: POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Chair:

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

Discussants:

Mr. **William F. Wechsler**, US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Counternarcotics and Global Threats

Dr. **David Asher**, Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Center for a New American Security

16:00-18:30

STRATEGY AND DETERRENCE IN THE ARAB AND MUSLIM WORLD

Chair:

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

Discussants:

Maj. Gen. (ret.) **Ashok Kumar Mehta**, Fmr. Director for Security and Political Risk Analysis, India

Ms. **Rachel Machtiger**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Preliminary

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SPECIAL EVENTS

Participation in the special events of the Herzliya Conference is only open to EXECUTIVE and GOLD EXECUTIVE PARTICIPANTS or by personal and separate invitation.

Sunday, January 29

19:30

Daniel Hotel, Herzliya

RECEPTION IN HONOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPANTS OF THE 2012 HERZLIYA CONFERENCE

Hosted by The Israel Forever Foundation

Greetings: Dr. **Elana Yael Heideman**, Director, Israel Forever Foundation
Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series
Prof. **Uriel Reichman**, President, IDC Herzliya

Monday, January 30

19:00

ON LEADERSHIP

With the participation of the Alumni of IDC Herzliya's Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy

Welcome: Maj. Gen. (res.) **Danny Rothschild**, Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy; Chair, Annual Herzliya Conference Series
Greetings: Prof. **Uriel Reichman**, President, IDC Herzliya
Prof. **Alex Mintz**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
Mr. **Tzach Borovich**, Lauder School Alumnus
Keynote Addresses: Hon. **John Baird**, PC, MP, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Canada
Prof. **Clarence B. Jones**, Scholar in Residence, Stanford University

Concluding Remarks: Dr. **Boaz Ganor**, Ronald Lauder Chair in Counter Terrorism; Executive Director, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT); Deputy Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy

Followed by a cocktail reception

Tuesday, January 31

19:45

THE OFFICIAL OPENING COCKTAIL RECEPTION OF THE 2012 HERZLIYA CONFERENCE

Wednesday, February 1

20:30

RECEPTION

In honor of the 110th Anniversary of the Keren Kayemeth Le'Israel-Jewish National Fund
by special invitation only

Preliminary

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EXPERT IDF FIELD TRIP

Participation in the field trip is only open to international participants with preference to EXECUTIVE and GOLD EXECUTIVE PARTICIPANTS. Participation requires specific registration no later than January 20.

Sunday, January 29

08:00 Departure from Herzliya Hotels (Daniel and Dan Accadia)

10:00 **Visit to the Iron Dome Field Battery in Ashkelon**

- Briefing on Air Defense by Col. **Zvika Chaimovitz**, Commander, Air Force Active Defense Wing
- Tour of the Iron Dome Command & Control Compound
- Iron Dome Missile Defense System

13:00 **Visit to the National Ground Training Center in Tze'elim (Negev Desert)**

Hosted by Col. **Yochai Ben-Yishai**, Deputy Base Commander and Col. **Ron Asherov**, Commander, Tactical Training Center

- Lunch
- Tour of the Battalion Command Training Department
- Tour of the Urban Warfare Training Center

<http://idfspokesperson.com/2011/10/26/urban-warfare-training-center-simulating-the-modern-battle-field/>

18:00 Estimated Arrival Back to Herzliya Hotels

The final program of the field trip is subject to change

Preliminary

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