

JUNE 20-22, 2017

The 17th Annual HERZLIYA CONFERENCE

IDC HERZLIYA CAMPUS, ISRAEL

ISRAEL'S STRATEGIC BALANCE: OPPORTUNITIES AND RISKS

PROGRAM

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PLENARY SESSIONS

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 2017

Opening Event | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

15:30 | Welcome & Registration

16:15 | GREETINGS

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

Prof. **Boaz Ganor**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy; Founder & Executive Director, Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Moshe Fadlon**, Mayor of Herzliya

Dr. **Jürgen Bühler**, Executive Director, International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ)

17:00 | THE HERZLIYA CONFERENCE ASSESSMENT

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

MC

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

17:30 | THE BALANCE OF ISRAEL'S NATIONAL RESILIENCE

CONVERSATION:

MK **Moshe Kahlon**, Minister of Finance

Ms. **Tal Shalev**, Political Correspondent, Walla News Digital Network

18:00 | THE INDICES

Prof. **Rafi Melnick**, Tiomkin School of Economics and Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

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

18:35 | STATEMENT

MK **Ayelet Shaked**, Minister of Justice

19:00 | IN MEMORY OF SHIMON PERES, THE NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

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

Mr. **Chemi Peres**, Chairman, Board of Directors, Peres Center for Peace and Innovation; Managing General Partner & Co-Founder, Pitango Venture Capital

Moderator: Adv. **Ido Sharir**, Vice President, Policy and Government Relations, IDC Herzliya

19:30 | KEYNOTE ADDRESS

General **Mikhail Kostarakos**, Chairman of the European Union Military Committee

Introduced by:

Mr. **Robert Weston ("Skip") Ash**, Senior Counsel at the American Center for Law and Justice (ACLJ); Member of the International Advisory Board of the Institute for Policy and Strategy

20:00 | KEYNOTE ADDRESS

Lt. Gen. **Gadi Eisenkot**, Chief of the General Staff, IDF

Introduced by:

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

20:30 | **Opening Reception** | Hosted by Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael – The Jewish National Fund | By Special Invitation Only

GREETINGS

Mr. **Dany Atar**, Chairman, Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael – The Jewish National Fund

Introduced by:

Col. **Miki Altar**, Director of External Relations, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 2017

08:15 | Welcome, Registration, and Refreshments

09:15 | **The Middle East Challenges: Israel's Strategic and Operational Answers** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Maj. Gen. **Amir Eshel**, Commander of the Israel Air Force

Introduced by:

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS) and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

09:45 | **Personal Security and National Resilience** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Commissioner **Roni Alsheikh**, General Commissioner of the Israel Police

Introduced by:

Dr. **Taly Eichenwald-Dvir**, Dean of Executive and Continuing Education, IDC Herzliya

10:45 | **The Global Landscape: Emerging Strategic and Economic Trends** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

THE GLOBAL ECONOMY AND CENTRAL BANKS' POLICIES

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

Introduced by:

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

A GEO-STRATEGIC EXCHANGE

Sir **John Sawers** GCMG, Chairman & Partner, Macro Advisory Partners; Former Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6); Former UK Permanent Representative to the United Nations

Mr. **Tamir Pardo**, Former Head of the Mossad

Amb. Dr. **Dennis Ross**, Counselor and William Davidson Distinguished Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy; Former Special Assistant to President Barack Obama and White House Coordinator for the Middle East, North Africa, and the Persian Gulf Region

The Honorable **Mary Beth Long**, Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs; Co-Founder & Principal, Global Alliance Advisors, LLC; Founder & Principal, M B Long & Associates, PLLC

Dr. **Philip H. Gordon**, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Special Assistant to President Barack Obama and White House Coordinator for the Middle East, North Africa, and the Gulf Region; Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs

Moderator: Mr. **Jacob Eilon**, Chief Anchorman, Walla News Digital Network

11:50 | **The Mounting Threat of Iran and the Radical Axis: Is Israel Prepared?** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Chagai Tzuriel**, Director General, Ministry of Intelligence

Dr. **Ariel (Eli) Levite**, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Former Principal Deputy Director General for Policy at the Israeli Atomic Energy Commission

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Dr. Ephraim Sneh**, Chairman, S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue, Netanya Academic College; Former Deputy Minister of Defense

Ms. **Danielle Pletka**, Vice President for Foreign and Defense Policy, American Enterprise Institute

Moderator: Mr. **Udi Segal**, Diplomatic Correspondent, Channel 2 News

12:55 | **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Moshe (Bogie) Ya'alon**, Former IDF Chief of Staff and Former Minister of Defense

Introduced by:

Col. (res.) Dr. **Shaul Shay**, Director of Research, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya; Former Deputy Head of the National Security Council

13:15 | **Lunch Break**

14:00 | **The New Anti-Semitism and the Security of the Jewish People: Overstated Threat or Real Risk?** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

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

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Sima Vaknin-Gil**, Director General, Ministry of Strategic Affairs and Information

Mr. **Adam Milstein**, National Chairman, Israeli-American Council (IAC)

Mr. **Rafael L. Bardají**, Executive Director, Friends of Israel Initiative; Former National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister of Spain

Dr. **Charles A. Small**, Founder & Director, Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP)

14:00 | **Is Israel's Democracy at Risk?** | CHAIS AUDITORIUM

CONVERSATION:

Justice (ret.) **Dorit Beinisch**, President Emeritus of the Israeli Supreme Court

Dr. **Ilana Dayan**, Senior Investigative Journalist, Channel 2

FOUR TRIBES OR AN INCLUSIVE ISRAELI SOCIETY?

Prof. **Alex Mintz**, Chairman, Inclusive Israeli Society Initiative, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya; President, Israeli Political Science Association

ISRAEL'S DEMOCRACY – COMPARATIVE INDICATORS

Dr. **Maoz Rosenthal**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

CONCLUDING REMARKS:

Prof. **Amnon Rubinstein**, Radzyner School of Law, IDC Herzliya; Former Minister of Education

15:15 | **Statement: Israel 2017 – Strategic & Social Challenges** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Mr. **Gideon Sa'ar**, Former Minister of Education and Former Minister of the Interior

Introduced by:

Ms. **Hila Ziv**, Director of Operations, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

15:30 | **Rising to the Challenge of De-Legitimization: It Takes a Network to beat a Network** |

HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Chair: Dr. **Ronen Hoffman**, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Tzahi Gavrieli**, Director of the Campaign Against De-Legitimization and Deputy Director-General, Ministry of Strategic Affairs and Information

Ms. **Fern Oppenheim**, Co-Founder, Brand Israel Group; President, Applied Marketing Innovations

Mr. **Shoham Nicolet**, Co-Founder & CEO, Israeli-American Council (AIC)

Mr. **Yarden Ben Yosef**, Executive Director, Act.IL; Director, Public Diplomacy Project, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **David Brog**, Executive Director, Maccabee Task Force (MTF)

16:45 | **Game of Thrones: The Global Arena** |

HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Amb. **Shivshankar Menon**, Former National Security Advisor of India; Distinguished Fellow, Brookings Institution

Amb. Sir **John Jenkins** KCMG LVO, Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) – Middle East

Ms. **Elissa Slotkin**, Former U.S. Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Dr. **Celeste Wallander**, President, US Russia Foundation; Former Special Assistant to President Barack Obama and Senior Director for Russia and Eurasia on the National Security Council

Moderator: Mr. **Oren Nahari**, Foreign News Editor & International Commentator, Walla News Digital Network

15:30 | **Strong Economic Performance vs. Social Inequality: An Intolerable Gap?** | CHAIS AUDITORIUM

Chair: Prof. **Rafi Melnick**, Tiomkin School of Economics and Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

OPENING REMARKS:

MK **Orly Levi Abekasis**, Member of Knesset

Mr. **Amir Levy**, Director of Budgets Department, Ministry of Finance

Prof. **Zvi Eckstein**, Dean, Tiomkin School of Economics, IDC Herzliya; Former Deputy Governor of the Bank of Israel

Prof. **Dan Ben-David**, Department of Public Policy, Tel-Aviv University; President and Founder, Shoshon Institution for Socioeconomic Research

16:45 | **The Age of Permanent Technological Revolution: The Policy Challenge** | CHAIS AUDITORIUM

Mr. **Yonatan Adiri**, Founder & CEO, Healthy.io; Former Chief Technology Officer to former President Shimon Peres

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Nadav Zafrir**, Co-Founder & CEO, Team8; Former Commander of IDF's Technology & Intelligence Unit 8200

Prof. **Ronni Gamzu**, Director General, Tel Aviv Sourasky Medical Center; Former Director General of the Ministry of Health

Moderator: Ms. **Amalya Duek**, Economic Affairs Reporter, Channel 2 News

17:40 | **Statement – Between Two Paths: The Greater Land of Israel or a Jewish and Democratic State of Israel** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

MK **Tzipi Livni**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Justice

Introduced by:

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

18:00 | **The U.S. Role in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: Lessons** |

HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Amb. Prof. **Itamar Rabinovich**, President, Israel Institute; Former Ambassador of Israel to the United States

Mr. **David Makovsky**, Ziegler Distinguished Fellow and Director, Project on the Middle East Peace Process, Washington Institute for Near East Policy; Former Senior Advisor to the Special Envoy for Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations at the Office of the U.S. Secretary of State

Mr. **Gamal R. Helal**, Former Senior Diplomatic Advisor and Interpreter to the US Government; President, Helal Enterprises, LLC

Dr. **Ziad J. Asali**, President, American Task Force on Palestine

Moderator: Ms. **Judith Miller**, Fox News Contributor

19:00 | **The Regional Opportunity in the Middle East** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

In Cooperation with the Israel Regional Initiative

Chair: Mr. **Koby Huberman**, Co-Founder, The Israeli Peace Initiative

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

The Rt. Hon. **Tony Blair**, Former Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Dr. **Claire Spencer**, Senior Research Fellow, Middle East and North Africa Programme & Second Century Initiative, Royal Institute of International Affairs – Chatham House

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

STATEMENT

MK **Israel Katz**, Minister of Intelligence and Transportation

20:30 | **Reception** | By Special Invitation Only

GREETINGS

Amb. **Thomas P. Kelly**, Vice President for Foreign Policy and National Security Affairs, Raytheon International, Inc.

Introduced by:

Col. **Miki Altar**, Director of External Relations, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 2017

08:15 | Welcome, Registration, and Refreshments

09:00 **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

MK **Avigdor Liberman**, Minister of Defense

Introduced by:

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

09:30 **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

MK **Gilad Erdan**, Minister of Public Security; Minister of Strategic Affairs and Information

Introduced by:

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

09:45 | **Is ISIS on the Verge of Defeat?** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Mr. **Brett McGurk**, Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter ISIS, U.S. Department of State

Introduced by:

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

10:25 | **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

MK **Naftali Bennett**, Minister of Education and Minister of Diaspora Affairs

Introduced by:

Adv. **Ido Sharir**, Vice President, Policy and Government Relations, IDC Herzliya

10:50 | **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

MK **Yair Lapid**, Chairman of "Yesh Atid" Party

Introduced by:

Ms. **Gili Dinstein**, Director of External Relations Israel, IDC Herzliya

11:15 | **Conversation** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

MK **Isaac Herzog**, Leader of the Opposition

with:

Mr. **Barak Ravid**, Diplomatic Correspondent and Commentator, Haaretz

11:35 | **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

MK **Zahava Galon**, Chairwoman of Meretz

Introduced by:

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

12:00 | **Economic Resilience, Inequality, and Public Corruption** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Adv. **Dror Strum**, President, Israeli Institute for Economic Planning

Deputy Commissioner (ret.) **Moshe Mizrahi**, Former Head of the Investigation & Intelligence Department of the Israel Police

Prof. **Avi Simhon**, Head of the National Economic Council, Prime Minister's Office

Adv. **Navit Negev**, Partner, Sheinman-Negev-Niv Law Offices

Moderator: Mr. **Atilla Somfalvi**, Political and Diplomatic Journalist and Anchor, Ynet

12:00 | **The 40th Anniversary of the Visit of President Anwar Sadat to Israel** | CHAIS AUDITORIUM

Justice **Elyakim Rubinstein**, Vice President of the Supreme Court of Israel

H.E. **Khairat Hazem**, Ambassador of Egypt to Israel

Moderator: Ms. **Smadar Perry**, Senior Middle East Editor, Yediot Ahronot

13:00 | **Lunch Break**

13:40 | **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Dr. **Nabeel Shaath**, Special Advisor for International Relations to President Abbas; General Commissioner for International Relations, Fateh – Palestine National Liberation Movement

Introduced by:

Dr. **Ronen Hoffman**, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

14:00 | **Peace or No Peace with the Palestinians? Implications for Israel's National Security** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

OPENING ADDRESS:

Mr. **Yoram Cohen**, Former Director of the Israeli Security Agency (SHABAK)

MK **Ofer Shelah**, Chair, Subcommittee for Security Perception and the Building of Forces, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Gershon Hacohen**, Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Michael Herzog**, Milton Fine International Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Mr. **Avi Issacharoff**, Middle East Analyst, Times of Israel and Walla News

Moderator: Mr. **Barak Ravid**, Diplomatic Correspondent and Commentator, Haaretz

14:05 | **Free Press – Indeed?** | CHAIS AUDITORIUM

Chair: Dr. **Noam Lemelshtrich-Latar**, Dean, Sammy Ofer School of Communications, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Baruch Kra**, Reporter & Commentator on Law and Justice Affairs, Channel 10 News

Mr. **Eldad Koblentz**, CEO, KAN – Israeli Public Broadcasting Corporation

Dr. **Dror Idar**, Columnist, Yisrael Hayom

Dr. **Tehilla Schwartz Altshuler**, Director, Center of Democratic Values and Institutions, Israel Democracy Institute; Member of the Board, National Press Council

Ms. **Einat Fishbain**, Journalist and Founder, "The Hottest Place in Hell" Digital Newspaper

15:15 | **The Trump Administration and U.S.-Israel Relations: Opportunities and Risks** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

OPENING ADDRESS:

Amb. **Tina Kaidanow**, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State

Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Former Ambassador of Israel to the United States

Amb. **Danny Ayalon**, Former Ambassador of Israel to the United States; Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Honorable **Mary Beth Long**, Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs; Co-Founder & Principal, Global Alliance Advisors, LLC; Founder & Principal, M B Long & Associates, PLLC

Amb. **Daniel B. Shapiro**, Former U.S. Ambassador to Israel; Distinguished Visiting Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

Mr. **Amos Hochstein**, Former Special Envoy for International Energy Affairs at the U.S. Department of State; Vice President and Senior Advisor, Tellurian

Moderator: Dr. **Ronen Bergman**, Senior Political and Military Analyst, Yedioth Aharonoth

15:10 | **Simulating a Turbulent Middle East: Findings** | CHAIS AUDITORIUM

THE HERZLIYA CONFERENCE SIMULATION: ISRAEL IN A MULTI-FRONT ESCALATION

Chair: Col. (res.) Dr. **Shaul Shay**, Director of Research, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya; Former Deputy Head of the National Security Council

Prof. **Charles Tenenbaum**, Director, Conflict & Development Program, Sciences Po Lille

Prof. **SU Hao**, President, Beijing Geopolitical Strategy and Development Association; Department of Diplomacy, China Foreign Affairs University

U.S.-IRAN RELATIONS

Prof. **Boaz Ganor**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy; Founder & Executive Director, Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

16:30 | **The National Decision-Making Process: Does the Process Determine the Outcome?** |

HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Chair: Adv. **Dov Weisglass**, Former Chief of Staff to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Yaakov Amidror**, Former Head of the National Security Council and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister

Prof. **Uzi Arad**, Former Head of the National Security Council and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister

Amb. **Ron Prozor**, Abba Eban Chair of International Diplomacy, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Former Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations; Former Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

16:00 | **Trends in Global Terror** |

CHAIS AUDITORIUM

Chair: Prof. **Boaz Ganor**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy; Founder & Executive Director, Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Shabtai Shavit**, Former Head of the Mossad; Chairman, International Institute for Counter Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya; Chairman, Athena Human & Technology Integrated Solutions

Mr. **Dan Meridor**, Former Deputy Prime Minister; Former Minister of Intelligence and Atomic Energy

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Aharon Zeevi-Farkash**, Former Head of the IDF Military Intelligence Directorate; Founder & CEO, "FST Biometrics"

17:10 | **The Atrocities of ISIS: Personal Testimonies** | CHAIS AUDITORIUM

Chair: Mr. **Henrique Cymerman**, Journalist; Middle East and International Affairs Expert; Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Ms. **Lisa Miara**, Springs of Hope Foundation

17:20 **Intelligence Review & Assessment** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

Maj. Gen. **Hertzi Halevy**, Head of the IDF Military Intelligence Directorate

Introduced by:

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

18:00 | **Statement** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

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

Introduced by:

Dr. **Ronen Hoffman**, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

18:45 | **Closing Session and the "Herzliya Address"** | HERZLIYA ASSEMBLY

STATEMENT

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

PRESENTATION OF THE HERZL AWARD TO:

Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Former Ambassador of Israel to the United States

THE HERZLIYA ADDRESS

H.E. **Reuven (Ruvi) Rivlin**, President of the State of Israel

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM - HATIKVA

The String Ensemble of the Herzliya Municipal Conservatory, conducted by Ms. **Hannah Rozen**
Singer, Ms. **Liel Barazani**, Student of the Sammy Offer School of Communication, IDC Herzliya

MC:

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

ROUNDTABLE SESSIONS

The Herzliya Roundtable sessions are intended to facilitate in-depth conversations on topical strategic and policy issues involving a limited number of senior-most practitioners and experts. As specified below, several sessions will be open and on-record. Unless specified otherwise, the other sessions will be held under the Chatham House Rule and participation will be only open to EXECUTIVE and GOLD EXECUTIVE PARTICIPANTS or by personal and separate invitation. Please note that simultaneous translation will not be offered in these sessions.

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 2017

11:00 | **Alternative Approaches to Israel's Security Doctrine** | C-228

In Hebrew. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation.

Chair: Col. (res.) Dr. **Shaul Shay**, Director of Research, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya; Former Deputy Head of the National Security Council

Maj. Gen. (res.) Prof. **Isaac Ben-Israel**, Director, Interdisciplinary Cyber Research Center (ICRC) and Head of the Yuval Ne'eman Workshop for Science, Technology and Security, Tel Aviv University

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Amos Gilead**, Executive Director, Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Chairman of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, IDC Herzliya

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Itai Brun**, Former Head of the Research Department at IDF's Military Intelligence Directorate

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

MK **Ofer Shelah**, Chair, Subcommittee for Security Perception and the Building of Forces, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Dr. **Chuck Freilich**, Senior Fellow, International Security Program, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University; Former Deputy Head of the National Security Council

Discussant: Mr. **Ron Ben-Yishai**, Ynetnews

14:00 | **Regional Water Security: Challenges and Opportunitie in a Middle East** | C-110

In cooperation with EcoPeace and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation.

Chair: Prof. **Shaul Mishal**, Head of Middle East Studies, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Opening Remarks: Dr. **Michael Borchard**, Head, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Office in Israel

Adv. **Gidon Bromberg**, Israeli Director of Ecopeace Middle East

Amb. Dr. **Oded Eran**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

Eng. **Saad Abu-Hammour**, Secretary General, Jordan Valley Authority, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Ms. **Nada Majdalani**, Palestinian Acting Director, EcoPeace

H.E. Dr. **Clemens von Goetze**, Ambassador of Germany to Israel

Col. (res.) Dr. **Shaul Shay**, Director of Research, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya; Former Deputy Head of the National Security Council

Dr. **Lorenz Peterson**, Director of Climate Change, Rural Development and Infrastructure Division, GIZ – German Society for International Cooperation

Mr. **Ryan Bowles**, Regional Environmental Officer for North Africa and the Middle East, U.S. Embassy, Amman, Jordan

09:30 **The Service of Women in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF)** | Aquarium

In Cooperation with the Devorah Forum. In Hebrew. Open and On-Record.

Chair: Col. (res.) Adv. **Pnina Sharvit Baruch**, Forum Dvorah and the Institute for National Defense Studies
 Ms. **Etti Livni**, Chairwoman, Devorah Forum
 Brig. Gen. **Sharon Nir**, Advisor on Gender Affairs to the IDF Chief of Staff
 Dr. **Neri Horowitz**, Chairman, Agora Policy Institute
 Ms. **Vered Sweid**, Director, the Road to Leadership Initiative; Former Advisor to the Prime Minister for the Advancement of Women
 Dr. **Meytal Eran Jona**, Senior Research Fellow, Weizmann Institute
 Brig. Gen. (res.) **Rachel Tevet Vizel**, Director, Israel National Road Safety Authority; Former Advisor on Gender Affairs to the IDF Chief of Staff
 Rabbi **David Stav**, Chief Rabbi of the City of Shoham; Founder & Chairman, Tzohar Rabbinical Organization
 Brig. Gen. (res.) **Oren Avman**, Former Commander of the IDF Land Division and Commander of the Field Units
 Brig. Gen. (res.) **Royi Elkabetz**, CEO, Defense3

11:30 | **Christian Support as a Growing Strategic Asset for Israel** | C-110

In Cooperation with International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ). In English. Open and On-Record.

Mr. **David Parsons**, Vice President & Senior Spokesman, International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ)
 Dr. **Jerry Johnson**, President, National Religious Broadcasters
 Dr. **Luis Fernandez Solares**, Guatemala National Director, International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ); Pastor, Iglesia de Jesucristo La Familia de Dios, Guatemala City; Founder, Canal 27 Christian Television
 Mr. **Gottfried Buehler**, Germany National Director, International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ)
 Dr. Rev. **Abdou Maiga**, Senegal National Director & Special Coordinator for West Africa, International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ)
 Mr. **Joseph Chou**, Taiwan National Director, International Christian Embassy Jerusalem (ICEJ); Former senior representative with Siemens in China
 Mr. **Akiva Tor**, Head, Bureau for World Jewish Affairs and World Religions, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

11:45 | **Cracks in the Bond? Long-Term Trends of U.S.-Israel Relations** | Aquarium

In English. Open and On-Record.

Chair: Dr. **Ronen Hoffman**, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya
 Dr. **Amnon Cavari**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy; Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya
 Ms. **Fern Oppenheim**, Co-Founder, Brand Israel Group; President, Applied Marketing Innovations
 MK **Ayelet Nahmias Verbin**, Zionist Camp
 Lt. Col. (res.) **Avital Leibovich**, Director, AJC Jerusalem
 Ms. **Rebecca Caspi**, Senior Vice President for Global Operations & Director General of the Israel Office, The Jewish Federations of North America
 Mr. **Lior Weintraub**, Vice President & Director of Israel Office, The Israel Project (TIP)
 Mr. **Shoham Nicolet**, Co-Founder & CEO, Israeli American Council
 Mr. **Avinoam Bar-Yosef**, President and Founding Director, Jewish People Policy Institute (JPPI)
 Mr. **David Siegel**, CEO, ELNET-Israel; Former Consul General to Southwest United States

14:00 | **The Kurds in the Iraqi and Syrian Arenas and Relations with Israel** | C-110

In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation

Chair: Brig. Gen. (res.) **Michael Herzog**, Milton Fine International Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
Senior Expert from the Kurdistan Autonomous Region

In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation

IN COOPERATION WITH THE WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, CHINA FOREIGN AFFAIRS UNIVERSITY, AND SCIENCES PO, PARIS

Simulation Convener:

Col. (res.) Dr. **Shaul Shay**, Director of Research, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya; Fmr. Deputy Head of the National Security Council

Israel:

Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Fmr. Ambassador of Israel to the United States; Member of the Board of IPS

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Gershon Hacohen**, Fmr. Commander of the IDF Northern Corp; Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University

MK Maj. Gen. (res.) **Eyal Ben-Reuven**, Commander of the Northern Front During the Second Lebanon War

Dr. **Shavit Matias**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy & Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Former Deputy Attorney General for International Affairs

Col. (res.) Dr. **Shmuel Even**, Senior Research Fellow, INSS

United States:

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

Dr. **Amnon Cavari**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy & Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Col. (res.) Dr. **Eran Lerman**, Former Deputy Head of the National Security Council; Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University

The Honorable Rep. **Steve Israel**, Chairman, Long Island University's Global Institute

Ms. **Judith Miller**, Fox News Contributor

Russia:

Mr. **Yuri Kogan**, Managing Partner, Ergo Oriens Consultants; International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

Ms. **Vera Michlin-Shapir**, Neubauer Research Associate, INSS

Amb. **Zvi Magen**, Senior Research Fellow, INSS; Former Ambassador of Israel to Russia and to Ukraine

The European Union:

Mr. **David Siegel**, CEO, ELNET-Israel

Dr. **Esther Lopatin**, Director, Center for European Studies, IDC Herzliya

Prof. **Charles Tenenbaum**, Director of the Conflict & Development Program, Sciences Po CERI Paris

People's Republic of China:

Prof. **SU Hao**, China Foreign Affairs University

Ms. **Carice Witte**, Founder, SIGNAL – Sino-Israel Global Network & Academic Leadership

Turkey:

Amb. Dr. **Alon Liel**, Former Ambassador of Israel to Turkey; Former Director-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Dr. **Gallia Lindenstrauss**, Research Fellow, INSS

Iran:

Mr. **Meir Javedanfar**, Iranian Affairs Specialist, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy; Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya

Ms. **Sima Shine**, Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Dr. **Emily Landau**, Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Dr. **Raz Zimmt**, Research Fellow, Alliance Center for Iranian Studies, Tel-Aviv University; Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy (IPS), IDC Herzliya

Syria – the Assad Regime:

Col. (res.) **Pesach Malovany**, Former Senior Researcher at the IDF Intelligence Directorate

Col. (res.) **Yair Froymovich**, CEO I2C

Syria – Jabhat al-Nusra & the Opposition:

Dr. **Michael Barak**, Researcher and Project Manager, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

The Islamic State in Iraq & Syria:

Dr. **Ori Goldberg**, Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Lecturer, Israel's National Defense College

Ms. **Sharona Mazalian Levi**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Hezbollah & Lebanon:

Dr. **Eitan Azani**, Deputy Executive Director, Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

Col. (res.) Dr. **Reuven Erlich**, Director, Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center

Mr. **Edan Landau**, Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Hagai Mordechai**, Former Chief of Staff for the IDF Ground Forces HQ and Former Commander of the Paratroopers Special Forces Reconnaissance Unit

Iraq:

Prof. **Amatzia Baram**, Head of The Center for Iraq Studies, University of Haifa

Dr. **Ronen Zeidel**, Deputy Head, Center for Iraq Studies, University of Haifa

Palestinian Authority:

Prof. **Shaul Mishal**, Director, Middle East Division, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Senior Research Fellow, IPS

Dr. **Doron Matza**, Research Associate, Forum for Regional Thinking; Researcher, INSS

Dr. **Ronit Marzan**, School of Political Sciences, University of Haifa; Research Associate, Forum for Regional Thinking

Lt. Col. (res.) **Yohanan Tzoref**, Ministry of Intelligence

Hamas:

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Shalom Harrari**, Senior Researcher, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC, Herzliya; Senior Research Fellow, MEMRI

Col. (res.) **Jonathan Fighel**, Senior Researcher & Head of the Terrorism Prosecution Desk, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC, Herzliya

Lt. Col. (res.) **Alon Eviatar**, Advisor to the Office of the Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories (COGAT)

Egypt:

Amb. **Yitzhak Levanon**, Former Ambassador of Israel to Egypt; Associate, International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

Ms. **Ruth Wasserman Lande**, Commentator for the International Arena and the Middle East

Jordan:

Mr. **Ariel Shafransky**, Director, Department of Middle East, Center for Political Research, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Prof. **Riad al Khouri**, Director for Middle East, GeoEconomica GmbH

Ms. **Ifat Reshef**, Director, Department for Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Saudi Arabia & The Gulf Countries:

Dr. **Michal Yaari**, Open University

Ms. **Inbal Nissim**, Open University

Simulation Management Team:

Dr. **Lesley Terris**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Research Fellow, IPS

Mr. **Matan Uberman**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Ori Barzel**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya, PhD student at the Hebrew University

Ms. **Yamit Eriksson**, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

16:15 | Israel Black Sky: National Emergency Preparedness | C-110

In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation.

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Bezalel Treiber**, Director, National Emergency Management Authority*

Brig. Gen. (res.) **Zeev Zuk-Ram**, Deputy Head and Head of Civil Defense, National Security Council

Mr. **Avi Schnurr**, President and CEO, Electricity Infrastructure Security Council

Dr. **Ehud Ganani**, VP Israel Operations, Electricity Infrastructure Security Council

Mr. **Yona Yahav**, Mayor of Haifa

Mr. **Yitzhak Balmas**, Deputy GM, Israel Electric Company

Prof. **Colin Price**, Department of Geosciences, Tel Aviv University

Dr. **Sinaia Netanyahu**, Chief Scientist, Ministry of Environmental Protection

Prof. **Boaz Ganor**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy; Founder & Executive Director, Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), IDC Herzliya

Mr. **Erez Kreiner**, Former Director of the National Cyber Security Authority

Mr. **Shimon Rosh**, Director, Emergency Preparedness, Mekorot – National Water Company

Mr. **Eitan Parnass**, Founder & Director General, Green Energy Association of Israel

Col (res.) **Yeziel Kuperstein**, Former Head of Physical Protection and Doctrine & Development Departments at IDF Home Front Command

Major **Shai Rosenberg**, IDF

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 2017

11:40 | Middle East States' Stability: The Economic Dimension | Aquarium

In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation

Chair: Dr. **Amit Mor**, CEO, Eco-Energy; Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy & Strategy, IDC Herzliya

Prof. **Eyal Zisser**, Vice Rector and holder of The Yona and Dina Ettinger Chair in Contemporary History of the Middle East, Tel Aviv University

Prof. **Yoav Yair**, Dean, School of Sustainability Founded by Israel Corp., ICL & ORL, IDC Herzliya

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

Mr. **Amos Hochstein**, Former Special Envoy for International Energy Affairs at the U.S. Department of State; Vice President and Senior Advisor, Tellurian

Mr. **Riad al Khouri**, Director for Middle East, GeoEconomica GmbH

Mr. **Gamal R. Helal**, Former Senior Diplomatic Advisor and Interpreter to the US Government; President, Helal Enterprises, LLC

MK **Ksenia Svetlova**, Member of Knesset

Mr. **Elias Zananiri**, Vice-Chairman, PLO Committee for Interaction with the Israeli Society

14:00 | Following the Presidential Elections: Iran Qvo Vadis? | Aquarium

In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation

Chair: Mr. **Meir Javedanfar**, Research Fellow, Institute for Policy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya; Owner and Editor, Iran-Israel Observer

Prof. **David Menashri**, Professor Emeritus and Senior Research Fellow at the Alliance Center of Iranian Studies and the Dayan Center for Middle East and Africa Studies, Tel Aviv University

Prof. **Soli Shahvar**, Director, Ezri Center for Iran & Persian Gulf Studies, University of Haifa

Dr. **Raz Zimmt**, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies; Research Fellow, Alliance Center for Iranian Studies, Tel Aviv University; Research Fellow, Forum for Regional Thinking

14:00 | A New Europe in the Making: What's in store for Israel and the Middle East? | C-110

In cooperation with European Leadership Network (ELNET) and the Forum for Strategic Dialogue (FSD). In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation.

Opening Remarks:

Mr. **Dan Catarivas**, Board Member, ELNET-Israel; Director, Division of Foreign Trade & International Relations, Manufacturers' Association of Israel

H.E. **Lars Faaborg-Andersen**, Ambassador, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to the State of Israel

Chairs:

Mr. **David Siegel**, CEO, ELNET-Israel

Mr. **Herb Keinon**, Diplomatic Correspondent, Jerusalem Post

Discussants:

Prof. **Uzi Arad**, Former Head of the National Security Council and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister

Dr. **Philip H. Gordon**, Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations; Former Special Assistant to President Barack Obama and White House Coordinator for the Middle East, North Africa, and the Gulf Region; Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs

H.E. Dr. **Clemens von Goetze**, Ambassador of Germany to Israel

Amb. **Jeremy Issacharoff**, Senior Deputy Director General and of the Multilateral Affairs Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. **Robert Vass**, President, GLOBSEC

Mr. **Christian-Peter Hanelt**, Senior Expert, Project “Europe and the Middle East”, Bertelsmann Stiftung

Mr. **Bruno Lété**, Transatlantic Fellow for Security & Defence Policy, German Marshall Fund, Brussels

MK **Ksenia Svetlova**, Member of Knesset

15:45 | **Game of Thrones: The Middle East Arena** | Aquarium

In English. Chatham House Rule. By Invitation

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

Amb. Sir **John Jenkins** KCMG LVO, Director, The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) – Middle East

Ms. **Elissa Slotkin**, Former U.S. Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Mr. **Salman Shaikh**, CEO, The Shaikh Group

Dr. **Michal Yaari**, Open University