



IPS
Institute for
Policy and Strategy



The Sixth Herzliya Conference

On The Balance of Israel's National Security

January 21-24, 2006

Conference & Accommodations at the Daniel Hotel, Herzliya, Israel

Saturday, January 21, 2006

Greetings:

Yael German, Mayor of Herzliya

Opening Remarks: National Resilience in the Face of Risks and Opportunities

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

Assessing Israel's National Security and the "Herzliya Indices 2006"

Chair: **Israel Trau**, Assistant General Manager, First International Bank of Israel

Prof. **Rafi Melnick**, Dean, Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, IDC Herzliya

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

Prof. **Gabriel Ben-Dor**, Director, National Security Studies Center, University of Haifa

Discussion

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Shaul Mofaz**, Minister of Defense

20:00 Dinner

Opening Ceremony

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

Prof. **Israel (Robert) J. Aumann**, Nobel Prize Laureate in Economics; Center for the Study of Rationality, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. **Haim Harari**, Chairman of the Board, Davidson Institute for Science Education, Weizmann Institute

Sunday, January 22, 2006

08:00 Morning Sessions

National Security Policy as Risk Management

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **Eitan Ben-Ellyahu**, CEO, Sentry Technology Group

Prof. **Paul R. Kleindorfer**, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

Prof. **Paul Bracken**, School of Management and Department of Political Science, Yale University

Discussion

Strategic Trends on the Global Landscape

Chair: Prof. **Jerry (Yoram) Wind**, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

Stanley Roth, Vice President for Asia, International Relations, Boeing Company

Dr. **Nicholas Eberstadt**, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

Dr. **Robert Trice**, Senior Vice President, Business Development, Lockheed Martin Corporation

Prof. **Jacob Frenkel**, Vice Chairman, AIG and Former Governor of the Bank of Israel

Discussion

Discussants:

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

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

Lt. Gen. **Dan Haloutz**, Chief of General Staff, IDF

Break

The Nuclearization of Iran – Strategic Implications

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **David Ivry**, Chairman, Board of Directors, Fisher Brothers Institute for Air and Space Strategic Studies

Philippe Errera, Directeur adjoint, Centre d'Analyse et de Prvision, Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, France

Sir **Michael Quinlan**, Consulting Senior Fellow, International Institute for Strategic Studies

Maj. Gen. (res.) Prof. **Isaac Ben-Israel**, Head, Security Studies Program, Tel Aviv University

Discussion

Discussants:

MK Dr. **Ephraim Sneh**, Chairman, Subcommittee for Defense Doctrine, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

MK Prof. **Arieh Eldad**, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

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

Lunch

14:00 Afternoon Sessions

Amb. **Ron Prosor**, Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MK **Silvan Shalom**, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs

Israel's Standing in Europe and Future Relations with the EU and NATO

Chair: Amb. Dr. **Oded Eran**, Ambassador, Head of Mission of Israel to the EU

Dr. **Josef Joffe**, Herausgeber/Publisher-Editor, *Die Zeit*, Germany

Ana Palacio, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain and Chair of the Joint Committee on European Affairs, Parliament of Spain

General the Lord **Charles Guthrie** of Craigiebank, GCB, LVO, OBE

Dr. **Kenneth R. Weinstein**, CEO, Hudson Institute

Discussion

Discussant: Col. (res.) **Uri Naaman**, Coordinator for NATO and European Defense Organizations, Political-Military Bureau, Ministry of Defense

Break

Israel's Standing in the United States and Future Israeli-American Relations

Chair: Amb. **Zalman Shoval**, Chairman, Board of Directors, Export Investment Corp., Ltd.

Mortimer Zuckerman, Chairman and Editor in Chief, U.S. News and World Report

Dr. **Frank Luntz**, Consultant, The Israel Project

Rabbi **Yechiel Eckstein**, President, The International Fellowship of Christians and Jews (HaKeren L'yedidut Israel)

Dr. **Boaz Mourad**, Brand Israel Group

Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Vice Chairman, The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

Dr. **Robert Danin**, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, US State Department

Discussion

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

20:00 Dinner

MK **Benjamin Netanyahu**, Chairman of the Likud Party

Prof. **Alan Dershowitz**, Harvard Law School

Carl Bildt, Former Prime Minister of Sweden

Monday, January 23, 2006

08:00 Morning Sessions

An Atlas of Road Maps and Options for the Israeli-Arab Process

Chair: Maj. Gen. (res.) **Ilan Biran**

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

Bentzi Lieberman, Chairman of the Board, Yesha Council and Head of the Samaria Regional Council

Jacob Keidar, Director, Multilateral Peace Talks Coordination Department and Water Issues, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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

Jimmy Carter, Former President of the United States

Dr. **Robert Satloff**, Executive Director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Danielle Pletka, Vice President, Foreign and Defense Policy Studies, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research

Discussion

Discussants:

Brig. Gen. **Michael Herzog**, Visiting Military Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Amb. Dr. **Daniel C. Kurtzer**, Visiting Professor of Middle East Policy Studies, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University

Eyal Megged, Author

Break

Defensible Borders for Israel

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Yaakov Amidror**, Head of the Defensible Borders Project and the Institute for Contemporary Affairs, Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs

Lt. Gen. (res.) **Moshe Ya'alon**, Former Chief of General Staff, IDF

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

Discussion

Discussant: Brig. Gen. (res.) **Oded Tyrah**, President, Phoenicia America-Israel

Defensible Borders for Israel

Gideon Grinstein, Founder and President, The Re'ut Institute

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

Prof. **David Newman**, Department of Politics and Government, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

MK Dr. **Ahmad Tibi**, Knesset Economics Committee

Discussion

Discussants:

Bennett Zimmerman, Project Leader, "Arab Population in the West Bank and Gaza: The Million Person Gap"

Dr. **Nicholas Eberstadt**

Lunch

Chair: **Poju Zabłudowicz**, Chairman and CEO, Tamares Group

Tzipi Livni, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Justice and Minister of Immigrant Absorption

14:00 Afternoon Sessions

Jerusalem - The Capital of Israel and the Jewish People

Chair: Rabbi **Yechiel Eckstein**

Prof. **Ruth Lapidoth**, The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

Israel Kimchi, The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies

Nir Barkat, Council Member, Municipality of Jerusalem

Eitan Meir, Director General, Municipality of Jerusalem

Discussion

Discussants:

Dan Halperin, CEO, IFTIC

Dr. **Moshe Amirav**, Head of Public Policy Studies, Beit Berl College

The Galilee - A National Priority and Challenge

Chair: **Yehiel Leket**, World Chairman, Hakeren Kayemet L'Yisrael, Jewish National Fund

Amb. Prof. **Aliza Shenhar**, President, Emek Yezreel College

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

Efrat Duvdevani, Director, Ministry for the Development of the Negev and Galilee

Dr. **Faisal Azaiza**, Head, Jewish-Arab Center, Haifa University; Head, The Gustav Heinemann Institute for Middle Eastern Studies

Shlomo Bohbot, Mayor, Maalot-Tarshicha

Ehud Praver, National Security Council

Discussion

Discussant: Prof. **Alean Al-Krenawi**, Department of Social Work, Ben-Gurion University

Break

The Viability of Democracy: The Rule of Law and the Rulers' Law

Chair: Prof. **Amnon Rubinstein**, Provost, IDC Herzliya

Adv. **Elie Goldschmidt**, Israel Corp.

Shelly Yechimovitch

MK **Gideon Sa'ar**, Likud Parliamentary Group Chairman

MK **Yossi Sarid**, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee

Discussion

Law Enforcement: Putting Democracy to the Test

Chair: Prof. **Moshe Barniv**, Radzyner School of Law, IDC Herzliya

Dan Margalit, Ma'ariv

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

Commissioner **Moshe Karadi**, Inspector General, Israel Police

MK **Michael Eitan**, Chairman, Knesset Constitution, Law and Justice Committee

Discussion

Amb. **John R. Bolton**, Permanent U.S. Representative to the United Nations (via video conference)

20:00 Dinner

Chair: **Alan B. Slifka**, Founder and Chairman, The Abraham Fund

MK **Amir Peretz**, Chairman of the Labor Party

Chair: **Hermann Bönz**, Director, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Israel Office

Laurent Fabius, Former Prime Minister of France

Tuesday, January 24, 2006

08:00 Morning Sessions

Social Policy and Economic Growth

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

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

Prof. **Arie Arnon**, Department of Economics, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Diana Furchtgott-Roth, Director, Center for Employment Policy, Hudson Institute

Daniel Doron, Director, Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress

Discussion

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

Discussion

The Socio-Economic Interface: Sectors, Initiatives and Policy

Chair: **Yossi Rosen**, President and CEO, Israel Corp.

Itsik Danziger, Chairman, Education Initiative in the Galilee, IVN

Prof. **Ezra Sadan**, Managing Partner, Sadan-Lowenthal, Ltd.

Dr. **Aziz Haidar**, Truman Institute, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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

Discussion

Break

Investment to Spur Economic Growth and Reduce Poverty

Chair: **Yossi Hollander**, Chairman, Jacada

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

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

Prof. **Sean Barrett**, Trinity College, Dublin

Discussion

Discussant: **Shraga Brosh**, President, Manufacturers Association of Israel

Lunch

Lord **George Weidenfeld** of Chelsea, Weidenfeld & Nicholson

14:00 Afternoon Sessions

Patriotism and National Security in Israel

Chair: Prof. **Uzi Arad**

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

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

MK Prof. **Yael (Yuli) Tamir**, Department of Philosophy and School of Education, Tel Aviv University

Dr. **Eilat Mazar**, Institute of Archeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Discussion

Discussants:

Col. (res). **Ahuva Yanai**, Executive Director, Matan

Ari Shavit, Ha'aretz

Judaism as Culture in the Age of Globalization

Chair: Prof. **Moshe Kaveh**, President, Bar-Ilan University

Prof. **Menachem Brinker**, Faculty of Humanities, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Prof. **James Young**, Chair, Department of Judaic and Near East Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Discussion

Discussant: Prof. **Benjamin Ish-Shalom**, Rector, Beit Morasha of Jerusalem: The Academic Center for Jewish Studies and Leadership

Chair: **Felix Posen**, Founder and President, Posen Foundation

Prof. **A. B. Yehoshua**, Author

Prof. **Yehuda Bauer**, Yad Vashem

Discussion

The Jewish World in 2025

Chair: **Zeev Bielski**, Chairman of the Executive, The Jewish Agency for Israel and the World Zionist Organization

Prof. **Alan Dershowitz**

Amb. Dr. **Dennis Ross**, Chairman, Jewish People Policy Planning Institute

Discussion

The Diaspora Communities and Israel

Chair: **Shula Bahat**, Associate Executive Director, American Jewish Committee

Arcadi Gaydamak, President, Congress of Jewish Communities of Russia

Prof. **Yedidya Stern**, World Jewish Forum

Dr. **Colin Rubenstein**, Executive Director, The Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council

Discussion

Discussant: **Avinoam Bar-Yosef**, Director General, Jewish People Policy Planning Institute

Summary: Policy Challenges - Invigorating the Jewish; Democratic; State

Prof. **Uzi Arad**

19:30 Dinner

The “Herzliya Address”

Chair: Prof. **Uriel Reichman**

Ehud Olmert, Acting Prime Minister; Minister of Finance; Minister of Industry, Trade and Employment

Closing:

Prof. **Uzi Arad**