



7th Annual
International Conference

הכנס הבינלאומי השנתי
השביעי

hosted by the
Tel Aviv Museum of Art



באירוח
מוזיאון תל אביב לאמנות

אתגרים מדיניים וביטחוניים: גישות חדשות למפגש עם העתיד
Meeting the Future:
New Approaches to Political and Security Challenges

January 28-29, 2014

About the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, the host of the INSS 7th Annual Conference

The Tel Aviv Museum of Art is Israel's leading museum of modern and contemporary art and serves as Tel Aviv's major cultural hub, displaying a vibrant mix of permanent collections and temporary exhibitions in a wide variety of media – painting, sculpture, prints and drawings, photography, video, architecture and design, and installations.

The Museum has changed locations and developed significantly since its founding on Rothschild Boulevard in 1932 and is a complex of buildings located in more than one site : The Helena Rubinstein Pavilion for Contemporary Art, built in the heart of the city in 1959, which showcases mainly temporary exhibitions; the Main Building on Shaul Hamelech Boulevard, which opened in 1971; and adjacent to it, the new Herta and Paul Amir Building, inaugurated in the Fall of 2011, which doubled the Museum's exhibition space is considered an architectural landmark.

This past year about thirty temporary exhibitions of leading international and Israeli artist were presented including John Stezaker, Douglas Gordon, Deganit Berest, Ron Gilad, Wanted: Selected Works from the Mugar Collection, Jeff Wall and Joana Vasconcelos, to name just a few. The 2014 exhibition program includes Gustav Metzger, Alina Szapocznikow, Vik Muniz, Gabriel Krasner, Marcel van Eeden, Michaël Borremans and David Reeb, among many more.

The Tel Aviv Museum of Art also provides a wide and exciting spectrum of cultural activities which appeal to people of all ages and interests and hosts multidisciplinary symposia led by prominent lecturers on topics such as philosophy, literature, science, cinema and Jewish thought, workshops, films, concerts, dance performances, festivals, theater performances, and more.

Come. See. Do. Listen. Watch. Think. Learn. Enjoy.
Expect the unexpected.



Ladies and Gentlemen,

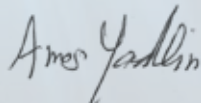
It is a pleasure to welcome you to the seventh annual international conference in the INSS series "Security Challenges of the 21st Century."

This year's conference, "Meeting the Future: New Approaches to Political and Security Challenges," will focus on the principal national security challenges that the State of Israel faces now and will continue to confront in the coming years. Foremost among these are the Iranian nuclear program; the political process with the Palestinians; United States-Israel relations; and the ramifications of the turmoil in the Arab world. Discussion of these issues will be joined by an analysis of issues from fields that are not traditionally associated with national security but are in fact no less important, including education, the economy, and civil society.

The conference has two principal objectives. The first is to present new perspectives on the core issues related to Israel's national security, understand their complexity, and propose modern, creative solutions to the dilemmas they entail. The second objective is to highlight the relevance of topics that are not regularly included in the discussion of Israel's national security. With these two goals in mind, the conference will emphasize the need for multi-disciplinary discourse and integrative strategies in order to formulate the policies that best meet Israel's security needs.

In accordance with the pluralistic and inter-disciplinary approach at the Institute for National Security Studies, the conference is a platform for a wide range of opinions and approaches. Speakers include those from the right and the left, the secular and the religious communities, renowned senior figures from Israel and abroad, and academics and practitioners from the government, the security establishment, the diplomatic corps, and the media. As INSS is an institution that has set for itself a goal of cultivating Israel's next generation of strategic thinkers, the conference also includes presentations from younger researchers, who will join the renowned and more experienced speakers on the conference program.

We look forward to two days of learning, thoughtful discussion, and creative thinking that will help shape innovative policies to promote the security and prosperity of the State of Israel. I wish us all a stimulating and productive conference.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Amos Yadlin". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Amos" and last name "Yadlin" clearly distinguishable.

General (ret.) Amos Yadlin
Director, Institute for National Security Studies

About the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS)

The mission of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) is to strengthen Israel's national security and help ensure its future as a secure democratic Jewish state. As an independent, non-partisan professional think tank operating outside the governmental political and security establishment, INSS is excellently positioned to analyze and critique the leading elements comprising Israel's strategic situation and devise creative policy approaches.

INSS launches and engages in innovative, relevant, high-quality research that shapes the public discourse of issues on Israel's national security agenda, and provides policy analysis and recommendations to decision makers, public leaders, and the strategic community, both in Israel and abroad. It is committed to encourage new ways of thinking and expand the traditional contours of establishment analysis.

INSS researchers are guided by the four core values of professionalism, relevance, intellectual independence, and teamwork. Adhering to the highest standards of research and analysis, they are engaged in exploring the most pressing issues of Israel's national security, and contribute through creative and innovative thinking to national security policymaking.



The INSS 7th Annual Conference

The annual international conference of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS) is Israel's main platform for debating strategic and security issues on the Israeli and global agendas. The various discussions that take place at the conference every year address a wide range of topics related to Israel's national security. Senior officials from government, the military, and academia who are involved in foreign, defense, economic, and social affairs in Israel and abroad participate in the conference. Among the senior Israeli officials who spoke at the conference in previous years were the Prime Minister, the Defense Minister, the Chief of Staff, the Finance Minister, the Justice Minister, and the Governor of the Bank of Israel.

This year's event, the seventh annual conference, will address many of the primary challenges that are likely to appear in the coming years. Topics to be discussed include Israel's security concept, Iran's nuclear program, the political process with the Palestinians, civil-military relations in Israel, education and national security, energy independence, US-Israel relations, and advanced military technologies. Possible ways of confronting these challenges and opportunities for shaping policy in Israel's dynamic strategic environment will be examined.

As in previous years, the conference will serve as a place to meet senior officials in government, defense, economics, the academic community, and the media. This year the conference is hosted by the Tel Aviv Museum of Art and takes place in the museum's new wing. The program will include a variety of formats, such as lectures by senior officials on issues at the center of the agenda, panel discussions, question and answer sessions with participants from various countries, and films and presentations to enrich the discussions. The conference will be broadcast live on the internet.



TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 2014

08:00	Registration
09:00	Greetings Mr. Frank Lowy AC , Chairman of the Board of Directors, INSS Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amos Yadlin , Director, INSS
09:15	Lt. Gen. (ret.) Moshe Ya'alon , Minister of Defense
10:00	The Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations: Opportunity for Change? Introductory Remarks – Col. (res.) Gilead Sher , Head of the Center for Applied Negotiations, INSS The Israeli Public and National Security, Results of the Public Opinion Poll – Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir , Senior Research Fellow, INSS Results of the Palestinian Public Opinion Poll – Dr. Khalil Shikaki , Director, CPSR Filmed interview with President Mahmoud Abbas , the Palestinian Authority
10:45	The Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations – Panel Discussion Ms. Dana Weiss , Anchor and Chief Reporter, "The Weekend News," Channel 2 News Col. (res.) Gilead Sher , Head of the Center for Applied Negotiations, INSS Brig. Gen. (ret.) Shlomo Brom , Senior Research Fellow, INSS Dr. Robert Satloff , Executive Director, Washington Institute for Near East Policy Rabbi Avraham Gisser , Rabbi of Ofra
11:50	MK Yitzhak Herzog , Labor Party, Leader of the Opposition
12:10	<i>Lunch</i>
13:00	The State of the Nation: The Civil Dimension Mr. Yaron London , Journalist Prof. Yoram Yovell , Co-Director, ISAN, University of Haifa Prof. Rivka Carmi , President, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Rebbetzin Adina Bar Shalom , Founder, CEO, and Chair of the Board of the Directors, the Haredi College of Jerusalem Prof. Haim Be'er , Novelist
14:15	Mr. Stephen Hadley , Principal, RiceHadleyGates, LLC and National Security Advisor to former President George W. Bush
14:45	Mr. Naftali Bennett , Minister of Economy
15:10	<i>Break</i>
15:30	American Jewry: Moving Away from Israel? Mr. Joseph Neubauer , Neubauer Family Foundation, Chairman of the Board, ARAMARK Mr. Alan Cooperman , Director of Religion Research, Pew Research Center Prof. Sergio DellaPergola , Hebrew University of Jerusalem Dr. Oded Eran , Senior Research Fellow, INSS Mr. Cameron Brown , Neubauer Research Fellow, INSS Mr. Natan Sharansky , Chairman of the Executive, Jewish Agency for Israel
16:40	Technology Forecasting and Policy Implications: Will Robots Eliminate War? Col. (ret.) Yoav Zacks , Senior Research Fellow, INSS Prof. Asher Tishler , Tel Aviv University Prof. Robert Aumann , Hebrew University of Jerusalem
17:45	<i>Break</i>
18:00	Strategic Dialogue: From Operational Commanders to National Intelligence Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amos Yadlin , Director, INSS Gen. (ret.) David Petraeus , former Director of the CIA
18:45	ACM Lord Graham Eric "Jock" Stirrup , Member of the House of Lords, UK Parliament, former Chief of Defense Staff
19:05	<i>Break</i>
19:30	Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29, 2014

07:30 **Registration**

08:30 **Opening Remarks: Brig. Gen. (ret.) Udi Dekel**, Deputy Director, INSS

08:35 **Strategic Discourse: Where is the World Headed?**

Mr. Ya'akov Ahimeir, Moderator

ACM Lord Graham Eric "Jock" Stirrup, Member of the House of Lords, UK Parliament, former Chief of Defense Staff

Mr. François Heisbourg, Special Advisor, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique

Dr. Michael Fullilove, Director of the Global Issues Program, Lowy Institute for International Policy

The Honorable Mary Beth Long, CEO, M B Long & Associates PLLC; former US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Dr. Ephraim Kam, Senior Research Fellow, INSS

10:00 **His Excellency, Mr. Shimon Peres**, President of the State of Israel

10:40 *Break*

11:00 **Education: National Resilience and National Security**

Brig. Gen. (ret.) Meir Elran, Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Prof. Yara Bar-On, President, Oranim Academic College of Education

Brig. Gen. Avner Paz Tzuk, Commander of the IDF Education and Youth Corps*

Rabbi Shai Piron, Minister of Education

11:50 **The United States and the Middle East: A Year of Contention with the assistance of the U.S. Embassy, Tel Aviv**

Dr. Oded Eran, Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Amb. Dennis Ross, Counselor, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Mr. David Ignatius, Journalist, Washington Post

Prof. Itamar Rabinovich, President, Israel Institute (Washington and Tel Aviv)

Amb. Dan Shapiro, Ambassador of the United States of America to the State of Israel

Mr. Stephen Hadley, Principal, RiceHadleyGates, LLC, and former National Security Advisor to President George W. Bush

13:00 **Strategic, Operational, and Intelligence Challenges**

Maj. Gen. Aviv Kohavi, Head of IDF Military Intelligence*

13:50 *Lunch*

14:45 **National Security: Widening the Spectrum**

Col. (ret.) Pnina Sharvit Baruch, Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Dr. Benedetta Berti, Research Fellow, INSS

Dr. Yoram Evron, Research Fellow, INSS

Ms. Nadia Hilou, Visiting Research Fellow, INSS

Mr. Owen Alterman, Research Fellow, INSS

Ms. Einav Yogev, Research Assistant and Coordinator, INSS

15:50 **Has the West Come to Accept the Idea of a Nuclear Iran?**

Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amos Yadlin, Director, INSS

General (USMC ret.) James Cartwright, Harold Brown Chair in Defense Policy Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Ms. Jane Harman, Director, President and CEO, Wilson Center

Dr. Yousef Mashal, Political Analyst, Bahrain

Mr. Joschka Fischer, former Foreign Minister, Germany

17:00 *Break*

17:30 **Dr. Yuval Steinitz**, Minister of Intelligence

18:00 **National Security Policy in an Era of Changing Adversaries**

Brig. Gen. (ret.) Udi Dekel, Deputy Director, INSS

MK Merav Michaeli, Labor Party, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee Member

Maj. Gen. Yair Naveh, Distinguished Visiting Senior Fellow, INSS*

Mr. Elliott Abrams, Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Dr. Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky, The Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya

Mr. Gidi Grinstein, President, Reut Institute

19:15 **Ambassador Martin S. Indyk**, Special Envoy for Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations (SEIPN)

19:45 **Mr. Yair Lapid**, Minister of Finance

THE SESSIONS | המושבים

המשא ומתן הישראלי-פלסטיני: הזדמנות לשינוי?

לקראת הכרעות בסבב השיחות הנוכחי בין ישראל לפלסטינים ועל רקע התפתחויות במזרח התיכון ובזירה הבינלאומית, ייבחנו היבטים מרכזיים של התהליך המדיני כדי לברר שאלות מפתח. ביניהן: האם יש סיכוי לגבש הסכם ומה יהיו מאפייניו, או שמא יש להיערך לכישלון השיחות ולהשלכותיו של כישלון. לשם כך, יוצגו משמעותיות פנים-ישראליות של נטילת היוזמה על ידי ממשלת ישראל ושל היערכות ישראלית סדורה למהלכים מדיניים פרו-אקטיביים, בהתאם להתפתחויות אפשריות; היבטים פלסטיניים לגבי השיחות וביחס לאפשרות כישלון; תפקידה החיוני של ארצות הברית בתהליך; התפיסה הדתית-לאומית וזווית ההתיישבות ביהודה ושומרון לגבי התהליך המדיני וביחס ליוזמה מדינית ישראלית עצמאית.

The Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations: Opportunity for Change?

As the time approaches for decisions to be taken in the current round of talks between Israel and the Palestinians, and against the backdrop of regional and international developments, central aspects of the political process will be examined. Key questions include: Is there any possibility of reaching an agreement, and if so, what will it entail? Is it perhaps time to prepare for a failure of the talks, and if so, what are the likely ramifications of this failure? Focus of the discussion will be on Israeli preparations for proactive political measures and internal implications of an Israeli government initiative; Palestinian perspectives regarding both the talks and their potential failure; the critical role of the United States in the process; the approach of the national-religious sector; and the perspective of those driving the West Bank settlement enterprise vis-à-vis the political process and an independent Israeli political initiative.

”מצב האומה”: הממד האזרחי

מושב זה יתמקד בממד האזרחי של הביטחון הלאומי ובסוגיות עומק המאתגרות את החברה האזרחית הישראלית על כלל רבדיה. משתתפי המושב יציגו את משנתם אשר לאתגרים ולהזדמנויות הניצבים בפני מדינת ישראל בתחומי החינוך, הדת, הפסיכולוגיה החברתית והתרבות - בפרט בתחום והספרות. לאחר הצגת הדברים, ינהלו המשתתפים: פרופ' יורם יובל, פרופ' רבקה כרמי, הרבנית עדינה בר שלום והסופר חיים באר רב-שיח, שאותו ינחה העיתונאי והפובליציסט ירון לונדון, שמטרתו להעריך את החברה האזרחית כרכיב מרכזי ב"מצב האומה".

The State of the Nation: The Civil Dimension

This session will focus on the civil dimension of national security and some of the leading issues that challenge Israeli civil society at all levels. Professor Yoram Yovell, Professor Rivka Carmi, Rebbetzin Adina Bar-Shalom, and novelist Haim Be'er will present their ideas concerning the challenges and opportunities facing the State of Israel in education, religion, social psychology, and culture – in particular, literature. Following their presentations, the participants will hold a panel discussion, moderated by journalist Yaron London, on the role of civil society as a major element in the state of the nation.

מגמות עתידיות בקרב יהודי ארצות-הברית: האם יהדות ארצות הברית מתרחקת מישראל?

בסתיו שעבר פרסם מכון המחקרים PEW את תוצאותיו של סקר מקיף בנושא יהדות ארצות הברית. לנוכח שיעור של 71 אחוזים של נישואי תערובת בקרב האוכלוסייה היהודית הלא-אורתודוקסית, זיהה המחקר בקיעים מתמשכים בזהות היהודית של קבוצה זו. נתח משמעותי מהדור החדש גדל לתרבות יהודית חלקית, או כלל לא-יהודית, הגם שהוא מתאפיין בזיקה ליהדות. דו"ח ה-PEW תפס עד מהרה מקום מרכזי בשיח על אודות פניה ועתידה של יהדות ארצות הברית. מהי המשמעות של הממצאים עבור ישראל ובהקשר של היחסים בין ישראל לארצות הברית? מה צריכה להיות תגובתם של ממשלת ישראל ושל החברה הישראלית למגמות שעליהן מצביע הדו"ח? האם הממצאים ישפיעו הגישה הישראלית כלפי יהדות ארצות הברית ועל ההשקעה בטיפוח היחסים עימה? הדיון יעסוק בסוגיות מרכזיות אלו בהשתתפותם של אורחים בכירים מארה"ב ומישראל.

American Jewry: Moving Away from Israel?

A few months ago the Pew Research Center published the results of a comprehensive survey of American Jewry. Faced with a 71% intermarriage rate among the non-Orthodox population, the study found a continued splintering of Jewish identity within this sector. Much of a new generation has grown up in a culture that is partially or not at all Jewish, although it nonetheless has a connection to Judaism. Since its publication the Pew report has commanded serious attention in the debate about the face and future of American Jewry. What do the findings mean for Israel and for US-Israel relations? How should the Israeli government and Israeli society respond to the trends charted in the report? Will the findings influence the way Israel approaches and cultivates its relationship with American Jewry? Distinguished guests from Israel and the United States will be tackling these central questions in this session.



חיזוי טכנולוגי ומדיניות: האם רובוטים יעלימו את המלחמות?

במושב זה יוצגו תוצאותיו של המחקר שנערך במכון למחקרי ביטחון לאומי ועסק בקשר שבין חיזוי טכנולוגי לבין גיבוש מדיניות. ראש התוכנית, יואב זקס, יציג את המשמעויות האסטרטגיות של התפתחויות טכנולוגיות, ובפרט את השימושים הצבאיים בכלים בלתי-מאוישים בטווח עשרים השנים הבאות. כן יוצגו המלצות, אשר גובשו על סמך תוצאות המחקר, למדיניות שתסייע לישראל, להפיק את המיטב מהמגמה הנצפית של שימוש ביטחוני מתרחב בכלים בלתי-מאוישים. הרצאתו של פרופ' אשר טישלר, דיקאן הפקולטה לניהול באוניברסיטת תל אביב, תעסוק בתקציב הביטחון ובגורמים הצפויים להשפיע עליו בטווח עשרים השנים הבאות, תוך התייחסות לתוצאות המחקר שנערך במכון. הרצאתו של חתן פרס נובל, פרופ' ישראל אומן, תתמקד ביישום תורת המשחקים לניתוח סוגיות הקשורות בשימוש צבאי באמצעים אוטונומיים.

Technology Forecasting and Policy Implications: Will Robots Eliminate War?

The results of a study conducted at INSS on the connection between technology forecasting and policymaking will be presented at this session. Yoav Zacks, the head of this research program, will discuss the strategic significance of technological developments, with particular focus on their military use in unmanned systems in the coming twenty years. Based on the findings, policy recommendations for Israel will be proposed on how to maximize the potential of the expected heightened use of unmanned systems for security purposes. Professor Asher Tishler, dean of the Faculty of Management at Tel Aviv University, will speak about the defense budget and the elements expected to influence it over the next two decades, in the context of the results of the study. The lecture by Nobel Laureate Professor Robert Aumann will focus on how game theory can analyze issues related to the use of autonomous systems.

דו-שיח אסטרטגי: מעמדת פיקוד מבצעי למודיעין לאומי

הגנרל דייוויד פטריאוס, לשעבר ראש סוכנות הביון האמריקנית (CIA), וראש אגף המודיעין לשעבר, האלוף (במיל') עמוס ידלין, יראיינו איש את רעהו לגבי הסביבה האסטרטגית המשותפת לישראל ולארצות הברית, לקחי מלחמות ומבצעים מהעבר ומבט לעתיד. בהתבסס על ניסיונם העשייה שנצבר במשך שנים שבהן כיהנו כמפקדים צבאיים וכראשי ארגוני מודיעין, ישוחחו הגנרל פטריאוס והאלוף (במיל') ידלין על אודות אתגרי המודיעין במאה ה-21, יחסי ישראל-ארצות הברית, האינטרסים המשותפים לשתי המדינות, סלעי המחלוקת ביניהן והדרכים שבהן יש לפעול במשותף - גם על רקע מחלוקות נושאים אלה יידונו בהתייחס לעתיד פרויקט הגרעין האיראני, התהליך המדיני בין ישראל לפלסטינים, מלחמת האזרחים בסוריה, הזעזועים והשינויים בעולם הערבי והאפשרות להתרחקות ארצות הברית ממעורבות במזרח התיכון.

Strategic Dialogue: From Operational Commanders to National Intelligence

Gen. (ret.) David Petraeus, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and INSS Director Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amos Yadlin, former head of Israeli Military Intelligence, will question one another on the strategic environment common to Israel and the United States, lessons from past wars and operations, and prospects for the future. Based on their respective extensive professional experience as military commanders and heads of intelligence organizations, Gen. (ret.) Petraeus and Maj. Gen. (ret.) Yadlin will discuss intelligence challenges of the 21st century, US-Israel relations, the shared interests and main points of disagreement between the two countries, and ways of working together even when there are differences. These issues will be addressed in the context of the Iranian nuclear project, the Israeli-Palestinian political process, the civil war in Syria, the shockwaves felt in the Arab world, and the possibility that the United States will reduce its involvement in the Middle East.

שיח אסטרטגי: פני העולם לאן?

במושג זה יידונו סוגיות שהן בעלות משמעות אסטרטגית גלובלית, ובפרט אלה הצפויות להעסיק מדינות מובילות בשנת 2014. בכירי החשיבה האסטרטגית בעולם ידונו בשאלות המרכזיות, המטרידות את הקהילה הבינלאומית - מעבר לדילמות הקשורות ישירות במזרח התיכון. ביניהן: האם תגבר מגמת הבדלנות במדיניות החוץ האמריקאית? האם רוסיה וסין ינקטו גישה אגרסיבית יותר במדיניותן באזורי עולם שונים? האם השימוש בכוח צבאי על ידי מעצמות בזירות שונות הפך למכשיר שעבר זמנו? האם תוכל אירופה להעצים את השפעתה באזורי עולם שונים ולהרחיב בהם את מעורבותה? כיצד תתמודדנה מעצמות המערב ורוסיה עם האסלאם הפוליטי במזרח התיכון וגם מעבר לאזור?

Strategic Discourse: Where is the World Headed?

This session will deal with questions of global strategic significance, with particular focus on issues that will engage leading nations in 2014. Renowned strategic thinkers will address the central questions that occupy the international community, beyond the dilemmas related specifically to the Middle East. Among these issues: will the trend of American isolationism increase? Will Russia and China adopt more aggressive policies toward various regions in the world? Has the use of military force by the major powers become obsolete? Will Europe be able to increase its influence and its involvement in various regions of the world? How will the Western powers and Russia grapple with political Islam in the Middle East and beyond? These and other issues will be the focus of the debate.

חינוך: חוסן חברתי וביטחון לאומי

במושב זה יבחן הקשר בין החינוך לבין הביטחון הלאומי, בנסיבות החברתיות-פוליטיות הנוכחיות בישראל. מטרת הדיון היא לאתר דרכים להעצמת היכולת של החברה הישראלית להתמודד בהצלחה עם משברים - פנימיים וחיצוניים - באמצעות חיזוק מלכתחילה של מנגנוני ההתאוששות לאחר משבר. במושב יוצגו הנחות היסוד הבאות: התלמידים במוסדות החינוך יכולים לשמש מנוף חברתי עיקרי לחיזוק מנגנוני ההתאוששות; השקעה נכונה ורצופה בחינוך תביא לפיתוח משמעותי של הכישורים האישיים-והחברתיים של התלמידים, תתרום במישרין לחיזוקן של הקהילות ולשגשוגן וכן תחזק את יכולת העמידה של האוכלוסייה בארץ בכללה מול משברים מסוגים שונים.

Education: National Resilience and National Security

The session will examine the connection between education and national security in the context of Israel's current socio-political situation. The purpose of the discussion is to explore ways to strengthen the capability of Israeli society to deal successfully with crises, both internal and external, by strengthening post-crisis recovery mechanisms. The session will examine several basic assumptions, including the potential of students in educational institutions to serve as a primary means to strengthen recovery mechanisms; and what constitutes correct, ongoing investment in education that helps cultivate students' personal and social skills and thus contributes directly to strengthened communities and improved social resilience when Israel is confronted with various crises.

ארצות הברית והמזרח התיכון: שנה של מחלוקת

מושב זה מתקיים בסיוע שגרירות ארצות-הברית בישראל, תל אביב



במוקד השיח יהיו שתי הסוגיות שבראש סדר היום: פתרון מדיני ישראלי-פלסטיני ותכנית הגרעין האיראנית. הדיון יתמקד בהערכה כי העדר הסכם בנושא הפלסטיני יגרם למתיחות ביחסים בין ירושלים לוושינגטון, וכי דווקא הסכם בין איראן והקהילה הבינלאומית - שלא יעלים את האיומים האפשריים הגלומים בתכנית הגרעין האיראנית כפי שהם נתפסים בעיני ישראל ובעיני גורמים אחרים נוספים - יגביר את החיכוך בין ישראל לארצות הברית. מתח יאפיין גם את יחסיה של ארצות הברית עם בעלות-ברית מסורתיות נוספות במזרח התיכון. אלו מוטרויות ממה שהן מפרשות כנסיגה אמריקאית מהאזור ואבדן עניין בו - הן בשל הרתיעה האמריקאית משימוש בכוח צבאי והן בשל הירידה בתלות האמריקאית במקורות אנרגיה מזרח-תיכוניים. המשתתפים במושב זה (אורחים בכירים מישראל ומארצות הברית) ידונו ביחסים בין ארצות הברית לבין המזרח התיכון בכלל ולבין ישראל בפרט, כפי שהם צפויים להתפתח במהלך 2014.



The United States and the Middle East: A Year of Contention

This panel is held with the assistance of the U.S. Embassy, Tel Aviv

The discussion will center on the two leading issues on the agenda: a political solution to the Israeli-Palestinian issue and the Iranian nuclear program. The debate will be based on the assumption that failure to reach an agreement on the Palestinian issue will spark tension between Washington and Jerusalem. Similarly, an agreement between Iran and the international community that will not remove all the risks and dangers of the nuclear program as perceived by Israel (and other regional players) will likewise increase friction between Israel and the US. Such friction will also be evident in the relations between the US and its traditional allies in the Middle East, who are concerned by what they perceive as lowered United States interest in – and in effect, a withdrawal from – the region. This perception has emerged given the US reluctance to intervene with military force and the US decline in dependence on Middle East energy resources. Distinguished guests from Israel and the United States will speak about US-Middle East relations in general and US-Israel relations in particular that are expected to develop in the course of 2014.

THE SESSIONS | המושבים

הביטחון הלאומי: הרחבת הספקטרום

הביטחון הלאומי של מדינת ישראל - הוא מושג הרחב יותר מהעיסוק בהיבטים הביטחוניים המסורתיים. חוקרי המכון יציגו תחומים חדשים אותם הם חוקרים - אשר הבנתם ושקלולם חשובים לשם גיבוש תפיסת ביטחון לאומי עדכנית, בראיה רב-תחומית. הדיון במושג זה יעסוק בהרחבת הספקטרום של ביטחון לאומי מזוויות שונות: ההשלכות של היבטי הביטחון האנושי (Human Security) של הציבור במדינות ערב ובפרט ברשות הפלסטינית על ביטחונה של ישראל; העמקת השפעתה של סין בעולם ובפרט במזרח התיכון; מושג "הדה-לגיטימציה" - ביטוי והשפעותיהם על קבלת ההחלטות בישראל; מערכת היחסים בין מדינת ישראל לאזרחיה הערבים; האתגרים וההזדמנויות הממתינים לישראל בעתיד (בשנת 2030), אשר יש לגבש לאורם המלצות לפעולה כבר בהווה.

National Security: Widening the Spectrum

What constitutes the State of Israel's national security extends far beyond traditional security aspects only. INSS researchers will speak about several new areas of research in which they are engaged, and argue that the importance of these fields must be weighed in order to formulate an up-to-date, multi-disciplinary national security concept. Discussion in this session will thus focus on widening the national security spectrum to include various new angles: the sense of human security (or lack thereof) among the public in Arab countries in general and the Palestinian Authority, and the ramifications for Israel's security; the growth of the influence of China, globally and in the Middle East; the concept of "delegitimization" and its impact on decision making in Israel; the relationship between the State of Israel and its Arab citizens; and the expected challenges and opportunities for Israel in the future (2030), which demand adequate policy formulations in the present.

האם המערב השלים עם "איראן גרעינית?"

לאחר ההסכמה בין מעצמות המערב לבין איראן על פרטי "הסכם הצעד הראשון" לגבי תכנית הגרעין האיראנית, מתקדם המשא ומתן לשלב של דיון על אודות מתווה ההסכם הסופי. במקביל לדיון בפרמטרים ל"עסקה קבילה" ול-"עסקה רעה", יש לגבש אסטרטגיה חלופית (Plan B) למקרה של כישלון השיחות. אסטרטגיה זו צריכה לתת מענה לתרחיש של היעדר הסכמה על פרטי ההסכם הסופי והודעה על כישלון השיחות, וגם לתרחיש שבמסגרתו איראן מפרה את ההסכם הראשוני במהלך שלביו הבאים של המשא ומתן. בנוסף, על ישראל להתכונן לתרחיש של "עסקה רעה" - שתאפשר לאיראן להשיג בזמן קצר יכולת גרעין צבאית. הדוברים במושב יציגו את גישתם לגבי פרמטרים של הסכם סביר וכן את ראייתם את עקרונותיה של אסטרטגיה חלופית כמענה לתרחישים של העדר הסכם/הסכם רע.

Has the West Come to Accept the Idea of a Nuclear Iran?

Following the agreement between the Western powers and Iran on the details of the "first step agreement" regarding Iran's nuclear program, the negotiations now progress to discussion of the outline of a final agreement. Along with debate as to the parameters of "an acceptable deal" and "a bad deal," an alternative strategy, a Plan B, must be formulated in case the talks fail. This strategy must address the potential contingency that no agreement on the final settlement is reached and the talks are announced to have failed, and it must consider the scenario that Iran violates the initial agreement during the coming stages of the negotiations. In addition, Israel must prepare for a scenario of "a bad deal" that allows Iran to obtain military nuclear capability within a short time. In this session the speakers will be asked to present their guidelines for a reasonable settlement and their perspectives on alternative strategies if no agreement or a bad agreement is reached.

תפיסת הביטחון בעידן של אויבים משתנים

מושב זה יעסוק בתפיסת הביטחון הלאומי של מדינת ישראל, בהתבסס על תהליך עבודה המתקיים בנושא זה במכון. בטווח הקרוב, נדרשת ישראל לבחינה מחודשת של אבני היסוד של תפיסת הביטחון, עקרונותיה ורכיביה, לאור השינוי שחל באופי האיומים והאתגרים הניצבים מולה, בעיקר על רקע עליית השפעתם של שחקנים לא-מדינתיים במזרח התיכון. ארבעה היסודות המסורתיים של תפיסת הביטחון - הרתעה, התרעה, הכרעה והגנה - אינם מספקים עוד מענה מיטבי לשינויים שחלו בסביבה האסטרטגית ובאופי היריבים, ולהשלכות של המגמות האזוריות והבינלאומיות. הדיון בתפיסת הביטחון הלאומי בראייה רחבה חייב לכלול גם היבטים כלכליים, משילוניים ולהתייחס לעליית השפעת החברה האזרחית במזרח התיכון. סוגיות אלה ינותחו עם איזון עדין בין מסורת לחדשנות ובין ניסיון העבר לעיצוב העתיד.

National Security Policy in an Era of Changing Adversaries

This session will discuss the national security concept of the State of Israel on the basis of a research project underway at INSS. For the near future, Israel is called on to reexamine the cornerstones, principles, and components of its security concept in light of the change in the nature of the threats and challenges confronting it, particularly given the rise in the influence of non-state actors in the Middle East. The four traditional pillars of Israel's security concept – deterrence, warning, decision, and defense – no longer provide an optimal response to the changes in the strategic environment and the nature of the adversary, or to the implications of global, regional, and domestic trends. Discussion of a broader security concept must also include economic and governance aspects and address the increasing influence of civil society in the Middle East. These issues will be analyzed against the delicate balance between tradition and innovation, and between the experience of the past and the design of the future.



ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Mr. Frank Lowy AC | Chairman of the Board of Directors, INSS

Frank Lowy is the Chairman and co-founder of the Westfield Group. Mr Lowy served as Westfield's Chief Executive Officer for over 50 years and assumed a non-executive role in May 2011. He is the founder and Chairman of the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney and the Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies. Mr Lowy has also been the Chairman of Football Federation Australia (FFA) since 2003.



Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amos Yadlin | Director, INSS

Amos Yadlin has been the Director of INSS since November 2011. Maj. Gen. (ret.) Yadlin served for over 40 years in the Israel Defense Forces, nine of which as a member of the IDF General Staff. From 2006-2010, he served as the IDF's chief of Military Intelligence. From 2004-2006, he served as the IDF attaché to the United States. In February 2002, he earned the rank of major general and was named commander of the IDF Military Colleges and the National Defense College. Maj. Gen. (ret.) Yadlin, a former deputy commander of the Israel Air Force, has commanded two fighter squadrons and two airbases. He has also served as head of the IAF Planning Department (1990-1993). He accumulated about 5,000 flight hours and flew more than 250 combat missions behind enemy lines. He participated in the Yom Kippur War (1973), Operation Peace for the Galilee (1982), and Operation Tammuz – the destruction of the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq (1981).



Mr. Elliott Abrams | Senior Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations

Elliott Abrams is Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C. He served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor in the administration of President George W. Bush, where he supervised US policy in the Middle East for the White House. Mr. Abrams was educated at Harvard College, the London School of Economics, and Harvard Law School. He served as Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration. He is a member of the United States Commission on International Religious Freedom and of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, and teaches US foreign policy at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Mr. Abrams' latest book, *Tested by Zion: The Bush Administration and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, was published in 2013.



Dr. Dmitry (Dima) Adamsky | Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya

Dima Adamsky is Associate Professor at the School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy, and Head of the BA Honors Track in Strategy and Decision Making at the IDC Herzliya. He has been a pre- and post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University and a visiting fellow at the Institute of War and Peace Studies at Columbia University. His research interests include international security, strategic studies, nuclear strategy, and American, Russian, and Israeli national security policy, and he has published on these topics in leading academic journals. His books *Operation Kavkaz* (Maarachot) and *The Culture of Military Innovation* (Stanford UP) were awarded the Tshetshik Prize in Security Studies for the best academic works on Israeli security. In addition to his academic career, Dr. Adamsky has carried out intelligence analysis and strategic policy planning in his positions in the Israeli Ministry of Defense and the IDF. In the latter capacity, he served as assistant secretary of the committee charged with formulating Israel's national security concept.



Mr. Ya'akov Ahimeir | Journalist

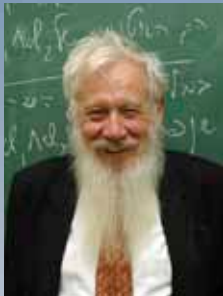
Ya'akov Ahimeir is a veteran radio and television journalist for the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Over the course of his fifty years in journalism, he has covered mainly political topics as a political and parliamentary reporter. He twice served as the Israel Broadcasting Authority correspondent in Washington, D.C. for radio and television, and regularly interviewed senior figures in the Washington political scene. He also participated in the historic broadcast in 1977 of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat landing in Israel. Mr. Ahimeir has won several awards for his work as a journalist, and in 2012 was awarded the Israel Prize in the media category. He currently edits and presents the program "Seeing the World," on Channel 1, Israel's public television station. The program deals with issues of foreign policy, and senior diplomats from all over the world have been interviewed on the show.



Mr. Owen Alterman | Research Fellow, INSS

Owen Alterman, a research fellow at INSS, specializes in Israel's relations with the United States and other issues of geopolitics and strategic planning. A lawyer by training, he has extensive experience in both the private and non-profit sectors and has worked in a variety of international settings, from the law firm of Allen & Overy LLP to the US Peace Corps.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Prof. Robert Aumann | Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Robert Aumann joined the Mathematics department at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1956, and has been a member of the faculty there ever since. In 1990, he was among the founders of the Center for Rationality at the Hebrew University, an interdisciplinary research center, centered on Game Theory. Prof. Aumann is the author of over ninety scientific papers and six books, and has held visiting positions at Princeton, Yale, Berkeley, Louvain, Stanford, Stony Brook, and NYU. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the National Academy of Sciences (USA), the British Academy, and the Israel Academy of Sciences; holds honorary doctorates from the Universities of Chicago, Bonn, Louvain, City University of New York, and Bar Ilan University; and has received numerous prizes, including the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences for 2005. Prof. Aumann earned a B.A. from City College of New York in 1950, and a Ph.D. in mathematics from MIT in 1955.



Prof. Yara Bar-On | President, Oranim Academic College of Education

Yara Bar-On has been the president of Oranim Academic College since January 2013. She completed her doctoral studies in social and cultural history at Tel Aviv University in 1997, and was a fellow at the School for Education Leadership from 1997 to 1999. She has published three books: the first deals with the history of women in the period leading up to the modern era (*Ro'ot et Hanolad*, Zemora Bitan 2000); the second discusses the period of the yishuv in the land of Israel (*Zeriha Bayam Hatikhon: Halutza Amerika'it Begeud Ha'avodah*, Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2005); the third book deals with the lives of women and the mass media in the Age of Enlightenment (*Makhshefah Yehudiah Bahatzar Melekh Tzarfat*, Carmel, 2011). Prof. Bar-On headed the staff charged with implementation of the Shinhar and Kremnitzer reports (dealing with secular Judaism and citizenship, respectively) at the Ministry of Education (1999- 2001), and served as VP for Academic Matters at Bezalel (2004-2012). Prof. Bar-On is a member of the Board of Directors of the National Library in Jerusalem.



Rebbetzin Adina Bar Shalom | Founder, CEO, and Chair of the Board of the Directors, the Haredi College of Jerusalem

Adina Bar Shalom, a native of Jerusalem, is the founder and chairperson of the Haredi College of Jerusalem. Mrs. Bar Shalom is an apolitical social activist working to achieve understanding between different ends of Israeli society, particularly between secular Israelis and the Haredi population. She is a member of the Mifal Hapayis (Israel Lottery) advisory board, and a member of the advisory board of the Prime Minister's National Economic Forum. In 2012, she was awarded several honors, including an honorary doctorate from Ben-Gurion University of the Negev; Honorary Fellow of the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya; and Knight of Quality Government by the Movement for Quality Government in Israel.



Prof. Haim Be'er | Novelist

Haim Be'er is a professor emeritus of Hebrew literature at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev. He was an editor and member of the editorial board for Am Oved publishing house and had a regular column in the *Devar Hashavua* newspaper. He has published ten books, including the novels *Notzot*, *Et Hazamir*, *Havalim*, *Lifnei HaMakom*, and *El Makom Sheharuah Holekh*. Next month, a new book of his will be published by Le'am, *Halomoteichem Hahadashim*. He has won a series of literary awards, including the Bialik Prize, the Brenner Prize, and the Ben Yehuda Prize for the Hebrew Language.



Dr. Yehuda Ben Meir | Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Yehuda Ben Meir is the editor of *INSS Insight* and director of the National Security and Public Opinion Project at INSS. A psychologist and an attorney, Dr. Ben Meir served as an assistant professor and chairman of the Department of Psychology at Bar Ilan University. He was a member of the Knesset from 1971 to 1984 and was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Begin and Shamir governments. His affiliation with the Jaffee Center began in 1984. Dr. Ben Meir is the author of *Civil Military Relations in Israel and National Security Decisionmaking: The Israeli Case*. Dr. Ben Meir's areas of research are civil-military relations and Israeli public opinion.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



MK Naftali Bennett | Minister of Economy

Naftali Bennett is Israel's Minister of Economy, Minister of Jerusalem and Diaspora Affairs, and Minister of Religious Affairs. He is chairman of "Jewish Home" (HaBayit Hayehudi), the fourth largest political party in the current Knesset. MK Bennett was elected to the Knesset after careers in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), the Israeli hi-tech industry, and the public sector. Today, he holds the rank of major and is an active reservist in the IDF's General Staff Reconnaissance Unit, better known as Sayeret Matkal. In 1999, Mr. Bennett co-founded and served as the CEO of Cyota, an anti-fraud software company that was sold for \$145 million six years later. In 2006, he was called up to fight in the Second Lebanon War, after which he turned to the public sector and served as chief of staff for then-opposition leader Benjamin Netanyahu. Before running for Knesset in 2013, Mr. Bennett served as CEO of the Council of Judea and Samaria (Yesha Council).



Dr. Benedetta Berti | Research Fellow, INSS

Benedetta Berti is a research fellow at INSS, a Kreitman post-doctoral fellow at Ben-Gurion University, and a member of the faculty at Tel Aviv University. Dr. Berti's areas of expertise include: human security, internal conflict, integration of armed groups (political negotiations, security sector reform, disarmament demobilization reintegration), post-conflict stabilization, and peace-building, as well as democratization, civil society, social movements, and strategic nonviolence. Her current research is related to political violence and conflict in the Middle East, non-state armed groups, and Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian politics. Before joining INSS, Dr. Berti worked in NGOs and research institutes in Latin America, the Middle East, and the US, focusing on human rights, internal conflict, and political violence. She was a lecturer and researcher at Tufts and Harvard Universities, and a legislative and policy assistant on Capitol Hill.



Brig. Gen. (ret.) Shlomo Brom | Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Shlomo Brom is a senior research fellow at INSS, following a long career in the IDF. His most senior post in the IDF was director of the Strategic Planning Division in the Planning Branch of the General Staff. Brig. Gen. (ret.) Brom participated in peace negotiations with the Palestinians, Jordan, and Syria, and in Middle Eastern regional security talks during the 1990s. He continued to be involved in Track II dialogues on these subjects after his retirement from the IDF. In 2000 he was named deputy National Security Advisor, returning to INSS at the end of his post. During 2005-2006, Brig. Gen. (ret.) Brom was a member of the Meridor committee established by the Minister of Defense to reexamine the security strategy and concept of the State of Israel. His primary areas of research are Israeli-Palestinian relations and national security doctrine. He is co-editor of the INSS annual volume *Strategic Survey for Israel*.



Mr. Cameron S. Brown | Neubauer Research Fellow, INSS

Cameron Brown is a Neubauer Research Fellow at INSS and is a regular contributor to the *Jerusalem Post's* Premium Edition. Mr. Brown is the co-author (with Owen Alterman) of "Support for Israel in a Changing America," in the January 2013 issue of *Strategic Assessment*. He has published on a wide array of other topics in *Review of International Studies*, *Middle East Journal*, *Israel Affairs*, *Middle East Review of International Affairs Journal* (MERIA), *Turkish Studies*, and several edited volumes. Mr. Brown is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the University of California, San Diego. He holds an M.A. in Modern Middle East from the Hebrew University and a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Prof. Rivka Carmi | President, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Rivka Carmi has served as president of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev since May 2006. She is a graduate of Hadassah Medical School of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and she served as Director of the Genetics Institute at the Soroka University Medical Center. Since 1995, she has been the incumbent of the Kreitman Foundation Chair in Pediatric Genetics, and in 2000 was elected Dean of the Faculty of Health Sciences for five years. From 2002-2005, she also served as the Chairperson of the Israeli Association of Medical Deans. Prof. Carmi has also won a number of awards, including: the 2008 Women of Distinction Award of the Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization of America; the Lifetime Achievement Award of the Yated organization for children with Downs Syndrome; an award for excellence from the Israel Ambulatory Pediatric Association (IAPA); and others. From December 2010 to December 2012, Prof. Carmi served as the chairperson and head of the Council of University Presidents.



Gen. (USMC ret.) James Cartwright | Harold Brown Chair in Defense Policy Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies

James Cartwright (US Marine Corps, retired) currently serves as the inaugural holder of the Harold Brown Chair in Defense Policy Studies for the Center for Strategic and International Studies. In addition, General Cartwright serves as a member of the Raytheon Company Board of Directors, a Harvard Belfer Center Senior Fellow, and a defense consultant for ABC News. General Cartwright is also affiliated with a number of professional organizations, including the Aspen Strategy Group, the Atlantic Council, Global Zero, and the Nuclear Threat Initiative. General Cartwright retired from active duty on September 1, 2011, after 40 years of service in the United States Marine Corps. Unique among Marines, General Cartwright served as Commander, U.S. Strategic Command, before being nominated and appointed as the 8th Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the nation's second highest military officer.



Mr. Alan Cooperman | Director of Religion Research,
Pew Research Center

Alan Cooperman is Director of Religion Research at the Pew Research Center. He is an expert on the role of religion in US politics and has reported on religion in Russia, the Middle East, and Europe. He plays a central role in planning the project's research agenda and writing its reports. He graduated magna cum laude from Harvard in 1982 and started in journalism at the *Berkshire Eagle* in Pittsfield, Mass. He is an author of "Mormons in America," "Muslim Americans," and the "U.S. Religious Knowledge Survey," and was the primary editor of "Global Christianity" and "Global Restrictions on Religion." He has appeared on numerous media outlets, including NPR, BBC, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the News Hour, NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN, Fox, MSNBC, and C-SPAN.



Brig. Gen. (ret.) Udi Dekel | Deputy Director, INSS

Udi Dekel is the Deputy Director of INSS. Previously, he was head of the negotiations team with the Palestinians in the Annapolis process under the Olmert government, where he coordinated the staff work and led twelve negotiating committees. Brig. Gen. (ret.) Dekel's last post in the IDF was as head of the Strategic Planning Division in the Planning Directorate of the General Staff, and as a reservist he is head of the Center for Strategic Planning. Previously he served as head of the foreign relations section in the General Staff and as head of the Research Division in Lahak, Israeli Air Force Intelligence. Brig. Gen. (ret.) Dekel also served as head of the Israel-UN-Lebanon committee following the Second Lebanon War. In addition, he headed a working group on strategic-operative cooperation with the United States on the development of a response to the surface-to-surface missile threat and international military cooperation.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Prof. Sergio DellaPergola | Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Sergio DellaPergola holds an M.A. in Political Science from the University of Pavia and a Ph.D. in Demography and Contemporary Jewry from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He is the Shlomo Argov Professor Emeritus of Israel-Diaspora Relations at the Hebrew University's Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, and was the Institute's former Chairman. Prof. DellaPergola is an internationally known specialist on the demography of world Jewry and has published numerous books and over 250 papers on: historical demography, the family, international migration, Jewish identification, and population projections in the Diaspora and in Israel. He has lectured at over 70 universities and research centers worldwide, and served as senior demographic policy consultant to the President of Israel, Israel's government, the Jerusalem Municipality, and many major national and international organizations.



Brig. Gen. (ret.) Meir Elran | Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Meir Elran is a senior research fellow, director of the Homeland Security Program, and co-director of the Society-Security Program at INSS. Previously, Brig. Gen. (ret.) served in senior analytical, command, and staff positions in the IDF Directorate of Military Intelligence. His last post was deputy director of Military Intelligence (1987-1989). Brig. Gen. (ret.) Elran took an active role in the peace talks with Egypt and was an active member (as a reserve officer) of the military delegation to the peace talks with the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Following his retirement from the military, Brig. Gen. (ret.) Elran served as the chief of staff of the Tel Aviv municipality and afterwards as a senior consultant for strategic planning for several government offices, including the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Internal Security, and the National Security Council, where he focused on social issues related to national security.



Dr. Oded Eran | Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Oded Eran, a senior research fellow at INSS, served as director of INSS from July 2008 to November 2011, following a long career in Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other government positions. In his most recent post before joining INSS, Dr. Eran served as the World Jewish Congress Representative in Israel and the Secretary General of the WJC Israel Branch. From 2002-2007, he served as Israel's ambassador to the European Union (covering NATO as well). Prior to that (1997-2000) he was Israel's ambassador to Jordan, and head of Israel's negotiations team with the Palestinians (1999-2000). Other previous positions include deputy director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the deputy chief of the Israeli embassy in Washington. Dr. Eran serves as an advisor to the Knesset Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs. He holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics.



Dr. Yoram Evron | Research Fellow, INSS

Yoram Evron, a research fellow at INSS, specializes in China's security policy. His research focuses on China's security, military, and Middle East policies as well as Israel-China relations. Dr. Evron is a faculty member in Asian Studies at Haifa University, and lectures on China's foreign affairs and defense policy, the development of China's armed forces, Middle Eastern militaries, and Israel-China relations. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Haifa University.



Mr. Joschka Fischer | former Foreign Minister, Germany

Joschka Fischer is Managing Partner of Joschka Fischer and Company, a global strategy firm based in Berlin. He served as Minister and Vice-Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1998 to 2005. His political career began in the State of Hesse where, from 1985 to 1987, Mr. Fischer held the office of Minister for the Environment and Energy and held the offices of Deputy Minister-President of the State of Hesse and Hessian State Minister for the Environment, Energy and Federal Affairs from 1991 to 1994. In 1994, he entered federal politics and became co-chairman of the Green Party's federal parliamentary group. From 2006 to 2007, Mr. Fischer held a professorship at the Woodrow Wilson School of International and Public Affairs at Princeton University. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the International Crisis Group and of the Executive Board of the European Council on Foreign Relations.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Dr. Michael Fullilove | Executive Director, Lowy Institute for International Policy

Michael Fullilove is the Executive Director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy in Sydney, Australia and a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. He previously worked as a lawyer and an advisor to Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating. Dr. Fullilove writes on global issues in publications including the *New York Times*, *Financial Times*, and *Foreign Affairs*. He is a sought-after media commentator, appearing on programs such as the Charlie Rose Show. He graduated from the Universities of Sydney and NSW with dual university medals. He also studied as a Rhodes Scholar at the University of Oxford, where he earned an M.A. and Ph.D. in international relations.



Mr. Thomas L. Friedman | Journalist, *New York Times*

Thomas L. Friedman won the 2002 Pulitzer Prize for commentary, his third Pulitzer for the *New York Times*. He became the paper's foreign affairs op-ed columnist in 1995. Previously, he served as chief economic correspondent in the Washington bureau and before that he was the chief White House correspondent. In 2005, Mr. Friedman was elected as a member of the Pulitzer Prize Board. Mr. Friedman joined the *New York Times* in 1981 and was appointed Beirut bureau chief in 1982. In 1984, he was transferred from Beirut to Jerusalem, where he served as Israel bureau chief until 1988. Mr. Friedman was awarded the 1983 Pulitzer Prize for international reporting (from Lebanon) and the 1988 Pulitzer Prize for international reporting (from Israel).



Rabbi Avraham Gisser | Rabbi of Ofra

Avraham Gisser serves as the rabbi of the Ofra settlement, and is one of the most veteran and well-known rabbis in Israel's national religious community, particularly among the settlement population in Judea and Samaria. Rabbi Gisser is an alumnus of Yeshivat Mercaz Harav, and holds academic degrees in law and education. Along with his community leadership, Rabbi Gisser serves as the chairman of the State Religious Education Council in the Education Ministry. This public statutory body is charged with shaping the religious path of national religious education in Israel, while maintaining its religious pedagogical independence. Rabbi Gisser is also the founder and chairman of the Laws of the Land Institute – an institute for higher research of Halakhah (Jewish law) and law. Rabbi Gisser is a partner to many different frameworks of intra-Israeli dialogue, as well as a participant in Jewish-Muslim interfaith dialogue.



Mr. Gidi Grinstein | President, Reut Institute

Gidi Grinstein is the founder and President of Reut Institute, one of Israel's leading strategy and action groups. Mr. Grinstein's first book, *Flexigidity: The Secret of Jewish Adaptability*, was published in December 2013. He is known for his leadership on the framing and realizing of the ISRAEL 15 Vision, which calls for Israel to become one of the fifteen leading nations; on the 21st Century Tikkun Olam vision, calling for Israel and the Jewish world to improve the lives of a quarter of a billion of the world's poorest people within a decade; on fighting the delegitimization of Israel; on Birthright Israel; and on electoral and government reform. Mr. Grinstein served as Secretary of the Israeli Delegation for the Camp David negotiations in 2000. He is a graduate of the Tel Aviv University schools of law and economics and of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government as a Wexner-Israel Fellow.



Mr. Stephen Hadley | Principal, RiceHadleyGates, LLC, and National Security Advisor to former President George W. Bush

Stephen Hadley is a principal of RiceHadleyGates LLC, an international strategic consulting firm founded with Condoleezza Rice, Robert Gates, and Anja Manuel. RiceHadleyGates assists senior executives of major corporations in overcoming the challenges to doing business successfully in major emerging markets like China, India, Brazil, Turkey, and Indonesia. Mr. Hadley also serves on the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). He served for four years as the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs (2005-2009). From 2001 to 2005, Mr. Hadley was the Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor, serving under then-National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Ms. Jane Harman | Director, President and CEO,
Wilson Center

Jane Harman resigned from Congress on February 28, 2011 to join the Woodrow Wilson Center as its first female Director, President, and CEO. Representing the aerospace center of California during nine terms in Congress, she served on all of the major security committees: six years on Armed Services, eight years on Intelligence, and eight years on Homeland Security. Ms. Harman has been recognized as a national expert on the nexus of security and public policy issues. She received the Defense Department Medal for Distinguished Service in 1998, the CIA Seal Medal in 2007, and the CIA Director's Award and the Director of National Intelligence Distinguished Public Service Medal in 2011. She is a member of the Defense Policy Board, State Department Foreign Policy Board, the Director of National Intelligence's Senior Advisory Group, and the Homeland Security Advisory Committee. From 2011 to 2013 she was a member of the CIA External Advisory Board.



Mr. François Heisbourg | Special Advisor, Fondation
pour la Recherche Stratégique

François Heisbourg is chairman of the council of the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies. He is special advisor of the Paris-based Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique. His career has included positions in industry, government (member of the Foreign Ministry Policy planning staff, French mission to the UN, international security advisor to the Minister of Defence), and academia. He was a member of the International Commission on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament, and has sat on a number of national and international blue-ribbon bodies (notably, the successive French Defence and national security White Papers, the International Commission on the Balkans, and the EU Commission's group of personalities on security research and development). He has written extensively on defense and security issues and is a frequent contributor to both specialist and mainstream media on such matters.



Dr. Mark A. Heller | Principal Research Associate, INSS

Mark A. Heller, Principal Research Associate at INSS, is the editor of the INSS quarterly *Strategic Assessment* and for many years was the editor of *INSS Insight* and *Tel Aviv Notes*. He has been affiliated with the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, now incorporated into INSS, since 1979, and taught international relations at Tel Aviv University and was affiliated with several leading universities abroad. Dr. Heller has written extensively on Middle Eastern political and strategic issues. His first book was *A Palestinian State: The Implications for Israel*; this was complemented by other books and numerous monographs, book chapters, and articles in leading professional journals, and op-ed articles in the *New York Times*, the *International Herald Tribune*, and other major newspapers. Dr. Heller received his B.A. in Political Science and Economics at the University of Toronto and did his graduate studies at Harvard University, where he earned an M.A. in Middle Eastern Studies and a Ph.D. in Political Science.



MK Yitzhak Herzog | Labor Party, Leader of the Opposition

Yitzhak Herzog, son of former Israeli President Chaim Herzog, was elected in November 2013 as Chairman of the Labor Party. In this capacity he also holds the position of Leader of the Opposition in the Knesset. Prior to this, MK Herzog served as the Chairman of the Labor Party Parliamentary Group in the Knesset and was responsible for the coordination of the members of the opposition. He was originally elected to the 16th Knesset in 2003 as a member of the Labor Party where he served as a member of the Knesset Finance, Internal Affairs and Environment, and Anti-Drug Abuse Committees. In January 2005, MK Herzog was appointed for the first time to a cabinet position in the Israeli government, serving as the Minister of Housing and Construction. In May 2006, he was appointed Minister of Tourism, and in March 2007 he was appointed Minister of Welfare and Social Services & Minister of the Jewish Diaspora, Society, and the Fight against anti-Semitism. As Minister of Welfare and Social Services, he made significant progress regarding children-at-risk, the absorption of people with disabilities into the workforce, and enhancement of the quality of life of the elderly, as well as a complete reform of the services offered to Holocaust survivors, the reinforcement of the social safety net, and more. In February 2009, he began his second term as Minister of Welfare and Social Services. In January 2011, he resigned from the government but continued to serve as an MK and was a member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee, and the Education, Culture, and Sports committee.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Ms. Nadia Hilou | Visiting Research Fellow, INSS

Nadia Hilou, who holds a B.A. and M.A. in social work, served as a member of the seventeenth Knesset as a representative from the Labor Party, and served as head of the national unit on the advancement of women in the local government and as deputy head of Naamat Israel on the subject of co-existence. Over the years Ms. Hilou served in additional public offices in areas of welfare, education, social justice, and the integration of the Arab sector in Israeli society, with the goal of co-existence and a shared society. Ms. Hilou, who was the first Christian Arab woman member of Knesset, chaired the parliamentary committee on children's rights and served as a member of several other Knesset committees and as a member of the subcommittee on human trafficking and the lobby to reduce social gaps. At INSS Ms. Hilou works on issues related to the Israeli Arab population and ways to improve Jewish-Arab relations in Israel.



Mr. David Ignatius | Journalist, *Washington Post*

David Ignatius is Associate Editor and Columnist at the *Washington Post*. Since 2003, Mr. Ignatius has authored the twice-weekly, globally distributed column on global politics, economics, and international affairs. From 2000-2003 he served as executive editor of the *International Herald Tribune*. From 1993-1999, he was assistant managing editor at the *Washington Post*. From 1986-1992, Mr. Ignatius served as the foreign editor and editor of the Outlook section also at the *Washington Post*. Prior to this, he was a reporter for *Wall Street Journal*, including Middle East correspondent and chief diplomatic correspondent. Mr. Ignatius has authored eight novels, including *Body of Lies* which was made into a movie starring Leonardo DiCaprio and directed by Ridley Scott. His latest novel, *Bloodmoney*, is set largely in Pakistan. Born in May 1950 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, he earned a B.A. magna cum laude in Social Studies from Harvard College and an Economics diploma from King's College, Cambridge University.



Ambassador Martin S. Indyk | US Special Envoy for Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations (SEIPN)

Martin S. Indyk is vice president and director of the Foreign Policy Program at the Brookings Institution. Previously, Ambassador Indyk was a senior fellow and the founding director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings. He served as US ambassador to Israel from 1995-1997 and from 2000-2001. Ambassador Indyk served as special assistant to President Clinton and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs at the National Security Council (1993-1995) and as assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs in the U.S. Department of State (1997-2000). Before entering the US government, Ambassador Indyk was founding executive director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy for eight years. He currently serves as chairman of the international council and as a board member of the New Israel Fund, as well as on the boards of the Lowy Institute for International Policy (Australia) and the Institute for National Security Studies (Israel). He also serves as a member of the advisory boards of the Israel Democracy Institute and America Abroad Media. Ambassador Indyk received a bachelor's degree in Economics from Sydney University and a Ph.D. from the Australian National University.



Dr. Ephraim Kam | Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Ephraim Kam served in the Research Division of IDF Military Intelligence until 1993, when he retired with the rank of colonel and joined the Jaffee Center. Positions he held in the IDF include assistant director of the Research Division for Evaluation and senior instructor at the IDF's National Defense College. He specializes in security problems of the Middle East, strategic intelligence, and Israel's national security issues. His book *Surprise Attack: The Victim's Perspective* was published by Harvard University Press and awarded the 1988 prize for best book on intelligence matters from the National Intelligence Study Center, Washington, D.C. He is also the author of *From Terror to Nuclear Bombs: The Significance of the Iranian Threat*, and *A Nuclear Iran: What Does it Mean, and What Can be Done*. Dr. Kam specializes in security problems of the Middle East, strategic intelligence, and Israel's national security issues. He is a former deputy director of INSS.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Maj. Gen. Aviv Kohavi | Head of IDF Military Intelligence

Aviv Kochavi has been the head of the Intelligence Division of the IDF since 2010. Among the various positions he has held, Maj. Gen. Kochavi served as Chief of the Operations Division. Prior to that he served as commander of the Gaza Division in the Southern Command, and as commander of the Paratroop Brigade. Maj. Gen. Kochavi holds an M.A. in international relations from Johns Hopkins University, and a degree in public administration from Harvard University.



Dr. Anat Kurz | Director of Research, INSS

Anat Kurz is a senior research fellow and Director of Research at INSS. She has lectured and published extensively on various insurgency-related issues, the institutionalization processes of organized popular struggles, the Palestinian national movement, Israeli-Palestinian relations, radical Islamic organizations, and policy dilemmas of dealing with sub-state conflicts. Dr. Kurz has taken part in forums and conferences on strategic affairs, Middle Eastern security, and conflict resolution as well as Track-II Israeli-Palestinian and regional meetings, and has taught graduate courses at Tel Aviv University. Her current research focuses on Israeli-Palestinian and intra-Palestinian politics. Dr. Kurz is the author of *Fatah and the Politics of Violence: The Institutionalization of a Popular Struggle* and *The Palestinian Uprisings: War with Israel, War at Home*, and is co-editor of the INSS annual volume *Strategic Survey for Israel*. Dr. Kurz holds an M.A. in Social Psychology and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Tel Aviv University.



MK Yair Lapid | Minister of Finance

Yair Lapid is Israel's Minister of Finance and the founder and head of Yesh Atid ("There is a Future"), the second largest political party in the current Knesset. Prior to politics, he was a popular television personality, having anchored the main Friday evening news program for three years. He hosted "Yair Lapid," the popular talk-show on Israel's Channel 2 for 8 years. Until recently Minister Lapid also wrote what was probably the most widely read and frequently quoted weekly column in Israel for *Yediot Ahronot* (Israel's leading daily) from 2002. In addition to his journalism career, he is also a prolific writer. He has published 11 books (translated and distributed in numerous countries), a number of which became #1 bestsellers in Israel. His most recent bestseller, *Memories After My Death*, was a biography of his father (also journalist and politician) Yosef "Tommy" Lapid.



Mr. Yaron London | Journalist

Yaron London is a journalist, television personality, publicist, lyricist, radio broadcaster, and host on Israeli television. Mr. London received the Sokolov lifetime achievement award in electronic media in 2007. In 2009, the Journalists Association also awarded him a lifetime achievement award.



The Honorable Mary Beth Long | CEO, M B Long & Associates PLLC; former US Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs

Mary Beth Long is the first Senate confirmed female Assistant Secretary of Defense. She worked directly with Secretaries of Defense Rumsfeld and Gates. As the Defense Secretary's principle advisor on the Middle East, Europe, and Africa, Ms. Long represented the Department of Defense at the National Security Council and the White House, and worked with foreign Ministers of Defense. Ms. Long previously served as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs and as the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Counter-narcotics. Ms. Long's career began at the CIA where she gained over a decade of operations experience and targeted narcotics, weapons of mass destruction, and terrorism. Currently, she is the founder and CEO of MB Long & Associates PLLC in Washington, D.C.



Dr. Yousef Mashal | Political and Economic Analyst, Bahrain

Yousef Mashal left the Bahraini government in 1987 and established his own business in chemical trading and manufacturing. Today, the Mashal Group is a 100% Bahraini limited liability group consisting of five companies operating throughout eleven offices in the GCC, with its headquarters in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Dr. Mashal is active in the civil rights movement in Bahrain and in the Gulf and became more involved in the struggle for civil rights through activism against sectarianism and is strongly known for his stance on Bahraini reconciliation. He is a founding member of the Bahrain Foundation for Reconciliation and Civil Dialogue. Dr. Mashal is American-educated with a B.S. in Science, a B.S. in Civil Engineering, an M.B.A., and Ph.D. in Economics and Political Science.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



MK Merav Michaeli | Labor Party, Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee Member

Merav Michaeli is currently serving in the 19th Knesset as a representative of the Labor Party. She is a member of the joint committee of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee and the Knesset Constitution, Law, and Justice Committee, in accordance with the Defense Service Law – Exemption due to Religious Beliefs. MK Michaeli plays an active and significant role in the activity of the Knesset Finance Committee. She is an alternate member of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and founded the Women Members of Knesset Caucus, serving as co-chairperson. She is a social and feminist activist and is the founder and chairperson of Ezrat Nashim, an organization established in 1996 that supports aid centers for victims of sexual assault. The group brought about a tremendous change in public understanding of the issue of sexual assault, and attitudes towards victims and how to treat them. MK Michaeli was a member of the advisory board of the Women's Parliament for over a decade, a group headed by Esther Herzog, served as a member in the administration of the women's lobby, and assisted many other feminist NGOs and organizations, as well as individual women who required assistance. In the past, she was also a lecturer at the College of Administration, a media personality, and a publicist at *Haaretz* newspaper.



Maj. Gen. Yair Naveh | Distinguished Visiting Senior Fellow, INSS

With the approval of Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon and Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Benny Gantz, Maj. Gen. Yair Naveh has been seconded from the IDF to the INSS research staff as a distinguished visiting senior fellow. In his most recent post in the IDF, Maj. Gen. Naveh served as Deputy Chief of Staff. Previous positions include the principal infantry and paratroopers commander, Commander of the Gaza Division, Commander of the Home Front Command, and GOC Central Command. His work at INSS focuses on Israel's security concept and the IDF; home front defense policy; and socio-military relations. Maj. Gen. Naveh is also a member of the INSS "Iran Forum," led by INSS Director Maj. Gen. (ret.) Amos Yadlin. Maj. Gen. Naveh holds a B.A. in History and Political Science, an M.A. in History and Middle East Studies from Haifa University, and an executive M.B.A. from Tel Aviv University. He completed his studies at the National Security College with distinction.



Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu | Prime Minister of the State of Israel

Benjamin Netanyahu enlisted in the IDF and served in the elite General Staff Reconnaissance Unit. After his discharge from regular IDF service, he participated in the Yom Kippur War and achieved the rank of captain. Mr. Netanyahu completed a B.Sc. degree in Architecture and an M.Sc. in Business Administration at MIT in the US. He also studied Political Science at Harvard University and MIT. In 1982, Mr. Netanyahu was appointed to the position of diplomatic attaché at the Israeli embassy in Washington. In 1984, he was appointed Israel's ambassador to the UN, and served in this position for four years. Upon his return to Israel in 1988, Mr. Netanyahu was elected to the Knesset with the Likud party, and served as Deputy Foreign Minister. In 1993, Mr. Netanyahu was elected to lead the Likud party, and served as opposition head until his election as Prime Minister in 1996. He served as Prime Minister until 1999, when he took a temporary leave of politics. In 2002, Mr. Netanyahu returned to political life, first as Foreign Minister, and then, in 2003, as Finance Minister. In 2005, Mr. Netanyahu once again served as opposition head. In 2009, Mr. Netanyahu was elected Prime Minister of Israel for a second time, and re-elected in January 2013. Mr. Netanyahu has authored books that appeared in Hebrew and English, some of which were also translated into Russian, French, Arabic, Japanese, and other languages.



Mr. Joseph Neubauer | Neubauer Family Foundation, Chairman of the Board, ARAMARK

Joseph Neubauer is Chairman of the Board of ARAMARK, a leading provider of professional services including food, hospitality, facility, and uniform services. The company has 250,000 employees serving 22 countries around the world. Mr. Neubauer joined the company in 1979 and served as Executive Vice President of Finance and Development, Chief Financial Officer, and a member of the Board of Directors. He was elected President in 1981, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) in 1983, and Chairman in 1984. He held the title of ARAMARK Chairman and CEO until 2012. Prior to ARAMARK, Mr. Neubauer held senior positions with PepsiCo, Inc. from 1971 to 1979, including Senior Vice President of PepsiCo's Wilson Sporting Goods Division and Vice President and Treasurer of the parent company, PepsiCo, Inc. From 1965 to 1971, he was with the Chase Manhattan Bank, serving in several capacities from Assistant Treasurer to Vice President of Commercial Lending. Mr. Neubauer serves on the Board of Directors of Macy's Inc., Verizon Communications, and Catalyst. He has been recognized throughout his career for civic and professional achievement. Mr. Neubauer received his undergraduate degree from Tufts University and his M.B.A. from the University of Chicago.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



His Excellency, Mr. Shimon Peres | President of the State of Israel

Shimon Peres, known for his lifelong service to the State of Israel, has held every position of note in Israel's government. Recruited to the Haganah in 1947, he was assigned responsibility for arms procurement and manpower recruitment, which continued during Israel's War of Independence. In 1948 he was appointed head of Israel's navy, and in 1949 he headed the Israel Defense Ministry's procurement delegation to the United States. A member of the Knesset since 1959, Mr. Peres served as Deputy Minister of Defense from 1959-1965. After leaving the Mapai Labor Party with Ben-Gurion in 1965, he became Secretary General of Rafi, and in 1968, was instrumental in uniting Rafi with Mapai to form the Israel Labor Party. Among his wide range of ministerial posts, Mr. Peres headed the Ministries of Immigrant Absorption (1969); Transport and Communications (1970-1974); Information (1974); and Defense (1974-1977). The highlight of his tenure as Defense Minister was the Entebbe rescue operation. In 1977, Mr. Peres was elected chairman of the Labor Party and in 1984, when a National Unity Government was formed, he served first as its Prime Minister (1984-1986), and then as Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1986-1988). From December 1988 until the dissolution of the National Unity government in 1990, Mr. Peres served as Vice Premier and Minister of Finance, and in the years 1990-1992, he led the opposition in the Knesset. He began his second tenure as Israel's Minister of Foreign Affairs on July 13, 1992 with the establishment of the new Labor-led government, during which he played a leading role in the Oslo Accords, which earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1994. The Peres Center for Peace, created by Mr. Peres, was officially inaugurated in October 1997. From 1997 to 2007, Mr. Peres served as Foreign Minister, Minister of Regional Development, and Minister for the Development of the Negev and the Galilee under the governments of Ariel Sharon, Ehud Barak, and Ehud Olmert. On June 13, 2007, he was elected the ninth President of the State of Israel. President Peres has authored a number of books and many articles.



Ms. Orit Perlov | Research Fellow, INSS

Orit Perlov, a social media analyst, follows and analyzes the discourse on the social networks in Arab states. Prior to joining INSS, she served as a political advisor to the Israeli Ambassador-at-Large based with the informal Israeli mission in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). She is the former co-editor of the Israeli Foreign Ministry website in Arabic.



Gen. (ret.) David Petraeus | former Director of the CIA

David H. Petraeus (US Army, retired) is the Chairman of the KKR Global Institute, a Visiting Professor of Public Policy at CUNY's Macaulay Honors College, a Judge Widney Professor at the University of Southern California, a Senior Fellow at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and a member of the advisory boards of several veterans organizations. Gen. (ret.) Petraeus previously served 37 years in the US military, including as commander of coalition forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, and as commander of the US Central Command. Following retirement from the military in August 2011, he served for 14 months as the Director of the CIA.



Rabbi Shai Piron | Minister of Education

Shai Piron, a member of the Yesh Atid ("There is a Future") political party, is Israel's current Minister of Education. Prior to entering politics, Rabbi Piron served in several positions simultaneously: He was the Director of Petah Tikvah Yeshiva Institutions; he was the director-general of the "It's All Education" (Hakol Hinuch) Movement for the Advancement of Education in Israel established to engage in formulating educational policy; and was also the local rabbi for the religious neighborhood in Oranit. He is a co-founder of the "Tzohar" Organization, which works to bring together religious and secular Jews, and is still part of its leadership. Rabbi Piron also has a great deal of experience in education as a rabbi, teacher, and principal. He holds a degree in law and is working on his doctorate on the topic of the law and its attitude towards people with disabilities.



Prof. Itamar Rabinovich | President, the Israel Institute (Washington and Tel Aviv)

Itamar Rabinovich is the president of the Israel Institute in Washington and Tel Aviv. He is the former president of and Professor Emeritus in Tel Aviv University. He is a distinguished global professor at NYU and a distinguished non-resident fellow at Brookings. He is Chairman of the Dan David Foundation and vice chair of the Board of Directors of the INSS. In the mid-1990s Prof. Rabinovich was Israel's ambassador in Washington, D.C. and chief negotiator with Syria. His most recent book is an updated Hebrew version of *The Lingering Conflict: Israel, the Arabs, and the Middle East 1948-2011*.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Ambassador Dennis Ross | Counselor, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Dennis Ross is counselor at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Prior to returning to the Institute in 2011, he served two years as special assistant to President Obama and National Security Council senior director for the Central Region, and a year as special advisor on Iran to Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. For more than twelve years, Ambassador Ross played a leading role in shaping US involvement in the Middle East peace process and dealing directly with the parties in negotiations. A highly skilled diplomat, Ambassador Ross was the US point man on the peace process in both the George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton administrations. He was instrumental in assisting Israelis and Palestinians to reach the 1995 Interim Agreement; he also successfully brokered the 1997 Hebron Accord, facilitated the 1994 Israel-Jordan peace treaty, and worked intensively to bring Israel and Syria together.



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

Robert Satloff is executive director and Howard P. Berkowitz Chair in U.S. Middle East Policy at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. An expert in Arab and Islamic politics, the Middle East peace process, and US policy toward the region, he is the author of books on topics ranging from the domestic politics of Jordan to the search for Arabs who saved Jews during the Holocaust. Dr. Satloff is also the creator and host of the weekly current affairs show Dakhil Washington on al-Hurra, the US government-supported Arabic satellite channel. In that capacity, he is the only non-Arab to host a show on an Arabic satellite television channel.



Sir John McLeod Scarlett | KCMG OBE

John Scarlett served as Chief of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS or MI6) from August 2004 to October 2009. He joined SIS in 1971 and over the next 20 years served in Nairobi, Paris, and twice in Moscow, as well as on several assignments in London covering the Middle East, Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union. In early September 2001 he retired from SIS on appointment as Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee in the Cabinet Office. He rejoined SIS as Head of the Service in 2004. After leaving SIS in 2009 Sir John became a Senior Advisor at Morgan Stanley. He is Chairman of the Strategy Advisory Committee at Statoil and a member of the Advisory Boards at Swiss Re and PwC. Sir John was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where in 1970 he was awarded First Class Honours in Modern History.



Ambassador Daniel B. Shapiro | United States Ambassador to the State of Israel

Daniel B. Shapiro arrived in Israel as US ambassador on July 21, 2011. Prior to this post, Ambassador Shapiro was Senior Director for the Middle East and North Africa on the National Security Staff at the White House, where he advised President Obama and senior US officials on all aspects of US policy in the region. Ambassador Shapiro spent much of his career working in senior positions in the United States Congress, with a focus on Middle East policy. He began his career in government as a professional staff member on the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, under Chairman Lee Hamilton of Indiana. He later served as a Legislative Assistant and senior foreign policy adviser to Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, and as Deputy Chief of Staff and Legislative Director for Senator Bill Nelson of Florida. Ambassador Shapiro contributed to numerous Congressional efforts to support negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, to increase US security assistance to Israel, and to strengthen sanctions and other measures against Syria, Iran, Hizbollah, and Hamas. From 1999 to 2001, Ambassador Shapiro was Director for Legislative Affairs at the National Security Council, serving as Congressional liaison for National Security Advisor Sandy Berger. He previously worked for the US State Department at the US embassy in the United Arab Emirates. Ambassador Shapiro received a Master's Degree in Middle Eastern Studies from Harvard University with a focus on modern Middle Eastern history. He graduated summa cum laude from Brandeis University, with high honors in Near Eastern and Judaic Studies and an additional concentration in Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies.



Col. (ret.) Pnina Sharvit Baruch | Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Pnina Sharvit Baruch, a senior research fellow at INSS, retired from the Israel Defense Forces in 2009 after serving in the International Law Department for twenty years, five of which she was head of the department. In this capacity, Col. (ret.) Sharvit Baruch was a senior legal advisor responsible for advising IDF commanders and decision makers at the governmental level on a wide variety of issues relating to international law and administrative law, among them: the law of armed conflict and the law of occupation; naval law; security liaison; border demarcation; and conflict resolution. Adv. Sharvit Baruch also served as a legal advisor in many of Israel's delegations to negotiations with the Palestinians, and in 2000, she participated in the negotiations with Syria. She has also published several articles on issues relating to the law of armed conflict and the law of occupation.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Mr. Gilead Sher | Head of the Center for Applied Negotiations (CAN), INSS

Gilead Sher is a senior research fellow and head of the Center for Applied Negotiations (CAN) at INSS. He is an attorney and senior partner in Gilead Sher, Kadari & Co. Law Offices whose practice areas include corporate law; project finance; international business ventures, investments and transactions; constitutional law; and dispute resolution. Mr. Sher was the Head of Bureau and Policy Coordinator of Israel's former Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Ehud Barak. He served as chief and co-chief negotiator in 1999-2001 at the Camp David summit and the Taba talks, as well as in extensive rounds of covert negotiations. He served under PM Yitzhak Rabin as delegate to the 1994-5 Interim Agreement negotiations with the Palestinians. Mr. Sher was a visiting professor on Conflict Resolution and Negotiations at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania (2001-2011) and teaches at Tel Aviv University. He is the founding co-chairman of the movement Blue White Future.



Dr. Khalil Shikaki | Director, the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research

Khalil Shikaki is director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (Ramallah). He is also a senior fellow at the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University. He finished his Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University in 1985, and taught at several Palestinian and American universities. Since 1993, Dr. Shikaki has conducted more than 200 polls among Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. His research has focused on Palestinian state building, public opinion, transition to democracy, and the impact of domestic Palestinian politics on the peace process. He is the co-author of *Arabs and Israelis: Conflict and Peacemaking in the Middle East*. Other recent publications include "The Future of Israel-Palestine: a One-State Reality in the Making"; "Coping with the Arab Spring – Palestinian Domestic and Regional Ramifications"; and Public Opinion in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Public Imperative during the Second Intifada, with Yaacov Shamir.



ACM Lord Graham Eric "Jock" Stirrup | Member of the House of Lords, UK Parliament, former Chief of Defence Staff

Lord Graham Eric "Jock" Stirrup was commissioned into the Royal Air Force in 1970 as a fighter reconnaissance pilot. He commanded an RAF Unit during the first Gulf War, and was deployed to United States Central Command immediately following 9/11, where he commanded British forces during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. He became Chief of the Air Staff in 2003, and was appointed as Chief of the Defence staff in 2006. Following retirement from the military, Lord Stirrup was appointed to the House of Lords in 2011, where he is particularly involved in the areas of defense, security and foreign relations.



Prof. Asher Tishler | Dean, Faculty of Management, Tel Aviv University

Asher Tishler received his B.A. in Economics and Statistics from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and his Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Pennsylvania. Currently he is the Dean of the Faculty of Management at Tel Aviv University and the director of the Eli Hurvitz Institute of Strategic Management. Prof. Tishler's main research interests are energy economics, defense-related issues, strategy, and models of innovation. His areas of teaching are macroeconomics, managerial economics, and advanced statistical methods for business. He has been a consultant to high-tech, clean-tech, financial, industrial, consulting, and business intelligence firms in Israel and abroad.



Brig. Gen. Avner Paz Tzuk | Commander of the IDF Education and Youth Corps

Avner Paz-Tzuk serves as the IDF's Chief Education and Youth Officer. He formerly served as head of the IDF Cyber Division. Brig. Gen. Paz-Tzuk started his service in Sayeret Matkal (the General Staff Reconnaissance Unit). In 1986, he was discharged from the IDF. In 1993, he returned to the IDF as an engineer in the technology unit of Military Intelligence, where he served in engineering and command positions, including as branch head, department head, and deputy unit commander. In 2007, he was appointed commander of the Intelligence technology unit, and in 2010, he was appointed head of the IDF Cyber Division. In June 2013, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general and appointed the Chief Education and Youth Officer of the IDF. Brig. Gen. Paz Tzuk holds a B.A. in engineering and an M.B.A.

ABOUT THE SPEAKERS



Ms. Dana Weiss | Anchor and Chief Reporter, “The Weekend News,” Channel 2 News

Dana Weiss is a senior journalist at Israel's Channel 2 News. She is currently the anchor and chief correspondent of its prime-time Saturday Night News, the most-watched current affairs magazine show. Prior to this and based upon her expertise as a legal affairs and political correspondent, she moderated Israel's “Meet the Press” (2005-2013), featuring headline-making interviews with leaders and newsmakers from Israel and abroad. Throughout her career she has covered most of Israel's major stories, including high profile legal investigations, wars, and the ongoing peace negotiations. She has also co-directed and developed multiple prime time investigative documentaries (2005-2010) and hosted several current affairs news programs, political round tables, and co-hosted a late night news show (2006-2009). Ms. Weiss is a member of the senior editors forum at Channel 2 News and of the Israeli Bar Association.



Lt. Gen. (ret.) Moshe Yaalon | Minister of Defense

Moshe Ya'alon has served in a wide range of positions in the IDF, including commander of the paratroop reconnaissance unit, commander of battalion 890, commander of Sayeret Matkal, commander of the regular army paratroop division, commander of Judea and Samaria Division, commander of an armored reserve unit, and Tze'elim training base commander. In 1995, he was appointed the head of Military Intelligence where he served for three years. In 1998, he was appointed OC Central Command, and two years later to Deputy Chief of General Staff. In July 2002, he was appointed the 17th Chief of General Staff of the IDF. In June 2005, Lt. Gen. (ret.) Ya'alon completed his service as Chief of General Staff. In November 2008, Minister Ya'alon joined the Likud party and was appointed Minister for Strategic Affairs, and Deputy Prime Minister. During this term, Minister Ya'alon was a member of the diplomatic-security cabinet. On March 17, 2013, Minister Ya'alon was appointed Defense Minister and member of the diplomatic-security cabinet.



Ms. Einav Yogev | Research Assistant and Coordinator, INSS

Einav Yogev is a research assistant and project manager in the Terror and Low Intensity Conflict research program at INSS. She is also director of a project on the topic of the image and status of the State of Israel, within the framework of the Next Generation Program at INSS. She holds a B.A. in philosophy and English literature, and an M.A. in diplomacy from Tel Aviv University. Ms. Yogev is the founder and head of a professional internship project for students in the Terror Research Program. She was a partner in founding the Israeli branch of the organization Young Foreign Policy Professionals, is a member and mentor in the Oxfam international young leader organization, and in the past was a member of the board of Amnesty International Israel. She initiates and directs leadership projects and social change projects for the British Council in Israel and the Lions International organization.



Prof. Yoram Yovell | Co-Director, ISAN, University of Haifa

Yoram Yovell is a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst with a Ph.D. in neuroscience. He is a founder and active member of the International Neuro-Psychoanalysis Society. In addition, he serves as co-director of the Institute for Study of Affective Neuroscience at Haifa University. Prof. Yovell lectures in Hebrew and English on a range of topics, such as positive psychology, the way to happiness, the neurobiology of emotions, and psycho-biology of the brain.



Col. (ret.) Yoav Zacks | Senior Research Fellow, INSS

Yoav Zacks is the director of the Technology Forecasting and Policy Implications research program at INSS. The program was founded through his initiative in 2012, and its objective is to perform long term forecasting that will serve as the infrastructure for the formulation of policy recommendations. Col. (ret.) Zacks has a rich background in administration and research and development in the framework of a series of both land and air security projects. He also served as a representative of the Defense Ministry and a member of the Israeli embassy staff in the United States. In recent years, he has amassed practical experience in the field of nano-materials, commercial entrepreneurship, and innovation. Col. (ret.) Zacks holds a B.A. in physics and mathematics from Hebrew University, and an M.B.A. from Tel Aviv University.