



The 5th Annual Conference on Israel's China Policy **The U.S.-China Rivalry and Israel's Strategic Landscape**

Conference Program & Agenda

Monday, December 21, 2020

09:00-11:00 Washington, D.C. 15:00-17:00 Berlin 16:00-18:00 Jerusalem

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Tuesday, December 22, 2020

09:00-11:00 Berlin 10:00-12:00 Jerusalem 16:00-1800 Beijing

Conference Agenda

SIGNAL's Annual Conference Series on Israel's China Policy was inaugurated in 2016 and the fifth annual conference in 2020 coincides with the organization's 10th anniversary. While specific themes vary every year, *the mission of the conference series is to inform Israeli policy thinking on future relations with China*. Drawing together senior Israeli and international participants from government, business and academia, the conference examines China-Israel relations and China's engagement in the Middle East.

To be convened shortly after the U.S. presidential elections, the 2020 SIGNAL conference will be particularly timely. The conference will address the implications of the Sino-American great power competition for Israel and assess the growing presence of China in the Middle East. Considering the technology race between the two superpowers, proceedings will shed light on the prospects of the China-Israel Innovation Partnership. Deliberations will also assess the emerging U.S.-led global and Indo-Pacific frameworks in order to explore new possible strategic and diplomatic opportunities for Israel.

In face of the COVID-19 pandemic, SIGNAL will convene its fifth annual conference virtually via a ZOOM webinar platform.

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Opening Remarks

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

Following U.S. Elections: The U.S.-China Rivalry and Implications for Israel

The opening session of the conference will offer a comprehensive assessment of American and Chinese expectations on the future of the U.S.-China rivalry with the change of guards in the White House. Simply put, how will the change of U.S. administrations affect the power competition? What effect will this have on Israel? Will the Biden administration pay as close attention to Israel-China relations as the Trump administration? How does China view U.S.-Israel relations? How does this affect Chinese thinking on its relations with Israel?

Maj. Gen. (res.) **Yaakov Amidror**, Anne and Greg Rosshandler Senior Fellow, Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security; Former National Security Advisor to Prime Minister Netanyahu

Ms. **Bonnie S. Glaser**, Senior Adviser for Asia and Director, China Power Project, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

Prof. **DA Wei**, Dean, Department of International Politics, University of International Relations in Beijing

Moderator: Prof. **Jonathan Rynhold**, Director, Argov Institute for the Study of Israel and the Jewish People, Department of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University

The “Quad”, D-10, and the Indo-Pacific – Where is Israel in the Evolving Western Strategy towards China?

This session will introduce and assess U.S.-led Western strategies and frameworks in addressing the China challenge. The U.S. and its allies increasingly refer to the “Indo-Pacific” and even during the Trump administration the U.S. encouraged multilateral frameworks – most notably the “Quad” comprising of the U.S., Japan, India and Australia. This trend is likely to continue and expand under the Biden administration with a strong value-based liberal-democratic approach. The Europeans have already indicated that they support this path. In assessing this trend and how effectively it deals with the China challenge, the session will also examine its implications for Israel. Does this create new opportunities for Israel, or might it become a “strategic headache”?

Dr. **Kenneth R. Weinstein**, President & Chief Executive Officer, Hudson Institute*

Ambassador **Bilahari Kausikan**, Chairman, Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore; Former Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore

Prof. **Michito Tsuruoka**, Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University

Moderator: Mr. **Tommy Steiner**, Policy Consultant, SIGNAL – Sino-Israel Global Network & Academic Leadership

Concluding Address

Honorable **David K. Schenker**, Assistant Secretary of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State

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Opening Remarks

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

China-Israel Innovation Partnership: Looming Clouds or Bright Future?

Hi-Tech and technology are the primary drivers of China-Israel relations in the past decade. Chinese state and business leaders have repeatedly expressed their interest in expanding ties with Israel and Israel's Hi-Tech sector. The Israeli official position is similar. Considering however, the primary role of the "Tech Race" in the U.S.-China rivalry – will Chinese-Israel Hi-Tech partnerships remain unscathed? Furthermore, several Chinese business executives have recently stated that U.S. sanctions will increase Chinese investments in Israeli Hi-Tech – Will that work? Can Israel afford to allow closer Tech relations with China amid the U.S.-China rivalry?

Mr. **Hagai Shagrir**, Deputy Head, Asia and Pacific Branch, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel

-Mr. **Dorian Barak**, Founder & Managing Director, Indigo Global; Co-Founder, UAE-Israel Business Council

Dr. **ZHAO Hai**, Research Fellow, Institute of World Economics and Politics, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Moderator: Mr. **Ron Friedman**, Managing Editor, C-Tech by Calcalist

China in the Middle East: What Is Actually Happening?

Over the past decade, China's presence and engagement in the Middle East is on the rise. China's BRI has directed growing Chinese investments around the region in addition to its continued substantial reliance on energy resources from the Middle East. Reports concerning China's Middle East dealings however, are not limited to the economic and financial realms. For instance, Iranian media revealed negotiations between China and Iran to forge a 25-year strategic partnership. On their part however, Chinese officials refused to comment. Notably, China insists on maintaining friendly relations with all the regional protagonists – including Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt, UAE, and Qatar. This session will concretely assess China's relations and transactions in the Middle East. Is China nearing the point of increasing its strategic footprint in the region? Will China be able to pursue friendly relations with all, or will it have to choose sides? If so, which "side" is it likely to prefer? How will this affect China-Israel relations?

Mr. **Ehud Yaari**, Middle East Commentator, Channel 12 News Israel; Lafer International Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Prof. **NIU Xinchun**, Director, Institute of Middle East Studies, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)

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

Concluding Address

Ambassador Dr. **YUE Xiaoyong**, Former Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Speakers' Biographies

Maj. Gen. (res.) Yaakov Amidror

Anne and Greg Rosshandler Senior Fellow, Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security; Former National Security Advisor to Prime Minister Netanyahu and Head of the National Security Council. He served with the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) for 36 years (1966-2002) in a variety of capacities including Commander of IDF Military Colleges, Military Secretary for the Minister of Defense, Director of the Intelligence Analysis Division, responsible for the National Intelligence Assessment and Head of a large-scale technology project. General Amidror earned his M.A. in Political Science from the University of Haifa and various other degrees and certificates from IDF colleges. He is the author of three books on intelligence and military strategy, Reflections on Army and Security (Hebrew, 2002), Intelligence, Theory and Practice (Hebrew, 2006), and Winning Counterinsurgency War: The Israeli Experience (JCPA, 2008).

Professor DA Wei

Professor and Vice President, University of International Relations (UIR) in Beijing. He serves as the Dean of the Department of International Politics and the Director of the Center for International Strategy and Security Studies in UIR as well. He is also an adjunct senior fellow at the Center for International Strategy and Security (CISS), Tsinghua University. Before September 2017, Da Wei had worked at China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) for more than two decades. His last position there was director of the Institute of American Studies. Dr. Da Wei's research expertise covers China-US relations and US security & foreign policy. In past two decades, Da Wei has written hundreds of policy papers to Chinese government, and published dozens of academic papers on journals in China, the US and other countries.

Mr. Dorian Barak

Founder & Managing Director of Indigo Global and Co-Founder of the recently formed UAE-Israel Business Council. A private equity investor and asset manager, Mr. Barak focuses on emerging markets. A fixture of the Israel-China trade axis, he serves on the boards of companies active in the technology and natural resources sectors in Israel, Africa, and China. Previously, Mr. Barak was MD and Head of International Strategy and M&A at Hapoalim, Israel's leading financial group. Prior to joining Hapoalim, he was an attorney with the Skadden Arps law firm in New York, and a consultant with the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) in New York and Chicago. Mr. Barak was educated at Yale University (Juris Doctor), Oxford University (M.A.), and UCLA (B.A.).

Mr. Ron Friedman

Managing Editor of CTech by Calcalist, Israel's top English language news site dedicated to covering the ever-evolving tech ecosystem. Mr. Friedman has 15 years of experience in journalism, reporting, editing, and managing new sites at Israel's leading outlets. Over his career, he has interviewed many high-profile subjects including politicians, world-class experts, CEOs and top executives at major companies, and heads of international organizations. Since joining CTech, Mr. Friedman has focused on advancements in the world of tech innovation, with an emphasis on the local Start-Up industry.

Ms. Bonnie S. Glaser

Senior adviser for Asia and the director of the China Power Project at CSIS, where she works on issues related to Asia-Pacific security with a focus on Chinese foreign and security policy. She is concomitantly a nonresident fellow with the Lowy Institute in Sydney, Australia, and a senior associate with the Pacific Forum. Ms. Glaser has worked for more than three decades at the intersection of Asia-Pacific geopolitics and U.S. policy. From 2008 to mid-2015, she was a senior adviser with the CSIS Freeman Chair in China Studies, and from 2003 to 2008, she was a senior associate in the CSIS International Security Program. Prior to joining CSIS, she served as a consultant for various U.S. government offices, including the Departments of Defense and State. Ms. Glaser has published widely in academic and policy journals, including the *Washington Quarterly*, *China Quarterly*, *Asian Survey*, *International Security*, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, and *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, as well as in leading newspapers such as the *New York Times* and *International Herald Tribune* and in various edited volumes on Asian security. She is also a regular contributor to the Pacific Forum web journal *Comparative Connections*. She is currently a board member of the U.S. Committee of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific and a member of both the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. She served as a member of the Defense Department's Defense Policy Board China Panel in 1997. Ms. Glaser received her B.A. in political science from Boston University and her M.A. with concentrations in international economics and Chinese studies from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

Ambassador Bilahari Kausikan

Chairman of the Middle East Institute, an autonomous institute of the National University of Singapore. Having led a distinguished diplomatic career in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Singapore for nearly four decades, Ambassador Kausikan was Permanent Secretary of the Ministry from 2010 to 2013 after serving as Second Permanent Secretary since 2001. He was subsequently Ambassador-at-Large until May 2018. His earlier appointments at the Ministry include Deputy Secretary for Southeast Asia, Permanent Representative to the United Nations in New York, and Ambassador to the Russian Federation. He was educated at Raffles Institution, the University of Singapore and Columbia University in New York.

Prof. NIU Xinchun

Research Professor and Director of the Institute of Middle East Studies at the China Institute for Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). A former Deputy Director of the CICIR Institute of American Studies, Prof. NIU was appointed to his current position in 2011. Prof. NIU's research expertise includes U.S. foreign policy, Sino-U.S. relations, Middle East politics, and the Taiwan issue. Prof. NIU has published in international academic journals, such as *Contemporary International Relations*, *International Studies*, *Diplomacy Review* and commentaries in *Global Times*, *China Youth*, etc. Prof. NIU graduated with an M.A. degree from the History Department of the Jilin University and earned his Ph.D. from CICIR.

Prof. Jonathan Rynhold

Director of the Argov Institute for the Study of Israel and the Jewish People and Professor in Department of Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University. He earned his PhD in International Relations from the LSE in 1998. Jonathan's research focuses on U.S.-Israeli relations and Israeli foreign policy. His book, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict in American Political Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2015) won the Israeli Association for Political Science book prize. In 2016, he co-edited a volume entitled, *US Foreign Policy & Global Standing in the 21st Century*. He has also published academic articles on Saudi-

Israeli relations, European policy towards Israel, and Chinese and Japanese policy towards the Middle East.

The Honorable David Schenker

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs. Prior to joining the Department of State, from 2006-2019, Mr. Schenker was director of the Program on Arab Politics at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. From 2002-2006, he served in the Office of the Secretary of Defense as Levant country director. In that capacity, he was responsible for advising the secretary and other senior Pentagon leadership on the military and political affairs of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian territories. He was awarded the Office of the Secretary of Defense Medal for Exceptional Civilian Service in 2005. Before joining the government in 2002, Mr. Schenker was a research fellow at The Washington Institute, and a project coordinator of large, centrally-funded USAID projects in Egypt and Jordan. Mr. Schenker attended the University of Vermont, University of Michigan, and The American University in Cairo.

Mr. Hagai Shagrir

Deputy Head of the Asia-Pacific Branch in the Foreign Ministry. Over the past decade, Mr. Shagrir's diplomatic career focused on China and China-Israel relations and he also served as director of the Ministry's Northeast Asia department. Mr. Shagrir was the project leader of establishing two Israeli consulates in China - Guangzhou and Chengdu. Previously serving in Israel's Consulate in Shanghai, Mr. Shagrir studied Mandarin in Taipei. Mr. Shagrir holds an M.A. in East Asian Studies from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Mr. Tommy Steiner

Policy Consultant for SIGNAL and Associate Fellow at the Henry Jackson Society. Concurrently, he is an Adjunct Lecturer and teaches International Relations and Security Studies at the Lauder School of Government, IDC Herzliya, Israel. Until recently, Tommy was a senior research fellow at IDC Herzliya's Institute for Policy and Strategy. A member of the founding team of the Annual Herzliya Conference Series, Tommy managed the Conference series from 2007 through 2013 – a period during which the Conference became considered one of the top international policy conferences. At the Institute, Tommy authored and edited strategic reports on Israel, the Middle East and global affairs. Tommy served as the executive director of the Atlantic Forum of Israel, a network-based policy organization that promoted and advanced Israel's relations with the Transatlantic Community and Europe, and which was especially instrumental in enhancing NATO-Israel relations. Tommy's fields of expertise include, global politics and international security, transatlantic relations, EU/NATO policy in the Middle East, and Israel's foreign relations. In his areas of expertise, Tommy regularly advises Israeli authorities, international organizations, business, media and think-tanks.

Dr. Michito Tsuruoka

Associate Professor at Keio University's Faculty of Policy Management. Prior to joining Keio in 2017, he was a Senior Research Fellow at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Ministry of Defense. He is concurrently a Senior Fellow at The Tokyo Foundation for Policy Research. During his tenure at NIDS, Dr Tsuruoka was seconded to the Ministry of Defense as a Deputy Director of the International Policy Division, Bureau of Defense Policy and served as a Visiting Fellow at Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies (RUSI), London. Prior to joining NIDS, he served as an Adviser for NATO at the Embassy of Japan to Belgium.

Dr Tsuruoka studied Politics and International Relations at Keio University, Tokyo, and Georgetown University and earned a PhD in War Studies from King's College London. His areas of expertise include

international security, contemporary European politics, European foreign policy (particularly EU-Japan/Asia relations), nuclear policy and Japan's foreign, security and defense policy.

Dr. Kenneth R. Weinstein

President and chief executive officer of Hudson Institute, and the inaugural holder of the Walter P. Stern Chair. He joined the Institute in 1991 and was appointed CEO in June 2005. He was named president and CEO in March 2011. A political theorist by training whose academic work focused on the early Enlightenment, Dr. Weinstein has established a reputation as a go-to influencer and thought leader for policy and opinion leaders in the U.S. and around the world on a range of matters. In 2006, he was decorated with a knighthood in arts and letters by the government of France and serves on the boards of non-profit organizations in the U.S. and Europe.

Weinstein serves on the Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations, which provides counsel on trade agreements to the United States Trade Representative. From 2017 until 2020, Dr. Weinstein chaired the Broadcasting Board of Governors, the oversight body for U.S. Agency for Global Media, and was chair of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Free Asia, Middle East Broadcasting and the Open Technology Fund. He previously was a member of the National Humanities Council, the governing body of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

He is the co-editor of *The Essential Herman Kahn: In Defense of Thinking* (Lexington Books, 2009). Dr. Weinstein earned his B.A. in general studies in the Humanities from the University of Chicago, D.E.A. in Soviet and Eastern European studies from Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris, and Ph.D. in government from Harvard University. In March 2020, Weinstein was nominated by President Trump to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Japan.

Ms. Carice Witte

Founder and Executive Director of SIGNAL, Sino-Israel Global Network & Academic Leadership, an Israel-based China-Israel think tank with programming in both countries. Ms. Witte is an expert in China-Israel relations and a leading contributor to defining this field of research in Israel. She initiated the establishment of Israel Studies Programs (ISPs) at the university level in China in 2011, a field recognized by China's Ministry of Education in 2013. SIGNAL now contributes to the academic excellence of ISPs at over a dozen universities across China. Ms. Witte was responsible for the establishing SIGNAL's cooperation with Fudan University – related to the BRI, and with Renmin University – related to the Middle East. Ms. Witte has led over 400 briefings between researchers and experts in China and Israel and initiated a track II China-Israel Dialogue and China-Israel-US seminar in 2017 which attract top experts from leading institutions in the US, China and Israel in the areas of diplomacy, security, geopolitics, economics, technology and finance.

For the past decade, Ms. Witte has cultivated cooperation between faculty, experts, think tanks, research centers and universities in Israel and China. Ms. Witte represents Israel in numerous conferences in China and elsewhere that focus on China, China-Israel relations, the Digital Silk Road and the Belt & Road Initiative. Ms. Witte has authored research and policy analysis papers for both China and Israel in the fields of trade, Sino-Israel relations, strategic communication and global Jewry and is sought out by the Israeli press to explain issues relating to China in Israel. Her research focuses on Israel's perspective on Xi Jinping Thought and its potential implications for the Middle East, Israel and the BRI, Sino-Israeli relations, China's understanding of the Middle East and China's foreign policy. Carice is a graduate of Yale University with a degree in Chinese Studies.

Mr. Ehud Yaari

Lafer International Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and the Middle East Commentator for Channel 12 News Israel. A former associate editor of the Jerusalem Report, Mr. Yaari has been a Middle East commentator for Israeli television since 1975. Among his numerous awards for journalism are the Israeli Press Editors-in-Chief Prize for coverage of the peace process with Egypt, the Sokolov Prize for coverage of the Lebanon War, and the Israel Broadcasting Award for coverage of the Gulf War. Mr. Yaari's articles have appeared in renowned international newspapers and magazines, including the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Foreign Affairs, and Atlantic Monthly. Mr. Yaari is also the author of eight books on the Arab-Israeli conflict, including *Fatah* (Sabra Books, 1971); *Egypt's Policy Towards Israel in the Fifties* (1974); *A Guide to Egypt* (1982); *The Year of the Dove*, co-authored with Ze'ev Schiff and Eitan Haber (Bantam, 1979); *Israel's Lebanon War*, co-authored with Ze'ev Schiff (Simon and Schuster, 1984); and *Intifada*, co-authored with Ze'ev Schiff (Simon and Schuster, 1990).

Ambassador Dr. YUE Xiaoyong

Former Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Dr. Yue Xiaoyong is a Special Expert of China Forum of Tsinghua University, Senior Research Fellow and Director for The Center of Global Studies in the National Academy of Development and Strategy, Renmin University. Amb. Dr. Yue is also a Council Member of Institute of International and Strategic Studies in Peking University.

Dr. Yue joined the Chinese Foreign Service in the end of 1984 and held senior positions in Beijing and abroad, including Director-General in the Research Office in the State Council of the People's Republic of China. Dr. Yue held three ambassadorial appointments – to Qatar, Jordan, and Ireland. Dr. Yue writes and speaks for domestic and international academic and public policy institutions as well as the press in Chinese and English languages.

Dr. ZHAO Hai

Director, International Political Studies Program, National Institute for Global Strategy (NIGS) and Research Fellow, Institute of World Economics and Politics (IWEP), the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Priorly, Dr. Zhao was a research fellow at the National Strategy Institute of Tsinghua University (NSI). He graduated from Peking University with a dual bachelor's degree in History and Law, and later with a master's degree in Asia-Pacific regional studies. Dr. Zhao studied at the Hopkins-Nanjing Center for Chinese and American Studies. He obtained his PhD in International History from the University of Chicago and worked at various think tanks in Chicago and Washington D.C. Dr. Zhao has conducted research on topics ranging from US-China relations to the Belt and Road Initiative. He has published research papers, commentaries and articles in various academic journals, newspapers and magazines



About SIGNAL

SIGNAL (Sino-Israel Global Network & Academic Leadership) is an Israeli policy organization that specializes on China-Israel relations. Focusing on policy and academic networking, SIGNAL empowers Israeli policy practitioners by cultivating in-depth knowledge of China and presents an informed understanding of Israel and the Middle East to China's current and future leaders. Since its founding in 2010, SIGNAL has built-up a global network of China policy experts and practitioners to strengthen Israel's regional and international position. SIGNAL serves the national interest of Israel.

SIGNAL's work on Israel's China policy, including (but not limited to) the conference series, aims at *encouraging the formulation of a comprehensive policy to further develop economic ties and strategic dialogue with China that will protect Israel's sovereign powers and national security.*

Founded in 2011, SIGNAL's aim was to help ensure that Israel would benefit and by relations with China. SIGNAL initially focused on developing policy networks and academic ties between Israel and China to convey a more informed understanding of Israel and the Middle East to top academic and policy echelons in China. To nurture a new generation of Chinese leaders with an affinity for the Jewish State, SIGNAL concentrated its efforts on establishing the field of Israel studies at the university level. Ten years later, SIGNAL has helped institute Israel Studies Program in some 20 universities across China offering courses to 2,000 students every year. SIGNAL has also launched a faculty training program for Chinese professors in cooperation with Ben-Gurion University and Yad-Vashem.

As Chinese investment and economic relations with Israel grew, SIGNAL expanded its work to increase Israeli government agencies' strategic understanding of China. This led SIGNAL to establish an annual conference on Israel's China policy, launch a China-Israel Track-II semi-annual dialogue and an annual China-Israel-US Track-II dialogue.

SIGNAL is registered in Israel as a non-profit entity (Public Benefit Corporation) and in the U.S. as 501(c)3 organization. SIGNAL is funded by U.S. Jewish family foundations that support Israel.

For more information about SIGNAL and its operations, please visit –
www.sino-israel.org