

The Saban Forum  
A U.S.–Israel Dialogue  
פורום סבן



Dealing with  
21st Century Challenges  
November 11–13, 2005  
Jerusalem, Israel







## A Letter from Haim Saban

Welcome to Jerusalem and to the second annual Saban Forum. We are confident that this year's dialogue, "Dealing with 21st Century Challenges," will prove as interesting as our inaugural Forum last year. We are honored to welcome back many participants and privileged to have new guests join us.

Events in the Middle East have been unfolding at a rapid pace, with Israel recently disengaging from the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank, Iraqis voting for a constitution, and winds of change blowing in Syria. The next three days, therefore, will be an opportunity to take a step back to analyze these individual events, as well as their role within larger trends in the Middle East.

We hope that while we discuss the major topics of the day, we will be able to step beyond the issues that make front-page news. In this year's Forum, we would like to address some key issues that confront the United States and Israel in the uncertain era of the 21st century. It is a time when mankind's capabilities have never been greater, but the dangers and challenges—from terrorism to globalization to energy crises to potential pandemics—have rarely been more daunting.

We also meet at a time laden with memories. It has been ten years since the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin z"l and many here had the honor of knowing the late Prime Minister not only as a courageous statesman, but also as a friend. The day after the Forum will be devoted to attending the official memorial service and honoring his memory.

Last year's Forum allowed for a unique level of discussion and analysis. For this reason, we have maintained the same format this year. Namely, we have tried to avoid set-piece speeches in favor of short opening presentations, and even shorter interventions. Our purpose is to foster a real dialogue in which we hope to hear from all of you. So please keep it succinct, telegraphic, and to the point!

Please note that the "Chatham House Rule" applies to our discussions, which means that participants are free to use the information discussed, but neither the identity nor the affiliation of the speakers, nor that of any other participant, may be revealed.

It truly is a privilege for me to sponsor this event. I am indebted to the very capable staff at the Saban Center at Brookings and the Jaffee Center at Tel Aviv University for helping to turn this idea into reality.

It is my honor to welcome you to the Saban Forum 2005.

B'ruchim Habaim,



HAIM SABAN  
*Chairman, The Saban Forum*



## American Participants

**ALAN BATKIN**, Vice Chairman, Kissinger Associates; Trustee, the Brookings Institution.

**SAMUEL BERGER**, Chairman, Stonebridge International; former National Security Advisor.

**STEPHEN BREYER**, Justice, Supreme Court of the United States.

**ELLIOTT BROIDY**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Broidy Capital Management.

**DAVID BROOKS**, Columnist, *The New York Times*.

**ADAM CHESNOFF**, President and Chief Operating Officer, Saban Capital Group, Inc.

**HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**, United States Senate (D-New York).

**WILLIAM J. CLINTON**, 42nd President of the United States; member, International Advisory Council, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

**ROBERT M. DANIN**, Senior Director for Near East and North African Affairs, the National Security Council.

**THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN**, Columnist, *The New York Times*.

**BRIAN GREENSPUN**, President and Editor, *Las Vegas Sun*; Trustee, the Brookings Institution.

**DAVID IGNATIUS**, Columnist, *The Washington Post*.

**MARTIN INDYK**, Director, Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Ambassador to Israel and Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs.

**RICK KLAUSNER**, Executive Director, The Global Health Program at The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

**TOM LANTOS**, United States House of Representatives (D-California).

**SAMUEL LEWIS**, former Ambassador to Israel; Board Member, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University.

**TODD PATKIN**, President, Autopart International.

**CHARLES PEREZ**, Co-Founder, Paul Davril Inc.

**KENNETH M. POLLACK**, Director of Research, Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Director for Persian Gulf Affairs, National Security Council.

**CARLA ROBBINS**, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent, *The Wall Street Journal*.

**DENNIS ROSS**, Counselor and Ziegler Distinguished Fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy; former Special Middle East Coordinator.

**HAIM SABAN**, Chief Executive Officer, Saban Capital Group, Inc.; Chairman, International Advisory Council, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

**CHRISTOPHER SHAYS**, United States House of Representatives (R-Connecticut).

**JAMES STEINBERG**, Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, the Brookings Institution; former Deputy National Security Advisor.

**JEFFREY STERN**, Founding Partner, Forum Capital Partners; Co-Chairman, International Board, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies.

**STROBE TALBOTT**, President, the Brookings Institution; former Deputy Secretary of State.

**SHIBLEY TELHAMI**, Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development, University of Maryland and Nonresident Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

**MARGARET WARNER**, Senior Correspondent, *The Newshour with Jim Lehrer*.

**TAMARA COFMAN WITTES**, Research Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

**JAMES WOLFENSOHN**, Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement of the Middle East diplomatic Quartet; former President, the World Bank.



## Israeli Participants

**SHAI AGASSI**, President of Technology and Product Group, and Executive Board Member, SAP.

**SHLOMO AVINERI**, Professor of Political Science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem; former Director General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**EHUD BARAK**, former Prime Minister; former Chief of the General Staff, Israel Defense Forces.

**NAHUM BARNEA**, Columnist, *Yediot Aharonot*.

**ARYE CARMON**, Founder and President, Israel Democracy Institute; Professor, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

**NILI COHEN**, Professor in the Faculty of Law, Tel Aviv University; former Rector, Tel Aviv University.

**AVI DICTER**, Charles and Andrea Bronfman Visiting Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Director, Shin Bet (Israeli Security Agency).

**GIORA EILAND**, National Security Advisor.

**AARON ZEEVI FARKASH**, Director, Israel Defense Forces Directorate of Military Intelligence.

**MICHAEL FEDERMANN**, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Federmann Enterprises Ltd.

**STANLEY FISCHER**, Governor, Bank of Israel; former First Deputy Managing Director, the International Monetary Fund.

**EIVAL GILADY**, Head of Coordination and Strategy for the Prime Minister's Bureau; former Director, Israel Defense Forces Strategic Planning Division.

**HIRSH GOODMAN**, Director, Andrea and Charles Bronfman Program on Information Strategy, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

**JOSEPH HACKMEY**, former Chairman, Israel Phoenix Insurance.

**MARK HELLER**, Director of Research, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies.

**ISAAC HERZOG**, Minister of Housing and Construction.

**ELI HURVITZ**, Chairman, Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd.

**DALIA ITZIK**, Minister of Communications.

**MOSHE KATSAV**, President of the State of Israel.

**YNON KREIZ**, General Partner, Benchmark Capital; former Chairman of the Board of Management, President and Chief Executive Officer of Fox Kids Europe.

**DOV LAUTMAN**, Chairman of Delta Galil Industries Ltd.; Chairman, Executive Council, Tel Aviv University.

**AMNON LIPKIN-SHAHAK**, Chairman of the Board, Tahal Group; former Deputy Prime Minister; former Chief of Staff, Israel Defense Forces.

**TALI LIPKIN-SHAHAK**, Journalist, radio and television personality; former Honorary President, AKIM.

**TZIPI LIVNI**, Minister of Justice, and Minister of Immigrant Absorption.

**YOSEF MAIMAN**, Founder, President, and Chief Executive Officer, Merhav M.N.F. Ltd.

**DAN MARGALIT**, Columnist, *Ma'ariv*.

**DAN MERIDOR**, Partner, Haim Zadok & Co.; former Minister of Justice.

**LEORA MERIDOR**, Chairwoman, Bezeq International.

**SHAUL MOFAZ**, Minister of Defense; former Chief of the General Staff, Israel Defense Forces.

**SHLOMO NEHAMA**, Chairman, Bank Hapoalim.

**EHUD OLMERT**, Vice Prime Minister, Minister of Industry, Trade and Labor, and Acting Minister of Finance.

**ILANA DAYAN-ORBACH**, Anchorperson, *Uvda*, *Channel Two*.

**DALIA RABIN-PELOSSOF**, Chairperson, the Yitzhak Rabin Center; former Deputy Minister of Defense.

**CHEMI PERES**, Managing General Partner, and Founder, Pitango Venture Capital.

**SHIMON PERES**, Vice Prime Minister; former Prime Minister, Minister of Defense and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**ITAMAR RABINOVICH**, President, Tel Aviv University; former Ambassador to the United States.

**AVIEZER RAVITZKY**, Senior Fellow, Israel Democracy Institute; Sol Rosenblum Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew University.

**ZEEV SCHIFF**, Defense Editor, *Ha'aretz*.

**ARIEL SHARON**, Prime Minister; former Minister of Defense, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Head of the Southern Command, Israel Defense Forces.

**ARI SHAVIT**, Columnist, *Ha'aretz*; former Chairman, Association of Civil Rights in Israel.

**GILEAD SHER**, former Chief of the Prime Minister's Bureau under Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

**ZVI SHTAUBER**, Director, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University; former Director, Israel Defense Forces Strategic Planning Division.

**YOSEF VARDI**, Principal, International Technologies Ventures; Venture Partner, Pitango Venture Capital; former Chairman, Mirabilis Ltd.; former Director General, Ministry of Development and Ministry of Energy.

**DOV WEISSGLAS**, Chief of the Prime Minister's Bureau.

**EHUD YAARI**, Arab affairs commentator, *Channel Two News*.

**SHLOMO YANAI**, President and Chief Executive Officer, Makhteshim-Agan Industries Ltd; former Director, Israel Defense Forces Strategic Planning Division.



## Biographies

### SHAI AGASSI

Shai Agassi has been a member of the Executive Board of SAP, the world's third largest independent software supplier, since 2002. As President of the Technology and Product Group, Agassi is responsible for SAP's overall technology strategy and execution. Agassi founded TopTier Software (originally called Quicksoft Development) in Israel in 1992 and later moved the company's headquarters to California. He served the company in various capacities, including as Chairman, Chief Technology Officer, and then Chief Executive Officer. In addition to TopTier Software, Agassi founded several other companies, including Quicksoft Ltd., a leading multimedia software localization and distribution company in the Israeli market, and Quicksoft Media. Agassi graduated from the Israel Institute of Technology, the Technion, where he received a B.Sc.

### SHLOMO AVINERI

Shlomo Avineri is a Professor of Political Science, and Director of the Institute for European Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Avineri served as Director-General of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1975–77. He also headed the Israeli delegation to the UNESCO General Assembly, and in 1979 was a member of the joint Egyptian-Israeli commission that drafted the Cultural and Scientific Agreement between the two countries. Avineri has been a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Brookings Institution, and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow. Avineri received his B.A. and M.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. Among many works, he is the author of *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*.

### EHUD BARAK

Ehud Barak was Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of Israel from 1999–2001. He was elected Chairman of the Labor Party in 1997. From 1995–96, Barak was the Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Minister of the Interior. Before his political career, Barak had a distinguished military career—he was the most decorated soldier in the history of the Israel Defense Forces and retired in 1994 with the rank of Lieutenant General. He began his military career in 1958, became Commander of the Central Command

in 1986, Deputy Chief of the General Staff in 1987, and then Chief of the General Staff in 1991. In 1994, Barak was instrumental in the signing of Israel's peace treaty with Jordan, and oversaw the Israel Defense Forces' redeployment in the Gaza Strip and Jericho following the Gaza–Jericho Agreement with the Palestinians. He received his B.Sc. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and his M.Sc. from Stanford University.

### NAHUM BARNEA

Nahum Barnea is the leading Political Columnist with *Yediot Ahronot*, Israel's largest circulation daily newspaper. Before joining *Yediot*, he was Editor-in-Chief of the weekly *Koteret Rashit*. From 1973–1982, Barnea worked at the *Davar* daily newspaper, where he served as a Correspondent, Columnist, and Washington Bureau Chief. Before beginning his career in journalism, he served as Deputy Spokesman for the Israeli Ministry of Communications. Barnea is a recipient of the coveted Sokolov Award for journalism. He will be the Kreiz Visiting Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution in 2006.

### ALAN BATKIN

Alan R. Batkin has been Vice Chairman of Kissinger Associates, a geopolitical consulting firm that advises multi-national companies, since 1990. Before this, from 1972–1990, he was an investment banker at Lehman Brothers. Batkin serves on a number of prominent boards in the business, cultural, and medical fields. He is a director of four companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange, and is Chairman of the board of the Merrill Lynch IQ Family of Funds. Batkin is a Trustee and member of the Executive Committee of the Brookings Institution, a member of the Executive Committee of the Rockefeller University Council, as well a Trustee of Continuum Health Partners and Chairman of the board of Continuum Hospice Care. He received a B.S. from the University of Rochester in 1966 and an M.B.A. from New York University in 1968.

### SAMUEL BERGER

Samuel Berger is Chairman of Stonebridge International, an international strategic advisory firm based in Washington, D.C., and is also senior advisor to Lehman Brothers, and international strategic advisor to the Washington D.C. law firm of Hogan & Hartson. He served as National Security Advisor to President William J. Clinton from 1997–2000.



During President Clinton's first term, Berger was Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs from 1993–96. Berger served as Assistant Transition Director for National Security on the 1992 Clinton–Gore transition team and Senior Foreign Policy Advisor for Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign. Previously, Berger had spent sixteen years with Hogan & Hartson. He had earlier served as Deputy Director of the policy planning staff at the U.S. Department of State, Special Assistant to New York City Mayor John Lindsay, and Legislative Assistant to Senator Harold Hughes (D-Iowa). Berger is the author of *Dollar Harvest*, a book on American rural politics. He received his B.A. from Cornell University and his J.D. from Harvard Law School.

#### STEPHEN BREYER

Stephen Breyer was appointed as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States by President William J. Clinton on August 3, 1994. Before this, he served as a judge and then chief judge on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. During his tenure on the U.S. Court of Appeals, Breyer was a member of the Judicial Conference of the United States and the U.S. Sentencing Commission. From 1964–65, Breyer worked as a law clerk to U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg. He has taught at Harvard University, the College of Law in Sydney, Australia, and the University of Rome. Breyer is a trustee of the University of Massachusetts, and of the Dana Farber Cancer Institute, and is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Law Institute, and the American Bar Association. He received an A.B. from Stanford University, a B.A. from Oxford University, and an LL.B. from Harvard Law School.

#### ELLIOTT BROIDY

Elliott Broidy is Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Broidy Capital Management, a private investment company, which he founded in 1991. He is also the Chairman of the Board of ESI Holdings, Inc., and serves on the Board of Directors of Foley Timber and Land Company and Vantis Capital Management LLC. Broidy serves on the boards of several large charitable and educational organizations and is a member of the Young Presidents Organization. He is a member of the Board of Counselors for Center for Investment Studies, the University of Southern California Marshall School of Business, and of the Board of Directors of the USC

Hillel Foundation. Broidy is also a founding member of the Board of Governors of the California–Israel Chamber of Commerce. He received a B.S. from the University of Southern California.

#### DAVID BROOKS

David Brooks has been a Columnist for *The New York Times* since 2003. Before this, Brooks was a Senior Editor at *The Weekly Standard* after having worked for *The Wall Street Journal* for nine years. At *The Wall Street Journal*, Brooks was Op-Ed Editor from 1994–95, Foreign Correspondent in Brussels from 1990–94, and Editor of the book review section from 1986–1990. Brooks is a commentator on *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*, and a frequent analyst on NPR's *All Things Considered* and the *Diane Rehm Show*. He is the author of *Bobos In Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There* and *On Paradise Drive: How We Live Now (And Always Have) in the Future Tense*. Brooks graduated with a B.A. from the University of Chicago.

#### ARYE CARMON

Arye Carmon has been the President of the Israel Democracy Institute since he founded it with American businessman Bernard Marcus. The Institute is an independent think tank dedicated to promoting and strengthening democracy and democratic values in Israel since 1991. Carmon is also a professor at the School of Public Policy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He has written extensively on the subjects of education, Israel–Diaspora relations, and the Holocaust. Carmon received a B.A. and an M.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin.

#### ADAM CHESNOFF

Adam Chesnoff is the President and Chief Operating Officer of Saban Capital Group, Inc., a private investment management firm specializing in the media and entertainment industries. Before joining the Saban Capital Group, Chesnoff spent five years at Fox Family Worldwide where he oversaw business development across all global divisions. From 1994–95, Chesnoff worked at Sony Pictures Entertainment and Columbia Pictures where he focused on strategic planning, financial analysis, and deal structuring in the company's Business Affairs and Corporate Development groups. He has a B.A. from Tel Aviv University and an M.B.A. from UCLA's Anderson Business School.



#### HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a United States Senator (D-New York). Rodham Clinton serves on the Senate Armed Services Committee, the Senate Committee on Environment, and Public Works, and the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions. In 1993, Rodham Clinton was Chair of the President's Task Force on Health Care Reform. She has practiced law in numerous capacities, including as Partner of the Rose Law Firm from 1977–1992, as Counsel for the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee in 1974, and as Attorney for the Children's Defense Fund between 1973–74. Rodham Clinton was a Professor at the University of Arkansas School of Law, Fayetteville from 1974–77, and a Professor at the University of Arkansas School of Law, Little Rock from 1979–1980. Her most recent book is her memoir, *Living History*. She received her B.A. from Wellesley College and J.D. from Yale Law School.

#### WILLIAM J. CLINTON

William J. Clinton was the 42nd President of the United States, serving for two terms, from 1993–2001. Clinton was the first Democrat since Franklin D. Roosevelt to win a second presidential term. He began his political career as Arkansas Attorney General in 1976. In 1978, he won the governorship, and after losing a bid for a second term in 1980, regained the office four years later, serving in it until he was elected President in 1992. Clinton was a Professor at the University of Arkansas from 1974–76. His autobiography, *My Life*, was published in 2004. He is a member of the International Advisory Council of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy. His most recent projects include hosting the September 2005 Clinton Global Initiative that brought together heads of state, business leaders, and noteworthy academics to identify solutions to some of the world's most pressing problems, as well as raising funds and awareness for victims of the Asian Tsunami and Hurricane Katrina. He has a B.A. from Georgetown University, was awarded a Rhodes Scholarship to Oxford University, and received a J.D. from Yale University.

#### NILI COHEN

Nili Cohen is a Professor in the Faculty of Law at Tel Aviv University and a member of the Israeli Academy of Science and Humanities. A former Rector of Tel Aviv University, Cohen has received several awards for her work, including the Sussman Prize in 1986 and

1991, the Zeltner Prize in 1989, and the Minkoff Prize for excellence in law in 2002. She is the incumbent of the Benno Gitter Chair in Comparative Contract Law and the director of the Beverly and Raymond Sackler Fund for Human Rights in Private Law. Cohen serves on numerous committees, including the Committee of the Codification of Israeli Law and the Academic Committee of the Yitzhak Rabin Center. Cohen received her LL.B., LL.M., and Ph.D. from Tel Aviv University.

#### ROBERT M. DANIN

Robert M. "Rob" Danin is the Senior Director for Near East and North African Affairs at the National Security Council. He previously served as the National Security Council's Director for the Near East and South Asia as well as the Director for Israeli–Palestinian Affairs. Before his appointment to the National Security Council, Danin spent several years at the Department of State, where he was the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs. He has also worked for the Department of State's Policy Planning Staff and its Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Danin has been a Scholar-in-Residence at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

#### AVI DICTER

Avi Dicter is currently the Charles and Andrea Bronfman Visiting Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. Dicter was previously Director of the Shin Bet (Israeli Security Agency) from May 2000–May 2005. A former member of the Israel Defense Forces' elite Sayeret Matkal unit, Dicter had a three-decade long career in intelligence and security, serving in a number of key Shin Bet posts. In 1996, following the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Dicter oversaw the reshaping of the Shin Bet's Protection and Security Division. As head of the Shin Bet, Dicter held numerous meetings with his Palestinian counterparts as part of Israeli–Palestinian security negotiations. He holds a B.A. from Bar Ilan University and an M.B.A. from Tel Aviv University.

#### GIORA EILAND

Giora Eiland is the outgoing Director of Israel's National Security Council and National Security Advisor to the Prime Minister. As Director of the National Security Council, Eiland led the National



Steering Committee in charge of the implementation of the Gaza Strip and northern West Bank Disengagement Plan. Before taking up his post at the National Security Council in January 2004, Eiland had served in the Israel Defense Forces for 34 years. He rose from Platoon Commander in the Paratroop Brigade in the early 1970s to the rank of Major General in 1999 when he was appointed Director of the Israel Defense Forces Operations Directorate. In January 2001, he became Head of the Israel Defense Forces Planning and Policy Directorate. He retired from the army in January 2004. Eiland will join the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution in 2006 as a Saban Visiting Fellow.

#### AARON ZEEVI FARKASH

Aharon Zeevi-Farkash is the Director of the Israel Defense Forces' Directorate of Military Intelligence, a position to which he was appointed in December 2001 and from which he is set to retire at the end of 2005. A veteran intelligence officer, Major General Zeevi-Farkash began his distinguished career in the Israel Defense Forces in 1966, serving in Air Force Intelligence from 1966–1979. He was an Officer in the Information and Early Warning Unit from 1979–1987, a unit which he later commanded until 1993. Major General Zeevi-Farkash also served as Deputy Commander of Military Planning and Commander of the Technology and Logistics Branch. He holds a B.A. and an M.A. from Tel Aviv University, as well as an M.B.A. from Harvard.

#### MICHAEL FEDERMANN

Michael Federmann serves as Chairman of the Board, and Chief Executive Officer of Federmann Enterprises Ltd., a major holding company, which includes Dan Hotels Corporation, Ltd., Israel's first and largest luxury hotel chain and Elbit Systems Ltd., Israel's largest private defense company. He also serves as Chairman of Eurofund, a venture capital fund. Federmann is the Deputy Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University and of its Executive Committee, and is a member of the Board of Governors and the Executive Council of the Weizmann Institute of Science. He is President of the Federation of Israeli Tourism Organizations, an Honorary Consul of Côte d'Ivoire, and Vice President of the E.U.–Israel Forum. He has an M.B.A. and an Honorary Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### STANLEY FISCHER

Stanley Fischer is Governor of the Bank of Israel, a position he took up in May 2005. Before this he was Vice Chairman of Citigroup since February 2002. Fischer had previously been the First Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund from 1994–2001, and Chief Economist and Vice President of Development Economics at the World Bank from 1988–1990. He was a university professor for eighteen years, including Assistant Professor of Economics at the University of Chicago from 1970–73, and Killian Professor of Economics and Head of the Economics Department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology from 1992–94. Fischer received a B.Sc. and M.Sc. from the London School of Economics and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

#### THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Thomas L. Friedman has been the Foreign-Affairs Columnist for *The New York Times* since 1995. He won his third Pulitzer for *The New York Times* in 2002. Friedman joined *The New York Times* in 1981, and became Beirut Bureau Chief in 1982. In 1984 he went from Beirut to Jerusalem, where he served as Israel Bureau Chief until 1988. From 1989–1995, Friedman was the paper's Chief Diplomatic Correspondent. He was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for international reporting in 1983 and 1988. His book *From Beirut to Jerusalem* (1989) won the National Book Award for non-fiction in 1989 and *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (2000) won the 2000 Overseas Press Club award for best nonfiction book on foreign policy. His latest book, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century* was released in April 2005. Friedman received a B.A. from Brandeis University and an M.Phil. from Oxford University.

#### EIVAL GILADY

Eival Gilady was appointed Head of Coordination and Strategy in the Prime Minister's Bureau in March 2005. From 2001–04 he served as Director, the Israel Defense Forces Strategic Planning Division, where he was responsible for developing the plan for Israel's historic disengagement from the Gaza Strip and the northern West Bank. He has had a distinguished military career spanning three decades, commanding field units for 20 years, and serving an additional 10 years in the General Staff, ending his



career with the rank of Brigadier General. Gilady is also the president of VANADIS LTD, the Chief Executive Officer of the Portland Trust Israel, and the Chairman of Western Galilee College. From 1999–2001 he was a research fellow at the Hoover Institution and the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University. Gilady earned his B.A. from Haifa University and has three M.A.s from Haifa University, the National Defense University in Washington DC, and from George Washington University.

#### HIRSH GOODMAN

Hirsh Goodman is Director of the Charles and Andrea Bronfman Program on Information Strategy at Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies. He was Vice President of *The Jerusalem Post* until January 2000. Goodman founded *The Jerusalem Report* in 1990, and was its Editor-in-Chief for eight years. He served as Defense Correspondent for the *Post*, Contributing Editor to *U.S. News & World Report*, contributor to *The New Republic*, special correspondent for *The Sunday Times* of London, and news analyst for *CBS News*. He was a Strategic Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, where he co-authored *The Future Battlefield and the Arab-Israel Conflict*. His most recent book, *Let Me Create A Paradise, God Said to Himself: A Journey of Conscience from Johannesburg to Jerusalem* was published in March 2005.

#### BRIAN GREENSPUN

Brian Lee Greenspun is President and Editor of the *Las Vegas Sun* newspaper as well as President of the Greenspun Corporation. Greenspun has overall responsibility for the American Nevada Corporation, COX Communications of Las Vegas, and the Greenspun Media Group, which, together with the *Las Vegas Sun*, publishes *Showbiz* magazine, *Las Vegas Weekly*, *Las Vegas Life*, *Vegas Golfer*, and *Vegas.com*. He also serves on the President's Community Advisory Board of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. In 1993, Greenspun was appointed by President Clinton to the White House Conference on Small Business Commission. He is a Trustee of the Brookings Institution and a member of the International Advisory Council of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy. Greenspun received a B.A. and J.D. from Georgetown University.

#### JOSEPH HACKMEY

Joseph Hackmey served for many years as Chairman of the Board of Israel Phoenix, Hadar Insurance Co. Ltd., and Dolev Insurance Co. Ltd. Hackmey has held many prominent positions within the insurance industry including Chairman of the Israeli Insurance Association from 1983–85 and Chairman of the Israeli Life Offices Association from 1988–1993. Among other boards, he sits on the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science, the Israel Museum, the Tel Aviv Museum of Arts, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv University. Hackmey established the Israel Phoenix Corporate Collection, a prominent corporate collection of art. Hackmey has a B.Sc. and an M.Sc. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and has a post-graduate diploma from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### MARK HELLER

Mark Heller is Director of Research and Principal Research Associate at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, and the Editor of *Tel Aviv Notes*. He was also Coordinator of Research at the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security in 1991, Visiting Professor of Government at Harvard University in 1992, and Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in 1999. Heller's publications include *The Middle East Military Balance* (edited and co-authored, 1983–85, 1996–97) and *Israel and the Palestinians: Israeli Policy Options* (co-edited with Rosemary Hollis). He received his B.A. from the University of Toronto, and has an M.A. and a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

#### ISAAC HERZOG

Isaac Herzog is Israel's Minister of Housing and Construction. A Knesset member for the Labor-Meimad-Am Ehad Party Bloc, he is the Whip of the Labor Party's Parliamentary Group. Within the Knesset, Herzog serves on the Internal Affairs and Environment Committee, the Finance Committee, and the Anti-Drug Abuse Committee. Before his election to the Knesset, Herzog was Chairman of the Anti-Drug Authority from 2000–03 and Secretary of the Economic-Social Council from 1988–1990. He also served as Government Secretary under Prime Minister Ehud Barak from 1999–2001. He is an attorney by training.



#### ELI HURVITZ

Eli Hurvitz is Chairman of Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd., one of the largest generic pharmaceutical companies in the world. He serves as Chairman of the Board for the Israel Democracy Institute and NeuroSurvival Technologies Ltd. Hurvitz is a Member of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and a Director of Vishay Intertechnology and Koor Industries Ltd. He served as the President of the Israel Manufacturers Association from 1981–86. Hurvitz received a B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### DAVID IGNATIUS

David Ignatius began writing his column on global politics, economics, and international affairs for *The Washington Post* in January 1999. Ignatius had previously been *The Washington Post's* Assistant Managing Editor in charge of business news, a position he assumed in 1993. Ignatius served as *The Washington Post's* Foreign Editor from 1990–92, and from 1986–1990 he was editor of Outlook section. Before joining *The Washington Post* in 1986, Ignatius spent 10 years as a reporter for *The Wall Street Journal*. He covered the steel industry, the Justice Department, the CIA and the U.S. Senate, and as *The Wall Street Journal's* Middle East correspondent from 1980–83, covered wars in Lebanon and Iraq. *The Wall Street Journal's* chief diplomatic correspondent from 1984–86, he won the Edward Weintal Prize for Diplomatic Reporting in 1985. Ignatius has written five novels. He has a B.A. from Harvard and received a diploma from Cambridge University.

#### MARTIN INDYK

Martin S. Indyk is the Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution and a Brookings Senior Fellow. He served as U.S. Ambassador to Israel from 1995–97 and 2000–01. Before his first posting to Israel, Indyk was Special Assistant to President Clinton and Senior Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council. He also served as Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs from 1997–2000. Before entering the U.S. government, Indyk was Founding Executive Director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy for eight years. He currently serves as Vice President of the American Friends of the Yitzhak Rabin Center and Chairman of the International

Council of the New Israel Fund. Indyk received a B.Econ. from Sydney University and a Ph.D. from the Australian National University.

#### DALIA ITZIK

Dalia Itzik was appointed Minister of Communications in January 2005. Elected to the Knesset in 1992, she chairs the Labor-Meimad Parliamentary Group and is a member of the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee as well as the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of Women and the House Committee. Itzik served as Minister of Industry and Trade from March 2001–October 2002 and Minister of the Environment from July 1999–March 2001. A former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem in charge of Education, Itzik was chairperson of the Legislative Panel of the Labor Party, a member of the Labor Party Central Committee, and a member of the Board of Governors of the Israel Broadcasting Authority, as well as the boards of the Jerusalem Theater and Gerard Behar Center. She holds a B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, a diploma from the Efrata Teachers' Seminary, and an LL.B. from the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya.

#### MOSHE KATSAV

Moshe Katsav is the President of the State of Israel, an office he has held since 2000. He was elected to be a Member of the Knesset in 1977, and held positions such as Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Minister of Tourism, and Minister for Israeli-Arab Affairs. From 1992–96, Katsav was Chairman of the Likud faction in the Knesset and Chairman of the Israel-China Parliamentary Friendship League. He was a newspaper reporter for *Yediot Aharonot* and Mayor of Kiryat Malachi before being elected to the Knesset. Katsav received a B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### RICHARD KLAUSNER

Richard D. Klausner is Executive Director of the Global Health Program at the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Previously, he served as the Director of the National Cancer Institute, where he focused on using science and technology to improve global public health. Klausner was also a Senior Fellow at the National Academies of Science, Advisor for Counter-Terrorism to the Presidents of the Academies, and Liaison to the White House Office of Science and



Technology Policy. He was the Chief of the Cell Biology and Metabolism branch of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and is the past President of the American Society for Clinical Investigation. He has authored over 280 scientific articles and several books. Klausner received a B.S. from Yale University and an M.D. from Duke University.

#### YNON KREIZ

Ynon Kreiz is a General Partner with Benchmark Capital, a venture capital firm with offices in Silicon Valley, London, and Herzliya. He also serves on the Supervisory Board of the leading German broadcasting group ProSieben Sat1. Kreiz was previously Chairman of the Board of Management, President, and Chief Executive Officer of Fox Kids Europe, which he co-founded with Haim Saban in 1996. Under his management, the company became a leading pan-European integrated children's entertainment company broadcasting via cable and satellite in 17 languages to 32 million households in 56 countries. Before the creation of Fox Kids Europe, he was Director of Business Development and Vice President of Business Development at Fox Family Worldwide. Kreiz has a B.A. from Tel Aviv University and an M.B.A. from the UCLA Anderson School of Management.

#### TOM LANTOS

Congressman Tom Lantos (D-California) represents California's twelfth Congressional district, a seat that he has held continuously since 1981. He is the ranking Democratic member on the House International Relations Committee. In 1983, Lantos founded the Congressional Human Rights Caucus and continues to serve as its Co-Chairman. Before starting his congressional career, he was an economics professor, an international relations analyst for public television, and a private business consultant. As a teenager during World War II, he participated in the anti-Nazi resistance in Budapest, Hungary. Lantos received a B.A. and M.A. from the University of Washington and a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

#### DOV LAUTMAN

Dov Lautman is the Chairman of the Board and the main shareholder of Delta Galil Industries Ltd., a leading global apparel company. He is also Chairman of the Executive Council of Tel Aviv University and

sits on the Board of Governors of the Ben Gurion University. Lautman is the Executive Chairman of the Peres Center for Peace and a distinguished member of the Yitzhak Rabin Center. From 1993–95, Lautman was Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's Special Emissary for Economic Development. He is the recipient of the Max Perlman Award of Excellence in Global Business Management, for promoting bilateral trade and investment between the United States and Israel. Lautman received a B.Sc. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and has an Honorary Ph.D. from the Israel Institute of Technology, the Technion.

#### SAMUEL LEWIS

Samuel W. Lewis is on the board of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University and serves as the Senior Policy Advisor for the Israel Policy Forum. Lewis' diplomatic career spanned 33 years, during which he was ambassador to Israel for eight years under Presidents Carter and Reagan, and participated in the historic 1978 Camp David Summit. Lewis was also Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs under President Ford, Senior Staff Member for Latin America at the National Security Council, Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State, Chargé d'affaires in Kabul, and Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff under Secretary of State Kissinger. His most recent government post was Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff for the Clinton Administration from 1993–94. Lewis received a B.A. from Yale University and an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

#### AMNON LIPKIN-SHAHAK

Amnon Lipkin-Shahak is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Tahal Group, Israel's largest engineering consultancy firm. Lipkin-Shahak is also the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Peres Center for Peace. As a member of the Center Party, Lipkin-Shahak was elected to the Knesset in 1999, and served as Minister of Tourism and Minister of Transportation. He was a senior member of the Prime Minister Barak's peace team, participating in the Camp David negotiations in 2000. Lipkin-Shahak served in the Israel Defense Forces with distinction, twice being awarded the Medal of Valor. Before entering politics, Lipkin-Shahak was the Israel Defense Forces' Chief of the General Staff from 1995–98, Deputy Chief of the General Staff



from 1991–95, Head of the Intelligence Branch from 1986–91, and Head of the Central Command from 1983–86. He was a Deputy Paratroop Brigade Commander during the Yom Kippur War of 1973 and a paratroop commander during the Six-Day War of 1967. He has a B.A. from Tel Aviv University.

#### TALI LIPKIN-SHAHAK

Tali Lipkin-Shahak is a prominent radio and television personality in Israel. She currently hosts a morning radio news talk-show, a weekly radio news-program, and a television magazine for the elderly on Israel's *Channel Two*. She writes for the weekend supplement, the art supplement, and the editorial page of the daily newspaper *Ma'ariv*. For three years she wrote the weekly political column *On Target* for the Friday edition of *The Jerusalem Post*. Lipkin-Shahak was involved in the founding and maintaining of a forum of influential media women as friends of the rape crisis centers, and in the launching of a nation-wide awareness campaign on these issues. She served as Honorary President of Akim, the National Association for the Mentally Handicapped, and is a member of the public board of the Issie Shapiro House.

#### TZIPI LIVNI

Tzipi Livni is Israel's Minister of Immigrant Absorption and Minister of Justice. In the current government, she was previously Minister of Housing and Construction. First elected to the Knesset in 1999 for the Likud Party, Livni was Minister of Regional Cooperation, Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development, and Minister without Portfolio. An attorney by profession, Livni was also an employee of the Mossad and Director of the Registrar of Government Corporations from 1980–84. She served as a Lieutenant in the Israel Defense Forces and has an LL.B. from Bar Ilan University.

#### YOSEF MAIMAN

Yosef Maiman is Founder, President, and Chief Executive Officer of Merhav M.N.F. Ltd, one of the largest project development companies based in Israel. Maiman is also the Chairman of the Board of the Ampal-American Israel Corporation and Chairman of the Board of Israel's *Channel Ten*. Maiman has held numerous leadership positions, including serving as a Board Member of the Peres Center for Peace, Member of the Board of Trustees of Tel Aviv University, Chairman of the Israeli Board of the Jaffee Center for

Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University and Member of the Board of Governors of Ben Gurion University. Maiman received a B.A. from the University of Texas and an M.A. from Cornell University.

#### DAN MARGALIT

Dan Margalit is a columnist for *Ma'ariv*, a leading Israeli daily newspaper, and is host of a current affairs panel show on Israel's *Channel Ten*. He is also a regular host of the Israeli Educational Television's current affairs show *Erev Hadash*. Before joining *Ma'ariv* in 2003, Margalit wrote for the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*. In 1996 Margalit moderated the prime ministerial debate between Benjamin Netanyahu and Shimon Peres. He has a B.A. in international relations, and an M.A. in modern Jewish history.

#### DAN MERIDOR

Dan Meridor is a partner in the law firm of Haim Zadok & Co. From August 2001-February 2003, he served as Minister without Portfolio and was responsible for national defense and diplomatic strategy in the Prime Minister's Bureau. Meridor was Minister of Finance from June 1996–June 1997. From 1988–1992, Meridor was Minister of Justice and a member of the Inner Cabinet. He had entered the Knesset in 1984, elected as a member for the Likud Party, and soon chaired the Subcommittee for Security Perception and the Subcommittee for Security Legislation. Before running for the Knesset, Meridor was Cabinet Secretary under Prime Ministers Menachem Begin from 1982–83 and Yitzhak Shamir from 1983–84. He holds an LL.B. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### LEORA MERIDOR

Leora Meridor is one of Israel's leading economists, and is External Director of Gilat Satellite Networks. She has served as the Chairwoman of Bezeq International, Israel's leading communications company, since January 2001, and of Walla! Communications Ltd., Israel's most popular Internet search engine. Meridor has been Chair of the Board of Poalim Capital Markets Ltd., Head of the Credit and Risk Management Division at the First International Bank, and Head of Research at the Bank of Israel. Meridor sits on the Board of Governors of the Weizmann Institute of Science. She earned a master's degree and a Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.



#### SHAUL MOFAZ

Shaul Mofaz is currently the Israeli Minister of Defense, a position to which he was appointed in November 2002, and then reappointed in February 2003. Mofaz has had a long and distinguished career in the military, beginning in 1966. He served in the Israel Defense Forces as a paratrooper in the Six-Day War of 1967 and as a member of the elite Sayeret Matkal unit, fighting in the raid on Entebbe. He retired from the military in 2002 after reaching the top rank of Lieutenant General, and serving as Chief of the General Staff. He was also the Commander of the Paratroop Brigade, Commander of the Galilee Formation, Commanding Officer of the Southern Command, and Deputy Chief of the General Staff. He received his B.A. from Bar-Ilan University, and attended the Command and Staff College of the U.S. Marine Corps.

#### SHLOMO NEHAMA

Shlomo Nehama is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Bank Hapoalim, Israel's largest bank. Nehama has also been the Managing Director and Director of Arison Investments Ltd., Arison Holdings Ltd., Shikun U'Binui Holdings Ltd., Eurocom Communications Ltd., and Bio Medical Investment Ltd. Nehama received a B.A. from the Israel Institute of Technology, the Technion.

#### EHUD OLMERT

Ehud Olmert is Israel's Acting Minister of Finance, as well as Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Industry, Trade and Labor and Communications. Before entering politics, Olmert served in the Israel Defense Forces as a Combat Infantry Unit Officer and was a military correspondent for the military journal *Bamachane*. Olmert was elected to the Knesset in 1973. From 1988–1990 he was Minister without Portfolio responsible for minority affairs, and from 1990–92, he was Minister of Health. From 2003–05, he served as Minister of Communications. Olmert was also elected to be the Mayor of Jerusalem, a position that he held from 1993–2003. He received his B.A. and his LL.B. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### ILANA DAYAN-ORBACH

Ilana Dayan-Orbach is currently the Anchorperson for the weekly program *Uvda* on Israel Television's *Channel Two*. She has previously served as a News

Anchor for Israel Television's *Channel One* and as Anchorperson, Producer, Radio Correspondent, and Host for Israel Defense Forces Radio. Dayan-Orbach is an active member of the Israeli Bar Association. She has previously held the position of Lecturer at the Tel Aviv University Faculty of Law. She holds a Ph.D. from Yale University.

#### TODD PATKIN

Todd G. Patkin is President of Autopart International, one of the leading companies in the automotive after-market parts business, with stores across New England and upstate New York. Patkin is a philanthropist who donates his time and financial resources to unique projects. The 2004 Million Calorie March, which sought to bring increased awareness of the obesity epidemic in the United States, was one of his most successful ventures. The Todd G. Patkin Opera-tunity Performing Arts Center, another one of his projects, brings the arts to many communities surrounding Easton, Massachusetts, and to many inner city children. Patkin is the Major Gifts Chair for the Jewish National Fund for Eastern Massachusetts and sits on the Board of Trustees for the New England B'nai B'rith Sports Lodge. In 2004, he received the Auto International Association's Young Executive of the Year award.

#### DALIA RABIN-PELOSSOF

Dalia Rabin-Pelossof is the daughter of the late Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin and currently serves as chairperson of the Yitzhak Rabin Center for Israel Studies Administrative Committee. Elected to the Knesset in 1999, Rabin-Pelossof represented the Center Party. She served as Deputy Minister of Defense, and Chairperson of the Knesset Ethics Committee. She was also a member of the Constitution, Law and Justice Committee, the State Control Committee, the Committee on the Status of Women, and the Committee for the Advancement of the Status of the Child. Rabin-Pelossof is an attorney by training.

#### CHEMI PERES

Chemi Peres is the founder of both the Pitango Venture Capital Partnership, created in 1996, and the Mofet Israel Technology Fund, founded in 1992. Before this, Peres was Vice President of Marketing and Business Development at Decisions Systems Israel, and was a Senior Consultant to Israel Aircraft Industries. He currently sits on the boards of numerous companies, including Go



Networks, Mercado Software, Provigent, RichFX, and Voltaire. Peres is also on the Board of Directors of Ramot, the commercial arm of Tel Aviv University. He earned his B.S. and his M.B.A. from Tel Aviv University.

#### SHIMON PERES

Shimon Peres was appointed the Vice Prime Minister to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in January 2005. His government service has extended over 50 years, and includes tours as Minister of Immigrant Absorption, Minister of Transportation, Minister of Communications, Minister of Information, Minister of Defense, Minister of Internal Affairs, Minister of Religious Affairs, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Regional Cooperation, and Prime Minister of the State of Israel. As Foreign Minister in the Rabin government, Peres initiated and conducted the negotiations that led to the signing of the “Declaration of Principles” with the PLO in September 1993, which won him the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize jointly with then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and then Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. Peres has been Chairman of Israel’s Labor Party, and was a founder of Kibbutz Alumot in the Jordan Valley. In October 1997 Peres created the Peres Center for Peace with the aim of advancing Arab-Israeli joint ventures. He studied at the New York School for Social Research and Harvard University, and has published books in Hebrew, French, and English on numerous subjects.

#### CHARLES PEREZ

Charles Perez is the co-founder of Paul Davril, Inc., one of the leading producers of fashion apparel in the United States. The company supplies apparel to every major U.S. retailer and has designed, manufactured, and sold products under leading private labels, such as Bugle Boy, Ecko, Guess, and Kenneth Cole. Born in Morocco, Perez immigrated to Canada and eventually to the United States. In addition to numerous business ventures, he is active in a host of philanthropic projects in the community including the New York City Ballet and the Cedars-Sinai Medical Center.

#### KENNETH M. POLLACK

Kenneth Pollack is the Director of Research at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy and a Brookings Senior Fellow. He served as Director of Persian Gulf Affairs and Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, Senior Research Professor at the National Defense University, and Iran-Iraq

military analyst for the Central Intelligence Agency. Pollack’s most recent book, *The Persian Puzzle: The Conflict between Iran and America* was published in 2004. He is also the author of *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq* and *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948–1991* (both published in 2002). Pollack received a B.A. from Yale University and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

#### ITAMAR RABINOVICH

Itamar Rabinovich is the President of Tel Aviv University. He is Ettinger Professor of Contemporary Middle Eastern History, the Andrew White Professor at Large at Cornell University, and a Senior Research Fellow at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University. From 1992–96, he was Israel’s Chief Negotiator with Syria and Israel’s Ambassador to the United States. Rabinovich has served as Director of the Moshe Dayan Center, Dean of the Entin Faculty of Humanities, and as Rector of Tel Aviv University. He is the author of several books, most recently *Waging Peace: Israel and the Arabs at the End of the Century*.

#### AVIEZER RAVITZKY

Aviezer Ravitzky is a Senior Fellow at the Israel Democracy Institute and co-directs the Institute’s Religion and State project. Ravitzky is the Sol Rosenblum Professor of Jewish Philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and has been the Chair of the Department of Jewish Thought, and Chairman of the Institute of Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University. In 2001, Professor Ravitzky was honored with the Israel Prize for his research in Jewish thought. He has written and edited numerous books and articles on Jewish thought and philosophy. Ravitzky received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University and was a Post-Doctoral Fellow at Harvard University.

#### CARLA ROBBINS

Carla Anne Robbins is Chief Diplomatic Correspondent for *The Wall Street Journal*. Before joining the paper in 1993, Robbins was Senior Diplomatic Correspondent and Latin America Bureau Chief for *U.S. News & World Report*. She began her career as a Staff Editor at *Business Week*. She is a winner of The Edward Weintal Prize for Diplomatic Reporting, an Overseas Press Club Award, and an honorable mention from the Overseas Press Club. She was a member of



two Pulitzer-prize winning teams at *The Wall Street Journal*: the 1999 prize for international reporting and the 2000 prize for national reporting. With *Wall Street Journal* colleagues, she has also shared a U.N. Correspondents' Association prize and the Peter R. Weitz prize for reporting on transatlantic relations. Robbins has a B.A. from Wellesley College and an M.A., and Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

#### DENNIS ROSS

Dennis Ross is Counselor and Ziegler Distinguished Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He played a leading role in the Middle East peace process for more than 12 years in both Republican and Democratic administrations. As Special Middle East Coordinator during the Clinton Administration, Ross was responsible for the Israeli–Palestinian and Israeli–Syrian negotiations. He also served as the Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Office during the administration of George H.W. Bush. During the Reagan Administration, Ross was Director of Near East and South Asian Affairs on the National Security Council staff and Deputy Director of the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment. His book, *The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace*, was published in 2004. Ross received a B.A. and a Ph.D. from UCLA.

#### HAIM SABAN

Haim Saban is an entertainment industry pioneer and leader, currently serving as Chief Executive Officer of the Saban Capital Group, Inc. He is the founder of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution and chairs its International Advisory Council. A native of Alexandria, Egypt, he immigrated to Israel at the age of 12, where he attended agricultural school and served in the Israel Defense Forces. In 1975, Saban relocated to France and established an independent record company. He subsequently moved to Los Angeles, where he launched a chain of recording studios that rapidly became the top supplier of music for television. In 1988, he formed Saban Entertainment, an international television, production, distribution and merchandising company. In 1995, Saban merged his company with Rupert Murdoch's Fox Kids Network to form Fox Family Worldwide, which was later sold to the Walt Disney Company. In 2002, he acquired the ProSieben Sat1 German television corporation. A major philanthropist,

his projects include the Israeli Cancer Research Fund, the John Wayne Cancer Institute, the Children's Hospital of Los Angeles, the University of Tel Aviv, the National Park Foundation, and the United Friends of the Children.

#### ZEEV SCHIFF

Zeev Schiff is the Defense Editor of *Ha'aretz*, a leading Israeli daily newspaper, and an Associate of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. His books include *A History of the Israeli Army*; *Fedayeen*; *Entebbe Rescue*; *A Lexicon of the Israeli Army and Defense*; *The Year of the Dove*; and *La Guerre Israélo-Arabe*. Schiff has won numerous awards for journalism, including earning the Sokolov Prize for his book *October Earthquake and the Yom Kippur War*. He coauthored with Ehud Yaari *Intifada*, which became a best seller in 1990. Schiff served as an officer in the Israel Defense Forces, then studied Middle East affairs and military history at Tel Aviv University.

#### ARIEL SHARON

Ariel Sharon was elected Prime Minister of Israel on February 6, 2001. He has had a distinguished career in both the Israeli military and Israeli politics. Sharon served in the Israel Defense Forces for more than twenty-five years. He was Head of the Southern Command, and after a notable role during the Yom Kippur War of 1973, he eventually retired with the rank of Major-General. He has been a member of all Inner Cabinets of Likud and National Unity Governments since 1977 and has held positions on numerous committees within the Knesset, as well as serving as Minister of Agriculture, Minister of Defense, Minister of Industry and Trade, Minister of National Infrastructure, Minister of Housing and Construction, Minister of Communications, Minister of Religious Affairs, Minister of Foreign Affairs. Sharon is the author of *Warrior: The Autobiography of Ariel Sharon*. He has studied at Camberley Staff College in Britain and Tel Aviv University. He holds an LL.B. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### ARI SHAVIT

Ari Shavit is a senior feature writer for *Ha'aretz*, specializing in in-depth interviews with leading Israeli and foreign personalities. He is also a regular interviewer on several Israeli television programs. Shavit



has been with *Ha'aretz* since 1994. He began his career in journalism with *Koteret Rashit* in 1984 and worked there until 1988. He then joined the Association of Civil Rights in Israel, first as a member and later as its Chairman. Shavit earned a B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### CHRISTOPHER SHAYS

Congressman Christopher Shays (R-Connecticut) represents Connecticut's fourth Congressional district. He is Vice Chairman of the Government Reform Committee, Chairman of its Subcommittee on National Security, and a Member of the Homeland Security and Financial Services Committees. Shays was the first Congressman to enter Iraq after the 2003 war. He has visited Iraq nine times in total. First elected to public office in 1974, he served seven terms in the Connecticut House of Representatives before his election to Congress. After graduating from college, he served in the Peace Corps in Fiji with his wife. Shays received a B.A. from Principia College and an M.B.A. and M.P.A. from New York University.

#### GILEAD SHER

Gilead Sher was Chief of the Prime Minister's Bureau and Policy Coordinator for Prime Minister Ehud Barak. He was the head of the Israeli negotiating team in peace talks that led to the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum of 1999. Subsequently, he was co-chief negotiator in 2000 at the Camp David and Taba summits. Sher had previously served as delegate and special advisor to the security talks on the Interim Agreement, coordinator of the Israel Defense Forces Planning Division's committees, and Chairman of the Hebron committee. Sher published, with Uri Sagie, a Van Leer Jerusalem Institute *Policy Paper on Israeli-Palestinian Separation*. A founder and senior partner of Gilead Sher & Co. Law Offices, Sher has an LL.B. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### ZVI SHTAUBER

Zvi Shtauber is the head of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. Prior to joining the Jaffee Center, Shtauber was the Israeli Ambassador to Britain from 2001–04. From 1999–2000, Shtauber served as Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Ehud Barak. Before this period of government service, Shtauber was Vice President of Ben Gurion

University. Shtauber was a member of the Israeli delegations in peace talks between Israel and its neighbors, including the talks with Syria at Shepherdstown, and the talks with the Palestinians at Camp David. He served in the Israel Defense Forces for twenty-five years, retiring with the rank of Brigadier General, after having been the Director of the Strategic Planning Division. He completed the advanced management program at Harvard Business School and holds a Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

#### JAMES STEINBERG

James B. Steinberg is Vice President and Director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. He has recently been appointed Dean of the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin, a position that he will assume on January 1, 2006. Steinberg held several senior positions in the Clinton Administration, including Deputy National Security Adviser, from December 1996 until July 2000, and personal representative for the President to the 1998 and 1999 G-8 Summits. Steinberg has also served as Director of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Intelligence and Research. Before joining the State Department, he was at the RAND Corporation and the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. Steinberg was also a National Security and Military Affairs Counsel to Senator Edward M. Kennedy (D-Massachusetts). Steinberg received a B.A. from Harvard University and a J.D. from Yale Law School.

#### JEFFREY STERN

Jeffrey Stern is Managing Director and Founding Partner of Forum Capital Partners, a global private equity firm. He is also Co-Chair of the International Board of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies. Stern previously held various executive positions at CIBC Oppenheimer where he was responsible for originating, structuring, marketing, and overseeing the company's private equity investments. Stern was also an Account Executive for A.G. Becker and Merrill Lynch. He is Senior Chair of the Wall Street Division of UJA-Federation of New York, a board member of the Slifka Center for Jewish Life at Yale University, and a board member of Westchester Reform Temple. Stern received a B.A. from Yale University.



#### STROBE TALBOTT

Strobe Talbott became President of the Brookings Institution in July 2002. He is currently a member of the participating faculty of the World Economic Forum and a Member of the Aspen Strategy Group. He was previously Founding Director of the Yale Center for the Study of Globalization. Talbott served in the State Department from 1993–2001, first as Ambassador-at-Large and Special Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union, and then as Deputy Secretary of State for seven years. He entered government after twenty-one years with *Time* magazine, where he covered Eastern Europe, the State Department, and the White House. He was *Time*'s Washington Bureau Chief, Editor-at-Large and Foreign Affairs Columnist. A Rhodes Scholar, Talbott received a B.A. from Yale University and an M.Litt. from Oxford University.

#### SHIBLEY TELHAMI

Shibley Telhami is a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution and the Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland. He is the author of *The Stakes: America and the Middle East* (2002), *Power and Leadership in International Bargaining: The Path to the Camp David Accords* (1990), and co-author of *Liberty and Power: A Dialogue on Religion and US Foreign Policy in an Unjust World* (2004). He was an advisor to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations and to Congressman Lee H. Hamilton (D-Indiana). Telhami received a B.A. from Queens College of the City University of New York, an M.A. from the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, and a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

#### YOSEF VARDI

Yosef Vardi is the Principal of International Technologies Ventures, a private venture capital enterprise. He is one of Israel's leading entrepreneurs. He was the Founding Investor and Chairman of Mirabilis Ltd., the creator of ICQ, the first instant messaging service on the Internet. He has had an extensive government career, serving as Director General of the Ministry of Development, Director General of the Ministry of Energy, and North-American Director of the Investment Authority. Vardi was a member of the Advisory Board of the

Bank of Israel, Chairman of Israel National Oil Company, and the Co-Founder and Chairman of the Board of Israel Chemicals. During Israeli-Jordanian peace negotiations, Vardi led the economic and regional cooperation discussions as a special advisor to Israel's Ministers of Foreign Affairs, and Finance. He earned a B.Sc., an M.Sc. and a D.Sc. from the Israel Institute of Technology, the Technion.

#### MARGARET WARNER

Margaret Warner is a Senior Correspondent and Substitute Anchor for the PBS nightly news program *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*. Additionally, she is one of four co-anchors of *America Abroad*, an hour-long radio program devoted to foreign affairs aired on 90 public radio stations through Public Radio International. Warner joined *The NewsHour* in 1993 after an award-winning career in print journalism. She spent ten years at *Newsweek* magazine, beginning as a Political and Campaign Correspondent, then serving as a White House Reporter, and finally as Chief Diplomatic Correspondent during four years that saw the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the first Gulf War. Previously, she was a reporter for *The Wall Street Journal*, *The San Diego Union* and *The Concord (N.H.) Monitor*. Warner received a B.A. from Yale University.

#### DOV WEISSGLAS

Dov Weissglas is Chief of the Prime Minister's Bureau and Special Advisor to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. One of the architects of the disengagement plan, Weissglas is responsible for negotiations with the PLO and the United States—representing Israel and speaking on behalf of the Prime Minister. Weissglas is a lawyer by training and began his career in the law firm of Moritz-Margolis at the age of 24. Thirteen years later he acquired the practice, with his partner Ami Almagor, and made it one of the country's leading law firms. Weissglas has served as counsel in many of Israel's prominent legal cases. Weissglas received his LL.B. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

#### TAMARA COFMAN WITTES

Tamara Cofman Wittes is a Research Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. Previously, she was Director of Programs at the Middle East Institute and Middle East Specialist at the U.S. Institute of Peace. Her work has addressed



a wide range of topics, including Israeli–Palestinian peace negotiations, humanitarian intervention, and ethnic conflict. Her current research concerns U.S. policy toward democratization in the Arab world and the challenge of regional economic and political reform. She is the editor and a contributor to *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process* (2005). Wittes received a B.A. from Oberlin College, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Georgetown University.

#### JAMES WOLFENSOHN

James Wolfensohn was named as Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement of the Middle East diplomatic Quartet by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on April 14, 2005. In this capacity, he has focused on Palestinian-Israeli coordination concerning the non-military aspects of the withdrawal and the revival of the Palestinian economy. Before this appointment, Wolfensohn was President of the World Bank from 1995–2005, steering the bank through a decade that saw rapid economic change. He has extensive experience in the private sector, serving as President and Chief Executive Officer of James D. Wolfensohn, Inc. from 1981–1995, Chairman of Salomon Brothers International, London from 1977–1981, and holding numerous positions in companies in New York, London, and Australia. He is on the Board of Directors of Rockefeller University and a Member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He holds a B.A. and an LL.B. from the University of Sydney, and an M.B.A. from Harvard Business School.

#### EHUD YAARI

Ehud Yaari is the Arab Affairs Commentator for Israel's *Channel Two News*, and Associate Editor for *The Jerusalem Report*. Before joining *Channel Two*, Yaari was the Chief Middle East Commentator for Israel's *Channel One News*. Yaari has won 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. Yaari is also the author of eight books on the Arab-Israeli conflict, including *Fatah*, *Egypt's Policy Towards Israel in the Fifties*, *Israel's Lebanon War*, and *Intifada* (co-authored with Zeev Schiff). He earned a B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and an M.A. from Tel Aviv University.

#### SHLOMO YANAI

Shlomo Yanai is President and Chief Executive Officer of Makhteshim Agan Industries, a leading manufacturer and distributor of crop protection products. He is also the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Makhteshim Chemical Works Ltd., Agan Chemical Manufacturers Ltd., Milenia Agro Ciencias, and a Director in Luxembourg Pharmaceuticals Ltd., Agan Aroma, and Lycored Natural Products Industries Ltd. Before working in the private sector, Yanai had a distinguished career in the Israeli military. He was the Director of the Israel Defense Forces Strategic Planning Division, Commanding Officer of the Southern Command, and Head of the Army R&D and Procurement Division for the Ground Corps Command. He earned a B.A. from Tel Aviv University and an M.A. from George Washington University. Yanai is a graduate of Harvard Business School's AMP program and a graduate of the U.S. National War College.



## The Saban Center for Middle East Policy

THE SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY WAS ESTABLISHED on May 13, 2002 with an inaugural address by His Majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan. The creation of the Saban Center reflects the Brookings Institution's commitment to expand dramatically its research and analysis of Middle East policy issues at a time when the region has come to dominate the U.S. foreign policy agenda.

The Saban Center provides Washington policymakers with balanced, objective, in-depth and timely research and policy analysis from experienced and knowledgeable scholars who can bring fresh perspectives to bear on the critical problems of the Middle East. The center upholds the Brookings tradition of being open to a broad range of views. The Saban Center's central objective is to advance understanding of developments in the Middle East through policy-relevant scholarship and debate.

The center's foundation was made possible by a generous grant from Haim and Cheryl Saban of Los Angeles. Ambassador Martin S. Indyk, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, is the Director of the Saban Center. Kenneth M. Pollack is the center's Director of Research. Joining them is a core group of Middle East experts who conduct original research and develop innovative programs to promote a better understanding of the policy choices facing American decision makers in the Middle East. They include Tamara Cofman Wittes who is a specialist on political reform in the Arab world; Shibley Telhami who holds the Sadat Chair at the University of Maryland; Shaul Bakhash an expert on Iranian politics from George Mason University; Daniel Byman from Georgetown University, a Middle East terrorism expert; and Flynt Leverett a former senior CIA analyst and Senior Director at the National Security Council who is a specialist on Syria and Lebanon. The center is located in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at Brookings, led by its Director and Brookings Vice President, James B. Steinberg.

The Saban Center is undertaking path breaking research in five areas: the implications of regime change in Iraq, including post-war nation-building and Gulf security; the dynamics of Iranian domestic politics and the threat of nuclear proliferation; mechanisms and requirements for a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; policy for the war against terrorism, including the continuing challenge of state-sponsorship of terrorism; and political and economic change in the Arab world, in particular in Syria and Lebanon, and the methods required to promote democratization.

The center also houses the ongoing Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World which is generously funded by the State of Qatar and directed by Brookings Senior Fellow Peter W. Singer. The project focuses on analyzing the problems in the relationship between the United States and the Islamic world with the objective of developing effective policy responses. The Islamic World Project includes a task force of experts, an annual dialogue between American and Muslim intellectuals, a visiting fellows program for specialists from the Islamic world, and a monograph series.



## The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University

ESTABLISHED AS THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES IN 1977 at the initiative of Tel Aviv University, the Center was named the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies—JCSS—in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Mel Jaffee in 1983. Major General (res.) Aharon Yariv former government minister, Member of Knesset, and Director of Military Intelligence, took upon himself, at the University's request, the organization and management of the Center, and headed it until shortly before his death in 1994. Among the primary supporters of JCSS at its founding were Abba Eban, who served as first chairman of its International Board of Trustees, and the late Joseph H. "Buddy" Strelitz, then President of the American Friends of Tel Aviv University and later Chairman of the International Board of Trustees. Funds for the Center's creation were provided mainly by members of the Jewish community in the United States, who have proved aware of and sensitive to the need for such an institution in Israel.

The purpose of the Jaffee Center is, first, to conduct basic research that meets the highest academic standards on matters related to Israel's national security as well as Middle East regional and international security affairs. The Center also aims to contribute to the public debate and government deliberations of issues that are—or should be—at the top of Israel's national security agenda.

The Jaffee Center seeks to address the strategic community in Israel and abroad, Israeli policymakers and opinion-makers and the general public.

The center relates to the concept of strategy in its broadest meaning, namely the complex of processes involved in the identification, mobilization and application of resources in peace and war, in order to solidify and strengthen national and international security.













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