



The Saban Forum 2006

פורום סבן

A U.S.–Israel Dialogue

America and Israel Confronting a
Middle East in Turmoil

Washington, DC
December 8–10, 2006





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Middle East in Turmoil



THE SABAN CENTER
for MIDDLE EAST POLICY
at THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

Washington, DC
December 8–10, 2006



Speakers and Chairmen

SHAI AGASSI

AMI AYALON

HOWARD BERMAN

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

ROBERT DANIN

E. J. DIONNE JR.

GIORA EILAND

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

JANE HARMAN

MARTIN S. INDYK

TED KOPPEL

WILLIAM KRISTOL

TOM LANTOS

AVIGDOR LIEBERMAN

JOSEPH LIEBERMAN

AMNON LIPKIN-SHAHAK

TZIPI LIVNI

SHIMON PERES

KENNETH M. POLLACK

HAIM SABAN

DAVID SATTERFIELD

STROBE TALBOTT

YULI TAMIR

YOSEF VARDI

JAMES WOLFENSOHN

DAVID WELCH

EHUD YAARI

AMOS YADLIN

DANIEL YERGIN



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Each Saban Forum has garnered increasing public and media attention because of the expertise and experience of the participants who gather to candidly debate the challenges facing the United States and Israel. A feeling of trust and respect has developed which has strengthened the dialogue.





A Letter from the Chairman

When we established the Saban Forum in 2004, we designed it as a high-level dialogue between the political, intellectual and societal leaders of two vibrant democracies, the United States and Israel. The third annual Saban Forum in December 2006 was a momentous event in this regard. Convened for the second time in Washington DC, this unique dialogue has quickly become part of the American and Israeli political calendar.

We met after a year in which the Middle East descended further into crisis. Iraq turned to seemingly endless sectarian violence, prompting public questioning of the way forward. The Iranian President repeatedly threatened to destroy Israel. Iran's ally, Hizballah, provoked a full-scale war with devastation and loss of lives in both Israel and Lebanon. The Hamas Palestinian Government continued to reject international demands that it recognize Israel. By the end of the year, however, there were hopeful signs that the United States, the moderate Arab states and Israel might find common cause against extremism and in favor of ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In keeping with the nature of developments in 2006, the theme for the Saban Forum was "America and Israel Confronting a Middle East in Turmoil."

As is now traditional, our sessions were conducted under the "Chatham House Rule," which allows participants to use the information shared in the Forum, but not to reveal the identity of speakers. Consistent with this rule, we have presented summaries of the discussions without attributing the opinions and judgments to any particular individual.

Because of the troubled times Israelis and Americans are confronting, a candid exchange of views is vitally important. I am delighted that this annual dialogue has now achieved critical mass. I hope that through these proceedings you will experience the value of these exchanges. I am very grateful to the staff at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution whose hard work makes the Saban Forum possible.

HAIM SABAN

Chairman, The Saban Forum





American Participants

MICHAEL ADLER, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Adler Group, Inc; member, International Advisory Council, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

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

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

HOWARD BERMAN, United States House of Representatives (D-28th Congressional District of California).

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

CHARLES BRONFMAN, Chairman of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies.

DANIEL BYMAN, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy; Director, Center for Peace and Security Studies, Georgetown University.

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 DANIN, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State.

JACKSON DIEHL, Deputy Editorial Page Editor, *The Washington Post*.

E.J. DIONNE, JR., Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution; Columnist, *The Washington Post*.

DAVID FISHER, Chairman of Capital Group International, Inc. and Capital Guardian Trust Company; member, International Advisory Council, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

HAROLD FORD JR., formerly United States House of Representatives (D-9th Congressional District of Tennessee).

DAVID FREUD, Chief Executive Officer, The Portland Trust.

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

JANE HARMAN, United States House of Representatives (D-36th Congressional District of California).

MICHAEL IGNATIEFF, Member of Parliament, House of Commons, Canada.

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

ANDREA KOPPEL, Congressional Correspondent, *CNN*.

TED KOPPEL, Managing Editor, *Discovery Channel*.

WILLIAM KRISTOL, Editor, *The Weekly Standard*.

TOM LANTOS, United States House of Representatives (D-12th Congressional District of California).

SAMUEL LEWIS, Board Member, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University and Partners for Democratic Change; former U.S. Ambassador to Israel.

JOSEPH LIEBERMAN, United States Senate (D-Connecticut).

NITA LOWEY, United States House of Representatives (D-18th Congressional District of New York).

CARLOS PASCUAL, Vice President and Director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program, the Brookings Institution; former U.S. Department of State Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization.

TODD PATKIN, founder, Todd G. Patkin Companies.

NORMAN PEARLSTINE, Senior Advisor, The Carlyle Group; former Editor-in-Chief, Time Inc.

CHARLES PEREZ, Co-Founder, Paul Davril Inc; member, International Advisory Council, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

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

BRUCE RIEDEL, Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Senior Director for Near East and North African Affairs, National Security Council.

CARLA ANNE ROBBINS, Assistant Editorial Page Editor, *The New York Times*.

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

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

DAVID SATTERFIELD, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State and Coordinator for Iraq.

CHRISTOPHER SHAYS, United States House of Representatives (R-4th Congressional District of Connecticut).

JAMES STEINBERG, Dean and J.J. "Jake" Pickle Regents Chair in Public Affairs, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin; former Deputy National Security Advisor.

American Participants (continued)

DAVID STEINER, Chairman, Steiner Equities Group; member, International Advisory Council, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

ANGELA STENT, Director of the Center for Russian, Eurasian and East European Studies, Georgetown University.

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

PUNEET TALWAR, Senior Staff Member, Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate.

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

GEORGE TENET, Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University; former Director of Central Intelligence.

J. RICHARD WATERS, Director for Israel, Palestinian, Jordanian and Egyptian Affairs, National Security Council.

C. DAVID WELCH, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs.

TAMARA COFMAN WITTES, Director of the Arab Democracy and Development Project and Research Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

JAMES WOLFENSOHN, Chairman, Citigroup International Advisory Board; former Special Envoy for Gaza Disengagement of the Middle East diplomatic Quartet; former President, the World Bank.

DANIEL YERGIN, Chairman, Cambridge Energy Research Associates; Trustee, the Brookings Institution.



Israeli Participants

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

UZI ARAD, Director, Institute of Policy and Strategy, The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya.

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

AMI AYALON, Member of Knesset (Labor); co-chairman, The People's Voice; former Director, Shin Bet (Israel Security Agency).

NAHUM BARNEA, Columnist, *Yediot Ahronot*.

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

GIORA EILAND, Fellow, Institute for National Security Studies; former National Security Advisor.

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

SHAI FELDMAN, Director, Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University.

EIVAL GILADY, Chief Executive Officer of The Portland Trust Israel; former head of Coordination and Strategy for the Prime Minister's Bureau.

HIRSH GOODMAN, Director, Andrea and Charles Bronfman Program on Information Strategy, Institute for National Security Studies.

YNON KREIZ, General Partner, Benchmark Capital.

YOSEF KUPERWASSER, Charles and Andrea Bronfman Visiting Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy; former Head of Assessments, Directorate of Military Intelligence, Israel Defense Forces.

AVIGDOR LIEBERMAN, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Strategic Affairs.

TZIPI LIVNI, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

DAN MERIDOR, Vice Chairman, Institute for National Security Studies; Partner, Haim Zadok & Co.; former Minister of Justice.

SALLAI MERIDOR, Ambassador of Israel to the United States.

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

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

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

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

TALI LIPKIN-SHAHAK, Columnist, *Ma'ariv*.

ARI SHAVIT, Senior Correspondent, *Ha'aretz*.

YULI TAMIR, Minister of Education.

YOSEF VARDI, Chairman, International Technologies Ventures.

DOV WEISSEGLAS, Chairman of the Board, Bezeq (The Israel Telecommunication Corp.); former Chief of the Prime Minister's Bureau and former Special Advisor to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

EHUD YAARI, Arab affairs commentator, *Channel 2 News*.

AMOS YADLIN, Director, Directorate of Military Intelligence, Israel Defense Forces.







It is imperative that the United States remain deeply involved in the Middle East to protect its own interests and also those of its allies. Yet such engagement can be sustained only if the American public sees a benefit and does not believe it is suffering at home in order to subsidize development abroad. Americans cannot be expected to fund foreign ventures, no matter how worthy, when they cannot afford such basic necessities as healthcare.

Executive Summary



THE THIRD ANNUAL SABAN FORUM, HOSTED BY THE SABAN CENTER for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, was held in Washington, D.C. from December 8 to 10, 2006. This bipartisan gathering brought together high-level American and Israeli officials and opinion leaders to discuss strategies for addressing the current upheaval in the Middle East. Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni gave the keynote address. Other speakers included former U.S. President William Jefferson Clinton, Israeli Vice Premier and former Prime Minister Shimon Peres, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, Israeli Minister for Strategic Affairs Avigdor Lieberman, Israeli Minister of Education Yuli Tamir, and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs C. David Welch.

“America and Israel: Confronting a Middle East in Turmoil” was the theme of Saban Forum 2006, chosen because the crises in the region have deepened throwing many current policies off track. Moreover, unexpected developments in the Middle East have been accompanied by important alterations in the American political landscape, following the Democratic sweep of both houses of the U.S. Congress in November 2006.

Clearly, Americans are disheartened by the war in Iraq and a change in the U.S. posture seemed inevitable. However, there was no sense that the United States was about to disengage from the region or abandon its allies there.

The growing phenomenon of weak and failing states was a particular focus of this year’s Forum. In Iraq, appalling violence has been unleashed. In Lebanon, a divided executive power has produced a prolonged stalemate and in the Palestinian territories the president and the prime minister have been at loggerheads. The main beneficiaries of this weakness and failure have been non-state actors, in particular terrorist and extremist movements that are hostile to the notion of peace and to U.S. interests. The United States will attempt to help the government of Iraq overcome its daunting problems, but ultimately it is for the Iraqis to succeed. The burden is on their shoulders, not America’s. From a broader perspective, to prevent states from failing, the United States should look again at its approach to democratization and consider encouraging fundamental economic and social reforms before pushing for free elections. The alternative is to keep holding elections that yield anti-democratic or violent results.

The challenge posed by Iran is a major element of the current Middle East crisis. Iran has been flexing its muscles with regard to its nuclear program—which many suspect is not peaceful in intent—and also in terms of shaping events in Iraq and supporting extremist, terrorist groups such as Hamas and Hizballah. Iran’s leverage in the region has been enhanced in recent years, but this is as much the product of U.S. mistakes as good Iranian strategy. There was a clear Israeli view that negotiations with Iran were necessary, but that a military option should not be ruled out. The American perspective stressed that economic sanctions could work to change the behavior of the Iranian regime. The discussion stressed that policy towards Iran must be a careful blend of incentives and disincentives. This means economic sanctions and, in the event of a changed Iranian policy, a promise of economic cooperation, multilateral diplomacy and U.S. willingness to



engage directly with the Iranian regime. The United States should not renounce a military option to prevent Iran from going nuclear. The possibility of such a blunt approach, while undesirable, is an important means of signaling American seriousness and resolve to U.S. allies as well as Iran.

The emergence of new media, often linked to terrorist and extremist groups, is another part of the current maelstrom. Old, state-controlled media are being challenged by new outlets that position themselves as universally relevant and authentic. The message of the new media is one of violence; they support so-called resistance and reject any notion of peace. These new media threaten moderate Arab states as well as Israel and the United States. Thus far responses to the new media have lacked credibility. The U.S. official media were cited as having significant structural flaws. The manner in which Israel handled communications during the war with Hizballah was cited as an example of how not to promote one's case in wartime. The picture is far from bleak, however, as liberal Arabs have won the battle against the extremists in the cultural and entertainment spheres. With the establishment of viable liberal political institutions, this can be a foundation upon which to craft and deliver an effective political message in the fields of media and communications.

There was a broad range of opinion regarding the prospects for peace and the degree to which Israel should push for a settlement with the Palestinians. While some would give up all hope, others pushed for a return to the peace process. The general feeling was that Israel should not close any doors, but that work must be done to repair relations with the moderate Arab states. Early in the summer 2006 war, those states had been critical of Hizballah for attacking Israel and had tacitly backed Israel's campaign against that organization, which they regard as a dangerous Iranian proxy. However, when Israel failed to decisively defeat Hizballah, relations with the moderate Arab states suffered.

A key theme of the Saban Forum was the convergence of interests between Israel and the moderate Arab states, in particular Saudi Arabia. U.S. allies in the Middle East want to see the Israeli-Arab conflict resolved, and agree that there should be a Palestinian state alongside Israel as part of any peace settlement. They also fear the spread of Islamic fundamentalism and Iranian regional ambitions. If this alignment of interests is to have any impact, however, each side needs to hold up its end of the bargain. By mishandling the war with Hizballah, Israel disappointed both the moderate Arabs and the United States.

The Saban Forum also examined Israel's relations with its neighbors and its own Arab minority. A critical element of the Israeli-Arab equation is how Israel deals with its own Arab minority. If Israel is to preserve its image as a democratic state, then it cannot, as some have suggested, impose a loyalty test upon its Arab citizens.

The upheavals of 2006 cast a shadow over U.S. attempts to change the character of the Middle East by promoting democracy. Given the negative trends during the year, the Saban Forum asked whether a "new" Middle East was a realistic possibility. During the discussion there was a stress on the importance of negotiated processes as opposed to unilateral measures. A mutually agreed solu-

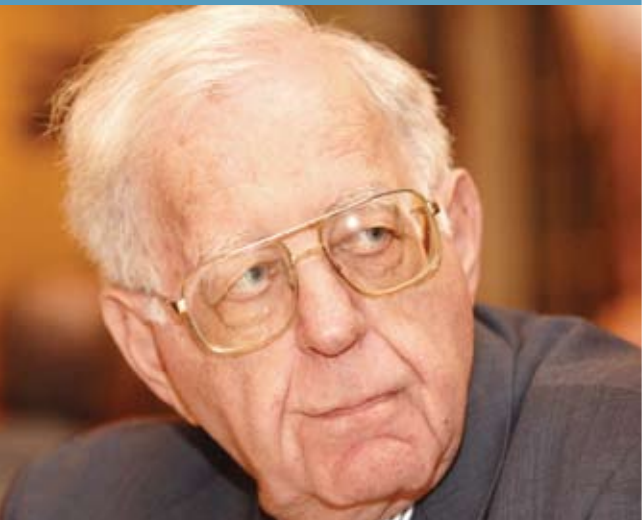


tion in which troops are withdrawn through agreement is better than one in which troops are pulled out unilaterally, as the Israeli experience in both south Lebanon and the Gaza Strip demonstrates. Participants noted that without progress on the Israeli-Palestinian front, there is little chance of turning the Middle East around. In addition, the United States needs to consider direct engagement with Iran, a suggestion that was made repeatedly. Talking to Iran does not mean giving in to the Iranian regime; rather it makes the United States better prepared whether the Iranians choose compromise or confrontation. As for engagement with Syria, some Israelis have found that, after checking Syria's intentions, the Syrian regime is interested in better relations with the United States rather than peace with Israel.

In the long-term, there will need to be changes in the underlying economic relationship between the United States and the Middle East. By becoming energy independent, the United States can achieve energy security. The United States has long talked of this, but it has seldom seemed a concrete aim. While the challenges are substantial, they are not insurmountable. One difficulty, in terms of encouraging energy efficiency, is the lack of political will required to introduce a carbon tax. Such a tax is widely regarded as an important means of promoting energy efficiency, but politicians show no willingness to pay the requisite price. By contrast, Israel can wean itself relatively easily from imported oil and become energy independent.

The Saban Forum concluded with an important discussion on U.S. strategy in the Middle East. It is imperative that the United States remain deeply involved in the Middle East to protect its own interests and also those of its allies. Yet such engagement can be sustained only if the American public sees a benefit and does not believe it is suffering at home to subsidize development abroad. Americans cannot be expected to fund foreign ventures, no matter how worthy, when they cannot afford such basic necessities as healthcare. Strong and confident at home, the United States can be active abroad. Without popular support, no President can adopt a forward-looking foreign policy. In the Middle East, the United States needs a long-term strategy that will see it through the important structural changes that are required in the region. Foreign policy is not just about foreign affairs, but about mobilizing the capabilities and gifts that the United States possesses in abundance. A holistic policy needs to be conceived and must be implemented carefully and systematically. The United States has made many errors. Now is the time to correct them.









Program Schedule

Friday, December 8, 2006

6:00 PM

**Opening Reception:
U.S. Department of State**

7:00 PM

GREETINGS: Haim Saban, *Chairman,
The Saban Forum*

OPENING REMARKS: David Welch,
*Assistant Secretary of State for
Near Eastern Affairs*

Dinner

8:00 PM

INTRODUCTION:
Strobe Talbott, *President, The Brookings
Institution*

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Tzipi Livni, *Minister of
Foreign Affairs, Government of Israel*

Saturday, December 9, 2006

8:30 AM

**Session One: The New American Political
Landscape**

CHAIR: E.J. Dionne, Jr., *Senior Fellow,
Governance Studies, The Brookings Institution*
Howard Berman, *U.S. Congressman (D-CA)*
William Kristol, *Editor, The Weekly Standard*

10:15 AM

**Session Two: The Problem of Failing
Governments: Lebanon, the Palestinian
Authority, and Iraq**

CHAIR: Tom Lantos, *U.S. Congressman (D-CA)*

Major General Amos Yadlin, *Director of
Military Intelligence, Israel Defense Forces*

David Satterfield,
Senior Advisor on Iraq to the Secretary of State

Yuli Tamir,
Minister of Education, Government of Israel

RESPONDENT: Robert Danin, *Deputy Assistant
Secretary, Department of State*

12:00 PM

**Session Three, Luncheon: The Threat from
Iran: What are the options?**

CHAIR: Jane Harman, *U.S. Congresswoman
(D-CA)*

Giora Eiland, *Senior Fellow, Institute for
National Security Studies*

Kenneth M. Pollack, *Director of Research,
Saban Center for Middle East Policy*

2:00 PM

**Session Four: Democracies and the Media in
Wartime**

CHAIR: Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, *Chairman,
Tahal Group*

Ted Koppel, *Managing Editor, The Discovery
Channel*

Ehud Yaari, *Arab Affairs Commentator,
Israel Channel Two News*



6:00 PM

**Reception and Dinner:
Evermay Estate, Georgetown
*Is a New Middle East Still
Possible?***

INTRODUCTION: Haim Saban, *Chairman,
The Saban Forum*

William J. Clinton, *42nd President
of the United States*

Shimon Peres, *Vice Prime Minister,
Government of Israel*

MODERATOR: Ted Koppel, *Managing Editor,
The Discovery Channel*

Sunday, December 10, 2006

8:30 AM

**Session Five: *How Should Israel Deal with its
Neighbors?***

CHAIR: James Wolfensohn, *former President,
The World Bank*

Avigdor Lieberman, *Minister for Strategic
Affairs, Government of Israel*

Ami Ayalon, *Member of Knesset (Labor);
Co-Chairman, The People's Voice*

RESPONDENT: Joseph Lieberman, *U.S. Senator
(D-CT)*

10:30 AM

**Session Six: *Energy
Independence or Security?***

CHAIR: Yosef Vardi, *Principal, International
Technologies Ventures*

Daniel Yergin, *Chairman, Cambridge
Energy Research Associates*

Shai Agassi, *President of Technology and
Product Group, SAP*

12:00 PM

**Concluding Luncheon: *U.S. Strategy in the
Middle East: What Works, What Doesn't?***

INTRODUCTION: Haim Saban, *Chairman,
The Saban Forum*

A DISCUSSION WITH:

Hillary Rodham Clinton, *U.S. Senator
(D-NY)*

Thomas L. Friedman, *The New York Times*

MODERATOR: Martin S. Indyk, *Director, Saban
Center for Middle East Policy*

**2:00 PM The Saban Forum 2006
formally ends.**





Iran should verifiably suspend its nuclear enrichment programs. Syria should stop allowing money and weapons to cross its border into Iraq.

David Welch
Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs



LET ME SAY A FEW WORDS AT THE BEGINNING ON IRAQ. THIS IS AN issue, obviously, very much in the news. We're taking a careful look at all the inputs we're getting, especially from the Iraq Study Group. There are other policy reviews going on at this time. I participate in the one here at the State Department.

As President Bush told the Iraq Study Group members shortly after the issuance of the report, this report all the way forward will be taken seriously. There's a very tough assessment in it of the situation in Iraq. There are really interesting proposals in it, and each one will be taken seriously and acted upon in a timely manner.

It's our responsibility to give our president the best assessment of these options, their risks and benefits as we look at how we might adjust our policy to help bring some success in Iraq.

The Iraq Study Group has recommended we engage Iran and Syria on the tensions in that country. As President Bush said yesterday, if Iran and Syria want to sit down at the table with the United States, it's easy: just make some decisions that will lead to peace, not conflict.

Iran should verifiably suspend its nuclear enrichment programs. Syria should stop allowing money and weapons to cross its border into Iraq. It should also cut off Hizballah and refrain from any further destabilization of the government in Lebanon, a democratically elected government. Syria should also stop being a safe haven for terrorists.

Our views are out there. Those have been the same views for a while. Everybody knows them. Syria and Iran have had ample time to consider them. It's time for them to take a decision about them. I'm all for regional engagement. I believe it's necessary, crucial, to promoting a unified, prosperous, and stable Iraq.

When I was Ambassador to Egypt, we helped set up a G-8 and Iraq Neighbors Conference that then Secretary Powell attended. Last year I worked with the Secretary General of the Arab League to achieve an elevation of the Arab League's attention to Iraq. Right now as we speak, we're encouraging regional governments to offer financial and technical assistance to the Iraqi government as well as to do the normal business of diplomacy, send delegations, exchange visits, accept ambassadors and embassies.

Secretary Rice has met three times with her counterparts in what we call the GCC plus 2. These are the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, Bahrain, Kuwait, the Emirates. And the 2, the numeral 2, stands for Egypt and Jordan, countries that enjoy peace with Israel and that are prominent, moderate Arab nations. Three times in the last three months we've met in this format at the level of foreign minister. Iraq's always been on the agenda. These exchanges are valuable as Iraq attempts national reconciliation. They also provide political support within the international community.

There's another idea sponsored by Iraq itself and the United Nations called the International Compact with Iraq that's another way to engage that government with the international community. The idea behind this compact is to set up a framework of benchmarks for economic security and political programs in

GREETINGS:

HAIM SABAN
Chairman, The Saban Center
at Brookings

OPENING REMARKS:

DAVID WELCH
Assistant Secretary of State
for Near Eastern Affairs



exchange for support and assistance from the international community. We're encouraging everybody to participate in this compact process and to send high level delegations next year when it is inaugurated and signed.

Beyond Iraq we have a deep concern about the Iranian regime. In many respects this regime is our greatest global security challenge. The Iranian president and the leadership in Tehran have a bent toward regional hegemony. This threatens not only our interests but those of Israel and those of our moderate Arab friends. We only need to look at the streets of Beirut tonight to see the ambition that they have, or at the sectarian violence in Iraq to recognize the means that they're prepared to use.

Our concerns about Iran are further amplified by the support for terror that it has afforded in the past from Argentina to Lebanon and its continuing pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. These are things that demand our strongest commitment, and we are committed to trying to address nuclear issues and other disagreements with Tehran through diplomatic means. We want a [United Nations] Security Council resolution under Chapter VII to send the strongest possible message to Tehran, in a unified way, that the international community will not accept its deceptions about its nuclear program.

These negotiations are not easy, and finding common ground between the other members of the Council, or some members of the Council in particular, has been so far elusive. But there were doubts before about [United Nations Security Council] Resolution 1696 which set some of the standards for Tehran, and there was a unanimous passage of that resolution. At the time many people thought we'd never get that resolution passed unanimously.

We can have that level of cohesiveness again because people do recognize the threat, especially Iran's neighbors. And the consequences of failing to address the threat pose a higher risk for everyone. That regime is plainly headed in the wrong direction. That said, there's always an opportunity for it to change its policies. The basis of that would have to be verifiable suspension, a *sine qua non*, that's needed as a good faith gesture to begin negotiations that should have started long ago on this issue.

There's an attractive incentive package offered by the six countries in the negotiation that remains on the table that would benefit Iranians greatly. It would provide assistance in aviation, agriculture, and even civilian nuclear power. We're ready to honor that commitment if Iran is ready to take that step forward.

Our view of the challenges facing the region, including that posed by Iran has been of course informed by the events of this summer when Minister Livni and I had many meetings. And prior to the conflict in Lebanon initiated by Hizballah, Lebanon itself was in the midst of dramatic and positive democratic transformation. The Lebanese government was reasserting its sovereignty following thirty years of Syrian occupation. It was working on important reforms. It was looking forward to a robust summer tourism season. That progress was damaged, jeopardized this July by a terror attack across Israel's northern frontier.



That gave us a difficult decision. The toll of the conflict on Lebanon was impossible to ignore. There were strikes into Israel. However, it was our judgment that a ceasefire alone would not address the root causes of this conflict and would only have resorted to a return to the cycle of violence. Tzipi Livni, and other colleagues of ours in the Israeli government, brought great skill and creativity to these negotiations even as Israel was under assault.

Diplomatic successes do happen. We got [United Nations Security Council] Resolution 1701. It's not often in our business when you get a unanimous Security Council resolution on an issue involving the Middle East and when it is endorsed by a cabinet in an Arab country and a cabinet in Israel. It laid a good basis for a sustainable peace for the Lebanese army in the south of Lebanon for the first time in nearly fifty years. There is a new UNIFIL [United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon] with a very robust mandate to support that endeavor. It has over 10,000 troops on the ground. It's still deploying but nearing its final stages.

It's essential that this resolution's provisions be fully implemented and respected by all, and behind that is a challenge to help Lebanon build and strengthen its democracy while creating a newer dynamic, a more hopeful one, in the region for stability and peace. For our part, we'll continue to work with the Lebanese and the international community to help them. We've committed a lot of money out of our taxpayer dollars, over \$250 million so far, and there will likely be more.

We will continue to support the Lebanese people, and we are doing so today as they face yet another challenge. In particular, they should be free of the kind of fear and intimidation that we see on the streets of Beirut, as I said this evening.

The great challenge in our business, of course, remains solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We are committed to a two-state vision, Israel and Palestine living side by side in peace and security. Our president made that clear very early on—the first president to do so with that kind of clarity—and we remain committed to this path and repeated it in his address to the [United Nations] General Assembly in September. We do this not because we're persuaded by some linkage or another but because it's a U.S. national interest, consistent throughout Democrat and Republican administrations: a commitment to serve the cause of peace.

The election of a Hamas-led government and that government's refusal to accept self-evident, reasonable principles, the Quartet principles, and to refuse to govern responsibly has brought into question the availability of a viable Palestinian partner. It's also meant considerable economic hardship for the Palestinian people. President Abbas tried valiantly to form a technocratic government that would have addressed the Quartet principles and would have allowed for early and complete engagement by the international community, but President Abbas has informed us that he failed as a result of Hamas' rejectionism.

And in case there was any doubt about Hamas' position, the so-called prime minister of that government, Ismail Haniyeh, gave a speech today to Tehran University where he made it robustly clear exactly what he thought of these principles.





He doesn't accept a single one of them. President Abbas failed, but he failed, in my judgment, for the right reasons: because he would not compromise on those kinds of principles.

Meanwhile, the current ceasefire in Gaza negotiated by President Abbas and Prime Minister Olmert and the prime minister's speech in Beersheba on the 26th of last month suggest to us that there continues to be a real desire by the parties to create conditions that will allow them to move to resolving their differences.

There are a number of steps each side could take. President Abbas could, with the support of the international community, pursue reform of the Palestinian security services both to restore law and order, which I think his people would deeply appreciate, and to be better able to prevent terror attacks on Israel and on Israelis.

Abbas can further seek to develop the institutions that fall under his authority in order to make them better able to meet the needs of his people. He could also move to reform his own political party, Fatah, so a younger generation might gain its rightful voice.

Israel can help. I think Palestinian public opinion would be powerfully affected by working to ease restrictions on access and movement, as called for in agreements reached with the United States' help last November which I was working on when you had this Forum in Jerusalem last year. This would help the Palestinian economy which is severely affected by the situation there. Such steps could help Palestinian moderates—and there are many of them, ladies and gentlemen—and lay the groundwork for further actions by both parties to fulfill their Roadmap obligations.

This week with all that's in the press, all the reports and views that are out there—and I see many of you on TV from time to time—tells us that the Middle East is really at a crossroads. The actions we take alone and together will determine whether this region moves forward in a more peaceful and democratic way or slides towards the adversaries of that way, the extremists.

The United States, with the help of Israel and our other friends in the region, are committed to pursuing the path of progress and will continue to push hard to realize our shared goal of a more peaceful and prosperous region.

I know that pre-dinner speeches are supposed to be a little lighter, but the introduction suggested that we had an abundance of problems. I tried to touch upon some of them. I hope I haven't ruined your appetite. Thank you very much. Thank you for inviting me.





We share the same vision for the Middle East because we share the same commitment to the principles of coexistence, peace, security, and democracy. In the reality of the unpredictable Middle East, complicated Middle East, there is simply no substitute for U.S. leadership or for the special U.S.-Israel relationship in protecting and promoting our core values and interests in good times and in bad times.

Tzipi Livni
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Government of Israel



IT IS AN HONOR FOR ME TO ATTEND THIS CONFERENCE AND TO share some ideas with you tonight, and, tomorrow, with Secretary Rice. As you all know, there is a special relationship between Israel and the United States that crosses party lines. We deeply value this bipartisan support for Israel, a support that builds upon a solid foundation of shared ideals and lasting principles. The U.S.-Israel relationship goes beyond a strategic alliance of interests, for it is based upon a genuine and unshakable alliance of shared values.

We share the same vision for the Middle East because we share the same commitment to the principles of coexistence, peace, security, and democracy. In the reality of an unpredictable, complicated Middle East, there is simply no substitute for U.S. leadership or for the special U.S.-Israel relationship in protecting and promoting our core values and interests.

It is my belief that to make wise policy decisions, especially in the Middle East, we have to take an outsider's perspective. We need to rise above daily events and preconceptions and try to identify processes so that we can determine what actions should be taken. And we must try as much as possible to be guided by principles rather than emotions. Such an outsider's analysis reveals that the Middle East is changing. Alliances are shifting. New and dangerous threats are emerging, but so are new opportunities. Assumptions that may have been valid ten or fifteen years ago no longer apply. New thinking is needed to match new realities.

Allow me to share with you some core principles that I believe should help guide us in addressing the problems facing the region. I shall then suggest how to translate those principles into specific policies and decisions in the context of the region's changing political landscape.

First, I would like to clarify something at the outset because, unfortunately, especially in Europe, Israel has become what is known as "the usual suspect" when it comes to attributing responsibility for the lack of Middle East peacemaking. I would like to be plain—even though such comments are less necessary in the United States—that peace is Israel's dream, our goal, and our vision. Peace is our profoundest interest. We in Israel believe that stagnation is the wrong policy for us. If there were ever days when Israel needed persuading, or support, to take risks for peace, then those days are over.

Contrary to what some claim, we are willing to take steps to achieve peace. Of course, we have to recognize the situation on the ground. We have to see, with that outsider's perspective, the processes that are at work and on that basis to decide the best measures required to realize our vision of two states living side by side in peace and security.

Our first principle is that the Middle East conflict is fueled primarily by the battle over values, over ideology, and less over territory.

There is a common but mistaken assumption that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the core of the Middle East's problems. Based upon this error, it is argued that if, somehow, this conflict can be resolved, then we would face a totally different Middle East.

INTRODUCTION:

STROBE TALBOTT

President, The Brookings Institution

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TZIPI LIVNI

Minister of Foreign Affairs
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I believe that this view is mistaken because it confuses symptom and cause. Middle Eastern conflicts are a consequence, not a cause, of radicalism and terrorism. What has driven these conflicts is the much deeper ideological conflict that is raging between moderates and extremists that crosses borders and national identities. I will provide you with some examples.

The first, and most obvious, example is Iran. In Iran, we face a regime driven not by national interests but by an extreme ideology. Israel is not even the main issue on Iran's ideological agenda. More important for Iran is to spread its Islamic ideology throughout the region, which creates a threat to the Middle East as a whole. And this threat is understood both by Israel and also some of the leaders of Muslim and Arab states in our region.

Imagine for a moment that we could find a magic solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, does anybody believe that this would lead to a genuine change in Iranian behavior? Would the Iranian regime forsake its ideology and live in tranquility with the rest of the Middle East? The answer is obviously no.

A second example of ideological conflict in our region is Lebanon. There was no conflict between Israel and Lebanon before July 12, 2006—the day that Hizballah attacked Israel. Why did this happen? Because Hizballah represents the Iranian cause in Lebanon. Their ideology is also to keep an open front of conflict with Israel. Hizballah attacked Israel for the sake of Iran and its ideology, behavior that represents a threat to the Middle East in general and Israel in particular.

The third example of ideological conflict is Hamas. Their ideology is clear, and it is not based on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It does not stem from national concerns. Hamas' vision is not a two-state solution. Instead, as Mr. Haniyeh made clear today, their ideology cannot recognize the right of Israel to exist. For Hamas the conflict is not about borders, it is about ideology.

Given that this hostile ideology threatens more than just Israel, there is an understanding that alliances in the region can change. It is amazing to see leaders comprehending the common threats that exist to the moderate states of the Middle East, including Israel, and understanding it to a greater extent than their domestic public opinion. These leaders grasp that the conflict in the region is no longer what was called the Jewish-Arab conflict, is not centered around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but rather is a conflict between moderates and extremists.

From this understanding comes an opportunity to create new alliances in the region, to share ideas and to promote a process that can be an answer to these common threats.

This understanding is sometimes limited to what is said behind closed doors. Some of these leaders state that they understand that we face the same threat, that Iran is the true menace to the region, that they do not want Hizballah to succeed. Nor do they wish to see a successful Hamas, because Hamas represents the ideology of extremists that these leaders face back home. Unfortunately, they are not willing to express these views publicly because they are in conflict with domestic public opinion that is based upon false perceptions of the conflict.



While we have to understand this constraint, I do expect some of these leaders to express their sense of a common threat publicly, because to do so is the role of leadership.

It is important to understand that these radical forces are empowered by rogue states that export extremism, and they are also helped by weak states that either incubate or tolerate them. The interaction between these rogue states and weak states has distinctly negative consequences. On July 12, 2006, Iran, a rogue state, used Lebanon, a weak state, to launch an attack on Israel, a moderate state.

The answer to this problem is that we should change the situation in weak states and transform them into normal, functioning states. These weak states need to have real governments and only one army. They should no longer harbor any kind of malicious or terrorist organizations that exploit state weakness to promote their extreme ideas.

Our answer to this challenge must also be that we will not appease these extremists, because they misunderstand such behavior. It is important to grasp that to send a very strong signal to these extremists we have to be clear with them that they must behave in a manner that is acceptable to the international community.

For example, the statements of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad of Iran, mocking the reality of the Holocaust, talking about wiping Israel off the map, calling for Jews to “return” to Europe, this is unacceptable behavior. Moreover, such statements are unacceptable regardless of the problem of Iran’s nuclear program.

This unacceptable behavior stems from Iran’s ideology. The Iranian determination to obtain nuclear weapons is also ideologically driven. In the face of this threat, the international community must remain united. We must send the right message to Iran and take the correct decisions in the United Nations Security Council. We must be aware that if the international community demonstrates hesitation, then we will see the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction to other states, and also to non-state actors including terrorist organizations. Small states in the Middle East might, because of international hesitation, be forced to join with Iran or to appease Iran, the regional bully.

In addition to not hesitating and showing unity over the Iranian nuclear program, we must also have the full implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701, a text that represents the interests of the region. This resolution stands for the moderates, those who want to live in peace in our region. Unfortunately, Resolution 1701 is not being enforced fully and completely. The two Israeli soldiers kidnapped by Hizballah have not come home. The arms embargo, a crucial part of Resolution 1701, is not being enforced fully and completely, especially along the Lebanese-Syrian border.

The internal political situation in Lebanon today has become even more complicated than before. I do not want to say anything publicly because it can do more harm than good for a state to be embraced by Israel, or indeed by other moderate states in the Middle East.

Of course, it is not just Iran that should receive a clear international message. Syria also needs to know that if it wants to be a part of the international com-



munity is must stop playing its very negative role. The first Israeli soldier to be abducted in 2006 has not come home because Khaled Mashal, a Hamas leader living in Syria, does not permit for this young man to be freed. As with all of these extremists, they want to dictate not only Israeli-Palestinian relations, but to use them for their own political purposes.

As for the Palestinians, I believe that it is not just a Palestinian interest that we achieve a normal functioning Palestinian state, but that this is also an Israeli interest. Such a Palestinian state must be a state that will end the conflict and not perpetuate it. For this reason, steps have to be taken to prevent a future Palestinian state from becoming a terrorist state, because that is the last thing that our region needs.

The common interest that I spoke of before also applies to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. I believe that Israel and the moderates in Palestinian society, as well as others, share a common interest in promoting our shared vision of a two-state solution. Implementing this is difficult because often the moderates in our region are usually also weak.

This raises the question of what we should do to strengthen these weak leaders. I believe that the way forward is another important principle: that moderate leaders are strengthened more by international demands that they live up to their basic obligations than by international concessions that allow them to shirk these duties.

To illustrate how this works in practice, let me use the same examples of the Palestinians and the Lebanese. In particular, let us examine the case of Lebanon as it relates to the complex drafting of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701. I think that for the first time Israel was part of this process of drafting and supporting a resolution of this kind. However, until the last moment Israel asked for three words to be removed from the draft resolution, the words “at its request.”

Let me explain. It was clear that under Resolution 1701 that the international force would help the Lebanese government to deploy its security forces to southern Lebanon and would be there to help with the enforcement of the arms embargo to stop Iran and Syria from rearming Hizballah. It was also plain that it would be unhelpful for the Lebanese government to have these three words in the resolution, because prime minister Siniora’s government is weak. These three words would make it more difficult for Siniora to enforce Resolution 1701. I do not want to sound wise after the event, but in our region when a person is weak and there is a perception that that person is cooperating with the international community, which in some places is politically unacceptable, such international provisions can actually prevent action.

Well, unfortunately, I failed and these three words remained in the final resolution. As a result, it is difficult for Siniora to ask the international force to help him enforce the arms embargo.

The other example is how the international community’s requirements of the Palestinians affect Mahmoud Abbas, the Palestinian leader. It was plainly stated af-



ter Hamas won the Palestinian legislative elections, clearly decided by the international diplomatic Quartet and the international community, that the Palestinians had to meet the three requirements of renouncing terrorism, accepting Israel's right to exist, and accepting previous agreements between Israel and the Palestinians.

These requirements are a tool that Mahmoud Abbas uses to force Hamas to change. Any hesitation by the international community does not help Palestinian moderates. Rather it makes it more difficult for them to promote change. By contrast, international resolve is more helpful for such a leader. A weak leader can go to his people and say: listen, I have no choice, I cannot compromise on this, if we Palestinians want legitimacy from the international community, foreign support and money from Europe, then we will have to change and meet these requirements. What this means is that these international requirements are not an obstacle on the path to peace, but are genuinely helpful. Such requirements are therefore tools that moderates can use to change their domestic political landscape.

Given the common interests of the moderates and the importance of international requirements, how do we in Israel conceive of the best way forward for the path towards peace? I believe that what I shall tell you represents not only current Israeli government policy, but also the view of the vast majority of Israelis.

Our vision is what was so clearly stated by President Bush: a solution in which two states will live side by side in peace and security. We also need to understand the true meaning of these words. A two-state solution means two homelands for two peoples. One is Israel, the homeland for the Jewish people, a state that when it was established was the answer to the so-called "Jewish problem." Israel was and still is a refuge for Jewish people, a state that gathered in Jewish refugees from Europe and from the Arab states to create a Jewish national home. This is the essence of Israel and it is a core part of our values. To keep Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, and for those two values not to be brought into contradiction, we believe that we should support the Palestinians to achieve the goal of their own homeland.

But how does the proposed Palestinian state answer the desires of Palestinians wherever they are? How does it answer the needs of those who live in the territories and of those who left in 1948 and are still being kept as political pawns in refugee camps waiting for a dream? Their dream appears to be to create their own homeland but to come to Israel, the Jewish state, and thereby destroy the Jewish homeland. This is inconsistent with the vision of the two-state solution as understood by Israel and the international community. It is at odds with President Bush's view that the answer to the refugee issue is to establish a Palestinian state.

It is important to understand that it is not a zero-sum game. What is being suggested is not pro-Israeli or anti-Palestinian, it is what I call pro-process. That is why my view is that the only way that a Palestinian leader can adopt this two-state vision that is the policy of the international community is to accept that there will be no demand for a so-called "right of return" of refugees.





We should also consider what it means to have two states living side by side in peace and security. What this means is that we must ensure that the Palestinian state will not be a terrorist state, which is why the international community has made its three requirements: an end to terrorism, recognition of Israel and acceptance of previous agreements. The first phase of the Roadmap, we should recall, is based upon an understanding that the path to establishing a Palestinian state involves dismantling the infrastructure of terrorism. If terrorism is not renounced, then the two states cannot live in peace.

There will, of course, have to be discussion of the future borders of the Palestinian state, which must be conducted in the context of the negotiation of final status issues. When it comes to these future borders, we can avoid a zero-sum game because there will be a clear division and allotment of territory. For those who believe that we can turn back the clock and return to the pre-Six Day War of 1967 ceasefire lines, I have to say that they are misinformed. A return to the past will not solve the conflict, especially because this notion is based upon false history. There was no Palestinian state in 1967, no such entity existed. In 1967 there was no connection between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. So this notion fails because by seeking a return to the pre-Six Day War ceasefire lines it obviates the possibility of a viable Palestinian state.

I have some ideas as to how such issues can be addressed, but this is not the right place to share these ideas because it is important to understand that it is first and foremost for Israelis and Palestinians to negotiate these matters among themselves.

Now, I wish we could end the conflict tomorrow, and simply enter a room and negotiate final status issues, and live happily ever after. Unfortunately, the situation is more complicated than that. Instead, we are in a situation in which we face a Hamas-led government, in which the moderates are weak. Sometimes, in such a situation, an attempt to resolve the conflict can lead to more frustration and more violence.

This is something that we faced following the Camp David talks in 2000. The way forward therefore is not only to enter a room and to try and solve the conflict but to be reasonable. Let us remember that the Roadmap demonstrated an understanding that we cannot end the conflict easily and so the idea was to cut this process into phases and through one step after the other to promote the eventual vision of a two-state solution. What is clear in this process is that there is a political horizon for the Palestinians, for a viable Palestinian state, a state that also provides an answer to Israelis' concerns about security.

The difficulty we have in this process with Mahmoud Abbas is that he is a partner in terms of somebody that we can negotiate with, but we have to ask ourselves honestly, can he deliver? Let us assume that we can do something, that we can fulfill our side of the bargain, can he deliver in response? He cannot control these terrorist organizations, can he control Hamas in the current situation?



What then is the best way to strengthen Mahmoud Abbas? All of us talk about strengthening the Palestinian presidency and thereby consolidating the position of Mahmoud Abbas. This is easy to say, but it is difficult to implement.

The next challenge that we have to face—and this follows on from strengthening Mahmoud Abbas—is for the Palestinian moderates to create a genuine alternative to the Hamas-led government. This will have to be a genuine alternative that is not only linked to the presidency, but that is part of Fatah and other moderates within the Palestinian territories. But this is a task for the Palestinians, these decisions are up to them and I don't want to patronize the Palestinians. What I hope is that we can find a way to empower and to help these moderates in the Palestinian Authority to create a true alternative to the Hamas-led government.

I hope that they can approach their own people to ask for support and to inform them that the choice is between two options: one, the vision of two states, which is achieved by concessions from both sides, by Israelis and Palestinians; the other, the option of choose extremism, a choice of violence and of terrorism.

I am certain that just as Israelis want peace, that this is also the aspiration of the Palestinians. But that does not mean that we have a magic wand that we can wave to achieve peace or to find the correct path to peace. Still it is part of our responsibility to try to find a means of not living in stagnation, because stagnation works against those everywhere who believe in a two-state solution. I hope that we will be wise enough to take the right decisions and strong enough to implement them for the benefit of the generations to come.

Thank you.









Despite the widely accepted view that the elections were a rebuke against Bush's foreign policy, it is unlikely that he will change his positions on either Iraq or Iran.

The New American Political Landscape



IN THIS FIRST SESSION OF THE 2006 SABAN FORUM, PARTICIPANTS discussed the impact of the November 2006 mid-term elections in which Democrats took control of both Houses of the United States Congress. Although U.S. foreign policy is largely determined by the executive branch, Congress nonetheless influences, encourages and limits the President's prerogative in this arena. Thus the recent change in the composition of Congress will have a direct bearing on the direction of U.S. foreign policy.

The discussion focused specifically on the extent to which the elections might shape U.S. attitudes toward Israel, conduct of the war in Iraq, and relations with Iran and Syria. One American participant described the mid-term elections as the most consequential since the sweeping Republican victory of November 1994. Another participant, while noting that the elections called into question the supposed swing of U.S. politics to the right, argued that the effects of the Democratic victory have been exaggerated. President George W. Bush retained considerable influence as Head of State. Despite the widely accepted view that the elections were a rebuke against Bush's foreign policy, it is unlikely that he will change his positions on either Iraq or Iran. Nor did this participant expect him to accept the Iraq Study Group's recommendation for U.S. diplomatic engagement with Iran and Syria. Whatever the impact, the 2006 elections highlight the divisiveness of American attitudes toward the Middle East, both between and within the parties.

Participants disagreed about the extent to which foreign policy and the Iraq war in particular, shaped the outcome of the elections. Certainly there were other electoral issues. The U.S. economy, for example, has performed poorly and many Republican candidates had been tarnished by personal and financial scandals. Both have resulted in growing popular disaffection with the Republicans. Still, one American participant observed that not a single Democrat won by supporting current U.S. policy in Iraq. It should be noted, however, that Republican losses in these elections were not ideological. That is to say, American voters did not reject the Iraq war so much as the incompetence with which it has been executed.

Participants also debated current options for Iraq. For the Democratic majority now in Congress, the option of sending more troops to Iraq to stem the violence is no longer popular politically. An American participant said that Iraqis need to be given a fixed timeline for a U.S. troop withdrawal. This would move beyond rhetoric to clearly convey to the Iraqis that the United States is not there to assume all the responsibility for Iraq's progress. Another participant warned that the ramifications of an American withdrawal from Iraq have not been fully considered. One possible consequence is that a troop withdrawal could signal to the rest of the world that it is dangerous to be a friend and ally of the United States.

Forum participants also discussed Israel's role in the 2006 elections, in terms of both American attitudes toward Israel and the future of U.S. policy in the region. Central to this discussion was the question of Democratic Party support for Israel. An American participant said that in the run-up to the elections, several

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Jewish Republicans cast their Democratic opponents as anti-Israel, charging that Democrats often point to Israel as the main source of trouble in the Middle East. This participant asserted that, on the contrary, the vast majority of Democrats are strongly committed to Israel and understand and accept the logic of U.S. support for the Jewish state. Democrats support Israel both because the country faces a considerable array of forces stacked against it and because by providing support to Israel, the United States can give Israel the leeway to take risks for peace.

It was noted that Democrats cast the majority of votes against pro-Israel resolutions, and there was speculation that a Democrat-controlled Congress may be more critical of Israel. One participant commented that the Democrats were voting against these resolutions not because of opposition to Israel, but because Republicans have inserted language that no Democrat could support. Another American participant explained that Democrats see no moral equivalence between Palestinian terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians and the Israeli government's tolerance of illegal settlements in the West Bank.

The session also examined the effect that the mid-term elections may have on U.S. policy toward Iran and its nuclear program, as well as on relations with Iran's ally, Syria. An American participant noted that, with so many U.S. troops in Iraq, the United States currently has little to no leverage in negotiating with Iran and Syria. One participant also suggested that the presence of so many U.S. troops in Iraq provides Iran and Syria with easy military targets, adding that U.S. forces currently absorb the full extent of Iraqi discontent that might otherwise be directed toward neighboring countries such as Iran. This participant insisted that a U.S. withdrawal would force both Iran and Syria to confront the uncomfortable consequences of their interference in Iraq. Another American participant questioned the logic of this argument and cast doubt on the notion that Iran and Syria would work to stabilize Iraq if the United States withdrew.

An Israeli participant asked whether the elections might constrain President Bush from acting to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. The mid-term elections indicate that Bush has lost both Congressional support and the confidence of the American people. The participant wondered whether Bush's Iran policy might prove to be his last best hope to save his legacy.







Democratization should be promoted but not at the expense of regional stability. A long-term strategy for confronting radicalism should begin with an investment in education and social welfare.

The Problem of Failing Governments: Lebanon, the Palestinian Authority, and Iraq



DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON IRAQ, LEBANON AND THE PALESTINIAN Authority. Participants assessed the causes and consequences of failed states in the Middle East, and offered strategies through which the international community—the United States and Israel in particular—might ameliorate existing problems and prevent future state failures.

The session opened with an American participant arguing that nation states are the primary building blocks of international order; in the Middle East this foundation is undermined by non-state actors that challenge state authority. According to this participant, nationalism and religious fundamentalism are two primary causes of state failure. In the Middle East, Islamic fundamentalism is the key destabilizing factor. The participant noted that states can fail in at least two ways: they can disintegrate into ethnically-based mini-states (as in the former Yugoslavia), or shatter into autonomous fiefdoms (as in Lebanon and Somalia, and potentially in Iraq).

The participant went on to argue that sectarian and other political conflicts have weakened Middle Eastern states. The divided nature of executive power, whereby the president and prime minister can represent opposing political persuasions, compounds the problem. In Lebanon this has resulted in political paralysis; in the Palestinian territories it has led to continuing violence. Most worrisome is that weak governments cannot control their armed forces.

One participant noted the proliferation of non-state actors in the region. Indeed, one consequence when states fracture into autonomous fiefdoms is that national borders, even if they still exist, are easily violated. Thus failing states, with their permeable borders, are attractive to both terrorists and neighboring countries with irredentist yearnings. This is especially troublesome given the rising popularity of pan-Arab, and notably Islamist, ideologies across the region. Another participant argued that radical political Islam, such as that espoused by Hizballah and Hamas, is now the most attractive idea in the region.

These problems raise the broader question of what the international community can do to prevent states from collapsing. One Israeli participant cautioned against hastening or forcing the process of democratization in the Middle East. Democratization should be promoted but not at the expense of regional stability. A long-term strategy for confronting radicalism should begin, this participant argued, with an investment in education and social welfare. One must deal with fundamental problems, such as socio-economic discontent, and not merely with superficial headline issues. The participant concluded by asserting that patience and foresight are needed to marginalize and weaken radical voices in the region.

Another Israeli participant agreed that democratization is a double-edged sword: given a choice between democratization and stability, one should opt for stability. This participant argued that the paradigm being used for democratization in the Middle East is unfortunately neither precise nor helpful. The most effective way to counter the growth of radicalism is to invest in a long-term civic agenda that would, for example, provide improved access to healthcare and education.

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Iraq was a focal point of discussion as participants considered the possible repercussions of sectarian violence, including the danger that such violence could spread across the region. American participants debated the fundamental nature of the Iraqi conflict. A year ago, according to one, the war was being fought against a local insurgency empowered by a disaffected Sunni Arab population and fueled by the growing presence of al-Qa'ida. There was disagreement over this contention. An American participant strongly rejected the premise that al-Qa'ida had instigated sectarian violence in Iraq, claiming that al-Qa'ida had no operational presence in Iraq before the toppling of Saddam Hussein. Another American participant countered by arguing that the late Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi, the leader of al-Qa'ida in Iraq, had brilliantly identified the fault lines of Iraqi politics and society and begun implementing his evil strategy to create a Shi'i-Sunni rift from the first day of the U.S. presence.

Today, the situation in Iraq has become more dangerous. Sectarian violence and the proliferation of non-state actors, a product of that violence, now threaten both regional and global security. According to one participant, success in Iraq and the wider Middle East will require a re-conceptualization of the conflict. This is not a conflict between Shi'i and Sunni Muslims, or between Arabs and Persians, but between moderates and extremists. The United States can and should help the Iraqis quell sectarian violence by mobilizing Iraq around a national as opposed to a particularist agenda. The participant added that the task of dismantling local militias remains the fundamental responsibility of the Iraqis. The United States will attempt to help the government of Iraq overcome its daunting problems, but ultimately it is up to the Iraqis to succeed. The burden is on their shoulders, not America's.

The policy challenge in Iraq is immense, in part because of Iraqi attitudes. An American participant argued that one of the obstacles to Iraq becoming a democratic, liberal and unitary state is that this seems to be the second choice of most Iraqis. The first choice among the Shi'ah is some type of pro-Iranian theocracy. For Sunni Arabs, it is a return to the old Ba'hist order. For Kurds that preference is an independent state. Put another way, the United States is sacrificing its men and women in uniform for what are clearly second choices for Iraqis; this is not acceptable. Culture matters, and according to this participant, there is a progress-resistant, as opposed to progress-prone, culture in the Arab-Muslim world. Nonetheless, cultures can change and all they sometimes need is pressure from the outside, as was the case in Germany and Japan after the Second World War.







Contrary to conventional wisdom, time is not on the side of the Iranian regime. Over the medium-term, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's mismanagement of economic policy is likely to create significant difficulties, including inflation and unemployment. Corruption and the widening gap between the rich and poor are also weakening the Iranian economy. On the political front, the growing prospect of Iraq's descent into all-out civil war may leave Iran strategically vulnerable.

The Threat from Iran: What are the options?



THERE WAS A WIDELY HELD CONCERN AMONG PARTICIPANTS that Iran could destabilize the entire region, with dire consequences for global security. While the United States and Israel both face threats from Iran, these threats are felt differently in the two countries. Iran poses a major, but potentially manageable threat to the United States and the international community. However, Iran presents an existential threat to Israel. Iran is becoming an increasingly important piece of the Middle Eastern puzzle and, as such, its assertive, hard-line policies demand an immediate, careful response. The panel focused on policy options for dealing with these differently perceived threats.

An American participant expressed concern that Iran's behavior—including non-compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions, sponsorship of terrorism, and increasing interference in its neighbors' internal affairs—undermines the already fragile security architecture of the Middle East. However, despite these clear risks, crafting an effective policy response is difficult. In part this is due to imperfect intelligence about Iran's intentions and capabilities, particularly with regard to its nuclear program. This participant cautioned against the simplistic assumption that an aerial bombing campaign against disclosed nuclear facilities would defeat Iranian nuclear ambitions. Such an approach will not work as the strategic picture is more complex than it appears to be. Iran may have nuclear facilities hidden in its population centers, and the Iranian regime could retaliate against a U.S. military strike in an unpredictable manner.

Presenting an Israeli perspective, one participant argued that Iran clearly intends to acquire nuclear weapons. Were Iran to cross the nuclear weapons threshold, a series of unpredictable events may follow and prove disastrous for Middle Eastern security. Any policy response must take this into account. The Israeli participant therefore suggested three possible options for dealing with Iranian ambitions. While no option is flawless, together they represent an attempt to deal strategically and comprehensively with Iran. In the context of presenting these options, there was a clearly articulated Israeli view that negotiations with Iran are necessary, but that a military option should not be ruled out.

The first option is for the United States and Israel to reconcile themselves to the prospect of a nuclear-armed Iran. This would only be viable if measures were taken to weaken the Iranian regime. Such measures, moreover, would be a deterrent to other states seeking to develop nuclear weapons.

The second policy option is to simultaneously use rewards and penalties with Iran, thereby increasing the odds of a successful diplomatic resolution. Economic incentives alone will not convince Tehran to abandon its nuclear program. Such rewards should be coupled with economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations. The United States can reinforce this strategy by communicating that it is seriously considering a military strike while at the same time engaging Iran in a dialogue.

The third policy option is a military strike against Iran. A military option could take one of two forms: an attack that would directly target and thus set back Iranian nuclear capabilities, or a coercive action that would compel Iran

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to surrender its nuclear program. Coercing Iran to choose economic and regime survival over nuclear weapons would involve bombing oil facilities. While the potential destruction of Iran's oil fields would severely affect the world economy, the damage would be more keenly felt in Iran than abroad.

The American perspective stressed that economic sanctions could work to change the behavior of the Iranian regime. Nonetheless, an American participant agreed that measures beyond diplomacy may be necessary, in part because sanctions are more symbolic than substantive. Moreover, a diplomatic partnership with Russia is particularly important if diplomatic engagement with Iran is to be successful. Again in keeping with the Israeli view, the participant argued that it is important to maintain a plausible military option. This is as much for the benefit of U.S. allies in the European Union as it is for the Iranians. The European Union would take the Iranian nuclear issue less seriously and consider it less critical were the United States to remove the military option from the table. The very possibility of U.S. military action convinces states in the European Union that urgent measures are needed to control Iran's nuclear program.

These policy options emerge at a time when U.S. credibility in the region has been undermined. The ongoing war in Iraq and the Israel-Hizballah war during the summer of 2006 have left Western governments wary of another military confrontation in the region. Conversely, these wars have emboldened Iran, which sees the United States as weakened by the Iraq war, both militarily and in terms of domestic support for military action. Additionally, Iran believes that the Israel-Hizballah conflict, along with the ongoing burden of dealing with the Palestinians, has deterred Israel from any possible military action.

Participants disagreed about the true extent of the Iranian threat. One participant argued that the notion of Iran as a rising power lacks a solid foundation. Iran's recent successes, this person noted, have stemmed largely from flawed U.S. policies, not from Iranian ingenuity. In fact, Iran faces considerable internal problems, including a divided government and a deteriorating economy. Therefore, the first step toward a viable Iran strategy is to repair those U.S. policies that have allowed Iran to make political advances. The next step is to recognize that, contrary to conventional wisdom, time is not on the side of the Iranian regime. Over the medium-term, President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's mismanagement of economic policy is likely to create significant difficulties, including inflation and unemployment. Corruption and the widening gap between the rich and poor are also weakening the Iranian economy. On the political front, the growing prospect of Iraq's descent into all-out civil war may leave Iran strategically vulnerable. Civil wars often spill over to destabilize adjacent states. Iran hosts an ethnically heterogeneous population, with large Azerbaijani, Kurdish and Baluchi minorities. Such a mix puts Iran at particular risk if Iraq should fragment. While Iran may appear to benefit from Iraq's chaos in the short-run, it will certainly suffer in the long-run.







Developments in the media have, in effect, changed the nature of conflict. Thus far, this has helped the forces of extremism and weakened the capacity of democracies and forces of moderation to defend themselves.

Democracies and the Media in Wartime



PANEL PARTICIPANTS DISCUSSED THE CHALLENGES POSED by a new wave of media outlets, specifically those controlled by non-state actors and extremists that deliver a pro-terrorism, pro-violence message. These outlets have established themselves as trustworthy among their target Arab and Muslim audiences, and are becoming more popular across the region. Participants agreed that this new wave of media threatens not only the United States and Israel, but moderate Arab states as well.

An Israeli participant started the discussion by arguing that there are two aspects to this problem: first, the growth of alternative media that undermine the former dominance of the state; and second, the negative, pro-violence content of the new media. There has been a notable shift in the Arab countries away from state control. For example, the Egyptian government used to have considerable sway over the Arab debate on regional issues and political priorities. Today that influence is waning. The Arab public is deserting traditional, state-controlled media in favor of quasi-independent outlets that broadcast via satellite and the Internet. The most virulent of these may be al-Manar (“The Beacon”), a television station that serves as the voice of Hizballah. Hamas also recently launched its own satellite television station.

According to Forum panelists, the danger of this emerging media is that non-state actors are able to propagate their doctrine of so-called resistance without any credible countervailing message. What is more, their ideas are compelling and easily accessible. One participant argued that, by promoting a religious ideology, extremists can appeal to broad regional constituencies. By contrast, the state media is often alienating. Many will identify with a universal “Muslim” cause more readily than with a narrow “Egyptian” or other national cause. Religious ideologies are also attractive because their message is one of “resistance” to Western military and technological power. What is new for audiences of the new media, however, is the redefinition of conventional notions of victory. “Resistance” does not have to mean defeat of the West on the battlefield. Victory simply means not losing. To resist is to promote a kind of chaos that the West can neither control nor understand.

An American participant then turned the discussion to inadequacies of the U.S. media. In the global conflict of ideas, there is a credibility gap in the U.S. official media, compounded by poor staffing. Stations such as the Voice of America have grown increasingly politicized, and make hiring decisions based more on connections than ability. Moreover, these stations tend to accentuate the positive, a practice that Middle Eastern audiences find distasteful. Instead, it was argued, the U.S. official media should follow the 1940s BBC model of reporting all news, good or bad. In the Arab world, if the audience feels that reporting is honest, it is receptive. An Israeli participant agreed, observing that the Arab public tends to identify with and trust the new media outlets precisely because they give the impression of being less polished and manipulated, and more honest than traditional state-controlled outlets.

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The notion that the media battle is running in favor of the extremists was questioned by an Israeli participant who observed that liberal Arabs are actually winning the cultural and entertainment war against the extremists. Despite this, liberals are losing the political debate because, unlike the extremists, they lack viable political institutions. In part, the participant argued, this is a result of a faulty Western aid strategy. The West has supported liberal Arab groups by helping them to establish civil society groups and assisting them in the guise of non-governmental organizations. But Western support has failed to establish sound political institutions. What the West should do is set up liberal television outlets in the Arab world. There is reason to be optimistic. In many Arab countries, the print media is becoming more independent and liberal. Television, a current growth area, lags far behind and is where the extremists are putting their investment.

Agreeing with these suggestions, an American participant argued that part of the problem lies within American society's failure to appreciate the importance of the Iraq war. The Bush Administration has rightly said that the United States is engaged in an existential war between liberty and extremism. Yet the administration has asked for no sacrifice from most Americans, in part because that would involve spending political capital. The struggle between liberty and extremism will last for generations, but most Americans are unaware of it. The only Americans truly paying the cost of freedom are those in uniform. According to this participant, a clear consequence of the manner in which the debate has been structured in the United States is that Americans today are discussing how to leave Iraq on the assumption that the war will end when the troops leave. This is a delusion to which the media have contributed.

It was further argued that economic forces have helped to undermine the power and credibility of the U.S. private media, leaving Americans poorly informed about foreign affairs at a critical juncture in their history. Despite the increased attention to foreign affairs after 9/11, U.S. media outlets have closed most of their overseas news bureaus because they are too expensive to operate. Similarly, to achieve higher ratings, many news programs are dominated by editorial personalities who opine, rather than inform. The Israeli media, according to one Israeli participant, has had similar difficulties. Most Israeli news corporations did not embed journalists with the Israeli Army during the 2006 Israel-Hizballah war because they did not want to pay the high insurance costs associated with sending journalists to the front lines.

The Israel-Hizballah war was cited as an example of how the media battle has evolved. In this instance, the media became part of the armed conflict. Israel attempted to physically destroy al-Manar. Hizballah, despite being blamed for the war, appears to have won the public relations battle. Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, the Hizballah leader, came across as being candid and his statements trustworthy. Even some Israeli Jews felt that Nasrallah came across as more credible than the Israeli Army spokesperson who was overly careful with his words and was slow to disseminate information.

The Israel-Hizballah war also highlighted the fact that new technologies have made it easier to transmit information and have broken Western governments' ability to control the message. With cell phones, most army officers can get information to journalists long before an official spokesperson steps in front of the cameras. The graphic nature of news reporting, and the ease with which images can be spread using alternative media, has also made it more difficult for governments to sustain public support for military action. Several Israeli participants commented that, had there been real-time coverage of casualties in 1967, Israel could not have won the Six Day War; with the high casualty count on the first day, there would have been unbearable public pressure for a ceasefire.

Developments in the media have, in effect, changed the nature of conflict. Thus far, this has helped the forces of extremism and weakened the capacity of democracies and forces of moderation to defend themselves.









There may not be a “new Middle East” in the making, but if the issues that have plagued the region are consistently and systematically addressed, there may yet be the possibility of positive change.

Is a New Middle East Still Possible?



PARTICIPANTS DISCUSSED WHETHER, IN THE WAKE OF RECENT developments and continuing turmoil, a “new Middle East” might still emerge. The consensus was that such fundamental change is likely to occur only if there is movement toward both Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab peace. Participants elaborated a multitude of concerns facing the United States and leaders throughout the region in their struggle for peace and stability. There was a stress on the importance of negotiated processes as opposed to unilateral measures. A mutually agreed solution in which troops are withdrawn with talks is better than one in which troops are withdrawn without talks, as the Israeli experience in both south Lebanon and the Gaza Strip demonstrates.

Participants outlined the problems ahead for the Middle East peace process. They stressed that peace between Israelis and Palestinians has become more difficult to achieve since Hamas came to power in the January 2006 Palestinian parliamentary elections. Fatah, a party that seeks a negotiated solution to the conflict, could be a viable partner for peace. Hamas, however, is not. It is ideologically driven and offers no realistic solutions. Hamas is not interested in negotiations over territory and prioritizes abolishing Israel over creating a Palestinian state. Furthermore, Hamas aims to have the entire Middle East fall under Islamic religious influence.

Other participants argued that peace is possible only if the two sides feel that it is safe to move to the negotiating table. In this regard, it is important to understand that peace cannot be imposed by outside actors and can only be achieved by the actual parties to the conflict. Even so, certain moderate Arab states, concerned about the rise of Iran, may be more willing to ally themselves with Israel and thus encourage the parties toward peace.

Participants were skeptical about the claim that a vote for Hamas was a vote against peace. Opinion polls taken in the Palestinian territories after the January 2006 elections indicate that a majority of Palestinians genuinely want peace with Israel. More than 80% of Palestinians answered that they would like their government to pursue a just and lasting peace with Israel. When asked whether a vote for Hamas was a vote for Islamic rule, less than 5% of Palestinians surveyed said they wanted Hamas to impose shari’a (Islamic law). Speaking from personal experience, one participant added that people sometimes vote for a particular platform never expecting it to move beyond the realm of election rhetoric.

Another Israeli participant broadened the discussion to include non-political factors that might influence the course of events in the Middle East. Increasingly, the actions of governments all over the world are less important compared to the rising influence of civil society groups and the private sector. Mobilizing civil society and harnessing the modern economy is thus crucial to achieving an Israeli-Palestinian peace settlement, as well as a broader peace between Israel and the Arab world.

One participant added nuance by explaining that while a resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be a tremendous victory for all concerned, such a settlement would not guarantee peace and stability across the Middle East. The

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conflict in Iraq, tension with Iran, volatility in Lebanon and Syria, and the declining force of U.S. deterrence all present persistent obstacles to Middle East peace. The war in Iraq has had a particularly deleterious effect on U.S. influence in the region. Anti-American forces are emboldened by the sight of U.S. troops bogged down in Iraq. The future of the Middle East depends on the resolution of all of these issues.

Participants proposed that the quest for a “new Middle East” may be misguided when other issues are more pressing. For example, the *status quo* with Iran is untenable. There must be a concerted moral and political campaign to pressure Iran to act responsibly. Failing this, the future will continue to look menacing.

Noting that the United States has nothing to lose, participants recommended that the Bush Administration hold talks with Iran. It is always in a country’s interest to communicate with other states, even those it may have to confront militarily, if only to be better prepared for the confrontation. The United States, therefore, can only gain from talking to Iran.

The discussion then turned to Syria, a key Iranian ally. Participants remarked that Syria plays an important role in the region and it might be in Israel’s interest to hold discussions with Syria. Such talks could be held regardless of whether they would also serve U.S. interests.

One participant responded by recalling that Israeli prime ministers have repeatedly and unsuccessfully sought agreements with the Syrian regime. This participant expressed some skepticism about talking to Syria, because the Syrian regime has a record of saying one thing and doing another. Moreover, those who have recently checked Syrian intentions found it more interested in a process that would improve its relations with the United States rather than produce peace with Israel. Nonetheless, engagement with the current regime might be worth exploring, bearing in mind both past difficulties and Syria’s relatively low importance compared to Iran.

There may not be a “new Middle East” in the making, but if the issues that have plagued the region are consistently and systematically addressed, there may yet be the possibility of positive change.











The maximum that any Israeli government might concede in peace negotiations and still survive politically is too little for any Palestinian leader to accept and also survive politically.



How Should Israel Deal with its Neighbors?



IN THE MOST CONTENTIOUS SESSION OF THE SABAN FORUM, participants debated the nature of the Arab-Israeli conflict, turning attention to Israel's Arab minority and to the fundamental character of the state of Israel. Given that most Israelis now believe the peace process to be at a standstill, the discussion focused on what Israel's priorities should now be.

One Israeli participant argued against the widely accepted view that the Arab-Israeli conflict is the root of Middle East instability. Instead, this participant argued, the Arab-Israeli conflict is just one component of a global battle between liberty and radical Islam. Israel, which represents the ideals of freedom and democracy, is on the front line of this war. According to this participant, a peace agreement between Israel and her neighbors will not strengthen Israel's security or promote stability in the region. Neither will it end terrorism nor stop attacks by al-Qa'ida.

There was strong disagreement with this view. According to many Israeli participants, only a small minority of Palestinians accept Hamas' Islamic fundamentalist approach. The implication is that Israel can encourage a change in Palestinian views, particularly since Hamas understands the limitations of its base. Israel should therefore foster an environment in which Palestinians have hope. Participants argued that Palestinians do not support violence when they expect rewards from the peace process. Some participants suggested that Israel could foster hope by supporting educational programs; others called for increased economic cooperation. However, many felt that these measures, welcome though they may be, would not suffice. To counter the appeal of Hamas' vision, Israel must present its own clear vision for the future. Israeli strategy currently lacks clarity in communicating a sense of direction. Too often, it was claimed, Israel is ambiguous about its intentions, and this merely exacerbates the conflict.

As in previous Saban Fora, participants discussed strategies to strengthen moderate Palestinians. Participants agreed that Mahmoud Abbas, president of the Palestinian Authority, is well-intentioned but too weak politically to implement meaningful change. Nonetheless, it was suggested that Israel should seek to strengthen Abbas' position. In a sense, it was argued, there is an unbridgeable gap between Israel and the Palestinians. The maximum that any Israeli government might concede in peace negotiations and still survive politically is too little for any Palestinian leader to accept and also survive politically. This dynamic has not been changed by Israel's policy of unilateralism, which many believed has proved to be misguided.

The discussion also tackled the issue of Israel's Arab minority. One participant said that the Israeli state is threatened by its own Arab population. Although they are citizens of Israel, some Israeli Arabs have expressed support for enemies such as Hizballah. This participant argued that Israel should be an ethnically homogenous state, whose citizens are required to take an oath of loyalty to the Jewish state. Anyone choosing not to take such an oath, including ultra-orthodox Jews who oppose the existence of Israel, would be denied Israeli citizenship. Many participants opposed this proposal, arguing that the notion of an ethnically ho-

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mogenous state runs counter to the democratic and Zionist ideals upon which Israel was founded. One participant said that Israel's Arab citizens have given Israel more support and shown more patience with the state than they arguably should have considering Israel's failure to treat them as equal citizens.

Most participants argued that creating an ethnically homogenous state would weaken, rather than strengthen, Israel's security. Israel already has a problem with international legitimacy; the pursuit of ethnic homogeneity and the imposition of a loyalty oath would make matters worse. If Israel is to preserve its image as a democratic state, then it cannot, as some have suggested, impose a loyalty test upon its Arab citizens. More importantly, the more Israel focuses on the alleged danger of its Arab minority, the less attention it pays to genuine security threats such as Iran's nuclear program. One participant observed that taking action against the Israeli Arab minority would activate a new front in the Arab-Israeli conflict at a time when Israel already has its hands full.

An American concluded this portion of the discussion by claiming that shared values are the basis of the United States-Israeli partnership. Were Israel to pursue ethnic homogeneity, that partnership might be challenged. In this regard, a distinction was made between separation and discrimination. The late Yitzhak Rabin once said there had to be separation between Israelis and Palestinians, but that such separation must result from respect, not hatred. The collapse of the Oslo peace process has led to separation inspired by hatred. If there is to be hope for Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation, respect must come from both sides.

The session concluded with a debate over the inconclusive war between Israel and Hizballah during the summer of 2006. It was widely acknowledged that Israel made numerous miscalculations during the war. One Israeli participant argued that it was misguided for Israelis to discuss their government's failures during the war when they should have been focusing on the attitudes of their Arab neighbors. In the beginning, this participant noted, the most salient feature of the conflict was that many in the Arab world supported Israel. This point was contested by several participants who argued that the Arab public never supported Israel. Still, it was agreed that Israel had missed a valuable opportunity. For the first time, some Arab governments identified Iran and radical Islam—not Israel—as the primary threats to regional security.

An American participant added that Israel had disappointed both the United States and moderate Arab governments by failing to defeat Hizballah. The United States had paid a heavy price in terms of its standing in the Arab world for holding back demands for a ceasefire. The moderate Siniora government had been weakened in Lebanon. Indeed, Israel actually strengthened Hizballah's position. As a result, citizens of many Arab countries now see "resistance" as more valuable than negotiation. Participants also criticized the United States for failing to act as an intermediary and for giving Israel a free hand during the war.







Environmentalism is the new frontier
of national security: “green is the new
red, white and blue.”

Energy Independence or Security?



GIVEN THE POTENTIAL HARM THAT MIDDLE EAST TURMOIL CAN inflict upon global energy flows, the Saban Forum featured a session on energy independence. Participants discussed trends in the global energy market, focusing both on the relationship between energy independence and energy security, and on the problem of global dependence upon Middle Eastern oil. Participants examined policies that might be crafted to end both U.S. and Israeli dependence upon foreign oil. It was noted that energy issues are no longer simply about the environment; security concerns now demand changes in energy use as well.

An American participant argued that a country can only attain energy security if it becomes energy independent. Any reliance on foreign energy supplies, particularly from politically volatile regions, yields insecurity. With global demand for oil expected to rise forty-five percent over the next twenty-five years, greater challenges lie ahead. This figure is worrisome, but it does not mean that the world will run short of oil. Barring a technological breakthrough, however, world dependence upon Middle Eastern oil will remain unchanged. Interestingly, while the United States imports sixty percent of its oil, only one-fifth comes from the Middle East. The U.S. economy is thus less vulnerable to supply disruption than the economies of other developed nations. Most of the increased demand for oil projected over the next twenty-five years is expected to come from Asia.

Global economic development was once believed to be an unstoppable impetus to democratization. However, globalization, coupled with a massive rise in the number of consumers, is now funding a counterrevolution that rejects democracy. Instead of creating more democracy, economic growth and the insatiable demand for energy is financing petro-authoritarianism and bolstering the sorts of regimes that now run Angola, Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Venezuela.

The national security element to the energy question has helped to galvanize the political and policy discussion. In the past, energy independence was often regarded as an environmental issue and, as such, was not a political priority. Americans now appreciate the immediate security concerns caused by the energy situation. As one participant said, environmentalism is the new frontier of national security: "green is the new red, white and blue."

One American participant argued that the political implications of energy dependence in the United States are far worse than many realize. This participant contended that the United States is actually funding both sides of the ledger in the war against terrorism, paying to fight terrorists but also unwittingly funding terrorism by purchasing Middle Eastern oil.

U.S. energy policy has been inconsistent. Despite a long-standing rhetorical commitment to energy independence, implementation of effective energy policy falls short. U.S. policy should encourage diversification, the use of cleaner fuels and technological innovation. There is a growing and important political constituency in the United States that is interested in seeing the government promote new technologies as well as energy conservation. An American participant argued that the United States should aim to aggressively reduce its dependence upon foreign oil in the short-term as a way to kick-start a new energy policy. If the United States does not take such an approach, it will continue to have constraints

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imposed upon its foreign policy as it needs to deal with energy producers whose interests may be at odds with U.S. interests. However, one difficulty, in terms of encouraging energy efficiency is the lack of political will required to introduce a carbon tax. Such a tax is widely regarded as an important means of promoting energy efficiency, but politicians show no willingness to pay the requisite price.

Alternatively, some participants argued that the economics of the energy market are efficient and will naturally move the United States away from dependence upon Middle Eastern oil, even if this does not lead to energy independence in the short-run. U.S. policymakers, it was argued, cannot look at the energy issue in isolation; rather, they must consider the wider geopolitical ramifications of reducing the demand for imported energy. For example, how might such a reduction affect the political and economic prospects of U.S. allies who depend upon energy products for their export earnings?

Participants also discussed Israel's energy policy. This was cited as an example of how, in a relatively straightforward manner, high levels of dependence upon foreign energy can be reduced. Although its circumstances are unique, Israel can be seen as something of a guinea pig for energy policy experiments. At present, Israel imports almost all of its oil from the former Soviet Union. It does not, however, need imported oil. Nearly ninety percent of car journeys in Israel are less than thirty miles long. An Israeli participant therefore proposed that Israel should introduce battery operated cars, a technology shift that would make Israel oil independent by the year 2020.







The U.S. government must operate in an “evidence-based” framework and forsake the current “messianic” approach that seeks to remake the world. If it can do this, the United States can become more effective and begin to rebuild its credibility.

U.S. Strategy in the Middle East: What Works, What Doesn't?



TYING TOGETHER THREE DAYS OF DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE turbulence in the Middle East, the final session of the Saban Forum examined U.S. strategy in the region and how it could be made more effective. Participants were very critical of the Bush Administration's Middle East policy, and recommended that the United States step back and reassess its approach. Participants identified both cyclical and structural weaknesses in U.S. policy, noting that the current position is missing a crucial element of moral authority.

The complex nature of the United States' engagement in the Middle East is not determined merely by events in that region. An American participant argued that there is a link between the United States' social and economic problems on the one hand and its foreign policy stance on the other. Education and entrepreneurship have been the underlying strengths of the United States. However, given the current U.S. external trade deficit, along with shortcomings in the education system and entrepreneurial strategy, the lack of credible policies to regain a leading position in both of these fields is troubling. Furthermore, when combined with "deficits" of both moral authority and international leverage, these domestic deficiencies have serious long-term implications for the stature of the United States.

This participant argued that the moral authority "deficit" is a result of foreign policy errors on the part of the Bush Administration. While President Bush speaks with moral clarity, he lacks moral authority, which hampers the successful conduct of U.S. foreign policy. A delicate balancing of U.S. influence in global politics is required; a world with too much U.S. power is problematic, but a world with too little U.S. power could be unacceptably dangerous. The only means of restoring U.S. leverage is to address these underlying deficits while engaging in effective diplomacy. Without such an effort, the United States will not be able to sustain its status as a superpower.

Another American participant expanded upon these concerns by arguing that the United States must rebuild both the perception of power and its ability to project power, two critical elements of moral authority. The United States has a long way to go in this regard before the November 2008 presidential election.

This participant went on to argue that it is a mistake to view U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East in isolation. Because the world is interconnected, the deteriorating U.S. posture in Latin America has consequences beyond that region, and it is of concern that Latin American states too are straying from the path of democracy. Similarly, the reversion by Russia to an imperial mentality and old-fashioned *realpolitik* has important repercussions both globally and for U.S. policy. All the while, many African states are rapidly failing. The rise and extension of Chinese influence, whether into Africa or other regions, could complicate future U.S. efforts to exert diplomatic leverage.

The United States stands at a critical juncture—at a time when the world needs U.S. leadership more than ever, the United States is in danger of losing its pre-eminence. While U.S. moral authority depends to an extent upon how strong, serious and committed Americans are as a people, it also depends upon

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A DISCUSSION WITH:

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

U.S. Senator (D-NY)

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

The New York Times

MODERATOR:

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the administration's ability to grasp multiple policy challenges simultaneously and expeditiously.

Agreeing with the notion that domestic trends have foreign policy implications, an American participant drew attention to the alarming drop in living standards among middle class Americans, and the widening gap between rich and the poor. This is not just a domestic economic issue. The American people, concerned by their falling living standards, may become less willing to support government engagement on global issues. When Americans can barely afford to pay for their own healthcare and education, they are less likely to support an internationalist and activist foreign policy.

As the discussion turned again to the Middle East, participants considered what could be done to contain the Iraq conflict should it prove impossible to resolve. One participant argued that, in assessing the situation, Iraq should not be the sole focus; from an historical perspective the entire region is in a worse position than it was before. This participant cited the following examples of "pathologies" in the region: the Iranian-sponsored seminar denying the Holocaust; fights in Iraq over the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad; and the murder, at what appears to have been Syrian instigation, of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri. If internal moral restraints do not exist in the region, this participant wondered how foreign powers can hope to intervene in a positive way. For this participant, training Iraqi troops is not an adequate policy response given the way these "pathologies" are now playing out in Iraq.

According to this participant, current developments put Americans in the difficult position of having to choose "my country or your country." If the Iraqis do not take responsibility for improving matters in their own country within about a year, Americans may have to choose between Iraq and the United States.

There is no easy answer to the Iraq problem. The difficulty in formulating Iraq policy has been compounded by the Bush Administration's tendency to rely on rhetoric instead of building policies based on facts. For their part, Iraqi politicians show no desire to end the civil war. Each faction believes that it can prevail and is thus undeterred from continued fighting. It is unlikely that increasing U.S. troop levels will be more effective. Instead, what is required is a sophisticated diplomatic strategy. The U.S. government must operate in an "evidence-based" framework and forsake the current "messianic" approach that seeks to remake the world. If it can do this, the United States can become more effective and begin to rebuild its credibility.







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UZI ARAD

Uzi Arad is the Founding Head of the Institute for Policy and Strategy, and Professor of Government at the Lauder School of Government, Strategy and Diplomacy at the Herzliya Interdisciplinary Center. He is the Chair of the Herzliya Conference, the premier annual policy forum in Israel. Concurrently, he serves as Advisor to

the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and to the Posen Foundation. He is also a member of the boards of a number of educational organizations and foundations. Arad is a co-author of *Sharing Global Resources*, written for the Council on Foreign Relations. He served in Israel's foreign intelligence service, the Mossad, in senior positions both in Israel and abroad. His last position was as Director of Intelligence, after which he was appointed Foreign Policy Advisor to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Before joining the Mossad, he was a professional staff member of the Hudson Institute and the Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. Arad obtained his M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University, which he attended as a Fulbright Scholar.

SHLOMO AVINERI

Shlomo Avineri is a Professor of Political Science, and former 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 1975–7. 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, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow. Avineri studied at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and at the London School of Economics and has held visiting appointments at Yale University, Cornell University, the University of California and Oxford University. Among many works, he is the author of *The Making of Modern Zionism: The Intellectual Origins of the Jewish State*.

AMI AYALON

Ami Ayalon was elected to the Knesset after joining the Israeli Labor Party in 2005. He is a member of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, the Knesset State Oversight Committee, and the Knesset Ethics Committee. He also chairs the Knesset Subcommittee on National Emergency Readiness, in which capacity he issued a key report on the functioning of the Israeli home front during the recent war with Hizballah. In 2003, he founded The People's Voice along with Palestinian academic Sari Nusseibeh, a grassroots movement that formulated a set of principles for Israeli-Palestinian coexistence. More than 400,000 Israelis and Palestinians have signed The People's Voice principles thus far. From 1996–2000, Ayalon served as Director of the Shin Bet

(Israel Security Agency), instituting an ethical code at the agency and campaigning for it to be enshrined in law. For these contributions to Israel's security apparatus, the Movement for Quality Government honored him in 2000. He served in the Israeli Navy, rising from naval commando to the rank of Admiral and was head of the navy from 1992-6. He has a B.A. from Bar-Ilan University and an M.P.A. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard 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 1973-82, Barnea worked at the *Davar* daily newspaper, where he served as a 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. In 2006 he was the first Kreiz Visiting Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.

ALAN BATKIN

Alan R. Batkin has been Vice Chairman of Kissinger Associates, a geopolitical consulting firm that advises multi-national companies, since 1990. From 1972-90, he was an investment banker at Lehman Brothers, where he was a Managing Director from 1976-90. 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. He is Co-Chairman of the board of the International Rescue Committee. Batkin is a Trustee and member of the Executive Committee of the Brookings Institution and Chairman of its Finance Committee, and is Chairman of the board of Continuum Hospice Care. He is Co-Chairman of the International Council of the Joint Distribution Committee. Batkin is a member of The Trilateral Commission and the Council on Foreign Relations. He received a B.S. from the University of Rochester and an M.B.A. from New York University.

HOWARD BERMAN

Howard Berman represents the 28th Congressional District of California and during the 109th Congress was a senior member of the International Relations Committee and the Judiciary Committee. He was also a Ranking Member of the House Judiciary Subcommittee

on Courts, the Internet and Intellectual Property and he also serves on the Ethic Committee. Berman entered Congress in 1982. With Republican Henry Hyde, Berman wrote a law authorizing embargoes on nations that condone terrorism. Before the U.S. Congress, Berman served in the California State Assembly from 1973-82, where he was the youngest ever Assembly Majority Leader. From 1967-73, he practiced law in Los Angeles, specializing in labor relations. Berman received his B.A. and LL.B from the University of California, Los Angeles.

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 1993-6. 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 1964-5, 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. The author of *Active Liberty: Interpreting Our Democratic Constitution* (2005), Breyer received

an A.B. from Stanford University, a B.A. from Oxford University, and an LL.B. from Harvard Law School.

CHARLES BRONFMAN

Charles Bronfman is Chairman of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Philanthropies. He generously funds the Bronfman Fellowship at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, which brings leading Israeli policymakers to Washington, D.C. In 1998, Bronfman co-founded the Birthright Israel program, sponsoring educational travel to Israel for Jewish youth. Bronfman has served as Co-Chairman of the Seagram Company and was the owner of the Montreal Expos baseball team from 1968-90. Bronfman has served as Chairman of the Board of Koor Industries Ltd (Israel) from 1997-2002. He was appointed the first Chairman of the United Jewish Communities (1999-2001), which merged the United Jewish Appeal, the Council of Jewish Federations and United Israel Appeal. Bronfman is a graduate of McGill University.

DANIEL BYMAN

Daniel L. Byman is a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. He is also the Director of the Security Studies Program and the Center for Peace and Security Studies as well as an Associate Professor in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Byman has served as a Professional Staff Member with the 9/11 Commission and with the Joint 9/11 Inquiry Staff of the House and Senate Intelligence Committees. Before joining the Inquiry Staff he was the Research Director of the Center for Middle East Public Policy at the RAND Corporation. Byman has also served as a CIA Middle East analyst. He has written widely on a range of topics related to terrorism, international security, and the Middle East. He is the author of *Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflict*, co-author of *The Dynamics of Coercion: American Foreign Policy and the Limits of Military Might* and recently published *Deadly Connections: States that Sponsor Terrorism* (2005). He received a B.A. from Amherst and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

ARYE CARMON

Arye Carmon has been the President of the Israel Democracy Institute since he founded it with American businessman Bernard Marcus. The Israel Democracy Institute is an independent think tank dedicated to promoting and strengthening democracy and democratic values in Israel. 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.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a United States Senator (D-New York), having been re-elected for her second term in November 2006. Rodham Clinton, during the 109th Congress, served 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 1977-92, as Counsel for the U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee in 1974, and as Attorney for the Children's Defense Fund between 1973-4. Rodham Clinton was a Professor at the University of Arkansas School of Law, Fayetteville from 1974-7, and a Professor at the University of Arkansas School of Law, Little Rock from 1979-80. Her most recent book is her memoir, *Living History*. She received her B.A. from Wellesley College and her 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, he 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 1974–6. 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, and that successfully raised \$7.3 billion in global aid pledges. He has also raised funds and awareness for victims of the Asian Tsunami in cooperation with his predecessor, President George H.W. Bush. Clinton has actively raised funds and assistance for the U.S. Gulf Coast and the victims of 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 Law School.

ROBERT DANIN

Robert M. “Rob” Danin is Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, returning to the department after holding posts at the National Security Council. He previously served as the Senior Director for Near East and North African Affairs at the National Security Council, and before that was the National Security Council’s Director for the Near East and South Asia as well as its Director for Israeli–Palestinian Affairs. Before joining the National Security Council he spent several years at the U.S. Department of State, where he was the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs and where he also worked in the Policy Planning Staff and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Danin has been a Scholar-in-Residence at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He has a master’s from Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service and a D.Phil. from Oxford University.

JACKSON DIEHL

Jackson Diehl has worked as a writer and editor at *The Washington Post* since 1978. He has been a correspondent in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East, serving as chief of the Jerusalem bureau from 1989–92. He is currently the Deputy Editorial Page Editor and writes a regular column on international affairs.

E.J. DIONNE, JR.

E.J. Dionne, Jr. is a Senior Fellow in Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution and a Columnist at *The Washington Post*. Dionne’s most recent book *Stand Up Fight Back: Republican Toughs, Democratic Wimps, and the Politics of Revenge* was published in 2004. He also teaches at the Georgetown Public Policy Institute as University Professor in the Foundations of Democracy and Culture as of the fall of 2003 and is a Senior Advisor to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. He joined the Brookings Institution as a Senior Fellow in 1996, having previously been a Guest Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Dionne began his column for *The Washington Post* in 1993, and it is syndicated to more than ninety other newspapers. His best-selling book *Why Americans Hate Politics* was published in 1991. The book won the *Los Angeles Times* book prize and was a National Book Award nominee. Dionne joined *The Washington Post* as a reporter, covering national politics in 1990 after fourteen years with *The New York Times* reporting on state and local government, national politics, and from around the world, including tours in Paris, Rome, and Beirut. Dionne graduated summa cum laude with a B.A. from Harvard University and has a D.Phil. from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar.

GIORA EILAND

Giora Eiland is a Fellow at the Institute for National Security Studies and is the former 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.

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 the Chairman of Eurofund, a venture capital fund. Federmann is the Deputy Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 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 EU-Israel Forum. He has an M.B.A. and an Honorary Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

SHAI FELDMAN

Shai Feldman is the Judith and Sidney Swartz Director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University. He was previously the Director of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University (1997–2005) and he served as a member of the UN Secretary-General’s Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters (2001–3). A Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center following its establishment in 1977, Feldman was also the director of its project on “U.S. Foreign and Defense Policies in the Middle East” (1984–7) and its project on “Regional Security and Arms Control in the Middle East” (1989–94). Feldman has been a Visiting Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (1994), and a Senior Research Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government (1995–7). He

is the author of several books, including *After the War in Iraq: Defining the New Strategic Balance*. Educated at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Feldman was awarded a Ph.D. by the University of California, Berkeley.

DAVID FISHER

David Fisher is Chairman of Capital Group International, Inc. and Capital Guardian Trust Company, as well as an officer and director of numerous affiliated companies. He is a member of the International Advisory Council of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. Additionally, Fisher serves as the Non-Executive Chairman of The Capital Group Companies, Inc. He joined Capital Group International, Inc. in 1969 as a financial analyst and was Director of Research for 10 years. A graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, he holds an M.B.A. from the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of Missouri.

HAROLD FORD, JR.

Harold Ford, Jr. is the outgoing Democratic member of the United States House of Representatives for the Ninth District of Tennessee. Ford was first elected to the House in 1996, before running for the United States Senate in November 2006. During the 109th Congress, Ford sat on the House Budget Committee and the House Committee on Financial Services. In September 2004, Ford was appointed by the Joint Forces Command to serve on the Transformation Advisory Group. Ford is also a member of the Blue Dog Coalition, a group of moderate and fiscally conservative Democrats that has built a reputation for promoting positions that bridge the gap between ideological extremes. Ford co-chairs the Community Solutions and Initiatives Caucus and the Congressional Savings and Ownership Caucus. Ford received a bachelor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania and a law degree from the University of Michigan Law School.

DAVID FREUD

Freud took up his position as Chief Executive Office of The Portland Trust in February 2006. He is a former Vice Chairman of Investment Banking at UBS. A "Lex" columnist at *The Financial Times* in the early 1980s, Freud successfully built the leading international transport investment banking franchise at UBS, as well as strong operations in leisure and business services. In the late 1980s, he played a key role in transforming the merchant banking culture and organization of S.G. Warburg (later absorbed by UBS) for the investment banking arena. He was responsible for two complex restructurings: the UK air traffic system in 2003 and the Channel Tunnel Rail Link in 1998. His book *Freud in the City*, describing the

development of the City of London after the "Big Bang" of financial deregulation in the 1980s from a participant's perspective, was published in May 2006. He has a B.A. from Oxford University.

THOMAS FRIEDMAN

Thomas L. Friedman has been the Foreign-Affairs Columnist for *The New York Times* since 1995. He won his third Pulitzer Prize 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 1989-95, 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 Overseas Press Club award for best nonfiction book on foreign policy in 2000. His latest book, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century* was released in 2005. Friedman received a B.A. from Brandeis University and an M.Phil. from Oxford University.

EIVAL GILADY

Eival Gilady is the Chief Executive Officer of The Portland Trust Israel, a foundation established to foster peace and stability in the Middle East with economic tools and the mobilization of international resources. Gilady previously served as Head of Coordination and Strategy in Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's Bureau, which he joined in March 2005. Previously, he served from 2001-4 as Head of the Israel Defense Force's Strategic Planning Division where he was responsible for developing the plan for Israel's historic Gaza Strip and northern West Bank Disengagement. He 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 as a Brigadier General. Gilady is also the president of Vanadis Ltd, 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, D.C., and from George Washington University.

HIRSH GOODMAN

Hirsh Goodman is the Director of the Andrea and Charles Bronfman Program on Information Strategy,

Institute for National Security 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 Jerusalem Post*, Contributing Editor to *U.S. News & World Report*, contributor to *The New Republic*, special correspondent for *The Sunday Times* (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 2005.

JANE HARMAN

Jane Harman is the member of the U.S. House of Representatives for the 36th Congressional District of California. A leading Congressional expert on terrorism, homeland security and foreign affairs, Harman was first elected to Congress in 1992. In 2002, Harman was appointed by the House Democratic leadership as the Ranking Democrat on the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. She also serves on the Homeland Security Committee. A frequent guest on the *Today Show*, *Meet The Press*, *Face the Nation*, *Fox News Sunday*, as well as the *CNN* shows *American Morning*, *Late Edition*, and *Larry King Live*, her commentaries and opinion pieces have appeared throughout the country, including in *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Harman left the U.S. House of Representatives in 1998 to run for Governor of California. While out of office she served as a Regent's Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, teaching public policy and international relations. She won back her seat in Congress in 2000. Before entering Congress, Harman worked as an attorney, served as Special Counsel to the Department of Defense and as Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet in the White House of President Jimmy Carter. Harman began her career on Capitol Hill as Chief Counsel and Staff Director for the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. A graduate of Los Angeles public schools, Harman graduated from Smith College and Harvard Law School.

MICHAEL IGNATIEFF

Michael Ignatieff was elected to represent the Liberal Party, Canada's official opposition, in the Etobicoke-Lakeshore riding (district) of the House of Commons in January 2006. Previously, Ignatieff was Carr Professor of Human Rights and Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy in the John F. Kennedy School

of Government, Harvard University. He was also a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine* and a contributor to *The New Yorker*. He is the author of *Isaiah Berlin: A Life*, *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*, *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror*, and 12 other books. His books have been translated into 10 languages, and he has received seven honorary degrees. Ignatieff studied at the University of Toronto and at Oxford University, before completing a Ph.D. at Harvard 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 1995-7 and 2000-1. 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 Eastern Affairs in the U.S. Department of State 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 as 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.

ANDREA KOPPEL

Andrea Koppel is the Congressional Correspondent for *CNN*, having previously been *CNN*'s State Department Correspondent. One of the best-known broadcasters in the United States, Koppel in December 2003 traveled to Tripoli, Libya and secured the first interview with Libyan leader Moammar al-Gadhafi after he agreed to give up his weapons of mass destruction programs. Koppel also reported on the 1998 Wye River Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, the 1999 Shepherdstown Israeli-Syrian peace talks, and the 2000 Camp David Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. Before becoming the State Department Correspondent, Koppel served as *CNN*'s Beijing Bureau Chief and Correspondent and was a Tokyo-based *CNN* correspondent from 1993-5. Koppel earned a bachelor's degree in political science with a concentration in Chinese language and Asian studies from Middlebury College.

TED KOPPEL

Ted Koppel is the leading veteran broadcaster in the United States. He is currently the Managing Editor of the *Discovery Channel*, where he anchors and produces long

form programming examining major global topics and events for the largest national cable network in the United States. He joined the network in January 2006. Previously, Koppel was at *ABC News* for 42 years, where from 1980 onwards he was the anchor and managing editor of *ABC News Nightline*, one of the most honored broadcasts in television history. As the nation's longest running network daily news anchor, his interviews and reporting touched every major news story during the previous quarter of a century. A member of the Broadcasting Hall of Fame, Koppel has won every major broadcasting award. Before becoming *Nightline* anchor, Koppel worked as an anchor, foreign and domestic correspondent and bureau chief of *ABC News*. He holds a B.S. from Syracuse University and an M.A. from Stanford 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 generously funds the Kreiz Fellowship at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. The Kreiz Fellowship brings leading Israelis to Washington, D.C. Kreiz also serves on the Supervisory Board of the leading German broadcasting group ProSieben Sat1. He 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 Anderson School of Management, University of California, Los Angeles.

WILLIAM KRISTOL

William Kristol is editor of *The Weekly Standard*, as well as Chairman and co-founder of the Project for the New American Century. Before founding *The Weekly Standard* in 1995, Kristol led the Project for the Republican Future, where he helped shape the strategy that produced the 1994 Republican Congressional victory. Before that, Kristol served as Chief of Staff to Vice President Dan Quayle during the administration of President George H.W. Bush. From 1985-8, he served as Chief of Staff and Counselor to Secretary of Education William Bennett. Prior to coming to Washington, D.C., Kristol served on the faculty of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy

School of Government (1983-5) and the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania (1979-83). Kristol has published numerous articles and essays on topics including constitutional law, political philosophy, and public policy, and has co-edited several books. He is the co-author, with Lawrence Kaplan, of the best-selling book *The War Over Iraq*. He serves on the boards of the Manhattan Institute, the John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs, and the Shalem Foundation. Kristol received his A.B. and Ph.D. from Harvard University.

YOSEF KUPERWASSER

Yosef Kuperwasser is the Charles and Andrea Bronfman Visiting Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. Kuperwasser was previously the head of the Research Department of the Israel Defense Forces Directorate of Military Intelligence for five years until June 2006. In this capacity he was responsible for preparing Israel's national intelligence assessment. He was the Assistant Defense Attaché for Intelligence at the Israeli embassy in Washington, D.C. (1992-4) and the Intelligence Officer of the Israel Defense Forces Central Command (1998-2001). During his military service he has been involved in shaping the way that Israel has understood regional developments and in sharing those understandings with U.S. officials. Kuperwasser has a B.A. from Haifa University and an M.A. from Tel Aviv University.

TOM LANTOS

Congressman Tom Lantos (D-California) represents California's 12th Congressional district, a seat that he has held continuously since 1981. During the 109th Congress he was 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.

SAMUEL LEWIS

Samuel W. Lewis is on the boards of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University and Partners for Democratic Change, and serves as a Senior Policy Advisor to the Israel Policy Forum. Lewis' diplomatic career spanned 33 years, during which he

was the U.S. 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 Gerald 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 Henry Kissinger. His most recent government posts were as President and Chief Executive Officer of the newly created United States Institute of Peace, and subsequently as Director of the U.S. Department of State's Policy Planning Staff for the Clinton Administration from 1993-4. Lewis received a B.A. from Yale University and an M.A. from the School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

AVIGDOR LIEBERMAN

Avigdor Lieberman joined the current Israeli government as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Strategic Affairs at the end of October 2006. During the March 2006 Israeli general elections Lieberman's Yisrael Beiteinu (Israel is Our Home) Party, which he founded in 1999, won close to 10% of the vote, becoming the fifth largest party in the Knesset and winning 11 seats. Lieberman was previously Minister of Transportation from February 2003 until June 2004 and Minister of National Infrastructures from March 2001 to March 2002. One of the founders of the Zionist Forum for Soviet Jewry, Lieberman was a member of the Board of the Jerusalem Economic Corporation and the Secretary of the Jerusalem branch of the Histadrut Ovdim Le'umit. He served as Director General of the Prime Minister's Office (1996-7) and as Director General of the Likud Movement (1993-6). Lieberman has also been the editor of a newspaper, *Yoman Yisraeli*. Elected to the Knesset in 1999, he served as Chairman of the Israel-Moldova Parliamentary Friendship League. Lieberman immigrated to Israel from the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic in 1978. Lieberman has a B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

JOSEPH LIEBERMAN

Joseph "Joe" Lieberman (D-CT) was recently elected to his fourth term to the U.S. Senate, this time as an independent. During the 109th Congress he was the Ranking Member and former Chairman of the Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, as well as a member of the Environment and Public Works Committee. He was also on the Senate Armed Services

Committee, where he was Ranking Member of the Subcommittee on AirLand Forces, and a member of the Personnel and Sea Power Subcommittees. He also served as a member of the Senate Small Business Committee. Lieberman was first elected to the United States Senate in 1988, after serving as Connecticut's 21st Attorney General (1983-8). He previously spent two years in private legal practice (1980-2) and ten years in the Connecticut State Senate (1970-80), six of which he spent as Majority Leader. Lieberman is also a former Chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council. He received his bachelor's degree from Yale University and his law degree from Yale Law School.

TZIPI LIVNI

Tzipi Livni currently serves as Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs following the elections of March 2006 in which she was returned to the Knesset for the Kadima Party. In 2006 she was appointed Israel's Minister of Immigrant Absorption and in 2005 she was appointed Minister of Justice. She had previously been Minister of Housing and Construction from 2004-5. First elected to the Knesset in 1999 for the Likud Party, Livni served in previous governments as 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 1980-4. She served as a Lieutenant in the Israel Defense Forces. Livni has an LL.B. from Bar Ilan University.

NITA LOWEY

Nita M. Lowey is currently serving her ninth term as the member of the United States House of Representatives for the 18th Congressional District of New York, which encompasses parts of Westchester and Rockland counties. She was first elected to the United States House of Representatives in 1988 and has served in the Democratic Leadership in 2001 and 2002 as the first woman and the first New Yorker to chair the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. Lowey is as an extremely effective, committed legislator with a substantial record. During the 109th Congress, she was a member of the powerful House Appropriations Committee and was the Ranking Democrat on the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Subcommittee. She served as Assistant Secretary of State for the State of New York before being elected to Congress. Lowey received a bachelor's degree from Mount Holyoke College.

DAN MERIDOR

Dan Meridor is Vice Chairman of the Institute for National Security Studies and a partner in the law firm of Haim Zadok & Co. In 2004 he was appointed by Prime Minister Sharon and Defense Minister Mofaz to be chairman of the committee that wrote the first official and comprehensive report on Israel's defense policy, serving in that role until 2006. The report is currently under discussion. From August 2001 to February 2003, he served as Minister without Portfolio and was responsible for national defense and diplomatic strategy in Prime Minister Sharon's Bureau. From 1999-2001, Meridor served as the chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Meridor was Minister of Finance from June 1996-June 1997. From 1988-92, Meridor was Minister of Justice and a member of the Inner Cabinet. He 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 Yitzhak Shamir (1983-4) and Menachem Begin (1982-3). He holds an LL.B. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

SALLAI MERIDOR

Sallai Meridor is the newly appointed Ambassador of Israel to the United States. Meridor has previously served as the Chairman of the Jewish Agency for Israel and the World Zionist Organization from 1999-2005. Previously, Meridor was the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization, and was head of the World Zionist Organization's Settlement Division. Before joining the Jewish Agency, Meridor served as an advisor to the Israeli ministers of defense and of foreign affairs. During his government service he was involved in designing Israel's foreign and defense policies, played a role in the peace process leading to the Madrid Peace Conference—participating in the subsequent negotiations as the representative of the Israeli Ministry of Defense—and led Israel's Inter-Agency Steering Committee on Arms Control. Meridor has a B.A. 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.

CARLOS PASCUAL

Carlos Pascual is a vice president and the Director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. He was previously the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization at the U.S. Department of State where he led planning to help stabilize and reconstruct societies in transition from conflict or civil strife. Before taking up this post, Pascual had been Coordinator for U.S. Assistance to Europe and Eurasia in 2003 and U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine (2000-3). Pascual served as Special Assistant to President William J. Clinton and Senior Director for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia at the National Security Council (1998-2000), a position to which he was promoted from his previous service as Director for Russian, Ukrainian and Eurasian Affairs (1995-8). Pascual was Deputy Assistant Administrator for Europe and the New Independent States (1994-5) and Director of the Office of Program Analysis and Coordination for the New Independent States Task Force (1992-4) at the United States Agency for International Development, which he joined in 1983 and under whose aegis he served tours of duty overseas in Sudan, South Africa, Mozambique. Pascual has a B.A. from Stanford University and an M.P.P. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

TODD PATKIN

Todd G. Patkin is the founder of Todd G. Patkin Companies and the former president of Autopart International, one of the leading companies in the automotive aftermarket 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. He generously funds fellowships in the Saban Center for Middle East Policy's Arab Democracy and Development Project that bring scholars and activists from the Arab world to Washington, D.C. The 2004 Million Calorie March, which increased awareness of the obesity epidemic in the United States, was one of his most successful ventures, while the Todd G. Patkin Opera-tunity Performing Arts Center brings the arts to many communities surrounding Easton, Massachusetts, and to inner city children. Patkin serves on the New England Board of the Anti Defamation League. He 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.

NORMAN PEARLSTINE

Norman Pearlstine is the Senior Advisor to the Global Communications and Media Team at the Carlyle Group. He was named Senior Advisor to Time Warner in January 2006, following eleven years as Editor-in-Chief of the company's Time Inc. subsidiary. As Editor-in-Chief, Pearlstine oversaw the editorial content of Time Inc.'s 154 magazines, including *Time* magazine, *Entertainment Weekly*, *Fortune*, *In Style*, *People*, and *Sports Illustrated*. Before joining Time Inc. in 1994, Pearlstine had in 1993 joined with Paramount Communications Inc., QVC and Richard Rainwater to form Friday Holdings L.P., a multimedia investment company in which he served as General Partner. In 1992, Pearlstine spent a year launching *Smart Money* magazine in a combined venture for Dow Jones & Company and Hearst. He previously worked for *The Wall Street Journal* from 1968-92, aside from 1978-80 when he was an executive editor of *Forbes* magazine. He is President and Chief Executive Officer of the American Academy in Berlin and is President of the Atsuko Chiba Foundation, which provides scholarships to Asian journalists to study in the United States. Pearlstine also serves on the boards of the Carnegie Corporation, the Committee to Protect Journalists, the Arthur F. Burns Fellowship Program, the Berlin School of Creative Leadership at Steinbeis University, the Tribeca Film Institute; and the advisory boards of the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University, the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of California and the City University of New York's Graduate School of Journalism. Pearlstine earned his B.A. from Haverford College and his LL.B. from the University of Pennsylvania.

SHIMON PERES

Shimon Peres currently serves as the Vice Prime Minister to Prime Minister Ehud Olmert. Shimon Peres was previously 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 Minister of Foreign Affairs 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 Yassir 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 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., and a member of the International Advisory Council of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. Paul Davril, Inc., is 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 POLLACK

Kenneth M. Pollack is the Director of Research at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy and a Brookings Senior Fellow. He has 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 *A Switch in Time: A New Strategy for America in Iraq* (2006) and *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991* (2002). Pollack received a B.A. from Yale University and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

DALIA RABIN

Dalia Rabin 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. Rabin served in the Knesset from 1999 until 2003. In 1999, Rabin 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 is an attorney by training.

BRUCE RIEDEL

Bruce Riedel is Senior Fellow for Political Transitions in the Middle East and South Asia in the Saban Center for Middle East Policy. Riedel is an analyst of Middle East and South Asia history and politics with extensive experience in regional diplomacy, conflict management, counter terrorism and energy security. He retired from government after 30 years service at the Central Intelligence Agency including postings overseas in the Middle East and Europe. He was a senior advisor on the region to the Presidents George W. Bush, William J. Clinton and George H.W. Bush at the National Security Council. He was also Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for the Near East and South Asia at the Pentagon and a Senior Advisor at NATO. Riedel was a member of President Clinton's peace team at the Camp David, Wye River, and Shepherdstown summits. His work at Brookings will focus on the progress of transition by examining effective diplomacy, conflict management, and counterterrorism tactics. His forthcoming book is provisionally entitled *The Hunt for al-Qa'ida: America's Friends and Foes in the Islamic World*. He has a B.A. from Brown University, a master's from Harvard University and has studied at the Royal College of Defence Studies in London.

CARLA ANNE ROBBINS

Carla Anne Robbins is Assistant Editorial Page Editor for *The New York Times*. She was previously *The Wall Street Journal's* Chief Diplomatic Correspondent and edited the Washington bureau's feature articles on foreign policy, defense and national security. She covered Central and Latin America for *U.S. News & World Report* as Senior Diplomatic Correspondent and Latin America Bureau Chief, after beginning her career at *Business Week*. Robbins received the Edward Weintal Prize for Diplomatic Reporting in 2003 and shared in two Pulitzer Prizes at *The Wall Street Journal* and other reporting prizes. Robbins has also been a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University. A graduate of Wellesley, Robbins holds 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 U.S. 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 U.S. Department of State's Policy Planning Office during the administration of President George H.W. Bush. During the Reagan Administration, Ross was Director of Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council 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' next book, *Statecraft: How to Restore America's Standing in the World*, is due to be released in 2007. Ross received a B.A. and a Ph.D. from the University of California, Los Angeles

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.

DAVID SATTERFIELD

David M. Satterfield became Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State and Coordinator for Iraq in August 2006 with the rank of Ambassador, following service as Deputy Chief of Mission in the U.S. Embassy to Iraq from May 2005 until July 2006. Before leaving for Iraq he was Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs from June 2004 until May 2005 and Deputy Assistant Secretary for the previous three years. He was Ambassador to Lebanon from 1998–2001. Satterfield served from 1993–6 as Director for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs at the National Security

Council, and was Director of the U.S. Department of State's Office of Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs from 1996-8. He has served overseas in Jeddah, Tunis, Beirut, and Damascus. In addition to other U.S. Department of State assignments in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs and the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, he was Director of the Executive Secretariat Staff from 1990-3. He attended the University of Maryland and Georgetown 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 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 1995-8, Deputy Chief of the General Staff (1991-5), Head of the Intelligence Branch (1986-91), and Head of the Central Command (1983-6). 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 writes for the weekend supplement, the art supplement, and the editorial page of the daily newspaper *Ma'ariv*. 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*. 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 nationwide 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.

ARI SHAVIT

Ari Shavit is a senior feature writer for *Ha'aretz*, specializing in writing 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. He wrote a major piece for *The New Yorker* about Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in February 2006, and he is currently writing a book for Doubleday that is a personal journey dealing with Israel's past, present and future. Shavit earned a B.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

CHRISTOPHER SHAYS

Christopher Shays is the member of the United States House of Representatives for the 4th Congressional District of Connecticut. He is the Vice Chairman of the Government Reform Committee, Chairman of its Subcommittee on National Security, Emerging Threats, and International Relations and a member of the Homeland Security Committee. With the Business Council of Fairfield County and the Bridgeport Regional Business Council, Shays launched the One Coast, One Future initiative, bringing Norwalk, Bridgeport and Stamford together to promote regional economic development and attract more businesses to the area. Congressman Shays served in Fiji as a Peace Corps volunteer. He is a graduate of Principia College and received his M.B.A. and M.P.A. from New York University.

JAMES STEINBERG

James B. Steinberg became Dean and J.J. "Jake" Pickle Regents Chair in Public Affairs of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at University of Texas at Austin on January 1, 2006. Previously, he was a vice president and the Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution (2001-5), where he supervised a wide-ranging research program on U.S. foreign policy. From 1996-2000, he served as Deputy National Security Advisor to President William J. Clinton, also acting as Clinton's personal representative to the 1998 and 1999 G-8 summits. He was previously Chief of Staff of the U.S. Department of State and Director of its Policy Planning Staff (1994-6), and was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Analysis in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (1993-4). Steinberg has also been a Senior Analyst at the RAND Corporation (1989-93), and a Senior Fellow for U.S. Strategic Policy at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London (1985-7). He served as Senator Edward Kennedy's principal aide for the Senate Armed Services Committee (1983-1985); Minority Counsel, U.S.

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (1981-3); Special Assistant to the U.S. Assistant Attorney General (Civil Division) (1979-80); Law Clerk to Judge David L. Bazelon, U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit (1978-9); and Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1977). Steinberg received his B.A. from Harvard University and his J.D. from Yale Law School.

DAVID STEINER

David S. Steiner is the Chairman of Steiner Equities Group and a member of the International Advisory Council of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. The Steiner Equities Group, based in Roseland, New Jersey, has designed and built over 10 million square feet of commercial property, including some of the largest build-to-suit office and laboratory projects in the United States. Steiner is active in the community and in public service. He was recently appointed to be a Commissioner of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey and he is trustee of the United Jewish Committees of Metrowest. Steiner served as National President of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee in 1992, Vice President of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy (1985-91) and National President of the National Association of Office Parks (1973-4). He graduated with honors from the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon).

ANGELA STENT

Angela Stent is Professor of Government and Director of the Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies in the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, and a Nonresident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution. She served on the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. Department of State (1999-2001), where she dealt with Russian and Central European affairs. She is a specialist on Soviet and post-Soviet foreign policy, focusing on Europe and the Russian-German relationship, and has published on East-West technology transfer. She has taught at Holy Cross College, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the U.S. Department of State's Foreign Service Institute. She has served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of State, to the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, to Shell Oil, and is a Senior Associate of Cambridge Energy Research Associates. She is on the academic advisory board of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, on the Advisory Board of Women in International Security, and on the Board

of the U.S.-Russia Business Forum. A former MacArthur Fellow, Stent has a B.A. from Cambridge University, an M.Sc. from the London School of Economics and Political Science, and an A.M. and Ph.D. from Harvard University.

STROBE TALBOTT

Strobe Talbott became President of the Brookings Institution in July 2002. He was previously Founding Director of the Yale Center for the Study of Globalization. Talbott served in the U.S. Department of State from 1993-2001, first as Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor 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, during which he covered Eastern Europe, the U.S. Department of State, and the White House. He was *Time's* Washington Bureau Chief, Editor-at-Large and Foreign Affairs Columnist. He began his publishing career by translating and editing two volumes of Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs and has written seven books. His most recent is *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and the Bomb* (2004), and he is currently writing a book on global governance. A Rhodes Scholar, Talbott received a B.A. from Yale University and an M.Litt. from Oxford University.

PUNEET TALWAR

Puneet Talwar is a senior staff member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is the chief advisor on the Middle East to Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-DE), who is due to assume the Chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the 110th Congress in January 2007. He served in the Clinton Administration as a member of the U.S. Department of State's Policy Planning Staff. He also worked as a foreign policy advisor to Congressman Thomas C. Sawyer (D-OH) and was an official with the United Nations (1990-2). He holds a bachelor's degree from Cornell University and a master's degree from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.

YULI TAMIR

Yuli Tamir is Israel's Minister of Education following her election to the 17th Knesset for the Israeli Labor Party. Tamir was also served in the 16th Knesset as an active member of the Knesset Committees on Education, Finance, the Constitution, and Corruption. She first entered the Knesset in 1999, and during the subsequent 15th Knesset she was the Minister of Immigrant Absorption (1999-2001). Tamir has served on the boards

of the Israel Civil Rights Association, the Jerusalem Foundation (1998-9) and the Israel Democracy Institute (1995-9). She was previously a Professor of Political Philosophy at the Tel Aviv University and has been a Research Fellow at the Hartman Institute in Jerusalem, Princeton and Harvard universities. In 1980, Tamir joined the Women's Lobby and the Ratz Party and in 1978 she helped to found *Shalom Ashav* (Peace Now). She has a B.A., summa cum laude, and an M.A. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and a D.Phil. 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 U.S. 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.

GEORGE TENET

George Tenet was sworn in as the 18th Director of Central Intelligence in July 1997, following a unanimous vote by both the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the full Senate. In this post, he led the United States Intelligence Community's 14 foreign intelligence organizations and presided over the daily activities of the Central Intelligence Agency. Before this appointment, Tenet was Acting Director of Central Intelligence as of December 1996, having previously been Deputy Director of Central Intelligence as of July 1995. Before joining the Intelligence Community, Tenet was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Intelligence Programs at the National Security Council, where he developed and coordinated policies on virtually every aspect of intelligence and espionage from collection priorities to covert action. He earlier was a member of President William J. Clinton's national security transition team, responsible for a comprehensive assessment of the Intelligence Community. After retiring from government, Tenet was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. He was appointed Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy in the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign

Service, and Senior Research Associate in the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy in 2004. Tenet has a B.A. from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service and a master's from the School of International Affairs at Columbia University.

YOSEF VARDI

Yosef Vardi is the Principal of International Technologies Ventures, a private venture capital enterprise. He was the Founding Investor and Chairman of Mirabilis Ltd., the creator of ICQ, the first instant messaging service for 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 has received the Prime Minister's hi-tech award, the Entrepreneur of the Year award, and other distinguished awards. Vardi earned a B.Sc., an M.Sc. and a D.Sc. from the Israel Institute of Technology, the Technion.

J. RICHARD WATERS

J. Richard Waters has served as Director for Israel, Palestinian, Jordanian and Egyptian Affairs at the National Security Council since August 2006. Before his current assignment, Waters was Deputy Director of the Office of Israeli and Palestinian Affairs at the Department of State. Previously he served as Senior Political Officer for Israeli and Palestinian Affairs, Staff Assistant to Ambassadors C. David Welch and William Joseph Burns, and had overseas tours in Quito, Ecuador, and Beijing, China. Before joining the Foreign Service, Waters served as a Presidential Management Fellow in the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs in the U.S. Department of State. He also worked as a Research Fellow at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy and as a Consultant at the Crocker Group. Waters earned his bachelor's and master's degrees at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

DOV WEISSGLAS

Dov Weissglas is Chairman of the Board, Bezeq (The Israel Telecommunication Corp.). Before rejoining the corporate sector, Weissglas was Chief of the Prime Minister's Bureau and Special Advisor to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon from

May 2002 to June 2006. One of the architects of the Gaza Strip Disengagement plan, Weissglas was responsible for negotiations with the Palestinian Authority, the United States, and the European Union—representing Israel and speaking on behalf of the prime minister. Weissglas began his career as an attorney in the law firm of Moritz-Margolis. He later acquired the practice, with his partner Amir Almagor, and made it one of Israel's leading law firms. Weissglas has served as counsel in many of Israel's prominent legal cases, mainly in public law. He represented many prominent Israelis in various investigation committees and was extensively involved in security affiliated legal cases. Weissglas has been Sharon's attorney since 1982 and filed Sharon's libel suit against *Time* magazine. He received his LL.B. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

C. DAVID WELCH

C. David Welch has served as Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs since March 2005. Previously he was U.S. Ambassador to the Arab Republic of Egypt (2001-5), and before that posting he served as Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (1998-2001). Welch has served as the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs (1995-8), during which time he negotiated the ceasefire in northern Iraq (1996-7). During his service as the Deputy Chief of Mission in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia (1992-5), Welch was Chargé d'Affaires (1992-4) in the absence of an Ambassador. Before his posting to Saudi Arabia, Welch was Executive Assistant to the Under Secretary for Political Affairs at the Department of State (1991-2) and worked at the National Security Council (1989-91). From 1986-8, he was a Political Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Amman, Jordan and was Chief of the Political Section in Damascus, Syria (1984-6). Welch has a bachelor's from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, a master's from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and he has studied at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

TAMARA COFMAN WITTES

Tamara Cofman Wittes is Director of the Saban Center's Arab Democracy and Development Project, an innovative program that researches U.S. policy toward democratization in the Arab world and the challenge of Middle Eastern economic and political reform and that brings scholars and activists from the Arab world to Washington, D.C. Wittes is also a Research Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy. Previously, she

was Director of Programs at the Middle East Institute and Middle East Specialist at the United States Institute of Peace. Her work has addressed a wide range of topics, including Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations, humanitarian intervention, and ethnic conflict. She is the editor and a contributor to *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process* (2005). Her forthcoming book is entitled *Freedom's Unsteady March: America's Role in Building Arab Democracy*. Wittes received a B.A. from Oberlin College, and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Georgetown University.

JAMES WOLFENSOHN

James Wolfensohn currently serves as the Chairman of the Citigroup International Advisory Board. He 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, serving in this capacity until April 30, 2006. As Special Envoy, Wolfensohn focused on Israeli-Palestinian coordination concerning the nonmilitary 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 private sector experience, serving as President and Chief Executive Officer of James D. Wolfensohn, Inc. from 1981-95, Chairman of Salomon Brothers International, London from 1977-81, and holding numerous positions in companies in New York, London, and Australia. He is on the Board of Directors of Rockefeller University. 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 Middle East Commentator for Israel's *Channel Two News* and Associate Editor for *The Jerusalem Report*. He is also a Lafer International Fellow of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. 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.

AMOS YADLIN

Major General Amos Yadlin became the Director of Military Intelligence of the Israel Defense Forces in January 2006. A pilot with a distinguished career in the Israeli Air Force, Yadlin in 1981 participated in the raid that successfully destroyed the Osirak nuclear reactor in Iraq. Before taking up the post of Director of Military Intelligence, Yadlin was Israeli Defense and Armed Forces Attaché in Washington, D.C. from 2004-5. Promoted Major General in February 2002 when he became Commander of the Israel Defense Forces Colleges, he was previously Chief of the Air Staff and Deputy Commander of the Israel Air Force as of June 2000. From 1998-2000, Yadlin was Israeli Air Force Director of Intelligence and from 1995-8 was Commander of Hatserim Air Force Base, the largest in Israel, having commanded the Nevatim Air Force Base from 1994-5. Yadlin received his B.A. from the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev and an M.P.A. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

DANIEL YERGIN

Daniel Yergin is Chairman of Cambridge Energy Research Associates, one of the world's leading consulting and research firms in the energy field. He received a Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction for his work *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power*, which has been translated into 12 languages, while Yergin's *Commanding Heights: the Battle for the World Economy* has been translated into 13 languages—both books were made into major PBS television series. Yergin is also a recipient of the United States Energy Award for “lifelong achievements in energy and the promotion of international understanding.” He serves as *CNBC* Global Energy Expert. He is a member of the National Petroleum Council and the U.S. Secretary of Energy's Advisory Board, a Director of the United States Energy Association, and a Trustee of the Brookings Institution. Yergin received his B.A. from Yale University and his Ph.D. from Cambridge University.



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, a specialist on political reform in the Arab world who directs the Middle East Democracy and Development Project; Bruce Riedel, who served as a senior advisor to three Presidents on the Middle East and South Asia at the National Security Council during a 29 year career in the CIA, a specialist on counterterrorism; Suzanne Maloney, a former senior State Department official who focuses on Iran and economic development; Shibley Telhami, who holds the Sadat Chair at the University of Maryland; Daniel Byman, a Middle East terrorism expert from Georgetown University; Steven Heydemann, a specialist on Middle East democratization issues from Georgetown University; and Ammar Abdulhamid, a Syrian dissident and specialist on Syrian politics. The center is located in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at Brookings, led by Carlos Pascual, its Director and a Brookings vice president.

The Saban Center is undertaking path breaking research in five areas: the implications of regime change in Iraq, including post-war nation-building and Persian 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. Relations with the Islamic World, which is directed by Stephen Grand. The project focuses on analyzing the problems in the relationship between the United States and Muslim states and communities around the globe, with the objective of developing effective policy responses. The project's activities includes a task force of experts, a global conference series bringing together American and Muslim world leaders, a visiting fellows program for specialists from the Islamic world, initiatives in science and the arts, and a monograph and book series. As part of the project, a center has been opened in Doha, Qatar under the directorship of Hady Amr.





THE SABAN CENTER
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