THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
SABAN FORUM 2015

ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES: YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW

KEYNOTE ADDRESS:
PRIME MINISTER BENJAMIN NETANYAHU

Washington, D.C.

ANDERSON COURT REPORTING
706 Duke Street, Suite 100
Alexandria, VA 22314
Phone (703) 519-7180  Fax (703) 519-7190
Sunday, December 6, 2015

PARTICIPANTS:

BENJAMIN NETANYAHU
Prime Minister of Israel

TAMARA COFMAN WITTES
Director and Senior Fellow, Center for Middle East Policy
The Brookings Institution

* * * * *
PROCEEDINGS

MS. WITTES: Folks, please stay in your seats. We have now fresh off the wires, thank you to all of our tech CEOs for the world you have created that has allowed Prime Minister Netanyahu to record a video for us this morning in Israel that we are going to view this morning in Washington. Thank you.

PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU: Greetings from Jerusalem. I want to thank my friend, Haim, for giving me the opportunity to address you. This comes at a time when the United States has experienced a terrible and savage attack in San Bernardino, and I wish to offer the condolences of the people of Israel to the families, the aggrieved families, and of course, send our wishes for a speedy recovery to the wounded.

The terrorists are attacking in California or in Israel, and for that matter, in Paris. They are attacking the very values that we hold dear, freedom,
tolerance, diversity, all the things that define the value of life and society in our eyes, they find infernal. That's why they attack us.

I think, too, this is what makes us strong. They think that we are agonistic and weak. We're actually very strong societies, very resilient, because of the very values they despise so much.

These values are what makes the bond between Israel and the United States, the American people and the people of Israel so strong. It's that identity of values, those very values that are under such fierce attack today.

I think nobody should underestimate the resilience and power of our societies. Nobody should underestimate the United States. It was and remains and will be the leader of the world precisely because it is so rooted in the values that makes societies great.

These are the same values by which we live, and that's why nobody should underestimate Israel, and nobody should underestimate the strength of our
alliance. It's strong, and it will be even stronger in years to come.

I appreciate the President's willingness to forge a new agreement between Israel and the United States, a 10 year MOU, to strengthen Israeli-American cooperation, and strengthen Israel's security with American support. I think everybody in Israel appreciates that beginning with me.

We face today two challenges that I'd like to briefly discuss with you. One is a global challenge of the battle of militant Islamic terrorism that plagues not only the Middle East but increasingly Europe, the United States, and Asia, everywhere, Africa.

The second is the specific problem of the Palestine-Israel conflict which I'd like to address. On the global front, I have to say that many used to say that the core of the conflicts in the Middle East and from there the rest of the world were rooted in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. That was never true, but it's not demonstrably false. What we see as
the old order established after the Ottoman Empire collapsed and militant Islam either of the Shiatsu led by Iran or the Sunni led by ISIS, rushing in to fill the void.

Now those two forces are clashing with each other because each wants to be the king of the Islamic hill. They hope to first establish in the Middle East and then after that in mad designs throughout the rest of the world.

It nonetheless is a battle of militant Islam against other Muslims and against everyone else. That is clearly demonstrated in the case of ISIS, that doesn't mince its words, and is disguised by Iran that has equal ambitions.

The danger that we face is when militant Islam gets the sovereign state, because the state gives them money, and oil revenues, in particular, for either one, and it gives them the power to develop weapons or acquire weapons, chemical weapons in the case of ISIS, and other sophisticated weapons, and of course, the quest for nuclear weapons or submarines or
satellites, and sundry other rockets and precision guided missiles in the case of Iran.

These forces are battling each other now over the soils of Syria, and our position has been -- my position has been not to intervene because an ISIS dominated Syria is bad and an Iran dominated Syria is bad. I think our policy has been, therefore, not to try to strengthen one at the expense of the other but weaken both, but in any case, my policy has been non-intervention with two exceptions.

The first is humanitarian. We were among the first countries to offer humanitarian aid to Syria. We established a field hospital right next to the border of Golan, and have taken in thousands of Syrians who have come in astounded. They had always thought that Israel and Israelis were devils, and now they were healing angels.

The second thing I decided to do is to make it clear that Israel will not tolerate the use of Syrian territory for passing lethal weapons to open a war fund against us in Lebanon or to use Syrian
 territory for attacks against us, or to enable Iran to build a second military fund against us from the Golan or anywhere else in Syria.

These are clear principles which we uphold. I have expressed also to President Putin of Russia that these are principles that we will continue to uphold, and that it makes sense that Russia and Israel have de-confliction. We have done that, just as the United States has done that.

It's very important for me to stress that Israeli policy will continue along the lines that I've just outlined.

If I look at the world overall, the horror of the conflicts in the Middle East, that is the battle with early Medievalism and Modernity is the battle that is being waged now around the world. The advanced countries in the world, the civilized countries in the world, have to make common cause to contend and ultimately defeat militant Islam.

Deep down, human beings want to have freedom. I think that desire and the technology of
freedom, the spread of information, will ultimately defeat militant Islam, just as it defeated another murderous ideology bent on world domination, Nazism.

In the case of Nazism, it took down about 60 million people and a third of our own people before it went down, and this cannot be allowed to happen again.

I think it won't happen again. One, because we have the historical antecedents, and two, because we have the State of Israel, as far as the Jewish people are concerned. We will not allow any one of these violent medievalist forces to threaten our country and threaten our people.

Insofar as the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is concerned, I think there is another misunderstanding. People have long said that the core of this conflict is the acquisition of territories by Israel in the 1967 war. That's an issue that needs to be addressed in any peace process, as is the question of settlements, but it's not the core of the conflict.

In Garza, nothing changed. In fact, instead of getting peace, we gave territory and got 15,000
rockets on our heads. We took out all the settlements. We dis-inurned people from their graves. Did we get peace? No. We got the worse terror possible.

I think that happened earlier, too, when we left Lebanon, and people said, well, if you leave Lebanon, then Hezbollah will make peace with you. In fact, we got 15,000 rockets from there, too.

So, people are naturally saying look, if we want a solution vis-à-vis the Palestinians in the West Bank, how can we ensure that this doesn't happen again. Well, in order for us to ensure that it doesn't happen again, we have to address the root cause of the problem.

Why has this conflict not been resolved for 100 years? Why has it not been resolved after success of Israeli Prime Ministers? Six, in fact. If an offer to make peace was offered to the Palestinians and the possibility of building a state next to Israel -- the Palestinians have not yet been willing to cross that conceptual bridge, that emotional bridge, of
giving up the dream, not of a state next to Israel, but a state instead of Israel.

That is why they persistently refuse, not only in Garza, but the PA. They consistently refuse to accept that in the final peace settlement they will recognize the Jewish state. They will recognize a nation state for the Jewish people.

They asked that we recognize a nation state for the Palestinian people, but refuse to accord that same right to us. I have said, and I continue to say, that ultimately the only workable solution is not an unitary state, but a demilitarized Palestinian state that recognizes the Jewish state. That's the solution.

The Palestinians have to recognize the Jewish state, and they have persistently refused to do so. They refuse to recognize a nation state for the Jewish people in any boundary. That was and remains the core of the conflict. Not this or that or the absence of this or that gesture, but the inability or
unwillingness of the Palestinian leadership to make the leap.

You got an endearment the other day Abu Mazen spoke about the occupation of Palestinian lands for the last 67 years. Did you hear that? Occupation of Palestinian lands for the last 67 years. Sixty-seven years ago was 1948. That's when the state of Israel was established.

Does Abu Mazen mean that Tel Aviv is occupied Palestinian territory or Ifa or Bashiva? He refuses to 'fess up to his people and say it's over.

From their point of view, what they say are the borders they wish, the final borders they wish. They refuse to recognize that they will have no more claim on the territory of the Jewish state, that they will not try in any way to flood it with the descendants of refugees. After all, we in Israel took in an equal and even larger number of Jewish refugees from Arab lands.

I mention this point about mutual national recognition because it is so fundamental, and like the
mantra that was raised time and time again, that the core of the conflict always in the singular, the conflict, in the Middle East was the Palestinian-Israel conflict. That has turned out to be even childish and irrelevant.

The same thing I'm saying will happen with the argument about the core of the conflict being the settlements or the territories. They are an issue to be resolved, but they are not the core of the conflict.

I think it's important if we are ever going to resolve this issue is to demand from the Palestinian leadership to recognize the Jewish state.

We will still have many, many issues to resolve, but it begins with the recognition of the right of the Jewish people to have a state of their own. This is the fundamental piece.

The absence of this recognition is the real obstacle. I don't lose hope. You can't be a leader of the Jewish people and not have hope, because we
have overcome so many things in the last thousands of years, and in the last 100 years.

We have clawed our way back to a sovereign existence. We have built a remarkable state. It's a world leader in technology and agriculture, irrigation, cyber, medicine, and so many areas.

We made peace with two countries, Jordan and Egypt. As the picture that I described about the threat of militant Islam to Arab and Muslim society emerging, we are making inroads in a lot of context with Arab countries, a lot of context in what are not Arab countries as well. The leading countries of Asia, China, India, Japan, dozens of African countries, countries in Latin America.

It's heartening to see how Israel is being received and how people are changing their view of Israel as they change their view of the essential conflict between Medievalism and Modernity and is now spreading through the entire world.

I know with all the openness that we have with dozens and dozens of countries, including in our
own region, I still know we have no better friend than the United States. This is a partnership of solid values. It is the deepest partnership there is. I value it across the partisan divides, Democrats, Republicans, independents.

We cherish your support. We value it. We believe that this partnership between Israel and the United States of America is the axis around which many other partnerships can be built in our region and beyond for the betterment of all humanity.

Thank you. (Applause)
CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Carleton J. Anderson, III

(Signature and Seal on File)

Notary Public in and for the Commonwealth of Virginia
Commission No. 351998
Expires: November 30, 2016