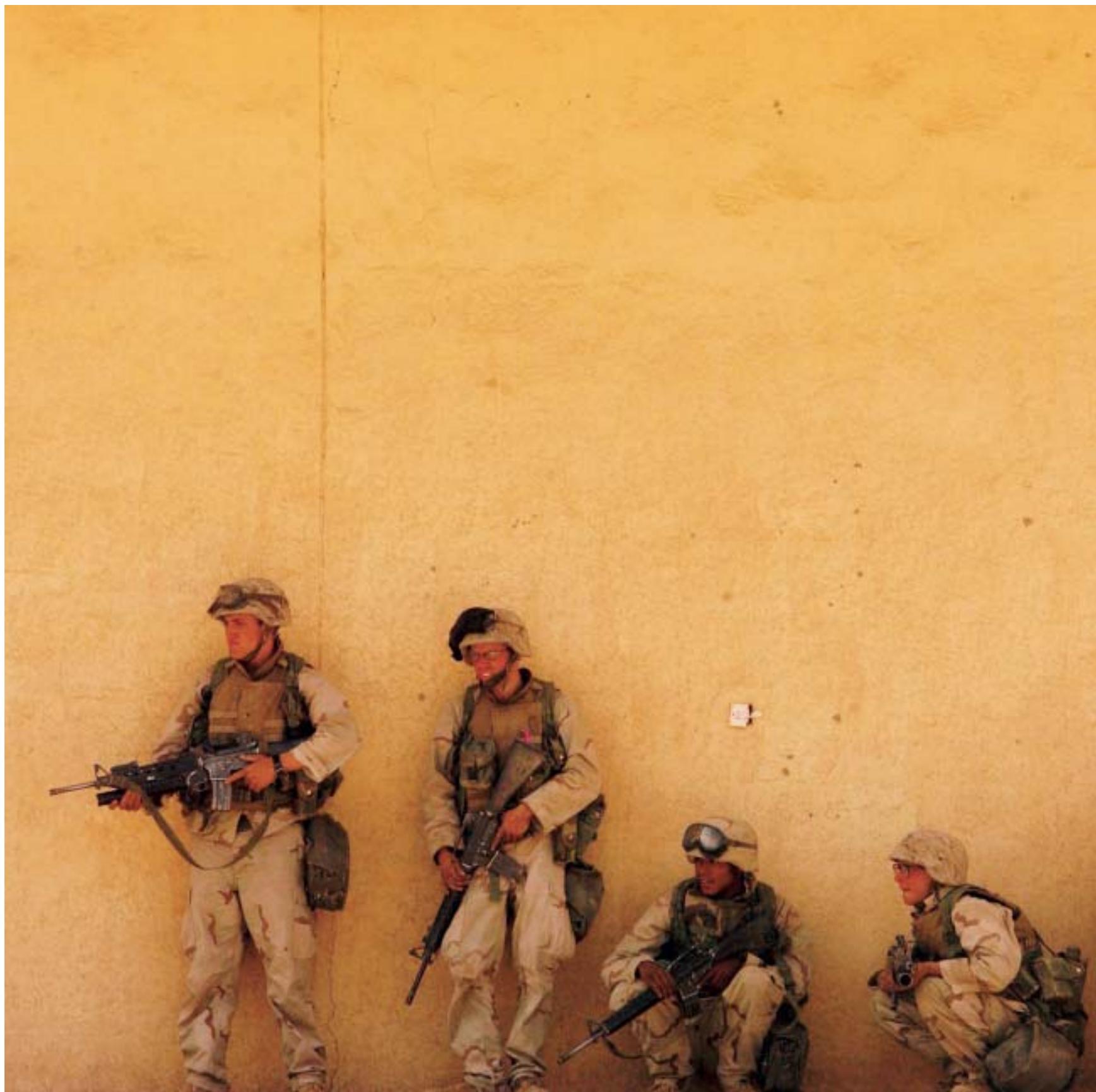


**The Saban Center for Middle East Policy
at The Brookings Institution**



Ideas that matter





CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE

Two years ago, I approached Martin Indyk to discuss the idea of creating a Middle East think tank in Washington. The horrific terrorist attacks in the United States, Israel, and many other places around the world underlined the need for a systematic examination of how to deal with this fundamental threat to our security and well-being. Believing that ideas can move nations to action, I wanted to bring together the best minds from the United States and the Middle East to engage in a creative dialogue, to conduct in-depth studies, and to generate policy initiatives that could improve our world.

Washington is filled with think tanks, and many of them after 9/11 devoted a good deal of their energy to these problems. But most were advocacy institutions, and others concentrated on reacting to the events of the day. The Brookings Institution, the oldest and most respected think tank in Washington, had a different approach. At Brookings, I found people with policy experience working on long-term research projects; they were determined to look beyond the day-to-day events to identify the more profound forces and dynamics that affect the course of history. Yet one thing this great institution lacked was a research center focused on the Middle East. I saw an opportunity to fill this gap and make a real difference in the Washington policy debate.

The Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution was established in May 2002 to apply a long view and serious research to the quandaries the United States faces in the Middle East: the threats of war, the opportunities for peace-making, the scourge of terrorism, and the challenges of political and economic development.

New approaches to old Middle East problems based on in-depth research and innovative thinking is the motto and mission of the Saban Center at Brookings. As someone who was born in Egypt, grew up in Israel, and made his home in the United States, I strongly believe in the benign influence of the United States in this troubled region of my birth. I am honored to have the opportunity to make this new effort possible and proud of the results we have already achieved in the two short years of the Saban Center's existence.

Already, others who share our concerns about the Middle East and understand the role of ideas based on objective research have joined this undertaking. We are very grateful to Danny Abraham for funding the unique Daniel Abraham Israeli-Palestinian Workshop series. We are grateful to the extraordinary generosity of His Highness the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, that has enabled us to institutionalize the innovative U.S.-Islamic World Forum. And I owe a debt of gratitude to President William J. Clinton, Beny Alagem, Dawn and Roland Arnall, Ron Burkle, Rupert Murdoch, and Eric Smidt

for serving on the Saban Center's International Advisory Council. We hope others will want to join this exciting and critical endeavor.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Haim Saban', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Haim Saban
Chairman
International Advisory Council

The Saban Center gratefully acknowledges the following donors for their generous support:

INDIVIDUALS

Haim and Cheryl Saban
S. Daniel Abraham
Beny Alagem
Dawn and Roland Arnall
Ron Burkle
Nemir Kirdar
Hasib Sabbagh
Eric Smidt

FOUNDATIONS

The Education and Employment Foundation
The Ford Foundation
The MacArthur Foundation
The State of Qatar
The Charles H. Revson Foundation
The U.S. Institute of Peace

In addition, the Saban Center owes a debt of gratitude to two individuals who played an essential role in its founding and success: Michael H. Armacost, former president of the Brookings Institution, and James B. Steinberg, Brookings vice president and director of its Foreign Policy Studies Program, in which the Saban Center is housed.





BROOKINGS PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

All of us at Brookings are deeply grateful to Haim Saban and very proud to have the Saban Center for Middle East Policy within the Institution. It was in May 2002 that Mr. Saban, an entrepreneur and philanthropist, came to Brookings with the idea of founding a policy center devoted entirely to the Middle East. As it happened, Martin Indyk had joined the Brookings staff only a few months before. Martin was already well known for his service as the U.S. ambassador to Israel and a number of other senior positions in government, as well as for his past role in creating one of Washington's more effective Middle East think tanks. The timing could not have been better in an era when issues such as Iraq, the war on terrorism, relations with Arabs and Muslims, and Arab-Israel tensions have risen to the top of Washington's agenda—and the world's.

Together with Ken Pollack, the Center's director of research, and other talented scholars, Martin has turned the Saban Center into Washington's premier source of research, analysis, and innovative thinking

on the Middle East. In my encounters with prominent policymakers and analysts around the world, I am often complimented on the extraordinary work of the Saban Center. Martin and Ken have brought together an exceptional group of researchers to do something unique in Washington—to look beyond the press of daily events and understand the longer-term dynamics that impact the viability and effectiveness of U.S. policies in the Middle East.

As its profile has risen, the Saban Center has become a top destination for Middle Eastern visitors to Washington. Israel's Shimon Peres, King Abdullah of Jordan, the Emir of Qatar, and the foreign ministers of Egypt and Jordan are just some of the leaders who have spoken here since I became president of Brookings. On trips to the region, I am constantly told of the Center's growing influence and prestige. The Saban Center's U.S.-Islamic World Forum, held in January 2004 in Qatar, attracted much notice from neighboring countries—many of which are eager for greater dialogue with Washington.

Thanks to the Saban Center, the Brookings Institution is now playing a leading role in the critical Middle East policy debate in Washington. Meanwhile, the potential for new ties between the Saban Center and the Middle East is growing virtually by the day. We, and the American public, owe a deep debt of gratitude to the foresight and generosity of Haim Saban, without which none of this would have been possible.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Strobe Talbott". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

Strobe Talbott
President, The Brookings Institution



In May 2002, the Saban Center was inaugurated by King Abdullah II of Jordan (pictured here with Haim Saban, *left*). Middle East scholars Kenneth M. Pollack and Martin Indyk direct the Center's operations and research with the generous support of Cheryl and Haim Saban (*above*). The Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani (greeting Martin Indyk, *below*) was the keynote speaker at the Saban Center's 2004 U.S.-Islamic World Forum conference in Doha, Qatar.



“...combining some of the most experienced minds in the business and some of the most talented young experts to conduct independent research and generate policy-relevant ideas.”

DIRECTOR'S INTRODUCTION

When Haim Saban approached me with the idea of establishing a Middle East think tank, my response was less than enthusiastic. I had just completed eight grueling years in government service. I needed to write a book about that experience, to try to understand it and share those lessons with a wider audience. I had already spent an earlier eight years of my life establishing a Middle East think tank, and I frankly didn't believe Washington needed another one. But in his charming way, Haim was insistent.

As we developed the idea, it became clear that under the umbrella of the Brookings Institution, with its commitment to independent research in the service of public policy, we could attempt something unique. In the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, when the Middle East became the top priority of U.S. foreign policy, the need for deeper understanding of the wellsprings that had generated this alarming threat to American interests was obvious. The challenge Haim presented to us was daunting. “If I provide the resources, can you develop innovative programs, based on in-depth, long-term research and distinctive forms of interaction with Middle East policymakers that will add to Washington's comprehension of the region and improve the quality of its policies there?” We took up the challenge, and in May 2002 King Abdullah of Jordan inaugurated the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.

Since then, we have succeeded in assembling a team at the Saban Center that combines some of the most experienced minds in the field and some of the most talented young experts to conduct independent research and generate policy-relevant ideas. Their work is unique in two respects: they are all engaged in long-term, book-length research projects; and they are all involved in Saban Center programs designed to test their ideas through exchanges with other experts from the United States and the Middle East. As you will see in the following pages, the Saban Center's forums, workshops, study groups, symposia, and visiting fellows program provide a variety of incubators for the development of our scholars' ideas, many of which have already had a significant impact on U.S. policy in the Middle East.

Ours is an ambitious agenda, but the Saban Center is uniquely endowed with the expertise and resources to pursue it. We can expect that the Middle East will be a major, if not *the* major topic on the U.S. foreign policy agenda for many years to come. From WMD proliferation to the war on terrorism, from Arab political reform to promoting Middle East peace, the Saban Center's scholars will be at the cutting edge of the policy debate, applying their expertise to the immense challenges confronting the United States in this troubled region.



Martin Indyk
Center Director



MARTIN INDYK
CENTER DIRECTOR

When Martin Indyk assumed responsibility for directing the Saban Center in May 2002, he brought to the task a depth and breadth of experience in Middle East and think tank affairs that few others in Washington could match. He served as President Clinton's chief Middle East advisor on the National Security Council, and later joined the State Department as the assistant secretary for Near East affairs. In these positions and as a two-time U.S. ambassador to Israel, he played a key role in facilitating the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations that led to the conclusion of the Israel-Jordan peace treaty and the Wye Agreement. He was also a leading participant in the Camp David negotiations in 2000 and a principal architect of Clinton Administration policy toward Iraq, Iran, and Libya.

Before entering the government, Indyk founded one of Washington's most successful Middle East think tanks, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, and served for eight years as its director. He has published widely on Persian Gulf security, Iran, Iraq, and Arab-Israeli diplomacy, among other topics. He is also a frequent commentator on Middle East affairs on all the major networks, with regular appearances on CNN, Fox News, the NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, the Charlie Rose Show, and National Public Radio.

Since the latest round of Israeli-Palestinian violence broke out in September 2000, Indyk has devoted much of his energy to finding alternative ways to end the conflict. He has been active in "track two" diplomacy, organizing the Saban Center's series of Daniel Abraham Israeli-Palestinian Workshops. Drawing on ideas developed in those workshops, he published a path-breaking article in the May 2003 issue of *Foreign Affairs* arguing for an international trusteeship in Palestine.

"The heart of the problem has become the absence of a capable, responsible, and accountable Palestinian partner for any negotiated settlement of the conflict," Indyk argues. "The concept of a trusteeship is designed to address that problem."

Indyk's other major project has been to revisit the recent history of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East, drawing on his personal experiences as well as intensive research. His forthcoming book provides a candid assessment of the Clinton Administration's troubled efforts to transform the Middle East through peacemaking, and develops "lessons learned" for the future.



The Saban Center has welcomed many prominent speakers from the region, such as former Israeli Shin Bet security chief Yakov Peri (*above*). Through initiatives such as the Israeli-Palestinian Workshop, the Center endeavors to promote dialogue between opposing viewpoints—seen here are Palestinian negotiator Nisreen Haj-Ahmad and Israeli settler leader Otniel Schneller (*left*). The businessman and philanthropist Daniel Abraham (with Martin Indyk, *below*) has sponsored the Workshop as part of his commitment to Middle East peace.





Kenneth Pollack, the Saban Center's director of research, published a best-selling book on Iraq and serves as a CNN analyst on the ongoing Iraq crisis. In regular TV commentary, Saban Center press briefings, and written analyses, Pollack argues that the United States should strive to "create a stable, prosperous, inclusive new Arab state that could serve as a model for the region." With Iraq constantly in the headlines, Saban Center scholars have been among the most prominent voices on the war and ongoing reconstruction process.



“The Iraq War was a defining moment for America and the Middle East, and the Saban Center was at the heart of the policy debate.”

KENNETH M. POLLACK
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH



The war to overthrow Saddam Hussein catapulted the Saban Center into the heart of the public policy debate in Washington, with Ken Pollack leading the way. His book *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*, published by Random House in 2002, quickly became a bestseller and was widely cited by both opponents and advocates of the war as the most authoritative work on U.S. policy towards Iraq. Pollack is now heading up an effort to ensure that the United States continues to play a constructive role in Iraq in the years to come.

“There is certainly much room for argument over how well the United States is handling Iraq and what we should be doing differently,” Pollack writes in a Saban Center policy analysis after a trip to Iraq in November 2003. “However, on one aspect of U.S. policy toward Iraq there is a compelling case: the United States must stay in Iraq and see the job through to completion.”

As the Saban Center’s director of research, Pollack spearheaded its effort to provide expert commentary and analysis on the war. Early on, the Center convened the Persian Gulf Working Group, a discreet biweekly meeting of Iraq experts from inside and outside the U.S. government to share views and test

ideas relevant to U.S. policy towards Iraq, Iran, and the Gulf states. The Saban Center also established the *Iraq Memo* series to provide timely analysis of new developments, and it posted daily reports and conducted biweekly press briefings throughout the war.

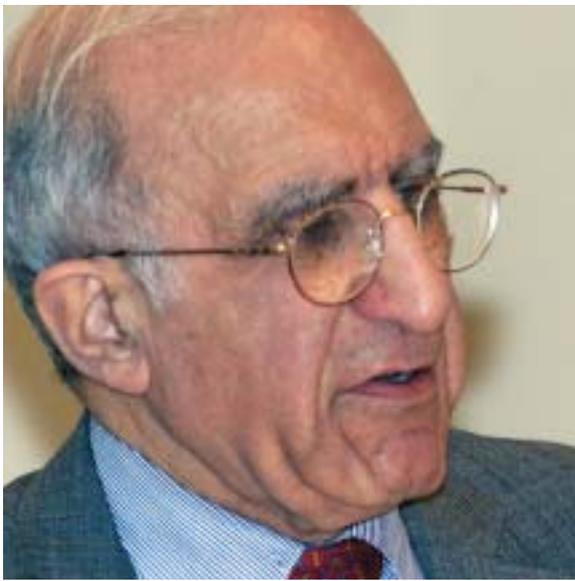
As events unfolded, Saban Center scholars and their Brookings colleagues were a constant presence in the media. Pollack became CNN’s resident Iraq analyst, while also working with various U.S. government agencies and the military to help them revise their planning and expectations. Visiting Fellow Amatzia Baram, another leading expert on Iraq, provided an additional layer of depth and knowledge that made the Saban Center’s work unrivaled.

“For a new organization, it was amazing how our voice was heard near and far during the war,” says Pollack. “It was a defining moment for America and the world, and the Saban Center was at the heart of the policy debate.”

Pollack’s career had prepared him well to provide insightful analysis of the war. He served as an Iraq-Iran analyst at the CIA, and had responsibility for policy toward both countries at the National Security Council in the Clinton Administration. Since the fall of Baghdad in March 2003, he has been a

leading analyst of postwar reconstruction. He has written a study on Iraq’s potential for democracy, an article in *Foreign Affairs* proposing a new postwar security framework for the Persian Gulf, and a comprehensive assessment of the U.S.-led reconstruction of Iraq. His article in the January 2004 edition of *The Atlantic Monthly* provides a definitive analysis of the use of prewar intelligence on weapons of mass destruction.

For his next project, Pollack is returning to another longstanding interest: he is planning a new book on the history of U.S.-Iranian relations and the future of U.S. policy toward Iran.



SHAUL BAKHASH
VISITING FELLOW

“...shedding light on the inner workings of the Islamic Republic of Iran.”



The domes of Yazd symbolize the richness of Iran’s ancient civilization. Today, that civilization is again at a crossroads, as reformers and democracy activists challenge the hardliners of the Islamic Republic.

For expertise on what may be the most dynamic, the most complex, and often the most confusing country in the region, the Saban Center turns to Shaul Bakhash—one of the leading authorities on modern Iran. In a year when Iran and its neighbors were often in the news, Bakhash appeared frequently on television and radio to discuss issues such as Iran’s nuclear program, student protests in Tehran, and the emergence of Iranian-influenced Shiite political movements in Iraq.

“During the past year, the Iranian regime has had to grapple with a major new development—the massive American presence in Iraq. It has been repositioning itself internationally in the light of this new reality,” says Bakhash. “And at home, the struggle between conservatives and reformists has become a permanent feature of the political landscape.”

Bakhash is a Saban Center Visiting Fellow and a professor of history at George Mason University. He has written widely on Islamic political thought as well as the Iranian Revolution and its aftermath. As a political analyst he also draws on his personal experience in Iran, where he spent many years working as a journalist for *The Financial Times* and other newspapers. His articles appear regularly in *The New York Review of Books*, and he is the author of three books on Iranian history and politics, including *Reign of the Ayatollahs: Iran and the Islamic Revolution*.

As the convenor of the Saban Center’s Iran Working Group, Bakhash is leading a series of discussions about Iran’s foreign policy and the future of U.S.-Iranian relations. His main project, however, has been writing his next book—a comprehensive study of Iran’s political structure and the Iranian reform movement. When completed, the book will shed new light on the inner workings of the Islamic Republic, the political ideas of the reform movement and its opponents, and the future of democracy in Iran.

“America’s longtime rationale for supporting Arab autocrats was their promise of stability. But as we’ve learned, the price was high and the stability was a chimera.”

TAMARA COFMAN WITTES
FELLOW IN ARAB POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Tamara Cofman Wittes, an expert in political development, believes that the events of the past few years have elevated the goal of democratizing the Middle East “from a woolly-headed ideal to a national security imperative.” With the lessons of 9/11 and the war on terrorism in mind, she argues that now is the time for the United States to rethink its approach to democracy in the region.

“America’s longtime rationale for supporting Arab autocrats was their promise of stability. But as we’ve learned, the price was high and the stability was a chimera,” says Wittes. “What we should be doing is making a concerted effort to build partnerships with the sincere, committed reformers in the Arab world, and to target our assistance to support their internal demands.”

Since earning her doctorate in government from Georgetown University, Wittes has risen rapidly through the Washington research community. Before joining the Saban Center in November 2003, she was a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Institute

of Peace, conducting and supervising research on the Arab-Israeli peace process, regional security, and U.S. relations with the Muslim world. Previously, she was director of programs at the Middle East Institute and worked as a consultant for the RAND Corporation.

In addition to her research on democracy and reform, Wittes has gained recognition for her work on conflict resolution, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She was one of the first recipients of the Rabin-Peres Peace Award, established by President Clinton in 1997. Her articles have appeared in *Political Science Quarterly*, *The Weekly Standard*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and *National Security Studies Quarterly*.

At the Saban Center, Wittes is conducting a major research project reexamining U.S. democracy aid to the Arab world, and exploring new strategies for promoting political and economic reform.



Elections are but one step in the process of democratization. Although U.S. policy towards the Arab world has embraced the rhetoric of democracy, the work of transforming the region’s political reality has only just begun.



FLYNT LEVERETT
VISITING FELLOW

“To persuade a rogue regime to get out of the terrorism business and give up its weapons of mass destruction, we must not only apply pressure but also make clear the potential benefits of cooperation.”



The Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, Syria, is a landmark of Arab and Islamic culture. Concerns about Syrian support for terrorism have marred the country's relations with Washington.

As a visiting fellow at the Saban Center, Flynt Leverett brings a perspective that combines experience at the highest levels of government policymaking with scholarly expertise. A Princeton-educated Ph.D., Leverett served for nine years as a senior CIA analyst and then as a Middle East expert on the State Department's policy planning staff. In 2002, he transferred to the National Security Council in the Bush White House, where he became senior director for the Middle East peace process.

While his experience covers the full range of Middle Eastern issues, from counterterrorism to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, Leverett is especially interested in the question of how to deal with “problematic states” such as Syria, Libya, and Iran. He has been active in discussions of U.S. policy towards Iran and efforts at U.S.-Iranian dialogue. In his articles and testimony before the Senate, Leverett has advocated a “carrots and sticks” approach to such regimes, using both pressure and incentives to change their behavior.

“The lesson is incontrovertible,” he writes in a January 2004 op-ed in *The New York Times* on negotiations with Libya, in which he participated. “To persuade a rogue regime to get out of the terrorism business and give up its weapons of mass destruction, we must not only apply pressure but also make clear the potential benefits of cooperation.”

Leverett is writing a book for the Saban Center on the foreign policy of Syria, which he followed closely in his years as a government analyst. Although Syria has traditionally challenged the United States through its support of terrorism and its pursuit of chemical and biological weapons, Leverett sees an opportunity for progress on these issues if U.S. policymakers are willing to craft a more pragmatic approach toward Damascus. His book will examine the history of Syria's relations with Washington and propose new strategies for affecting the behavior of this problematic state.

“Our intelligence and law enforcement efforts have seriously damaged al-Qaeda as an organization, but al-Qaeda’s overall cause may be even more popular than before September 11th.”

DANIEL L. BYMAN
NONRESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW

In dramatic fashion, the war on terrorism has come to dominate U.S. foreign policy—and even, at times, American domestic politics. To tackle the question of how the United States can wage an effective war on terror, the Saban Center turns to Daniel Byman, who is a nonresident senior fellow at the Center.

Byman has many years of experience dealing with Middle East terrorism, both in and out of the government. Now a professor of security studies at Georgetown University, he began his career as a CIA terrorism analyst. He helped write the first congressional report on the 9/11 attacks, and serves as a consultant to the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States. Writing in the fall 2003 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, he examined the threat posed by the Lebanese terrorist group Hizballah; and in articles in *Current History* and *World Politics*, he assessed America’s progress in its fight against al-Qaeda. While he sees many advances in the short term, he believes the United States is facing “a daunting challenge” for the foreseeable future.

“Our intelligence and law enforcement efforts have seriously damaged al-Qaeda as an organization, but al-Qaeda’s overall cause may be even more popular than before September 11th,” Byman says. “The United States has not done enough to fight the spread of al-Qaeda’s ideas or reduce its appeal for young Muslims.”

In his work, Byman seeks to place terrorism in its broader context. He is well-equipped to do so as an experienced analyst of Middle East politics and U.S. foreign policy in general. Since the war in Iraq, he has published a number of articles on Iraqi democracy and the challenges of reconstruction. He is also the author of recent books on ethnic conflict and on the role of military force in foreign policy.

Byman’s latest research combines his expertise on counterterrorism policy with his interest in broader strategic issues. His forthcoming book, “Deadly Connections,” will tackle the problem of states that sponsor terrorism, which was the subject of a Saban Center symposium he organized in 2003.



Even as the United States hunts down the remnants of al-Qaeda, other radical organizations also confront U.S. policy in the region. Here, Hizballah fighters are seen carrying the coffins of their fallen comrades in Lebanon.



SHIBLEY TELHAMI
NONRESIDENT SENIOR FELLOW



In the long run, U.S. policy towards the Arab world cannot rest mainly on military force. To forestall the rise of anti-American rage and political extremism, the United States must seek victory in the marketplace of ideas.

“Pain must be acknowledged and understood. But it must not be allowed to paint a distorted picture of reality.”

Shibley Telhami, the Anwar Sadat Professor at the University of Maryland and a nonresident senior fellow at the Saban Center, sees a troubling pattern affecting relations between the United States and the Arab and Muslim world. One of the greatest problems, he believes, is that each side tends to see the world through its own “prism of pain.”

“Most Americans, who know little about Arabs and Muslims, see them mainly through the narrow, painful prism of 9/11,” said Telhami, whose book *The Stakes: America in the Middle East* was rated by *Foreign Affairs* as one of the five best books on the Middle East in 2003. “Most Arabs and Muslims continue to see the United States through their own prism of pain, which inevitably focuses on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Pain must be acknowledged and understood. But it must not be allowed to paint a distorted picture of reality.”

Telhami’s writing and research have won him widespread regard as an analyst of U.S. foreign policy and Middle East politics. One of the most highly respected

pollsters and experts on Arab public opinion, Telhami was a member of the State Department’s U.S. Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World and co-drafted its October 2003 report to Congress, “Changing Minds, Winning Peace.” He is a prolific commentator on current affairs, publishing and speaking widely on such topics as U.S. policy in Iraq, U.S.-Arab relations, and Arab-Israeli diplomacy.

Telhami’s most recent work addresses the emergence of “new media,” such as the popular Arabic satellite network al-Jazeera, and their role in shaping political identity in the Middle East. Drawing on fresh opinion surveys and other field research, his forthcoming book asks whether this potent transnational phenomenon is helping to enhance a broader Arab or Islamic sense of identity, and what it means for the future political development of the Arab world.



The Saban Center promotes person-to-person dialogue between the Washington policy community and Middle Eastern leaders in government, civil society, and intellectual life. Brookings President Strobe Talbott (*above*) met with H.E. Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani, Qatar's first deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. Dan Meridor, Israel's former minister of justice (*top left*), spoke at the Saban Center on the prospects for reviving the Middle East peace process.





Former President William J. Clinton, a member of the Saban Center's International Advisory Council, addressing the Center's 2004 U.S.-Islamic World Forum in Qatar: "We cannot understand U.S.-Islamic relationships unless we understand the sweeping scope of the interdependent world, its enormous benefits and its persistent inequalities and instabilities." (Below) Clinton and Haim Saban meet with Foreign Minister Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani. (Above, from left to right) Islamic scholar Yusuf al-Qaradawi, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Richard Holbrooke, Martin Indyk, Pakistani Islamic party leader Qazi Hussein Ahmed, Shibley Telhami, Brookings scholar Stephen P. Cohen, and Peter Singer await the emir of Qatar.



PROJECT ON U.S. POLICY TOWARDS THE ISLAMIC WORLD

PETER W. SINGER
PROJECT DIRECTOR AND
NATIONAL SECURITY FELLOW



The Saban Center at Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World was the product of an urgent need to address some of the profound long-term issues for U.S. foreign policy that had been raised by the 9/11 terrorist attacks. As part of the war on terrorism, the United States had to develop policies to reduce the appeal of religious extremism and improve its relations with Muslim states and communities worldwide. With a growing rift between the global superpower and the world's 1.5 billion Muslims, a new initiative was needed to generate constructive ideas and promote intensive dialogue. With support from Brookings, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, the Islamic world project was born.

Two years later, the project has evolved into a major research and outreach program and a model of its kind for other research organizations. The project is coordinated by Martin Indyk and Shibley Telhami of the Saban Center and Stephen Philip Cohen, a Brookings senior fellow and expert on India and Pakistan, and is directed by Peter W. Singer, Brookings national security fellow. The project organizes meetings of a high-level task force of policymakers and experts in Washington and hosts visiting fellows at the Saban Center from around the Muslim world. It also publishes monographs and analysis papers, runs a research program on education and economic outreach, and recently began a book series through the Brookings Institution Press.

In January 2004, through the generous support of the government of Qatar, the project launched its flagship initiative, the U.S.-Islamic World Forum. The forum's purpose is to promote dialogue and build networks between American and Muslim world leaders. The opening conference in Doha, Qatar, brought together some 165 political, business, academic, media, and civil society leaders from the United States and 38 Muslim countries. The Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, and former President William J. Clinton were the keynote speakers. In the coming years, the U.S.-Islamic World Forum will host an annual conference in Doha and related meetings in other parts of the Islamic world, promoting dialogue on politics, economics, religion, and educational reform. A forum secretariat will be established at the Saban Center at Brookings, with an office in Doha.

Such a sweeping project on U.S.-Muslim relations is unique in the Washington policy community, says Singer. "Two years ago, few think tanks in Washington even thought about relations between the U.S. and the Muslim world. Now, we see more and more interest in emulating this kind of dialogue."

Singer brings a strong background in foreign policy and security to his leadership of the project. While completing his doctoral studies at Harvard, he served on the Pentagon's Balkans Task Force overseeing peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and

Kosovo. His book *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry* was one of five finalists for the 2003 Gelber Prize. He sees a connection between the nontraditional security issues he deals with in his other work—such as AIDS, child soldiers, and the role of Pakistan's *madrassahs*—and many of the emerging issues for U.S. policy in the Islamic world.

"In Muslim countries, the rise of anti-American extremism and terrorism is directly linked to the deeper problems of governance, economic growth, and citizens' security," Singer argues. "As a result, we face new actors, new challenges, and new threats in the 21st century. And to deal with them the United States has to develop new policies based on research and interaction with the Muslim world."

SABAN CENTER VISITING FELLOWS

Each year the Saban Center at Brookings brings experts from the Arab world and Israel to spend a few months as visiting fellows at the Center. They write monograph-length studies on issues of importance to U.S. policy in the Middle East and interact with the Washington policy-making community, especially with officials in the U.S. government.

KHALIL SHIKAKI

JUNE–AUGUST 2002

As the Center's first visiting fellow, Khalil Shikaki researched and wrote the Saban Center monograph, "Building a State, Building Peace: How to Make a Roadmap that Works for Palestinians and Israelis." While at the Center, Shikaki was consulted by the White House and State Department as the Bush Administration developed its own roadmap for Israeli-Palestinian peace. He is the director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in Ramallah. Shikaki has conducted more than 90 polls in the Palestinian territories and is recognized as one of the leading experts on Palestinian public opinion. Most recently, he conducted three comprehensive surveys among Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, Jordan, and the West Bank and Gaza—the first systematic effort to chart the opinions of Palestinian refugees. Shikaki's visiting fellowship was made possible through the generous support of Hasib Sabbagh.

SHLOMO YANAI

NOVEMBER 2002–FEBRUARY 2003

Shlomo Yanai joined the Saban Center as a visiting fellow after a distinguished career in the Israel Defense Forces. A former member of the IDF's general staff and head of its strategic planning department, Yanai led the security talks for Israeli negotiating teams from the Wye Plantation through Camp David to the Taba talks. His research at the Saban Center focused on Israel's security requirements in a future peace settlement with the Palestinians. He also shared his expertise in assessing military strategy with the Washington policymaking community during the Iraq war. His monograph on Israel's security requirements will be published in summer 2004.

AMATZIA BARAM

JANUARY–APRIL 2003

A distinguished professor of Middle East history at the University of Haifa, Amatzia Baram joined the Saban Center on the eve of the Iraq war. His expertise in Iraqi history, politics, and society contributed greatly to the Center's analysis of the Iraq conflict. Through weekly press briefings, regular commentary on the war in the Saban Center's *Iraq Memo* series, and in-depth research on political institutions in post-Saddam Hussein Iraq, Baram made an important contribution to the Washington policymaking community's understanding of developments during and after the war. He regularly briefed senior Bush Administration officials during his stay at the Center.



Visiting fellows in action: Amatzia Baram (*top left*) shared his expertise on Iraq with policymakers and the public during the war. At a recent Palestinian-Israeli workshop, Khalil Shikaki explained his plan for a Palestinian state with provisional borders to Shibley Telhami and Riad Malki (*bottom left*). Shlomo Yanai (*below*) outlined a security framework for a final peace agreement; here, he confers with former UN conflict resolution expert Bruce Jones.



MUQTEDAR KHAN

MAY–AUGUST 2003

An assistant professor of political science and director of the international studies program at Adrian College in Michigan, Muqtedar Khan was a Ford Foundation fellow for the Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World. His current research provides a framework for U.S. policy towards the Islamic world. His published work has addressed political Islam, U.S. foreign policy, religious and political identity, globalization, and various topics in Islamic political theory and philosophy.

EZZAT I.M. YOUSSEF

OCTOBER–DECEMBER 2003

Ezzat I.M. Youssef is a journalist on the foreign affairs desk of the Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahram* and edits a biweekly feature, "The Agenda," which presents the latest views from international think tanks. He came to the Saban Center's Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World as a Fulbright/APSA fellow to research the role of think tanks and Congress in making U.S. foreign policy. Youssef coupled his time at the Saban Center with a position in the office of U.S. Congressman Jim McDermott (D, WA).

SEVER PLOCKER

OCTOBER 2003–JANUARY 2004

Sever Plocker, one of Israel's leading political and economic analysts, came to the Saban Center to study the dollarization of the Israeli shekel. While at the Center, he also spoke on the effects of the Palestinian intifada on Israel's economy and society. He is chief economics editor and deputy editor of *Yediot Aharonot*, Israel's largest daily newspaper. He has also served as editor-in-chief of the daily *Al Hamishmar* and as assistant professor of economics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.



Despite the efforts of several U.S. administrations, the renewed Israeli-Palestinian conflict again threatens the stability of the region. The Saban Center is committed to developing ideas and initiatives that can help to reverse this trend and lay the groundwork for Arab-Israeli peace. The Center's Daniel Abraham Israeli-Palestinian Workshop is a unique effort to foster open discussion between prominent Israelis, Palestinians, and Americans.

THE DANIEL ABRAHAM ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN WORKSHOP AT THE SABAN CENTER



Daniel Abraham (*left*) urged participants to rescue future generations from the cycle of hatred and violence by acting with urgency to end the conflict. (*below left to right*) Tzipi Livni (Israeli minister of absorption), Mohammad Dahlan (former Palestinian minister of interior), and Amnon Lipkin-Shahak (former Israeli deputy prime minister and IDF chief of staff) shared their points of view at a recent Israeli-Palestinian Workshop.



Over the last decade, many “track two” informal dialogues have been held between Israelis and Palestinians, discreet discussions designed to promote understanding and lay foundations for reconciliation. The Oslo Accords were the product of one such initiative.

None of these efforts, however, was ever conducted in Washington by a Washington-based think tank. The U.S. government oversaw the official business of running the peace negotiations, and the think tanks were busy trying to influence that effort. As a result, track two discussions were essentially ceded to well-meaning Europeans. However, with the collapse of the Oslo process and the failure of subsequent U.S. efforts to jump-start the peace process, Washington’s need for new ideas to promote a lasting Israeli-Palestinian reconciliation became manifest.

Through the vision and generosity of Daniel Abraham, a longtime promoter of track two efforts to promote Middle East peace, the Saban Center has established a unique program designed to generate new ideas for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Three times a year, the Saban Center hosts Washington workshops for U.S. policymakers and Israelis and Palestinians of every political stripe.

The intensive consultations and exchanges have so far produced proposals for a trusteeship for Palestine, a roadmap for achieving a Palestinian state with provisional borders, and a methodology for preserving Israel’s security in the context of a two-state solution.¹ The December 2003 workshop focused on “Finding a Way Out of the Crisis” and established a meaningful dialogue between representatives of the Palestinian young guard and members of the Sharon government. In spring 2004, the workshop will focus on Prime Minister Sharon’s unilateral withdrawal initiative. Drawing on the concept of a “trusteeship” developed at a previous workshop, the participants will map out a proposal for an international role in filling the vacuum in Gaza and parts of the West Bank created by Israel’s withdrawal and relocation of settlements.

Participants in the Daniel Abraham Israeli-Palestinian Workshop include: Tzipi Livni (*Israeli minister of absorption*), Mohammed Dahlan (*former Palestinian minister of interior*), David Satterfield (*deputy assistant secretary of state*), Amnon Lipkin-Shahak (*former IDF chief of staff and deputy prime minister*), Ami Ayalon (*former Shin Bet chief*), Ziad Abu Zayad (*member of the Palestinian Legislative Council*), Robert Danin (*director of Near East affairs, National Security Council*),

Dalia Rabin-Pelosoff (*former Israeli deputy minister of defense*), Khalil Shikaki (*director, Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research*), Zalman Shoval (*adviser to Prime Minister Sharon*), and Amjad Atallah (*Palestinian Negotiations Support Unit*).

¹ See Martin Indyk, “A Trusteeship for Palestine?” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003; Khalil Shikaki, “Building a State, Building Peace,” December 2003, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution; Shlomo Yanai, “Israel’s Security Requirements in a Two State Solution,” forthcoming 2004.



THE SABAN FORUM A U.S.-ISRAELI DIALOGUE

In its first two years of operations, the Saban Center established institutionalized dialogues between the United States and the Islamic world and between Israelis, Palestinians, and Americans. In its third year of operations, the Saban Center is establishing a special, institutionalized dialogue between the United States and Israel. Known as the Saban Forum, this U.S.-Israel dialogue will be modeled on the various successful bilateral dialogues the United States has established with Europe, Australia, and Japan.

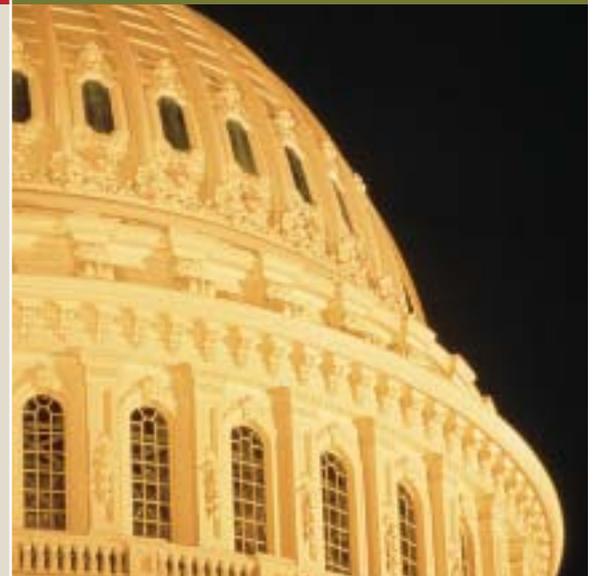
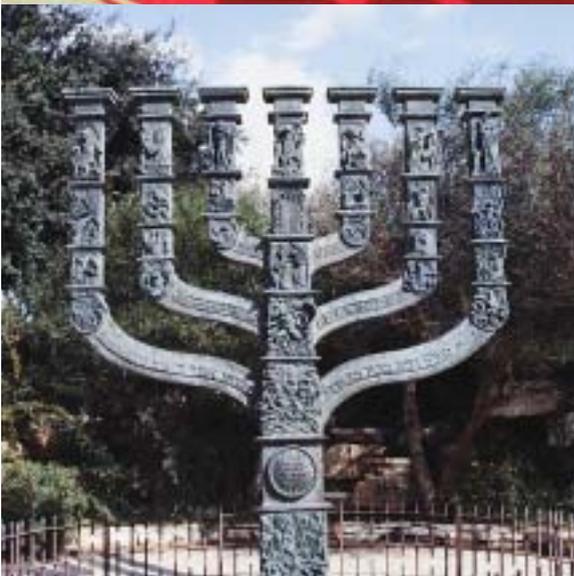
Each year, the Saban Forum will bring together political, business, and intellectual leaders of the United States and Israel to exchange views on common challenges, generate new ideas, and build a network of relations between the most influential people in both countries. The Saban Forum's venue will alternate between the United States and Israel.

As embattled democracies, as allies in the war on terrorism, and as partners in the pursuit of Middle East peace, how can the United States and Israel help each other develop more effective ways of confronting the threats to their common values and interests? The first two-day dialogue, which will convene in December 2004, will seek to address this question by bringing together people with the most experience, the deepest expertise, and the most serious thinking on these matters.

The Saban Center's Israeli partner in this program is the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University. The Saban Forum's steering committee consists of Haim Saban, chair of the Forum; Strobe Talbott, president of the Brookings Institution; Itamar Rabinovich, president of Tel Aviv University; and Shai Feldman, director of the Jaffee Center. Hirsh Goodman, senior fellow at the Jaffee Center, and Martin Indyk are the Forum's co-directors.



Chaired by Haim Saban, the Saban Forum will convene for its first meeting in Washington in December 2004. By establishing an annual, bilateral dialogue between the top political, economic, and intellectual leaders from the United States and Israel, the Saban Forum aims to address the challenges and opportunities ahead for the U.S.-Israeli relationship.



Bringing together the best thinkers and most experienced Middle East policymakers

SPEAKERS FORUMS

Since its inauguration by King Abdullah II of Jordan, the Saban Center has hosted a broad array of speakers from throughout the greater Middle East. Policymakers, academic specialists, and journalists have presented their ideas to a keenly interested audience of government officials, congressional staffers, diplomats, journalists, and regional experts.

The Saban Center has been honored to host as speakers President William J. Clinton; the Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani; the Crown Prince of Bahrain, Sheikh Salman bin Hamad Al-Khalifa; and the current foreign ministers of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, the Iraqi Governing Council, the Palestinian Authority, Oman, Qatar, and Kuwait. The Center also has hosted some of the most important policy experts in the United States, including John Bolton, David Kay, William Kristol, Francis Fukuyama, Richard Holbrooke, Fareed Zakaria, and Thomas Friedman. These speakers represent the Saban Center's ongoing commitment to bringing together the best thinkers and most experienced Middle East policymakers to share perspectives and broach new ideas.

What follows is a selected list of speakers who have addressed Saban Center audiences during the first two years.

Maier Abdullah, *Washington bureau chief, al-Jazeera*

Yusif bin Alawi, *foreign minister, Sultanate of Oman*

Abdullah II bin Al Hussein, *king, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*

Dr. Mohammed Sabah Al-Salim Al-Sabah, *foreign minister, State of Kuwait*

Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani, *foreign minister, State of Qatar*

Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, *emir, State of Qatar*

Mohammed Arkoun, *professor emeritus of Islamic thought, Sorbonne University*

Hossam Badrawi, *chairman, People's Assembly Committee for Education and Scientific Research, Egypt*

Yossi Beilin and Yasser Abed Rabbo, *co-authors of the Geneva Initiative*

John Bolton, *under secretary for arms control and international security, U.S. Department of State*

William J. Clinton, *former president, United States of America*

Martha Crenshaw, *professor, Wesleyan University*

Mohammed Dahlan, *former interior minister, Palestinian Authority*

Edward Djerejian, *director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University*

James Dobbins, *director, International Security and Defense Policy Center, RAND Corporation*

Charles Duelfer, *Iraq Survey Group*

Khaled Abou el-Fadl, *professor, University of California at Los Angeles Law School*

Munira Fakhro, *professor of sociology, University of Bahrain*

Salem Fayyad, *finance minister, Palestinian Authority*

Thomas Friedman, *foreign affairs correspondent, The New York Times*

Francis Fukuyama, *professor, Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Study*

Boaz Ganor, *director, Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Israel*

Reuel Marc Gerecht, *resident fellow, American Enterprise Institute*

Amos Gilad, *coordinator of activities in the Territories for the Israel Defense Forces*

Stephen Grummon, *Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State*

Richard N. Haass, *president, Council on Foreign Relations*

Recent speakers have included Palestinian Prime Minister Ahmed Qurei and Finance Minister Salem Fayyad (*left*); Syrian Minister of Diaspora Affairs Buthaina Shaaban (*below left*); and former U.S. Senator George Mitchell (*below*). Panelists at the Saban Center's spring 2003 symposium on Terrorism (*below left to right*): William Kristol (*The Weekly Standard*), James Steinberg (Brookings vice president for Foreign Policy Studies), Martin Indyk, and Francis Fukuyama (Johns Hopkins SAIS). Israel's Foreign Minister and former Prime Minister Shimon Peres (*right*) spoke at the Saban Center in September 2003.



Ejaz Haider, editor, Friday Times, Pakistan

Mouafac Harb, director of Network News, Radio Sawa

Amy Hawthorne, fellow, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Musa Hitam, former deputy prime minister, and chairman of Kumpulan Guthrie, Malaysia

Richard Holbrooke, vice chairman, Perseus LLC, and former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations

Abd al-Kareem al-Iryani, special advisor to the president, Republic of Yemen

David Kay, former chief, Iraq Weapons Survey Group

Seyyed al-Keilani, minister of finance, Iraq

Zalmay Khalilzad, senior director for Near East and South Asia, National Security Council

Nemir Kirdar, chairman, Investcorp

Harry Kneytal, director, Center for Political Research, Foreign Ministry of Israel

William Kristol, editor and publisher, The Weekly Standard

Yossi Kupperwasser, chief of intelligence assessments, Israel Defense Forces

Terje Roed Larsen, UN special coordinator for the Middle East

Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, former deputy prime minister, State of Israel

Dan Meridor, minister without portfolio, State of Israel

George Mitchell, former member of the International Fact Finding Commission on Violence in the Middle East, and former chairman of the peace negotiations in Northern Ireland

Marwan Muasher, foreign minister, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Jamil Mroue, editor, The Daily Star, Lebanon

Marc Otte, special Middle East envoy, the European Union

Shimon Peres, former prime minister, State of Israel

Paul Pillar, national intelligence officer for Near East and South Asia, National Intelligence Council

Surin Pitsuwan, member of parliament and former foreign minister, Kingdom of Thailand

Ahmed Qurei, prime minister, Palestinian Authority

Alina Romanowski, director of the Middle East Partnership Initiative, U.S. Department of State

Olivier Roy, director of research, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France

Buthaina Shaaban, minister of diaspora affairs, Syrian Arab Republic

Nabil Sha'ath, minister of planning and international cooperation, Palestinian Authority

Chemi Shalev, political analyst, Maariv, Israel

Natan Sharansky, deputy prime minister and minister of housing and construction, State of Israel

Ann-Marie Slaughter, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public Policy, Princeton University

Tony Snow, Fox News

Gene Sperling, director of the Center for Universal Education, Council on Foreign Relations

Stephen Walt, academic dean, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Ken Wollack, president, National Democratic Institute

Moshe Ya'alon, chief of staff, Israel Defense Forces

Fareed Zakaria, editor, Newsweek International

Hoshyar Zebari, foreign minister, Iraqi Governing Council



RECENT BOOKS

P.W. Singer, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*, Cornell University Press, 2003.

Kenneth M. Pollack, *The Threatening Storm: The Case for Invading Iraq*, Random House, 2002.

Kenneth M. Pollack, *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948–1991*, University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

Shibley Telhami, *The Stakes: America and the Middle East*, Westview Press, 2002.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

Shaul Bakhash, "Iran: Between Reform and Reaction," Brookings Institution Press, forthcoming.

Daniel L. Byman, "Deadly Connections: State Sponsorship of Terrorism," Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

Martin Indyk, "Unintended Consequences: The Clinton Administration and the Middle East," Alfred A. Knopf, forthcoming, 2004.

Flynt Leverett, "Syria, the War on Terror, and the Quest for Middle East Peace," Brookings Institution Press, forthcoming, 2004.

Kenneth M. Pollack, "The Persian Puzzle: Deciphering the 25-Year Conflict Between the United States and Iran," Random House, forthcoming, 2004.

P.W. Singer, "Caution: Children at War," forthcoming.

Tamara Cofman Wittes, "Culture in the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Negotiations," United States Institute of Peace Press, forthcoming, 2004.

PROMINENT ARTICLES

Kenneth M. Pollack, "Spies, Lies, and Weapons: What Went Wrong," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 2004.

Daniel L. Byman, "Should Hezbollah Be Next?" *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2003.

Daniel L. Byman, "Building the New Iraq: The Role of Intervening Forces," *Survival*, Summer 2003.

Daniel L. Byman and **Kenneth M. Pollack**, "Democracy in Iraq?" *Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2003.

Kenneth M. Pollack, "Securing the Gulf," *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2003.

P.W. Singer, "Peacekeepers, Inc.," *Policy Review*, June 2003.

Martin Indyk, "A Trusteeship for Palestine?" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003.

Tamara Cofman Wittes, "Quietly Rooting Against Saddam," *The Weekly Standard*, May 7, 2003.

P.W. Singer, with **John Paden**, "America Slams the Door (On Its Foot): Washington's Destructive New Visa Policies," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2003.

Shibley Telhami, with **Fiona Hill**, "Does Saudi Arabia Still Matter? Differing Perspectives on the Kingdom and its Oil," *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2002.

Martin Indyk, "Back to the Bazaar," *Foreign Affairs*, January 2002.

SABAN CENTER PUBLICATIONS SERIES

Gal Luft, "All Quiet on the Eastern Front?: Israel's National Security Doctrine After the Fall of Saddam," March 2004.

Kenneth M. Pollack, "After Saddam: Assessing the Reconstruction of Iraq," January 2004.

Khalil Shikaki, "Building a State, Building Peace: How to Make a Roadmap that Works for Palestinians and Israelis," December 2003.

Martin Indyk, et al., "The Israeli-Palestinian Workshop: Toward a Two State Solution," May 2003.

PROJECT ON U.S. POLICY TOWARDS THE ISLAMIC WORLD PUBLICATION SERIES

Hady Amr, "The Need to Communicate: How to Improve U.S. Public Diplomacy with the Islamic World," January 2004.

Ömer Taspinar, "An Uneven Fit?: The 'Turkish Model' and the Arab World," August 2003.

Alisher Khamidov, "Countering the Call: The U.S., Hizb-ut-Tahrir, and Religious Extremism in Central Asia," July 2003.

Graham E. Fuller, "The Youth Factor: The New Demographics of the Middle East and the Implications for U.S. Policy," June 2003.

F. Gregory Gause, III, "The Approaching Turning Point: The Future of U.S. Relations with the Gulf States," May 2003.

"An Agenda for Action: The 2002 Doha Conference on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World," May 2003.

P.W. Singer, "Time for Hard Choices: The Dilemmas Facing U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World," October 2002.

FORTHCOMING

Steven Cook, "Civil-Military Relations and Reform in the Islamic World."

Abdelwahab El-Affendi, "Democracy and Liberalism in Islam: The Current Debate."

Muqtedar Khan, "Rethinking U.S. Strategy towards the Islamic World."

John Paden, "Muslim Civic Culture and Conflict Resolution: The Case of Nigeria."

P.W. Singer, et al., "America and the Islamic World."

Ömer Taspinar, "Fighting Radicalism with Human Development."

Justin Vaisse and Paul Laurence, "France's Muslim Minority."

Shlomo Yanai, "Israel's Core Security Requirements for a Two State Solution."

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