



**THE BEGIN-SADAT CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**



American Friends of
Bar-Ilan University

ARNOLD A. SALTZMAN
INSTITUTE of WAR & PEACE STUDIES

“United States Policy in the Middle East”

*A day-long conference co-sponsored by
The Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University, Israel,
the American Friends of Bar-Ilan University,
the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies (SIWPS),
and the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), Columbia University.*

*This conference is made possible by the generous support
of the Dorothy and Harold Greenwald Foundation*

March 28, 2011

Arnold A. Saltzman
Institute of War and Peace Studies
Columbia University
School of International and Public Affairs
420 West 118th Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10027
(212) 854-4616
www.columbia.edu/cu/siwps

The Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies

The Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies at Bar-Ilan University, Israel, conducts policy-relevant research on matters of strategy, security and peace in the Middle East, particularly as it relates to the national security and foreign policy of Israel. A non-partisan and independent institute, the BESA Center is affiliated with the political science department at Bar-Ilan University.

American Friends of Bar-Ilan University (AFBIU)

American Friends of Bar-Ilan University increases awareness of, and support for the fastest growing university in Israel, with 33,000 students in its academic community. Bar-Ilan University seeks to produce students who excel in the sciences, humanities, law, engineering, business and the arts – all within a learning environment that fosters Jewish values and continuity. AFBIU provides opportunities to partner with Bar-Ilan in projects that make a difference for Israel, the Jewish people and society at large.

Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies

The Institute was founded in 1951 under the sponsorship of Dwight D. Eisenhower during his tenure as president of Columbia University. Eisenhower created the Institute to promote an understanding of the “disastrous consequences of war upon man’s spiritual, intellectual, and material progress.” Under its first director, William T.R. Fox, the Institute became one of the foremost research centers on international relations in the country. From the beginning, the Institute has interpreted its role broadly. Over the years, researchers have probed the political, military, historical, legal, economic, moral, psychological, and philosophical dimensions of international relations. Although the Institute does not take an official position on any public policy issues, its members contribute to this discourse by authoring articles in journals such as *Foreign Affairs*, discussing current issues with officials and journalists, serving as consultants to government departments and agencies, and testifying before Congressional committees. The Institute itself has no formal teaching program; rather, its members conduct a wide variety of instructional activities through the Department of Political Science and the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) at Columbia University. Members of the Institute offer courses on American foreign policy, national security, international politics, political economy, environmental policy, and international organizations. In March 2003, the Institute of War and Peace Studies (IWPS) was renamed the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies (SIWPS) in honor of Ambassador Arnold A. Saltzman.

“United States Policy in the Middle East”

Monday, March 28, 2011
9:00 a.m.-5:15 p.m.
School of International and Public Affairs
Kellogg Center, 15th Floor
420 West 118th Street
New York City

PROGRAM

9:00 a.m. - 9:15 a.m.

Welcome and Introductions

Richard Betts, Director, Arnold A. Saltzman
Institute of War and Peace Studies

9:15 a.m. - 10:45 a.m.

Panel I: U.S. Policy on the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Eytan Gilboa, Bar-Ilan University
Efraim Inbar, Bar-Ilan University, *Moderator*
William Quandt, University of Virginia
Jonathan Rynhold, Bar-Ilan University

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

Panel II: U.S. Strategy in the Persian Gulf

Hillel Frisch, Bar-Ilan University
Efraim Inbar, Bar-Ilan University
Austin Long, Columbia University, *Moderator*
Gary Sick, Columbia University

12:30 p.m. - 1:45 p.m. Lunch Break

Campus and local restaurant lists are available in the lobby

1:45 p.m. - 3:15 p.m.

Panel III: Domestic Politics and Middle East Issues

Shai Feldman, Bar-Ilan University
Eytan Gilboa, Bar-Ilan University, *Moderator*
Amaney Jamal, Princeton University
Shmuel Sandler, Bar-Ilan University
Robert Shapiro, Columbia University

3:30 p.m. - 5:00 p.m.

Panel IV: Policymakers’ Roundtable

Richard Betts, Columbia University, *Moderator*
Richard Murphy, Former Assistant Secretary of State
for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
Meghan O’Sullivan, Harvard University
Steven Simon, Council on Foreign Relations

5:00 p.m. - 5:15 p.m. Farewell

Richard Betts is the Arnold A. Saltzman Professor of War and Peace Studies in the Department of Political Science, Director of the Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, and Director of the International Security Policy Concentration at School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. His research interests include national security, military strategy, and international conflict. Dr. Betts has served as lecturer in government and as visiting professor of government at Harvard University and as a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. He is a former staff member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the National Security Council, and the Mondale presidential campaign. Dr. Betts serves as an occasional consultant to the National Intelligence Council and Central Intelligence Agency. His writings have earned five prizes, including the Woodrow Wilson Award of the American Political Science Association for the best book in political science. Dr. Betts received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. in government from Harvard University.

Shai Feldman is the Judith and Sidney Swartz Director of the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University, and an Associate Fellow of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in London. In 2001-03, he served as a member of the United Nations Secretary General's Advisory Board on Disarmament Matters. Dr. Feldman served as Head of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University from 1997-05. He was a Senior Research Associate at the Jaffee Center since its establishment in late 1977, and from 1984-87 he was Director of the Jaffee Center's Project on U.S. Foreign and Defense Policies in the Middle East. In 1989-94, Dr. Feldman directed the Center's Project on Regional Security and Arms Control in the Middle East. Educated at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, he received his Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley.

Hillel Frisch is an Associate Professor in the Departments of Political Studies and Middle East History at Bar-Ilan University, Israel, and Senior Researcher at BESA Center for Strategic Studies. His latest books are *The Palestinian Military: Between Militias and Armies* (Routledge, 2008) and with Efraim Inbar, *Islamic Radicalism and International Security: Challenges and Response* (London: Routledge, 2007). His forthcoming book, *Israel's Security and its Arab Citizens* will be published by Cambridge University Press. As an expert on Palestinian and Islamic politics, institutions and military strategies, Dr. Frisch has written numerous articles on Palestinian and Arab politics and the military in leading political science and Middle East journals. He has lectured at various American and Israeli universities, and has participated in advisory

After receiving his Ph.D. in 1982, Dr. Shapiro taught at Columbia and served as a study director at the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago. He received his B.S. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Gary Sick is a Senior Research scholar at SIPA's Middle East Institute, and an Adjunct Professor of International and Public Affairs. Dr. Sick served on the National Security Council under Presidents Ford, Carter, and Reagan, and he was the Principal White House Aide for Iran during the Iranian Revolution and the hostage crisis. Dr. Sick is a Captain (ret.) in the U.S. Navy, with service in the Persian Gulf, North Africa, and the Mediterranean. He was the Deputy Director for International Affairs at the Ford Foundation from 1982-87, where he was responsible for programs relating to U.S. foreign policy. Dr. Sick is a member (emeritus) of the board of Human Rights Watch in New York, and founding chair of its advisory committee on the Middle East and North Africa. He is the Executive Director of Gulf/2000, an international online research project on political, economic and security developments in the Persian Gulf, being conducted at Columbia University since 1993, with support from a number of major foundations. He is the author of *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter With Iran* (Random House, 1985) and *October Surprise: America's Hostages in Iran and the Election of Ronald Reagan* (Random House, 1991). Dr. Sick received his B.A. from the University of Kansas, an M.S. from George Washington University, and a Ph.D. from Columbia University.

Steven Simon is an Adjunct Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the Goldman Sachs Visiting Professor in Public Policy at Princeton University. Prior to joining CFR, Mr. Simon specialized in Middle Eastern affairs at the RAND Corporation. He came to RAND from London, where he was the Deputy Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and the Carol Deane Senior Fellow in U.S. Security Studies. Before moving to Britain in 1999, Mr. Simon served at the White House for over five years as Director for Global Issues and Senior Director for Transnational Threats. During this period, he was involved in U.S. counterterrorism policy and operations as well as security policy in the Near East and South Asia. These assignments followed a fifteen year career at the U.S. Department of State. Mr. Simon was a University Fellow at Brown University and an International Affairs Fellow at Oxford University. He received his B.A. from Columbia University in classics and Near Eastern languages, an M.T.S. from the Harvard Divinity School, and an M.P.A. from Princeton University.

Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution, where he conducted research on the Middle East, American policy toward the Arab-Israeli conflict, and energy policy. Dr. Quandt has served as a staff member on the National Security Council, where he was actively involved in the negotiations that led to the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty. He was also an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, and worked at the Rand Corporation in the Department of Social Science from 1968-72. Dr. Quandt received his B.A. from Stanford University and a Ph.D. from The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

Jonathan Rynhold recently joined the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, and is a Lecturer in Political Science at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. His areas of focus include Middle East-Asia relations, the relationship between identity and values and foreign policy, and U.S.-Israel relations in the context of the peace process. Dr. Rynhold has published several articles including "The View from Jerusalem: Israeli-American Relations and the Peace Process since Camp David" in *MERLA Journal* (4/2, May 2000) and "Labour, Likud, the Special Relationship and the Peace Process," *Israel Affairs* (3/3-4, 1997). He received his M.S. and Ph.D. from the London School of Economics.

Shmuel Sandler is a Senior Research Associate at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies (BESA). He is a prominent analyst of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as religion, party and electoral politics in Israel, and U.S.-Israel relations. Dr. Sandler is the Sara and Simha Lainer Professor in Democracy and Civility, and a faculty member at the Department of Political Science at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. His most recent publications are, with Manfred Gerstenfeld and Hillel Frisch, *Israel at the Polls 2009*, (London: Routledge 2010), and with Jonathan Fox, *Bringing Religion Back to International Relations* (New York: Palgrave, 2004). Dr. Sandler has been a Visiting Professor at Concordia, British Columbia and Johns Hopkins Universities. He received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University.

Robert Shapiro is a former chair of the Department of Political Science at Columbia University, and served as Acting Director of Columbia's Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy (ISERP) during 2008-09. He is a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and was a 2006-07 Visiting Scholar at the Russell Sage Foundation. Dr. Shapiro specializes in American politics with research and teaching interests in public opinion, policymaking, political leadership, the mass media, and applications of statistical methods. His current research examines partisan polarization and ideological politics in the United States, as well as other topics concerned with public opinion and policymaking.

forums for many national governments and foreign policy institutions. Dr. Frisch is fluent in Arabic, Hebrew and English. He received his Ph.D. from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Eytan Gilboa is a Professor of International Communication, Director of the Center for International Communication, Chair of the Communication Program and Senior Research Associate at the Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies, as well as a faculty member of the Program on Conflict Management and Negotiation, all at Bar-Ilan University, Israel. Dr. Gilboa is a world-known expert on international communication and U.S. Policy in the Middle East, and has published several books and numerous articles. In 2001, he won the Best Article Award of the International Communication Association, for the best article published in scholarly periodicals in communication. In 2002, he won the Shorenstein Fellowship and was a Senior Research Fellow at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Dr. Gilboa has served as a consultant to the Israeli Prime Minister's Office and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense, and was Academic Director of International Studies at the National Defense College of the Israeli Defense Forces. He was also a member of the Committee for Higher Education of the City of Jerusalem. Dr. Gilboa has taught at the Hebrew University, and has been a visiting professor at several leading American and European universities. He was the founding chair or director of several academic units including the Behavioral Simulation Laboratory at the Hebrew University, the Center for Advanced Studies at Ramat-Gan College, and the Department of Social Sciences at the Holon Institute of Technology. Dr. Gilboa graduated Summa Cum Laude from the Hebrew University and received his M.A. and Ph.D. in government from Harvard University.

Efraim Inbar is a Professor in Political Studies at Bar-Ilan University and the Director of its Begin-Sadat (BESA) Center for Strategic Studies. His area of specialization is Middle Eastern strategic issues with a special interest in the politics and strategy of Israeli national security. He has written over 60 articles in professional journals and has authored five books. Dr. Inbar served in the Israel Defense Force (IDF) as a paratrooper. He was a member of the Political Strategic Committee of the National Planning Council and the Chair of the Committee for the National Security Curriculum at the Ministry of Education. He serves on the Academic Committee of the History Department of the IDF and as the President of the Israel Association of International Studies. He has served as a visiting professor and lecturer at various universities and institutions and was appointed as

a Manfred Warner NATO Fellow (1998), was a visiting fellow at the (London) International Institute for Strategic Studies (2000), and was the recipient of the Onassis Fellowship (2003). He received his B.A. in political science and english literature from Hebrew University, and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Amaney Jamal is an Associate Professor of Politics at Princeton University. Her current research focuses on democratization and the politics of civic engagement in the Middle East. She extends her research to the study of Muslim and Arab Americans, examining the pathways that structure their patterns of political and civic engagement in the U.S. She has written several books on the role of civic associations in promoting democratic effects in the Middle East and the patterns and influences of Arab and Muslim American racialization processes. Dr. Jamal is principal investigator of "Mosques and Civic Incorporation of Muslim Americans," funded by the Muslims in New York Project at Columbia University; co-PI of the "Detroit Arab American Study," a sister survey to the Detroit Area Study, funded by the Russell Sage Foundation; co-PI of the Arab Barometer Project, and Senior Advisor on the Pew Research Center Project on Islam in America, 2006. Dr. Jamal received her Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, and was named a Carnegie Scholar in 2005.

Austin Long is an Assistant Professor in the International Security Policy Concentration at Columbia's School of International and Public Affairs and a member of SIWPS. Dr. Long previously worked as an Associate Political Scientist for the RAND Corporation, serving in Iraq as an analyst and advisor to the Multinational Force Iraq and the U.S. military. He was previously a consultant to MIT's Lincoln Laboratory, on a study of technology and urban operations in counterinsurgency. Dr. Long is the author of, *Deterrence - From Cold War to Long War: Lessons from Six Decades of RAND Research* (Rand, 2008) and *On 'Other War:' Lessons from Five Decades of RAND Counterinsurgency Research* (Rand, 2006). He was the co-founder of the Working Group on Insurgency and Irregular Warfare at the MIT Center for International Studies and is a participant in the RAND Counterinsurgency Board of Experts. Dr. Long has also taught international security at Clark University. He received his B.S. from the Georgia Institute of Technology, and a Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).

Richard William Murphy served as the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs from 1983-89. From

1993-04, he served as Director of the Middle East Roundtable at the Council on Foreign Relations. After serving in the U.S. Army, Amb. Murphy started his career in the United States Foreign Service as Vice Consul in Salisbury, Rhodesia, then moved to the Middle Eastern Bureau at the State Department. He was the United States Ambassador to Mauritania from 1971-74, Syria 1974-78, the Philippines 1978-81, and Saudi Arabia 1981-83. After graduating from The Roxbury Latin School in 1947, he received a B.A. from Harvard University in 1951, and from Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge in 1953.

Meghan O'Sullivan is the Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of International Affairs at the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard University. Her areas of research include nation-building, counterinsurgency, the geopolitics of energy, decision making in foreign policy, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Dr. O'Sullivan served as Senior Director for Strategic Planning and Southwest Asia on the National Security Council and from 2004-07. She was Special Assistant to President George W. Bush, and held the position of Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan. Before joining the NSC, Dr. O'Sullivan was Political Advisor to the Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority and Deputy Director for Governance in Baghdad, where she served as a key negotiator of the agreement for the early transfer of sovereignty to the Iraqis. From 2001-03, Dr. O'Sullivan worked at the Office of Policy Planning at the Department of State, where she was the Chief Advisor to the Presidential Envoy to the Northern Ireland peace process, and helped advance efforts to promote reform in the Muslim world. From 1998-01, Dr. O'Sullivan was a Fellow at the Brookings Institution, and an Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University. Dr. O'Sullivan has published several books and articles on American foreign policy. She is a member of the Council of Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission. Dr. O'Sullivan has been awarded the Defense Department's highest honor for civilians, the Distinguished Public Service Medal, and has three times been awarded the State Department's Superior Honor Award. In October 2008, Esquire magazine named Dr. O'Sullivan one of the most influential people of the century. Dr. O'Sullivan received her B.A. from Georgetown University, and an M.S. in economics and Ph.D. in politics from Oxford University.

William Quandt is the Edward R. Stettinius Chair in the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia, where he teaches courses on the Middle East and American Foreign Policy. From 2000-03, he also served as Vice Provost for International Affairs at the University. He was a Senior Fellow in the