

THE INTERNATIONAL  
CENTRE FOR THE STUDY  
OF RADICALISATION AND  
POLITICAL VIOLENCE



# ***Palestine in Prospect***

## ***Israeli Security, Palestinian Sovereignty, and the Practicalities of Peace***

**The Second Annual Atkin Conference  
King's College London, 8 October 2010**





## PROGRAMME

### **Friday 8<sup>th</sup> October**

*Location: Great Hall, Strand Campus, King's College London*

**09.30** Registration and Coffee

**10.00**        **Welcome**

**10.10**        **What Should a Palestinian State Look Like?**

Chaired by Dr. Peter Neumann – Co-Director, ICSR

- H.E. Dr. Sabri Saidam - Advisor to the Palestinian President & former Minister of Telecoms & IT in Palestine.
- Prof. Yezid Sayigh - Professor of Middle East Studies, King's College London.
- Dr. Said Jamil Haifa - Chair of the Economics Department at Birzeit University & Chair of the Palestinian Trade Promotion Organisation (PTPO).
- Prof. Majid Al-Haj - Vice President, Dean of Research & Professor of Sociology at the University of Haifa & co-Chair of the Jewish-Arab Council for Peace Education.
- Diana Buttu - Former spokesperson with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

**11.25**        Coffee Break

**11.45**        **The Atkin Fellowship**

**12.00**        **Answering Israel's Security Needs: Practical Solutions**

Chaired by Dr. John Bew – Co-Director, ICSR

- Efraim Halevy - Former Director of Mossad & Israeli Ambassador to the European Union.
- Dr. Ron Pundak - Director of the Peres Center for Peace & a member of the official Israeli negotiating team during the Oslo negotiations.
- Brigadier General (ret.) Shlomo Brom - Director of the Programme on Israel-Palestine at the Institute for National Security Studies.
- Brigadier General (ret.) Baruch Spiegel - Advisor to the Directory of the Board at the S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue & former senior advisor to the Israeli Minister of Defense.

13.15 Buffet lunch

14.15 **The Young Leaders' Blueprint**

Chaired by Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell - Former PM of Canada

14.45 **Palestine: The Regional Context**

Chaired by Dr. Peter Neumann – Co-Director, ICSR

- Michael Young - Opinion Editor of the *Daily Star* newspaper, Beirut.
- Prof. Rory Miller - Director of the Middle East & Mediterranean Studies Programme at King's College London.
- Mr. Ghanem Nuseibeh - Political Capital Policy Research and Consulting Institute.
- Dr. Abraham Althonayan – Brunel University.
- Dr. Hasan Al-Momani - Director of the Regional Centre on Conflict Prevention at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy.

16.00 **Closing Remarks**

Chaired by Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell - Former PM of Canada

- Dr. Manuel Hassassian - Palestinian General Delegate to UK

16.30 **Conference Adjourned**

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## SPEAKERS

**Abraham Althonayan** is a full-time lecturer and PhD supervisor at Brunel University. He is an active member of the Brunel Business School Research Centre for International Business and Strategy in Emerging Markets (CIBSEM) and Operations and Supply Chain Systems Group (OASIS) which aims to develop and enhance international collaborations, contribute to research groups and helps supervise students. He is also an active member of the British Academy of Management (BAM).

**Shlomo Brom** is a senior research associate at the Institute for National Security Studies which incorporates the Jaffee Center from Tel Aviv University. Prior to this he enjoyed a long career in the IDF, where his most senior post was directing the Strategic Planning Division in the Planning Branch of the General Staff. Brom participated in a number of peace negotiations and regional security talks during the 1990s. In 2000 he was named deputy to the National Security Advisor. In 2005-2006 Brom was a member of the Meridor committee established by the Minister of Defense to reexamine Israel's security strategy and doctrine. Brom authored and edited the following: *Israel and South Lebanon: In the Absence of a Peace Treaty with Syria*, *The Middle East Military Balance 1999-2000* and *The Middle East Military Balance 2001-2002* and *The Second Lebanon War: Strategic Dimensions*.

**Diana Buttu** is a Palestinian-Canadian lawyer who previously served as a legal advisor to the Palestinian negotiating team. She is currently a fellow at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

**Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell** served as Canada's nineteenth and first female Prime Minister in 1993. She previously held cabinet portfolios as Minister of State for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minister of Justice and Attorney General, and Minister of National Defence and Minister of Veterans' Affairs. She was the first woman to hold the Justice and Defence portfolios, and the first woman to be Defence Minister of a NATO country. Ms. Campbell participated in major international meetings including the Commonwealth, NATO, the G-7 Summit and the United Nations General Assembly. After her tenure as Prime Minister, Campbell was a Fellow at the Institute of Politics (Spring 1994) and the Joan Shorenstein Center for the Study of Press and Politics (1994-1995) at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. She served as the Canadian Consul-General in Los Angeles from 1996-2000. In 2001 Ms. Campbell became a Fellow at the new Center for Public Leadership at the Kennedy School and then was invited to join the faculty as a lecturer and remains an Honorary Fellow of the

center. From 2004 until 2006 Ms. Campbell served as Secretary General of the Club of Madrid, an organisation of former heads of government and state who work to promote democratisation through peer relations with leaders of transitional democracies. Ms. Campbell is a founding member and additionally has served as its Acting President in 2002 and Vice President 2003-2004. Ms. Campbell currently sits on the Board of Directors. Kim Campbell served as Chair of the Council of Women World Leaders (CWWL) from 1999-2003. The Council's membership consists of women who hold or have held the office of President or Prime Minister in their own country. From Oct. 2003 - Oct. 2005, Ms. Campbell served as President of the International Women's Forum, a global organisation of women of significant and diverse achievement. Ms. Campbell is Chair of the Board of Trustees of the newly formed Foundation for Effective Governance in Kiev. She is a Trustee of the Crisis Group, the Salk Institute, and ICSR. She also serves on advisory boards of numerous other international organisations such as the Arab Democracy Foundation, which launched in Doha in May of 2007, the Global Security Institute (GSI), and the Middle Powers Initiative (MPI). She is a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy (the West Coast affiliate of the Council on Foreign Relations), the International Council of the Asia Society of New York and the Board of the Forum of Federations. Ms. Campbell is a member of the Eminent Persons Group of the World Movement for Democracy's Defending Civil Society project as well as the High-Level Advisory Group of the EastWest Institute's International Task Force on Preventive Diplomacy and serves on advisory boards for Glendon College at York University as well as UCLA's School of Public Policy amongst others.

Ms. Campbell's corporate director experience includes the high tech, bio-tech and medical devices industries and she is a consultant on issues related to democratization and leadership. Kim Campbell was educated at the University of British Columbia (BA, 1969, LLB, 1983) and the London School of Economics (Doctoral studies in Soviet Government, ABD, 1970-73) where she's an Honorary Fellow.

She holds seven honorary doctorates. Her best-selling political memoir *Time and Chance* was published in 1996 by Doubleday Canada. Ms. Campbell speaks widely on issues relating to leadership, international politics, conflict resolution, democratisation, international trade, gender, and Canadian/American relations.

**Peter Neumann** is Director of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence (ICSR) at King's College London. Prior to this appointment, he was Director of the Centre for Defence Studies (2005-2007) at King's College London, and Content Director of the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security (2004-2005) organized by the Club de Madrid, the association of former Presidents and Prime Ministers. He has published widely on terrorism and radicalisation, and is a senior lecturer in the War Studies Department.

**Said Jamil Haifa** studied economics at the University of Jordan, where he received his B.A. in Economics and Statistics in 1974. In the same year he began work in the main office of the Arab Bank in Amman, Jordan. He continued his studies in McGill University in Montreal, where he received both his M.A. and Ph.D. in Economics. In 1980, he returned to Palestine as Chairman of the Department of Economics in Birzeit University, serving another year as chairman again in 1984. He was appointed as the Dean of the Faculty of Commerce in Birzeit University between 1986 and 1990.

Dr. Said has also worked as a consultant for many international organisations including: UNIDO, ESCWA, UNDP, UNCTAD. He is a member and one of the founders of the Arab Economists Association, chairman of the board of the Palestinian Trade Promotion Organization (PTPO), and a member of the Palestinian delegation for the Palestinian Development Conference. Dr. Said has written and published many papers and a book about the industrial sector in the West Bank and Gaza between 1975 and 1987.

**Majid Al-Haj** is the Dean of Research at the University of Haifa. He previously headed the Center for Multiculturalism and Educational Research at the University. Al-Haj is a 1976 graduate of the University of Haifa, and earned his M.A. here, too. He did his doctorate in Sociology at the Hebrew University and returned to Haifa as a lecturer in 1985. He became a Full Professor in 2004.

He has published more than 40 scholarly articles and written or edited several books. Two of his books are Education, Empowerment, and Control: The Case of the Arabs in Israel (SUNY Press, 1995) and Immigration and Ethnic Formation in a Deeply Divided Society: The Case of the 1990s Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel (Brill Academic Publishers, 2004).

Prior to becoming head of the Center for Multiculturalism in 1993, he had been a member of the board of the Jewish-Arab Center for ten years. A member of the University's Board of Governors from 1988 – 1991, he is now serving a second term as a member of the University Senate.

Al-Haj will become the first Arab dean at an Israeli university. But this is actually his second "first." The sociologist was the first Arab member of Israel's Council of Higher Education, which he served from 1995-2001). Among other academic-related activities, he was a member of the central committee of the Israel Sociological Society, chaired the Committee for Advancement of Higher Education among the Arab Population in Israel. He is one of the founders of the Maof Fund for the Absorption of Arab Lecturers in Institutions of Higher Learning in Israel and has been a member of the Fund's Steering and Acceptance Committee since 1995.

Al-Haj has been a Visiting Scholar / Professor at Carleton University in Canada and at Duke University and the University of North Carolina in the U.S.A. He was an International Fellow at the Center for Refugee Research at York University, and in both 1991 and 2003 he received "The Faculty Enrichment Award" from the Canadian Government.

### **Efraim Halevy**

Head Shasha Center for Strategic Studies , Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2003-; Head National Security Council , Government of Israel 2002-2003 :

Head of Mossad 1998-2002;

Israel's Ambassador to the European Union 1996-1998;

Deputy Head of the Mossad 1990-1995.

Author , Man in the Shadows 2006. Orion Press , London.

Articles have appeared in The Economist , Financial Times , London Times , Time Magazine , The New Republic ( USA ) .

**Manuel Hassassian** has been the Ambassador of the Palestinian people to the UK since 2005. The Ambassador is also a Professor of International Politics and Relations and former Vice President of Bethlehem University. He is a member of the editorial

board of the Arab Political Science Journal, a board member of the Center of Non-Violence in Palestine, and also a member of the Arab Association for Human Rights.

**Rory Miller** is Director of Middle East and Mediterranean Studies at King's College London, where he is also the Innovation Fellow in the School of Arts & Humanities with special responsibility for the School's Commercialisation projects. He has written extensively on European and American involvement in the Middle East. He is the author or editor of 8 books and is currently working on a major study titled *Inglorious Disarray: Europe, Israel and the Palestinians Since 1967* to be published in 2011. Professor Miller has acted as a consultant to the Financial Times World Reference Book and the Kyodo News Agency, Japan's leading news service, among other organisations. He has published widely in the international media including Foreign Policy Magazine, The Wall Street Journal (Europe), the Irish Times, the Daily Star (Beirut), the National (Abu Dhabi) the Jerusalem Post, the New Republic and Commentary magazine. Professor Miller has made regular appearances on CNN International, CNBC, BBC America and the BBC World Service.

**Hasan Al Momani** is Director of the Regional Centre on Conflict Prevention at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy. Specializing in conflict resolution, particularly international negotiations, Dr Al Momani held various senior academic positions at the Faculty of International Studies at the University of Jordan, including Assistant Dean for Academic Affairs, Coordinator of the Conflict Management Programme and Chairman of the Department for International Studies. He holds a PhD in International Relations from Keele University (UK).

**Ghanem Nuseibeh** is Founder, Partner and Director at the London-based Cornerstone Global Associates. Ghanem founded Cornerstone Global Associates as a high-end strategy consultancy that works with governments and organizations around the world on a range of issues, including among others, capability building and stakeholder engagement. Cornerstone's team includes a former government minister, ambassadors, high-ranking civil servants and industry leaders, and are engaged on projects in various countries in the Middle East and around the world. Ghanem has a wide-range of international experience, working on projects in over 20 countries, including the Middle East. Part of this includes looking at risk implications, including but not limited to political and economic risks. He has worked on some of the world's and the region's major development and infrastructure projects and continues to work with major organizations around the world, including the Middle East advising on development issues. He heads the Gulf and Yemen section of the think-tank Political Capital Policy Research and Consulting Institute, strategic partners of Cornerstone. His studies and remarks on development, economic and political risks are regularly published internationally by, for example, Reuters, the National Daily in Abu Dhabi the Times of London, Arabian Business, Deutsche Welle TV, Institutional Investor and others. He is a regular

**Ron Pundak** has been Director General of the Peres Center for Peace since 2001. He played a decisive role in creating the secret track of the unofficial Oslo negotiations at the beginning of 1993, and subsequently became a member of the Israeli negotiating team. Since then, he has been involved in a number of 'Track 2' initiatives regarding an

Israeli-Palestinian final status agreement. Prior to joining the Peres Center, Pundak served as Executive Director of the Economic Cooperation Foundation (ECF).

**Sabri Saidam** is an Advisor to the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and a former Minister of Telecom and IT in Palestine. During his ministerial term, he founded the Palestine e-initiative, which included a number of pioneering e-based projects. His key achievement includes initiating and leading the telecom market liberalization in Palestine and the recently signed Telecom Regulation Law. He trained at Oxford University, and graduated from Imperial College with a PhD in Electrical Engineering.

**Yezid Sayigh** is Professor of Middle East Studies in the Department of War Studies at King's College London. He will be on leave in 2009-2010, during which he will be a Senior Fellow at the Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Brandeis University, and a Visiting Scholar at the Center for Middle East Studies, Harvard University. From 1994 to 2003 he was Assistant Director of Studies at the Centre of International Studies, University of Cambridge, and additionally directed the Middle East programme at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London (1998-2003). In 1990-1994 he was an advisor and negotiator in the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks with Israel, and headed the Palestinian delegation to the Multilateral Working Group on Regional Security and Arms Control. Since 1999 he has provided policy and technical consultancy on the permanent status peace talks and on Palestinian reform. Previously he was a Research Fellow at St Antony's College Oxford (1990-1994), and has been a visiting professor or scholar at the American University of Beirut, Brown University (Providence, RI), Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (Paris), National Defence Academy (Yokosuka, Japan), and School of Oriental and African Studies.

**Baruch Spiegel** currently serves as the senior advisor to the Minister of Defense. In this role, General Spiegel has been responsible for security agreements between Israel and the United States, the European Union, the United Nations and other international organizations. He has directed several special projects at the Defense Ministry, including monitoring the effects of the security fence, determining security and humanitarian policy at crossings and passages, and examining the implementation of the Israeli commitments regarding settlements, outposts, and checkpoints in the West Bank. When serving in the IDF, General Spiegel served as the Head of the IDF Liaison Unit responsible for security relations between Israeli and Arab forces and for relations with peacekeeping force. In addition, he took a leading role in the negotiations and implementation of the Israel-Jordan Peace Accords.

**Michael Young** is opinion editor and a weekly columnist at the Daily Star newspaper in Lebanon. He is author of the recently published *The Ghosts of Martyrs Square: An Eyewitness Account of Lebanon's Life Struggle* (Simon & Schuster), which was released in the UK in July. Young is a regular contributor to publications and websites in Lebanon and the United States, where he has been published in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Slate*, *Reason*, *Newsweek*, and many others.





## ATKIN FELLOWS

**Oday Abukaresh** holds a BA in Business Administration from Hebron University, and a Master's degree in Humanitarian Affairs from La Sapienza University in Rome. Oday has studied sustainable development and institution building at Alquds University, and helped lead a basic law and electoral law reform project at the Palestinian Center for the Independence of the Judiciary Professions. He also worked with MEND (Middle East Nonviolence and Democracy), and led a reconciliation project with the Alquds Center for Democracy and Dialogue.

**Amal Abusrour** holds a BA in Social Science from Al Quds University, an MA in Politics and International Studies from the University of Leeds, and completed a one year non-degree program in public policy and public administration at the University of North Carolina Chapel Hill. She has been a member of the Young Political Leaders group, and worked for the Reform Program at the Palestinian Prime Minister Office before the Hamas electoral victory in 2006. Currently she is a civil society activist and works for a local NGOs in Palestine.

**Alia Al-Kadi** holds a B.A. in Politics from the American University of Beirut in Lebanon and an M.A. in International Studies and Diplomacy from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. Alia worked at the Royal Hashemite Court in Jordan as a Press Officer at the Media and Communication Division for several years and later as a Global Outreach Manager. She helped found the News Planning Department at ATV, the first privately owned TV station in Jordan. She has also assisted the research team at the Centre for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan on domestic security policy research in Jordan. Her areas of interest include Political Islam, Identity and Foreign Policy in the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

**Odelia Englander** holds a BA in Government, Diplomacy and Strategy from the Interdisciplinary Centre (IDC) and is in the process of finishing her MA in Diplomacy and Conflict Studies. Odelia has been part of the OneVoice Movement and served as its head of the Young Leaders Council. As part of her international involvement in promoting peace and reconciliation in the region, Odelia is a member of the Middle East Youth delegation to the annual Petra Conference of Nobel Laureates hosted by H.M King Abdullah II.

**Yosef Kedmi** holds a Law (LLB) and a Government and Politics (BA) degree from the Herzilya Interdisciplinary Centre (IDC) and is currently writing his BusinessLaw Master's thesis (LL.M) on minority rights in the Israeli education system. He is an active member of the OneVoice Movement advocating for regional peace. Kedmi also previously

assisted in providing free legal aid for the needy in Tel Aviv county courts' executioners' office.

**Adam Pines** is a dual Israeli and American national living in Tel Aviv. A professional journalist with ten years experience covering the Middle-East, he works for Al Jazeera English as Jerusalem Bureau Producer and is routinely deployed for international coverage. Adam received his Bachelors Degree (B.A) in English Literature from Tel Aviv University. His research focuses on the polarising role of mainstream local media and new-media mechanisms for building consensus

**Manar Rachwani** holds a Masters degree in Political Science from Al al Bayt University of Jordan (1999), and B.A in Law from the University of Jordan (1995). In addition to his work as a researcher, Manar worked as Managing Editor of Art and Culture at Al Ghad Daily Newspaper based in Jordan, and Director of the Research Department at Al Arab Daily Newspaper based in Qatar. Manar's areas of interest include Democracy, Human Rights, and Economic Reform. In addition to his articles in Arabic newspapers, he has published several studies on various issues in the Arab World, including, among others, "Structural Adjustment Policies and Political Stability in Jordan"; "Particularity Creation and Human Rights in the Arab World" and "Economic Reform and Democratization in the Arab World".

**Sagit Yehoshua** holds a Bachelors degree in criminology and Middle East studies and a Masters degree in Applied Criminology from Bar Ilan University at Ramat-Gan, Israel. Sagit is also a PhD Candidate, at Bar-Ilan University, with her dissertation subject being Profiles of Leaders of Terrorist Groups. Sagit has focused her studies on the psychology of terrorism and the profiles of terrorist groups and leaders. The research has involved years of interviewing the leaders of major terrorist organisations in Israeli prisons. Sagit is also a lecturer at Bar Ilan University in the Department of Criminology. She has both designed and taught a course on Profiling of Terrorism in the Diploma Program for Profiling and is a Research Fellow at Institute of Counter-Terrorism (I.C.T.), Inter-Disciplinary Center, Herzliya, Israel.