



## Parshat Emor

No 1065:

5 Iyar 5765 (14 May 2005)

### STARTING POINT

#### The Affair of Blasphemy - by Rabbi Amnon Bazak

This week's Torah portion ends with the event of the blasphemer, who was sentenced to death after first being held in prison (Vayikra 24:10-23). This raises several questions. First, the text implies that the main sin involved was blasphemy of the holy name of G-d, but if so why does the Torah mention the laws of one who strikes an animal or a human being as part of the words by the Almighty to Moshe? In addition, a more general question, what is the lesson to be learned from this story, and why does it appear at this point?

Evidently, the main emphasis in this story is the subject of national identity. This affair did not begin with an argument between two normal people of Bnei Yisrael, since one of them was "the son of an Israelite woman who was also the son of an Egyptian man" [24:10]. It may well be that the dispute began with financial matters and then moved on to the more serious matter of physical fighting. This would explain why the laws of damages and physical harm to another person appear in the passage. However, suddenly something unexpected happened: in the heat of the argument, the son of the Egyptian became so angry that he cursed the man from Yisrael using the name of G-d. Just how serious a matter this is can be seen from the fact that this phenomenon occurs only one other time in the Tanach, during the dispute between David and Goliath – "And the Pelishti said to David, Am I a dog that you come at me with sticks? So the Pelishti cursed David using the name of G-d." [I Shmuel 17:43]. Why did the blasphemer in Vayikra act the way he did?

It may be that the curse was related to the man's problematic background, as the son of an Egyptian. Note that the Torah does not give the names of the two antagonists. The only name mentioned in the whole passage is that of the blasphemer's mother – Shelomit Bat Divri. Thus, the important figure of this story is the woman, who gave birth to the child of an Egyptian. This son might well have constantly felt that he was an outsider with respect to the nation, which was responsible for the fact that his father's nation was punished so severely. And in a moment of anger his frustration led to his serious outburst.

It may also be that the complex background of the blasphemer was the reason that Bnei Yisrael hesitated, not knowing what to do, and put him in prison. Since his national status was not clear (see the Ramban, 24:10), they were not sure that he should be punished in the same way as a normal person from Bnei Yisrael. And therefore the Almighty emphasizes in His reply to Moshe that the punishment of death for a blasphemer should be applied to anybody within the camp of Yisrael: "Somebody who blasphemes the name of G-d shall die, he shall be stoned

# שבת

## ה'תשס"ה

by the entire community – whether a stranger or a citizen, if he blasphemes he shall be responsible [24:15] ... There will be one law for you, the same one for a stranger or a native, I am your G-d." [24:22].

It is now clear why this story appears here in the Torah. This Torah portion sums up the demand of sanctity in several chapters of Vayikra (19-23), including the holiness of Bnei Yisrael, the sanctity of the Kohanim, and the sanctity of the holidays. In order to briefly illustrate the intrinsic holy character of Bnei Yisrael, the Torah presents us with the sad story of a man who was not an integral part of this sanctity, and with the high price that he had to pay because of the way his mother damaged the holiness of the nation. From this point of view, the story of the blasphemer is a tragedy related to the phenomenon of assimilation and mixed marriages.

### POINT OF VIEW

#### "When an Ox, a Sheep, or a Goat is Born" - by Prof. Shalom Rozenberg

Oxen, sheep, and goats, in addition to doves and pigeons, are the only animals that can be brought as sacrifices on the Altar. Why were these specific animals chosen? This question has been answered in different ways in Jewish tradition. One answer can be found in what is termed an Apocryphal book: The "Aristius Letter," a small text which describes the translation of the Torah into Greek by seventy wise men.

This "Letter" quotes the words of Elazar, the sage who organized the mission of the wise men. He gives explanations for several of the mitzvot, including the reason for the choice of the animals that may be brought as a sacrifice. "The birds that we use are all domesticated... What they eat is vegetables and grain... But among the forbidden birds you will find wild birds that eat meat, and that use their strength to suppress the other birds, which in their evil will eat domesticated birds... When the Torah called these birds 'impure' it meant to imply that once the Torah was given the people were required to be

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upright in their souls and act in a righteous way, in the same way that the domesticated birds... eat." The same is true of the kosher animals: "The sacrifices must be brought from the flocks of domesticated cattle and sheep... and not from wild animals," which attack other animals and harm them.

I have no doubt that many of those who read the above text will be convinced that it is yet another example of apologetic writing, an attempt to paint Judaism in a highly ethical light, as Jews commonly did in many past generations, when they were required to present themselves and their faith to Gentiles, using a foreign language. These people might claim that the sages would have said other things to their own people if they were speaking or writing in Hebrew. But I can only say that these readers are in for a disappointment. A similar sentiment can be found in much earlier writings, in one of the ancient texts of our sages, in the Midrash on the Torah portion of Emor (Vayikra Rabba 27:8).

The Midrash links the special status of the animals which are appropriate for sacrifices to the words of Kohellet: "And G-d will look out for the pursued" [3:15]. And this transfers our thoughts from the world of nature to human history. "Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi Yosef: it has always been true that 'G-d will look out for the pursued.'" This is a general principle that describes the way of the Almighty. This concept is expanded in the Midrash. "Rabbi Yehuda Bar Rabbi Simon said in the name of Rabbi Yossi Bar Rabbi Nehora'i: The Almighty has always demanded the blood of the pursued from the pursuers." There are many examples that illustrate this principle. "Noach was pursued by the people of his generation, and the one that G-d chose was Noach... Avraham was pursued by Nimrod, and the Almighty chose Avraham... Yitzchak was pursued by the Pelishtim, and the Almighty chose Yitzchak... Yaacov was pursued by Esav, and the Almighty chose Yaacov... Yosef was pursued by his brothers, and the Almighty chose Yosef... Moshe was pursued by Pharaoh, and the Almighty chose Moshe... David was pursued by Shaul, and the Almighty chose David... Yisrael is pursued by the other nations, and the Almighty has chosen Yisrael, as is written, 'And you were chosen by G-d to be a special nation for him' [Devarim 14:2]."

In addition, these sages add another interesting point of view that is not at all clear from the Torah itself. "It is clear that this is true, since Hevel was pursued by Kayin, and therefore the Almighty chose Hevel, as is written, 'G-d turned to Hevel and his offering' [Bereishit 4:4]." The end of the incident throws light on the way it began. The tension between the two brothers and Kayin's hate for Hevel must have preceded the offering of the sacrifices, and for that reason the Almighty preferred Hevel to Kayin. And this leads us to a passage in this week's Torah portion. "Rabbi Eliezer Ben Rabbi Yossi Ben Zimra said, the same is true about sacrifices. The Almighty said, an ox is pursued by a lion, a goat is pursued by a tiger, a sheep is pursued by a wolf. You shall not offer a sacrifice from those who pursue but rather from those who are pursued. That is why it is written, 'When an ox, or a sheep, or a goat is born...' [Vayikra 22:27]."

In my opinion, there is an echo in the above passage of the tragic prophecy of Yirmiyahu about the animals of prey, which

represent war: "Therefore, the lion has expelled them from the forest, the wolf will send them from the desert, the tiger rises over their cities" [5:6]. In spite of the clear meaning of the words of the sages, in our souls we can hear the echo of other verses, "Yehuda is a lion cub [Bereishit 49:9] ... Dan is a snake on the road, a serpent on the route [49:17] ... G-d has taken him out of Egypt, He serves as the antlers of a ram [Bamidbar 24:8] ... He has kneeled as a lion, who can raise him up, like a lion cub [24:9] ..." And it is true that outside the Temple we need to have the sharp teeth of the animals of prey, but the Temple itself should present us with the image of the Garden of Eden and the vision of peace. Within our deepest self, born as we were in a world which has not yet been redeemed, there must still be a reality where the wolf will dwell with a sheep, and a tiger and a goat will live together.

However, for us, living in the existing world, which unfortunately is not ideal, the Midrash gives a harsh warning, unexpected and shocking, "If you see a righteous man pursuing another righteous man, 'G-d will look out for the pursued.' If an evil man pursues one who is righteous, 'G-d will look out for the pursued.' If an evil man pursues another evil man, 'G-d will look out for the pursued.' Even if a righteous man pursues one who is evil, 'G-d will look out for the pursued.' This principle exists in all cases." Even if we are righteous and we are right, we must refrain from doing unneeded evil! Even though "You have broken the teeth of the evil ones" [Tehillim 3:8], it is still true that "Sinners will be removed from the earth, and there will no longer be any evil ones" [104:35].

#### SERMON BY A GUEST

#### **"Like the Days When You Left Egypt, I will Show You Miracles" - by Rabbi Yoel Bin Nun, Head of "Shiluv" – Yeshivat Hakibbutz Hadati**

The Exodus from Egypt is the model of "redemption," including the last and final redemption, which will not be followed by any oppression (Tanchuma Shoftim). This is repeated by the prophets (Yeshayahu 31) and also by the sages: "Just as I overturned Egypt, so will I overturn the other nations" [Shemot Rabba 18].

Many great changes are taking place, at the same time that the historic process of gathering in the exiles occurs. This process has never happened before in history, and indeed it could never have happened, for no other nation was spread out to the four corners of the earth and still survived. The world wars, and the changes in science, technology, and society that have all taken place at the same time, have had tremendous effects. The exiled people have been returning to our land for the last 150 years, before our very eyes, ever since the arrival of the students of the GRA. The establishment of the State of Israel and the wars that we have fought are part of this great and awesome process. And all of this is not hidden but openly revealed, it is not a natural process but rather consists of miracle after miracle, one on top of the other.

Should we feel that tragedies and disasters, commands and withdrawals, put the entire process of the ingathering of the exiles in doubt? Definitely not! Imagine if the moment the

decree was made that the generation of the desert would not enter Eretz Yisrael some people would have come to the conclusion that this proved that the Exodus from Egypt had been in vain. The truth is that these people existed, and their names were Datan and Aviram (Bamidbar 16). After the Jews reached the land, not only was it not completely conquered by Yehoshua (see Chapter 13) but the land that they did capture was often brought under the rule of evil foreigners from the nearby area: Chushan Rishatayim, Eglon (the King of Moav), and the nations of Amon, Midyan, and the Pelishtim. Did it occur to anybody to claim that the Exodus was no longer valid, and that G-d had abandoned Bnei Yisrael, G-d forbid?

The truth is that this did occur to some people, and this is what led them to worship idols, out of despair. But this stopped when the angel of G-d revealed himself to Gidon Ben Yoash and said to him, "G-d is with you, strong warrior!" [Shoftim 6:12]. Gidon cried out in his heart, "Is G-d with us at all? Why has all this happened to us? Where are all His miracles which our fathers told us about, saying, G-d took us out of Egypt? But now G-d has abandoned us and handed us over to the hand of Midyan!" [6:13]. And G-d's reply was, "Go with this strength of yours and rescue Yisrael from the hand of Midyan, have I not sent you? [6:14]."

In what way was Gidon different from Datan and Aviram? They denied the existence of G-d, while Gideon cried out to G-d from a true feeling of pain. A cry of this type stems from the depths of faith if it contains within it a basic faith in inevitability of the ultimate redemption along with the willingness to do a true and proper reckoning of the soul.

## A LESSON FOR THE CHILDREN

### **Bnei Yehuda (Part 1) - by Rabbi Yikhat Rozen, Merkaz Neria, Kiryat Malachi**

One by one, the people entered the small house of the Rosenzweig family in the city of Tzefat. This was more than 120 years ago, in the year 5643 (1883). They gathered around a small table, with a petroleum lamp providing dim light on their faces. "We have lived from contributions for long enough," one of the participants said. "We must do something," another one replied. And a third asked, "How long will Eretz Yisrael remain desolate?" Rosenzweig raised his hand for silence, and said: "There is a possibility to settle in our ancestors' heritage in the area of the Bashan. A man is willing to sell us a large tract of land on the Golan Heights. If we can collect the necessary money, we can move there in a short time and establish an agricultural settlement. I have asked you to come here today to discuss this proposal and to begin the process of buying the land."

"Hurray!" the people reacted with joy to this news. "At last, we will also be able to work on the earth, to see the holy land grow flowers and produce fruit and grain. We will not let anything stand in our way! We will take loans, we will sell our houses and our wives' jewelry. We will do everything in our power to get enough money to buy this land." This was the cry of one of the participants, and the others showed their agreement with loud applause.

The gathering ended in a good atmosphere, and all the men returned home to tell their wives and children the good news. They began to gather the money, as they had promised. They sold all their property or used it as collateral to obtain loans, and the fund began to grow. In a short time the required sum was collected, and it was passed on to the owner of the land. The only thing that was missing was the "Kushan," a formal document of approval of the sale, which it was necessary to obtain from the Turkish authorities in Damascus.

Rosenzweig and another man mounted their donkeys and started the journey to Damascus. After many difficulties, they arrived at the Turkish government house. They waited many hours until the official agreed to meet them. He looked briefly at their papers, and then he said, "I am sorry, I cannot approve this sale and give you a Kushan." "But why? We paid the money as required by law. The seller signed the bill of sale, why can't you give us your approval?" "I must consult with my superiors," the official said, and he signaled to them that the conversation was over. The guard showed them to the door, and they were left alone, in the cold street.

The two men understood that the real reason that the official refused their request was that he did not want the land to belong to Jews. But they did not give up easily. They tried to turn to higher officials. For hours they stood in line, using all their powers of persuasion. But it did not help at all. They did not receive approval, and they did not get the Kushan.

With nothing else to do, they returned home without the required formal approval.

*(To be continued...)*

## **THE WAYS OF THE FATHERS (Pirkei Avot)**

### **Chapter 6 Mishna 6 - by Rabbi Yehuda Shaviv**

"Torah is greater than the priesthood and royalty - Royalty depends on thirty good traits and priesthood on twenty-four, while the Torah is obtained through forty-eight traits, as follows: Study; physical hearing; moving the lips; understanding in the heart; fear; awe; modesty; joy; serving wise men; taking care with friends; analysis by the students; with calm; by studying Torah; by studying Mishna; limited commerce; decreased sleep; decreased talking; decreasing pleasures; decreasing mockery; limited sexual relations; patience; having a good heart; faith in the sages; accepting suffering; being aware of one's proper place; being happy with one's lot; making a 'fence' around one's words; not having exaggerated pride; one who is loved; one who loves the Almighty; one who loves other human beings; one who loves charity; one who loves rebuke; love of the straight path; one who keeps his distance from honor; one who does not let study become mundane; one who is unhappy to teach; one who helps his friend carry his burden; one who looks for the positive aspect of his colleague's acts; one who informs his friend of the truth; one who looks for consistency in his study; one who asks and answers; one who listens and adds his own innovations; one who studies in order to teach; one who studies in order to know how to perform the

mitzvot; one who makes his teacher wise; one who understands the issues that he studies; and one who attributes what he says to a source. Thus, it is clear that anybody who gives the name of the person who told him something brings redemption to the world, as is written, 'And Esther told the king, in Mordechai's name' [Esther 2:22]."

The first point of this Mishna is that it is more difficult to "obtain" the Torah than to achieve the priesthood or royalty. While priesthood depends on twenty-four traits and royalty depends on thirty, as many as forty-eight traits are required in order to "acquire" the Torah. Not only are there more aspects to acquiring Torah, these are called "things," a neutral term – as opposed to the elements needed for priesthood and royalty, which are called "ma'alot," virtues. Thus, with respect to the three crowns discussed by Rabbi Shimon (see Avot 4:17), the hardest one to obtain is that of the Torah. On the other hand, the crown of the Torah is available to anybody who wants it, while the crown of royalty is only meant for a small number of people, from the royal family, and the crown of the priesthood is available only to the descendants of Aharon.

On the other hand, it can be assumed that the long list of elements needed to obtain the Torah is not meant to discourage the potential student from making the required effort. Rather, the opening phrase, "Torah is greater than the priesthood and royalty," implies that the Torah is most precious, and is meant to encourage the student to make the effort to achieve it.

Many elements are necessary in order to advance in Torah study, and every one of those noted above deserves long and detailed study, but this is beyond the scope of this article. We will note that the elements can be put into two groups. One group depends on physical actions, such as "physical hearing and moving the lips," etc, while the second group refers not to actions but to the attitude of the person who wants to study: "one who is aware of his proper place and one who is happy with his lot." Each group has twenty-four elements, the same as the number of traits required to achieve the priesthood.

## LAND OF MY BIRTH

### Proclaiming the State of Israel - by Zev Wallack

Should we declare an independent Jewish state? This is the difficult dilemma that the leaders of the people encountered when the British Mandate came to an end. There seemed to be a high probability that a new state would be destroyed immediately, since all the Arab armies had promised to invade the new country as soon as it was declared. In any case, many areas were in immediate danger of being captured, such as Gush Etzion, the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, and distant settlements in the Gallil and the Negev. The commanders of the Haganna, Yigael Yadin and Yisrael Galili, analyzed the military situation for the National Council, which served as the provisional government, and took note of the great superiority of the enemy forces. Even the great friend, the United States, put on great pressure not to declare a state, out of fear for the fate of the Jews in the land.

On the other hand, this was a unique opportunity. If the state would not be declared at this time, who could tell when there might be another chance. As is written, "If not now, when?" [Avot 1:14].

In the Council, the opinions were evenly divided, for and against. And then the head of the Council, David Ben Gurion, using all the influence he had, declared:

"Do we see any real possibility of resisting the invasion (of the Arab armies)? My answer is: If we can increase the available manpower by increasing the conscription in the land and by immigration from outside, if we improve our training and increase our equipment... by manufacturing by ourselves within the land... and buying more from outside – we can resist and even win!"

Fevered preparations were made for the historic event. Moshe Shertok (Sharet) was given the task of writing a declaration, and he brought it for discussion at a meeting of the Council. Many of the participants objected to the length of the proposed text, which began with twelve paragraphs starting with the word "Whereas," in an effort to justify the declaration of a state. Rabbi Y.L. Fishman (Maimon), representing the Mizrahi, based his objections on a source from the Talmud Yerushalmi: "Anything that is not completely clear is justified by many proofs..."

However, there was a more substantial dispute with respect to the beginning of the last section of the proposed declaration. It read, "Based on our trust in the Rock of Israel..." A. Tsizling, the representative of Mapam, said that while he respected the faith of his religious colleagues he requested that the community of nonbelievers should not be forced to accept a declaration to which they objected. Moshe Shapiro, representing the Mizrahi, replied as follows:

"It is inconceivable that the name of heaven will not be mentioned in this declaration, which is being written not only in the name of the population of Eretz Yisrael but also in the name of the entire nation of the Jews. What should really appear is the explicit name of the G-d of Yisrael. But if at the very least the phrase 'the Rock of Israel and its Redeemer' does not appear, religious people will not be able to sign this document."

The situation was on the verge of a crisis that could have split the nation even before this historic event. It was David Ben Gurion who proposed the final compromise. The phrase which was written was, "based on our trust in the Rock of Israel," and the term "its Redeemer" was deleted. And removing this phrase about redemption is what left the way open for the redemption to take place!

The atmosphere on the day of the declaration – 5 Iyar 5708, 14 May 1948 - was threatening and gloomy, since neither the past nor the future looked very bright. The day before, Gush Etzion with its four settlements had fallen, and the next day it was clear that the Arabic armies would invade the new nation. There was one moment of high spirit at the ceremony of the

declaration, as described by Zev Sharf, the secretary of the National Council:

"It was as if we were in a dream... Reality and visions were intermingled, the days of the Mashiach had arrived – it was the end of the rule of foreign nations. I walked along Rothschild Avenue in Tel Aviv, rushing towards the Museum, with the manuscript of the Declaration of the State in my hands. In my mind, I could hear the tune of the rabbi in the 'Cheder,' explaining to his pupils the good that was set aside for the righteous people in the distant future... But what was nothing more than a dream in the distant future had become the present moment, and we had been privileged to arrive at this day... to the Third Temple."

The modest ceremony declaring the new nation took place in a small hall, and it lasted only 32 minutes. But this was a small event that was the precursor of important things to come. Zev Sharf described what happened after David Ben Gurion finished reading the Declaration of Independence:

"Rabbi Fishman asked for permission to speak. He rose and recited the blessing, shehechyanu - 'Blessed are you, G-d, King of the Universe, who has given us life, and sustained us, and brought us to this time.' At that moment, the hall in the Museum was transformed into a synagogue, and all the people gathered there answered, 'Amen.'"

## THE CHAIN OF HALACHA

### One Who Forgets to Count the Omer - by Rabbi Yosef Tzvi Rimon, Rabbi of Southern Alon Shevut and a teacher in Yeshivat Har Etzion

According to the Halachot Gedolot, if somebody misses the count of the Omer for single day, he should not continue to count (see Tosafot Menachot 66a and Megillah 20b). The reason is that it is written, "seven full weeks" [Vayikra 22:15], and this implies that the mitzva must be fully observed. If somebody misses one day, the mitzva has not been fulfilled. The Tosafot do not agree, and they write: "This is a very difficult statement, and it cannot be true." Why is this so difficult to accept? According to the ROSH, "Each and every night is a mitzva of its own." Thus, the disagreement between the BAHAG (Ba'al Halachot Gedolot) and the Tosafot is whether counting the Omer is a single mitzva for the entire duration of the count or if there is a separate mitzva each night.

The approach of the BAHAG is hard to understand, as has been noted by the "Shibolei Haleket" in the name of Rabeinu Yeshaya (234): Doesn't the fact that we recite a new blessing every night indicate that there is a separate mitzva every night? The answer seems to be that the words of the BAHAG should be understood in a different way. Perhaps he also agrees that counting every day is a separate mitzva, but that a person who misses a single day cannot continue to count since the sequence has been broken. One who has not counted "the fifth day" cannot count "the sixth day" – since this is not the sixth day of counting for him. Thus, the BAHAG can agree that there is a separate mitzva every day but still insist that one who misses

the count cannot continue because of a side issue, that the sequence has been disturbed.

This can also be seen from a more philosophical approach. The count of the Omer corresponds to a gradual rise in spiritual level, improving day by day, one step at a time. It is impossible to leave out any intermediate stage. A person who did not count "the fifth day" cannot skip from "four" to "six"! It is necessary to maintain a consistent and gradual increase in level, so that the improvement will become internalized and serve as a basis for real and significant development.

The law in the Shulchan Aruch is that one who misses one day should continue to count without reciting a blessing (489:8). Some people do not continue counting if they have missed one day. This is not proper, since many commentators feel that even if one or more days have been missed the mitzva continues (and this has been accepted as the halacha). The best thing is for such a person to respond to a blessing recited by somebody else.

### Forgetting to Count at Night and Remembering the Next Day

With respect to harvesting the Omer, there is a contradiction between two different Mishnayot. Based on this, the commentators do not agree about another aspect of counting the Omer. In Megillah 20b, the Tosafot write that one who has forgotten to count at night cannot count the next day, while the BAHAG writes that one who did not count at night can count the next day, even reciting the blessing. The accepted halacha is that one who did not count at night should count the next day without a blessing (489:7).

What is the law for such a person with respect to continuing to count the Omer? According to Terumat Hadeshen (37), he should count for the remaining nights, with the blessing, "since this is considered a complete count, as he did not miss a full day." This is accepted by the Mishna Berura (34). At first glance, this is perplexing: If there is a disagreement, why should we recite a blessing, since usually a blessing that is in doubt is not recited? One possible answer is that there is a double doubt: Perhaps one who missed the count at night is permitted to count during the day with a blessing, and even if this is not true perhaps the halacha follows the opinion of the Tosafot, that one who misses a full day can continue to count with a blessing. In view of this, a person in this situation should continue counting, reciting a blessing for the remaining days of the Omer.



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**Rabbi Dr. Jacob J. Schacter,**

*Dean, Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik Institute*

Respondents:

**Erica Brown,**

*Director, Jewish Leadership Institute, D.C.*

**Rabbi Mark Gottlieb,**

*Principal, Maimonides School*



**LUNCH 11:30 AM**

Speakers:

**Rabbi Dr. Bernard Lander,**

*President and Founder, Touro College*

**Rabbi Moshe Lichtenstein,**

*Ra"m, Yeshivat Har Etzion*

*Special Presentation to* **Rabbi Simcha Krauss**  
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**SESSION TWO 12:30 PM**

**RELIGIOUS ZIONIST PERSPECTIVES  
ON THE  
GAZA DISENGAGEMENT PLAN  
A Panel Discussion**



**Rabbi Shlomo  
Riskin**

*Chief Rabbi of Efrat,  
Israel*



**MK Rabbi  
Michael Melchior**

*Deputy Minister of  
Education, Israel*



**Rabbi Shear-  
Yashuv Cohen**  
*Chief Rabbi of Haifa,  
Israel*



Moderated by: **Gary Rosenblatt,**  
*Editor, The Jewish Week*

**SESSION THREE 2:15 PM**

**Changing Realities: The New Middle-East**

**David Makovsky**

*Senior Fellow, Washington*

*Institute for Near East Policy*

**CLOSING REMARKS AND**

**RZA BUSINESS SESSION 3:15 PM**

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