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MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

منتدى أمريكا والعالم الإسلامي U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM

DOHA, QATAR



COMMON CHALLENGES

February 14-16, 2009

The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations With the Islamic World



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STEERING COMMITTEE

HADY AMR
Fellow and Director
Brookings Doha Center

STEPHEN R. GRAND
Fellow and Director
Project on U.S. Relations
with the Islamic World

MARTIN S. INDYK
Senior Fellow and Director
Saban Center at Brookings

CARLOS E. PASCUAL
Vice President and Director
Foreign Policy Studies
The Brookings Institution

BRUCE RIEDEL
Senior Fellow
Saban Center at Brookings

PETER W. SINGER
Senior Fellow, Director
21st Century Defense Initiative
The Brookings Institution

SHIBLEY TELHAMI
Anwar Sadat Chair
University of Maryland

When it comes to relations between the United States and the Muslim-majority countries, too often diatribes and stereotypes substitute for genuine dialogue and mutual understanding. The annual U.S.-Islamic World Forum, held in Doha, Qatar, brings together key leaders in the fields of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Muslim world and the United States for three days of carefully structured discussions. The Forum seeks to get beyond the empty rhetoric and mutual accusations and address the critical issues actually confronting the United States and the Muslim world by providing a unique platform for frank dialogue, learning, and the development of positive partnerships between key leaders and opinion shapers from both sides. It includes plenary sessions, smaller task force discussions focused on key thematic issues like governance, human development, and security, and initiative workshops that bring practitioners from similar fields together to identify concrete actions they might jointly undertake.

The theme of this year's Forum was "Common Challenges," as 2009 presents, for both the United States and the Muslim world, an opportunity to work together to address and resolve the major issues of our time. Opened by H.E. Abdullah Bin Hamad Al-Attiyah, deputy prime minister and minister of energy and industry of Qatar, the Forum featured keynote addresses by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Malaysian parliamentarian and opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Barham Salih, and commander of the U.S. Central Command Gen. David Petraeus. Plenary sessions focusing on various aspects of the future of U.S.-Muslim world relations included such luminaries as Aitzaz Ahsan, president of the Pakistani Supreme Court Bar Association; Nashwa al-Ruwaini, CEO of Pyramedia Ltd. and host of "The Million's Poet"; U.S. congressmen Brian Baird (D, WA-3) and Keith Ellison (DFL, MN-5); Thomas Fingar, former chairman of the National Intelligence Council; Hala Lattouf, minister of social development of Jordan; Pakistani journalist Ahmed Rashid, author of *Descent into Chaos*; David Rubenstein, co-founder of the Carlyle Group; Ismail Serageldin, director of the Library of Alexandria; and Bouthaina Shaaban, minister and political and media advisor to the President of Syria.

On behalf of the entire Saban Center at Brookings, we would like to express our deep appreciation to HRH Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, the Emir of the State of Qatar, for making it possible to convene this assembly of leaders from across the Muslim world and the United States. We are also appreciative of the support and participation of HE Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani, the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Qatar. We would also like to thank HE Mohammed Abdullah Mutib Al-Rumaihi, the Foreign Minister's Assistant for Follow Up Affairs; Abdulla Rahman Fakhroo, Executive Director of the Permanent Committee for Organizing Conferences; Malik Esufji, Director of Protocol, and the entire Ministry of Foreign Affairs staff for their roles in ensuring the successful planning and implementation of the meeting.

Sincerely,

Ambassador Martin Indyk
Acting Vice President and Director
Foreign Policy
The Brookings Institution

Dr. Stephen Grand
Fellow and Director
Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World

PROGRAM of EVENTS



FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13

2:00 PM **Arts & Culture Advisory Committee Meeting**

4:00 PM **Registration**

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 14

9:00 AM **Registration**

9:00 AM **Networking Sessions**

WOMEN LEADERS

FAITH LEADERS

10:30 AM **Networking Sessions**

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY LEADERS

ARTS AND CULTURE LEADERS

12:00 PM **Lunch**

1:30 PM **Special Session: The Next Generation Speaks***

MODERATOR: Ahmed Younis, *Senior Analyst, Gallup Center for Muslim Studies, United States*

SPEAKERS: Amr Khaled, *Chairman, Right Start Foundation International, Egypt*

Lucas Welch, *President, Soliya, United States*

3:00 PM **Arts and Culture Leaders**

Cultural Engagement with the Muslim World: A New Way Forward

CONVENOR: Cynthia Schneider, *Nonresident Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings; Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, United States*

SPEAKERS: Nashwa Al-Ruwaini, *CEO and Board Member, Pyramedia, LLC, United Arab Emirates*

Walter F. Parkes, *Producer, Parkes-MacDonald Productions, United States*

Cory Ondrejka, *Senior Vice President, Global Digital Strategy, ECM Music, United States*

3:30 PM **Press Briefing: Goals of the U.S. Islamic World Forum***

SPEAKERS: M. Abdullah Mutib Al-Rumaihi, *Assistant Foreign Minister for Follow-Up Affairs of Qatar*

Martin Indyk, *Senior Fellow and Director, Saban Center at Brookings, United States*

Stephen Grand, *Fellow and Director, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Saban Center at Brookings*

* INDICATES OPEN TO THE MEDIA



5:00 PM

Reception

6:00 PM

Welcome and Opening Plenary*

WELCOMING REMARKS: Carlos Pascual, *Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Abdullah Bin Hamad Al-Attiyah, *Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Energy and Industry of Qatar*

6:30 PM

Common Challenges: Addressing Together Emerging Global Issues*

MODERATOR: Carlos Pascual, *Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

SPEAKERS: Madeleine K. Albright, *Former United States Secretary of State*

Anwar Ibrahim, *Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament of the Federation of Malaysia*

David Petraeus, *Commander of the United States Central Command*

Barham Salih, *Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq*

7:30 PM

Dinner

8:45 PM

Special Session: Palestine, Syria and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*

MODERATOR: Martin Indyk, *Senior Fellow and Director, Saban Center at Brookings, United States*

SPEAKERS: Ziad Abu Amr, *President, Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations, Palestine*

Daoud Kuttab, *Director, Community Media Network, Palestine*

Bouthaina Shaaban, *Minister and Political and Media Advisor to the President, Syrian Arab Republic*

Shibley Telhami, *Nonresident Senior Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings; Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, United States*

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15

9:00 AM

The Global Economic Crisis: How Do We Respond?*

MODERATOR: James Johnson, *Vice Chairman Perseus, LLC, United States*

SPEAKERS: Vahid Alaghband, *Chairman, Balli Group, PLC, United Kingdom*

Daniel Christman, *Senior Vice President for International Affairs, United States Chamber of Commerce, United States*

David Rubenstein, *Co-Founder, The Carlyle Group, United States*

Ismail Serageldin, *Director, Library of Alexandria, Egypt*

* INDICATES OPEN TO THE MEDIA



10:30 AM **Coffee Break**

11:00 AM **Task Forces: Session One**

Governance Dialogue

Energy and Governance

CONVENOR: Shibley Telhami, *Nonresident Senior Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings; Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, United States*

SPEAKERS: MJ Akbar, *Chairman and Director of Publications, Covert Magazine, India*

Michael Ross, *Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, United States*

Benjamin Smith, *Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Florida, United States*

Human Development and Social Change Dialogue

Human Development, Displacement, and Security: Iraq

CONVENOR: Hady Amr, *Fellow and Director, Brookings Doha Center, United States*

SPEAKERS: Bouthaina Shaaban, *Minister and Political and Media Advisor to the President, Syrian Arab Republic*

Jassim Azawi, *Presenter, Al-Jazeera's "Inside Iraq," Qatar*

Elizabeth Ferris, *Senior Fellow, Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, The Brookings Institution, United States*

Security Dialogue

Global Transformations and Security Relationships

CONVENOR: Tamara Cofman Wittes, *Senior Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings, United States*

SPEAKERS: Thomasingar, *Former Chairman, National Intelligence Council, United States*

Rami Khouri, *Director, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, American University of Beirut, Lebanon*

1:00 PM **Lunch**

2:00 PM **Energy Security in the 21st Century***

MODERATOR: Carlos Pascual, *Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

SPEAKERS: Mohamed Saleh Al-Sada, *Minister of State for Energy and Industrial Affairs, State of Qatar*

Alex Dodds, *President and General Manager, ExxonMobil Qatar Inc.*

David Sandalow, *Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

* INDICATES OPEN TO THE MEDIA

3:45 PM

Initiatives Workshops: Session One

Arts and Culture Leaders

Cultural Engagement with the Muslim World: A New Way Forward

CONVENOR: Cynthia Schneider, *Nonresident Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings; Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, United States*

SPEAKERS: Saad Mohseni, *Chairman, Moby Group, Afghanistan*

Ismail Serageldin, *Director, Library of Alexandria, Egypt*

Faith Leaders

Building on the Common Word: From Consensus to Action

CONVENOR: Katherine Marshall, *Senior Fellow, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, Georgetown University, United States*

SPEAKER: Joseph Cumming, *Director, Reconciliation Program, Yale Center for Faith and Culture, United States*

Aref Nayed, *Senior Advisor, Cambridge Interfaith Program, Cambridge University, Jordan*

Science and Technology Leaders

Strengthening Knowledge Societies

CONVENOR: Kristin M. Lord, *Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings, United States*

SPEAKER: Atta-ur Rahman, *Coordinator General, OIC Standing Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation, Pakistan*

Brian Baird, *United States Congressman (D, WA-3)*

5:30 PM

Initiatives Workshops: Session Two

Arts and Culture Leaders

Cultural Engagement with the Muslim World

SPEAKER: Laurie Meadoff, *Founder and Chief Evangelist, Chat The Planet, United States*

Faith Leaders

Building on the Common Word: From Consensus to Action

SPEAKER: John Bryson Chane, *Eighth Bishop of Washington, United States*

Ahmad Iravani, *Director, Islamic Studies and Dialogue, Center for the Study of Culture and Values, Catholic University of America, Iran*

5:30 PM

Report Launch*

Building a Knowledge Society in the Arab World

SPEAKERS: Hala Lattouf, *Minister of Social Development of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan*

Kristin M. Lord, *Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings, United States*

* INDICATES OPEN TO THE MEDIA

8:00 PM **Museum of Islamic Arts, National Council for Culture, Arts and Heritage**

9:00 PM **Dinner**

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 16

9:00 AM **The Obama Administration and the Muslim World***

MODERATOR: Raghida Dergham, *Columnist and Senior Diplomatic Correspondent, Al-Hayat, United Kingdom*

SPEAKERS: Jackson Diehl, *Deputy Editorial Page Editor, The Washington Post, United States*

Keith Ellison, *United States Congressman (DFL, MN-5)*

Salih Mahmoud Osman, *Member of Parliament of the Sudan*

Ahmed Rashid, *Freelance Writer and Journalist, Pakistan*

10:30 AM **Coffee Break**

11:00 AM **Task Forces: Session Two**

Governance Dialogue

Energy and Governance

SPEAKERS: Saad Eddin Ibrahim, *Chairman, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Egypt*

Steven Heydemann, *Vice President and Special Adviser, Muslim World Initiative, United States Institute of Peace, United States*

Human Development and Social Change Dialogue

Human Development, Displacement, and Security: Afghanistan

SPEAKERS: Khalid Koser, *Course Director, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, Switzerland*

Michael O'Hanlon, *Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

Ahmed Rashid, *Journalist and Author, Descent Into Chaos, Pakistan*

Sima Samar, *Chairperson, Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission, Afghanistan*

Security Dialogue

Security Relationships: Pakistan and America

CONVENOR: Stephen Grand, *Fellow and Director, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Saban Center at Brookings*

SPEAKERS: Aitzaz Ahsan, *Barrister-at-Law, Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan*

Shuja Nawaz, *Director, South Asia Center, The Atlantic Council of the United States, Pakistan*

* INDICATES OPEN TO THE MEDIA



PROGRAM of EVENTS

1:00 PM

Lunch

2:15 PM

Closing Perspectives*

MODERATOR: Martin Indyk, *Senior Fellow and Director, Saban Center at Brookings, United States*

SPEAKERS: Nashwa Al-Ruwaini, *CEO and Board Member, Pyramedia, LLC, United Arab Emirates*

Brian Baird, *United States Congressman (D, WA-3)*

Anies Baswedan, *Rector, Paramadina University, Indonesia*

Sally Quinn, *Columnist, The Washington Post, United States*

3:45 PM

Closing Remarks*

SPEAKER: Stephen Grand, *Fellow and Director, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Saban Center at Brookings*

4:15 PM

Book Launch*

Power & Responsibility: Building International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats

SPEAKER: Carlos Pascual, *Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

6:00 PM

Dinner

8:00 PM

Arabian Concerto by Qatar Philharmonic Orchestra*

* INDICATES OPEN TO THE MEDIA



PARTICIPANTS

UNITED STATES

ODEH ABURDENE
President, OAI Advisors

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
Former Secretary of State

HADY AMR
Fellow and Director, Brookings Doha Center, Saban Center at Brookings

MAXMILLIAN ANGERHOLZER III
Executive Director, Richard Lounsbery Foundation

DERRICK ASHONG
Founder, Take Back the Mic

BRIAN BAIRD
Congressman (D, WA-3), United States House of Representatives

EDWARD BICE
Founder and CEO, Meedan

JEFFREY BROWN
Correspondent, The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer

CATHLEEN CAMPBELL
President and CEO, U.S. Civilian Research & Development Foundation

JOHN BRYSON CHANE
Eighth Bishop of Washington, Episcopal Diocese of Washington

DANIEL CHRISTMAN
Senior Vice President for International Affairs, United States Chamber of Commerce

JOSEPH L. CUMMING
Director, Reconciliation Program, Yale Center for Faith & Culture

NAVTEJ DHILLON
Fellow and Middle East Youth Initiative Director, The Brookings Institution

JACKSON DIEHL
Deputy Editorial Page Editor, The Washington Post

WILLIAM J. DOBSON
Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

KEITH ELLISON
Congressman (DFL, MN-5), United States House of Representative

BETSY FADER
Chief Program Officer, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation

DAVID FAIRMAN
Co-Director, U.S.-Muslim Engagement Project, Consensus Building Institute

ELIZABETH FERRIS
Senior Fellow, Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, The Brookings Institution

THOMAS FINGAR
Former Chairman, National Intelligence Council

DAVID FISHER
Chairman, Capital Group International, Inc.

MARIANNA FISHER
Chairman, Westside Children's Center

JERRY FOWLER
President, Save Darfur Coalition

C. WELTON GADDY
President, InterFaith Alliance

ILAN GOLDENBERG
Policy Director, National Security Network

STEPHEN GRAND
Fellow and Director, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Saban Center at Brookings

TERRY GREENBLATT
Executive Director and CEO, Urgent Action Fund for Women's Human Rights

DINA GUIRGUIS
Founder and Executive Director, Voices for a Democratic Egypt

L. MICHAEL HAGER
President, Education for Employment Foundation

STEVEN HEYDEMANN
Vice President and Special Adviser, Muslim World Initiative, United States Institute of Peace

E. DANIEL HIRLEMAN
William E. and Florence E. Perry Head and Professor of Mechanical Engineering, Purdue University

SHAMIL IDRIS
Executive Director, Alliance of Civilizations Media Fund

MARTIN INDYK
Acting Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy, The Brookings Institution

RICHARD JACOBS
Senior Rabbi, Westchester Reform Temple

JAMES A. JOHNSON
Vice Chairman, Perseus, LLC

JAMES KITFIELD
Staff Correspondent, National Journal

JOE KLEIN
Columnist, TIME

AARON LOBEL
President, America Abroad Media

KRISTIN M. LORD
Fellow, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Saban Center at Brookings

KATHERINE MARSHALL
Senior Fellow, Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs, Georgetown University

LAURIE MEADOFF
Founder and Chief Evangelist, Chat The Planet

DALIA MOGAHED
Executive Director, Center for Muslim Studies, The Gallup Organization

MICHAEL O'HANLON
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

CORY ONDREJKA
Senior Vice President, Global Digital Strategy, EMI Music North America

WALTER F. PARKES
Film Producer, Parkes-MacDonald Productions

CARLOS PASCUAL
Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

RICHARD PEÑA
Program Director, The Film Society of Lincoln Center

JANE PERLEZ
Foreign Correspondent, The New York Times

JOHN L. PETERSON
Director, Center for Global Justice and Reconciliation, Washington National Cathedral

DAVID PETRAEUS
Commander, U.S. Central Command

KENNETH POLLACK
Director of Research, Saban Center at Brookings

SALLY QUINN
Columnist, The Washington Post

KAVITA RAMDAS
President, Global Fund for Women

MICHAEL L. ROSS
Associate Professor of Political Science, University of California, Los Angeles

NADIA ROUMANI
Program Officer/Consultant, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation

DAVID RUBENSTEIN
Co-Founder, The Carlyle Group

DAVID SANDALOW
Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution

CYNTHIA P. SCHNEIDER
Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University

CHRISTOPHER SHIELDS
Founder and Executive Chairman, The Festival Network

BENJAMIN SMITH
Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Florida

SAYYID SYEED
National Director, Office for Interfaith and Community Alliances, Islamic Society of North America

SHIRIN R. TAHIR-KHELI
Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State for Women's Empowerment Department of State

SHIBLEY TELHAMI
*Nonresident Senior Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings
Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland*

SUHAIB WEBB
Imam, Muslim American Society

LUCAS WELCH
President, Soliya

ALESIA WESTON
Associate Director, Feature Film Program, International Sundance Institute

TAMARA COFMAN WITTES
Senior Fellow, Saban Center at Brookings

MICHAEL WOLFE
Co-Director, MOST Resource Center

ROBERT WRIGHT
Editor-in-Chief, Bloggingheads.tv

AHMED YOUNIS
Senior Analyst, Center for Muslim Studies, The Gallup Organization

IAN ZAIDER
Executive Vice President, Corporate Strategy & Artist Management, The Festival Network

EUROPE

VAHID ALAGHBAND
*Chairman, Balli Group, PLC
UNITED KINGDOM*

SCHIRIN AMIR-MOAZAMI
*Fellow, Europe University Viadrina
GERMANY*

RAGHIDA DERGHAM
*Columnist and Senior Diplomatic Correspondent, Al Hayat
UNITED KINGDOM*

HODA ELSADDA
*Chair, Study of Contemporary Arab World, University of Manchester
UNITED KINGDOM*

H.A. HELLYER
*Fellow, Warwick University
Principal Research Fellow, Institute of Advanced Islamic Studies
UNITED KINGDOM*

KHALID KOSER
*Course Director, New Issues in
Security, Geneva Centre for Security
Policy*
SWITZERLAND

YAHYA MICHOT
*Professor of Islamic Studies and
Christian-Muslim Relations, Hartford
Seminary*
BELGIUM

ROUZBEH PIROUZ
Chairman, Pelican Partners, LLP
UNITED KINGDOM

TARIQ RAMADAN
*Professor of Islamic Studies, Oxford
University*
SWITZERLAND

SALMAN SHAIKH
*Consultant, Conflict Resolution and
Mediation*
UNITED KINGDOM

MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

WAEEL ABBAS
*Blogger, Misr Digital (Egyptian
Awareness)*
EGYPT

GHAITH ABDUL-AHAD
Journalist, The Guardian
IRAQ

ZIAD ABU AMR
*President, Palestinian Council on
Foreign Relations*
PALESTINE

ABDULLAH BIN HAMAD
AL-ATTIAH
*Deputy Prime Minister and Minister
of Energy and Industry*
STATE OF QATAR

BADER AL-DAFA
*Under-Secretary General, Executive
Secretary, United Nations Economic
and Social Commission for Western
Asia*
STATE OF QATAR

MOHAMMED AL-HABASH
Minister of Parliament
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

ALI BIN FAHAD AL-HAJRI
Ambassador to the United States
STATE OF QATAR

NAIF AL-MUTAWA
*Founder and Chief Executive Officer,
Teshkeel Media Group*
KUWAIT

KHALIL AL-ANANI
Senior Fellow, Al-Ahram Foundation
EGYPT

AYSHA ALKUSAYER
*Assistant Executive Manager, Strategic
Studies Department, Alwaleed bin
Talal Foundation*
SAUDI ARABIA

AYSHA AL-MANNAI
*Dean, College of Sharia and Islamic
Studies, University of Qatar*
STATE OF QATAR

HAFEZ AL-MIRAZI
Vice Chairman, Al Hayat TV
EGYPT

FAHD R. H. AL-MULLA
*Assistant Vice President for Research,
Kuwait University*
KUWAIT

IBRAHIM ALNAIMI
*Chairman, Doha International
Center for Interfaith
Dialogue*
STATE OF QATAR

ABDALLA A. ALNAJJAR
*President, Arab Science and
Technology Foundation*
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

M. ABDULLAH MUTIB
AL-RUMAIHI
*Assistant Foreign Minister of Follow-
Up Affairs*
STATE OF QATAR

NASHWA ALI AL-RUWAINI
*CEO and Board Member, Pyramedia,
LLC*
EGYPT

HAMAD BIN JASSIM BIN JABR
AL-THANI
*Prime Minister and Minister of
Foreign Affairs*
STATE OF QATAR

KAMEL AYADI
*Senator and Honorary President,
World Federation of Engineering
Organizations*
TUNISIA

JASIM AZAWI
*Presenter, "Inside Iraq", Al-Jazeera
International*
STATE OF QATAR

NURCAN BAYSAL
*President, Development Centre
Association*
TURKEY

AHMET MITHAT BEREKET
Journalist and TV Producer
TURKEY

SUHEIL DAWANI
*Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, The
Episcopal Diocese of Jerusalem*
PALESTINE

GHIMAR DEEB
Lawyer, Economist
SYRIA

HASAN SALAH DWEIK
Executive Vice President, Al-Quds University
PALESTINE

IBRAHIM EL HOUDAIBY
Board Member, Ikhwan Web
EGYPT

YASSINE FALL
Executive Secretary, Association of African Women for Research & Development
SENEGAL

AMR GOHAR
President, Middle East Council for Small Business and Entrepreneurship
EGYPT

MOHAMED HASSAN GOHAR
CEO, Video Cairo SAT
EGYPT

FADI HADDADIN
Editor, misbahalhurriya.org
JORDAN

ASHA HAGI ELMI
Chairperson and Co-Founder, Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC)
SOMALIA

ALI HAMADE
Director-Editorialist, An-Nahar
LEBANON

BARBARA IBRAHIM
Director, John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement, American University in Cairo
EGYPT

SAAD EDDIN IBRAHIM
Chairman, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies
EGYPT

AHMAD IRAVANI
Director, Islamic Studies and Dialogue Center for the Study of Culture and Values, Catholic University of America
IRAN

AMR KHALED
Chairman, Right Start Foundation International
EGYPT

RAMI G. KHOURI
Director, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, American University of Beirut
LEBANON

DAOUD KUTTAB
Director, Community Media Network
PALESTINE

HALA BSASIS LATTOUF
Minister of Social Development
HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

ROGER MANDLE
Executive Director, Qatar Museums Authority
STATE OF QATAR

SHAFIQ MORTON
Activist and Senior Journalist, The Voice of the Cape
SOUTH AFRICA

SOHAIL NAKHOODA
Editor-In-Chief, Islamica Magazine
JORDAN

AREF ALI NAYED
Senior Advisor, Cambridge Interfaith Program, Cambridge University
JORDAN

NANCY NTI ASARE
Director, Family Law Project, Freedom House
KUWAIT

HIBAAQ OSMAN
Chair and Founder, Karama
SOMALIA

SALIH MAHMOUD OSMAN
Member of Parliament
REPUBLIC OF SUDAN

OUSSAMA SAFA
Director, Lebanese Centre for Policy Studies
LEBANON

BARHAM AHMAD SALIH
Deputy Prime Minister
REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

ISMAIL SERAGELDIN
Director, The Library of Alexandria
EGYPT

BOUTHAINA SHAABAN
Minister, Political and Media Advisor at the Presidency
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC

ZAFAR SIDDIQI
Chairman, CNBC Arabiya
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

HUSSAIN SINJARI
Founder, Tolerancy.org
REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

ALI WILLIS
Series Producer, The Doha Debates
STATE OF QATAR

NAIMA ZITAN
Founder and President, Association Theatre Aquarium
MOROCCO

MONEEF RAFE' ZOU'BI
Director General, Islamic World Academy of Sciences
JORDAN



H.E. ABDULLAH BIN HAMAD AL ATIYAH

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Energy and Industry of Qatar

WELCOMING REMARKS



H.E. Abdullah Bin Hamad Al Attiyah, the Deputy Prime Minister inaugurated the sixth U.S.-Islamic World Forum under the slogan of *Common Challenges*. The three-day forum brings together key leaders in the fields of politics, religion, science, arts and culture from across Qatar and the world. In his opening address, H.E. Al Attiyah underlined the importance of the topics on the forum agenda such as human development and social change as a means of overcoming the global financial crisis, the security issues, the Arab-Israeli conflict and other pressing problems needing effective solutions. The convening of such a forum under such a title reflects the critical stage in relations between the United States and the Islamic world, said H.E. Al Attiyah. H.E. the Deputy Premier and Minister of Energy and Industry indicated that with a new U.S. administration under president Barak Obama, hopes are pinned on a new course in relationship between the United States and the Islamic world.

President Obama is aiming at establishing relations based on mutual respect and maintaining joint interests with the Islamic world and this heralds a new era which we all aspired to. H.E. Al Attiyah voiced the hope that President Obama will succeed in fostering and enhancing ties of friendship between the United States and the Islamic world, and this requires abandoning ideologies from past policies towards the Islamic world as they failed to achieve stability. He also stressed the need to renew the objective of achieving peace and development without which good relations cannot flourish. He wishes to see the international community overcome the global economic turmoil so that Islamic countries will not miss opportunities for further development.

H.E. Al Attiyah referred to the importance of stability and development in the Islamic world which would undoubtedly benefit joint interests. He stressed the need for constant and serious pursuit of resolving the political conflicts raging in the Islamic world. "To achieve success in this regard there has to be concrete steps to solve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the greater Israeli-Middle East problems. Without it there can be no development." He then wished the participants all success for establishing new frames for relations between the U.S. and Islamic world based on justice and equality which will contribute to realizing joint interests and benefits.



Carlos Pascual

*Vice President and Director, Foreign Policy Studies
The Brookings Institution, United States*

WELCOMING REMARKS



Good evening. My name is Carlos Pascual. I'm the Vice President of the Brookings Institution, the Director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program there, and on behalf of the Brookings Institution, the Saban Center at Brookings, and the Foreign Ministry of Qatar, I would like to welcome you to the 2009 U.S.-Islamic World Forum. Through the vision of His Royal Highness Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, Emir of the State of Qatar, American and Muslim-world leaders again unite in this forum on the fields of policy, business, science, faith and the arts. We come to learn from each other. We come with a commitment to act, to break down barriers, and to build on the talent, vibrancy, faith and knowledge that rests in all of our societies.

We come together under the theme of common challenges, addressing together emerging global issues. In this global world, we are connected in ways which transcend borders. Money, ideas, technology,

and people move on a global stage. Tom Friedman called it a flat world where traditional hierarchies among nations give way to interconnections among people, businesses and states. Others have used the words multipolar and interdependent. Tragically and dramatically, these were illustrated in a global economic crisis that started in the housing market in the United States and where the rescue capital is coming from China and the Persian Gulf. This is not a world of unipolar hegemony.

This we also know. In this global world there has also been great opportunity. Global markets have lifted 500 million people out of poverty especially in China and India. It has spawned the accumulation of unprecedented wealth. It has allowed for the transformation of states like China, India, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates into global players. On this global stage the United States is still a critical actor. It is not a crippled state but it is a state that needs others.

There is also a great risk. When transnational forces become destructive, there are few barriers to stop their spread. When the United States fails to act responsibly to regulate its economy the threat is to the banking systems of the entire world. If religious schools in tribal areas of Pakistan teach hatred to young children, then children in Afghanistan and India and Iran and Iraq are threatened as well. If poor villagers in Turkey or Indonesia have flocks of chicken killed by avian flu, that is also a threat to every nation an airplane ride away. If in Detroit or Delhi or Beijing coal-fired plants spew carbon into the atmosphere, that is a threat in Mali or Darfur where pressures over land and water become more intense, or in Bangladesh or Sri Lanka where the threat of emersion underwater draws closer. And if there are regional wars as we just saw in Gaza, the tragedy is not just in the immediate deaths of those caught in the conflict, but it reverberates globally and thus the whole world would have a stake in peace.

In this global world, no nation acting alone can solve its problems. No nation can isolate itself from these global threats. And a retreat from action under the guise of ignorance can only be folly. It means that leadership must be built on international cooperation to solve problems together. It does not mean to dictate views or to act unilaterally, as that can only result in hurt and failure.

So we gather at this conference as individuals, Muslims, Christians, some of other faiths, some of no religious conviction, to find ways to meet these global challenges. I leave you with a few reminders of lessons from previous years. The first is respect. Tragically, many societies and in the United States and in the Muslim world have developed perceptions of each other nurtured by stereotypes. We left last year's forum with a conviction to educate. Let us amplify that agenda. Second, I go back to statements a year ago from two of our speakers, Secretary Albright and His Excellency Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani. They reminded us that the rule of law is our strength at home and let us not forget to understand how we make it our guidepost internationally. Third, we agreed that conflicts among states can spin out of control and drown the prospects for peace. Tragically, we face that risk again between Israel and the Palestinians. But we also see other movements that are important. Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim is not with us at this opening session because he is chairing a conference on the Darfur peace process that is attempting to create the political foundations for a lasting peace. In Iraq, General Petraeus and Deputy Prime Minister Barham Salih, both of them with us today, have worked with Sunnis, Shia and Kurds to reduce the prospects for violence. On the broader Middle East, we have seen in the United States the immediate appointments of George Mitchell



and Richard Holbrooke. Why? Because as we have been stressing in this conference, a new American administration has judged that even if peace takes time, the process of making peace must begin now.

In this form we will tackle these issues at three levels. The first is in plenary sessions such as this where we want to foster candid and constructive debate on the issues of the day; in our task forces where we will break into smaller groups and look at deep thematic issues on governance and energy, on human development and social change and on security; and finally in initiative workshops where the emphasis will be to spark partnerships on arts and culture, on science and technology and among faith leaders because from these partnerships we have seen that they can generate action, reconciliation and understanding.

Finally, let me comment on what we should expect of ourselves. Here I will draw on the words of President Barack Hussein Obama from his interview with Al Arabia just a short time ago when he was commenting on how we should judge him and what we should expect of him. He said, "I expect you to find someone who is listening, who is respectful, who is trying to promote not just the interests of the United States," and here we can substitute any of our countries, "but also of ordinary people who right now are suffering from poverty and lack of opportunity. Ultimately people will judge me not by my words, but by my actions."





Madeleine K. Albright
Former United States Secretary of State

COMMON CHALLENGES:

Addressing Together Emerging Global Issues

Excellencies and distinguished guests, I welcome the opportunity to return here to Doha and to participate in this forum. Much has happened since last year's gathering, but the value and need for dialogue has not diminished. We cannot make progress unless we have the patience and courage to learn from one another. It's true that efforts such as this are sometimes hampered by our inability to attract those for whom dialogue would do the most good. People who are willing to exchange views and reply to tough questions already have a deeper grasp of the world than those ill prepared to do anything expect talk to themselves. But we live in an age where ideas are hard to contain and have faith that the insights we share here will find a broad audience and that the path of dialogue is the right one.

I hope I speak for everyone at this event when I say that the national, ethnic and religious identities we represent are compatible with our larger responsibilities. We believe we can defend the legitimate interests of the groups to which we belong without depriving others of their rights. This conviction may seem idealistic, but nothing could be more pragmatic. Consider that in the Balkans during the last decade, Slobodan Milosevic orchestrated a campaign of ethnic cleansing against Muslims. He died in jail. In Rwanda, Hutu militants sought to wipe out an entire population of Tutsis. They succeeded in destroying themselves. On 9/11, Osama bin Laden tried to ignite a war that would consume both the

Muslim world and the West. He is failing because he has offered nothing to anyone except destruction and death. In Iraq, extremists attempted to tear the country apart along ethnic and religious lines. Iraqi voters responded by showing support for a more potent and representative central government.

In the Middle East, ideologues have conspired for decades to destroy the possibility of peace. They have not succeeded because a future without that possibility is no future at all. Some say that intercultural and interreligious cooperation is a dream beyond our reach. I say it is a fantasy to believe that any nation or group can long prosper by dominating or terrorizing others. The evidence is on my side, but as we are all aware, there are those who disagree. There are people of influence in every region who see themselves solely as a champion of a particular nation, people or creed and thereby exempt from any responsibility to the world. For them, the truth is not shaded by the complexity of competing historical claims or present needs. They see no need to consult the judgment of others for they dwell in a universe not of doubt but of certainty where compromise is equated with betrayal and peacemaking with cowardice. They insist that virtue is theirs alone as if this quality were not diluted by selfishness of every people and the heart of every human being. This then is the division that matters most in the world, not the rivalry between Palestinian and Israeli, Hindu or Muslim, Sunni or Shi'ite, but the divide between people who are so blinded by anger



that they have lost their moral bearings and those who understand that the right response to wrong is the pursuit of justice, not revenge, to strengthen the rule of law, not destroy it. This is the difference between Arab and Israeli leaders who speak of crushing one another and those searching for ways to live with one another. It is the difference between the factions in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan that strive to decimate old rivals and those willing to work cooperatively to build modern and prosperous states. Is the difference in Iran between leaders who incite conflict and those who want their country to take its rightful place as a regional and global partner. It is the difference between an American administration that rationalizes the use of torture and one that prohibits the use of torture. And it is the difference everywhere between those who define their own purpose by the destruction done to others and those who will not be satisfied until all countries and peoples move forward together.

In recent months we have witnessed breakthrough elections in the United States and Iraq. We have heard hints about the possibility of direct engagement between Washington and Tehran. And we know that the Obama Administration has dispatched energetic and able new envoys to the Middle East and Central Asia. All this is to the good, but the threat of violence in Gaza persists, Iran's nuclear program continues in violation of U.N. Security Council resolutions, the war in Afghanistan drags on, the situation in Iraq remains fragile, and there is

no regional consensus with respect to the meaning of such basic terms as justice, security, terrorism and human rights. Virtually everyone involved in every regional debate is accused of double standards and virtually all to one degree or another are guilty of precisely that. This argues for humility and for acknowledging that a productive dialogue requires all sides to think differently. It should not comfort but, rather, disturb us so that we feel compelled to make room in our minds for the ideas of others.

I emphasize this point because issues of war and peace can only be resolved by people who speak effectively across the borders of nationality, ethnicity and creed. True reconciliation will only come by confront tests that transcend such categories yet which still speak to our civic and moral obligations. And we can only meet these tests when we are both true to ourselves and able to imagine ourselves free of any identifying label except that of human being. This past month in Washington, Americans inaugurated a new President after holding peaceful and fair elections.

President Obama's rise to power was greeted by a widely shared exclamation. People from all walks of life, white and black in the United States and overseas said they had never thought they would see the day when an African American would become President. Given that my nation was born in slavery, sundered by Civil War and challenged by decades of discrimination and racism, there is little to wonder at the shock and every reason to take heart.

For there is a message in the Obama presidency that applies far beyond the borders of the United States, and President Obama started the conversation on Inauguration Day with these words, "To the Muslim world we seek a new way forward based on mutual interest and mutual respect." The gaps that exist between peoples can be bridged, wounds can be healed, hatreds can be dissolved and the once unthinkable can become reality. With courage and persistence, even the most elusive dreams can come true and all it takes is a willingness to bear foremost in mind our common humanity and to embrace with honesty and introspection the challenge of dialogue. Thank you very much.





Anwar Ibrahim

Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament of the Federation of Malaysia

COMMON CHALLENGES:

Addressing Together Emerging Global Issues



Much has already been said about the past, the missed opportunities and broken promises of a country which many in the Muslim world hold in high esteem. Our deepest fears were bated with hope that the Obama Administration would honor the promises of a new agenda to reengage with America's friends and with its foes around the world in the interests of greater peace and in the pursuit of justice and liberty. We see a President committed to the values of freedom and democracy who believes that the critical issues dividing the United States and the Muslim world can be resolved not through fiery rhetoric and bellicose language, but by positive engagement in a language of mutual respect.

The new administration in its infancy has made some significant moves already to answer those calls for change. While we have yet to see a tangible end to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the appointment of George Mitchell as Middle East Envoy is a welcome step. The withdrawal from Iraq and resolving the conflict in Afghanistan are clear indications that Guantanamo Bay was a gross error in judgment and a betrayal of America's principles. And even the mention of a hadith that as humans, not many Muslim leaders quote the hadith, but we have Obama quoting one, "we ought to be guided

by universal truth that no harm would be enacted upon a person that one would not one foisted upon oneself."

We hope that in the new administration we find a more credible partner both in resolving the most vexing political and security issues of our time, but also in pursuing an agenda for sustainable economic development. Poverty remains a key issue across Asia, the Middle East and much of Africa and provides a meaningful context in which to pursue a common agenda which would bring great benefit to millions subsisting on just a few dollars a day. In the context of the global recession, there are clear avenues for cooperation to stimulate growth which could revive ailing economies including those in the developing world and ameliorate its global negative impact.

Muslim countries cannot be bystanders in this area, nor can they place all their hopes on the possibility of a sea change in American foreign policy. No edict from the United States will change the state of affairs unless we the Muslims witness real progress in ensuring that governments in the Muslim world are more responsive to the aspirations of their own people and fulfill their legitimate aspirations. We need look no further than Indonesia which in 1998 met the

unprecedented peaceful transition from military authoritarianism to democracy virtually overnight and without the intervention of a single foreign soldier. No less significant is Turkey which now stands as perhaps the most mature Muslim democracy in the world. But these two examples is too few and in between is a sea of unfreedom which has bred among other things poverty and radicalism. If we can a certain rapprochement from the United States, the question remains will the United States find credible partners in the Muslim world? Do they have a credible partner in us? The fact remains that issues of governance and accountability still loom large and continue to cast doubts upon the legitimacy of ruling elites. In this regard, reform is no longer an option. There must be firm resolve borne of the efforts of leaders and with the support of institutions of civil society to bring about the right changes.

The clamor for change among Muslims has not abated. Nevertheless, in the Muslim world the past notion of the United States promoting democracy has been a tale of selective ambivalence if not outright hypocrisy. This is in the past. We saw that

in Algeria in Algeria in 1991 and more recently in Palestine. In other countries, democracy—as elections may take place irrespective of the conduct of those elections. These are in fact sham democracies. They underlie undemocratic characteristics—tightly controlled media with an unmistakable bias, rigged elections, oppressive—of opposition parties and a judiciary under siege. This is not an academic issue. Where I come from this is stark reality. Muslims must be committed to change.

The question that remains is how can we proceed. First, real engagement must be inclusive. We should not start by building a wall around ourselves setting preconditions and prejudging groups and parties. These impediments only serve to strengthen old prejudices and further sew suspicion and doubt. For full engagement must proceed from the premise that no nation, not even the United States of America, region, the Arab world, culture or religion including Islam or Christianity, has a monopoly on the values of freedom, justice and human dignity. These are indeed universal principles that we all share. Thank you.





David Petraeus

Commander of the United States Central Command

COMMON CHALLENGES:

Addressing Together Emerging Global Issues

Good evening to you all, and thanks Carlos, thanks to the Brookings Institution for pulling this great event together. Thanks to our hosts here in Qatar, Deputy Prime Minister—and to you and to my special sadiki and friend, the Chief of Defense Staff General, it's great to see you tonight. I must say it is a true honor to be on a panel with these other heroes of mine, a former Secretary of State whose extraordinary personal story and exceptional professional achievements have inspired generations of Americans and who truly embodied the American dream.

It's not lost on some men in Washington, however, Madam Secretary that you did so well walking point for women as the first female Secretary of State that two of your successors have been women. Men are wondering if they can't get a break in Washington anymore; to the Malaysian political leader Anwar Ibrahim, a man who has played such a significant role and been so courageous in his pursuit of democracy in his country's dynamic political arena for nearly 40 years, and to another great sadiki and partner, Iraq's Deputy Prime Minister Barham Salih, a wonderful partner of mine in Iraq from April 2003 until the present, a brilliant, thoughtful, courageous and Iraqi statesman who in many respects is the personification of the Iraqi dream. And I want to take this moment to congratulate Iraq's leaders, its people and you, Dr. Barham, on the impressive conduct of the provincial elections that were held on January 31.

Again it's an honor to be on this panel and it's great to see such an impressive audience in this superb facility, though I must point out to the conference organizers that requiring a U.S. Army General to speak without PowerPoint slides and a laser pointer is a bit like sending an infantryman out on operation without his weapon. But I'll try to do my best without our usual communication aids.

In fact, tonight I actually want to talk about something other than Iraq and other than counterinsurgency, although it is certainly a security topic, a topic of the pursuit of common security objectives through a security architecture that is emerging



as countries in this region, the United States and other nations from outside the region seek to foster security and stability in this vitally important area of the world. To describe the emerging architecture I'd use the word network, though the phrase network of networks would be even more descriptive as the various components of the networks are very extensive indeed. In fact, discussing all of the relationships and programs that comprise the emerging regional security architecture would require more time than we have tonight. But I would like to highlight a number of the programs and initiatives that make up this architecture for there is an impressive amount of cooperative activity underway in this critical region.

Indeed, this region's security architecture is becoming increasingly more robust. Inside the collective

network that comprises it are a number of layered security networks each of which I'll discuss briefly tonight, a training network, an equipping network, an information sharing network, a leader engagement network of enormous importance, and of course, an operational network. And after briefly describing the value of the overarching security network, to the shared interests of the participating states I'll touch quickly on each of the networks laying out some of the ways we're working together with our regional partners to strengthen them, noting that all of this has as its foundation cooperative action in furtherance of shared national interests.

The relationships that make up the security networks are centered on and made possible by the significant consensus in the region in pursuit of shared common interests. States find and implement cooperate multilateral solutions for the security challenges we face. Indeed, many of the countries hold a number of common security interests, for example in preventing terrorism, in combating violent extremism, in deterring potential aggressors and halting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and related technology, in reducing the trade in illegal narcotics, in countering piracy and in ensuring the free flow of commerce and the security of strategic infrastructure. And in all of the networks I'll describe the objective is to strengthen relationships and increase defensive and deterrent capabilities in pursuing of common interests thereby enhancing security in the region and producing three additional effects.

First, efforts to strengthen the network foster the development of strong relationships between coun-

tries. A growing network of cooperation builds trust and confidence among neighbors. Strong partnerships are stabilizing, and we're helping to build such partnerships through the many programs and initiatives that comprise the security network. Second, the network enhances the collective deterrent and defense posture and capabilities of the nations in it. And again, this has a stabilizing influence as well. Strong capable, interoperable forces comprise a powerful disincentive to potential aggression. Third and finally, the network often helps countries strengthen their capabilities and capacities to improve and maintain security inside their borders as well. This is important given the common interest we have in countries being able to address internal as well as transnational extremists and insurgent threats as well as the other regional challenges such as smuggling and narcotics trafficking.

Having described the objectives of the regional security architecture, I'd now like to briefly describe the networks that comprise it. Essentially, the overall regional security network is comprised of a number of layered interconnected subordinate networks each centered on an area of cooperation between countries. Participating nations work together to expand each of these individual networks and to link them with each other to enhance the collective potential of the overall regional network. In some cases this involves pursuing bilateral initiatives, in others turning bilateral initiatives into multilateral efforts, and in still others it involves leveraging a multilateral initiative from one network by activities related to another. And let me quickly touch on five of these layered networks or areas of cooperation.





First we've seen the emergence of a growing training network in the region. Numerous countries participate in mutually beneficial multilateral training opportunities such as joint exercises, regional training center activities and formal training programs to enhance security force capabilities including the ability to counter terrorism, enhance border security and protect critical infrastructure. The training network also involves individual level training such as international exchange programs for professional military education that are of particular importance, the establishment of world-class special operations training centers, air warfare training centers and ground force training complexes among others, as well as the conduct of numerous air, land and sea exercises have added to this network enormously in recent years.

A second growing network involves the equipping of security forces and development of their infrastructure. In many cases, countries in the region purchase foreign military equipment from small arms to aircraft. In other cases, countries cooperate as opportunities arise to pass to others still serviceable and modern military equipment through various mechanisms. In other cases, countries work together to develop security force infrastructure by, for example, building checkpoints along borders, establishing bases to protect infrastructure and modernizing existing air bases and port facilities. In all cases, this network results in more capable and more interoperable forces.

A network of information sharing is a third growing area of cooperation. This includes countries working toward a so-called operating picture and shared early warning systems both essential elements of ballistic missile defense, an area that has

seen significant progress in the past year alone. The information sharing network also includes efforts to share via intelligence agencies cooperation and bilateral agreements intelligence for the conduct of operations to counter extremism. All of this helps to develop the common situational awareness of and reduce seams between and decrease the possibility of miscalculation by networked countries.

Another important network is that of leader engagement. Conferences like this weekend's factor as an element of that network. Those that focus more centrally on security issues are of course more of what I have in mind. But regional security conferences, chiefs of defense gatherings, ambassadorial meetings, defense and interior ministerials and so forth provide important opportunities to develop the personal relationships that are so important in this region and to working through key issues. In addition, bilateral engagements by military, security and diplomatic leaders traveling to countries inside and outside the region to discuss areas of cooperation and mutual interest are also important elements of this network. Naturally, the relationships that are established benefit the other networks and foster transparency, mutual understanding and professional development, all of which have benefits for the region.

The fifth and final network I'd like to point out tonight is the important operational network in which so many countries play a part. This network consists of real world operations from counter-piracy effort to ballistic missile defense preparation, from joint intelligence operations to the conduct of joint maritime activities; from joint efforts to ensure infrastructure security to cooperation to interdict drug smugglers. The operational network not

only performs vitally important missions to us all, it also enhances interoperability and working relationships. And of course it also leverages the other components of the network I've described this evening to ensure maximum collective capability.

Although I haven't touched on every aspect of the regional security architecture, I'll leave it there in order to say a bit more about why I've referred to all these areas as a network. Indeed, I've done so for an important reason. Understanding our cooperation in the region as a network of relationships and programs between countries allows us to see that cooperation in context. First, the network concept reflects the fact that seemingly unrelated programs and cooperative engagements between countries actually are related in important ways. Each cooperative endeavor is another link that connects countries of the region in pursuit of common interests and adds to the strength of the collective network. Each enhances stability in the region not just by including security capabilities, but by building relationships. And each has the potential to intersect with another, creating synergies as the overall network becomes more robust.

Second, the network concept allows us to see the regional security architecture as part of an even larger network of cooperation. The regional security network is not of course a stand-alone network. Rather, it is surrounded by and supportive of development in aid networks, diplomatic and governance networks and economic networks among others. Indeed, the more connected all these networks are the more our goals and methods are aligned and the more effective we are in pursuing our common interests. As always, a comprehensive approach is essential.

Third, the network concept is both more accurate and more beneficial than traditional views of poles of power or blocs of nations. In a world of transnational challenges, cooperative solutions are essential. And in a network, a nation can be as cooperatively linked as it is able to or wants to be. Although we obviously and understandably have areas of divergence with certain countries, we all benefit from the way some of those same countries now have some links into the regional security network by for example their contributions to counter-piracy operations, and that is just one example of such situations in which common interests prevail. I'd suggest then that the network concept provides room for cooperation with other countries on common interests as well, though I'm happy to leave the policy aspects of that to those in the new administration who are examining such possibilities, some of which were introduced by Vice President Biden in his speech in Munich a week ago.

I realize I've pushed the time limit a bit this evening, so let me conclude by briefly reiterating that the volume and quality of cooperation underway as part of this region's security network are impressive and continue to grow. And through the strengthening of this network based on common interests and cooperative efforts, countries in this region and those engaged in it are indeed doing what the title of this panel suggests, addressing together emerging global issues, in this case, regional security issues that very much have global implications. Thank you very much.





Barham Salih

Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Iraq

COMMON CHALLENGES:

Addressing Together Emerging Global Issues

I'm very pleased to be here and I'm honored to be sharing this panel with these very distinguished leaders. Thank you for inviting me and thank you for the organizers of this event, the State of Qatar and the Saban Center.

I will focus on Iraq because I do believe that Iraq has vigorously confronted many of the issues that this forum seeks to address. I hope you will not accuse me of being a self-centered Iraqi, but I do believe that Iraq has important implications to the broader relationship between the Muslim world and the United States. Moreover, Iraq sits at the intersection of so many divides within the Muslim world. I do want to say also that the implications of Iraq's transition is also very profound and very consequential to the Muslim world, or, rather, worlds.

Undeniably it has been a tough transition. We have had to fight every inch of the way with the help of my good friend John Petraeus and his men and women in uniform. The transition in Iraq has been difficult, a source of deep frustration to Iraqis and the friends of Iraq. However, while acknowledging the challenges and the setbacks, we must also recognize the remarkable progress that has been achieved against the odds and despite the sneering cynicism especially and ironically from the Muslim world or at least part of the Muslim world that Iraq is emerging from the difficulties of transition and has embarked on an unprecedented mode of democratic policies in the heart of the Muslim world. The recent local elections was an affirmation that this transformation and progress albeit still fragile and precarious.

What has occurred in Iraq is remarkably important by any standards. The United States helped to save Muslims in Iraq from a genocidal criminal tyranny, like your intervention in Bosnia to help save the Muslims of Bosnia from genocide. The transformation has been tough and painful, fraught with mistakes and missteps along the way by Americans and Iraqis alike, many of those mistakes perhaps avoidable, but we must always remember that the pains of these past 6 years pale in comparison to the horrors we had to endure under the tyranny of Saddam Hussein.

Looking back, it was a painful irony to witness so many in the Muslim world opposing the liberation of their fellow Muslims in Iraq. Regrettably, some also chose to justify and support the terrorist onslaught against our nascent democratic process. The result is that we endured bleak years in which Iraqis with the support of our friends and allies in the United States persisted with the political process while some of those around us fervently prayed and plotted for our demise.

Fortunately, ladies and gentlemen, those days are largely behind us. Those negative attitudes are being consigned to the past. A number of facts have emerged that have caused this new phrase. First, the significant minority of Iraqis who had initially rejected liberation and the change of regime have now largely accepted that the status quo ante was not viable and that they must participate peacefully in the new Iraq. They now work within the political process. It is now incumbent upon us in the Iraqi leadership to make sure that the political process is reformed to ensure that it is genuinely inclusive and allows for a sustainable power sharing arrangement among the main communities of the country. The second factor, I would say that the broader Middle East region increasingly understands that supporting Iraq is also in its interests and that a victory for al-Qaeda and its brand of terrorism would have been



a calamity for all. In recent years Iraq was struck by a tsunami of terrorism. Al-Qaeda and its allies threw all that they had against Iraq's young political process. Al-Qaeda targeted women, children, mosques, schools, even funerals. The terrorist attack in—2 days ago is a reminder that you cannot be complacent about al-Qaeda, that the reality remains that al-Qaeda has largely failed in Iraq. Iraqis scorned and rejected them and I dare say that it could well be recorded that the battle in Anbar Province was the genesis of the defeat of al-Qaeda in Iraq but perhaps across the Muslim world too.

Third and most importantly perhaps, the nature of the Iraqi-American relationship has changed. Iraq's sovereignty has been restored and our international legal standing has been normalized to its status before Saddam's invasion of Kuwait. We have become a partner with the United States with the increasingly functioning institutions and capability security forces. Today Iraqi soldiers and police are initiating and leading operations across Iraq and are gaining the trust and support of the population. While Iraqis have no desire to see foreign troops in their country indefinitely, they also understand that a long-term partnership with the United States will shield Iraq from regional predators and the possibility of renewed domestic conflict. Hence, the Iraqi Parliament has ratified a security pact and a strategic framework agreement of friendship and cooperation with the United States. The security pact defines clear timelines for the redeployment of American troops from Iraq. American military will be leaving the urban centers by the end of June 2009, of this year, and all of Iraq's provinces will be turned over to Iraqi security control. We are working on developing our security capabilities with the help of the United States and NATO so that by the end of 2011 when U.S. troops are scheduled to redeploy away from Iraq, our troops will be able to discharge their security responsibilities.

It also stipulates that Iraq will not be used as a staging post for any aggressive acts against our neighbors whom we hope will understand that the objectives of the agreement is to bring about an enduring security and prosperity for Iraq, and that should also be seen as a major achievement for their interests too.

While the security agreement has received much attention, the Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation Between Iraq and the United States is most important I believe in the long term. This agreement defines the long-term cooperation between two sovereign nations in areas of economy, education, health, and other areas related to improving the quality of life for Iraqis. Iraqis and their political leaders debated the agreements intensely and openly and it was remarkable that an overwhelming parliamentary majority transcending sectarian and ethnic affiliations voted to ratify these agreements.

Ladies and gentlemen, I understand that America's intervention in Iraq has led to much polarization in the Muslim world and even within the United States. Much is to be learned from this episode and perhaps all has not been positive, but to many of us in Iraq, the fundamental issue remains that the United States has helped to overthrow the tyranny of Saddam Hussein and gave the people of Iraq the opportunity to build a free democracy and we are charting a new course of normal cooperative relations between our two nations. As Anwar Ibrahim has said, investment in corrupt dictatorial elites will not deliver stability. Investment should be made in the free will of people.

Iraq was an extreme case, an international pariah run by gangsters who were guilty of multiple attacks and aggression and genocide. What matters then for the Muslim world and the United States are not the specifics of Iraq, but lessons learned from this transition in Iraq. After some mistakes, some avoidable and some not, we are working on establishing a partnership which is crucial to sustaining and consolidating the gains achieved thus far. Iraq and the rest of the Arab and Muslim world are also normalizing their relations and we are hopeful that a new era of cooperation has begun with our neighbors. If the United States and the Muslim world want to genuinely cooperate, then I suggest looking at the achievements and also the missteps of Iraq's transition will be important.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.



THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS:

How Do We Respond?

U.S. | ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM

منتدى أمريكي العالم الإسلامي

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Vice Chairman of Perseus, LLC James A. Johnson moderated a panel entitled “The Global Economic Crisis: How Do We Respond?” with Balli Group Chairman Vahid Alaghband; Daniel Christman, senior vice president for international affairs at the United States Chamber of Commerce; David Rubenstein, co-founder of The Carlyle Group; and Ismail Serageldin, director of the Library of Alexandria in Egypt. They addressed the challenges presented by the global economic crisis as well as means of ameliorating this crisis, and examined the opportunities the crisis and its recovery present for the United States and the Muslim world to work together

The session began with an examination of the crisis’s origins. First, recessions happen cyclically every several years and it was about time for one. Second, the United States had taken on a particularly large amount of debt prior to the crisis. Third, the stock market was in a bubble and Americans were acting according to a “bubble mentality.” Fourth, commodities were at a high-price. All of these factors, combined with a slow U.S. response to the beginning of the trouble, led to increasing problems; the ensuing crisis of confidence made the situation truly dangerous.

It was suggested that the crisis actually has some upsides. For instance, the crisis highlights the importance of more government regulation of the economy. However, one participant noted that the problem is not the lack of regulation; rather it is real criminal activity on the part of a few such as Bernard Madoff.

The crisis also provides opportunities for more engagement between the United States and the global community, and comes at a time when the Obama administration is interested in pursuing such avenues. There is a recognition that, given today’s globalized and interconnected world, countries have to coordinate their responses.



In particular, the crisis opens up avenues to use business to build relationships between the United States and the Muslim world. Despite the key role that the United States must play in the recovery, participants argued that it was importance to enable other countries, ranging from China, Russia, and Japan to Egypt, Pakistan, and Indonesia, to help craft a solution. There are opportunities now to reform several institutions and G-20 is an example of such institutional reform.

However, participants also discussed the risks created by the U.S. response to the economic crisis. In particular, participants expressed concern about recent protectionist sentiments in the United States. This protectionism has particular relevance for the Middle East in terms of the future of trade agreements with countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

The panelists talked about the significant impact that the global economic crisis is having on the

average voter and worker. One participant talked about the steel industry in particular and the large number of jobs in the industry at risk.

The discussion also examined the way in which the global economic crisis is viewed around the world. In particular, people around the world have seen

the failure of the American economic system and with it the “American brand name.” However, there are also current opportunities for building bridges between the United States and the Muslim world. For instance, one participant suggested the Obama administration co-host a conference on job creation and investment in the Muslim community.





ENERGY SECURITY

in the 21st Century



In a panel entitled “Energy Security in the 21st Century,” Brookings vice president and director of the Foreign Policy Studies program Carlos E. Pascual, Qatari minister of state for energy and industrial affairs Mohamed Saleh Al-Sada, ExxonMobil Qatar president and general manager Alexander Dodds, and Brookings senior fellow David Sandalow discussed the importance of energy resources in the 21st century. The discussion focused on energy as a source of political risk, the need for a mutually supportive relationship between energy suppliers and countries that generate the largest energy demand, predictions of continued fossil fuel-based energy consumption, and the need and prospects for greener energy technologies.

Energy is a potential source of political risk because of its fundamental importance to the global economy. Security threats to the supply of energy, from physical threats to pipelines to the threats posed by market volatility, can affect both energy suppliers and those with great energy demands. The recent volatility in the price of oil has left a particularly enduring impression on the American public, which is experiencing a great sense of vulnerability.

The need for a mutually supportive energy supply and demand relationship is so strong because it would enable energy suppliers to better meet the demands of energy consumers. In order for this to happen, energy consumers need to be able to accurately anticipate their energy needs. If they were able to do so, there would be much less likelihood of market volatilities.

There are varying predictions about the future of oil consumption, but many agree that greenhouse gas-producing fossil fuels will remain an important component of the energy tableau for decades to come. In addition, the demand for energy will also grow despite the current economic downturn, putting a greater burden on energy suppliers and ultimately on the environment.

The world-wide scientific community has recognized the environmental impact of greenhouse gases. This, in addition to the fact that in the United States there is a bipartisan consensus that dependence on oil from foreign suppliers increases American vulnerability to terrorist threats, makes it more likely that the United States will take a strong stand on the need for greener technologies and greater energy efficiency.



There are, however, several challenges to producing these technologies and greatly increasing energy efficiency. While the willingness of the Obama administration to ultimately amend United States policy on climate change issues has generated excitement around the world, strong disagreements remain about how to move forward. These disagreements center on questions of setting emissions targets, the

financing of new energy technologies, and the costs of adaptation to these new technologies. Despite these challenges, however, there are reasons for optimism. Among these is the fact that companies that have become more energy efficient have succeeded in reducing their operating costs. Ultimately, climate change regulation could lead to many businesses thriving.





The Obama Administration and the Muslim World



Senior Diplomatic Correspondent for *al-Hayat* Raghida Dergham moderated a panel entitled “The Obama Administration and the Muslim World” with U.S. Congressman Keith Ellison (DFL, MN-5), Deputy Editorial Page Editor for the Washington Post Jackson Diehl, Pakistani journalist and author Ahmed Rashid, and Sudanese MP Salih Mahmoud Osman. The discussion focused on the top priorities for the Obama Administration in its relationship with the Muslim world, what Obama’s election means for security in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Sudan, and what the new administration’s foreign policy towards the Muslim world will look like and how will it affect the Muslim world over the next four years.

Congressman Ellison discussed the nature and pace of U.S. outreach to the Muslim world under the Obama administration. He pointed out that Congress will play a positive role, citing recent efforts by Senator John Kerry and Congressman Howard Berman to travel and reach out to the various actors in the Middle East. In addition, sixty-one members of the House of Representatives sent a letter to the Obama administration during the Gaza crisis and asked the President to provide immediate emergency aid to the Palestinian people, a request which, according to Ellison, was responded to in a fairly short order. However, he cautioned that moving fast on issues related to the Middle East will not be easy, as different political factions in the U.S. Congress compete for different interests in a complex political and bureaucratic process. He believed that Obama will fulfill his promise of engaging the Muslim world on the basis of mutual respect and mutual interests. There are already some promising signs with the appointment of former Senator George Mitchell as special envoy to the Middle East, and plans to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay.

Jackson Diehl said that Obama had gone out of his way to lower expectations of what can be accomplished on the Israeli-Palestinian front. He argued that Obama and his advisors are aiming at very slow, incremental confidence building measures such as reconstructing the economy in the West Bank, upgrading the Palestinian Security Forces, and encouraging the formation of a Palestinian unity government, all of which will take some time before the deeper issues of the peace process can be seriously addressed.

Ahmed Rashid then addressed the question of the fate of Pakistan and future relations with the United States. Rashid

argued that whether in the Arab world or in South Asia, there is a gap between the public's and the ruler's perceptions of change in U.S. foreign policy. The ruling elites are generally suspicious of Obama's pledge while the public is excited and hopeful of a new era of U.S. relations with the Muslim world.

Salih Mahmoud Osman addressed the issue of the Sudan, saying he was hopeful that Obama will focus the international community's attention on Darfur and engage China—a country that has much influence in Sudan, given its commercial relations with the Sudanese government.





GOVERNANCE TASK FORCE

Oil, Globalization, and Political Reform

The Governance Task Force's discussion, "Energy and Reform," centered on the relationship, over time, between trends in the energy market, economic subsidies and political reform. It discussed how the internal distribution of funds from energy revenues influences governments and impacts political reform.

SESSION I

The first panelist argued that we must not assume that a radical drop in global oil prices can be a catalyst for political reform in oil-rich states. Looking back at an earlier boom-bust cycle of oil prices in the 1970s and 1980s, one observes that there was very little real change. Another phenomenon that the world has seen in the last ten years or so is the resurgence of "petro-mercantilism," or the use and manipulation of oil and gas wealth as a foreign policy tool. These strategies have been adopted by such states as Iran, Russia and Venezuela. Whether or not the latest drop in oil prices following the global economic crisis is likely to have a reform effect on the GCC is doubtful, especially in the case of natural gas exporters whose markets are much flexible than oil markets. In the Middle East, the oil industry is entrenched and the political coalitions that undergird those regimes are more or less intact.

The second panelist addressed the impact of oil wealth on women in the Middle East. First, gender development has lagged behind in the Middle East;

there have been pockets of great progress but less so on economic opportunities and political empowerment. Second, many in the West say that this has to do with Islamic tradition and culture. Third, there is a better explanation for the problems of women in the Middle East which accounts for oil.

It is commonly understood among social scientists that when women join the labor force, they have a transformative effect on societies. When women earn independent income it affects family structures and sizes, domestic relationships, and political empowerment. Traditionally, there are few avenues for women in Arab societies to join the labor force. History suggests that industrialization and the production of goods for export is the key to political reform and development. Yet when countries possess oil wealth, development of alternative industries is hampered and wages become uncompetitive. As a result, oil production tends to reduce economic and political opportunities for women.

This explanation, not Islam, explains the erratic nature of gender development in the Middle East. As the number one importer of foreign oil, the United States plays an important role in the problems of female empowerment in many oil-producing countries. America also has a role to play in supporting economic diversification and helping oil producing countries develop new ways and new types of industries to bring women into the economy, and ultimately to help advance regional human development.



SESSION II

The first panelist argued that there are two trends in U.S. foreign policy that are especially important: one, we are very clearly at a turning point in U.S. engagement on the question of political reform in the Arab world. There is no question that the Bush administration's approach to democracy promotion has been set aside by Obama and replaced with a more pragmatic one. But we don't really know what pragmatism means in a practical sense. There continues to be tremendous uncertainty about the priority that Obama is going to place on political reform. Will it be through the rubric of democracy promotion, or will there be alternative frameworks focusing on human rights, governance, or other issues that avoid the political baggage that "democracy promotion" has accumulated in the Muslim world over the past eight years? We simply do not know.

The second trend is a diminishing Congressional appetite for democracy promotion, especially concerning the Middle East. Instead, there is renewed appreciation for security and stability as the primary interests driving foreign policy towards the Muslim world. What we have seen emerging from Washington is an awareness that the decline in oil prices and subsequent economic vulnerability will not only constrain the capacity of these authoritarian regimes to project their influence in ways that will challenge American interests and diplomatic objectives, but that this offers an opportunity for the United States to reassert its influence with these regimes and movements that have benefits of the economic resources extended to them by these regimes during the oil boom.

One panelist argued that these trends suggest the capacity of the United States to urge Arab governments toward reform is exceptionally low. One reason is the modernization of strategies of authoritarian governance, as well as the strategic convergence of diverse Arab regimes on such issues as globalization, economic liberalization, and geopolitical security. There seems to be now an alternative system of governance in the Arab world shaped heavily by authoritarian principles and practices.





HUMAN DEVELOPMENT TASK FORCE

Displacement in the Muslim World: A Focus on Afghanistan and Iraq



The Human Development task force discussed the dire situations of Iraqi and Afghan refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), which in 2007 together accounted for almost half of UNHCR's global refugee population. In both sessions, participants discussed not only the humanitarian, but also the political, security and economic aspects of the refugee crisis, and there was broad consensus that it was an inherently political crisis and therefore requires a political solution. The first session focused on the particular challenges Iraqi refugees continue to face and how this has affected the country's post-war reconstruction in general. The second session focused on Afghan refugees and how their return must be addressed in the context of a new, comprehensive U.S. policy to stabilize Afghanistan and Pakistan.

SESSION I

Current estimates indicate that 15-20 % of the Iraqi population remains displaced. Although the pace of internal displacement has decreased as violence levels diminished, conditions for those in exile are actually worsening. As people run out of money and wear out their welcomes as guests, they often become desperate and vulnerable to exploitation, which can result in human trafficking and prostitution. Studies indicate that the longer and farther refugees are from their homes, the less likely they are to return at all. For those who have reentered Iraq, the vast majority of them remain internally displaced for a variety of reasons, including the lack of a legal framework for refugees to regain their property. It is clear that the refugee crisis is a political issue requiring an immediate political solution.

Several participants used the phrase "human dignity" when referring to the humiliation suffered by those forced to leave their homes. One called the process a "violation of God's image." Many expressed their belief that the international coalition responsible for launching the Iraq war should bear the burden of aid and sustainable repatriation, instead of smaller countries like Syria and Jordan.

Other participants made clear that humanitarian "band-aids" to the refugee problem in Iraq will not ultimately be sufficient to ensure lasting political stability and progress. There was general agreement that it was of paramount importance to help refugees return home, rather than promoting any type of "permanent displacement," but this has to be done using a comprehensive, effective strategy. As one panelist remarked, "it's not just an issue of money, but creative solutions." Some suggested that serious efforts to repatriate Iraqi refugees must be taken not only by the United States, but also the UN, the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the Arab League, and other international organizations.

SESSION II

The return of displaced Afghan nationals remains incredibly problematic. Afghanistan still suffers greatly from violence and economic instability, and with at least 4.5 million refugees inside and outside the country, displacement remains a grave issue. One panelist noted that although neighboring countries have been hospitable, there is no comprehensive framework for dealing with the crisis. Within Afghanistan itself, there are no agencies equipped

to assist with repatriation, and the courts have no real mechanism for resolving property disputes. Similarly, the Bush administration largely ignored the issue of refugees when it undertook the war in Afghanistan, and international organizations have paid little attention to the problem.

Participants also discussed the issue of a broader U.S. strategy in Afghanistan because, as one panelist noted, without an improvement in domestic security and economy, it is unlikely the refugee situation will improve. The panelist suggested that the new U.S. strategy put forth by Obama has three main elements: a doubling of American forces; a “civilian or developmental surge”; and an effort to make clear that the ultimate U.S. goal is to find a viable “hand off” strategy which leaves a more stable Afghanistan in the hands of its own security forces. The

presentation of this strategy raised concerns and questions from participants: Will this number of U.S. troops and Afghan security forces be enough? Shouldn’t we be concerned about civilian casualties that might result from increased troops? What about a focus on education and development?

Participants agreed that the refugee crisis must be addressed immediately, but could not be done so in an isolated manner. Rather, it had to be addressed in the context of a comprehensive policy to stabilize Afghanistan and Pakistan. The volatile political climate in Pakistan is reinforced by the presence of Afghan refugees, which increases competition for jobs and resources and encourages extremist recruitment in refugee camps. Any sustainable solution to rehabilitate these refugees will only result after careful consideration of all of the elements involved.





SECURITY TASK FORCE

Global Trends and Security in the Muslim World: Dilemmas for U.S. and Regional Policy



SESSION I

In the first Security Task Force session, participants identified various recent or anticipated global trends and how they are expected to shape the security relationship between the United States and the Muslim World, or what some participants called the “Arab-Asian world.”

The task force highlighted several key trends, including demographic, economic, and institutional ones. Firstly, security is no longer viewed solely through the lens of military might; now, in an age of globalization and instant communication, domestic issues—unemployment, education, food security—have become equally important.

Many participants felt that current global institutions are not meeting contemporary needs, particularly in the economic realm. While wealth is shifting from West to East, there is rising economic inequality and post-WWII institutions are not adequately dealing with current challenges. Additionally, while people around the world strive for the liberal democratic opportunities of equality and rule of law, they oppose the way the West is attempting to spread those values.

Governance and development challenges are key to understanding the U.S. security relationship with the Muslim world. Several participants challenged the conventional wisdom of a binary choice between revolutionary militant extremists and Arab authoritarian police states, and discussed how other options could be created by encouraging moderate Islamists, civil society, and non-state actors to enter into a democratic process.

There are a variety of ways to improve the security relationship between the United States and the Muslim world. They argued that international norms on a wide range of issues that are pressing for both sides, from nuclear non-proliferation to human rights, should be established and adhered to. This includes addressing double standards, such as the U.S.-India nuclear deal and America’s refusal to recognize Hamas. Participants also suggested that the United States in general and the U.S.-Islamic World Forum specifically, should reach out to a broader range of non-state actors, such as Hamas and Hezbollah. Women should also be brought into the fold.

With power comes responsibility, and countries that exercise power around the globe must also be held accountable. In places where governments are not able to provide for their people there are security risks that must be addressed. Participants addressed the question of multiple power centers, debating whether it was more appropriate for America to deal with actual governments or non-state actors that have significant popular support.

SESSION II

Pakistan is facing significant challenges today. Seventy percent of the country is below the age of thirty and there is high unemployment. Additionally, Pakistan is isolated from its neighbors, due largely to its alliance with the United States. The situation with India is precarious, and there is a need for more civil society and to educate women. Additionally there is a demographic shift within the army from the northern Punjab to the less educated and often more radicalized south. Finally, the leadership of Pakistan is seen as unwilling or unable to grapple with the problems at hand.

Pakistan’s current problems were born out of the country’s history as it confronts many of the global trends discussed in the first session. More than half of the country’s existence has been under military rule which has prevented the appropriate development of institutions. The military dominates the civilian leadership of Pakistan as well as the country’s budget. Furthermore, the United States has historically

been allied with the governments of Pakistan rather than with the populace. The core of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship is a military one.

However, even the Pakistani military has its limitations and the threats the country is facing have changed. Gone are the days where the major threat was a conventional war with India. Now the army must fight a domestic campaign against terrorists in both FATA and Swat. A successful counterinsurgency campaign, one participant argued, needs the support of the local population.

But there exists a vast disconnect between the Pakistani people and their government. One participant asked how the Pakistani government could bring its people on board with its policy of working with the United States. A paradigm shift may be needed in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship—"Trade is honorable; aid never is," one participant said. Many felt free trade with Pakistan and opening up of the textile market would go a long way toward this effort.

Lastly, participants discussed the global view of Pakistan. One participant said that, despite repeated warnings, Pakistan will not collapse. To the contrary, it is important that the United States view Pakistan as a place where civil society and women's rights are on the rise. Another participant stressed the importance of seeing Pakistan for what it is—a Muslim, South-Asian country, that is neither Arab nor Middle Eastern.





ARTS AND CULTURE LEADERS

Cultural Engagement with the Muslim World: A New Way Forward



For the past three years, the Brookings Institution's Arts and Culture Leaders Dialogue has sought to facilitate greater cultural engagement between the United States and the Muslim world, and to help them identify and implement together strategies to more effectively use the arts to increase understanding and expand cultural linkages. The Dialogue, the first at a major think-tank to seek to bridge the fields of culture and foreign policy, developed out of an initial set of conversations among arts and cultural leaders at the 2006 U.S.-Islamic World Forum. Since then, the Dialogue has grown through the annual meeting of the Arts and Culture Leaders Workshop at the Forum, as well as a series of discussions over the last three years in New York, Washington, Los Angeles, Cairo, and Doha among over prominent arts and cultural leaders from the United States and the Muslim world. Through these meetings, a remarkable group of around two hundred arts and cultural leaders have become committed to the idea of using the arts to increase understanding between the U.S. and the Muslim world, and to develop specific projects towards this end. They form part of the Brookings Creative Network.

The working premise behind the Arts and Culture Dialogue is that the arts have the potential to positively affect relations between the United States and the Muslim world because of their capacity to

move and persuade audiences, and to shape and reveal identities. During the first two meetings of the Arts and Culture Leaders Workshop in Doha in 2006 and 2007, the validity of this premise was discussed and debated. By 2008, with the publication of the policy paper *Mightier than the Sword: Arts and Culture in the U.S.-Muslim World Relationship*, this conversation shifted from *whether* the arts have the potential to have a positive impact on the U.S.-Muslim world relationship to *how* the potential could be harnessed and leveraged.

The first project to be launched out of the Dialogue, **Muslims on Screen and Television (MOST): a Resource Center for the Creative Community** (www.mostresource.org) provides a concrete example. A partnership between the Saban Center at Brookings, the Gallup Organization, Unity Productions Foundation, and One Nation Media Initiative, MOST seeks to provide the Hollywood creative community—script writers and producers—with resources and accurate information about Muslims and Islam, with the long-term goal of facilitating a shift in their portrayal towards more nuanced and balanced treatments. In other words, MOST works with the creative community on its own terms to normalize Muslims and themes related to Islam in popular culture in much the same way as has occurred over time with African-Americans, Hispanics and Latinos, and gays and lesbians.

In the post-9/11 era, the predominant characterization of Muslims as terrorists, the “bad guy *du jour*” perpetuates negative stereotypes that are at odds with reality. The detrimental impact on American audiences, which is only exacerbated by the lack of international studies in the average school curriculum, is compounded when domestic films and television programs are distributed abroad. There, the unfavorable characterizations only serve to confirm the perception that Americans do not respect Islam. By providing resources and information to facilitate more varied and accurate portrayals of Islam, MOST hopes to foster a deeper understanding in the United States that would, in turn, be conveyed abroad.

At this time of great complexity and sudden change, when the political arena in the Muslim world are

increasingly disconnected from society and conflicts show little progress towards resolution, it is more important than ever that the United States and the Muslim world leverage the potential of arts and culture, including both “high” and “low” forms of art, to increase understanding, to break down stereotypes and barriers, and to foster positive social change.

Broadcast and new media have tremendous potential and reach as agents of social change. More traditional forms of creative expression such as film, literature, and music also have the power to shape and

reveal identities. The unique expertise of the United States in creating commercially successful artistic products, as well as American know-how in arts management, present skills that are both admired and lacking in the Muslim world. They should be factored into broader strategies of economic and societal development. Engaging arts and culture as a key component of the U.S.-Muslim world relationship at this critical juncture would help to create the foundation of mutual understanding and respect essential to building newer, stronger relationships across society as well as in the political and governmental spheres.





FAITH LEADERS

Building on the Common Word: From Consensus to Action



In the Faith Leaders Initiative Workshop, panelists Katherine Marshall, Joseph Cummings, Aref Ali Nayed, John Bryson Chane, and Ahmed Iravani led a discussion of the important role faith leaders can play both within their own communities and within the broader world. Panelists and participants discussed in particular how religious ideas can be engaged to address the broader challenges of U.S.-Muslim world relations. Discussions centered on the importance of faith in both the United States and the Muslim world, the need for religious leaders and believers to understand their faiths properly, and the initiative known as Common Word, which seeks to encourage love of God and of fellow human beings.

Public opinion polls demonstrate that a majority of people in both the United States and the Muslim world believe in God. This fact is not often recognized when discussing the role religion plays in the interactions between these two regions of the world. These same polls show that people are more likely to trust their religious leaders than they are likely to trust their political leaders. Taken together, these points illustrate that religion has the capacity to be a

powerful force for good and not, as so many assert, the root cause of so much violence in the world.

Many journalists, politicians, and scholars see religion and faith as contributing to the problems of the world today, instead of viewing them as means of finding solutions. Those who see religion as the root cause of violence and strife in the world today argue that society needs to go through a process of “dereligiousizing,” or secularization, in order to bring an end to such violence. But terrible violence and destruction has been wrought under the banner of secular nationalism as well, and especially in the 20th century. Were religion to be the main culprit for such terrible strife, the solution would perhaps seem simpler, but this is decidedly not the case.

While there is no doubt that religion can be and is misused by some for their own purposes, ultimately religion is a force for good and positive change. It is important that religious leaders speak out to help and solve discord, especially when it stems from misinterpretations of faith. These misinterpretations are often a result of textual and scriptural illiteracy and it is incumbent on faith leaders to properly teach

the meaning of holy books and correct errant views and interpretations of them. Failing to do such a thing amounts to faith leaders committing the sin of silence.

In order for people of faith to engage their religious beliefs in a positive, peace-promoting fashion, it is imperative that they properly understand their faith. This injunction applies to religious leaders as much as it applies to ordinary believers. Religious education needs to focus on peace and tolerance. Just as faith leaders commit the sin of silence by not correcting misinterpretations of holy texts, so too do they and all believers commit a sin of silence in not speaking out about the powerful calls for peace and tolerance rooted in their faith.

The Common Word Initiative is premised on the belief that religion has the power to bring about peace. While the initiative is careful not to claim the mantle for all Muslims everywhere, it represents a powerful consensus amongst people of faith and is a means for the majority of peace-loving faith believers to seize the mantle of religion before it is taken up by a minority who would use their faith in the service of destruction and discord. Ultimately, if Common Word is to succeed it needs an intellectual support system and a critical mass of believers to rally behind it.

In some instances, religious reform may be needed to reconcile religion and modernity. If reform is to take place and endure, it must be rooted in tradition. If it is not then it is less likely to be sustainable. Likewise, some argue that the negative uses to which some people put their faith or religion more generally is not a result of adhering too strictly to religion; rather, it is the result of becoming too modern. In some instances, returning to tradition could enliven spirituality as opposed to truncating it, and expand religious jurisprudence instead of narrowing it.





SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY LEADERS

Strengthening Knowledge Societies



Science and technology has a unique power to serve as a bridge between the United States and the Muslim world. Although the United States is a leader in this field, by no means does it have all the answers. America has a lot to learn from the rest of the world in terms of math and science education and of attracting women to science, mathematics and engineering careers. Science and technology also encompasses a set of values that both the United States and the Muslim world share—finding a better life for people, a commitment in education, the objective evaluation of evidence, and the importance of transparency and accountability in a global community. Finally, unlike other fields or trades, science and technology are future-oriented, imbuing their focus with an inherent optimism.

SESSION I

The first panelist talked about the growing gap between the “haves” and the “have-nots” and how it can be closed through investment in education and science and technology. The 57 member states of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) comprise about one fourth of the world’s population,

of which half are under the age of 30. In addition, these countries are endowed with seventy percent of the world’s energy resources and forty percent of the world’s mineral resources. Yet, half of these member states have been classified by the United States as “least developing,” and most suffer from illiteracy, particularly among women.

So how does one make science and technology a centerpiece to the national plans of these OIC member states? While there are some new initiatives in a number of OIC member states such as the United Arab Emirates, where a \$10 billion fund was established in Dubai for creating research centers, or in Saudi Arabia where \$2.5 billion was allocated for a new science university, these investments remain very low. Next, a holistic approach to education is necessary. Participants agreed that the United States can help most in training at all levels: from training of youths in developing international knowledge networks, economic management in social sciences, to quality assurance systems, industrial standards, and entrepreneurship programs.

One panelist argued that the West should be aware that the major advances in philosophy, science,



medicine, mathematics, and empirical research have traditionally come from the Muslim world. Also, the global community should be grateful for the tradition of Islamic science for living up to and enriching the concept and practice of knowledge sharing and learning from one another. Several participants argued that we have a new and tremendous opportunity today with the Obama administration, especially with regards to science. Many alleged that the Bush administration was anti-science, and there was a lack of interest in science as a collective and international endeavor.

SESSION II

One panelist argued that a lucid definition and understanding of knowledge in the Abrahamic religions is critical to proper learning. Knowledge as inspiration, mind and sense all should be distinguished as all have materialistic and non-materialistic aspects. Knowledge and wisdom can be found in many verses in the Qur'an. Learning how to properly relate to and harmoniously live in our

environment is essential; and that is something we need more of in our knowledge. To reach the ultimate truth and cognition there must be harmony between the intellect soul, body of the self, and the knowledge of God. Intellectual harmony is wisdom, internal harmony is beauty of the soul, and external harmony in Islam is beauty of action which we have to bring back to our world in order to live a better life. With these concepts in mind, the Muslim world can properly engage and focus on better citizenship on the basis of civic education, sound governance and institutionalization of reform, the creation of new jobs led by the private sector, education and learning. All these pursuits should be based on the theory of knowledge that is not solely based on materialistic issues. The need for inclusive youth policy, investment in better understanding of youth transitions in the region, and for gap bridging between thinkers and development practitioners is also essential. Empowering youth economically and politically is a priority. To have a knowledge revolution, a social transformation with all the needed enablers of a knowledge economy is vital.

Press Coverage of the 2009 U.S.–Islamic World Forum

Media Outlets that Covered the 2009 U.S.–Islamic World Forum

Al Arab
Al Jazeera
Al-Rayah
Al-Watan
AME Info
Bloomberg News Service
Associated Press
Business Intelligence Mideast
Business Week
Daily Star
Gulf Times
Houston Chronicle
Huffington Post
The Jerusalem Post
Khaleej Times
The Manila Times
The National
Newsweek
The Peninsula
Press Association
Public Radio from Purdue University
Reuters
Sri Lankan News
Time
Turkmenistan News
The Washington Post



ABOUT THE U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM

THE U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM is designed to bring together key leaders in the fields of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Muslim world and the United States. It seeks to address the critical issues dividing the United States and the Muslim world by providing a unique platform for frank dialogue, learning, and the development of positive partnerships between key leaders and opinion shapers from both sides. Now in its sixth year, the Forum has become the foremost meeting place for positive cross-cultural engagement among leaders from the United States and the Muslim world. It also provides the foundation for a range of complementary activities designed to enhance the effectiveness of the dialogue. These include task forces and workshops of policymakers and experts, as well as associated outreach, research, and publications. The Forum serves as both a convening body and catalyst for positive action. Its focus is on dialogue that leads to the development of actionable programs for government, civil society, and the private sector.

The first meeting of the Forum was in January 2004. Over 165 leaders from the U.S. and 37 states in the Muslim world met over the course of 3 days, to discuss a wide variety of topics including: the peace process, Iraq, human development, education, the role of the private sector, the new media, etc. Former U.S. President Bill Clinton and Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani, the Emir of Qatar, delivered the keynote

addresses. Subsequent Forums have sought to build upon these foundations, and have included such luminaries as Secretary General of the Arab League Amre Moussa, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs R. Nicholas Burns, journalist Thomas Friedman, late Pakistani prime minister Benazir Bhutto, prominent cleric Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qaradawi, and many others.

The theme of the 2009 Forum is *Common Challenges: Addressing Together Emerging Global Issues*. The world is changing rapidly and global power shifts are bringing to light new strategic imperatives. The Forum sought to address the following questions:

- What are the common challenges likely to face the United States and the Muslim world in the future?
- What important new partnerships and approaches are needed as a result?
- How will cooperation within the Muslim world and between the United States and the Muslim world be essential to reaching solutions to these common issues?
- What are the opportunities for recrafting the U.S.-Muslim world relationship in light of these new global challenges?

Additional information and pictures on the Forum can be found at www.dohanetwork.org/content/forum-overview.

PROJECT ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC WORLD

THE PROJECT ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC WORLD is a major research program housed within the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. The project conducts high-quality public policy research, and convenes policy makers and opinion leaders on the major issues surrounding the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world. The Project seeks to engage and inform policymakers, practitioners, and the broader public on developments in Muslim countries and communities, and the nature of their relationship with the United States. Together with the affiliated Brookings Doha Center in Qatar, it sponsors a range of events, initiatives, research projects, and publications designed to educate, encourage frank dialogue, and build positive partnerships between the United States and the Muslim world. The Project has several interlocking components:

- The U.S.-Islamic World Forum, which brings together key leaders in the fields of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Muslim world and the United States, for much needed discussion and dialogue;
- A Visiting Fellows program, for scholars and journalists from the Muslim world to spend time researching and writing at Brookings in order to inform U.S. policy makers on key issues facing Muslim states and communities;
- A series of Brookings Analysis Papers and Monographs that provide needed analysis of the vital issues of joint concern between the U.S. and the Muslim world;
- An Arts and Culture Initiative, which seeks to develop a better understanding of how arts and cultural leaders and organizations can increase understanding between the United States and the global Muslim community;

- A Science and Technology Initiative, which examines the role cooperative science and technology programs involving the U.S. and Muslim world can play in responding to regional development and education needs, as well as fostering positive relations;
- A Faith Leaders Initiative which brings together representatives of the major Abrahamic faiths from the United States and the Muslim world to discuss actionable programs for bridging the religious divide;
- A Brookings Institution Press Book Series, which aims to synthesize the project's findings for public dissemination.

The underlying goal of the Project is to continue the Brookings Institution's original mandate to serve as a bridge between scholarship and public policy. It seeks to bring new knowledge to the attention of decision-makers and opinion-leaders, as well as afford scholars, analysts, and the public a better insight into policy issues. The Project is supported through the generosity of a range of sponsors including the Government of the State of Qatar, The Ford Foundation, The Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation, and the Institute for Social Policy Understanding.

The Project Conveners are Martin Indyk, senior fellow and director of the Saban Center; Carlos Pascual, vice president and director of Foreign Policy Studies; Stephen R. Grand, fellow and director of the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World; Peter W. Singer, senior fellow and director of the 21st Century Defense Initiative; Shibley Telhami, nonresident senior fellow and Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland; Bruce Riedel, senior fellow in the Saban Center; and Hady Amr, director of the Brookings Doha Center.

THE SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY

THE SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY was established on May 13, 2002 with an inaugural address by His Majesty King Abdullah II of Jordan. The creation of the Saban Center reflects the Brookings Institution's commitment to expand dramatically its research and analysis of Middle East policy issues at a time when the region has come to dominate the U.S. foreign policy agenda.

The Saban Center provides Washington policymakers with balanced, objective, in-depth and timely research and policy analysis from experienced and knowledgeable scholars who can bring fresh perspectives to bear on the critical problems of the Middle East. The center upholds the Brookings tradition of being open to a broad range of views. The Saban Center's central objective is to advance understanding of developments in the Middle East through policy-relevant scholarship and debate.

The center's foundation was made possible by a generous grant from Haim and Cheryl Saban of Los Angeles. Ambassador Martin S. Indyk, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies, is the Director of the Saban Center. Kenneth M. Pollack is the center's Director of Research. Joining them is a core group of Middle East experts who conduct original research and develop innovative programs to promote a better understanding of the policy choices facing American decision makers in the Middle East. They include Tamara Cofman Wittes, a

specialist on political reform in the Arab world who directs the Project on Middle East Democracy and Development; Bruce Riedel, who served as a senior advisor to three Presidents on the Middle East and South Asia at the National Security Council during a twenty-nine year career in the CIA, a specialist on counterterrorism; Suzanne Maloney, a former senior State Department official who focuses on Iran and economic development; Stephen R. Grand, Fellow and Director of the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World; Hady Amr, Fellow and Director of the Brookings Doha Center; Shibley Telhami, who holds the Sadat Chair at the University of Maryland; and Daniel L. Byman, a Middle East terrorism expert from Georgetown University. The center is located in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at Brookings, led by Brookings Vice President Carlos Pascual.

The Saban Center is undertaking path-breaking research in five areas: the implications of regime change in Iraq, including post-war nation-building and Persian Gulf security; the dynamics of Iranian domestic politics and the threat of nuclear proliferation; mechanisms and requirements for a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; policy for the war against terrorism, including the continuing challenge of state sponsorship of terrorism; and political and economic change in the Arab world, and the methods required to promote democratization.



The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations With the Islamic World



THE SABAN CENTER
for MIDDLE EAST POLICY
at THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: 202-797-6462, Fax: 202-797-2481
www.brookings.edu/sabancenter



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