



at BROOKINGS



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

منتدى أمريكا والعالم الإسلامي

U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM

DOHA, QATAR



NEW DIRECTIONS
February 16-18, 2008

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





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*"America's next leader will have a chance
to alter the tone and substance of U.S.
foreign policy in ways that could enhance
mutual confidence between my country
and the Muslim world."*

—Madeleine K. Albright



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A Note from the Forum Organizers

STEERING COMMITTEE

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HADY AMR
Director
Brookings Doha Center



THE U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM held in Doha, Qatar, brings together annually key leaders in the fields of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Muslim world and the United States. The Forum 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. 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 "New Directions," as 2008 presents, for both the United States and the Muslim world, an opportunity to chart a new path in their relationship. Opened by H.E. Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the State of Qatar, the Forum featured keynote addresses by Afghan President Hamid Karzai, former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Turkish Foreign Minister Ali Babacan, and U.N. Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad. Plenary sessions focusing on various aspects of the future of U.S.-Muslim world relations included such luminaries as Admiral William J. Fallon, Chairperson of the African Union Commission Alpha Oumar Konaré, Palestinian chief negotiator Saeb Erakat, Egyptian televangelist Amr Khaled, Muhammadiyah chairman M. Din Syamusuddin, *Time* columnist Joe Klein, former Palestinian Foreign Minister Ziad Abu Amr, Senator Evan Bayh (D-Indiana), former National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, former Assistant Secretary of State Susan Rice, Council on Foreign Relations President Richard Haass, and former Assistant Secretary of Defense Peter Rodman.

At this year's Forum, we detected a marked change in tone from previous years—a sense that with the upcoming change in U.S. administrations and new political developments on a number of fronts, there was an opportunity for both the United States and the Muslim world to turn the page and write a new chapter in our mutual relations.

The Doha Forum Proceedings provide a brief summary of this year's forum and a testament to the opportunity for renewed debates. In addition, our new Doha Discussion Papers series, published specifically for the Forum's three task forces and edited and compiled into separate volumes, will offer a deeper insight into the major themes and issues debated at the Forum.

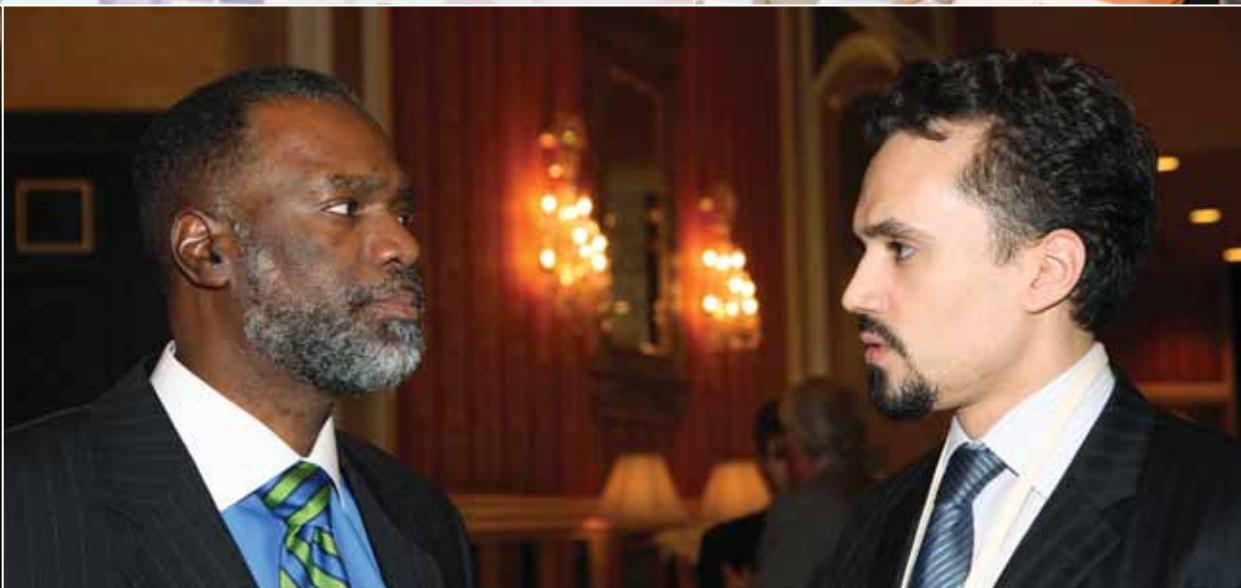
On behalf of the conveners and the entire Saban Center at Brookings, we would like to express our deep appreciation to H.R.H. Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani, the Emir of the State of Qatar, for making it possible to convene this assemblage of leaders from across the Muslim world and the United States, as well as H.E. Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani, for his support and participation. We are also appreciative of the support of H.E. Mohammed Abdullah Mutib Al-Rumaihi, 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 and Saban Center staff for their roles in ensuring the successful planning and operation of the meeting. Finally, we would like to thank Hady Amr, Peter W. Singer and Shibley Telhami for convening the Task Forces, as well as Neeraj Malhotra for his hard work in editing and compiling this volume.

Sincerely,

Ambassador Martin Indyk
Director
Saban Center at Brookings

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

Program of Events



Saturday, February 16

9:00 AM	Registration	8:00 PM	Zalmay Khalilzad, <i>U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations</i>
12:30 PM	Welcome Luncheon		Dinner and Roundtable: Addressing the Conflicts that Divide Us*
1:30 PM	U.S. and Islamic World Opinion: Latest Findings of How We See Each Other*		MODERATOR: Mithat Bereket, <i>Senior Correspondent, CNN Turk TV, Turkey</i>
	MODERATOR: Shibley Telhami, <i>Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, United States</i>		PANELISTS: Saeb Erakat, <i>Chief Negotiator, Palestinian Authority, Palestine</i>
	PANELISTS: Steven Kull, <i>Director, Program on International Policy Attitudes, United States</i>		Adm. William J. Fallon, <i>Former Commander, U.S. Central Command, United States</i>
	Dalia Mogahed, <i>Executive Director, Center for Muslim Studies, The Gallup Organization, United States</i>		Alpha Oumar Konaré, <i>Chairperson, African Union Commission, Mali</i>
	Khalil Shikaki, <i>Director, Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, Palestine</i>		
3:00 PM	Press Briefing: Goals of the U.S.-Islamic World Forum*	9:00 AM	Task Forces: Session One
	SPEAKERS: Mohammed Abdullah Mutib Al-Rumaihi, <i>Assistant Foreign Minister for Follow-Up Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar</i>		Governance Dialogue – The Influence of External Actors on Political Reform
	Stephen R. Grand, <i>Fellow and Director, Brookings' Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, United States</i>		CONVENER: Shibley Telhami, <i>Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, United States</i>
6:00 PM	Welcome Reception		PRESENTERS: Jason Brownlee, <i>Assistant Professor of Government, University of Texas at Austin, United States</i>
6:30 PM	Opening Plenary*		Saad Eddin Ibrahim, <i>Chairman, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Egypt</i>
	WELCOMING REMARKS: Martin Indyk, <i>Director, Saban Center at Brookings, United States</i>		Rami G. Khouri, <i>Director, Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs, Lebanon</i>
	KEYNOTE ADDRESSES: Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al Thani, <i>Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, State of Qatar</i>		Stephen D. Krasner, <i>Professor of Political Science, Stanford University, United States</i>
	Hamid Karzai, <i>President, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan</i>		Human Development Dialogue – Joint Development and Common Security
7:00 PM	New Directions: The Opportunities and Challenges Ahead in the U.S.-Muslim World Relationship*		CONVENER: Hady Amr, <i>Fellow and Director, Saban Center at Brookings Doha Center, United States</i>
	MODERATOR: Martin Indyk, <i>Director, Saban Center at Brookings, United States</i>		PRESENTERS: Hala Bsaisu Lattouf, <i>Minister of Social Development, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan</i>
	KEYNOTE PANEL: Madeleine K. Albright, <i>Former Secretary of State, United States</i>		Francis Fukuyama, <i>Professor of International Political Economy, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), United States</i>
	Ali Babacan, <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey</i>		

* Denotes sessions open to the media

Security Dialogue – A Strategic Look at U.S.-Muslim World Security Relations

CONVENER: Peter W. Singer, *Senior Fellow and Director, 21st Century Defense Initiative, The Brookings Institution, United States*

PRESENTERS: M.J. Akbar, *Editor-in-Chief, The Asian Age, India*

Michael E. O'Hanlon, *Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, United States*

10:30 AM Coffee Break

11:00 AM Task Forces: Session Two

Governance Dialogue – Reform within Political Islam

PRESENTERS: Marc Lynch, *Associate Professor of Political Science, The George Washington University, United States*

Diaa Rashwan, *Director, Comparative Politics Unit, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt*

Human Development Dialogue – Would a "Muslim World Human Development Report" Make Sense?

PRESENTERS: Katherine Marshall, *Director, Development Dialogue on Ethics and Values, The World Bank, United States*

Security Dialogue – Security Framework for the Gulf

PRESENTERS: LTG. David Barno, *Director, NESA Center, National Defense University, United States*

Mehran Kamrava, *Director, Center for International and Retional Studies, Georgetown School of Foreign Service in Qatar*

12:30 PM Lunch

2:00 PM Looking Ahead: A Muslim World Perspective*

MODERATOR: Joe Klein, *Columnist, TIME, United States*

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

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

M. Din Syamsuddin, *Chairman, Muhammadiyah, Indonesia*

* Denotes sessions open to the media

3:30 PM Coffee Break

4:00 PM Initiative Workshops: Session One

Arts and Culture Leaders – Mightier than the Sword: The Arts as a Bridge between the United States and the Muslim World

CONVENER: Cynthia P. Schneider, *Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, United States*

PRESENTERS: Kristina Nelson, *Consultant, United States*

Mohammed Youssry, *Consultant, Egyptian Refugee Multicultural Council, Egypt*

Muslim Minority Leaders – Re-Fortifying Western Muslim Space

MODERATOR: Rokhsana Fiaz, *Director, The Change Institute, United Kingdom*

PRESENTERS: Salam Al-Marayati, *Executive Director, Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), United States*

H.A. Hellyer, *Senior Research Fellow, Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick*

Farah Pandith, *Senior Advisor, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, Department of State, United States*

Science and Technology Leaders – The Evolving Knowledge Society: U.S. and Muslim World Perspectives

CONVENER: Kristin Lord, *Associate Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs, The George Washington University, United States*

PRESENTER: Kamel Ayadi, *Senator, Tunisia*

7:00PM Social Dinner

Monday, February 18

9:00 AM Initiative Workshops: Session Two

Arts and Culture Leaders – Leveraging the Potential of the Arts

PRESENTERS: Mohamed Gohar, *CEO, Video Cairo Sat, Egypt*

Benjamin Chavis, *President and CEO, Hip-Hop Summit Action Network (HSAN), United States*

Joshua Fouts, *Co-CEO and Chief Global Strategist, Dancing Ink Productions, United States*

Muslim Minority Leaders – Bridging the Divide

MODERATOR: Akram Baker, *Managing Director, Brandicate Consultants, Germany*

PRESENTERS: Sherman Jackson, *Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, University of Michigan, United States*

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

Ahmed Younis, *Senior Analyst, Center for Muslim Studies, The Gallup Organization, United States*

Science and Technology Leaders – Building Knowledge Societies: Initiatives and Leaders

PRESENTERS: Beriwan Muslih Al-Khailany, *Consultant, Ministry of Higher Education, Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq*

Alexander Dehgan, *Office of the Science Advisor to the Secretary of State, Department of State, United States*

Kausar Tanveer Naim, *Consultant, OIC Standing Committee on Scientific and Technological Cooperation (COMSTECH), Pakistan*

10:30 AM Coffee Break

11:00 AM Task Forces: Session Three

Governance Dialogue – An Open Discussion on Reform

Co-CHAIRS: Saad Eddin Ibrahim, *Chairman, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies, Egypt*

Shibley Telhami, *Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, University of Maryland, United States*

Human Development Dialogue – Youth and Society

PRESENTERS: William Reese, *President, International Youth Foundation, United States*

Soraya Salti, *Senior Vice President - MENA, Junior Achievement Worldwide, Jordan*

Security Dialogue – The Status of the "War on Terrorism"

PRESENTERS: Mohamed Jawhar Hassan, *Chairman and CEO, Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), Malaysia*

Gary Samore, *Vice President and Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations, United States*

12:30 PM Lunch and Roundtable: '08 Candidates' Foreign Policy Agendas*

MODERATOR: Hafez Al-Mirazi, *Vice Chairman, Sigma Media Group, Egypt*

PANELISTS: Evan Bayh, III, *Senator (D-Indiana), United States*

Samuel R. Berger, *Chairman, Stonebridge International, United States*

Richard N. Haass, *President, Council on Foreign Relations, United States*

Susan E. Rice, *Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, United States*

Peter Rodman, *Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, United States*

3:15 PM Closing Remarks*

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

Carlos E. Pascual, *Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

4:00 PM Special Sessions

Managing Global Insecurity* – Priorities for a Strengthened Multilateral Security System

PRESENTERS: Samuel R. Berger, *Chairman, Stonebridge International, United States*

Bruce Jones, *Senior Fellow and Director, Center on International Cooperation, New York University, United States*

Carlos E. Pascual, *Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution, United States*

5:30 PM Book Launch* – Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think*

PRESENTERS: John L. Esposito, *Founding Director, Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University, United States*

Dalia Mogahed, *Executive Director, Center for Muslim Studies, The Gallup Organization, United States*



"It is our duty to respect the multilateral nature of international relations, so that the force of law, rather than the law of force, will prevail."



H.E. Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al-Thani
*Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs,
State of Qatar*



EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Allow me to present to you some major points constituting, in my opinion, basic rules for any vision of the course of events.

There is no doubt that there are positive aspects in the relationship between the Muslim world and the United States. Still, there are also numerous aspects of deficiency and failure.

We are still witnessing the absence of serious and effective policies which ensure laying the bases for constructive development and a mutually-beneficial relationship.

The starting point should, in the first instance, be the acknowledgment of some facts related to the internal conditions of the states in the Muslim world, and the impact of external influences on political, economic, social, and intellectual development. From here, we create the correct environment for making political decisions that lead to positive transformation.

The challenges facing us in the Muslim world will persist if we do not do our utmost to provide satisfactory solutions on the basis of well-studied policies built on dialogue and consultation.

The international community has accepted a standard organization of its common relationships which provides collective solutions for problems. Such organization is based on dialogue, cooperation and common interests. Hence, we should not deal with this organization selectively, based solely on capability and opportunity, for it will lead us to adopt the logic of force. In brief, it is our duty to respect the multilateral nature of international relations, so that the force of law, rather than the law of force, will prevail.

The relationship between the Muslim world and the United States is also very important for facing future challenges. In this respect, the settlement of the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict remain the biggest challenges. Public opinion in the Muslim world is no longer convinced that we should remain subject to biased unilateral policies. What is needed here is a collective will to realize justice. What is true for this conflict also applies to other violent conflicts elsewhere in the region, such as the war in Iraq, the situation in Lebanon and the Iranian nuclear issue. These, and other issues in the

Muslim world beyond our region, continue to constitute the basic source for tension and lack of trust.

Undoubtedly, such continuing conflicts make talk of structuring regional security a mere intellectual luxury, as it does not provide solutions rooted in the political, economic and social reality.

Similarly, political development on the basis of reform and the prevalence of democratic practices is useless unless it is accompanied by serious economic and social development programs.

Without these, factors that feed the sense of injustice and frustration and lead to mutual suspicions, escalating and rising violence at internal and international levels will remain.

In this respect, we should pay special attention to educational and cultural programs to achieve positive coexistence. We should address problems of youth, the elimination of poverty, the promotion of dialogue, culture and mutual understanding. We should also avoid targeting the Muslim world because of the positions of certain extremist groups. Indeed, extremism exists on both sides. What is currently taking place has political causes that should be addressed. If we really seek to deal with terrorism and to combat it, such efforts will not succeed unless we address the underlying causes and factors.

If we want to be convincing, we should, at the same time, succeed in making democracy prevail in international relations. If autocratic rule is unacceptable at the internal level, unilateral policies should also be eliminated at the international level, along with double standards, absence of transparency and resort to force.

It is important that we understand one another, respect different viewpoints and earnestly seek to settle our differences by peaceful means, as well as be ready to support one another in various aspects of life.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are some modest ideas that we hope will stimulate fruitful discussions at this Forum. I wish you success and happy sojourn in the State of Qatar.

Thank you.



H.E. Hamid Karzai
President, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan



“Our future in a peaceful world lies in the extent to which cooperation among civilizations, as exemplified in Afghanistan, can become the rule, and not the exception.”

EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

The relationship between the United States and the Muslim world is one of the most pertinent issues of our time. Therefore, I congratulate the conveners of the U.S.-Islamic World Forum for being rightfully concerned about it, and for taking a step in trying to address it.

As you all know, Islam has made a significant contribution toward enriching civilizations and has produced great scholars, thinkers and poets. In fact, the experience of Al-Andalusia speaks volumes about an era of great co-existence between different cultures and beliefs. In addition, there exists a great body of research that points out that Muslims were not only responsible for the revival of Classical Greek thinking, but also began what is referred to as the “European Renaissance.”

As a Muslim, I am greatly pained to see that, in contrast to the glory of our forebears, today we Muslims live in rather troubled times. It is unfortunate that many of the most violent conflicts today are taking place in our countries; or that, despite our immeasurable resources, too many of us are afflicted by poverty. It is painful to see that we make up one-fifth of the world’s population, but only five percent of the world’s economy. While the injunctions of our great faith are totally consistent with our duties as citizens of a single world which we share with the West, sometimes we do seem to have difficulty reconciling the two.

Make no mistake, much of the predominant perceptions about the Muslim world today are wrong, exaggerated and unjustified. However, for me, our own continued vulnerabilities are as much unacceptable as any unjustified treatment they receive from the Western world. At the same time as we engage constructively with the United States and the West in trying to find remedies for the many genuine grievances that our people hold, we must silence the few discordant voices that preach hatred and division on both sides.

Once again, as a Muslim, I think it is time we do better with the basic tenets of our great faith, Islam, and relive its glorious tradition of tolerance and progress. Fourteen hundred years ago, the benevolent God ordained to his Messenger Muhammad (PBUH) in the Holy Qur'an that “all humans are equal in the sight of God,” and that humans are born into different tribes and distinctions not to despise one another, but to know one another better. This Qur'anic verse is the earliest assertion ever about our shared humanity and about the basic elements we hold in common as members of a single human race. As Muslims, we must live up to the eminence of this divine truth.

And then, more than a millennium after the Holy Qur'an spoke about equality in the eyes of God Almighty, the founding fathers of what is today the United States of America adhered to the same principles as they set about founding a new great nation: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal,” they declared. The United States Constitution begins with “We the People...” – a telling reminder of Islam’s emphasis on the basic bondage of mankind.

Thanks to the exemplary vision of its founding fathers, America today is a true beacon of prosperity, hope and success. The American ideals of freedom, democracy, equality and respect for the rights of the individual have inspired people around the world. I would say it is these ideals, much more than military prowess, that makes America attractive.

However power, be it moral or material, entails responsibility. Power also brings justified expectations from others, which must be addressed responsibly. Thus, it was justified for the Afghan people to expect the United States to help us in our rightful desire to liberate ourselves from the Al-Qaeda-dominated regime and a vicious cycle of violence. It was justified for the people of Kuwait to seek help from the United States against an occupying force and to regain control of their own destiny. It was justified when the United States intervened in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo to prevent ethnic cleansing and assist in ensuring peace and stability in the region. It is also justified for the Palestinian people to expect the United States to help them in the long-denied aspiration to have a state of their own, where they can live peacefully with Israel. As a beacon of freedom, America is expected to aid the quest for freedom and self-determination wherever these are denied.

The United States has also been one of the most successful nations in the world in terms of embracing and accepting a multiplicity of religions and changing it to a social reality. Today, in the United States, Muslims live in peace and harmony with the followers of other religions, enjoying protection and full rights as citizens of that nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, we must work together to educate and inform ourselves and our populations about the differences and commonalities of our cultures. I reject the notion that we are facing a “clash of civilizations”. We are instead confronting a world that seems to have shrunken in size by the forces of globalization. What is not understood is labelled and feared. Globalization has made isolation impossible. We should appeal to our media to educate and build bridges between our cultures, rather

than equating differences with incompatibility, threat and fear. We should approach the diversity of our cultures as having given our world its colourful and vibrant beauty.

I am often struck by the way in which at times press coverage both in the United States and the Muslim world casts the other as having opposing interests. Indeed the United States represents a composite of varying perspectives, interests and priorities. Equally the Muslim world represents a mosaic of orientations and interests. What is important is that, in a number of significant ways, our interests converge.

Today, no matter how divergent the views and interests of the United States and the Muslim world may appear on the surface, fundamentally, we aspire to the same ideals of freedom, peace and prosperity. We are intricately connected through the global market, our mass media, global communications and the fragility of the environment. However, to the extent that there appear to be misperceptions between us, the solution lies not only in trying to correct them, but also in recognizing our common interests and fighting together to safeguard them when they are threatened.

Foremost, ladies and gentlemen, our common interests are highlighted today by the threat that we all face from terrorism. In the Western press, Al-Qaeda and other extremists are all lumped together, very wrongly, as "Muslim extremists", while in fact these criminal elements are, first, the enemies of Islam, for we Muslims were the first victims. Before they attacked the United States on September 11, 2001, terrorists were killing thousands of innocent Muslims in my own country. Even today, many more Muslims around the world are the victims of terrible deaths, beheadings, suicide bombings and violent attacks carried out by these extremist elements. Therefore, terrorism is a threat to both Muslims and non-Muslims around the world.

Indeed it is the failure to recognize this common threat and the definition of our interests in narrow terms that weaken our resolve to defeat it. The world already witnessed the mistake of abandoning Afghanistan when it no longer fit with misperceived Western interests after the Cold War. The decision to leave Afghanistan to intervention and extremism made it a safe haven for terrorists. So on the tragedy of September 11, we learned that a threat to one of us, is a threat to all of us.

Today, as the world's common front against terrorism, our region must succeed at any cost. We must be concerned about the wildfire spread of extremism and terrorism in the broader region as a menacing development. Despite the "war on terror", Al-Qaeda and its allies are still able to kill and maim in our region and beyond. We must ask why. We must take seriously the continued existence and functionality of terrorist sanctuaries and infrastructure where ever they may be, and question the intention of those that tolerate their existence. We must confront our challenges with sincerity and go beyond rhetoric.

To prevail against such threats, the Muslim world, the United States, and indeed the entire international community have no way but to come together and cooperate. Afghanistan over the last six years has been a powerful case for the prospect of a genuine international cooperation led by the United States, aimed at fighting a common enemy and achieving common goals. This has been a rewarding experience, as much success has been achieved through a combination of the Afghan people's desire and the help we received from the United States and the international community.

And there is more to it. Consider the participation of various countries in building the Ring Road, starting from the eastern part of Afghanistan to the west:

Torkham-Jalalabad Road built by Pakistan;
Jalalabad-Kabul Road built by the European Union;
Zaranj-Delaram Road built by India;
Islamqalah-Herat Road built by Iran;
Kabul-Mazar Road by the World Bank and the Arab Development Bank;
Kabul-Herat Road built jointly by Saudi Arabia, Japan and the United States;

When these countries from far-flung corners of the world, representing different civilizations, come together to cooperate, there is much hope to have for the future no matter what common challenges there might be. Indeed, our future in a peaceful world lies in the extent to which cooperation among civilizations, as exemplified in Afghanistan, can become the *rule*, and not the exception.

Thank You.



*"Anybody who says Arabs are not ready for
democracy, is a racist. Period."*

—Saeb Erakat



“America’s enemy is not Islam, nor any subset of Islam. Nor is it Islamic terrorism, for terrorism is, by its nature, un-Islamic.”



The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright

Former Secretary of State, United States



EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

To act wisely, we need to know as much as possible about others and also about ourselves; one path to such knowledge is dialogue.

In that quest, we convene this year at a moment of great anticipation. Arab-Israeli peace talks have recommenced. In Iraq, signs of hope are visible amid ongoing strife. In Pakistan, pivotal elections are scheduled this week. And in November, the United States will choose a new president.

America's next leader will have a chance to alter the tone and substance of U.S. foreign policy in ways that could enhance mutual confidence between my country and the people of this region.

He or she will arrive in office not with a magic wand, but with the possibilities for an improved climate plainly evident. If I were in a position to advise the new president, I would point out the following.

First, it is a mistake to conceive of this region or the world as divided between people who do no wrong and those who do no right; between moderates and extremists, secular and religious, evil and good. A simplistic and triumphal mindset cannot guide us through a complicated reality. Blame for past mistakes and current disputes must be widely shared; and answers will not be found unless all legitimate interests are taken into account.

Second, America's enemy is not Islam, nor any subset of Islam. Nor is it Islamic terrorism, for terrorism is, by its nature, un-Islamic. In the fight against Al-Qaeda, Americans of every faith and faithful Muslims of every description are on the same side.

Third, neither America nor any other country can be considered above the law. Every nation is obliged to respect human rights, observe global conventions, and abide by UN Security Council resolutions. Power unhinged from law lacks legitimacy and will inevitably be opposed.

Finally, America must pursue peace in a determined way. No U.S. president will waver in supporting the survival and security of Israel. Every U.S. president should respect the dignity and legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. Together, we must strive for agreements that enable all who desire peace to live as neighbors. For that to happen, we must not only talk of

the need for security and justice; we must move toward a common definition of what those terms mean.

As an observer of world affairs, I readily acknowledge that the United States must think more deeply than it has in the past about why its intentions have been misunderstood. True dialogue is incompatible with ignorance, hypocrisy, and condescension, nor can it be based on the premise that one people or civilization is superior to another. America has a responsibility to learn more and lecture less.

Dialogue, however, is not a solo act.

In earlier editions of this forum, Muslim leaders have claimed that Western media are biased against Muslims, and there is some truth to this. But where is the balance within Arab media?

The United States has been accused of having double standards, not always without justification, but many Arabs and Muslims have double standards, as well. If there were a Christian government in Khartoum, this hall would ring with demands for intervention to halt the killing of Muslims in Darfur.

Americans are blamed for perpetuating stereotypes, and this criticism has validity. But the image of the United States that is widespread in many Muslim societies is also distorted. Though America has made mistakes, it is hardly the sole (or even primary) source of violence, inequality, and suffering in this region. It may be convenient for some leaders to deflect popular frustration caused by their own insecurities and selfishness, but it is not honest.

America is criticized for not doing enough to bring peace between Israelis and Palestinians and perhaps this is fair; but where are the Arab leaders who will truly reach out to Israel and say, "Enough of missiles and bombs, enough of incitement and hate, enough of killing and sorrow – let us agree on a realistic formula for permanent and comprehensive peace?" In this context, it is not sufficient simply to restate old positions; peace requires new modes of thinking and the courage to make history.

If we are to build bridges that will truly narrow the divide that confronts us, we must first recognize both our shared interest in finding solutions and our shared responsibility for resolving differences. Neither America

nor any other government can or should try to impose remedies. All can and must pursue progress in a cooperative spirit.

By progress, I mean a genuinely viable two state solution in the Middle East; an Iraq that is united, stable and at peace both with itself and its neighbors; an Iran—and a United States—that respect the right to self-governance of other lands; a region united against Al-Qaeda and its

offshoots and allies; and a future where children of all backgrounds and faiths can grow up without fear.

To these purposes, let us reason and act together, while also heeding the lessons we have learned together. From the New Testament: “Blessed are the peacemakers.” From the Hebrew Bible: “Swords into ploughshares.” And from the noble Qur'an: “Enter into peace one and all.”

Thank you.





*"Words without action are worthless; action
without words is dangerous."*

—Chris Seiple



"Turkey will remain committed to establishing peace, security, stability and prosperity in its neighborhood, as well as becoming a landmark in global diversity and co-existence of different cultures."



H.E. Ali Babacan

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey



EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This meeting comes at a time when the entire world, not just America, is closely watching the evolving race for the President of the United States later this year.

In fact, the world having shrunk to only a few nanoseconds of delay in live transmissions from anywhere in the globe, the human race is increasingly evolving into a single civilization. Our issues affect each other, and our aspirations are reflected on one another.

The world needs and wants an anchor, a stabilizing force that allows us to believe that we will be evolving towards the better, not sliding towards chaos.

Such an anchor can only derive from a sense of community that is bound by a sense of justice and morality, respect for human rights and international law, dialogue across cultures, empathy across differences, celebration of similarities, and solidarity in the face of threats, risks and opportunities.

These are, no doubt, lofty ideals and may not always be practical policies. Yet, they provide a moral and philosophical compass to those who are entrusted to make decisions and lead. Because we cannot always know what the immediate consequences of our actions will be, having the right compass is necessary.

Ibn Khaldun is known to have said: "He who finds a new path is a pathfinder, even if the trail has to be found again by others; and he who walks far ahead of his contemporaries is a leader, even though centuries pass before he is recognized as such." Truthfully, that sort of a timeline may be hard to swallow for democratically elected leaders of today who need to face their electorate with results every so many years. Yet, it is a lesson we all would do well to follow.

New directions will at any rate have to answer the persisting challenges and the new.

On the more global side, these challenges include adjusting to the shifting global economic and financial balances and demands of globalization; fending off the terrorist threat; revitalizing international arms control; empowering the people; closing the gap between the have's and the have not's; and strengthening our energy security.

For the specific purposes of this conference, and also on their own merits, however, I would like to focus on four concrete emphases.

The first emphasis: the need to resist the emerging phenomenon of Islamophobia. When terror struck America,

the world united with the American people regardless of their race, gender, or religion. That's because terror knows no religious, racial, ethnic or cultural boundaries. Terror is a crime against humanity and cannot be justified on any grounds.

That said, one sees visible and unmistakable signs around the world of a growing perception that Islam and Muslims are inextricably associated with terror. I trust we all agree that this crude and imprecise generalization is unacceptable, and it is surely detrimental to any effort to engender dialogue and cooperation across religious, cultural and national lines. The best antidote to Islamophobia is education, first hand engagement and increased familiarity.

Islam is a religion of peace. Peace is the object of Islam and the purpose of the Muslim. The twin sister of this cautionary note is the need for the Muslim world to clearly and unequivocally dissociate itself from extremists who purport to speak on Islam's behalf and who use it as an excuse for hatred and terror. Violence in the name of any religion should not be tolerated. No religious authority, whether it is a church, a synagogue or mosque, should preach hatred. With these principles in mind, Turkey co-sponsors the "Alliance of Civilizations" initiative with the government of Spain. Recently this Alliance has been taken under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary General. The U.N. Secretary General has appointed a Special Representative for this Alliance. The Alliance addresses the polarization between the Muslim world and the West in an effort to increase mutual understanding between the two great cultures. Every government is coming with their national plans and their concrete action plans.

Secondly, there must be a renewed vigor to manage and peacefully resolve continuing conflicts, particularly in the Middle East. I speak especially of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has repercussions for the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world and which we must do everything possible to resolve.

In the particular case of the Palestinian issue, the work has already begun in Annapolis and needs to be taken forward towards the realization of a two-state solution.

Turkey is keen to make its own contributions and maintain good relations with both sides of the conflict. Our engagement in the issue found its symbol in November 2007 when the Israeli and Palestinian presidents jointly addressed the Turkish Parliament. The idea is now agreed upon by all sides in the area.

As I underlined in Annapolis, the period following that conference will be crucial and sensitive. There will be challenges and efforts to block the road towards peace. We must never give up and prove that peace can be achieved through political dialogue. I cautioned, therefore, that it is vital that all sides must refrain from taking unilateral steps that can lead to renewed tensions. On the other hand, the Palestinians must overcome the challenge of divisiveness within their own community. The current situation in Palestine is harmful to the Palestinian cause and it may impede the implementation of any future decision that might be reached in the negotiations.

Turkey will remain engaged. In addition to our political efforts we will continue to promote cooperation around economic reconstruction. We have recently pledged 150 million dollars to the Palestinians for three years to be spent through various projects. And, Turkey has initiated a tripartite platform, referred to as the Ankara Forum, to promote economic and commercial relations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. The idea is now agreed upon by all sides in the region.

However, the Israel-Palestinian dispute is part and parcel of a broader set of conflicts and issues in the Middle East that await attention, commitment, engagement and resolution. Efforts to resolve these manifold issues will find no truer supporter than Turkey. Our engagement is real on all fronts, as symbolized by more than a dozen high-level visits I have made to the Middle East only in the last few months.

This includes Lebanon, where Turkey is the only country from the region to take part in UNIFIL.

Our relations with neighbors such as Syria and Iran also continue to develop positively. We believe in the merit of engaging these countries in international cooperation.

In this regard, we have been encouraging Syria's full cooperation with the international community in Iraq, Lebanon and the Annapolis process.

Likewise, with respect to Iran's nuclear program, Turkey has assumed the role of a facilitator and used every opportunity to encourage Iran's compliance with the requirements of the international community. Also, Turkey has been advising the international community to address the issue with diplomatic ways.

I would be remiss, of course, not to mention Iraq. Iraq's political unity, territorial integrity and co-ownership and joint exploitation of its resources are vitally important. Turkey has stepped up its efforts to help Iraq in

its time of need. In the political field, our efforts were concentrated on encouraging the broad participation of all segments of Iraqi society in the political processes, as well as on achieving compromise solutions to potentially explosive issues such as the ones we face in Kirkuk.

To foster a regional and international approach, Turkey pioneered and hosted the neighboring countries initiative, which has since grown to include the P-5 and G-8 nations.

I would add in this rubric the efforts to stabilize and reconstruct Afghanistan, where Turkey invests heavily, and which must be a common cause of the entire international community.

My third emphasis is on encouraging a common resolve and renewed vigor to pursue international justice. We can only win by upholding international law and developing it further in tandem with our common interests and purposes. Nothing reassures the international community more than an equitable international political and economic order governed by the rule of law. That reassurance in turn translates into increased security and prosperity for all. Strengthening the existing body of regional and global organizations is a component of this overall emphasis.

Last but not least, the promotion of democracy, good governance and the domestic rule of law in a way that strengthens the mosaic of states must continue to be a goal for all of us.

Distinguished guests, I want to conclude my remarks by pointing to the importance of a strong bilateral relationship with the United States. Turkey and the United States have been two strategic partners whose collaboration over the past many decades has culminated in countless important advances on a broad array of issues in a vast geography ranging from Europe to Central Asia and the Middle East.

At the crossroads of continents and cultures, and as a country which is also a part of the Middle East and enjoying good relations with all the parties in the region, Turkey has a unique role to play.

The cycle of violence and despair is not and should not be the destiny of the people from this region. Turkey will remain committed to establishing peace, security, stability and prosperity in its neighborhood, as well as becoming a landmark in global diversity and co-existence of different cultures.

Thank you.



*"Give our youth the chance to work,
and prove their worth."*

—Amr Khaled



"While it is the responsibility and privilege of this region's own leaders to bring about the needed transformation for success, I believe the United States can be a friend and a partner in these endeavours."

Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad
U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations



EXCELLENCE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In reflecting on the theme of this conference, I came to see the topic both in personal and policy terms.

At the personal level, I have a deep connection to both the United States and the Muslim world, and I care about this region.

At the policy level, the future of this region is critical for the future of the world.

The history of this region and of the broader Muslim world includes many periods of greatness, and many Muslim countries can point to significant discoveries in the sciences and great advances in philosophy, government, or other fields that are part of their historical legacies—advances that were often made in periods when their societies were characterized by diversity, openness, and tolerance. Yet, for too many of these countries and their citizens, the contemporary record is disappointing. Still, there is potential for great success within the Muslim world.

While it is the responsibility and privilege of this region's own leaders to bring about the needed transformation for success, I believe the United States can be a friend and a partner in these endeavours.

I do not see the challenges of Western relations with the countries of the broader Middle East, or the Muslim world as a whole, in predominantly religious terms. I do not see a “clash of civilizations”. There is no conflict between the West or the United States and Muslim-majority countries that arises from Islam as a religion. And together we must be vigilant in resisting irresponsible “agitprop” that seeks to foster such a clash.

Instead, I see three interrelated challenges:

- One, overcoming extremism and terror;
- Two, preventing hegemony and destabilizing regional conflicts and rivalries; and
- Three, dealing with globalization and overcoming obstacles that stand in the way of Muslim societies succeeding in the modern world.

Success in dealing with these challenges will require a partnership between the West—including the United States—and like-minded Islamic peoples and leaders.

First, overcoming extremism and terror. Terrorists and their extremist supporters are the common enemies of Muslims and the West. Overcoming this challenge should be a pillar of a global partnership involving Muslim countries, the West, and the rest of the world.

The Muslim world, especially the broader Middle East, is experiencing a wave of political extremism and is under attack by groups that use terror. In truth, Muslims were the first and may be the greatest victims of such extremism.

I have seen myself what extremists did—and are doing—in Afghanistan and in Iraq. Al-Qaeda murdered nearly 3,000 innocent people on America's home soil, and some of the victims that day were Muslims.

These extremists are a minority phenomenon in the Muslim world—but they tarnish the image of this great religion and give Islam a bad name—leading to fear and hostility towards Islam and Muslims among some in the West, including in the United States.

The current struggle in the Muslim world against extremism is not unique to history. Fascism and Nazism in Europe and militarism in Japan were extremist interpretations of nationalism; communism in the former Soviet Union and China were extremist movements grounded in class warfare; and Mao's Cultural Revolution was an extremist version of communism.

Defeating extremism in the countries of the broader Middle East requires non-extremist political forces, inside and outside of government, to move toward a coalition or united front against extremism. This is a political and ideological struggle that is taking place within Muslim countries, that moderates have to join in and win, but one in which the United States and other friends can play an important supportive role.

Besides security measures against terrorists, it is essential to open up the political process and create space for moderate forces.

There is progress on this front in many countries:

- Kuwait, where women achieved full suffrage in 2006 and stood for election for the first time;
- Bahrain, where opposition parties participated in elections for the first time in 2006;
- Yemen, where the first multi-candidate presidential elections were held in 2006;
- the UAE, which held elections in December 2006 for the Federal National Council; and
- Lebanon, where the first transparent parliamentary elections in a quarter century were conducted in 2005.

Afghanistan and Iraq have also had important achievements.

The path to progress will be different in every state, and needs to be pursued with sophistication. It will require step-by-step political progress and an understanding that change cannot come all at once or at the risk to stability; but at the same time, it must be credible and be seen as such.

The challenge for the West is to be supportive without undermining moderates. This will require analysis and conversations with supporters of positive change in the region, including its political and social leaders. This will enable us to identify courses of action that achieve progress while preserving stability.

In the longer term, I believe that this path will lead to democratization – but with systems of representative government grounded in the cultures and traditions of the region.

I recognize that some people—including some in the United States—believe it is a mistake to support democratic freedom in the broader Middle East. They say that the Arab people or Muslims are not “capable” of democracy. They are wrong.

This same argument was made about the Japanese after World War II. Fortunately, America rejected this advice, kept its faith in freedom, and stood with the people of Japan. The results are now in. Today, the people of Japan have a working democracy and have preserved their cultural and religious traditions, including the hereditary monarch.

This transformation may not have been possible without America’s support and perseverance over many decades. And just as our commitment to Asia helped people there secure their freedom and prosperity, our commitment to the Middle East can assist in the same outcome.

The second challenge involves addressing regional instability. Preventing regional hegemony and mitigating regional rivalries and conflicts should be the second pillar of Western partnership with the countries of the broader Middle East. Conflicts and rivalries are playing out in the Gulf, in Lebanon, between Israel and the Palestinians, along the mountainous borders of Afghanistan and Pakistan, and in northern Iraq. In particular, the support of extremists by state actors for reasons of regional rivalries and ambitions has been enormously costly in human lives and stability, and must stop. And there cannot be impunity for those involved in political assassinations and those involved in massive human rights violations such as in Darfur.

Again, other regions have experienced similar problems. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Europe was the source of most of the world’s security problems, resulting in two world wars, imperial competition around the globe, and the Cold War. Franco-German rapprochement, European integration, the establishment of NATO, and the end of the Cold War all fundamentally transformed the region. In East Asia, the same effect was produced by bilateral and multilateral security arrangements, successful state building in post-colonial countries, and the reform and opening of China to the world.

Regional challenges will require collective action to deal with threats from Iran. Tehran’s leaders are choosing a confrontational path on the issue of their nuclear activities, and are undermining a number of their neighbors. Though we do not seek conflict with Iran, we will take the necessary actions to protect our interests and those of our friends.

It is possible to come to terms with Iran as a country, which has a reasonable definition of its national interests. But as long as Iran pursues regional hegemony, supports violent extremist groups, and violates UN Security Council resolutions with regards to its nuclear program, we have to work together to contain it.

The Gulf Cooperation Council provides a key forum needed to manage challenges from Iran, and our long-standing security assistance relationships, as well as our recent initiatives to strengthen defense capabilities in the region, demonstrate our commitment to our friends and partners.

Another aspect of our diplomatic collaboration entails dealing with destabilizing conflicts.

The Israeli-Palestinian issue is one such challenge, and the Annapolis process aims at addressing it by achieving a two-state solution. The United States has also sought to ensure that Turkey and Iraq work together on diminishing the threat of terrorism. And we have encouraged Afghanistan and Pakistan to work towards a more productive and stable bilateral relationship.

Our joint efforts should focus on using our respective influence to advance the peace process; help the Lebanese government extend its control throughout its territory; strengthen ties between Iraq and the rest of the region; and support needed efforts to help stabilize Afghanistan.

The third challenge is globalization, and how to overcome obstacles that stand in the way of Muslim societies succeeding in the modern world.

I understand that there is fear of globalization and concern that it will undermine cherished traditions and identities. I sincerely believe that this fear is misplaced. I encourage Muslim countries to take their appropriate place in the emerging world with self-confidence. I advise the leaders of Muslim countries to seek more – not less – engagement with the international community; to unleash the skills and talents of their people, both men and women; and to protect the rights of religious and ethnic minorities in their midst.

Open and just societies create opportunities for their citizens. This opportunity begins with economic growth. Oil accounts for much of the economic growth in many countries in this region. I'm pleased that most are now investing in their people, building infrastructure, and opening the door to foreign trade and investment. Trade and investment are the keys to the future. Part of the approach has to be the opening of markets between the United States, other Western countries, and the states of this region.

In the last few years, the nations of this region have made great progress. The World Bank reports that economic growth is strong and it is rising. Qatar has opened its doors to the world economy. And Qatar is building a nation where the people have an opportunity to build a better future for themselves and their families. Saudi Arabia has joined the World Trade Organization. Jordan, Oman, Bahrain, and Morocco have signed free trade agreements with the United States. The states of the broader Middle East are attracting more foreign investment. In any society, the greatest resources are the skills

and talents of the people. Across this region, there is an abundance of human capital. I applaud Qatar's attention to strengthening its education system and opening its economy to unlock the people's potential, importantly including Qatari women. Education City – where several American institutions of higher learning have opened branches to serve the young people of this region – is a brilliant initiative. Similar steps are being taken in a number of other countries that could potentially create vibrant and entrepreneurial societies.

In closing, I would just re-emphasize my three basic messages:

- One, the Muslim world needs to embrace modernity and globalization with self-confidence.
- Two, the challenges faced by the Muslim world are not unique. Other great civilizations have faced similar challenges. They have gone through them, and have emerged stronger than before.
- And three, success has been achieved by partnership with others, especially the United States.

The future of this region is geopolitically the defining issue of our time and the United States will partner with like-minded countries in this great enterprise. As progress is achieved, the broader Middle East will be transformed – and it will find its place alongside North America, Europe and East Asia as a region characterized by stability, freedom, and prosperity.

Thank you.





□ □ □

"The overarching problem is that the United States is perceived as using power coercively and unfairly, and is hostile to Islam itself. The U.S.-Muslim world relationship is not seen as reciprocal."

—Steven Kull



U.S. and Islamic World Opinion: Latest Findings of How We See Each Other

THE FORUM opened with a series of presentations on public opinion in the United States and the Muslim world. Shibley Telhami began by relating his findings from Zogby International, which reflected deep misunderstanding and widespread blame for the state of U.S.-Muslim world relations. Despite the polarization, however, there was also nuance. In Britain, for example, while 27% of people blamed the West and 26% blamed Muslims, 33% of people blamed both sides. Similarly, while many Muslims worldwide associated the West with such characteristics as selfishness, arrogance and violence, only a small fraction of Western Muslims believe that the West is violent. In addition, Telhami noted that support for suicide bombing has dropped worldwide, but remains high, reaching 70% among Palestinians. Conversely, support for suicide bombings among Muslims in the West remained low, at 8%.

Steven Kull reported his findings from the Program on International Policy Attitudes, which studies public opinion in five Muslim-majority countries. Kull noted that what he found most striking was the extent to which Muslims view the United States as extraordinarily powerful, and having the ability to change what it does not like. For example, 57% of those polled in Egypt believe that most (or all) of world events were controlled by the United States. Kull noted, however, that it is not the extent of the United States' power which is the problem, but rather how it wields that power. Most Muslims believe that the United States uses its power coercively for its own benefit and in a way that is unfair and hostile towards the Muslim world. Furthermore, many believe that the "war on terror" is, in essence, a war to replace Islam with Christianity. Kull also found that support for al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden in the Muslim world has plummeted dramatically in recent years. However, most Muslims believe that the United States remains a greater threat. Among Americans, Kull said that public opinion of the United States' handling of the "war on terror" is declining and that most Americans polled believe their country's military has been too quick to get involved in international conflicts. They also felt that the United States needs to focus more on diplomacy.

Dalia Mogahed addressed how American public opinion towards Muslims affects both the United States' and the Muslim world's policy and security. She revealed that 27% of those polled in the Middle East had some prejudice against Americans, while in the United States, a majority admitted to harboring at least some prejudice towards Muslims (with 20% admitting "a great deal" of prejudice). Mogahed noted that this lack of

understanding of Islam is troubling. Because so little is known about Islam, those with hardened negative views tend to have influence and credibility among those who know nothing about Islam, perpetuating the cycle of misunderstanding.

Khalil Shikaki presented his findings on Israeli-Palestinian public opinion from an analysis of surveys conducted by the Arab Barometer and the Arab Reform Initiative. He argued that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and bias towards Israel are two of the main drivers of misperception between the West and Muslim world. For example, respondents who perceive the United States to be biased towards Israel tended to justify attacks against Israel and America, mistrust democratization, and feel more negatively about Western culture and globalization. Shikaki also found a growing polarization between Palestinians who support Fatah and Hamas. Between March 2006 and September 2007, support for Hamas dropped 25% while support for Fatah increased. In addition, Shikaki remarked that for the first time, a majority of Palestinians simultaneously support violence against Israelis as well as diplomatic peace negotiations, a striking departure from the 1990s. This suggests that Palestinians have come to believe that diplomacy is not enough to get what they want.





*"The contributions America can make are
in presenting the diversity and contentiousness
of our own debates on religion and politics, rather
than trying to lecture about the superiority
of liberal ways of life."*

—Marc Lynch





*"There is a clear disconnect between
education and what the private sector wants.
The more we educate our youth, the less
marketable they are."*

—Soraya Salti



“Mismanagement, bad governance, negligence, and exclusion are the bases for the ongoing tragedy of Darfur.”

—Alpha Oumar Konaré

Addressing the Conflicts that Divide Us





THE ROUNDTABLE gave speakers and participants the opportunity to discuss some of the major issues that divide the Muslim world and the West. Speakers addressed the challenges and opportunities facing the United States and the Muslim world, particularly with regards to Iraq, Iran, Darfur and the Israeli-Palestinian conflicts. The focal point that all speakers agreed on was the importance of keeping open lines of communication between the two parties. Konaré stated that “good understanding between the Islamic world and the United States is important for keeping peace around the world.”

Admiral William J. Fallon pointed out that both parties should go out of their way to reach out and understand each other. Effective communication should be based on engaging other people in an open dialogue. He also added that security and stability are the two major elements in building any sustainable communication channels and thus one should not jump to the conclusion of condemning the military because of their important role in providing peace and security. In answering the question of what is holding us back, Fallon affirmed that both the Muslim world and the West are in need of courageous leadership that will be strong enough to overcome all the biases and misconceptions that are widening the rift between east and west.

Saeb Erakat briefly discussed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and reaffirmed that the region is standing at a critical juncture and that decision makers could no longer deal with the situation in accordance with

damage-control mechanisms. The region may very well veer towards extremism but hope is still there for peace and moderation. Establishing peace between Palestinians and Israelis and enacting a two state solution is essential for stability in the region. He added that Islam is the religion of peace and reconciliation and that the voices that are trying to undermine the peace process are the voices that wrongly hide behind religion. Erakat concluded by saying that the only “secure peace is the agreed peace” and that relationships in the region should evolve around development and democracy.

On the topic of Darfur, Alpha Oumar Konaré gave a brief assessment of the situation and affirmed that the conflict is not driven by ethnic or religious feuds but is heightened by bad governance, mismanagement, negligence as well as the exclusion of important interlocutors. He pointed out the complexity of the issue by reminding the audience that Darfur is of a similar size to France with borders with eight different countries and that stability there is closely linked to the stability in these neighboring countries. Konaré sent a message to the United States and the world saying that the solution in Darfur should be a political one and that the international community should work together towards finding a consensus between the rebels and the government. He concluded by saying that the occasions to meet one another, to exchange ideas and to know one another should be multiplied in order to build a true relationship based on mutual understanding and true friendship.



"Cynics and realists have watched Iran—a nation hostile to America—gain power from confrontation, while Pakistan—an ally of America—slips dangerously toward anarchy."

—M.J. Akbar





*"American Muslims should be confident
enough to assert their own ideas and beliefs
vis-à-vis the wider Muslim world."*

—Sherman Jackson





"The U.S. should not see the Muslim world as a threat, but as an opportunity."

—M. Din Syamsuddin



Looking Ahead: A Muslim World Perspective



THE ROUNDTABLE revolved around the upcoming American elections and the expectations the Muslim world have toward the new administration. Joe Klein began by giving a short assessment of the presidential election stating that it is by far the most exciting campaign he has covered. He pointed to polls showing that 80% of Americans believe the United States is moving in the wrong direction, and suggested that Americans are tired of the policies of the Bush Administration. The Democrats are seen as favorites in the upcoming election, which would bring a major shift in U.S. policy toward the region and the rest of the world—a turn toward multilateralism, with a strong emphasis on diplomacy and negotiations.

Ziad Abu Amr pointed out that the United States is not only seen by the Muslim world as being directly involved in areas of conflicts such as Iraq and Palestine, but also as adopting double standards in sensitive topics such as the right of having nuclear capabilities. The issue of credibility and confidence remain a major problem for the United States in the region. However, Abu Amr believes that the real issue between the United States and the Muslim world is that they are both fighting to secure their share of power and resources. When asked about Palestine, Abu Amr noted that the negotiations and the peace process seem to have become an *end*, rather than a means to an end and hopes that the new administration takes action to rectify this situation. In his view, it is important that the United States embraces a policy that restores the trust of Arabs and Muslims and that advocates constructive engagement rather than siege and boycott. Finally, Abu Amr reaffirmed that the new administration should demonstrate sensitivity and compassion for the plight of the Muslim world and engage itself in a review of previous approaches towards the Muslim world as well as seek partnership across the board and not selectively with certain interlocutors.

M. Din Syamsuddin stated that Indonesia is not taken into consideration when talking about the Muslim world despite the fact that Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world with 200 million Muslims. Indonesia has always been a fertile soil for modernity and moderate Islam and has potential to enhance the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world. Syamsuddin summarized the core problems between the



United States and Muslim world by saying that there is a misunderstanding of Islam and the Muslim world. The image of Islam is distorted in America because it is generalized, stigmatized and ultimately connected to terrorism. He added that the United States is seen as one sided with interests only in security and economy, without any interest in the cultural dimensions. Syamsuddin suggested a number of ideas for the future relations between the United States and the Muslim world. He emphasized the necessity of engaging with the civil society in Muslim countries as well as the utilization of soft power.

Amr Khaled concentrated his presentation on the issue of Arab and Muslim youth. He stated that youth in Arab and Muslim countries are in need of freedom, employment and security. He argued that faith is important to youth in the Middle East and that the United States should open new channels to encourage youth to turn towards faith. He added that America needs to be more honest and try to solve the political problems in the Middle East. Youth in the region are concerned that the war against extremism will turn against Islam. Khaled concluded by saying that the Middle East needs to see the United States as a role model who leads by example.

“We cannot be a nation of laws if we believe
that we are above the law.”

—Samuel R. Berger

‘08 Candidates’ Foreign Policy Agendas





THE FOURTH AND FINAL ROUNDTABLE of the Forum discussed the highly anticipated 2008 U.S. presidential elections, and its likely implications for future relations with the Muslim world. The panel focused on what a new Democratic or Republican administration might mean with regard to such issues as the Iraq war, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Pakistan, and the war on terror.

Senator Evan Bayh remarked that he believes that the United States' relationship with the Muslim world represents one of the defining issues of our generation. Regardless of who the next president is, he argued, the United States must take a second look at its relationship with the Muslim world. In particular, Bayh stressed that the next president is going to be constrained by financial and economic issues and therefore must seek out partners to help solve international problems. "The United States," he concluded, "cannot impose its will on the world, but will have to work with partners and allies in order to achieve common goals."

Peter Rodman said that with regards to the Republican race, they are fortunate this year because they know who their nominee is early and have nominated someone who has demonstrated that he is independent of the Bush administration's philosophy. He argued that McCain has also shown a commitment to bipartisanship and believes that the United States needs to work and listen to its allies, and identify and show support for democracies around the world. "A credible and strong America," he asserted, "can do more and should be feared less than a weak America."

Susan Rice argued that the Democrats will be looking at foreign policy differently from Republicans in that they

will be pursuing a cooperative solution to the world's problems. She argued that the nature of security challenges that the United States face are increasingly transnational and that no one country can effectively confront them on their own. With regard to Iraq, Rice said that if a Democratic president is elected, they will have a clear mandate to withdraw responsibly American forces, and will look to the Iraqi people to facilitate security and political reconciliation.

Sandy Berger remarked that the U.S. occupation of Iraq has become unsustainable, both economically and militarily, as well as counterproductive to U.S. interests in the Middle East. He argued that Iraq has diverted America's attention from the central front in the "war on terror"—Afghanistan. He also maintained that the next Democratic president should immediately close Guantanamo, arguing that "we cannot be a nation of laws if we believe that we are above the law." Berger said that since 9/11 there has been a tendency to equate extremism and Islam, and that Obama and Clinton have held many events with Muslim American groups to make clear that the enemy is not Islam, but jihadist extremists.

Richard Haass argued that although the war in Iraq has been a costly war, none of the three candidates are advocating an isolationist approach to U.S. relations with the Muslim world. The United States, he explained, will face an extraordinary array of complex problems that are compounded by an overloaded military and a weakening economy. He said that there are divides within the Republican party between those who advocate for a more traditional, multilateralist foreign policy, and those who wish to continue a policy of unilateralism and mistrust of international institutions.

Reform in the Muslim World: The Role of Islamists and Outside Powers

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The modern international system rests heavily on the theories of sovereignty, rule of law, democracy, and the territorial nation-state. However, in practice, such concepts are frequently challenged or even subverted by both external and domestic actors seeking political influence and power. The Governance task force sought to examine both the influence of external actors such as the United States, as well as domestic forces such as political Islam, on reform in the Muslim world.

SESSION I: THE INFLUENCE OF EXTERNAL ACTORS ON POLITICAL REFORM

The first session focused on the strategies, motives, and effectiveness of external actors on political reform and democracy promotion. One participant emphasized the key roles of technology, NGOs, and the American news media in emboldening democrats and promoting political reform in the Muslim world. Another participant argued that the United States must implement “soft power” and systems of incentives, and emphasized the importance of bilateral talks as opposed to unilateral action. One participant took issue with the assertion that the Muslim world is not responding to democracy assistance from the United States.

Several participants questioned the role of Islam in democracy promotion, and asked whether the United States should be open to more religious interpretations of democracy, and allow for the participation of Islamist parties. Following in that vein, one participant questioned whether the United States would ever really promote democracy when its strategic interests run counter to it. Finally, a discussant argued that while political reform should be cooperative rather than coercive, larger issues such as nuclear proliferation and terrorism must take priority and may be more responsive to coercion.

SESSION II: REFORM WITHIN POLITICAL ISLAM

The second session discussed the views and responses of Islamist groups toward political reform. One participant commented that the United States needs to portray itself honestly when debating faith and politics, instead of as a perfect system. Others highlighted the failures of secularists, arguing that it is because they failed to bring Muslims democracy, development and human rights, that many began looking to the mosque for alternatives. One discussant referenced a recent survey that suggests fissures within Islamist movements between the rank-and-file, who embrace reform and democratic values, and the elites who oppose them. He also argued that the older generation of Islamists tends to be more

politically pragmatic than the younger generation, and that current U.S. policy has contributed greatly to this trend.

Some decried the use of definitions as “moderate” and “conservative” Muslims, and argued that there is too much emphasis on countries like Egypt and Pakistan, as well as individuals like Hassan al-Banna and Rashid Rida. Another questioned whether Islamists are reacting to foreign or local imposition of their Muslim values, or are simply organized religions fighting for political power. Finally, one participant argued that any time Islamist groups have demonstrated good behavior, they have been completely overwhelmed by external actors and pushed into a purely reactionary phase.

SESSION III: AN OPEN DISCUSSION ON REFORM

One participant agreed with Krasner that intervention is inevitable in the international system, and that a combination of incentives and contracts are the most effective way of achieving political reform. However, such bargains contradict the theme of respect and dignity that citizens in the Muslim world hold so dear, and there must be a way to effectively bridge this contradiction. Some argued for a two-pronged approach, emphasizing both government-to-government as well as people-to-people engagement. Several participants argued for an increased focus on, and willingness to deal with, religion on the political front.

Many cautioned that American hypocrisy is keenly felt in the Muslim world, and that few in the region trust America’s commitment to true democracy. They believed that expecting Western, secular models to take root in the Muslim world is impractical, and that success will only come from a grassroots, indigenous process. However some felt that many countries, such as Indonesia, do owe a debt of gratitude to Western allies for providing the means and know-how to go through difficult transitions from autocracy to democracy.

Several participants agreed that much of the Muslim world is excluded from such discussions, with too much focus on “core” states like Egypt and the Levant, and not enough on areas like Turkey, Southeast Asia and Africa. Some participants wondered what criteria and measurements should be used when evaluating democracy promotion and reform, while others argued that such criteria should be set by the citizens of these societies. Few participants argued against external pressure on political reform, but decried the manner in which it is implemented.

Human Development in the Muslim World

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The members of the Human Development task force focused on the major challenges facing the region in terms of human development and how this affects political development and social change. A key component of the discussion was the notion that each nation should be enabled to find its “own path” in dealing with the issues of democracy and modernity. There was a widespread agreement that the education of youth should include the teaching of social skills and that partnerships with the private sector must be promoted to close the gap between education and employability.

SESSION I: JOINT DEVELOPMENT AND COMMON SECURITY

The first session focused on the linkages between human development and political development, democracy and social stability. It also tackled the question of why the West, and the United States specifically, should care about human development in the Muslim World.

It is imperative for the Muslim world to find a set of “home grown” solutions that are adapted to the heritage and current realities of each society. There is a need to support civil society and create an environment conducive to the establishment of reform and democracy in Muslim countries. It was also emphasized that each nation should be entitled to find its “own path” to modernization and democratization and that any attempt to impose foreign methodologies and standards is not going to be successful.

One participant noted that the rise of a number of political actors in the region has been directly linked to their ability to have an active social agenda and to offer social services to an extremely underserved population. For this reason the West and the U.S. should pay more attention to the issues of human development in the region. In addition, the Muslim world has one of the largest youth populations in the world and consequently an effort should be made to empower this segment of the community by giving youth ownership over their future.

SESSION II: WOULD A “MUSLIM WORLD HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT” MAKE SENSE?

The discussion during the second session explored three major questions: 1) Would a “Muslim World Human Development Report” make sense? 2) What are the pri-

orities for nations at different stages of development? 3) What would be the best intellectual and political framework for the creation of such a report?

A number of participants expressed support for having a Muslim World Human Development Report. The report will be based on quantitative data and will take a facts-based approach and thus will have greater impact on decision makers. The Muslim World Human Development Report would focus primarily on education which is seen as a major challenge to development in the region. This kind of research will provide the specialists with current data and valuable indicators from pre-school to higher education areas. The report should identify and measure the factors that can contribute to the promotion of critical thinking and learning. Also, developing a partnership with the West will help enrich the experiences of the people in the region; however, the focus should be on promoting “home grown” initiatives.

SESSION III: YOUTH AND SOCIETY

The third session was dedicated to youth and society. Staggering statistics regarding Muslim youth indicate that 50% of the Muslim world is under the age of 23 and a large percentage of this population suffers from unemployment. During the session participants tried to provide answers for two main questions: 1) How can we empower a generation of youth to be critical thinkers and enter the global economy? 2) What is the role of technology and new media for youth and society?

It was noted that the priorities to empower youth include ensuring access to quality education and increasing the opportunities for learning, building youth employment, entrepreneurial and life skills, preparing youth to lead a healthy life, making informed decisions, and promoting youth as leaders of positive social change.

The lessons learned from past experiences focus on the partnership between the public and the private, giving specific attention to older youth, and promoting the teaching of life skills. Public-private partnerships are vital in order to advance the interests of youth. The partnership with the private sector will also help bridge the gap between education and employment as well as “unlock” resource and potential.

Finally both the private and the public sectors share a desire for long term policy reform and a sound economic and social climate.

A Strategic Look at U.S.-Muslim World Relations

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Despite their different circumstances and perspectives, the United States and the countries of the Muslim world face many of the same security challenges. The Security task force sought to identify the main trends and events that defined security and perceptions of security between the United States and the Muslim world in the past and those that will define them in the future. It also addressed the need to create a new security framework for the Gulf region, what progress has been made against violent extremists, and what an end to the “war on terrorism” might look like.

SESSION I: A STRATEGIC LOOK AT U.S.-MUSLIM WORLD SECURITY RELATIONS

This session addressed the significant trends and events of the past year that have informed both security concerns and perceptions of security concerns between the U.S. and the Muslim world. One participant noted that a U.S.-led war with Iran is clearly off the table and that Iran is no longer isolated in the Middle East. He also predicted that Pakistan could become a “jelly state”—one that remains somewhat coherent but that suffers from internal strife that has consequences for the region as a whole. Another participant cited Iraq, saying that responsibility for Iraqi security must be passed over to Iraqis in a responsible fashion. He expressed doubt that Iran was actively seeking to eliminate or lessen the violence in Iraq.

A participant asked about the “Sunni Awakening,” and noted that, in Iraq, both Shia and Sunni Iraqis want the United States to leave. The participant asked what the balance of power in the region would look like if the United States were to leave. Another participant mentioned Osama Bin Laden, saying that his role in the region has transformed into that of a charismatic role model. Several participants debated the importance of Iran to the region’s security, with some cautioning that Iran has its own domestic problems that could hamper any rise to preeminence in the region.

SESSION II: A SECURITY FRAMEWORK FOR THE GULF

This session addressed the challenges to ensuring stability in the Gulf region. Participants discussed whether or not a new regional institution would be helpful in guaranteeing security and stability. A participant said that the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has made

some progress on the path toward greater regional integration, but that it has determined that any attempt to isolate or marginalize Iran will be untenable. Another participant said that U.S. interests in the Gulf will remain unchanged regardless of who becomes the next American president. These interests include countering both the scope and lethality of global terrorism, ensuring the steady flow of oil, and preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

A participant noted that Iran’s acquiring significant nuclear technology would greatly burnish its reputation in the Gulf and the region as a whole, possibly making it more difficult for the United States to maintain the confidence of its Gulf allies in U.S. staying power in the region. Another participant disagreed, saying that Iranian nuclear status would offer it minimal advantages, asserting that Iran identifies its conventional weapons capabilities as the key to its leverage in the region. Another participant suggested that India has an important role to play in helping to guarantee security in the Gulf region.

SESSION III: THE STATUS OF THE “WAR ON TERRORISM”

This session addressed the status of progress against violent extremist groups such as al Qaeda. Participants discussed the significant trends shaping the effort against these groups and debated what an end to the “war on terrorism” might look like. A participant said that in some ways we have lost the “war on terrorism,” but that the U.S. and its allies can count some successes in their struggle against al Qaeda. Another participant said that the “war on terrorism” is about the extent to which Muslims believe that the jihadi movement is a legitimate one.

Most participants agreed that areas where the reach of the law is weak and public sentiment against the United States is strong would likely become the places to which terrorists would flock next. A participant said that the United States could do more to combat terrorism in other countries if it provided training to local police forces as opposed to focusing its training on the military in these countries. Other participants stressed that the “war on terrorism” will only be won when the people in these countries cooperate to beat terrorism. Most participants agreed that political development and larger political and social space is necessary in order to facilitate this.



“Creative expression can be a model for social development because it encourages risk taking, initiative and responsibility.”

—Rita J. King





*"The key reason for underdevelopment
in the Muslim world is a culture of dependency
on other technologies. How is it that Pakistan
can produce an atomic bomb, but cannot
produce its own car pistons?"*

—Athar Osama



Mightier than the Sword: The Arts as a Bridge between the United States and the Muslim World

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“Arts and culture humanizes what politics demonizes.” This powerful statement marked the opening of the Arts and Culture Initiative workshop, meeting for the third consecutive year with the goal of bringing artists, musicians, filmmakers and producers together to discuss the most effective models and the “best practices” for cultural interaction and collaboration between the United States and the Muslim world.

Key findings of the recent landmark Gallup poll pointed out that the core of the U.S.–Muslim world divide lies in the lack of respect and understanding between the two cultures, thus the critical importance of arts and culture. With their potential to shape perceptions, alter stereotypes and reveal identities, arts and culture can contribute significantly to increasing understanding, knowledge and respect between the United States and the global Muslim world.

The workshop focused on recommendations made in the draft strategy paper, *Mightier than the Sword: Arts and Culture in the Relationship between the U.S. and the Islamic World*, co-authored by Cynthia Schneider, workshop coordinator, and participants Kristina Nelson and Mohammed Yousri. The audience agreed on several essential steps to be taken before the recommendations that emerged from the workshop could be implemented: 1) recognize the importance of arts and culture in shaping perceptions in the U.S.–Muslim world relations; 2) restructure the support for arts and culture in the international context and within diplomacy in the United States 3) increase coordination and cooperation between the public, private and non-profit sectors.

There was significant agreement between participants on a series of recommendations that were seen as milestones to foster understanding between the East and West. Arts and culture should be used as a component of diplomacy and international relations on both sides to better understand the past and the present as well as to reap economic and social benefits. “Art is needed to help understand Islam as a civilization and not an ideology,” noted one participant, who added that “artistic expressions reveals the inherent spirit of openness that is part of much of Islamic civilization, but that is little known in the west.”

In analyzing the core question, how the United States and Muslim world can best work together to build arts

and culture in the Muslim and Arab worlds, the group made recommendations involving the commercial and nonprofit sectors. Noting that creative expression was a critical component of the knowledge society, participants emphasized the importance of combining cultural outreach with capacity building. Additionally, the importance of supporting NGOs and partnering with civil society in the Muslim and Arabs worlds was stressed. NGOs in the region reflect and respond to the needs of the population, yet they are faced with rigorous governmental control and restrictive laws. A participant concluded by saying that “creative expression can be a model for social development since it encourages risk taking, initiative and responsibility.”

In the discussion of how better to disseminate creative works, festivals and new media were raised as two different, but equally effective options. Festivals, from the Fes Festival of Sacred Music to *Slamdance*, showcase little known artists and works, and foster a spirit of collaboration among participants. Fringe festivals for theater and film and cell phone film festivals were among the ideas mentioned as ways to bring creative material to a wide audience, and to the attention of entertainment executives, at minimal expense. New media works especially well to disseminate the works of artists who have few opportunities to expose their work in traditional platforms. A session during the Forum which took place in the virtual world “Second Life” gave a foretaste of this potential: an international audience attended a panel and then enjoyed the live performances of two Muslim hip-hop artists without ever coming to Doha, or even leaving home.

Participants also discussed current and upcoming events and initiatives that have emerged from previous forums. Hip-hop music and dance were recognized as influential “targets of opportunity” since they transcend the barriers of language, race, religion and culture. It was suggested that a global hip-hop concert, possibly as a component of a “Live Aid” type concert, would be an effective way to promote collaboration and mutual understanding. The possibility of a significant online build up, online musical collaborations, as well as follow-up initiatives in the areas of job creation and revenue generation were also part of the ideas discussed during the workshop.

Identity and Authenticity in the West

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SESSION I: RE-FORTIFYING WESTERN MUSLIM SPACE

Session I of the Muslim Minority Leaders workshop discussed the present condition of Muslims in Western societies, particularly with regard to social, economic and political integration.

Several participants found it useful to compare and highlight the economic and political experiences of Muslims in Europe and the United States. Many agreed that while in Europe, Muslims hold significant political power, they are economically marginalized. This marginalization is made worse by racial and religious discrimination, which impedes employment and educational opportunities. By contrast, participants agreed that Muslims in the United States are economically and socially well-off, but hold relatively little political power. One participant argued that while engagement between Muslim Americans and wider society occurs at the local level, there is very little at the national level and is mostly relegated to security concerns. While one participant disagreed with this point, another suggested that while there may be a national voice for Muslims in America, it is not necessarily representative of the community as a whole.

On a social level, most participants agreed that Muslims in the West face a crisis of identity within their own communities. While the lack of political and economic integration is part of the problem, some pointed to the tensions inherent in living in immigrant and ethnically-segregated communities. This led to a discussion of the lack of an indigenous religious authority, which most participants agreed was a large obstacle to the creation of Western Muslim identity. Many participants noted that most imams and religious leaders in Europe still hail from abroad, and speak only Arabic or other non-European languages. As such, while in the United States Islam is open to a “free market of ideas,” Islam in Europe is dominated by teachings from the Middle East and South Asia.

Other participants placed blame on wider Western society. Some argued that while American society is characterized by religious and cultural diversity, European society is structured around cultural assimilation and enforced secularism, and suffers from an inability to understand or accommodate the Muslim and immigrant experience. Others pointed to Europe’s long and often antagonistic history with Islam, and noted that many European identities actually arose in direct opposition to Islam in Iberia and Eastern Europe. One participant notably compared the experience of the European Muslim to that of the Hispanic American, both of whom are perceived to cause the “slow destabilization of identity.”

Nevertheless, there are opportunities for positive change. Many participants pointed to the robustness of civil society in the United States as a vehicle for increased political and social integration, and argued for an accelerated and concerted engagement with American Muslims above and beyond law enforcement concerns. Others were impressed by

the willingness of European governments to tackle problems of integration and economic marginalization, and stressed the importance of increased partnerships between the private and public sectors.

SESSION II: BRIDGING THE DIVIDE

Session II continued the discussion of identity and authenticity, and addressed the role Western Muslims can play in bridging the divide between the West and the Muslim world.

Several participants stressed the importance of “indigenizing” Muslim identity in the United States and Europe. The Muslim community in the United States is uniquely multi-faceted, comprising immigrants and natives, Arab and African-American, and Sunni and Shi'a. Several participants argued that Muslims in America should not allow their faith to be defined by what is happening in the Muslim world, but should construct their own distinct identity. One participant suggested that the African-American Muslim community can and should be viewed as a model of “self-authentication” of Muslim identity in the United States, for they are intricately associated with the wider American identity. For African-American Muslims, there is no tension between being “Western” or “American” and being Muslim. This tension exists within other Muslim American communities, however, primarily within immigrant communities.

By contrast, many participants noted that most Muslims in Europe do not identify with the broader society, but remain insular and focused on the needs of only their own communities. One participant warned that European Muslims must create partnerships and shared identities with their wider communities if they want to improve their social, religious, and political condition. He highlighted the efforts of the Spanish Muslim community in creating institutions devoted to Islamic learning, inter-communal dialogue, and social and economic development, and concluded by stressing the importance of the new generation of European Muslims creating a sustainable and healthy Muslim identity.

Discussion turned to the bridging role Western Muslims can play with the Muslim world. Several participants cautioned that it is unwise to place too much burden on them in this respect, for they must first create their own identity if they are to serve as bridge-builders. Others agreed, and argued that Western Muslims should first be confident enough in their own identity, and must command a certain degree of authority, to share their views with the wider Muslim world without fear of being deemed illegitimate. Once this authority is achieved, Western Muslims will enjoy the unique ability to translate their experiences to the wider Muslim world and help foster true debate on such issues as gender equality, political representation, social and economic development, and even theology.

Building Knowledge Societies

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ALI ABDUL MUFURUKI

Tanzania

HASAN DWEIK

Palestine

MUSDAH MULIA

Indonesia

OMAR EL-ARINI

Egypt

ALI AREF NAYED

Jordan

MOHAMED EL TAYEB

France

ATHAR OSAMA

United States

MICHAEL J. FEUER

United States

KEITH REINHARD

United States

AMR GOHAR

Egypt

MOUNEEF ZOU'BI

Jordan

L. MICHAEL HAGER

United States

The arena of science and technology is defined by empiricism, rationalism, and the search for the truth. Scientists everywhere share similar hopes and aspirations, as well as similar methodologies and tools. The Science and Technology workshop sought to investigate the challenges to creating a more fruitful cooperation between the United States and the Muslim world on issues of science, technology, and innovation. It also addressed the means by which the private sector could become more involved in promoting engagement in the science and technology sector.

SESSION I: THE EVOLVING KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY – U.S. AND MUSLIM WORLD PERSPECTIVES

This session addressed the potential obstacles and opportunities for the United States and Muslim countries to create 21st century knowledge societies. The session sought to locate arenas for cooperation between the two in order to advance science, technology, and innovation.

The session opened with a discussion of the nature of science and technology engagement. It was agreed that the use of science and technology to promote shared objectives like economic growth, public health, and the creation of nurturing knowledge societies was a fruitful endeavor. It is an area where the United States and the Muslim world can cooperate because there already exists a large group of people who share the same language and the values of meritocracy and transparency upon which science and technology advancement is predicated.

Conversation turned to the poor public understanding of science and technology issues in the Arab world. Some suggested the need for creating serious role models out of successful scientists so that they might then influence the younger generation in the region. A lack of social recognition of scientists was seen as a significant impediment to building a culture of assessment, evaluation, and information in the Arab world.

Discussion then moved to the issue of education. Many stressed the lack of adequate funding for research and development in the region, exacerbated by the lack of cooperation between the public, private, and NGO sectors. More university partnerships and collaborations amongst scientists within the region were suggested as a means of beginning to alleviate this problem.

Conversation then turned to the Muslim world's global ranking within the science and technology community. It was stressed that certain parts of the OIC community are particularly successful and account for a large portion of the progress in the region. These countries include Iran, Tunisia, and Turkey. The divide between materials-rich and human resources-rich countries in the region

was mentioned as a priority to be addressed. It was also mentioned that the region suffers from a "brain drain" in which those who are talented in the science and technology arena often leave their countries of origin and move to places like the United States where more opportunities are on offer for them.

SESSION II: BUILDING KNOWLEDGE SOCIETIES – INITIATIVES AND LEADERS

This session focused on the status of science and technology engagement in the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world. It also looked at the ways in which the private sector might be better employed to improve science and technology engagement.

The session began with a discussion of the need for actors in the science and technology communities in the United States and the Muslim world to address shared challenges in order to recreate knowledge societies and the spirit of innovation that existed at one time. One suggestion was to sponsor a series of meetings with journalists to emphasize the importance of science and technology engagement to the foreign policy community in Washington. Another suggestion was to develop a Muslim world human development report, which could include an open-access database that lays out key elements of importance to the development of science, technology, and human capital.

Discussion turned to why cooperation between the United States and the Muslim world is so important. Many agreed that the challenges of climate change, energy use, health, poverty, and economic growth are all global in nature and require global solutions. Cooperation and engagement between the United States and the Muslim world is thus a key to developing realistic and worthwhile solutions to these challenges.

In addition, it was agreed that U.S.-Muslim world cooperation in the science and technology arena is an important means of improving relations between the two, as science promotes the values of moderation, rationality, and transparency. It was also noted that 90% of the people in the region have a positive view of U.S. science and technology abilities and innovations, while only 10% hold an overall positive view of the United States. Cooperation in the field of science and technology could thus serve as a valuable tool for public diplomacy.

The conversation turned to what governments could do to encourage the development of the science and technology sector. It was noted that prosperity in the field depends on policies focused on people that encourage knowledge, learning, and innovation. The United States could be a valuable partner in this effort as it is a respected leader both in education in general and science and technology education in particular.

Press Coverage of the 2008 U.S.–Islamic World Forum

Media Outlets that Covered the 2008 U.S.–Islamic World Forum

- | | |
|--|---|
| Adnkronos International (Greece) | Malaysian National News Agency (Malaysia) |
| Agence France-Presse (France) | MBN TV (Middle East) |
| Al-Hurra (Middle East) | Middle East Online (United States) |
| Al-Jazeera (Global) | Middle East Times (Middle East) |
| AME Info (Middle East) | Newsweek (United States) |
| Associated Press of Pakistan (Pakistan) | People's Daily Online (China) |
| Bloomberg News Service (United States) | Qatar Tribune (Qatar) |
| CNN (United States) | The Economist (Global) |
| CNS News (United States) | Radio Free Europe (Europe) |
| Congressional Quarterly (United States) | Taqrir Washington (United States/Egypt) |
| Crosswalk (United States) | The Gallup Organization (United States) |
| Daily Star (Lebanon) | The Jakarta Post (Indonesia) |
| Gulf Times (Qatar) | The Manila Times (Philippines) |
| Huffington Post (United States) | The Peninsula (Qatar) |
| Indian Muslim News and Information (India) | The Washington Post (United States) |
| International Herald Tribune (Global) | Time Magazine (United States) |
| Jerusalem Post (Israel) | Xinhua (China) |
| Khaleej Times (United Arab Emirates) | Yahoo! News (United States) |
| Kuwait News Agency (Kuwait) | |





Participants

ZIAD ABU AMR
Palestine



Ziad Abu-Amr has been a Member of the Palestinian Legislative Council since 1996, representing Gaza City. He was re-elected during the January 2006 legislative elections. He is the former Chairman of the Political Committee of the Palestinian Legislative Council and former

Minister of Culture in the Palestinian Authority. Abu-Amr is President of the Palestinian Council on Foreign Relations, a professor of Political Science at Birzeit University and often serves as a mediator between President Mahmoud Abbas and the Hamas leadership. The author of numerous books and papers, Abu-Amr is a specialist on Islamic movements in the Palestinian territories and holds a Ph.D. from Georgetown University.

RIAH ABU EL ASSAL
Palestine



Riah Hanna Abu El Assal was Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem and head of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East. Abu El Assal's work includes acting as a spokesperson to the international community on the injustices and growing dangers of war in the Middle East,

and on the need to build bridges through dialogue and understanding. Abu El Assal is the Founding Patron of the Holy Land Medical Project combining Israeli and Palestinian Doctors, Medical Professionals and Community Leaders in collaborative health care initiatives. Before he was appointed bishop, he served as the Vicar of the Anglican Church in Nazareth and was a prominent member of the Progressive List for Peace, an Israeli political party formed from an alliance of left-wing Arab and Jewish activists. He has recently made several trips on a mission to build peace, healing and reconciliation among the Middle East communities, including a visit to war-torn Lebanon, a meeting with Prime Minister Tony Blair in Jerusalem, and a visit to Australia to meet with Churches and Members of Parliament, among them the newly elected Prime Minister Kevin Rudd. He has also spoken in the House of Commons, in various meetings throughout the U.K.; and made several speaking tours to the United States and Canada, addressing issues relating to the Middle East situation as well as interfaith relations.

ODEH ABURDENE
United States



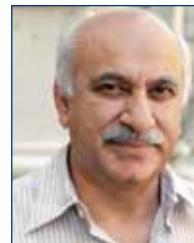
Odeh Aburdene is Managing Partner of CT Capital International, Inc., which provides advisory services to clients located primarily in the Middle East. From 1975 to 1980, he served with the First National Bank of Chicago and in 1980 joined Occidental Petroleum as Vice President for Middle East business. Aburdene is a member of the New York Council on Foreign Relations, and a board member of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, the Rand Center for Middle East Public Policy, Search for Common Ground, America Mideast Educational and Training Services, and Seeds of Peace. He received his Ph.D. from the Fletcher School and also studied the Middle East Oil Industry at Harvard University.

MERUERT ABUSSEITOVA
Kazakhstan



Meruert Abusseitova is the director of the R.B. Suleimenov Institute of Oriental Studies, a division of the Kazakh Ministry of Education and Science. An expert on central Asian and Islamic studies, Abusseitova is the author of more than 200 books and articles, including *The History of Kazakhstan and Central Asia* (Almaty, 2001). Abusseitova is currently working on several projects related to Kazakh-Indian relations, Kazakh-Sino relations, and a UNESCO-sponsored program on "Intercultural Dialogue and Cultural Diversity". She is a member of several boards, including the International Institute of Nomadic Civilizations, European Association of Central Asian Studies, and is the UNESCO Chair on Science and Spirituality in Kazakhstan. Abusseitova received her Ph.D. from the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg, Russia.

M.J. AKBAR
India



Mobashar Jawed (M.J.) Akbar is founder and Editor-in-Chief of *The Asian Age*, India's first global newspaper, as well as the *Deccan Chronicle*. He has launched and edited several important publications in India including *Illustrated Weekly of India* and *The Telegraph*. Akbar has also written books on the Indian political landscape. A renowned political and social commentator, Akbar is also the author of several articles and books, including *Blood Brothers* and *India: The Siege Within, Challenges to a Nation's Unity*. In addition, he served as a member of India's Parliament from

1989-1992, and as an advisor in the Ministry of Human Resources, helping with policy planning in education and literacy programs. He holds a B.A. in English from Presidency College, Calcutta.

LATIFA A. AL-BUSSEIR Saudi Arabia



Latifa A. Al-Busseir is the Executive Manager of HRH Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Bin Abdulaziz Al-saud's newly established Kingdom Foundation in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. The Kingdom Foundation works on issues relating to interfaith dialogue, empowerment of Saudi women

and combating poverty. It helps reframe perceptions of Islam and the West through dialogue, programmes and educational centers around the world in order to promote a greater understanding between the different faiths and world views. It is a leader in empowering Saudi women and works with various partners in providing critical goods and services to poor areas in the Middle East, Africa and those affected by natural disasters. Previously, Al-Busseir served as the Manager of Strategic Studies at Kingdom Holding Company. She holds a B.A. in International Corporate Communications from the American University of Paris, and an M.A. in Diplomatic Studies from the Diplomatic Academy of London.

MUFID MOHAMMAD JAWAD AL-JAZAIRI Iraq



Mufid Al-Jazairi is the chair of the Committee for Culture, Media and Tourism for Iraq's Council of Representatives. He is a leading member of the Iraqi communist party and he has served previously as a Minister of Culture as well as the Editor-in-Chief of Tareek Al-Sha'ab, the main publication of the party. Jazairi studied journalism at Charles University in Prague.

BERIWAN MUSLIH AL-KHAILEY Iraq



Beriwan Al-Khailany is a consultant for the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. From August 2007 to January 2008, Al-Khailany was a visiting professor at the College of Earth and Energy at Oklahoma University. From April

2004 to August 2007, she served as Deputy Minister for the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Re-

search with the Central Government in Baghdad. Previously, her work has focused on international relations, consultation meetings and bilateral agreements between world universities and Iraqi universities to achieve goals in revitalization of Iraqi higher education. Al-Khailany has participated in several academic conferences and workshops dedicated to the revitalization of international and Iraqi higher education, and speaks widely on such issues as short-term professional training in higher education, pedagogical studies and E-learning. She earned a B.S. in Geology from Baghdad University in 1976, and a Ph.D. degree in Micropaleontology (Oil Exploration) from University College London in 1985. She is a member of the Women's Alliance for a Democratic Iraq in Washington, D.C.

AISHA YOUSEF AL-MANNAI Qatar



Aisha Yousef Al-Manai is the Dean at the College of Sharia and Islamic Studies at the University of Qatar. She is particularly interested in promoting understanding and empathy among human beings through religious dialogue. She serves on the boards of several committees and funds including: National Human Rights Committee, Red Crescent Committee, and the Islamic Charity Fund. Additionally, she serves as a consultant to the Academy for Rapprochement among Religious Sects.

SALAM AL-MARAYATI United States



Salam Al-Marayati is Executive Director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC). For the past 16 years, he has had the opportunity to speak to congregations at community-sponsored events, temples, synagogues, churches, high schools, and college campuses. Al-Marayati has written extensively on Islam, human rights, democracy, Middle East politics, the Balkan crisis, and the Transcaucasian conflict. His articles and interviews have appeared in such prominent newspapers as *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *LA Daily News*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *USA Today*. He has appeared on radio and TV talk shows, including "The Dennis Miller Show," "Tonight with Deborah Norville," "Politically Incorrect," and has been featured on C-SPAN and NBC. Al-Marayati has also been deeply involved in interfaith activities. He served as co-chair of the Interfaith Coalition to Heal Los Angeles, which formed as a result of the Los Angeles riots in the summer of 1992. Al-Marayati also

works as an advisor to several political, civic and academic institutions seeking to understand the role of Islam and Muslims in America and throughout the world.

HAFEZ AL-MIRAZI Egypt



Hafez Al-Mirazi is currently Vice Chairman for an Egyptian private media company, SIGMA. SIGMA is developing two satellite channels: "Life" and later "Egyptian Life" for local news. Al-Mirazi is well-known for formerly hosting the Al Jazeera Arabic television talk show, "From

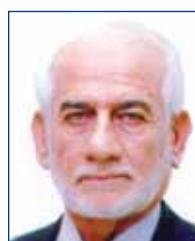
Washington." The weekly show highlights different issues related to U.S.-Arab and Muslim relations. Al-Mirazi was a representative of the Arab and Muslim media in the U.S. during a critical period (2000-2006) as Washington Bureau Chief for Al-Jazeera. Prior to that, he was the U.S. correspondent for the BBC Arabic/World Service. Before the launching of Al Jazeera in 1996, Al-Mirazi hosted one of the first Arabic independent talk shows entitled "Face To Face," on the Washington-based Arab Network of America (ANA). He also held positions as writer, editor, and broadcaster for Voice of America in Washington. Al-Mirazi started his career as a radio journalist and broadcaster with Voice of the Arabs, Cairo Radio of Egypt, in 1980. He holds an M.A. in World Politics from the Catholic University of America and a B.A. in Political Science from Cairo University.

HARITH AL-OBAIDY Iraq



Harith Al-Obaidy is a member of the Council of Representatives of Iraq as a member of the Iraqi Accordance Front party.

FUAD AL-RAWI Iraq



Fouad Mohsin Hammash Abd Al-Rawi currently serves in the office of the Vice President of Iraq, Tariq Al-Hashemi. He is an active member of many important organizations including the Iraqi Economic Association and the Union of Arab Historians. Prior to his current position, he served as the director of the General Railway Company. Al-Rawi is the author of several publications, including *Islam and the Major Challenges in the 21st Cen-*

tury. He holds a Ph.D. in Islamic Thought, an M.Sc. in Arabic Traditional Thought and Science, and a B.Sc. in Administrative and Economic Sciences.

MOHAMMED ABDULLAH MUTIB AL-RUMAIHI Qatar



Mohammed Abdullah Mutib Al-Rumaihi is Assistant Foreign Minister of Follow-Up Affairs at Qatar's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Al-Rumaihi heads the Government Committee for Delineating Maritime Borders and is in charge of security affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He also heads the Government Committee for Coordinating Conferences. Al-Rumaihi has had a long and distinguished career in the Qatari military which he entered after his secondary school education. He worked his way up the ranks, serving as a commander of several artillery regiments, eventually becoming chief of Qatari-French defense agreement technical committee, and taking charge of the international agreements portfolio at the Office of the Chief of Staff of the Qatari Armed Forces. He was transferred from the Qatari Armed Forces on the directive of H.H. the Emir in 2001 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was eventually appointed ambassador to France and non-resident Ambassador to Belgium, the non-resident Swiss Federation, Luxemburg Dukedom and the European Union. Al Rumaihi is a graduate of Saint Cyr Military Academy French Artillery School. He was also a Candidate Officer at the French Military College from 1976 to 1980.

NASHWA AL-RUWAINI Egypt



Nashwa Al Ruwaini is CEO and Board Member of Pyramedia Ltd. and the host of a self-titled weekly prime time television program on Dubai Television. She has over 18 years of experience in the media, and has presented and produced entertainment programs, talk shows and current affairs programs. Previously, Al Ruwaini served as the head of MBC Group for Egypt and North Africa, CEO of Middle East Productions, and former Editor-in-Chief of lifestyle magazine *Nada*. She has received many accolades during her career as a journalist. She was voted Best Female Presenter for five consecutive years by Arab newspapers, was ranked the 20th most powerful business woman in the Middle East by *Forbes* magazine and was ranked among the top 3 most influential media personalities in the Middle East 2006 by *Al Masry Al-Yawm* daily newspaper.

MAHMOOD AL-SUMAIDAE
Iraq



Mahmood Al-Sumaidee is Imam of Umm al-Qura Mosque Iraq and a member of the influential Association of Muslim Scholars, a group of Sunni religious leaders in Iraq whose goal is to represent Sunnis in Iraq and administer a charitable fund for the upkeep of religious buildings in Iraq.

HAMAD BIN JASSIM BIN JABR AL-THANI
Qatar



Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber Al-Thani is Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the State of Qatar. Previously, he served as First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. From 1982-1989 he was the Director of the Office of the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Agriculture. In July 1989, Al-Thani was appointed Minister of Municipal Affairs and Agriculture and in May 1990, served as Deputy Minister of Electricity and Water for two years. He has also served as Chairman of the Qatar Electricity and Water Company, President of the Central Municipal Council, Director of the Special Emiri Projects Office, member of Qatar Petroleum Board of Directors, and member of the Supreme Council for Planning. Additionally, Al-Thani has held several other key positions including member of the Supreme Defense Council, head of Qatar's Permanent Committee for the Support of al-Quds, member of the Permanent Constitution Committee, member of the Ruling Family Council, and member of the Supreme Council for the Investment of the Reserves of the State.

MADELEINE K. ALBRIGHT
United States



Madeleine K. Albright is a Principal of The Albright Group LLC, a global strategy firm, and Chair and Principal of Albright Capital Management LLC, an investment advisory firm focused on emerging markets. In 1997, she was named the first female Secretary of State and became, at that time, the highest ranking woman in the history of the U.S. government. From 1993 to 1997, Albright served as the U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations and as a member of the President's Cabinet. She is the first Michael and Virginia Mortara Endowed Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.

She chairs both the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the Pew Global Attitudes Project and serves as president of the Truman Scholarship Foundation. Albright co-chairs the UNDP's Commission on Legal Empowerment of the Poor, serves on the Board of Directors of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Board of Trustees for the Aspen Institute and the Board of Directors of the Center for a New American Security. Albright earned a B.A. with Honors from Wellesley College, and Master's and Doctorate degrees from Columbia University's Department of Public Law and Government, as well as a Certificate from its Russian Institute.

MUEAN ALJABIRY
Iraq



Muean Aljabiry is a filmmaker and president of Group Jefferson Family of Companies, a consulting and contracting firm with offices in Virginia and Baghdad. The company is currently representing the interests of the government of Iraq, as well as the interests of major US corporations on issues relevant to the reconstruction of infrastructure. Over the past several years, Aljabiry has advised the Coalition Provisional Authority, the President of Iraq, and senior Iraqi officials on business and political issues.

OMAR AMANAT
United States



Omar Amanat is Co-Chair of the Alliance of Civilizations Media Fund and Co-Founder of Groundswell Productions, a \$200 million feature film production company dedicated to using the power of film to achieve social change. He is also a Founding Board Member of Summit Entertainment, a domestic and international studio which recently raised \$1 billion from Merrill Lynch, and the initial financier for *Bridges TV*, the first American TV station dedicated to building bridges between the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds. Named one of Wall Street's "Top Ten Most Influential Technologists" by *Fortune* magazine, Amanat was founder and CEO of Tradescape, an industry leader that processed over 10% of NASDAQ's daily trading volume. He is a member of the Global Philanthropists Circle and has served as Vice Chairman of the Board of the Acumen Fund, a global venture capital fund for the poor that was described by Barron's as one of the five charities changing the face of global philanthropy. Amanat is on the Board of Directors of Human Rights Watch and Malaria No More and is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He received his M.B.A. from the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Business.

SHAHED AMANULLAH
United States



Shahed Amanullah is Editor-in-Chief of [alMuslim.com](#), a web portal dedicated to promoting critical and self-critical analyses of all issues concerning the Muslim world. Amanullah writes and speaks regularly about the challenges and opportunities facing Islam in America, and he and his

work has been featured in *Newsweek*, the *New York Times*, *BBC News*, *National Public Radio*, as well as *Nightline with Ted Koppel*, and *CNN Headline News*. He is also the founder of Halalfire Media, a network of Islamic-themed websites with nearly 6 million visitors annually. Along with [alMuslim.com](#), signature properties include [zabihah.com](#), [salatomatic.com](#), [halalpalooza.com](#), and [unitedmuslims.org](#). Amanullah serves as a board member of the United Muslims of America, the Muslim Public Service Network, and the Muslim Youth Camp of California. He is also a general partner in Zakat Community Ventures, the first “venture philanthropy” fund dedicated to promoting Islamic charitable values. Amanullah serves as an advisor to the Muslim Public Affairs Council, Islamic Networks Group, American Muslims Intent on Learning and Activism, Arab World and Islamic School Services, and other local and national Muslim organizations.

HADY AMR
United States



Hady Amr is a fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings and is the founding director of the Brookings Doha Center. Throughout his two decade career, he has been based in a half-dozen Muslim-majority countries and territories from Sub-

Saharan Africa, to the Balkans, to the Middle East and traveled to 20 Muslim-majority countries. Amr has engaged with governments and NGOs both on action programs and research related to human development—economic, social and political. He was the lead author of major reports on subsets of the Muslim world, including the groundbreaking “The State of the Arab Child,” and “The Regional Statistical Report on the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2,” as well as “The Situation of Children Youth and Women in Jordan,” for UNICEF. Amr was an appointee at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies at National Defense University and a Senior Advisor to the World Economic Forum. He was born in Beirut, Lebanon, and raised in Greece, Saudi Arabia, and the United States and earned his M.A. in Economics from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University.

MARTIN APPLE
United States



Martin Apple is the president of the Council of Scientific Society Presidents, representing over 1.5 million scientists in over 150 research disciplines. He has served in many posts in his career including: chairman of the University of Maryland Biotechnology Institute; the first president of the International Plant Research Institute, a world pioneer in agricultural genetic engineering; principle investigator or project manager of several large-scale science education reform programs and pioneer developer of computer assisted drug design and miniaturized artificial kidney dialysis technology, among others. Apple was a co-developer of two-award winning TV series on the future (one in the UK and one in Japan). He received his Ph.D. from the University of California.

MUHAMMAD NURAYN ASHAFIA
Nigeria



Muhammad Nurayn Ashafa is an Islamic preacher by vocation, born October 1, 1959, in Zaria. He attended Traditional Islamic School in Kaduna and the International University of Africa in Khartoum, Sudan. As a Muslim activist, Ashafa was a pioneering member and is the Kaduna chapter secretary-general of the National Council of Muslim Youth Organizations (NACOMYO). He served as the Director of *Markaz Suffah*, Kaduna, a refugee home and educational centre for converts to Islam, under the Jeddah, Saudi Arabia based International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO). He is also an author who specializes in comparative religion. In 1992, following the Zangon Kataf crisis in Nigeria in which his brothers and teacher were killed, Ashafa underwent a change in attitude. He sought out alternative means of dispute resolution other than the antagonism that had led to the crisis. He subsequently became active in conflict management and peace building. His present position is the Joint Executive Director of the Interfaith Mediation Centre of Muslim-Christian dialogue Forum in Kaduna.

KAMEL AYADI
Tunisia



Kamel Ayadi is a member of the Tunisian Senate. He served as Secretary of State in the Tunisian government from 2004 to 2006, and as President of the Tunisian National Authority of Regulation of Telecommunications from 2001 to 2004. After having served in leadership positions in numerous engineering societies, he was elected in October 2003 as the President-Elect of the World Federation of Engineering Organisations, and became President in October 2005. He is a member of the Strategy Council of the United Nations Global Alliance for ICT Development, the United Nations Task Force for Science and Innovation, honorary member of the World Innovation Forum and corresponding member of the Pan American Academy of Engineering. He is also the Co-Chair of the UNESCO Task Force in charge of publication of the Engineering Report, and member of the Brookings Science and Technology Panel for the Arab Report on Science and Technology. He holds a B.A. in Civil Engineering from the Tunisian High Institute of Engineers and a law degree from the Tunisian University of Law.

ALI BABACAN
Turkey



Ali Babacan is the current Minister of State for the Republic of Turkey. He entered politics in 2002 as a co-founder and a Board member of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and, was elected to the Turkish parliament as a deputy for Ankara. He was later appointed State Minister in charge of the Economy and at age 35 became the youngest member to serve in the cabinet. In 2005, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan appointed Babacan chief negotiator in Turkey's accession talks with the European Union. Before entering into politics, Babacan worked for two years as an associate at QRM, Inc. in Chicago, Illinois, a company doing financial consulting to the top executives of major banks in the United States. He returned to Turkey in 1994 and, served as a chief advisor to the mayor of Ankara the same year. He was the chairman of his family owned textile company between 1994 and 2002. Babacan graduated with a BSc in Industrial Engineering from Middle East Technical University in Ankara in 1989. He received a MBA from the Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University with majors in marketing, organizational behavior and international business.

AKRAM BAKER
Germany



Akram Baker is Co-Founder and Executive Committee Member of the Arab Western Summit of Skills (AWS) based in Berlin, Germany. In his professional life, Baker is Managing Director of Brandicate Consultants, an organizational development and human resources management consultancy in Berlin, Germany and Ramallah, Palestine. Baker is a member of the World Economic Forum initiative, Young Arab Leaders, and is a Member of the Board of Trustees of the ESCP EAP's Perspective-Europe in Paris. In the early 1990's, Baker was Senior Communications Advisor to the late Faisal Husseini, Minister for Jerusalem Affairs in the Palestinian Authority and to the Palestinian negotiating teams on the economy and the environment. He is a frequent speaker and commentator on Human Resources topics and Middle East policy issues appearing on the BBC, CNN, ARD, and ZDF, and published in the *International Herald Tribune*, *UPI*, *Die Zeit*, the *Daily Star*, and *Bitterlemons International*, among others.

YASSER (YAS) BAKHTIARI
Iran



Yasser Bakhtiari, also known as YAS, is one of Iran's most popular hip-hop artists known for his socially conscious lyrics and positive messages. He is the first rapper to have been granted permission by the Iranian government to record and release his music to the general public. Bakhtiari has been listened to and downloaded by millions worldwide. Born in 1982, YAS was introduced to hip-hop by his father who would bring him music CDs from his trips abroad. After the sudden death of his father at the age of 17, Yas was left with the responsibility of working and taking care of his entire household of six. He began to sing hip-hop as a means of self-expression and communication with others going through personal pains and hardships. Today, hip-hop and rap music are becoming the fastest growing genre of music in the Middle East, and for the youth of Iran, Bakhtiari is fast becoming the voice of his generation.

DAVID W. BARNO
United States



Lieutenant General David W. Barno has served as the Director of the NESA Center at National Defense University since April 2006. During his thirty-year Army career, he commanded units at all levels from Lieutenant to Lieutenant General. Barno commanded over 20,000 U.S. and Coalition Forces in Afghanistan as part of Operation Enduring Freedom for nineteen months, from 2003-2005. He previously served in combat as an infantry officer with Army Ranger battalions in the Panama and Grenada invasions. As Director of the NESA Center, Barno has traveled widely in the Middle East region and has lectured at a variety of civilian and military institutions, including Harvard, Yale, Tufts, and West Point. He is a frequent consultant to government agencies on counter-insurgency, the war on terror and the changing nature of conflict. Barno holds a M.A. degree in National Security Studies from Georgetown University and a B.S. degree from the United States Military Academy at West Point. He also is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College and the U.S. Army War College.

HAMID BASYAIB
Indonesia



Hamid Basyaib is Program Director of the Freedom Institute, a non-profit think tank that seeks to promote the idea of individual freedom as the ultimate measure of political, social, economic, and cultural progress in Indonesia. Previously, he worked as a senior researcher and editor at the Aksara Foundation, Jakarta. An accomplished Senior Journalist and Editor, Basyaib has authored, edited, and translated several books in Bahasa and English. He was formerly a Managing Editor for the *Republika* daily and the now-defunct Ummat magazine. Basyaib received his Ph.D. from the University of Gadjah Mada.

EVAN BAYH, III
United States



Evan Bayh is Junior Senator from the State of Indiana. Elected to his second term in November 2004, Bayh currently serves on five Senate Committees: Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, Armed Services; the Select Committee on Intelligence; the Special Committee on Aging; and the Small Business Committee. Bayh also served for more

than four years as Chairman of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), a national group that offers support for Democratic elected officials and community leaders with a progressive approach on issues. He helped establish the New Democrat Coalition, a new and growing group of senators who are committed to sensible bipartisan progress. In 1986, after clerking for a federal court judge and entering private law practice in Indianapolis, he was elected Indiana's Secretary of State, and went on to serve two terms as Governor of Indiana. Bayh graduated with honors in Business Economics from Indiana University in 1978, and received his J.D. from the University of Virginia in 1981.

ENDY MOUZARDI BAYUNI
Indonesia



Endy M. Bayuni is Chief Editor of *The Jakarta Post*, Indonesia's leading independent English-language newspaper. He took up the post in August 2004 shortly after he returned from a one-year Nieman Fellowship at the Harvard University. He has been with the newspaper industry in Indonesia since 1991, working his way up from Production Manager, to National Editor, Managing Editor, and Deputy Chief Editor. He previously worked as the Indonesian correspondent for Reuters and Agence France-Presse between 1984 and 1991, and began his journalistic career with *The Jakarta Post* in 1983. Bayuni received his B.A. in Economics from Kingston University in Surrey, England in 1981.

MITHAT BEREKET
Turkey



Mithat Bereket is a Senior Correspondent, Presenter, and Editor for CNN Türk TV in Ankara. He is the host of *Manset*, a daily headline news program, as well as *Pusula*, a bi-weekly news program on foreign policy issues. Over a career spanning 17 years, Bereket has traveled extensively around the world and covered such notable events as the first Gulf War, the Palestinian *intifada*, the NATO Operation in Kosovo, and the 9/11 attacks. In addition, he has interviewed several of the world's most influential figures, including Nelson Mandela, Benazir Butto, Muammer El Kaddafi, Yasser Arafat, Yitzak Rabin, Shimon Peres, Benjamin Netanyahu, F.W. de Clerk, and Mikhail Kalashnikov. He received his B.A. in International Relations from the University of Ankara, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in International Relations from Lancaster University.

SAMUEL R. BERGER
United States



Samuel R. Berger is Co-Chairman and Co-Founder of Stonebridge International, LLC. He is also Chairman of the DB Zwirn Global Advisory Board, an international investment fund and merchant capital provider with more than \$4 billion in capital under management and 15 offices throughout North America, Europe and Asia. As former National Security Advisor to President Bill Clinton, Berger was pivotal in shaping America's role in the post-Cold War era. Through his efforts to build relations with China, manage financial crises in Asia and Latin America, drive critical peace negotiations in the Balkans and the Middle East, and expand foreign trade, he worked closely with leaders around the world. He is the author of *Dollar Harvest* (1971), a book on American rural politics, and numerous articles on international affairs. Berger received his B.A. from Cornell University in 1967 and his J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1971.

JASON BROWNLEE
United States



Jason Brownlee is an assistant professor of Government and Middle East Studies at the University of Texas, Austin. He researches and teaches about authoritarianism, democratization, and foreign intervention. Brownlee's first book, *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*, was published in 2007 by Cambridge University Press. His most recent articles have appeared in *World Politics*, the *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, and *Arab Studies Journal*. Brownlee received his Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University and was a post-doctoral fellow at Stanford University's Center on Democracy Development and the Rule of Law.

RONALD BRUDER
United States



Ronald Bruder is the Founder and CEO of the Education for Employment Foundation (EFE), a non-profit organization that tackles the problems of global poverty and inequality by creating job opportunities in the Middle East, North Africa and the broader Muslim world. EFE is building a unique, scalable and replicable model for youth employment by creating local foundations in each country of operation devoted to market-driven training linked to jobs for youth with limited opportunity. EFE and Bruder have been the subject of articles in *Time Magazine*, the

Christian Science Monitor, the *Financial Times*, the *Economist.com*, and the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*. Prior to creating EFE, Bruder was a serial entrepreneur and founded The Brookhill Group, which owns and manages properties throughout the U.S. Bruder has been a contributing author to numerous publications, including *The New York Times*, the *New York Law Journal*, the *American Banker*, and *The CPA Journal*. Bruder holds a B.A. from Adelphi University in Economics, an M.A. degree in Business Administration/Finance from New York University, and a Post Master's degree in Accounting and Taxation from Iona College, and is a Senior Fellow with the Foreign Policy Association.

HALA BSAISU LATTOUF
Jordan



Hala Lattouf is Minister of Social Development for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Previously, she served as Executive Director for World Links Arab Region, a non-profit organization established to provide specifically-tailored programs to improve educational outcomes, economic opportunities and global understanding for youth in the Arab region. Lattouf has also served as Secretary General for the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, and Secretary General of the Ministry of Public Sector Reform. In addition, she has served in senior positions at such institutions as the World Bank and UNDP. She serves on the boards of the Jordan River Foundation's Board of Trustees, the Royal Society of Fine Arts, the Royal Museum of Fine Arts Fund, the Jordan Post Corporation (JPC), and is a founding member of both the Jordan Canada Scholarship Program for Jordanian Women and the International Women's Forum in Jordan. Lattouf earned her M.S. in International Accounting and Finance from London School of Economics and Political Science.

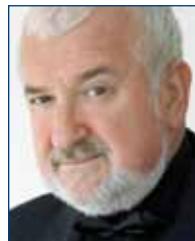
CENGİZ ÇANDAR
Turkey



Cengiz Çandar is Chief Columnist of the Turkish daily *Referans*, and the English-language *Turkish Daily News*. He is also a Lecturer on Middle East History and Politics at the Istanbul Kültür University. From 1999-2000, he was a Public Policy Scholar at the Wilson Center and Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace (1999-2000). Previously, Çandar served as Special Advisor to President Turgut Özal on foreign policy issues, during which he played the main role in the establishment of relations for the first time ever between Turkey's presidency and the Iraqi Kurdish leadership. He is the author of seven books in Turkish, and contributor to three books in English on Turkish-

American relations and Turkish foreign policy. Çandar is currently working on a book on Iraq, Kurds and Turkey's Middle East strategy.

MUSTAFA CERIC
Bosnia and Herzegovina



Mustafa Ceric has been the Grand Mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina since 1993. He is also the Grand Mufti of Sanjak, Croatia and Slovenia. Previously, Ceric has served as an imam and professor in Bosnia, Malaysia and the United States. He is the co-recipient of the 2003 UNES-

CO Felix Houphouet Boigny Peace Prize for Contribution to World Peace and recipient of the International Council of Christians and Jews Annual Sir Sternberg Award for exceptional contribution to interfaith understanding. Furthermore, Ceric was the co-recipient of the award "Religion and Integration in Europe" Theodor-Heuss for 2007. Ceric is a member of several local and international scientific organizations and societies, including the Interreligious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Council of 100 Leaders of the World Economic Forum, the European Council for Fatwas and Research, World Conference of Religions for Peace, the Fiqh Academy in Mecca, UNESCO and Executive Council of World Forum of Ulama. Ceric graduated from Madrasah in Sarajevo as well as the Faculty of Arabic Language and Literature at the Al-Azhar University in Cairo. He received his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from the University of Chicago.

JOHN BRYSON CHANE
United States



John Bryson Chane is the Eighth Episcopal Bishop of Washington. He was recently named by the *Washingtonian Magazine* as one of the 150 most influential leaders in the District of Columbia. Chane has spoken on issues related to religion, politics, terrorism, human rights, and interfaith

dialogue at such venues as the Club de Madrid, the Council on Foreign Relations, National Defense University, the Pentagon, and the U.S. State Department. Since arriving in Washington, he has appeared on ABC's "Good Morning America," National Public Radio's "All Things Considered," and the independent radio program, "Interfaith Voices." He is the author of numerous published articles on the Church, secular society, global terrorism and human sexuality. He is an active member of many boards and advisory committees including the American Friends of the Episcopal Diocese of Jerusalem, The University Council Committee on Religious and Spiritual Life at Yale University, and The Episcopal Church Publishing Company. In addition, he serves as Co-Chair of the "Bishops Working for a Just

Society" Coalition and on the Episcopal Church's Committee on National Affairs. He received a B.A. from Boston University and a M.Div. from Yale Divinity School.

BENJAMIN CHAVIS
United States



Benjamin Chavis is President and CEO of the Hip-Hop Summit Action Network (HSAN), an organization dedicated to empowering the hip-hop community to utilize their commanding cultural influence for freedom, justice, and equality. In 1993, he became the youngest person ever appointed Executive Director and CEO of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1997, Chavis was appointed Special Assistant to Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam, a position he still holds today. He is the author of several books and studies, including *An American Political Prisoner Appeals for Human Rights, Psalms from Prison and Toxic Waste and Race in the United States of America*. Chavis received a B.A. in Chemistry from University of North Carolina; an M.Div. from Duke University; a D.Min. from Howard University; and completed course requirements for a Ph.D. from Union Theological Seminary.

STEVEN A. COOK
United States



Steven A. Cook is the Douglas Dillon Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. An expert on Arab and Turkish politics as well as U.S.-Middle East policy, he is the author of *Ruling But Not Governing: The Military and Political Development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*. He is currently writing a book about the United States and Egypt. Cook has published widely in a variety of foreign policy journals, opinion magazines, and newspapers including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Journal of Democracy*, *The Weekly Standard*, *Slate*, the *New Republic Online*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Financial Times*, and the *International Herald Tribune*. He is also a frequent commentator on radio and television. Prior to joining the Council, Cook was a Research Fellow at the Brookings Institution and a Soref Research Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He holds a B.A. in International Studies from Vassar College, an M.A. in International Relations from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), and both an M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Pennsylvania.

ELIZABETH M. DALEY
United States



Elizabeth Daley was appointed Dean of the University of Southern California School of Cinema-Television in May 1991. She is the inaugural holder of the Steven J. Ross/Time Warner Dean's Chair. Since becoming dean, Daley has strengthened the school's academic programs, infrastructure and ties with the entertainment industry and media arts community. Under her leadership, the school has added two new divisions in animation and digital arts and interactive media, built the Robert Zemeckis Center for Digital Arts, installed thirteen endowed chairs and formed successful partnerships with a variety of entertainment and technology companies. Daley has expanded the school's international impact, including playing a leading role in the creation of the Red Sea Institute of Cinematic Arts, under the Royal Film Commission of Jordan. On October 4, 2006, Daley presided over the official creation of the USC School of Cinematic Arts and broke ground for the school's new 137,000-square-foot building complex. Daley earned a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin and M.A. and B.A. degrees from Tulane University and Newcomb College.

RICHARD E. DARILEK
United States



Richard E. Darilek is Director of the RAND-Qatar Policy Institute in Doha, Qatar, and a leader of the project that helped to launch the Qatar National Research Fund in 2007. Prior to transferring to Doha in October 2006, he was a member of the senior research staff in RAND's Washington, DC office. He served as Group Manager for International and Security policy in RAND's Research Staff Management Department. Previously, Darilek has served as a Distinguished Visiting Analyst at the U.S. Army's Concepts Analysis Agency and directed the U.S. Department of Defense Task Force of Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions. He also served as an Assistant Professor of History at Herbert H. Lehman College of the City University of New York. He holds a B.A. from Rice University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in History from Princeton University.

ROLA DASHTI
Kuwait



Rola Dashti is the winner of the King Hussein Humanitarian award for 2005 and was listed among the world's 100 most powerful Arabs in 2007. She is the elected Chairperson of The Kuwait Economic Society, the first woman to chair the society since its establishment in 1970, a member of the executive committee of Young Arab Leaders (Kuwait Chapter) and founder of The Women Participation Organization. Dashti works towards energizing civil society institutions to turn them into a major driving force behind economic, social and political reform and is a leading activist in the MENA region advocating democratic reform and fighting for gender equity and increasing the role for women in public life. She lobbied for the May 2005 decree allowing Kuwaiti women to vote and run for parliamentary elections for the first time and was a candidate in the 2006 elections in Kuwait. She has worked for major local and international financial and development institutions. Dashti holds a Ph.D. in Population Economics from Johns Hopkins University.

ALEXANDER DEHGAN
United States



Alexander Dehgan works in the Office of the Science Advisor to the Secretary of State in the Department of State. Previously, he focused on Israel-Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, North Africa, and BMENA/MEPI issues for the Department of State's Policy Planning Staff. He also served as an American Association for the Advancement of Science Diplomacy Fellow in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs (NEA) and Special Advisor for Nonproliferation to the Coalition Provisional Authority for Nonproliferation in Baghdad, where he worked to rebuild science in Iraq. Prior to his arrival at the Department of State, Dehgan directed the Ranomafana Fragments Project in Madagascar as part of his doctoral research at the University of Chicago, spending 3 years working in remote camps in the southeastern rainforests of Madagascar. Dehgan holds a B.S. in Zoology and Political Science from Duke University, a J.D. from the University of California, Hastings, and a Ph.D. and M.S. from The University of Chicago in Evolutionary Biology.

VISHAKHA N. DESAI
United States



Vishakha N. Desai is President and CEO of Asia Society, a global educational organization dedicated to strengthening connections among the peoples of Asia and the United States. A scholar of classical Indian art, she has published numerous catalogues and scholarly articles and is widely recognized for conceiving innovative exhibitions of traditional Asian art within strong cultural contexts. Prior to joining the Asia Society, Desai was a curator at The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. She also taught at the University of Massachusetts, Boston University, Columbia University, and Williams College. Desai serves on numerous boards including the boards of The Brookings Institution, Citizens Committee for New York City, Asian University for Women, and the New York City Advisory Commission for Cultural Affairs. Desai holds a B.A. in Political Science from Bombay University and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Asian Art History from the University of Michigan.

MONA DREICER
United States



Mona Dreicer is Deputy Program Leader for Nonproliferation and Global Nuclear Materials Management at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. Previously, as Director of the Office of Nuclear Affairs at the U.S. Department of State, her office assessed compliance of nuclear arms control treaties and worked to ensure effective verification of nonproliferation agreements and U.S.-Russia nuclear material programs. Over the past 30 years, she worked in nuclear-related areas of international security, dose reconstruction, consequence management, environmental risk assessment and protection, and nuclear reactor safety for the U.S. Government (ACDA, State), three U.S. National Laboratories, (Los Alamos National Laboratory, LLNL and the Environmental Measurements Laboratory), the International Atomic Energy Agency's Department of Nuclear Safety, and a French nonprofit research organization (CEPN).

HASAN SALAH DWEIK
Palestine



Hasan Salah Dweik is the Executive Vice President of Al-Quds University. In 1983, he established the Department of Chemical Technology at the Faculty of Science and Technology in Jerusalem and chaired it until 1989. From 1991 to 1992, Dweik was a Fulbright visiting professor to Akron University and Ohio State University. Later, he became the head of the Department of Food Technology. From 1999 to 2002, he served as the Dean of the Faculty of Science and Technology. From 2004 to 2005, he became the acting president of the University, and in 2005, he became the Executive Vice President. He has published a number of articles and has conducted research on polymer technology, in addition to water issues, solid waste management, and pollution. Dweik earned his B.S. in Chemistry at the University of Jordan in 1976. He received an M.A. in the field of Stabilization of Polymers and a Ph.D. in Rubber Technology from the University of Aston in Birmingham.

MUSTAFA EL-TAYEB
Sudan



Mustafa El Tayeb is Director of the Division for Science Policy and Sustainable Development at the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). El Tayeb joined UNESCO in 1981, and in 1986, assumed the post of the Chief of Section responsible for Arab States and Africa. Between 1989 and 1996, he worked as the Chief of Development Analysis and Operations, assisting UNESCO Member States in formulating science policies, strategies and development of partnerships between universities and industries and the evaluation of higher education institutions and universities. In 1996, El Tayeb was appointed Director of the Division of Policy Analysis & Operations of UNESCO. The Division of Science Analysis and Policies launched an ambitious program of assistance to member states in the evaluation of their national systems of innovation. He is a Founding Member of the Arab Academy of Sciences, a Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Overseas Science (Belgium), the Secretary of the UNESCO-EOLSS Joint Committee in Charge of the Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems and Editor-in-Chief of the UNESCO Science Report. El Tayeb holds an Engineering Diploma from St. Petersburg (Leningrad) Mining Institute, and a M.S. and Ph.D. in Geophysics from Bordeaux University in France.

OMAR EL-ARINI
Egypt



Omar El-Arini is Honorary Chief Officer of the Multilateral (Ozone) Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol. He is also Senior Advisor to the Egyptian government in the areas of the environment and the conservation of Egypt's national patrimony, and is a board member of the Egyptian Environment Affairs Agency.

Prior to joining the Fund, El-Arini held research positions in Egypt, Germany and the Netherlands. He also managed a large portfolio of research projects funded by the U.S. government in Egypt. He has held senior positions in the Egyptian government, as well as teaching positions in Cairo University and the American University in Cairo. El-Arini holds a B.Sc. degree from Ain Shams University in Egypt, a M.Sc. from the University of Missouri, and a Ph.D. from the Imperial College of Science and Technology and Medicine in the United Kingdom.

PIERRE ELDAHER
Lebanon

Pierre ElDaher is Founder and Chairman of the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation (LBC) and a pioneer in the field of Arab media and television. Challenging the world and outlining his theory of success based on an exquisite talent for leadership, ElDaher built a winning team that despite many serious obstacles became one of the Middle East's leading satellite television broadcasters. LBC SAT is broadcasted today in the Middle East, Europe, America and Australia. In December 2002 LBC founded a joint Venture with Al-Hayat (a leading Pan-Arab news paper, published in London) to produce news cast on LBC channel. Despite his extensive business and professional responsibilities, ElDaher manages to find free time for research and continuous education. He is a devoted husband and a father of three children, and currently resides in Beirut, Lebanon.

MOHAMED ELMENSHAWY
Egypt



Mohamed Elmenshawy is the Editor-in-Chief of *Taqrir Washington*. Before spearheading *Taqrir*, he was the Managing Editor for *Global Issues*, an Arabic-language bimonthly publication. He also served as the Washington correspondent for the renowned daily pan-Arab newspaper, *Ashraq Alawsat*, where he covered the White House, the State Department, and Congress. Elmenshawy has appeared on CNN International, MSNBC, C-SPAN, Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, and other pan-Arab TV networks. He

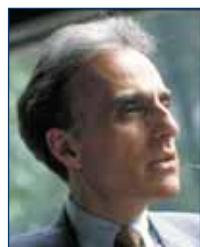
has authored several articles and op-ed pieces on Middle Eastern issues in the *International Herald Tribune*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and *Al Jazeera* online. He teaches courses at the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C. on current socio-political issues in the Middle East and Arab media. Elmenshawy earned his B.A. in Political Science from Cairo University. He also holds an M.B.A. in International Strategy from American University in Washington, D.C., and an M.A. in International Relations and Middle East Politics from the University of Akron.

SAEB ERAKAT
Palestine



Saeb Erakat is the chief of the PLO Steering and Monitoring Committee. Erakat is currently part of the Israel-Fatah negotiations team working to establish a Palestinian state. He was deputy head of the Palestinian delegation to the Madrid Conference in 1991 and the 1992-1993 follow-up talks in Washington. In 1994, Erakat was appointed the Chairman of the Palestinian negotiation delegation and in 1995 he served as Chief Negotiator for the Palestinians during the Oslo period, including the Camp David meetings in 2000 and the negotiations at Taba in 2001. Erakat also lectures in Political Science at the An-Najah National University in the West Bank town of Nablus, and has served as secretary general of the Arab Studies Society. He worked for twelve years on the editorial board of Al-Quds newspaper. Erakat received a BA and MA in Political Science at San Francisco State University and completed his Ph.D. in Peace and conflict studies at Bradford University.

JOHN L. ESPOSITO
United States



John L. Esposito is University Professor, Professor of Religion and International Affairs, Professor of Islamic Studies and Founding Director of the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at the Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. He is Editor-in-Chief of the four-volume *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, and *The Islamic World: Past and Present*. His more than thirty books include *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, *Islam and Politics*, *Political Islam: Radicalism, Revolution or Reform?*, and *Islam and Democracy* (with J. Voll). A former president of the Middle East Studies Association of North America and the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies, he is currently a member of the World Economic Forum's Council of 100 Leaders. Esposito is a recipient of

the American Academy of Religion's 2005 Martin E. Marty Award for the Public Understanding of Religion and of Pakistan's Quaid-i-Azzam Award for Outstanding Contributions in Islamic Studies. He has served as a consultant to the U.S. Department of State and to governments, corporations, universities, and the media.

BETSY FADER
United States



Betsy Fader is the Chief Program Officer at the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, where she oversees strategic planning, communications, evaluation, and assists with overall foundation management. She directs the Foundation's grants program on Child Abuse Prevention as well as the recently launched "Building Bridges Program" of the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, which seeks to promote the use of arts, media and cross-cultural education and exchanges to improve understanding between the U.S. and Muslim societies. From 1989 to 1995, Fader was the Executive Director of Student Pugwash USA—the "junior" arm of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs (which in 1995 won the Nobel Prize for Peace). She serves on the Board of Directors of several nonprofit organizations, including Echoing Green Foundation, Computers for Youth and Women's Law Initiative. Fader holds a M.A. in Education and Social Policy from Harvard University and a B.A. in Political Science from Vanderbilt University.

WILLIAM J. FALLON
United States



Admiral William J. Fallon is former commander of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM). Previously, he served as Commander, U.S. Pacific Command from February 2005 until March 2007, and has held several other high-ranking positions including Commander, U.S. Fleet Forces Command and U.S. Atlantic Fleet, Vice Chief of Naval Operations, and Deputy Commander in Chief and Chief of Staff, U.S. Atlantic Command. He has also served as Deputy Director for Operations, Joint Task Force, Southwest Asia in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and as Deputy Director, Aviation Plans and Requirements on the Staff of the Chief of Naval Operations in Washington, D.C. His awards include the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit, Bronze Star, Meritorious Service Medal, Air Medal, Navy Commendation Medal, and various unit and campaign decorations. Fallon received his B.A. from Villanova University and is a graduate of the Naval War

College and the National War College. He has a M.A. in International Studies from Old Dominion University.

DANIEL FELDMAN
United States



Daniel Feldman is a partner in the international Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) group at the law firm Foley Hoag LLP. He previously served as Director of Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs at the National Security Council in the Clinton Administration, where he was responsible for international public law and global human rights issues, and as Counsel and Communications Adviser to the U.S. Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, on the staff of Sen. Joseph Lieberman. He acted as Senior Foreign Policy and National Security Advisor to the Kerry presidential campaign in 2004, and also as Communications Advisor to the Gore campaign in 2000. He is a graduate of Tufts University, Columbia Law School, and Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

MICHAEL J. FEUER
United States



Michael J. Feuer is Executive Director of the Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education in the National Research Council (NRC) of the National Academies, where he is responsible for a broad portfolio of studies and other activities aimed at improved economic, social, and education policymaking.

He was the first director of the NRC's Center for Education and the Founding Director of the Board on Testing and Assessment. Before joining the NRC in 1993, Feuer was a Senior Analyst and Project Director at the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment. He was elected to the National Academy of Education in 2003. He has also taught such subjects as Education, Public Policy, Management and Economics at the University of Pennsylvania and Drexel University. Feuer's articles and reviews have been published in economics and policy journals, as well as in the *New York Times* and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Feuer holds a B.A. from Queens College (CUNY), an M.B.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, and studied Public Administration at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Political Science at the Sorbonne.

ROKHSANA FIAZ
United Kingdom

Rokhsana Fiaz is a founding director of The Change Institute, a UK-based research, change management and strategic communications consultancy specializing in the

interplay between culture and globalization. She has over 15 year's high-level experience in public policy, communications and corporate affairs, and is a specialist in race, faith and diversity. She is the enterprise's lead director on a major pan-European research study on violent radicalization and has lead responsibility for managing and coordinating the European Network of Experts on Violent Radicalization for the DG Justice, Freedom and Security of the European Commission. Additionally, she heads a pan-European research team currently undertaking a study of best practices of cooperation between Muslim civil society and authorities in preventing and responding to violent radicalization on behalf of the European Commission. She is also a member of the UK government's Department of Work and Pensions Ethnic Minorities in Employment Advisory Group, the Department of Communities and Local Government's National Muslim Women's Advisory Group, and the International Institute of Strategic Studies.

JOSHUA S. FOUTS
United States



Joshua S. Fouts has over 18 years of expertise in new technology innovation, international relations, journalism, and strategic non-profit management and development. For the past four years, he has worked to help non-profits and governments worldwide understand and establish a presence in virtual worlds and the 3-D Immersive web. He co-founded and directed the University of Southern California Center on Public Diplomacy and the USC Annenberg Online Journalism and Communication Center. He worked at the U.S. Department of State and the Voice of America, launching numerous new technology and public diplomacy projects. He is on the editorial boards of *Games and Culture*, a journal of Interactive Media (Sage), and *Place Branding* (Palgrave Macmillan). Fouts is a member of the Pacific Council on International Policy, and the Public Diplomacy Council at the George Washington University.

FRANCIS FUKUYAMA
United States



Francis Fukuyama is Bernard L. Schwartz Professor of International Political Economy at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of Johns Hopkins University, and the director of the International Development program at SAIS. He is also chairman of the editorial board of *The American Interest*. His book, *The End of History and the Last Man*, was published by Free Press in 1992 and has appeared in over twenty foreign editions. He is also the author of *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation*

of Prosperity (1995), *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order* (1999), *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution* (2002), and *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*, (2004). His most recent book *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy* was published by Yale University Press in March 2006. Previously, Fukuyama served as member of the Political Science Department of the RAND Corporation; Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. Department of State, the first regular member specializing in Middle East affairs; and the U.S. delegation to the Egyptian-Israeli talks on Palestinian autonomy. He was the Omer L. and Nancy Hirst Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University. He holds an honorary doctorate from Connecticut College and Doane College, and is a member of advisory boards for the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), the Journal of Democracy, The New America Foundation, and FINCA International. He received his B.A. from Cornell University in Classics, and his Ph.D. from Harvard in Political Science.

EDWARD M. GABRIEL
United States



Edward M. Gabriel is President and CEO of The Gabriel Company, LLC, which represents American corporations on international business projects, in addition to assisting Middle Eastern clients in the development of U.S. strategies. From November 1997 to March 2001, he served as U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco. He is a Visiting Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a member of the Global Advisory Board of George Washington University, a founding member of the American Task Force for Lebanon, a member of the boards of AMIDEAST, the Tangier American Legation Museum, the Casablanca American School and the American School of Tangier. He received his B.S. in Business from Gannon University.

MARC GINSBERG
United States



Marc Ginsberg is Senior Vice President of APCO Worldwide and Managing Director and CEO of Northstar Equity Group, a financial management and consulting affiliate of APCO Worldwide. He is also President of Layalina Arab Television Productions – a private, not-for-profit Arab language television production company headquartered in Washington, D.C. and Amman, Jordan. Ginsberg is Fox News Channel's principal global affairs commentator and appears regularly on all Fox News Channel programs. Previously, Ginsberg served as

the U.S. Ambassador to Morocco from 1994 to 1998 and as Special U.S. Coordinator for Mediterranean Trade, Investment and Security Affairs. He also served as deputy senior advisor to President Carter on Middle East affairs, and was the White House liaison for Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. He was also a national security legislative assistant to Senator Edward M. Kennedy while attending undergraduate school. Ginsberg holds a B.A. from the American University, an M.B.A. from Georgetown University, and a J.D. from the Georgetown University Law Center. He speaks French, Arabic and Hebrew.

AMR GOHAR Egypt



Amr Gohar is CEO & Managing Director for NTCC, a prepaid telephone service provider, established in January 2004; Chairman of CELLTEK, which specializes in offering a broad range of ICT professional services; and Chairman of ECCO, a company specializing in offering out-sourcing and in-sourcing contact center services. Previous employments include Philips, Siemens and Lucent Technologies, where he assumed senior management responsibilities allowing for extensive expertise and regional business exposure in both the telecom service provider and vendor environments. Previously, Gohar worked as Lucent Technologies Regional Director, for its full product portfolio in Egypt, Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Gohar holds an M.B.A from Netherlands' Maastricht School of Management and a B.A. in Telecom Engineering from Egypt's Ain Shams University.

MOHAMMED HASSAN GOHAR Egypt



Mohammed Gohar is CEO of Video Cairo Sat, a Middle Eastern broadcast service provider founded on the promotion of free media, competitive advantage, strategic business relationships and customer satisfaction. Beginning his career as a cameraman for the American network NBC in the early 1970s, he has since established partnerships with a diverse and comprehensive lineup of worldwide broadcasters and agencies, acting as collaborator with and bridge between Western and Middle East media interests. He has uncompromisingly pursued efforts throughout the region to foster and encourage a responsible and independent broadcast environment in the Middle East. Recent sector trends towards freedom and privatization have encouraged these efforts, and he is hopeful and eager to see the kind of independence that defines VCS applied to new and developing territory in the industry.

HOWARD GORDON United States



Howard Gordon is the Showrunner/Executive Producer of the hit series *24*, winner of the 2006 Emmy Award for Best Drama Series. A twenty year industry veteran, Gordon first gained national attention for his award-winning work on Fox's groundbreaking series *The X-Files*. His other credits include *Angel*, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *Beauty and the Beast*, *Spenser: For Hire* and *Sisters*. He was also the creator and executive producer of the innovative 1999 drama *Strange World*. Gordon is involved with multiple charitable organizations, including The Stroke Association of Southern California, for which he is an active board member. He lives in Los Angeles with his wife and three children.

STEPHEN R. GRAND United States



Stephen R. Grand is Fellow and Director of the Saban Center at Brookings' Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World. Before coming to Brookings, he was Director of the Middle East Strategy Group at the Aspen Institute from 2004 to 2006. Prior to that, he served as Adjunct Professor at Syracuse University's Maxwell School and was a Scholar-in-Residence at the American University. From 2002 to 2003, he was an International Affairs Fellow at the Council of Foreign Relations. He has also served as the Director of Programs at the German Marshall Fund, and a Professional Staff Member for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Grand received a B.A. from the University of Virginia and a Ph.D. from Harvard University.

RICHARD N. HAASS United States



Richard N. Haass is President of the Council on Foreign Relations, a position he has held since July 2003. He is the author or editor of ten books on American foreign policy, including *The Opportunity: America's Moment to Alter History's Course* (Public Affairs). From January 2001 to June 2003, Haass was Director of Policy Planning for the Department of State, where he was a principal adviser to Secretary of State Colin Powell. He also served as U.S. coordinator for policy toward the future of Afghanistan and was the lead U.S. government official in support of the Northern Ireland peace process, for which

he received the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award. From 1989 to 1993, he was Special Assistant to President George Bush and Senior Director for Near East and South Asian affairs on the staff of the National Security Council. In 1991, Haass was awarded the Presidential Citizens Medal for his contributions to the development and articulation of U.S. policy during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm. Haass also was Vice President and Director of Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, the Sol M. Linowitz Visiting Professor of International Studies at Hamilton College, a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a Lecturer in Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and a Research Associate at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. A Rhodes Scholar, Haass holds a B.A. from Oberlin College and both an M.A. and Ph.D. from Oxford University.

MOHAMMAD HABASH Syria



Mohammad Habash is a Member of Parliament in Syria and the Director of the Islamic Studies Center in Damascus. Habash also serves as the President of the association of *Arbab Al-Sha'a'er* (the league of scientists), and as a member of the High Council in the International Islamic University in Islamabad, Pakistan. Additionally, he hosts a daily television program that airs on four satellite channels in the Middle East. Habash has a B.A. in Islamic Literature from Beirut University, a B.A. in Islamic Studies from the Islamic Call College, an M.A. in Islamic Studies from the University of Higher Studies in Karachi, Pakistan, and a Ph.D. in Quranic Sciences from the University of the Holy Quran in Khartoum, Sudan.

L. MICHAEL HAGER United States



L. Michael Hager serves as President of The Education for Employment Foundation (EFE), an international non-governmental organization headquartered in Washington, DC, with operations in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Palestine, and Yemen. EFE's mission is to respond to the problem of massive and growing unemployment in the Islamic World by creating jobs through training for youth. Prior to his appointment with EFE, Hager served for three years as Executive Director of Conflict Management Group. In 1983, he co-founded the International Development Law Organization (IDLO), based in Rome, Italy, where he served as Director General until stepping down in 2000. During his career with the U.S. Agency

for International Development, Hager served as Regional Legal Advisor in Pakistan, India and Egypt. He received his B.A. from Harvard College, his law degree from Harvard Law School, and an MPA from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

BAMBANG HARYMURTI
Indonesia



Bambang Harymurti is the Corporate Chief Editor and Chairman of TEMPO Media Group since 2007. Before this, he was Editor-in-Chief for TEMPO Weekly Magazine (1999 to 2006) and TEMPO Daily Newspaper (2001 to 2005). Harymurti received a B.S. in Electrical Engineering from Institute Teknologi Bandung, Indonesia, and an M.P.A. from the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

MOHAMED H.A. HASSAN Sudan



Mohamed H.A. Hassan is Executive Director of the Academy of Sciences for the Third World (TWAS) in Trieste, Italy. Since 2000, he has served as President of the African Academy of Sciences (AAS) in Nairobi, Kenya, and Chairman of the Honorary Presidential Advisory Council for Science and Technology of Nigeria. Previously, Hassan was Professor and Dean of the School of Mathematical Sciences at the University of Khartoum. He is the recipient of many honors and awards including the Comendator, Grand Cross, Brazilian National Order of Scientific Merit, and the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic. Hassan is Founding Fellow of the African Academy of Sciences, Fellow at the Islamic World Academy of Sciences, Honorary Member of the Academia Colombiana de Ciencias Exactas, Fisicas y Naturales, Member of the Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer in Belgium, and Foreign Fellow of the Pakistan Academy of Sciences. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Oxford.

H.A. HELLYER United Kingdom



H.A. Hellyer is Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick, ESRC Placement Fellow at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and Fellow of the Oxford Centre for Islamic Stud-

ies at the University of Oxford. In the aftermath of the July 7 bombings in London, Hellyer was nominated as Deputy Convener of the UK Government's Home Office working group on "Tackling Extremism and Radicalization." An academic and policy analyst on Muslim world affairs and Western Muslim communities, he was until recently a Ford Foundation Visiting Fellow of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. He speaks to forums such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. In his latest book on European Muslims (due to be published in 2008 by Edinburgh University Press), he argues that Europe must come to terms with all of her history, past and present, and that Muslim communities should work to be integral to, rather than simply 'integrated' parts of, Europe.

JOEL C. HUNTER
United States



Joel C. Hunter is senior Pastor of Northland, A Church Distributed, an evangelical congregation of 12,000 that worships at several locations throughout Central Florida, and at more than 1,000 virtual sites worldwide via the Internet. Hunter serves on the boards of the World

Evangelical Alliance, which serves 420 million constituents, and the National Association of Evangelicals. He is also working with respected members of the scientific community to call attention to human-caused threats to the environment. *Grist* magazine named him among the top 15 religious environmental leaders in the world, a list that includes both the Pope and the Dalai Lama. The author of the newly released book *A New Kind of Conservative*, Hunter has been featured in numerous national publications and news programs including *Newsweek*, *The New York Times*, and *Nightline*. He holds a B.A. from Ohio University, and an M.Div. and D.Min. from Christian Theological Seminary in Indiana.

BARBARA IBRAHIM
Egypt



Barbara Ibrahim is Director, John D. Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement at American University in Cairo. She is a leading scholar on Arab gender and population issues and has written extensively on women, children, adolescents, reproductive health, family planning, gender dynamics, civil society and development. She has been the regional director for West Asia and North Africa at the Population Council since 1991. She previously served as the Middle East program officer for urban poverty and women's studies programs for the Ford Foun-

dation, Cairo. Ibrahim advises groups in Jordan, Pakistan, and Iran on national youth research, and is a member of a regional working group that conducts research on issues related to the Arab family. She is developing new programs to enhance local philanthropy and forge stronger links between research, activist, and policy communities. She received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Association of Middle East Women's Studies in 2003 and was inducted into the Educators Hall of Fame (U.S.) in 1999. Ibrahim received an M.A. from the American University of Beirut and a Ph.D. from Indiana University.

SAAD EDDIN IBRAHIM
Egypt



Saad Eddin Ibrahim is Chairman of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies at the American University in Cairo. A non-profit research and advocacy institution, the Center is dedicated to the advancement of applied social sciences, responsible dialogue, democracy, peace and development in Egypt and the wider Middle East. A leading Egyptian pro-democracy activist and sociologist, Ibrahim's work has been featured in the *Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, and the *Daily Star*. He is the author of *Egypt, Islam and Democracy: Critical Essays*.

SHAMIL IDRISI
United States



Shamil Idriss is Acting Director of the Alliance of Civilizations, an initiative launched by the U.N. Secretary-General in September 2005 with the co-sponsorship of the Turkish and Spanish governments. The mandate of the Alliance is to generate an action-plan involving multilateral organizations, U.N. member states, and civil society organizations with the goal of improving Islamic-Western relations. Prior to this position, Mr. Idriss served as Senior Advisor to the Council of 100 Leaders: West-Islamic World Dialogue Initiative (C-100) at the World Economic Forum where he led the establishment of the C-100's "action-track," and continues to serve on the Steering Committee for that initiative. Idriss serves on the boards of several non-profit organizations and has published articles on international conflict resolution, media and social change, and Islamic-Western relations in German, South African, Middle Eastern, and American journals and newspapers.

MARTIN INDYK
United States



Martin Indyk is Senior Fellow and Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. He served as U.S. Ambassador to Israel from 1995-97 and 2000-01. Before his first posting to Israel, Indyk was Special Assistant to President Clinton and Senior Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council. He also served as Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs from 1997-2000. Before entering the U.S. government, Indyk was Founding Executive Director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy for eight years. He currently serves as Vice President of the American Friends of Yitzhak Rabin Center and Chairman of the International Council of the New Israel Fund. Indyk received a B.Econ from Sydney University and a Ph.D. from the Australian National University.

HASSAN JABER
United States



Hassan Jaber is Executive Director at ACCESS (Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services), a post he has held since September 2007. While at ACCESS, Jaber has helped transform it into the largest Arab-American organization in the country, responsible for various social and legal programs, as well as immigration and advocacy services. Internationally, Jaber has served as a consultant on the Arab world to Meadan, an IBM non-profit project that is working to remove the barrier of language between the Arab world and the West by creating a means of instant translation for websites. Jaber also serves as a consultant in the Middle East, by promoting open communications policies that help to improve access to information for people around the world. Jaber earned a B.A. degree in Economics and an MPA from Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan.

SHERMAN JACKSON
United States



Sherman Jackson is Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Visiting Professor of Law, and Professor of Afro-American Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. From 1987-89, he served as Executive Director for the Center of Arabic Study Abroad (CASA) in Cairo, Egypt. He has taught at the University of Texas at Austin, Indiana University, and Wayne State University.

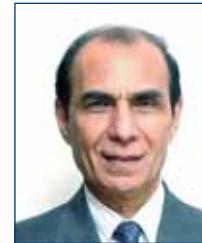
In addition to numerous articles on Islamic law, theology and history, Jackson is author of *Islamic Law and the State: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Shihâb al-Dîn al-Qarâfî*, *On the Boundaries of Theological Tolerance in Islam: Abû Hâmid al-Ghazâlî's Faysal al-Tafriqa* and, most recently, the controversial *Islam and Black America: Looking Towards the Third Resurrection*. Jackson is a member of the U.S.-Muslim World Advisory Committee of the U.S. Institute of Peace, a co-founder of the American Learning Institute for Muslims (ALIM), a former member of the Fiqh Council of North America, past president of the Shar'ah Scholars' Association of North America (SSANA) and a past trustee of the North American Islamic Trust (NAIT). A native of Philadelphia, Jackson received his Ph.D from the University of Pennsylvania in Oriental Studies–Islamic Near East in 1991.

SAID T. JAWAD
Afghanistan



Said T. Jawad was appointed as Afghanistan's Ambassador to the United States by President Hamid Karzai on December 4, 2003. He also serves as Afghanistan's non-resident Ambassador to Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and Argentina. Jawad returned to Afghanistan four months after 9/11 and served as the President's Press Secretary and Chief of Staff, as well as the Director of the Office of International Relations at the Presidential Palace. He has worked closely with Karzai in formulating strategies, implementing policies, building national institutions and prioritizing reforms in Afghanistan. He also worked with the U.S. and Afghan military experts to help reform the Ministry of Defense and rebuild the Afghan National Army. Jawad was instrumental in drafting Afghanistan's foreign investment laws, serving as Karzai's principal liaison with the constitutional commission throughout the drafting of Afghanistan's constitution. Jawad has published hundreds of articles and commentaries in the United States, Europe and Afghanistan. He was educated at the Afghan French Lycée Istiklal, the Kabul University School of Law and Political Sciences, and Westfaelische Wilhelms University in Muenster, Germany and earned his M.B.A. from Golden Gate University.

MOHAMED JAWHAR
Malaysia



Mohamed Jawhar is Chairman and CEO of the Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) Malaysia. He has served in numerous governmental positions in Malaysia including, Director-General, Department of National Unity;

Under-Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs; and Principal Assistant Secretary, National Security Council. He also served as Counselor in the Malaysian Embassies in Indonesia and Thailand. He has played a prominent role in Malaysia's development. He served as a Project Coordinator of Malaysia's Master Plan on Knowledge-Based Economy and was heavily involved in the formulation of the K-ICT Blueprint in support of the government's goal of making Penang a fully developed state by 2010. Jawhar also served as Co-Chair of the Network of East Asia Think-Tanks, Chairman of the Malaysian National Committee and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, and is presently Co-Chair of the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.

BRUCE JONES
United States



Bruce Jones is a Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for International Cooperation at New York University, researching the evolution of multilateral security institutions at the United Nations. Jones has served in many posts during his distinguished career including Deputy

Research Director for the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, on loan from the Center, Deputy to the Special Advisor to the Secretary-General, and supported the Assistant-Secretary-General for Strategic Planning on negotiations on security issues during the 'In Larger Freedom' reform effort. Additionally, Jones has served as the Chief of Staff to the United Nations' Special Coordinator for the Middle East Peace Process and was a member of the UN's Advance Mission in Kosovo and of the planning team for the UN Transitional Administration in East Timor. He previously worked in the policy division of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, where he led work on post-conflict policy. He has been a lecturer at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School and at New York University. He is the author of *Evolving Models of Peacekeeping; Peacemaking in Rwanda: The Dynamics of Failure; of The UN and post-crisis aid: towards a more political economy* and several articles on the Middle East, Central Africa, and UN post-conflict, transitional authority, and humanitarian operations. He has served as a consultant to the UK Department for International Development, the Canadian Foreign Ministry, and the United Nations. Dr. Jones holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics and was a Hamburg Fellow on Conflict Prevention at Stanford University.

MEHRAN KAMRAVA
Qatar



Mehran Kamrava is Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar and Professor of Political Science at California State University, Northridge. His specialties include political development, comparative politics, and Middle Eastern Studies. Kamrava is the author of several books and journal articles including, *Revolution in Iran: The Roots of Turmoil*, *The Political History of Modern Iran: From Tribalism to Theocracy, Revolutionary Politics*, and many others. Most recently, he published *The Modern Middle East: a Political History since the First World War* and edited *The New Voices of Islam: Rethinking Politics and Modernity*. He has received major grants from the United States Institute of Peace, the Foundation for Iranian Studies, IREX, and the Seidman Foundation. Kamrava received his Ph.D. in Social and Political Sciences from the University of Cambridge.

FAHAD KAFOOD
United States

Fahad Kafood is DCM of the Qatar Embassy in Washington DC.

MARWAN KARDOOSH
Jordan

Marwan Kardoosh is Editor in Chief of *Jordan Business Magazine*.

HAMID KARZAI
Afghanistan



Hamid Karzai was sworn in as President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan on December 7, 2004. His service to Afghanistan stretches back more than two decades. During the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Karzai served as Director of Information, and then Deputy Director of the Political Office for the National Liberation Front led by Professor Sebhhatullah Mujadidi. After the formation of the Mujahideen's transitional government in 1989, Karzai was appointed as Director of the Foreign Relations Unit in the Office of the President of the Interim Government. On December 5, 2001, he was elected Chairman of the Interim Administration of Afghanistan by participants at the U.N.-sponsored Bonn Conference. He, along with the appointed cabinet, took the oath of office on December 22, 2001. His role as leader of the country was confirmed by members of the Emergency Loya Jirga when he was elected Presi-

dent of the Transitional Government on June 13, 2002. He received his M.A. in International Relations and Political Science from Simla University in India in 1983. He speaks fluent Pashtu, Dari, Urdu and English.

AMR KHALED Egypt



Amr Khaled is a renowned Egyptian Muslim activist and preacher, and Chairman of Right Start Foundation International (RSFI), a charitable organization committed to building bridges between civilizations and nurturing constructive and positive co-existence between cultures, faiths,

minority groups and host communities. *The New York Times Magazine* described Khaled as “the world’s most famous and influential Muslim televangelist,” and *Time* chose him as one of the world’s most influential people. Khaled began preaching in mosques in 1990 while working as an accountant. He is the host of TV’s “Call for Coexistence,” as well as past television shows “Life Makers,” “On the Path of the Beloved,” and “In Thy Name, We Live.” He promotes community development in the Arab and wider Muslim world based on what he terms “Faith-Based Development,” calling on people to develop their communities and countries with faith as their motivator and guide. Khaled received a B.A. in Accounting from Cairo University, and is currently studying for his Ph.D at the University of Wales.

LYDIA KHALIL United States



Lydia Khalil is a Senior Fellow at MacQuarie University and Nonresident Fellow at the Lowy Institute in Sydney, Australia. She was also recently appointed as a Nonresident Senior Fellow to a new think tank, the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) which examines and

advocates the development of genuine democracies in the Middle East, and is presently working on a monograph for the Brookings Institution on Kurds in the Middle East. She is a regular contributor to the Jamestown Foundation’s publications, *Terrorism Monitor* and *Terrorism Focus*, as well as to the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. Prior to her appointments in Sydney, Lydia was a counterterrorism analyst for the New York Police Department focusing on international terrorism trends and cases in the Middle East and Africa. In addition, she is a contributing analyst to Freedom House, monitoring rights and freedoms in Arab countries. Previously, Khalil worked in Iraq as a policy advisor for the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad, working closely with Iraqi politicians on political negotiations and constitutional drafting. Prior to her assignment in Iraq, she

was appointed to the White House Office of Homeland Security. Khalil holds a B.A. from Boston College and a Masters in International Security from Georgetown University.

PETER KHALIL Australia



Peter Khalil is Senior Adviser for International Relations, Intelligence and Operations to the Minister of Defence of Australia. Khalil joined the office of Federal Labor Leader (and newly-elected Prime Minister) Kevin Rudd as his foreign policy and national security adviser in February

2007. Prior to this appointment, he was a Senior Middle East and Africa Analyst at the Eurasia Group in New York, where he provided political risk and foreign policy analysis and consultancy to over 200 clients. From October 2004 to October 2005, he was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. From August 2003 to May 2004, Khalil was Director of National Security Policy in the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad. He has published several articles and chapters on Iraq and the Middle East, as well as op-ed pieces appearing in *The New York Times*, the *Australian*, the *Guardian* and made regular appearances on CNN, ABC, NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Fox, BBC, Channel 4 UK and NPR. Khalil received his Masters of International Laws and International Relations from the Australian National University Canberra, and a Bachelor of Law and Bachelor of Arts at the University of Melbourne.

ZALMAY KHALILZAD United States



Zalmay Khalilzad was confirmed as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations on March 29, 2007. From 2005 to 2007, Khalilzad was the United States Ambassador to Iraq. From 2003 to 2005, he served as the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan and also as Special Presidential Envoy to Afghanistan. Before becoming Ambassador to Afghanistan, he served at the National Security Council as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Islamic Outreach and Southwest Asia Initiatives, and prior to that as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Southwest Asia, Near East, and North African Affairs. He has been awarded the Department of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service. He received his B.A. and M.A. degree from the American University of Beirut, Lebanon. He went on to earn a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. Khalilzad is the author of more than 200 books, articles, studies, and reports.

M. SALAHUDDIN KHAN
United States



M. Salahuddin Khan is the publisher of *Islamica Magazine*, a quarterly magazine whose goal is to provide a voice for Muslims to articulate their concerns while fostering cross-cultural understanding with their neighbors and co-religionists. In addition to his leadership role in Muslim media,

Khan serves as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Averroes Academy, a full-time Islamic day school from grades K-6 in Chicago, IL. He has served as Senior Vice President, Global Marketing and Strategy of the NAVTEQ Corporation. Previously he worked at Computervision Corporation as Vice President for Research and Product Development. Khan has held several executive positions in marketing, strategy and technology roles throughout his long career. He holds a B.S. in Aeronautics and Astronautics from the University of Southampton.

RAMI G. KHOURI
Lebanon



Rami George Khouri is Editor-at-Large and former Executive Editor of the Beirut-based *Daily Star* newspaper, published throughout the Middle East with the *International Herald Tribune*. An internationally syndicated political columnist and book author, he is also the first Director of the Issam Fares Institute for Public Policy and International Affairs at the American University of Beirut. He is a Research Associate at the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflict at the Maxwell School, Syracuse University, a Fellow of the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs in Jerusalem and a member of the Leadership Council of the Harvard University Divinity School. He also serves on the board of the East-West Institute, the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University, and the Jordan National Museum. He received a B.A. in Political Science and M.Sc. in Mass Communications from Syracuse University.

RITA J. KING
United States



Rita J. King is the CEO and Creative Director of Dancing Ink Productions, a company that fosters the emergence of a new global culture through virtual worlds in the imagination age. Dancing Ink Productions works with organizations looking to meaningfully participate in the advent of virtual

worlds. Her clients include Fortune 500 Companies such as IBM and Manpower. For seven years prior to founding her company, she was an award-winning investigative reporter. Her photographs, articles and reports have been widely published, from the cover of the *Village Voice* to MSNBC's "News with Brian Williams." She is the author of *Big Easy Money: Disaster and Profiteering on the American Gulf Coast*, which was featured in nearly 100 publications worldwide including on CNN and NPR.

JAMES KITFIELD
United States



James Kitfield is presently the national security and foreign affairs correspondent for *National Journal* magazine, an independent and non-partisan newsweekly on politics and government. He has written on defense, national security and foreign policy issues from Washington, D.C. for nearly two decades. Most recently, Kitfield authored the book, *War and Destiny: How the Bush Revolution in Foreign and Military Affairs Redefined American Power*. The Military Reporters and Editors Association awarded Kitfield its first place prize in excellence for his first-hand coverage of the Iraq war. He also received the 2002 Stewart Alsop Media Excellence Award for his coverage of events following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and the 2000 Edwin Hood Award for Diplomatic Correspondence given annually by the National Press Club, and has twice been the recipient of the Gerald R. Ford Award for Distinguished Reporting on National Defense. Kitfield's articles have appeared in *The National Interest*, *National Journal*, *Omni*, *Newsday*, and other publications. Kitfield graduated magna cum laude from the University of Georgia's Henry Grady School of Journalism.

JOE KLEIN
United States



Joe Klein is a regular columnist on national and international affairs for *Time Magazine*. His column, titled "In the Arena," appears in *Time's* up-front "Notebook" section. Klein is the author of the best selling novel *Primary Colors*, a best-seller inspired by the 1992 political race. More recently, he is the author of *The Natural: Bill Clinton's Misunderstood Presidency*, *The Running Mate*, *Payback: Five Marines after Vietnam* and *Woody Guthrie: A Life*. Klein remains an occasional contributor to the *New Yorker*, and has written various articles and book reviews for the *New Republic*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *LIFE*, *Rolling Stone* and other publications. Previously, Klein wrote a column called "Public Lives" for *Newsweek* in the early 1990s; served as a

consultant for CBS News providing commentary as a political columnist for *New York* magazine; was a reporter for WGBH-TV Boston; and news editor at *The Real Paper*. He was a contributing editor for *Rolling Stone*, and served as its Washington bureau chief. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and is a former Guggenheim fellow. Klein graduated from The University of Pennsylvania with a degree in American Civilization.

PETER S. KNOBEL United States



Peter S. Knobel is the president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR). He is also spiritual leader of the Beth Emet the Free synagogue in Evanston, IL. In addition to his congregational responsibilities, Knobel serves in leadership roles in the Reform movement on a national level as well as being actively involved in the Chicago-area community. He also is a member of the ARZA National Board, and chairs its Institute for Reform Zionism, and is a member of the board of trustees of both the Union for Reform Judaism and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. He has taught extensively at a number of colleges including HUC-JIR, Yale University, Connecticut College and Spertus Institute, on subjects ranging from Biblical Aramaic to Jewish mysticism to Israel in Christian thought and Jewish Bioethics. He has authored and edited numerous articles and publications in the areas of Jewish Bioethics, Liturgy and Zionist Thought and is the editor of *Gates of the Seasons: A Guide for the Jewish New Year*. A graduate of Hamilton College, he was ordained by Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (HUC-JIR) in 1969, and earned a masters in philosophy and a Ph.D. from Yale University.

ALPHA OUMAR KONARÉ Mali



Alpha Oumar Konaré currently serves as the Chairperson of the African Union Commission and was President of the Republic of Mali from 1992-2002. Previously, he was named Professor at the History and Geography Department at the École Normale Supérieure of Bamako. He has headed a number of professional organizations, including the Association of Historians and Geographers of Mali, the Association of West African Scientists, Partnership in Fighting Hunger and Poverty in Africa and the Union of West African Researchers. He has also served as an expert consultant to UNESCO, the African Cultural Institute, ACCT and UNDP and was a member of World Islamic Education Centre of Mecca in 1977. Konaré

earned a Diploma at the Teachers' Training School of Katibougou and received his M.A. in History and Geography from the École Normale Supérieure in Bamako and a Ph.D. in Archaeology from the University of Warsaw.

STEPHEN D. KRASNER United States



Stephen D. Krasner is the Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations at Stanford University, a Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute, and a Senior Fellow by courtesy at the Hoover Institution. From February 2005 to April 2007, he was Director of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State where he worked on a number of issues including foreign assistance reform and energy policy. In 2002, he served as Director for Governance and Development at the National Security Council where he helped spearhead the development of the Millennium Challenge Account. In 2003 and 2004, he was a member of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace. His writings have dealt primarily with the political determinants of international economic relations, American foreign policy, and sovereignty. Krasner was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences and at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin. Professor Krasner is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He received his B.A. from Cornell, M.A. from Columbia, and Ph.D. from Harvard.

STEVEN KULL United States



Steven Kull is editor of WorldPublicOpinion.org and director of the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) and the Center on Policy Attitudes (COPA). He directs the PIPA/Knowledge Networks poll of the U.S. public, plays a central role in the BBC World Service Poll of global opinion and the polls of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, and is the principal investigator of a major study of social support of anti-American terrorist groups in Islamic countries. He regularly appears in the U.S. and international media, providing analysis of public opinion, and gives briefings to the U.S. Congress, the State Department, NATO, the United Nations and the European Commission. His articles have appeared in *Political Science Quarterly*, *Foreign Policy*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *Harpers*, and other publications. His most recent book, co-authored with I.M. Destler, is titled *Misreading the Public: The Myth of a New Isolationism*. He is a faculty member of the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland

and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the World Association of Public Opinion Research.

STEVEN W. LAWRY United States



Steven W. Lawry is Senior Research Fellow at the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Management at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. At Hauser, he manages a global research project on the role of private philanthropy in chronic poverty reduction. He stepped down as president of

Antioch College in December 2007. He held various senior positions in the Ford Foundation from 1992 to 2005, including the Foundation's representative of the Middle East and North Africa based in Cairo. Lawry served as the Foundation's acting representative for South Asia in 2003. He received a B.A. and M.S. from Florida State University and a Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

AARON LOBEL United States



Aaron Lobel founded America Abroad Media (AAM) and serves as the organization's president and chairman of the board, as well as executive producer of *America Abroad* and *AAM Television*. Prior to founding America Abroad Media, Lobel was a Research Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C.; National Security Fellow at the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University; and a National Security Fellow at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, where he edited *Presidential Judgment: Foreign Policy Decision Making in the White House*. Lobel currently serves on the Advisory Board of Business for Diplomatic Action and of Securing America's Future Energy (SAFE). He received a Ph.D. in International Affairs from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, where he was also awarded the University's top teaching award, the Joseph P. Levenson Prize.

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KRISTIN LORD United States



Kristin Lord is Associate Dean for Strategy, Research, and External Relations at The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs. She is a Non-resident Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program of the Brookings Institution, where she convenes the

science and technology working group of the U.S.-Islamic World Forum. In 2005-2006, Lord served as a Council on Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellow and Special Adviser to the Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs. She is the author of *Perils and Promise of Global Transparency: Why the Information Revolution May Not Lead to Security Democracy or Peace, Power and Conflict in an Age of Transparency*, and numerous book chapters and articles. She received her B.A. in International Studies from American University and M.A. and Ph.D. in Government from Georgetown University.

MARC LYNCH United States



Marc Lynch is Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at The George Washington University. He previously taught at Williams College and the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of two books, *Voces of the New Arab Public* and *State Interests and Public Spheres: The International Politics of Jordan's Identity*. He has published articles about the Arab media, Arab public opinion, Islamic movements, Iraq and other topics in a wide range of journals, including *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Wilson Quarterly*, *the National Interest*, *Politics and Society*, and the *European Journal of International Relations*. He also runs the influential Middle East politics blog Abu Aardvark. He received his Ph.D. from Cornell University.

ROBERT MALLEY United States



Robert Malley is Program Director for Middle East and North Africa at the International Crisis Group. He directs analysts based in Amman, Cairo, Beirut, Tel Aviv and Baghdad on the political, social and economic factors affecting the risk of conflict, and makes policy recommendations to address these threats. He also covers developments in the United States that affect policy toward the Middle East. Prior to joining ICG, Malley served as Special Assistant to President Clinton for Arab-Israeli Affairs, Executive Assistant to the Director for Democracy, Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs at the National Security Council. He is a frequent contributor to such papers as *The Boston Globe*, the *International Herald Tribune*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and is featured in major media outlets around the world, including BBC, CNN, and Radio France International. Malley is the author of *The Call from Algeria: Third Worldism, Revolution and the Turn to Islam*.

SUZANNE MALONEY
United States



Suzanne Maloney is a Senior Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. An expert on Iran, the Persian Gulf States, energy, and economic reform, Maloney is a former member of the U.S. State Department's Policy Planning Staff. Prior to joining the State Department, Maloney was the Middle East advisor at ExxonMobil Corporation. She served as Project Director of the Task Force on U.S. Policy toward Iran for the Council on Foreign Relations, whose report, "Iran: Time for a New Approach," recommended a strategy for engaging Iran. Maloney was the recipient of an International Affairs Fellowship at the Council on Foreign Relations and has previously served at Brookings as an Olin Fellow and a Brookings Research Fellow. She is the author of a forthcoming U.S. Institute of Peace book on Iran's relationship with the Islamic world. Maloney received her B.A. in International Relations from the University of Pennsylvania, and her M.A.L.D. and Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

KATHERINE MARSHALL
United States



Katherine Marshall is a senior fellow at Georgetown University's Berkley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs and has worked for over three decades on international development, focusing on issues facing the world's poorest countries. She has advised the World Bank for nearly 34 years and heads the World Faiths Development Dialogue, a non-profit working to bridge faith and development. She is a member of the World Economic Forum's Community of West and Islam Dialogue, and serves on the board of trustees for Princeton University, Council on Foreign Relations, the international selection committee for the Niwano Peace Prize, and the Fez Forum. Her recent publications include *Development and Faith: Where Mind, Heart and Soul Work Together*, and *The World Bank: From Reconstruction to Development to Equity*. She received a B.A. in History from Wellesley College, an M.A. from Princeton University, and M.P.A. Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School.

JEFFREY MILSTEIN
United States



Jeff Milstein is the Senior Broadcast Producer for America Abroad Media. He began his career with ABC News, as part of the original "Nightline" team from 1980-93. In 1993, he joined NBC News, producing magazine pieces for "Now with Tom Brokaw and Katie Couric," before moving to PBS/WETA as Executive Producer, supervising "Washington Week" and "Talking with David Frost," and creating and producing a variety of news and public affairs programming. From 1998-2003, he served as a Senior Producer for CNN in Washington, contributing to numerous programs and specials. As an independent producer beginning in 2003, Mr. Milstein developed and produced numerous programs, including two PBS documentaries with former CNN anchor Judy Woodruff and MacNeil/Lehrer Productions, focusing on the social, political and cultural views of America's 16-25 year olds. He has been honored with numerous awards including three Emmys, and has an M.A. in Journalism and Public Affairs from American University and a B.A. in Political Science from George Washington University.

DALIA MOGAHED
United States



Dalia Mogahed is a Senior Analyst and Executive Director of the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies. She is, along with John L. Esposito, co-author of the forthcoming book *Who Speaks for Islam? Listening to the Voices of a Billion Muslims*. Mogahed provides leadership, strategic direction, and consultation on the collection and analysis of Gallup's unprecedented survey of more than 1 billion Muslims worldwide. She also leads the curriculum development of an executive course on findings from the Gallup Poll of the Muslim World. Prior to joining Gallup, Mogahed was the founder and director of a cross-cultural consulting practice in the United States, which offered workshops, training programs, and one-to-one coaching on diversity and cultural understanding. Her clients included school districts, colleges and universities, law enforcement agencies, and community service organizations, as well as local and national media outlets. Mogahed earned her M.A. in Business Administration with an emphasis in strategy from the Joseph M. Katz Graduate School of Business at the University of Pittsburgh. She received her B.A. in Chemical Engineering.

SAAD MOHSEINI
Afghanistan



Saad Mohseini, an Afghan-Australian, returned to his native Afghanistan in 2004 to establish Moby Capital Partner, Afghanistan's most diverse media group. MMG's outlets reach some 10 million Afghans daily, representing some 80% of the total media audience in the country, and

has offices in New Delhi, India; Tehran, Iran; Dushanbe, Tajikistan; and Dubai, U.A.E. Prior to helping establish the group, Mohseni headed an Australian investment banking entity's Equities and Corporate Finance divisions.

ALI A. MUFURUKI
Tanzania



Ali A. Mufuruki is the Chairman and CEO of Dar es Salaam-based Infotech Investment Group LTD. He is also Lead CEO of the Tanzania CEOs' Roundtable, a policy dialogue forum that brings together CEOs of the top 50 companies in Tanzania as well as a member of the Presidential Investors

Roundtable that advises the President of Tanzania. Mufuruki chairs Mwananchi Communications, the publishers of leading Kiswahili and English. He sits on the boards of multiple companies in Tanzania and Kenya, and is a member of the International Financial Advisory Panel for The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's Global Health Initiative. Mufuruki is a Henry Crown Fellow of The Aspen Institute Class and Chairman of The Africa Leadership Initiative. He is a graduate of Mechanical Engineering Design from The University of Technology and Economics in Reutlingen, Germany.

MOHAMMAD MUGHRABI
Palestine



Mohammad Mughrabi is founder and lead singer of the G-Town Palestinian Hip Hop group in Jerusalem, established in 2002. G stands for Ghetto – the Shufat Camp in Jerusalem where Mughrabi and his colleagues were born and raised. Their songs reflect the suffering and

hardships of daily life in the camp, and embrace the hopes and aspirations of young Palestinian youths. The group produced one CD in 2005 and is currently in the process of recording a second CD. Mughrabi leads the group in many local performances, and wishes to share with the world the hopes and dreams of Palestinian youth. He is currently studying Cinema and TV at a local college.

MUSDAH MULIA
Indonesia



Musdah Mulia is a senior researcher, activist, and lecturer. She is the first woman to obtain a Ph.D in the field of Islamic Political Thought from the State Islamic University of Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (1997). She is also the first woman to be inaugurated as a Research Professor by The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (1999). She was a Senior Advisor to the Minister of Religious Affairs, the Republic of Indonesia (2000 to 2007). She is one of the lecturers of the State Islamic University of Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, and she is also one of the founders of the Indonesian Conference on Religion for Peace, an NGO which promotes interfaith dialogues, pluralism, peace and democracy.

SAID MURAD
Palestine



Said Murad is Director of Sabreen Association for Artistic Development in Jerusalem. A composer and arranger for Sabreen Musical Group as well as film, theater and dance groups, Murad has been performing worldwide since 1975. He is a board member of many local and international art organizations. He has been very active in community music and the production of traditional and youth music that seeks to create harmony between human beings regardless of their backgrounds and differences.

TANVEER KAUSAR NAIM
Pakistan



Tanveer Kausar Naim is a consultant with the Organization of Islamic Conference's Standing Committee on Scientific and Technological Co-operation (COMSTECH). She is a member of the UNESCO International Advisory Board on Reform of Higher Education and Science and Technology in Nigeria, Member of the Gender Advisory Board of UNESCO, and Member of the Advisory Committee of the International Science Development Network. In addition, she has been hired to perform a Technology Audit for Turkey and Serbia under the 6th Framework program of the European Union. Previously, Naim worked for the Pakistan Council for Science and Technology, and later served as the first female Secretary of the National Commission on Science and Technology, the highest decision-making body headed by the President of Pakistan. She obtained her Ph.D. in Organic Chemistry from the University of Sussex in 1971.

AREF ALI NAYED Jordan



Aref Ali Nayed is Director of the Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Center in Jordan. He is a Former Professor at the Pontifical Institute for Arabic and Islamic Studies in Rome and the International Institute for Islamic Thought and Civilization in Malaysia. He is currently an Advisor to the

Cambridge Interfaith Program at the Faculty of Divinity in Cambridge and runs a family business as the Managing Director of Agathon Systems. He is one of the key Islamic scholars responsible for *A Common Word*, a document of historical importance in the dialogue between Muslims and Christians. Nayed received his B.S. in Engineering, his M.A. in Philosophy of Science, and Ph.D. in Hermeneutics from the University of Iowa and the University of Guelph. He also studied as a special student at the University of Toronto and the Pontifical Gregorian University.

KRISTINA NELSON United States



Kristina Nelson is a trained ethnomusicologist and arabist, and author of *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an* (UT Austin Press 1986 and AUC Press, Cairo 2001). Nelson has taught at UC Berkeley, UT Austin and the University of Khartoum, was a Senior Research Fellow in the Arabic Lexicography Project that produced *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* (Hinds, Badawi. Librairie du Liban.1986) and has lectured around the world. She has lived and worked in the Middle East since 1983, where she was responsible for the regional Culture and Arts program of the Ford Foundation (1990-1997), and founded the Arab Arts Project. Since 2000, has worked as a free-lance mentor and consultant to artists and arts organizations in the region and in Europe. Nelson received a Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

OMNIA NOUR Qatar



Omnia Nour is the Director of Reach Out to Asia, a Qatar-based charity that aims to extend assistance into Asia in order to support its neighboring countries as they overcome developmental difficulties. She began her career in Medan, Indonesia where she worked as a lecturer with the Thames Business School, a joint venture between Singapore and Cambridge University. She later moved to Vietnam, where she worked as a coordinator for Schlumberger Excellence in Education Development, an organization that works with children,

schools, universities, governments and the private sector to improve education quality and create community awareness. In Kuwait she worked for the United Nations Development Programm. In 2005, she moved to Qatar and joined ROTA, starting out as a Program Coordinator, followed by Acting Director and then finally Director. Nour studied Agricultural Economics at Alexandria University and received her Masters of Science in Environmental Education.

HIDAYAT NUR WAHID Indonesia



Hidayat Nur Wahid is the chairman of the People Consultative Assembly in Indonesia. He is also a founder of the Justice Party, now known as the Prosperous Justice Party, a new and influential political party that aims to introduce a more progressive form of Islam in Indonesia. In the last decade been a lecturer, author and leader in Islamic studies and organizations. Nur Wahid studied at the State Islamic Institute in Yogyakarta and the Islamic University of Madinah, Saudi Arabia.

MICHAEL O'HANLON United States



Michael O'Hanlon is a Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution, where he specializes in U.S. defense strategy, the use of military force, homeland security and American foreign policy. He is a visiting lecturer at Princeton University, and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author of several works, including *Defense Strategy for the Post-Saddam Era*, and co-author of *Neither Star Wars nor Sanctuary: Constraining the Military Uses of Space, Expanding Global Military Capacity for Humanitarian Intervention, and Protecting the American Homeland*. He has written extensively for such publications as the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, the *Washington Times*, and the *Japan Times*. He has also contributed to the *Financial Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and has contributed to CNN, MSNBC, BBC, Fox and Al-Hurra. He received his B.S., M.S. and Ph.D. from Princeton University.

MEGHAN L. O'SULLIVAN United States



Meghan L. O'Sullivan is a Lecturer and Senior Fellow at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. She served from July 2004 to September 2007 at the National Security Council, where she was Special Assistant to the President

and Deputy National Security Advisor for Iraq and Afghanistan. During June to September 2007, she was a special envoy to Baghdad, working with the commanding general, U.S. ambassador, and Iraqi leadership on issues of national reconciliation. Before her time at the NSC, O'Sullivan was a political advisor to the Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Deputy Director for Governance in Iraq from April 2003 to June 2004. From 1998-2001, O'Sullivan was a Fellow at the Brookings Institution, where she published books and articles on American foreign policy, including *Shrewd Sanctions: Statecraft and State Sponsors of Terrorism*. O'Sullivan received a B.A. from Georgetown University; she received a masters of science in Economics and Doctorate in Politics from Oxford University.

ATHAR OSAMA Pakistan



Athar Osama works as a Senior Consultant for ANGLE plc.—a U.K.-based technology commercialization consulting, management, and venture capital company with offices in United States and the Middle East. Prior to joining ANGLE, Osama worked as PRGS Doctoral

Fellow at the RAND Corporation in Santa Monica where he worked on a variety of issues dealing with science and innovation policy. In addition, he has focused on systems of innovation, venture capital industries, information and communication technologies, and higher education systems in developing countries. In 2005, Osama authored the first National Software Industry Study of Pakistan's Software Industry. He also consults with the Science and Development Network, a charity focused on promoting the use of science for development for innovation policy issues. He is a prolific social entrepreneur, having founded The Pakistan Research Support Network, the Understanding Pakistan Project and Muslim-Science. He is also an avid blogger who writes widely on issues at the intersection of science, innovation, and development across a range of print and online publications around the world. Osama is a graduate of Pakistan's Airforce Academy and holds a B.S. in Aeronautical Engineering, as well as a Ph.D. from the Frederick S. Pardee RAND Graduate School for Public Policy in Santa Monica, CA.

FARAH PANDITH United States



Farah Pandith is Senior Advisor, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs at the US Department of State. She is focused on Muslim communities in Europe and is responsible for policy oversight for integration, democracy and Islam in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. She

also works on issues relating to countering violent Islamic extremism. Prior to joining the U.S. Department of State, She served as Director for Middle East Regional Initiatives for the National Security Council. She was responsible for coordinating U.S. policy on Muslim World Outreach and the Broader Middle East North Africa initiative. She reported directly to the Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy National Security Advisor for Global Democracy Strategy. She served on the staff of the National Security. In addition, She served at the U.S. Agency for International Development, first as the Confidential Assistant to the Administrator of the Agency, and then as Special Assistant to the Director of Policy. She has been a consultant in both the public and non-profit sectors. Pandith received her A.B. in Government and Psychology from Smith College and a her MA from The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where she specialized in International Security Studies, International Negotiation and Conflict Resolution, and Islamic Civilizations and Southwest Asia.

WALTER F. PARKES United States



Walter F. Parkes is a motion picture producer at DreamWorks Pictures. His most recent works are the screen adaptations of Khaled Hosseini's *The Kite Runner*, and Steven Sondheim's *Sweeney Todd*. Other films produced or executive produced by Parkes include *Gladiator*, the *Men in Black* series, *The Ring*, *Catch Me If You Can*, *Minority Report*, *The Mask of Zorro*, and *Amistad*. As a studio executive, Parkes was in charge of the development and production of all of DreamWorks' film projects, and has overseen a wide range of critical and box office successes, including the three consecutive Best Picture Oscar® winners: *American Beauty*, *Gladiator* and *A Beautiful Mind*, the latter two in partnership with Universal Studios. He is a three-time Oscar nominee, including a Best Original Screenplay nomination for the cyber-thriller *WarGames*. He is a member of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, the Writer's Guild of America, and the Global Business Network. Non-profit activities include serving as the President of the University Council of Yale University, and on the board of the Para Los Ninos Charter School which provides services for the children of the working poor of Downtown Los Angeles.

CARLOS PASCUAL United States



Carlos Pascual is Vice President and Director of the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. Before joining Brookings, Pascual served as Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization at the U.S. Department of State, where

he led and organized U.S. government planning to help stabilize and reconstruct societies in transition from conflict or civil strife. Prior to that, he was Coordinator for U.S. Assistance to Europe and Eurasia (2003) and U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine from October 2000 until August 2003. From July 1998 to January 2000, Pascual served as Special Assistant to the President and NSC Senior Director for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia, and from 1995 to 1998 as Director for the same region. From 1983 to 1995, Pascual worked for USAID in Sudan, South Africa, and Mozambique and as Deputy Assistant Administrator for Europe and Eurasia. He serves on the board of directors for the National Endowment for Democracy, Freedom House, and the Internews Network. He is also on the Advisory Group for the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund. Pascual received his M.P.P. from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1982 and his B.A. from Stanford University in 1980.

JACK PERSEKIAN Palestine



Jack Persekian is the curator, founder and director of Anadiel Gallery and the Al-Ma'mal Foundation for Contemporary Art in Jerusalem as well as a producer for XEIN Productions. He has curated several exhibitions locally and internationally, among them: *Reconsidering Palestinian Art* in Cuenca, Spain 2006; *Disorientation – Contemporary Arab Artists from the Middle East*, at the Haus der Kulturen der Welt in Berlin, *In Weiter Ferne, So Nah, Neue Palastinensische Kunst* galleries in Bonn, Stuttgart and Berlin. Persekian has directed and produced several events locally and internationally. His most recent productions include: *the Palestinian Cultural Evening* at the World Economic Forum in the Dead Sea, Jordan; *the Geneva Initiative*, a public commitment event in Geneva; and *the Millennium Celebrations in Bethlehem*. He has produced a series of short films and videos with a group of Palestinian filmmakers: *A Ball and a Coloring Box*, *My Son*, and *The Last 5 Short Films of the Millennium*.

ROUZBEH PIROUZ United Kingdom



Rouzbeh Pirouz is chairman of the Civility Programme on Middle East Reform in the United Kingdom. He is also Senior Partner and Founder of Turquoise Partners a private equity firm focused on the Middle East. Previously, he has developed considerable experience in private equity and venture capital investing through his work with a number of investment firms. He co-founded and was

Chief Executive Officer of a leading European technology firm, Mondus Ltd. and founded Pelican Partners, a private equity firm based in London. Pirouz travels frequently to Iran and speaks Farsi fluently. He sits on the Boards of leading Iranian foundations and charities in the UK and is Chairman of the Civility Programme at the Foreign Policy Centre in London. He received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Stanford and Harvard universities respectively, and was a Rhodes Scholar studying contemporary Iran at Oxford University.

HEBA RAOUF EZZAT Egypt



Heba Raouf Ezzat is professor of Political Theory, Islamic Thought and Politics at the Department of Political Science at Cairo University. She is a Coordinator for the Civil Society Program for Research Training and Foreign Relations at the Center for Political Research and Studies, and a

Deputy of the Center for European Studies at Cairo University. She has previously served as a visiting researcher at the Center for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster in the United Kingdom. She was selected to be a member of the Young Global Leaders of the World Initiative by the World Economic Forum in 2005 and was a member of the Steering Committee to establish an Egyptian Chapter for Transparency International. She is the author of multiple publications in both English and Arabic including *The Political Imagination of Islamists: A Conceptual Analysis*; *Islam and Equality: Debating the Future of Women's and Minority Rights in the Middle East and North Africa*; and *Globalization, Gender and Religion: The Politics of Women's Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts*. Ezzat holds a B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from Cairo University.

DIAA RASHWAN Egypt



Diaa Rashwan is Director of the Program for the Study of Islamist Movements and the Comparative Politics Unit at Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (ACPSS) in Cairo. He is also Editor-in-Chief of the *Guide of World Islamist Movements*, published annually by the ACPSS since 2006, and Director of

the Egyptian Legislative Reform Project at the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights. Rashwan is currently a member of the scientific committee of Rivista di Intelligence at the Centro Studi Internazionali, and member of the Advisory Board of the Program for the Study and Research of Terrorism at Cairo University. Previously, he

served as Managing Editor at ACPSS of the State of Religions in Egypt, published annually from 1995 to 1999. Rashwan started his career as a political science researcher at the ACPSS in 1982, and accepted visiting research fellowships at other centers and institutes in Japan, France and Finland. Amongst other publications, he edited *The Spectrum of Islamist Movements*.

AMINA RASUL-BERNARDO Philippines



Amina Rasul-Bernardo is the Lead Convenor of the Philippine Council for Islam and Democracy and Trustee of the Magbassa Kita Foundation Inc. Rasul-Bernardo was a Senior Research Fellow with the Asian Institute of Management Policy Center as well as a Visiting Professor at the Pontifical University of Santo Tomas, Manila, and was editor of *The Road to Peace and Reconciliation: Muslim Perspectives on the Mindanao Conflict*. She is presently editing a book on the Final Peace Agreement between the government and the Moro National Liberation Front, as well as a monograph evaluating ten years of implementation of the peace agreement. She was a member of the Philippine Cabinet under former President Fidel V. Ramos, as Presidential Advisor on Youth Affairs, appointed concurrently as the first Chair of the National Youth Commission. Rasul-Bernardo has a distinguished record in the field of business and finance, serving as a member of the Board of Directors of the Philippine National Oil Corporation, the Development Bank of the Philippines, and Founding Director of the Local Government Guarantee Corporation. She earned an M.B.A. from the Asian Institute of Management in the Philippines and an M.P.A. from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

MICHAEL ALAN RATNEY United States



Michael Ratney is the Chargé d'Affaires at the American Embassy in Doha, Qatar. He joined the State Department as a Presidential Management Intern, and served in the Foreign Service in Barbados, Morocco, and in the State Department's Bureau of Near East Affairs.

Following Arabic language training at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington and in Tunisia, he served in Lebanon and went on to coordinate economic affairs in the State Department's Office of Israel and Palestinian Affairs. Ratney has also worked in Iraq, first as a Political Advisor for the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad, and then as the first Regional Coordinator at the Regional

Embassy Office in Basrah. He holds a B.S. in Mass Communication from Boston University and an M.A. in International Affairs from The George Washington University. He speaks Arabic, French, and Spanish.

WILLIAM REESE United States



William Reese is President and CEO of the International Youth Foundation, providing leadership and oversight for the management of the Foundation's operations and programs supporting positive youth development in more than 70 countries and territories. He was appointed chair by the Administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and served nine years, the longest serving chair in the agency's 60 year history. Before joining IYF, Reese was President/CEO for 12 years of Partners of the Americas, the largest citizen-run, voluntary organization working to promote economic and social development in the western hemisphere. He served for ten years with the Peace Corps, becoming Deputy Director of the Latin American and Caribbean Region. Reese served as Chairman of the board of InterAction, Vice-Chair of the Debt for Development Coalition and Finance for Development, Inc., and serves on the boards of Episcopal Relief and Development, Women's Edge Coalition and the Basic Education Coalition. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, he is also a Woodrow Wilson National Fellow lecturing on Latin American affairs, foreign policy and development issues. Reese received his B.A. in Political Science from Stanford University.

KEITH REINHARD United States



Keith Reinhard is founder and President of Business for Diplomatic Action (BDA), a not-for-profit private sector effort to enlist the U.S. business community in actions aimed at improving the standing of America in the world. As president of this organization, he has testified to the U.S. Congress and has been broadly featured in the media, from the BBC to *The Daily Show*, Fox News, CNN, CNBC, and in publications such as *The Economist*, *Fast Company*, *The Atlantic*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *International Herald Tribune*, and *The Financial Times* among others. Reinhard is also Chairman Emeritus of DDB Worldwide, which ranks among the world's largest and most creative advertising agency networks with 206 offices in 96 countries. *Advertising Age* has referred to Reinhard as the advertising industry's "soft-

spoken visionary" and in 1999 named him one of the top 100 industry influentials in advertising history. He is a former Chairman of the Boards of the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the Union Theological Seminary in New York, and a member of the boards of The Mayor's Fund to Advance New York, Sesame Workshop, Jazz at Lincoln Center, Episcopal Charities, and the Berlin School of Creative Leadership.

SUSAN E. RICE United States



Susan E. Rice is Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies and Global Economy and Development Programs at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., where her work encompasses a wide range of issues related to U.S. foreign and national security policy. In 2004,

Rice took a leave of absence from Brookings to serve as Senior Advisor for National Security Affairs on the Kerry-Edwards campaign, and is currently a Senior Advisor for the Obama campaign.. She served as U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from 1997-2001. From 1995-1997, Rice was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for African Affairs at the National Security Council (NSC) and, from 1993-1995, was Director for International Organizations and Peacekeeping at the NSC. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Aspen Strategy Group. She also serves on several boards, including the National Democratic Institute, the U.S. Fund for UNICEF, the Atlantic Council, Stanford University's Institute for International Studies, the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., Partnership for Public Service, the Beauvoir School, and the Internews Network. Rice received her B.A. in History with Honors from Stanford University and her M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees in International Relations from Oxford University, where she was a Rhodes Scholar.

BRUCE RIEDEL United States



Bruce Riedel is Senior Fellow for Political Transitions in the Middle East and South Asia in the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings. Riedel is an analyst of Middle East and South Asia history and politics with extensive experience in regional diplomacy, conflict

management, counter terrorism and energy security. He retired in 2006 after 30 years service at the Central Intelligence Agency including postings overseas in the Middle East and Europe. He was a senior advisor on South Asia and the Middle East to the last three Presidents of the

United States in the staff of the National Security Council at the White House. He was also Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for the Near East and South Asia at the Pentagon and a senior advisor at the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Brussels. Riedel was also a member of President Clinton's peace team at the Camp David, Wye River, and Shepherdstown summits. He was a member of Strobe Talbott's South Asia team created after the May 1998 nuclear tests and participated in the Blair House summit in July 1998 that ended the Kargil war. He is a graduate of Brown and Harvard Universities and the Royal College of Defense Studies in London. He teaches at Georgetown University on security issues in South Asia and the Middle East.

BOB ROBERTS, JR. United States



Bob Roberts, Jr. is the founding and Senior Pastor of Northwood Church, a fast-growing church near Dallas/Ft. Worth, TX. He is the author of *Transformation*, *Globalization* and *The Multiplying Church*. He is a leading practitioner and writer on "glocal"—local and global—transformation of individuals, churches, communities and global engagement. Roberts' unique principles have transformed the people and ministry of Northwood and its 103 church plants and "adopted" nations throughout the world. Roberts is also the founder of Glocalnet, a network of like-minded leaders who are advancing a global church multiplication movement that connects the body of Christ worldwide. He is a graduate of Baylor University, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and Fuller Seminary.

PETER RODMAN United States



Peter W. Rodman is a Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. He has served in several positions in the U.S. government, including as a Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, Director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff, special assistant to Henry Kissinger on the National Security Council staff, and most recently, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. He is currently a member of the Defense Policy Board. Rodman was educated at Harvard College, Oxford University, and Harvard Law School.

STEVEN ROOD
United States



Steven Rood is The Asia Foundation's country representative for the Philippines and Pacific Island Nations. In his concurrent role as Regional Advisor for Local Governance, he helps to build local government, decentralization, and municipal government programs throughout the region. Rood served as Professor of Political Science at the University of the Philippines College Baguio from 1981 until joining the Foundation in 1999, and was the only foreign faculty member with tenure in the University of the Philippines system. He is the author of a number of works including *Forging Sustainable Peace in Mindanao: The Role of Civil Society* (East-West Center Washington, Policy Studies 17, 2005); "NGOs and Indigenous Peoples," in G. Sidney Silliman and Lela G. Nobel (eds). *Organizing for Democracy: NGOs, Civil Society, and the Philippine State* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998); and "Elections as Complicated and Important Events in the Philippines," in *How Asia Votes* (John Fuh-Sheng Hsieh and David Newman, New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2002). He received a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Washington, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Political Science from Boston University.

NADIA ROUMANI
United States



Nadia Roumani is the Program Officer/Consultant for the newly established *Building Bridges* program at the Doris Duke Foundation for Islamic Art, an operating foundation of the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation. In addition to her work with DDFIA, Nadia is also a Senior Advisor to the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, and a Fellow with the University of Southern California's Center for Religion and Civic Culture. Between 2006 and 2007, Nadia was the Director of the Women Leaders Intercultural Forum. Prior to joining WLIF, she was a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs in New York City where she co-launched the Global Policy Innovations Program. Between 2000 and 2004, Nadia was the Assistant Director of the Initiative for Policy Dialogue, a project directed by Nobel Laureate Joseph Stiglitz. Nadia has consulted for several international organizations, foundations, and nonprofit organizations including the World Bank, UNDP, Ashoka-Innovators for the Public, Oxfam America, the Brookings Institution, Four Freedoms Fund and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Nadia received her Master's degree from

Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and her Bachelor's degree in Economics and International Relations from Stanford University.

SORAYA SALTI
Jordan



Soraya Salti is Senior Vice-President of MENA for Junior Achievement Worldwide, an organization which works to mobilize private sectors and ministries of education across the Arab World to create a new generation of business-oriented youth and entrepreneurs. The program has grown from a small NGO project with 2000 students in 2001 to an independent Jordanian organization that reaches 50,000 students and is staffed by nearly 1,500 volunteer teachers from the private sector. Previously, Ms. Salti worked with the Jordan's Ministry of Planning on the Innovative Competitiveness Team, an initiative that worked in conjunction with Harvard University's Michael Porter to strengthen the country's economic development. She also ran the monitoring and evaluation unit of a \$15 million program that strengthened small and medium-sized industries at Jordan U.S. Business Partnership, before which she was an economic researcher in the UN Economic & Social Commission for Western Asia. She is on the board of Young Arab Leaders Jordan, Queen Rania's Awards for Excellence in Education, and the Business Development Center, and is the winner of the Schwab Foundation Social Entrepreneur of Jordan. Salti holds an MBA from Northwestern University.

GARY SAMORE
United States



Gary Samore is Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg chair at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is an expert on nuclear proliferation and arms control, especially in the Middle East and Asia. Before joining the Council, Samore was Vice President for Global Security and Sustainability at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, where he was responsible for international grant-making. From 2001 to 2005, he was Director of Studies and Senior Fellow for Nonproliferation at the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Samore served at the National Security Council from 1995 to 2001. He began his career there as the Director for Nonproliferation and Export Controls and then became the Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Nonproliferation and Export Controls. Before his career led him to the National Security Council, Samore spent seventeen years working at the Depart-

ment of State, where he served as Special Assistant to the Ambassador-At-Large for Nonproliferation and Nuclear Energy Policy. He later served as the Acting Director and Deputy Director at the Office of Regional Nonproliferation, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, and then as the deputy to Ambassador-at-Large Robert Gallucci. Samore holds a B.A. in Sociology from the State University of New York at Stony Brook, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University.

NEDA SARMAST
United States



Neda Sarmast is an Iranian-American filmmaker and producer, who has made it her personal mission to promote tolerance and unity between Eastern and Western cultures. Sarmast was born in Iran and moved to the U.S. at the age of nine. Sarmast left a fifteen year career in music management, marketing and PR, in order to play a positive role in her community. In 2005, Neda left New York and traveled back to Iran to film a documentary on the youth culture of Iran, called *Nobody's Enemy*. The film is slated for release in 2008. In 2007, Neda co-organized a musical program in which nine of Iran's leading modern musicians came to the U.S. for a project called Red Hot + RUMI, celebrating Rumi and his work on his 800th anniversary. In 2008, Neda will be traveling to universities across the country to screen her documentary and discuss with students the importance of cross cultural relations between East and West.

CYNTHIA P. SCHNEIDER
United States



Cynthia P. Schneider teaches, publishes, and organizes initiatives in the field of cultural diplomacy, with a focus on relations with the global Muslim community. For the Brookings Institution she leads the Arts and Culture Initiative within the Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

Schneider teaches courses in Diplomacy and Culture at Georgetown University, where, from 1984-2005, she was a member of the art history faculty. From 1998-2001 she served as U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands. During the 1980s Schneider curated exhibitions at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the National Gallery in Washington. She serves on the Boards of Directors of Wesley Theological Seminary and the Institute of Cultural Diplomacy. Schneider received her B.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard University.

CHRIS SEIPLE
United States



Chris Seiple is President of the Institute for Global Engagement. Seiple served as an infantry officer in the Marine Corps from 1990 to 1999 and was assigned to the Strategic Initiatives Group. Seiple serves on the board of Wycliffe Bible Translators, USA. He is also a Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, a member at the Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, and is Founder of IGE's Council on Faith & International Affairs. His book, *The U.S. Military/NGO Relationship in Humanitarian Interventions*, is a seminal work in the field. In the past year Dr. Seiple has lectured all over the world on the topic of religion and realpolitik to audiences in Doha, Peshawar, Bannu, Moscow, and many others. Seiple was an Earhart Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy at Tufts University, where he received his Ph.D. in 2007.

SAIF SHAHIN
India



Saif Shahin is Assistant Editor with the Doha based *Qatar Tribune* newspaper which he helped launch in 2006. Over the past ten years, he has worked with or written for various print, broadcast, and online news organizations in the Middle East, U.K. and India including *BBC online*, the *British Journal Review*, *Indian Express* and many others. Shahine received his M.A. in Online Journalism from the University of Central Lancashire, U.K. and a B.A. in Journalism from the University of Delhi, India.

SALMAN SHAIKH
Qatar



Salman Shaikh is Director for Policy and research for HH Sheikha Moza in Qatar.

KHALIL SHIKAKI
Palestine



Khalil Shikaki is Director of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in Ramallah. He is also a Senior Fellow at the Crown Center for Middle East Studies at Brandeis University. In his career, he has taught at several universities including Bir Zeit University, al-Najah National University, the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, and the University of South Florida (Tampa). Previously, he served as Dean of Scientific Research at al Najah National University. He spent the summer of 2002 as a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. Between the years 1998 and 1999, Dr. Shikaki led a group of more than twenty five Palestinian and foreign experts on institution-building in a study of state public institutions which was ultimately published in a Council on Foreign Relations' report. Since then, Dr. Shikaki has continued to work with the sponsors of the report, advising them on Palestinian reform and annually updating the 1999 report. Shikaki has also conducted more than 100 polls among Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip since 1993, as well as three comprehensive surveys among Palestinian refugees in the West Bank-Gaza Strip, Jordan, and Lebanon. He finished his Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University in 1985, and his B.A. and M.A. in Political Science from the American University in Beirut.

STEVEN SIMON
United States



Steven Simon is the Hasib J. Sabagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, and an adjunct professor at Georgetown University. Prior to joining the Council, Simon specialized in Middle Eastern affairs at the RAND Corporation. He came to RAND from London, where he was the Deputy Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and Carol Deane Senior Fellow in U.S. security studies. Before moving to Britain in 1999, Simon served at the White House for over five years as Director for Global Issues and Senior Director for Transnational Threats. These assignments followed a fifteen year career at the U.S. Department of State. Simon is the author of several books, articles, and reports, including "After the Surge: The Case for U.S. Military Disengagement from Iraq," "The Next Attack, Building a Successful Palestinian State," and "The Arc: A Formal Structure for a Palestinian State," "The Age of Sacred Terror," and co-editor of *Iraq at the Crossroads: State and Society in the Shadow of Regime Change*. Simon has also published articles in *Time*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Financial*

Times, and many other journals. He is a frequent guest on CNN, BBC, ABC, 60 Minutes, Nightline, The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Fox, and NPR. Simon has a B.A. from Columbia University in classics and Near Eastern languages, an M.T.S. from the Harvard Divinity School, and an M.P.A. from Princeton University.

PETER W. SINGER
United States



Peter W. Singer is a Senior Fellow and Director of the 21st Century Defense Initiative at the Brookings Institution. He was the founding director of the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Saban Center at Brookings and now serves on its board of conveners. His first book, *Corporate Warriors: The Rise of the Privatized Military Industry*, won an American Political Science Association award for the best publication in the field of U.S. national policy. His second book, *Children at War*, was recognized by the 2006 RFK Memorial Book of the Year Award and is being made into an A&E/History Channel documentary. He is presently working on a third book, *Wired for War: Science Fiction, Science Reality and the 21st Century Battlefield*. Singer has also worked in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and at the Kennedy School at Harvard and is on the board of the Arab-Western Summit of Skills. In 2005, CNN named him to their "New Guard" list of next generation newsmakers. He received his B.A. from Princeton University and his Ph.D. from Harvard University.

M. FAOUZI SKALI
Morocco



Faouzi Skali is Professor of Anthropology and Ethnology at Ecolé Normale Supérieure in France. He is a specialist on Sufism and has written many publications including *The Sufi Path*, *Light Traces*, and *Jesus in Sufi Tradition*. Skali is the Director of the Fez Festival of World Sacred Music. He has coordinated an effort called "Giving Soul to Globalization," a meeting place for humanitarians and international leaders in the business world to work together to develop more space for spirituality in the working world. Skali is a member of the Meeting of World Leaders on Faith and Development, led by His Grace George Carey, Archbishop of Canterbury, and James D. Wolfensohn, Former President of the World Bank. He is also a member of the World Economic Forum's Council of 100 Leaders, a group established to promote dialogue and cooperation between the Western and Islamic Worlds. Skali received his doctorate from Paris VII University in Anthropology, Ethnology, and Science of Religion.

AWAIS SUFI
United States



Awaiz Sufi serves as Acting Vice President for Education Programs at the International Youth Foundation. He also serves as Global Director of the foundation's Education and Employment Alliance program, which promotes the development of new public-private alliances in six countries in the Middle East and Asia to meet critical education and employment needs. Before beginning his work in international development, he worked as an attorney with the Washington law firm of Arnold & Porter, specializing in corporate and securities law, and as Law Clerk to the Honorable John Sprizzo, United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York. Sufi is a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Muslim Lawyers, and its sister charity, Muslim Advocates. Sufi graduated from the University of Texas School of Law where he was an Associate Editor of *The Texas Law Review* and a Cain Foundation Fellow. He holds Bachelors degrees from the University of Chicago in Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and Political Science.

KANIA SUTISNAWINATA
Indonesia



Kania Sutisnawinata is the Co-Anchor of Metro TV's first international English-language news program, which launched in September 2006. After joining Metro TV in 2000, she anchored "Bisnis Hari Ini" and "Market Review." Born in Jakarta to an Indonesian diplomat, Sutisnawinata traveled and lived all over the world. She attended schools in Czechoslovakia, Geneva, Los Angeles and Mexico City. She attended the United States International University in Mexico, and graduated from the University of Indonesia with a degree in marketing. Sutisnawinata speaks Bahasa Indonesia, English and Spanish, and has won honors for her proficiency in French.

M. DIN SYAMSUDDIN
Indonesia



M. Din Syamsuddin is President of Muhammadiyah, Indonesia's largest modernist Muslim social and educational organization as well as Vice General Chair of the Indonesian Ulama Council. He also serves as a professor of Islamic Political Thought at the National Islamic

University in Jakarta, and is President of the Asian Conference on Religion for Peace, based in Tokyo. He is author of *Islam and Politics in the New Order Era* and *Religious Ethics to Build Civil Society*.

SHIBLEY TELHAMI
United States



Shibley Telhami is the Anwar Sadat Professor for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland, College Park, and Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Saban Center at Brookings. He served as advisor to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations (1990-91), advisor to former Congressman Lee Hamilton, and as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Trilateral U.S.-Israeli-Palestinian Anti-Incitement Committee. Most recently, Telhami served on the Iraq Study Group as a member of the Strategic Environment Working Group. He has contributed to *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times* and regularly appears on national and international radio and television. He is the author of several articles and books, including *Reflections of Hearts and Minds: Media, Opinion and Identity in the Arab World*, and *The Stakes: America and the Middle East*, which was selected by *Foreign Affairs* as one of the top five books on the Middle East in 2003. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves on the boards of Human Rights Watch, the Education for Employment Foundation, and Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam, and several academic advisory boards. He has also served on the board of the United States Institute of Peace. Telhami received his Ph.D. from the University of California, Berkeley.

PATRICK NICKOLAS THEROS
United States

Patrick Nickolas Theros is the former Ambassador to Qatar who currently serves as President of the U.S.-Qatar Business Council. Prior to this he served as deputy coordinator for counterterrorism where he was responsible for the coordination of all U.S. Government counter-terrorism activities outside the U.S. He also served in various diplomatic positions in other nations as well as in the State Department. In 1992 Theros was awarded the President's Meritorious Service Award for career officials and the Secretary of Defense Medal for Meritorious Civilian Service. He also earned four Superior Honor Awards over the course of his career.

JAMES THOMSON
United States



James Thomson is President and CEO of Rand Corporation, a non-profit, nonpartisan institution that seeks to improve public policy through research and analysis. A member of the RAND staff since 1981, Dr. James Thomson has served the institution in a variety of roles, including that of director of RAND's research programs in national security, foreign policy, defense policy, and arms control; vice president in charge of the Project AIR FORCE division; and executive vice president. From 1977 to January 1981, Dr. Thomson was a member of the National Security Council staff at the White House, where he was primarily responsible for defense and arms control matters related to Europe. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London, and serves on the board of the Los Angeles World Affairs Council. He is a director of AK Steel Corporation, Encysive Pharmaceuticals, and Object Reservoir. Thomson holds a B.S. in physics from the University of New Hampshire and an M.S. and Ph.D. in physics from Purdue University. He was a postdoctoral research associate in physics and did basic research in experimental nuclear physics at the University of Wisconsin. He has honorary doctorates from Purdue University, Pepperdine University, and the University of New Hampshire.

TAMARA COFMAN WITTES
United States



Tamara Cofman Wittes directs the Middle East Democracy and Development (MEDD) Project at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, a regional policy center at The Brookings Institution. Before joining the Saban Center in December 2003, Wittes served as Middle East specialist at the U.S. Institute of Peace and previously as Director of Programs at the Middle East Institute in Washington. She has also taught courses in International Relations and Security Studies at Georgetown University. Wittes was one of the first recipients of the Rabin-Peres Peace Award, established by President Bill Clinton in 1997. Wittes' new book is *Freedom's Unsteady March: America's Role in Building Arab Democracy*. She is also Editor of *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process*. Her analyses of U.S. democracy promotion, Arab politics, the Middle East peace process, and other policy topics have been published in the *Washington Post*, *Policy Review*, *Political Science Quarterly*, the *American Interest*, the *Weekly Standard*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Ed-*

ucation, among others. Wittes holds a B.A. in Judaic and Near Eastern Studies from Oberlin College; her M.A. and Ph.D. in Government are from Georgetown University. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

JAMES MOVEL WUYE
Nigeria



James Movel Wuye is the Joint Executive Director of the Interfaith Mediation Centre of Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum in Kaduna, Nigeria. He is the District Director of the Assemblies of God Church, Kaduna State, and a committee member of the Faith-Based Economic and Financial Crime Commission that creates faith organizations to fight corrupt practices. Although Wuye got his start as a civil servant, he later became active in Christian Evangelism. He was the former Vice President of the Youth Christian Association of Nigeria and deputy to the Secretary of the Christian Association of Nigeria in Kaduna and the northern State including Abuja. He was also the Northwest Regional Co-Coordinator of Worldreach, a Christian broadcasting network with headquarters in the U.S.A. After the Zangon-Kataf crisis in 1992, when he lost his right arm, he began seeking alternatives to inter-religious and intra-religious crisis in Nigeria, which led him to conflict management and peace advocacy.

SAKENA YACOobi
Afghanistan



Sakena Yacoobi is Executive Director of the Afghan Institute of Learning, an Afghan women-led NGO she founded in 1995. Initially established to provide teacher training, education and health services to women and children, the institute now provides services to 350,000 women and children annually and has earned a reputation as a groundbreaking, grassroots organization. Internationally her awards include the 2003 Peacemakers in Action Award of the Tanenbaum Center for Inter-Religious Understanding, the 2004 Peter Gruber Foundation – Women's Rights Prize, the 2005 National Endowment for Democracy Award, the 2006 Skoll Award for Social Entrepreneurship, Citizen Leader Award from the University of the Pacific and the 2007 Gleitsman International Activist Award. The first Ashoka Fellow from Afghanistan, Yacoobi is also on the boards of the Global Fund for Women and Creating Hope International.

AHMED YOUNIS
United States



Ahmed Younis is a senior analyst at the Gallup Organization's Center for Muslim Studies, a nonpartisan research center dedicated to providing data-driven analysis, advice, and education on the views of Muslim populations around the world. Ahmed is a member of the Advisory Committee on U.S.-Muslim World Relations of the United States Institute of Peace. He is a regular speaker at government conferences, briefings, and events covering topics such as terrorist financing, public diplomacy, identity/integration, and issues affecting Western Muslim communities. In 2006, Ahmed joined Ambassador Dennis Ross at an event sponsored by Search for Common Ground to begin a national conversation on a long-term strategy to improve U.S. relations with the Muslim world. Ahmed served as National Director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) from 2004 to January 2007. Before joining MPAC, Ahmed worked as an intern at the Office of the Legal Counsel of the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs. A graduate of Washington & Lee University School of Law, Ahmed has studied and lived in Egypt and Saudi Arabia and is fluent in Arabic.

MOHAMMED YOUSRY
Egypt



Mohammad Youssry is a coordinator for the Egyptian-Refugee Multicultural Council which works to further inter-communal cooperation and raise cultural awareness about the diverse refugee populations of Egypt. He also provides freelance consultancies to various arts and culture initiatives. His previous posts include Program Associate of the Ford Foundation's Middle East and North Africa Media Arts and Culture program and Director of the Contemporary Image Collective in Cairo. He is interested in culture as a form of knowledge creation and as a pervasive conveyor of human experience. Youssry holds a B.A. in English and Comparative Literature from the American University of Cairo.

ISSA H. ZIDDY
Tanzania



Issa H. Ziddy is Director of the Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages at the State University of Zanzibar. He is also a Senior Lecturer at both the State University and the University College of Education in Zanzibar. Ziddy is Chairman of the Board of the Muzdalifah Islamic Charitable Organization (MICO) and the Network of Tanzania Interfaith Based Organizations on Population and Development, a joint Technical Committee between the Ministry of Health and Zanzibar Interfaith Based Organizations on the role of spiritual based advocacy strategies in fighting against HIV/AIDS. He also serves as Assistant Secretary General of the Network of African Islamic Organizations on Population and Development. He has published two books, one on methodology of teaching and the other on the history of Zanzibar scholars in the field of Islamic education. His current research deals with Islam and conflict resolutions in Zanzibar, but his interest spans a diversity of topics including Shari'a, Islamic education, human rights and the rights of women and children in Islam. Ziddy received a Ph.D. from the International University of Africa in Khartoum.

MONEEF RAFE' ZOU'BI
Jordan



Moneef Rafe' Zou'bi has been Director General of the Islamic World Academy of Sciences in Jordan since 1998. He has been involved in scientific missions in more than 20 countries and has devoted all his energy to turning the IAS into an international academy of sciences that is engaged in bridging scientific and technological, development, and even political divides between countries, cultures and civilizations. He has written extensively on science and technology topics, and has given lectures on such subjects across the world. Zou'bi has also published over forty papers, and edited and co-edited ten books on topics such as higher education, the environment, water resources and transformational technologies. Prior to his career at IAS, Zoubi served in the Royal Corps of Engineers in the Jordanian Armed Forces.

ABOUT THE U.S.-ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM

ONE OF THE GREATEST CHALLENGES IN GLOBAL POLITICS TODAY is the dangerous tension growing between the United States and the world's Muslim states and communities. Relations between the world's community of 1.4 billion Muslims and the world's leading state power are at a historic low point, to the benefit of neither. This deepening divide is not just tragic, but is also a critical impediment to cooperation on a breadth of vital issues, ranging from dealing with terrorism and radicalism, to supporting human development and freedom.

Each year the activities of the *Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World* culminate with the annual U.S.-Islamic World Forum ("The Doha Forum") in Doha, Qatar. The Doha Forum is designed to bring together key leaders in the worlds of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Muslim world – including Muslim communities in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East – and the United States. Such institutionalized dialogue between leaders and opinion-shapers is an urgent necessity, in order to help prevent a fault line from forming between the West and the Muslim world.

The Doha Forum is designed to serve as both a convening body and catalyst for positive action. Its focus is on a dialogue that leads to the development of actionable programs for government, civil society, and the private sector. The Forum's annual conferences have become the foremost meeting for positive cross-cultural engagement among leaders from the U.S. 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 the assembling of task forces of policymakers and experts, and associated outreach, research, and publications. Collaborative media, education, and youth-centered programs help expand its impact. Follow-up regional forums in other parts

of the Muslim world are also planned, beginning with the inaugural 2007 U.S.-Islamic World Regional Forum in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

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 2008 U.S.-Islamic World Forum, "New Directions," seeks to build on past sessions. Since our last Forum, the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, last summer's conflict in Lebanon, the stalled prospects for peace between Israel and the Palestinians, and the specter of an increasingly bold Iran have come to dominate international headlines and fuel more resentment and anger on both sides. Such infamous incidents as last year's Danish cartoon controversy, and Pope Benedict XVI's contentious remarks concerning Islam, further underscore the level of mutual suspicion and distrust. In light of such deteriorating conditions, the need has become ever more apparent for frank and direct dialogue on the most pressing issues dividing the United States and the Muslim world.

A comprehensive summary of the Forum can be found at www.thedohaforum.org.

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 United States 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 United States and the Muslim world can play in responding to regional development and education needs, as well as fostering positive relations;
- A “Bridging the Divide” Initiative which explores the role of Muslim communities in the West;
- 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, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, and the Institute for Social Policy Understanding. Partners include American University, the USC Center for Public Diplomacy, Unity Productions Foundation, Americans for Informed Democracy, America Abroad Media, One Nation, and The Gallup Organization.

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 spe-

cialist 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 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



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