2006 U.S.-Islamic World Forum

Doha, Qatar
February 18–20, 2006

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

SABAN CENTER
at BROOKINGS

وزارة الخارجية

State of Qatar

M. Warner A. Abdullah H. Badrawi

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Sheikha Abdulla Al-Misnad

But it is at times like these that our dialogue becomes more, not less important because the bridges we are trying to build to understand one another are burning and we must serve as the fire brigade.

The teachings of Islam enjoin all Muslims to live as part of a harmonious community, regardless of our ethnicity and religious beliefs. Given the challenges of our times which threaten our common humanity, all of us, political leaders, scholars and religious leaders including individuals in both the U.S., Muslim world and beyond must work together and educate ourselves on the importance of living together in a tolerant and harmonious society.

THE BROOKINGS PROJECT ON U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC World was launched in the wake of the September 11th attacks. Its goal is the development of research and outreach programs designed to improve U.S. relations with Muslim states and movements. A particular challenge in this time of great tension, frustration, suspicion, and misperception between the United States and the Muslim world is the virtual absence of dialogue between leaders from both sides.

With the generous support of the Government of the State of Qatar, in 2004 the Project launched the **U.S.–Islamic World Forum.** The Forum's purpose is to promote a better understanding of the problems involved in U.S. relations with the Islamic world, through the creation of an ongoing and collaborative dialogue between Muslim and American leaders. The Doha meetings are thus unique and bring together leaders from the United States and the Muslim world for an intensive dialogue aimed at building bridges across the divide that developed after the September 11th terrorist attacks.

The theme of the 2006 Forum was "Leaders Effect Change." This concept built on the success of previous year's conferences in the areas of security, youth and development, and science and technology. The 2006 meeting not only fostered serious dialogue amongst policymakers and opinion-shapers, but also generated human development initiatives in the Middle East, grappled with the issues of governance and reform, and established ongoing arts and culture initiatives.

Opened by H.E. Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani, First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the State of Qatar, the 2006 Forum brought together some 170 leaders from the United States and 38 Muslim countries, extending from Senegal to Indonesia. It was a diverse and distinguished group, with attendees ranging from ministers of government and CEOs of corporations to deans of universities and editors of newspapers. It was the type of meeting where U.S. officials mingled with Islamist leaders and civil society leaders shared meals with government ministers. In addition to the established leaders, participants were also enthralled by the chance to hear new voices and meet emerging leaders.

These luminaries from the fields of politics, arts, business, civil society, academia, science, and the news media participated in sessions which assessed the state of U.S.–Islamic world relations, the Middle East peace process, progress in political and economic reform, the impact of elections, security, good governance, human development, and the role of the press and public opinion. In addition, special leader task forces were convened on science and technology issues, the potential influence of arts and culture, the challenges facing Muslim minority communities, and the effect of media in both Muslim and American societies.

In Doha, these leaders engaged in three days of discussion, debate, and dialogue. We were all honored by and grateful for their participation. True leaders move past complaining about problems and become personally engaged in solving them. Their involvement in the Forum was an important demonstration of their personal leadership.

The meetings comprised both public plenary sessions and private working group discussions. Each session began with opening presentations by participants from both the Muslim world and the United States, followed by a general discussion among all the attendees. The discussions consistently continued into the breaks, ensuing meals and free time, illustrating the importance of the issues and the high activity level of engagement of the leaders.

The meetings were often intense, but always fruitful. The topics covered a wide range of issues, including thematic and functional concerns in the political, economic, religious, security, scientific, and social realms. In many sessions, specific policy recommendations were agreed upon and joint agendas for action developed. In others, no clear lines of agreement could be found, but valuable concerns and perspectives were raised, leaving each participant more informed and able to move forward knowledgeably.

The Forum was also significant on a number of other levels. The press coverage was extensive, with reporting about the event on an array of television, radio, and print outlets across the globe. In the weeks following the meeting, columns and articles by participants, discussing their experiences and lessons learned proliferated, extending from Washington, D.C. to Beirut to Jakarta. In this way, the Forum provided demonstrable evidence that the dialogue between the United States and the Muslim world is not one of pure negativity and can be wrested away from extremists.

Besides opening a critical nexus of communication and action between the United States and the Muslim world, the meeting also brought together leaders from Muslim communities across the globe who often have no contact with one another. It thus opened a valuable space for intra-Islamic world dialogue on their differing experiences and perspectives, but often shared challenges.

The Forum's annual leaders meeting will provide the foundation for a range of complementary activities designed to enhance the effectiveness of the dialogue. Further plans include collaborative media, education, and youth-centered programs, as well as the launch of a new organizing office in Doha to coordinate regional activities.

Multiple joint ventures enhanced the Forum's outreach. One example is the youth outreach program established in partnership with the Soliya organization. This joint venture helped to create a cooperative network of leading American and Arab universities where the students shared on-line resources and worked together on projects. The Forum's multimedia website (www.us-islamicworld-forum.org) carries video downloads of the various public sessions and speeches for use by the public and the students, as well as on-line student interviews of many conference attendees. It provides an opportunity for direct connection between leaders and students available in no other locale.

Given ongoing world events, this meeting could not have come at a more timely and necessary juncture. We would like to express our deep appreciation to His Highness Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr 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. We are also appreciative of the support and participation of Sheikh Hamed Bin Jasim Bin Jabr Al-Thani, the First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, and the rest of the Foreign Ministry of Qatar. H.E. Mohammed Abdullah Al Rumaihi, Assistant Minister for Follow Up Affairs, Abdulla Rahman Fakroo, Executive Director of the Committee for Conferences, and H.E. Nasser Bin Hamad M. Al-Khalifa, Ambassador to the United States, merit special thanks for their roles in ensuring the successful planning and operation of the meeting.

We are also appreciative for the help and generosity of American University; the Arab Western Summit of Skills; *CNBC Arabiya*, the International Youth Foundation; the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy; the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; The PEW Forum on Religion and Public Life; the RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy; Haim Saban; and The Brookings Institution, for their support of the project's activities. We would finally like to thank the hard work of our staff, Rabab Fayad, Shinji Hirose, Ryan MacMaster, Hadia Mubarak, Elina Noor, Casey Noga, and Arif Rafiq.

The dialogue we opened in Doha was critical, but clearly just a beginning. Future activities include the convening of expert task forces that will research and develop agendas for action on critical challenges and the convening of regional conferences that will take the meetings into other parts of the Muslim world.

In sum, our continuing goal is to expand upon and institutionalize this important effort to build understanding and promote positive relations between the United States and the Islamic world.

Kindest regards,

professor stephen p. cohen
Project Co-Convenor

ambassador martin indyk
Project Co-Convenor

dr. peter w. singer
Project Director

professor shibley telhami
Project Co-Convenor

H.R.H Prince Hassan

Program of Events

* indicates open to media

Friday, February 17, 2006

14:00 **Press Briefing ***

Goals of the U.S.–Islamic World Forum

SPEAKERS: Peter W. Singer, Director, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

Mohammed Abdullah Mutib Al Rumaihi, Assistant Foreign Minister for Follow Up Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Qatar

What does the Forum hope to accomplish?

Who will be attending?

What will be discussed?

Saturday, February 18, 2006

10:00 **Registration and Task Force Sign Up**

12:00 **Welcome Luncheon**

14:00 **Leaders Briefing ***

Perceptions and Reality: The Latest from Public Opinion Polling

CHAIR: Shibley Telhami, Professor, University of Maryland; Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: David Brooks, Columnist, *The New York Times*, United States

Khalil Shikaki, Director, Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, Palestinian Territories

Daniel Yankelovich, Chairman, Public Agenda; Viewpoint Learning, Inc., United States

What does the data show about public beliefs and perceptions?

Are there key misperceptions?

What issues do the public want leaders to focus on?

18:30 **Opening Gala ***

The State of U.S.–Muslim World Relations

WELCOME ADDRESS: Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Qatar

INTRODUCTIONS: Martin Indyk, Director, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Syed Hamid Albar, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia

Sheikh Khalid bin Ahmad bin Mohammed al-Khalifa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bahrain

Karen Hughes, Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, United States

Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, Secretary General, The Organization of the Islamic Conference, Turkey

With the five year anniversary of the 9/11 attacks coming up, what is the state of relations between the U.S. and broader Muslim world?

Where do we want to be five years from now?

What are the key challenges that we must solve to reach this vision?

20:00 **Dinner for Forum Attendees**

Followed by Leaders Roundtable 1: The Greater Middle East Five Years After 9/11, Five Years Forward

CHAIR: Martin Indyk, Director, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al Thani, First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Qatar

Abdullah Abdullah, Foreign Minister, Afghanistan

Edward P. Djerejian, Director, James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, United States

Eyad Sarraj, Chairman, Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights, Palestinian Territories

What are the visions for how the Greater Middle East will look five years from now?

What are the key opportunities and challenges we face for the future?

What actions are called for from outside leaders and organizations?

Sunday, February 19, 2006

9:00 **Leaders Task Force Session 1: Setting the Stage**

(A) Security Task Force

CO-CHAIRS: Stephen Cohen, Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution, United States

Mohamed Jawhar Hassan, Chairman and CEO, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Malaysia

OPENING SPEAKERS: Hassan Al Ansari, Director, Gulf Center of Strategic Studies, Qatar

Asad Durrani, Former Director-General, Inter-Services Intelligence; Former Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Pakistan

Robert Kagan, Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Columnist, *The Washington Post*, United States

Rami Khouri, Editor-at-Large, *The Daily Star*, Jordan

Ron Lehman, Director, Center for Global Security Research, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, United States

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

Amina Rasul-Bernardo, Convenor, Philippine Council for Islam and Democracy, Philippines

What would an ideal security architecture look like five years from now? What models can be aimed for?

What are the prerequisites for how to better deal with the security challenges posed by internal conflicts and linked external interventions?

What pending crises in trans-border issues can be identified and what can be done to avoid/solve them?

What can leaders do to spur the creation of a security relationship that is more conducive to the forces of progress than the forces of radicalism?
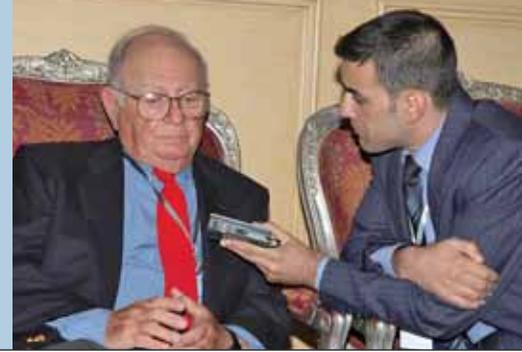
(B) Youth and Development Task Force
Developed in Partnership with the
International Youth Foundation

CO-CHAIRS: L. Michael Hager, President, Education for Employment Foundation, United States

Saleha Abedin, Vice-Dean of Academic Affairs, Dar Al-Hekma College, Saudi Arabia

COORDINATOR: Awais Sufi, Director of Business Development, International Youth Foundation, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Soumia Belaidi Malinbaum, Chief Executive Officer, Specimen, Algeria/France

Robert Davidson, Training and Development Officer, USAID/Egypt, United States

Adrian Godfrey, Director, Corporate Social Responsibility, Cisco Systems Inc., United States

Musa Hitam, Chairman, Kumpulan Guthrie; Former Deputy Prime Minister, Malaysia

Imran Riffat, Financial Controller, The Synergos Institute, United States

Toni G. Verstandig, Senior Policy Advisor, Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation, United States

What are the various visions for solving youth, development and employment concerns especially heightened by demographic pressures in the five years ahead?

What are the prerequisites for creating a positive environment for investment?

What education reforms are necessary to produce a skilled workforce capable of meeting the needs of global business? How can business leverage its strength to push for real reform?

What methods of public-private partnerships are available to facilitate such reforms? What examples are available to emulate?

(C) Governance and Reform Task Force

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

Shibley Telhami, Professor, University of Maryland; Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Gamal Al-Banna, Fawziyya and Gamal El-Banna Foundation for Islamic Culture and Information, Egypt

Sadig al-Mahdi, President, National Umma Party; Former Prime Minister of Sudan, Sudan

Khurshid Ahmad, Chairman, Institute of Policy Studies, Pakistan

Hossam Badrawi, Member, People's Assembly; Chairman, Education & Scientific Research Committee, Egypt

Steven Cook, Douglas Dillon Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, United States

Marwan Muasher, Senator, Jordanian Parliament; Former Deputy Prime Minister, Jordan

Jillian Schwedler, Assistant Professor, University of Maryland; Chair, Middle East Research and Information Project, United States

10:30 **Coffee and Pastries Break**

11:00 **Leaders Task Force Session 2: Pathways and Pitfalls**

12:30 **Lunch**

Followed by Leaders Roundtable 2: Women Leading Change*

CHAIR: Robin Wright, Diplomatic Correspondent, *The Washington Post*; Visiting Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Sheikha Abdulla Al-Misnad, President, Qatar University, Qatar

Benazir Bhutto, Former Prime Minister, Pakistan's People Party, Pakistan

Joan Spero, President, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, United States

How do gender issues relate to broader U.S.–Islamic World relations?

What are the key challenges for women which must be addressed in the next five years?

Do women leaders lead differently?

14:30 **Leaders Seminars**

(A) Bridging the Divide: Muslim Minority Leaders Seminar
Developed in partnership with the American Muslim Group on Policy Planning and the Arab–Western Summit of Skills

CO-CHAIRS: M.J. Akbar, Editor, *The Asian Age*, India

Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, Masjid al-Farah; ASMA Society, United States

COORDINATORS: Hady Amr, Co-President, Arab Western Summit of Skills, United States

Muqtedar Khan, Professor, University of Delaware; Non-Resident Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Salam Al-Marayati, Executive Director, Muslim Public Affairs Council, United States

Hakim El Ghissassi, Founder and Director, Sézame; La Médina, France

Iqbal Sacranie, Secretary General, Muslim Council of Britain, United Kingdom

What are the key concerns of Muslim minority communities?

What should be the role of Muslim minority communities in developing more positive relations between the U.S. and the wider Muslim world?

What are the capabilities within the minority communities that might be better tapped?

(B) The Media Effect: The U.S.–Islamic World Journalism Leaders Seminar
Developed in Partnership with The Shorenstein Center at Harvard University and RAND Corporation

CO-CHAIRS: Zafar Siddiqi, Chief Executive Officer, *CNBC Arabiya*, United Arab Emirates

Margaret Warner, Senior Correspondent, *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* (PBS), United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: David Aaron, Director, Center for Middle East Public Policy, RAND Corporation, United States

Faisal al Kasim, Host, *Al Jazeera*, Qatar

Bambang Harymurti, Editor-in-Chief, *Tempo*, Indonesia

Rami Khouri, Editor-at-Large, *The Daily Star*, Jordan

Eric Larson, Senior Policy Analyst, RAND Corporation, United States

Carol Saivetz, Research Associate, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University, United States

Mohd Annuar Zaini, Chairman, BERNAMA, Malaysia

Do media from the U.S. and Muslim world cover events differently?

How does the prism of media reporting shape opinion and understanding?

Do leaders in the media—in their role as journalists and as public figures—have a special responsibility to help bridge the chasm of misunderstanding between the U.S. and the Muslim world?

(C) Technology Partnerships: Science and Technology Leaders Seminar
Developed in partnership with Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory

CO-CHAIRS: George H. Atkinson, Science and Technology Advisor to the Secretary of State, United States

Mohamed H.A. Hassan, Executive Director, The Academy of Sciences for the Developing World; President, African Academy of Sciences, Sudan

COORDINATOR: Michael B. d'Arcy, Lecturer, King's College, United Kingdom

What are the needs and opportunities for enhanced science and technology cooperation between the U.S. and the broader Muslim world?

How might technology partnerships assist in dealing with joint socio-economic and political concerns?

What can be done to stimulate such cooperation? What should be the roles of the gathered leaders and organizations?

(D) Arts and the Public Sphere: Arts and Culture Leaders Seminar

CO-CHAIRS: Salman Ahmed, Musician, Junoon, Pakistan

Jane Alexander, Actress and former Director of the National Endowment for the Arts, United States

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

OPENING SPEAKERS: Bader ben Hirsi, Film Director, Felix Films Entertainment, Yemen

Nasser D. Khalili, Founder, The Khalili Collections; Chairman, The Maimonides Foundation, United Kingdom

Joan Spero, President, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, United States

Amy Tan, Novelist, United States

How does the prism of arts and culture link to politics and popular identity?

What are the roles and responsibilities of the artist as a public figure?

How might cultural diplomacy be brought to bear on U.S.–Muslim world relations?

16:00 **Coffee and Pastries Break**

16:30 **Leaders Seminars continued**

18:30 **Leaders Roundtable 3: Policy, Faith, and Change in an Age of Globalization***
Developed in partnership with American University and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life

CHAIR: Akbar Ahmed, Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies, American University; Visiting Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Ziad Abu Amr, Member, Palestinian Legislative Council, Palestinian Territories

Chris Seiple, President, Institute for Global Engagement, United States

H.R.H. Prince El Hassan Bin Talal, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

What forces are defining and redefining the population's relationship with leaders, religion, and politics?

Do leaders of faith bring a different perspective to issues than political leaders?

Who speaks for religion as it pertains to public life, especially in an age of globalization?

20:00 **Social Dinner**

Monday, February 20, 2006

9:00 **Leaders Task Force Session 3: Pathways and Pitfalls, continued**

10:30 **Coffee and Pastries Break**

11:00 **Leaders Task Force Session 4: Agendas and Conclusions**

12:30 **Closing Lunch**

Followed by Leaders Roundtable 4: Action and Reaction: Moving Forward*

CHAIR: Peter W. Singer, Director, Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS: Muhammadu Buhari, Former Head of State, All Nigeria People's Party, Nigeria

Elmar Mammadyarov, Foreign Minister, Azerbaijan

Shibley Telhami, Anwar Sadat Professor, University of Maryland; Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

What have we learned from this Forum?

What are the next steps for action?

16:30 **Youth Outreach Conference Report The Next Generation: Youth and the Future of U.S.–Islamic Relations**

Qatar University

Video Conference with students from:

American University, United States

American University of Beirut, Lebanon

The Centre d'Education à Distance, Cote d'Ivoire

George Washington University, United States

...it is imperative that we collaborate together to untangle the web of assumptions linking terrorism with religious extremism and linking terrorism with the absence of democracy. Both links are contingent but exaggerated.

Martin Indyk
Director of the Saban Center at The Brookings Institution

I want to extend a very warm welcome to the participants of the 4th Doha Forum on U.S.–Islamic World relations and to all of the guests who have done us the honor of joining us this evening for our opening session, as well as the permanent committee for organizing conferences at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed up by Mr. Mohammed Al-Rumaihi.

I want to begin by expressing particular appreciation to his highness the Emir, Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani, whose vision was responsible for the establishment of this dialogue and who has been a staunch supporter and patron of it since its original inception.

We meet at a moment of great upheaval, when it seems that seething anger expresses itself in unjustified violence across parts of the Islamic world. Where America's great experiment in promoting democracy in the greater Middle East has resulted in Islamists taking power or positions of power in countries like Iraq and Lebanon and now taking government today in the West Bank and Gaza.

It is easy when we think back to last year's dialogue here in Doha, to realize that it took place at a time that was very different. There seemed to be much greater comity and understanding between the United States and the Islamic World, when much of the anger of early years, of our earlier discussions, had dissipated into a sense of common interest and common purpose had seemed to develop around the ideas of political and economic reform. And the role that the United States could play in partnering with people in the Islamic world in this great project was understood.

This year I think it is no exaggeration to say that we will have our work cut out for us. But it is at times like these that our dialogue becomes more, not less important because the bridges we are trying to build to understand one another are burning and we must serve as the fire brigade. If there is one thing that underscores this dialogue that is now in its fourth year, it is the mutual respect that we show for each other. And that concept of respect, which is so essential for all human relationships, is the example that we can hold out to our respective countries and people in these trying times.

No world body embodies that principle of respect better than our opening speaker tonight, and our host, his Highness Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani. He's the man who has made this Forum possible. When we first went to him and suggested we should do this, his response was immediate and he has been a steadfast supporter of our efforts from those original days.

Now that Qatar assumes its role as the representative of the Arab world in the UN Security Council, the leadership of His Excellency is more important than ever. As his country's Minister of Foreign Affairs, he has served with distinction since 1992. In 2003, Sheikh Hamad was appointed First Deputy Prime Minister while retaining his position as Minister of Foreign Affairs in recognition of the great contribution he is making to his country's progress. He 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 the one I like best, member of the supreme council for the investment of the reserves of the state.

Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome His Excellency, Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani.

...we have to seek to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding through open dialogue and permanent deliberations in order to facilitate reaching policies that will serve the interests of the Islamic world and the United States.

H.E. Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani
First Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of the State of Qatar

Dear Friends, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have the pleasure to open this Forum, which is held for the fourth year in Doha. The agenda this year is rich with sessions that shall certainly move us forward in working towards the resolution of troubles for U.S.–Islamic world relations. Dear friends, the discussions of this year's Forum shall review the events of the last five years since the September 11th, 2001 attacks and shall seek to define the visions in different fields for the coming five years, and for the future of the Middle East. Therefore, we are required to predict what the near future shall carry regarding U.S.–Islamic world relations. It is not an easy task if we consider the wide area we handle and the different and various fields for the nature of our relations. In this respect, my speech shall be limited to discussing some basic points of special importance, from the political point of view.

In the last five years, much talk in the Middle East area was about the necessities of reform, of democracy establishment, and of comprehensive development. Activities were undertaken to combat extremism and terrorism for the sake of providing and spreading peace, security and stability. Serious events took place, represented by two wars: in Afghanistan and Iraq. International concerns developed about nuclear armament, but the chronic conflicts in the area remained far from final settlement. We may differ in our opinions on the extent of progress that has been achieved in these domains, but the common recognition is that the deficiencies, or failures, in the record of events—either in this state or that one, or in the area as a whole—are not simple.

To speak about where the Middle East shall be in five years, I think that deficiencies and failures shall remain in the foreseeable future, and may be aggravated, unless serious and effective actions, which are in harmony with what we are calling for, are taken. This objective—as general principle—assumes first and foremost the connection with some facts related to the internal situations of the Islamic world states and the extent of the past and present external impacts on forming the Islamic world structure, from a political, economic, social, and intellectual perspective, among others. Taking such facts into consideration is sufficient to realize the positive change we look for together.

Dear friends, the examples of what I am saying are many, but I would like to point to one. If we look forward to spreading democracy, logic demands we acknowledge the results that the practice of democracy is leading to. From this base, the government of my country has welcomed the responsible spirit expressed by the Palestinian people during the continuation of a legislative elections process and applauded the role and efforts of H.E. President Mahmoud Abbas, President of the Palestinian National Authority, to make the election process a transparent success. Therefore, we see that the duty of the international community is to deal with the election results and respect the will of the Palestinian people, which they have clearly and democratically expressed in the polls. The government of my country has also invited the Hamas movement to continue the work and proceed with a peaceful reform process, to realize security, good living and stability for the Palestinian people and the whole area as well.

This is the logic of democracy that we all need to spread in the area. Accordingly, the imposing of pre-conditions and the threat of penal procedures are in conflict with this logic before the actual reality is being verified. The challenges we face in the area—we all have common vital interest to confront such challenges—shall remain unless we exert our utmost efforts to encourage more positive relations and provide satisfactory solutions to all related parties, based on studying policies built on the widest possible range of dialogue and consultations.

The general feeling in the Islamic world as we see it is not hostility against the United States for mere hostility. The religious factor, from an intellectual point of view, does not justify hostility just for mere hostility. Islam is well known for adopting the principle of communication, intermediation and moderation. From here, it is incorrect that while we are working to attain our common interests, the Islamic world is targeted due to the attitude taken by some groups for political reasons, but not for religious or civilized ones. This is a situation that has emerged from an intellectual crisis of the inability to form the right knowledge about the other party and draw-up the correct means to deal with him. We should confess that fundamentalism and extremist currents calling for a clash between civilizations are heard on both sides. Therefore, intellectual reform—even institutional reform—shall be the duty of the Islamic countries and effective powers together, outside the Islamic world, because it's required on both sides.

In this regard, we must exert our best effort to prevent the provocation and provide the respect for all beliefs and religious sacred symbols without discrimination, and not to use double standards, as we have recently witnessed by the publication of caricatures insulting Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him). With the frankness that should take place between friends, I must say that the general feeling in the Islamic world is a sense of injustice about the interests of the Islamic world and its major issues. In the first place must come the settlement of the Palestinian question, which has taken a long time despite international legal resolutions and globally accepted references.

Dear friends, what are the required procedures? It is certainly a big question, but we can define some aspects of common serious work. Initially, we have to seek to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding through open dialogue and permanent deliberations in order to facilitate reaching policies that will serve the interests of the Islamic world and the United States. Within such policies must be:

1. To work effectively and actively to settle the Palestinian question based on legal international resolutions and reference.

2. To help in solving the crises and conflicts suffered by the Islamic world with necessary objectivity, which make the solutions to be elements for permanent peace, security and stability. This is particularly applied to the situation in Iraq, the Lebanese question, and the Iranian nuclear issue.

3. To cooperate and assist in the economic development of the Islamic world states in order to strengthen the democratic structure on the ground.

4. To study the reasons for frustration which creates an environment favorable to terrorism and to confront the terrorist actions with preventive and curative policies and precautions which need not necessarily be purely military.

5. To make plans for executing awareness campaigns in order to remove all intellectual misconceptions from the other party's thoughts.

6. To make plans for the spread of objective media coverage.

These are some initial concepts that I would like to refer you to. I am confident that the discussions of the Forum will handle them with the appropriate details.

Thank you.

...that concept of respect, which is so essential for all human relationships, is the example that we can hold out to our respective countries and people in these trying times.

Martin Indyk
Director of the Saban Center at The Brookings Institution

This opening session of this U.S.–Islamic World dialogue is focused on trying to assess the state of relations between the U.S. and the Islamic world five years after the terrorist attacks on the World Trade towers on September 11th, 2001. We have a very distinguished panel. I'm going to introduce them all to you now and then we'll have each of them speak in turn.

First is Syed Hamid Albar, who is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia. He has had a distinguished career in public service in Malaysia. He has also held the positions of Defense Minister and Minister of Law. Prior to his government service, he was a Magistrate in the Sessions Court. He was called to the Bar at Middle Temple in the United Kingdom.

He will be followed by Karen Hughes, the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs at the United States Department of State. Ms. Hughes previously served as an advisor to President Bush for more than 10 years. As counselor to the President during his first 18 months in the White House, she was involved in major domestic and foreign policy issues that the president had to deal with and also managed the White House Offices of Communications, Media Affairs, Speech Writing, and Press Secretary. Professor Hughes is Phi Beta Kappa and Summa Cum Laude graduate of Southern Methodist University with degrees in both English and Journalism.

She will be followed by Sheikh Khalid bin Ahmad bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa, who is the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bahrain. Prior to his current position, Sheikh Khalid was Bahrain's Ambassador to the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Ireland. From 1995–2000 he was Chief Liaison Officer to the Foreign Minister. Sheikh Khalid joined the Foreign Ministry as far back as 1985. He holds a B.A. in History and Political Science from St. Edwards University in the good ole' state of Texas.

And finally, we are very glad to have with us this evening the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu. He serves also as the Founder and Chairman of the Turkish Society for History of Science and Vice Chairman of the Al-Furkan Islamic Heritage Foundation. He is the author of numerous books, articles, and papers on the history of science, Islamic culture, Turkish culture, relations between the Muslim and Western worlds and Turkish–Arab relations.

Islam's message to the world is that human relationships must be instituted on justice, fairness and practiced with the highest moral standards.

Syed Hamid Albar
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malaysia

Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh and good evening. It is indeed a great honor and privilege for me to have been asked to make some remarks and share with you my thoughts in this U.S.–Islamic World Forum. The time has come for us to take a collective effort toward enabling an environment of understanding and peaceful coexistence, notwithstanding our diversity and differences. The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Abdullah Badawi, recently when opening a conference in Kuala Lumpur on the similar subject of West–Muslim world relations, called for more "bridge builders" to close the chasm between the West and the Muslim world. All of us gathered here can be these bridge builders for the attainment of a tolerant and harmonious global society.

I would like to offer my sincere appreciation to the Saban Center for organizing this Forum, which can be utilized as a platform to bridge the gap between the Muslim world and the West especially in the light of the current circumstances. Before discussing further on the subject, I would like to mention two key dimensions, namely perceptions and realities. Within these contexts, let me highlight the following points.

First, the prevailing perception within the Muslim world is that there is neither balanced nor fair treatment of issues vital to Muslims. These perceptions become realities when people are routinely exposed to images of maltreatment of Muslim prisoners in Guatanamo, Abu Ghraib, Bagram and other places. They find the battle cry for human rights, respect for international law, is not applied in the same way when it involves Islam and Muslims.

Second, the lack of, or even the absence of, a caring attitude towards the legitimate grievances and discontent of Muslims. The perception is that issues of importance to Muslims are not given due weight, and are even considered irrelevant.

Third, Muslims are perceived not to possess similar universal or humanitarian values either on democracy, human rights or good governance. This divide gives rise to the sense of 'us and them' or 'the other,' thus contributing to the chasm between Muslims and the West.

Fourth, the failure to understand or to acknowledge Islamic sensitivities. In fact, this is manifested in many parts of the world including where Muslims are minorities.

Fifthly, we need to deal with extremism forcefully, whether committed by Muslims or people from other faiths. We should not too quickly put labels of religion on misguided acts. This could avoid stereotyping and prevent Islamophobia from spreading like wildfire.

Finally, currently, Jihad is seen by non-Muslims as a license to commit acts of violence by Muslims. Jihad, in reality, is a motivational factor to free Muslims from the state of ignorance and to overcome injustices whether cultural or economic, sociological or political. Jihad is not a call for acts of violence or self-destruction. Indeed, true Jihad could only be used for constructive and peaceful purposes or to defend oneself against violence or aggression.

All the points I outlined above are relevant and should be understood in their proper context, which could germinate respect, understanding and goodwill between the West and the Islamic world. This would pave the way for a more

conducive inter-civilizational dialogue. Let me categorically state that freedom cannot be viewed as something infinite or absolute. We must appreciate sensitivities on subjects that are taboo, such as anti-Semitism whether against Jews or Arabs. Islamophobia should also be itemized in the same category. To put it in simple terms, you are free to stretch your arm but when it touches the nose of another, then that freedom ceases.

The tragedy of 9/11 on the U.S. has inflicted common pain, anger and fear among the global community and no one, Muslims or non-Muslims, can justify such acts. Henceforth Muslims have become targets. Worse, Muslim extremists and moderates have been lumped together and have been classified as the new "terrorist threat," thus subjected to all forms of harassment, humiliation and prejudice.

The current crisis faced on the issue of caricatures published in Denmark and followed by other countries on the so-called principle of freedom of the press, was clearly offensive and derogatory, even by the standards of caricatures. When it first surfaced in September last year, we quietly sought retraction but it was just brushed aside. It only began to receive serious global attention after numerous demonstrations had erupted all over the world and resulted in the loss of innocent lives. It could have been resolved at the local level, if only wisdom, understanding and cooler heads had prevailed. Instead it was highlighted as an issue of freedom of expression that could not be interfered versus Islam, thus adding insult to injury. The effects of the publication and subsequent developments cannot be viewed simply as an emotional reaction by Muslims; the Islamic faith is seen as being humiliated. Unfortunately, the Danish government protested with incredulity at the vehemence and outrage of Muslims all over the world with a remark to the effect that, well, 'it were not as if they had burned the holy book of the Muslims, the Holy Qur'an.' How uncaring and insensitive this was.

What they failed to understand, in their ignorance, is that insulting Prophet Muhammad (SAW) and burning the Qur'an are, in fact, almost the same thing. What is at issue here is not freedom of speech or the press but that this is a credal matter, not just a matter of hurting a certain man who lived centuries in the past. Western notions of legality pertaining to libel and the like are thus completely irrelevant. To Muslims, our Holy Prophet (SAW) lives within and among us each day, we say his name repeatedly during the day through our prayers, and the person who wishes to convert to Islam must, in his credal testimony, testify not only that he believes that there is no other God but Allah (SWT), but also that Muhammad (SAW) is His Messenger. So there is a dire need not only for a greater awareness from the West but also for greater knowledge and education among them as to the precise nature of the Muslim creed.

Colleagues and friends, prevention would have been better than cure. In this connection, the U.S. did well to acknowledge the offensive nature of the caricatures. Similarly, the Islamic world believes that violence is not the Islamic way to resolve this and other more fundamental problems. The teachings of Islam enjoin all Muslims to live as part of a harmonious community, regardless of our ethnicity and religious beliefs. Given the challenges of our times which threaten our

common humanity, all of us, political leaders, scholars and religious leaders including individuals in both the U.S., Muslim world and beyond must work together and educate ourselves on the importance of living together in a tolerant and harmonious society.

Islam's message to the world is that human relationships must be instituted on justice, fairness and practiced with the highest moral standards. We also rely on our Western counterparts to play their role in avoiding any act of provocation that can cause serious harm and undermine the need of the hour to build a strong and enduring relationship between the West and the Muslim world.

In this era of globalization, characterized by the cliché of the 'borderless world,' it is almost impossible for both the U.S. and Islamic world to live apart. Nietzsche once said that "hell is other people." Although he was referring more to the Hobbesian natural instinct of man as being a selfish animal, interested only in his own self-preservation, yet in the globalized world of today this is very relevant, for it has become increasingly difficult to live together peacefully amongst peoples of different creeds and religions. If all nations behave as the Hobbesian political animal and act purely with self-interest in mind, then the result must surely be anarchy and chaos.

Hence, the importance of knowledge and education to control this Hobbesian instinct, whether at the individual level or at the level of nations. Therefore, it is the responsibility of governments together with civil societies to educate both at the helm of power and also those who seek instruction from them, of their rights and duties and of the precise relation between the two.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, We can no longer live in isolation or erect edifices in the shifting sands of time. We must re-examine our roles and decide how do we live with each other. No matter what our real judgment of each other, interaction will always be necessary. "No man is an island." As such, we must strive to overcome the prejudices and intolerance in an increasingly diverse and pluralistic world. Interaction and dialogue are essential among nations given the profound technological advancement in recent years thus creating a level of inter-dependency unheard of previously in history.

In this regard, I would like to refer to what Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice's had said about her "transformational diplomacy" initiative where the United States will do things "with other people, not for them." Secretary Rice's initiative to harness America's diplomatic power to advance partnership rather than paternalism is most encouraging. I believe positive and constructive engagements and accepting diversity as our source of strength will bring mutual benefits to all of us in the years to come.

Colleagues and friends, in Malaysia, an Islamic nation characterized by multi-ethnicity and religion, the principle of moderation which is at the epicenter of Islam is now being implemented under the Islam Hadhari approach. It emphasizes development and civilization-building based on the Islamic worldview and focuses on enhancing the quality of life via the mastery of knowledge, human development, physical expansion and justice. Our practice of moderation

(wasatiyyah) is in line with the teachings of Islam which emphasize universal values and do not conflict with our own multi-racial makeup. The Islam Hadhari approach has been formulated to ensure that in its implementation, it does not create any misunderstanding or anxiety among any group in a multiracial and multi-religious society.

This approach has so far attracted positive reactions from Muslim and non-Muslim nations. Many Muslim states do not reject Islam Hadhari or Manhaj Hadhari as an approach to enhance and empower the Ummah, while some non-Muslim states have expressed interest to find out more and are of the view that this approach can form the basis of improving relations between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities. This approach will enable more dialogue and enhance communication between the Islamic world and the West.

We strongly believe that moderation is the right response to combat and curb extremism. In our case, it has protected us from bigotry and hatred. It has allowed us to practice the true teachings of our religion. We are shouldering the responsibility to demonstrate, by word and by action, that a Muslim country can be modern, democratic, tolerant and efficient. Islam does not teach the Muslims to turn our backs against the rest of the world, neither does it enjoin us to preach hatred or commit crimes against humanity.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, in the years to come, Muslims will continue to play their part in building a stable and prosperous community based on justice, in collaboration and partnership with the rest of the world, for the attainment of human dignity.

This Forum is exactly the right avenue for us to make a concerted effort in taking the first significant step towards establishing a tolerant and harmonious society. We need to urgently bridge this great chasm that has been created between the Muslim Ummah and the West. In embarking on this crucial mission, we must guard against extremist and violent elements within our individual society. For the betterment of the next generation, we must meet the challenges in a rational, sober and sagacious manner, on the basis of mutual understanding, goodwill and respect.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, in conclusion, let me say I believe before we can even make an attempt to build a bridge of understanding spanning between the Muslim Ummah and the West, we must first establish a solid foundation premised on knowledge and tolerance for a lasting peaceful coexistence to materialize.

With that note, I thank you.

...the Islamic Empire served not only as a link, just like other empires have been, to help sustain the civilization we all belong to by preserving the past whilst adding its own contributions, but it was an integral layer in the orderly development of modern thinking. A theme, rather, a reality we must keep in mind at all times: that we are all but one civilization.

Sheikh Khalid Bin Ahmad Bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bahrain

Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,
I would first like to thank my brother Shaikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani for inviting me to this notable event where leading policymakers and thinkers from around the world will convene to discuss one of the greatest challenges in world politics today.

The objective of this Forum, essentially, is twofold: as Muslims we need to rethink how we view ourselves in order to instigate the United States to change its attitude and perception of us. In turn, we can mend our relationship and work on areas of joint concern, maintaining mutual respect at all times.

The present reality is that the United States is and has always been a salient actor in the region. Whatever the United States chooses to do, which includes choosing not to do anything at all, will have profound consequences for the region. This is why we should focus on fostering a partnership between the U.S. and the Muslim world to achieve long term goals.

Now let us take a historical perspective to examine the developments that helped shape where we are today and gain some insight in our effort to re-evaluate ourselves.

The Islamic Empire dominated the world for five centuries. On the Eastern flank, its capital Baghdad was the center of education and culture. It was the world's richest and most intellectual city; a city of museums, libraries, hospitals, and mosques. Scholars from all over the world congregated in Bayt Al Hikmah, House of Wisdom, one of the most prominent centers of learning at the time, to study and translate works of Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, and Pythogoras, thus preserving principal features of the Greek and Roman cultures.

Similarly, on the Western flank, Andalusia (Al Andalus) in Southern Spain also flourished as a center for learning, knowledge and outstanding tolerance under the Islamic Empire. It was a period of social stability and intellectual ferment where Muslims, Jews, and Christians all lived together in relative peace and harmony. Many Jews and Christians, alongside Muslims, entered the fields of government, science, medicine, and literature. In fact, during this time, Andalusia gave rise to many great scholars both Muslims and non-Muslims alike, that made significant contributions to the sciences, the humanities, and the arts. Intellectuals such as: Ibn Rushd (Averroes), the great Muslim philosopher that reconciled reason with religion, and the renowned Jewish philosopher and physician, Musa Ibn Maymun (Maimonides), were all educated in Andalusia.

In effect, the environment that the Islamic world cultivated in cities like Baghdad and Cordoba was the main threshold behind the European Renaissance. The great works and ideas that were produced during this time were the predecessors that built modern Western thinking.

Essentially, the Islamic Empire served not only as a link, just like other empires have been, to help sustain the civilization we all belong to by preserving the past whilst adding its own contributions, but it was an integral layer in the orderly development of modern thinking. A theme, rather, a reality we must keep in mind at all times: that we are all but one civilization. In the most intrinsic and

in the broadest context of how we perceive what our identity is, we should consciously and consistently pay allegiance to the evolution of this civilization.

Unfortunately, the way in which many contemporary Muslims perceive what identity means is distorted. We all cherish the idea of belonging to a national community or a religious community for that matter. They are important to us because they give us a sense of security especially at a day and age where individualism is prevalent and communities are on the wane. However, this notion of identity should not induce segregation and exacerbate differences amongst each other.

To our dismay, this is what we are facing nowadays with the surge of Islamic sectarianism everywhere. And this is what we must work together to avoid. On the one hand, it is a culprit for national fragmentation weakening the whole region. On the other hand, it can be adopted as a pretext by certain countries to achieve national ambitions. Fundamentally, it is incompatible with the essence of Islam, specifically, and the unity of our one civilization, generally.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Arab–Israeli conflict will always be a significant point of contention between the U.S. and the Islamic world until peace in the region prevails. Extremists, in particular, take this a step further. They tend to exploit this issue in particular, amongst others such as Guantanamo, in order to hinder any efforts to bridge the rifts between us. We must keep this in mind.

The rise of Islamic extremist organizations throughout the Muslim world is partly due to a void that the state is not filling at present. This is a reality which governments need to acknowledge and work towards resolving. It is imperative for government institutions to be more accessible and receptive to their people and grant more autonomy to civil society and NGOs. In the meantime, establishing a dialogue with these organizations and engaging them in the democratic process is crucial.

We must strive to educate our youth and fight sectarianism and extremism. This will change the way we look at ourselves and how we assess our goals. Inevitably this will project a more constructive image to the West and prompt a new level of engagement with the U.S.

Distinguished guests, it is imperative that we collaborate together to untangle the web of assumptions linking terrorism with religious extremism and linking terrorism with the absence of democracy. Both links are contingent but exaggerated. In effect, they have set a militaristic tone, which projects an egotistical image of the U.S., a strategy to conquer rather than win the minds and the hearts of Muslims, which in the long run will be counterproductive.

In contrast, the U.S. must join forces with the Islamic nations and drive for political reform and democratization in the region for its own sake and not as an extension of its war efforts in both Afghanistan and Iraq.

Also, it is a dire misconception that tyrannical and backward regimes are pervasive throughout the Islamic world, and this needs to be rectified. To the contrary, many countries within the Muslim world already have the underpinnings of modernity such as good governance, the rule of law, transparency, and respect for human rights. Many benefit from free market policies, and some rank highly

on the Human Development Index. With the help of the U.S., these aspects can be enhanced further.

Distinguished friends, we are not here to reinvent the wheel; rather, we want to maintain the advancement of our civilization in a peaceful and prosperous way. Effectively, we need to cooperate with the U.S., as well as with other countries politically, economically, and culturally.

Bahrain is a testament to this. The Bahraini people established direct ties with the American people over a century ago when American missionaries began itinerant medical work in 1883. These ties endured and strengthened from then onward. In fact, formal ties were established much later when Bahrain became independent in 1971.

I myself, like many other non-Americans here, have close ties with America and its people. I lived there, I studied there, I worked there, embracing the American dream. They truly were formative years for me that I look back on with such fondness. Therefore, the 11th of September was to me, like to many others, a very sad day.

Ladies and gentlemen, recently, Bahrain has joined countries like Jordon, Morocco, and Oman in signing free trade agreements with the U.S. Steps like these are indispensable as they encourage economic reform which has diverse repercussions politically, socially, and culturally. Other countries should follow suit.

This is merely the first step. Cultural and educational collaborations between the Islamic world and the U.S. are vital and have been under-exploited and I am delighted that a "Leaders Seminar" is devoted to addressing these topics. Cross-cultural art exhibitions and academic exchanges are effective means to examine ideas and change perceptions with people and civil society directly. They are much closer to home and reverberate across the board. This is the way forward.

Effectively, these efforts will engage women as well as the youth which comprise 50–60 percent of the region's population, in order to help them cultivate their own ideas and leadership skills whilst diverting them from extremist tendencies. This will ultimately enhance the productivity and efficacy of these important players within society.

In conclusion, I would like to thank The Brookings Institution, especially Professor Stephen Cohen, Dr. Peter Singer, Ambassador Martin Indyk, and Professor Shibley Telhami for their significant contributions, as well as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Qatar for hosting this important forum.

This Forum confirms the need to examine and address the problems and shortcomings the Muslim world and America face in this region. Bahrain is fully committed to tackling these issues. Let us come together and confront these challenges that lie ahead in a frank, open, and direct manner.

Thank you.

Change challenges us, shakes
our certainty and our assump-
tions, make us uncomfortable.
Change is frequently feared and
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Karen Hughes
Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs of the United States

Your Highness, Sheikh Hamad, OIC Secretary General Ihsanoglu, distinguished guests and friends,

It's an honor and pleasure to be here with you. I thank the organizers of this Forum and the many partners, including the Qatari government, for their hard work in making this conference so successful. I thank the Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World. Brookings is a home for scholars and experts and over the years has made important contributions to public policy debate.

The theme of this year's U.S.–Islamic World Forum; "Leaders Effect Change," underscores the crucial role that leaders play in transforming societies. And as we all know, those leaders come not just from government, or business or the great leaders of our faith communities—leaders sometimes come from the most unlikely of places.

Last fall, my country mourned the death of a woman who never would have described herself as a great leader, but became one—from a most unlikely place. She was a black woman living in the segregated South. She didn't have power, or wealth or any position of particular influence—she had something far more valuable: a quiet dignity and an unshakeable belief in justice.

When Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on the bus to a white man, she was tired after a long day's work as a seamstress—but most of all, she was tired of a life of indignity and injustice in a country that was failing to live up to its founding conviction that all of us are created equal.

Rosa Parks' act of quiet defiance helped spark America's civil rights movement. She came to symbolize the conscience of my country, a country that still strives every day to live up to the pledge we make of liberty and justice for all. Rosa Parks reminds us that we should never underestimate the difference that one person of courage and conscience can make.

This fall will mark the 5th anniversary of a terrible day in America. I was working at the White House on September 11th, and I will never forget the shock, horror, and sorrow of realizing that terrorists had launched a massive and unprovoked attack killing thousands of innocent people.

Those attacks were acts of hate and murder inspired by a violent ideology that seeks to impose tyranny by force and fear. The contrast with the peaceful means and noble ends of Rosa Parks could not be starker. Yet those terror attacks also sparked a new recognition—that just as America must work every day to advance liberty and justice at home, we also have a vital interest in fostering them abroad. As President Bush said in his second inaugural: "For as long as whole regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny—prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder, violence will gather, and multiply in destructive power, and cross the most defended borders and raise a mortal threat. There is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment, and expose the pretensions of tyrants, and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of human freedom." In the aftermath of September 11th, America came to recognize that there will be no real security, no lasting peace, until America stands with those brave voices crying out for liberty and justice throughout the world.

Those voices sometimes come from unlikely places. I think of a young woman from Pakistan who was brutally gang-raped, then dared to speak out and challenge the status quo and foster change by saying that rape is always a terrible crime and never a matter of honor. For this young woman, speaking out could not have been easy; history suggests that advocating change rarely is. Change challenges us, shakes our certainty and our assumptions, make us uncomfortable. Change is frequently feared and fought, yet often, once it finally arrives, is seen in hindsight as not only necessary but also too long in coming. As Secretary Rice said in Cairo, "All great moral achievements begin with individuals who do not accept that the reality of today must also be the reality of tomorrow." Throughout history, the prospect of change has set people free to imagine a different and better world—and great leaders not only see this potential, but seize it and help bring it about.

Throughout the world today, brave leaders—some of them from unlikely places—are challenging the status quo, advocating change, seeking to unleash that most powerful force of human freedom to make their societies more just, more honest, more open, more accountable.

A few hundred miles north of here, a heroic Iranian journalist, Akbar Ganji fights a lonely battle for liberty in his beloved land. Imprisoned for almost six years now, his so-called crime was daring to bring to light through his writing the involvement of government authorities in a series of killings of writers and dissidents. He represents a new generation of Iranians who will insist on change. The people of Iran desire liberty, they deserve liberty and one day they will make Iran's government worthy of its great people. As Secretary Rice noted in her testimony this week before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, America and our international partners are very concerned about the destabilizing policies of the Iranian regime throughout the region, policies that support—and export—terrorism and violent extremism. We are determined, as the Secretary said, to "actively confront the aggressive policies of this Iranian regime…At the same time, we are going to work to support the aspirations of the Iranian people for freedom in their own country."

In Kuwait, a brave woman named Roula al-Dashti spoke out to the men leading her country with a compelling message: "Half a democracy is not a democracy." She challenged the status quo, recruited student leaders from Kuwait University to join her cause and helped women gain the right to vote and run for office in Kuwait.

Some of these leaders advocating change have paid a terrible price. In Egypt, Nobel Prize winning author Naguib Mahfouz can no longer write as a result of an attempt on his life by violent extremists. The only Arab author ever to be awarded a Nobel Prize for Literature, Mahfouz is beloved for his sensitive portrayals of Egyptian and Arab characters. As a supporter of Anwar Sadat's peace initiative with Israel, he made a brave statement in favor of Egypt's future. His characters have become household words in Egypt and the Arab world, and those who tried to silence him instead made his voice even more influential.

In Lebanon, one year ago this week, Prime Minister Rafik Hariri was brutally murdered. Yet this enormous loss for Lebanon sparked a great change he would have

welcomed in his life, as the Lebanese people discovered the power of their voices and demanded an end to Syrian domination and occupation of their country.

And, tonight, we remember someone who should be with us but is not, Mustafa Akkad. A Muslim and an immigrant to America, he was a son of Aleppo who loved both America and his homeland. He tried through film to present an Islam that is compassionate, humane and spiritual. His death and that of his daughter in the Amman hotel bombings are tragic losses for all who appreciated his art and his spirit.

Throughout the Islamic world, people are beginning to make their voices heard in free elections. I'll never forget waking up in the morning and seeing the pictures in my newspaper, somewhat blurry because of the tears in my eyes—of the long lines of men and women in Afghanistan and later Iraq—defying the threat of death to vote for a better future—and raising purple ink-stained fingers in triumph. Think about the enormity of what we have witnessed in a very short time: two elections in Afghanistan for a president and a parliament; three elections in Iraq for a constitution, an interim and permanent government, two in Egypt for President and Parliament, two in the Palestinian territories, one in Lebanon, and municipal elections in Saudi Arabia. Some of these elections were more open and freer than others, each had a very different outcome, yet each was a part of fostering freedom by encouraging debate, stimulating discussion, allowing greater participation of people who deserve to chart their own course to their future.

Recently, the Palestinian people had an election and voted for change. I want the Palestinian people to know that America shares your hope for a better life and your dream of a state of your own living side by side in peace with Israel, and we are working to help you achieve both. We congratulate you on conducting free, fair and open elections. You made your voices heard—you want better services and an end to corruption. We also believe you want to live and work and raise your children in peace. President Bush spoke of that dream—of two free and democratic states living side by side in peace and freedom. That vision of course is only possible if we all accept the idea of two states. The two-state concept is at the heart of two peace treaties, and many international decisions, agreements and understandings—yet it is still not accepted by some. But to live, to work, to go to school, to live free and productive lives, people must feel free from violence and terror—and must understand that others should have that same freedom from fear. America and the international community, which care deeply about the Palestinian people, have quite reasonably said that we must all share the same principles—principles we have agreed on through years of negotiations—to arrive at our common goal of Palestinian statehood. And so, to deliver on its promises to achieve a better future for the Palestinian people, it is the responsibility of any Palestinian government to renounce violence and terror, to recognize Israel's right to exist and to accept previous agreements and obligations, including the roadmap. This is the only way forward.

And let me be clear: America believes in democracy even when we strongly disagree with the views of those elected, just as America believes in free speech even when we are deeply offended by what is sometimes said.

Of course, with freedom comes responsibility, maa-alhurria, mas'uliya. Governments have responsibilities to their people—to establish the rule of law, to protect human rights, including the rights of women and minorities, to fight corruption, and to widen political participation. Elections are an important part of democracy, but they are only a part. A thriving democracy requires independent political parties, non-governmental organizations, a free press, and civic institutions that allow people to assemble freely and engage in discussion and debate without fear or government harassment. The challenge for leaders in this region is to listen to their people's call for greater freedom: allow them to form political parties, let them gather and speak more freely, give them access to newsprint so they can run their own newspapers.

In a free society, individuals have community responsibilities as well. We have a responsibility to respect and appreciate, even celebrate, the views of others. In a genuine democracy, all have a right to express their views, share ideas and participate as equals. In a society built on freedom and justice, we have the right to offend one another but the responsibility to do our best not to. In my country certain racial and ethnic slurs are no longer used by civil people even though there is no law prohibiting it—and while newspapers would be free to publish them most would never do so—just as many American newspapers chose not to reprint the cartoons depicting the Prophet because they recognize they are deeply offensive, even blasphemous to the precious convictions of our Muslim friends and neighbors.

As we discuss these often difficult issues, we must not allow the extremes to define us—and that's frankly a very difficult task in a world of instant news where rumors can spark riots and violence gets far more attention than peaceful protest. Both Western and Islamic voices have denounced the cartoons as offensive. Both Western and Muslim voices have called for tolerance and respect. Both Western and Islamic voices denounced the violence. Protestors were wrong to threaten lives and vandalize property, governments and others were wrong to try to manipulate genuine anger—yet thousands of people also marched peacefully, exercising their own right to express themselves. I also hope that governments, journalists and others will take this opportunity for introspection and speak out forcefully against anti-Semitic and anti-Christian statements that appear too often in the publications of this region.

Five years after September 11th some are claiming the cartoon controversy speaks to a clash of civilizations—but that is exactly the clash our enemies are trying to provoke and we must not allow it.

Five years after the sudden fires of September 11th, we have learned a great deal.

First, Americans, the peoples of the Islamic world, and decent people throughout the world face a common threat, and we must face it together. Terrorists attacked not only America, but everyone who dares disagree with them or stands in their way or those who simply find themselves in the wrong place at the wrong time. Since September 11th, terrorists have continued to strike, killing hundreds of innocent victims in Afghanistan, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Great Britain, Russia, and Spain and many others. And many of those killed were Muslims.

Second, our opponents are trying to make this a matter of religion, when theirs is truly a political ideology of tyranny and hate. Urging young people to strap bombs on their bodies to kill themselves and as many innocents as possible is not a legitimate tenet of any faith. Islam, Christianity, Judaism—all the world's great religions—view life as precious, and the taking of innocent life as wrong. We know from their own statements and writings that the extremists' real agenda is to take over one or more of the proud nation states in the Islamic world and impose a super-state in which violent extremists would dictate the fate of millions. The people of Afghanistan know better than anyone the political agenda these extremists want to impose on the rest of us—because they were forced to endure it. The Taliban stifled debate, creativity, expression. Listening to music, watching television, flying kites—even laughing out loud—were banned. Women were virtual prisoners in their homes, unable to freely go to the market, banned from working even if they had no husband or other means of support. Little girls were not allowed to go to school or even to learn to read at home. The people of Afghanistan have lived the ideology our opponents espouse, and in a recent poll an overwhelming majority rejected it. 82 percent said overthrowing the Taliban government was good for Afghanistan. Muslim communities throughout the world should take note that the Muslims who know the violent extremists the best emphatically reject them.

Third, all of us must work to foster greater interfaith understanding and dialogue. People's faith convictions are deeply held, and precious. I know, because mine are to me. I worry that America's freedom of religion is sometimes mistaken for freedom from religion. Americans believe in the separation of church and state—that means our government does not dictate how Americans can worship—people are free to worship as they wish. Many Americans are deeply committed to their faith, and all people of faith have a great deal in common. As a Christian, my Savior says my highest priorities are to love God and love my neighbor—and my Muslim and Jewish friends share that belief. Americans respect all religions, including Islam and an estimated 7 million Muslims live, work and worship freely in my country. As a government official, I represent people of all faiths, as well as those who have no faith at all. In a country as diverse as ours, we must all honor the beliefs held sacred by each other—and the best way to do this is through dialogue and respect and understanding.

Finally, I believe it is incumbent on all of us to work to foster common interests and common values between our diverse peoples. We have much to learn from each other and we have more that can unite us than divide us. We all value education and want its benefits for our children. We value science and technology and want to explore new frontiers together. We all want to protect our families. We all want to live honorable and decent lives, lives that we hope can make a difference for good.

I view my job as waging peace. And I use the word waging very intentionally because achieving peace, helping to bring about a freer and better world will take the wholehearted commitment of each of us. As this conference suggests,

leaders effect change—and I want to take this opportunity to challenge every one of us—in government, in business, in journalism, in think tanks—and a lot of individuals out there who may become leaders from unlikely places—to raise our voices against terror and to confront the culture of hate. We must come together as a world community to say no matter how legitimate the grievance, no matter how valid the cause—the wanton killing of innocents is not ever right and not ever acceptable. We must do for terror what was done to slavery and make it an international pariah. If we truly desire to reach a better understanding of each other, if we truly want our dialogue to produce results, we have to stop demonizing each other and replace hate with hope.

My country is known as a land of opportunity, where people who are willing to work hard can achieve their dreams. As a mother who loves my own and other children dearly, I want that opportunity for all the world's children. America works and will continue to work with the many nations of the Islamic world in a spirit of partnership—we seek to be a partner for peace, a partner for progress, a partner for a better life for all our peoples. And I am convinced that together we can effect change and bring about a world of greater liberty and justice for all.

Thank you.

ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM
18 - 20 FEB 2006

Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu
Secretary General, the Organization of the Islamic Conference

Your Excellency, Your Royal Highness, Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,
I deem it a privilege for me to address this important forum of distinguished policy makers and opinion shapers. I would like at the outset to extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to His Highness Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al Thani, the Emir of the State of Qatar for his patronage of this important forum. Also to His Excellency Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim, for his kind invitation and hospitality.

I would like also to express my thanks and appreciation to the Brookings Institution and Saban Center for Middle East Policy for organizing this important meeting which brings together American and Islamic world leaders in various fields.

Ladies and gentlemen, the state of U.S.–Muslim world relations is a very complex issue. It is a state of admiration, friendship, and esteem, but it's also at the same time a state of bitterness, injustice, and complaint. For Muslims the world over, the United States was perceived as a paradise, El Dorado, or a supreme showcase of prosperity and the good life. It epitomized the land of genuine civil liberties, abundance, progress, and in one word, the land of the American Dream. At least this was the case for my generation. Having no colonial past in the Islamic world, no hegemonic tendencies outside its frontiers, based on President Monroe's doctrine, endowed with an advanced legal system and governed by true democratic political institutions, the United States captured the admiration and earned warm feelings in all Muslim countries until after the Second World War.

The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 marked a turning point in United States–Muslim world relations because of the injuries inflicted on the Palestinian people and the humiliation suffered by Muslim masses. But despite this development, the sentiments prevailing in the Muslim world towards the United States of America remained rather cordial. This feeling was fostered by the neutral and positive stand adopted by Washington during the Suez War against Egypt through a combined assault by forces from Israel, the United Kingdom, and France in 1956.

It was only after the 1967 War that the sentiments of the Muslim world towards the United States started to become bitter. The American policy started to be perceived in this part of the world to be an inclination to the demands of Israel to the detriment of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The Muslims stood and fought with the United States and Western Europe against communism during the Cold War era only to be rewarded right after the fall of the Berlin Wall by being declared the new potential enemy of the West, while still a wave of denigration and hate was unleashed against Islam and its adherents through venomous falsehoods disseminated by some circles.

As the just causes and grievances of the Muslims continued to be rebuffed over the decades, especially in Palestine, a sense of helplessness, despair, and injustice started to creep into the psyche of many Muslims. This anguish and distress, compounded with the socioeconomic backwardness and lack of the benefits of modern life in some parts of the Muslim world, led some of them to believe that their salvation resides in returning back to their religion which brought to their ancestors a glorious past. It is in this environment of despair that ultra-fanatic

groups flourished and took advantage of these sentiments by luring scores of young Muslims to their radical and deviant threats.

September 11th, 2001, was shocking, evil, and criminal. Muslims throughout the world met this vile and horrible terrorist attack with up-front, swift, and unanimous condemnations. These feelings were genuine and sincere, and they were not tardy or hypocritical as some alleged. The voices of good are not always silent, but the voices of hate and bigotry are often louder and bolder. I have the honor to present here a strong statement by my predecessor expressing our utter condemnation and indignation, as such deeds stood disavowed and denounced by the teachings of Islam. From the outset, many Muslims saw in these appalling events a pitfall to drag them to a potential harm and cause them more distress, hardship, and denial of their rights.

Muslims around the world saw themselves as the big losers. The Muslim world with its hundreds of millions was subjected to pay for the crime of a few disoriented fanatics. The war on terror was used by some to demonize Islam and make Muslims the focus of irrational anger and hate.

This situation of guilt by association and stereotyping was unfair and deeply wounded the sentiments of the Muslims all over the world, not to mention loyal and hard-working Muslim citizens of the United States of America. Today we are following the ramifications of this unfortunate trend in Europe, especially after the terrorist attacks in London, Madrid, and the murder of a Dutch film director by a fanatic in the Netherlands. But we need to remember that these same attacks happened in the Muslim world, in Turkey, in Egypt, in Jordan, and Indonesia.

The Palestinians were also the losers of the American-led war on terror, as the necessary context was so easily made up to defame the whole nation, which is trying to survive, as a bunch of terrorists. On the other hand, the frequent use of the veto right by the United States to block Security Council decisions which reflected the international community's consensus with regard to the question of Palestine had already constituted for the Muslim world an example of the perceived biased policies of the United States. Civilian casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq, occurring in the towns and the villages as the collateral damage of the bombardments, fortified negative sentiments in the Muslim world.

Besides the massive destruction of Iraqi infrastructure and institutions by the heavy bombardment before and during that war, the Abu Ghraib incident also deeply enforced the sentiments. Such incidents, apparently also involving the desecration of the Muslim's Holy Book, the Qur'an, had inflicted a deep scar in the consciences of Muslims, and its negative effects are still persisting in their minds. Therefore, the recently released photographs will certainly not be helpful. In general, in the Muslim world, the United States' foreign policies are perceived by many to be based on premises of a double-standard and not on the principle of international law, justice, and equality.

Ladies and gentlemen, I know I have depicted a gloomy picture, but if we want to leave the past behind and make a new start, we have to be in full grip of the overwhelming perceptions prevailing in the streets of the Muslim world. Actually, when

we turn this page, we can see that it is not too difficult to salvage the state of affairs between the Muslim world and the United States. Fortunately, all the complaints I mentioned focus only on one sector of the complex relations between the United States and Islam, mainly, the domain of foreign policy. This chasm of understanding should and can be bridged. Serious efforts to that end should be exerted.

I deeply believe that this entails, inter-alia, achieving a just and lasting settlement to the Palestinian question, as well as a peaceful and stable state of affairs in Iraq which will ensure the restoration of full sovereignty to the Iraqi people and safeguarding national unity and the territorial integrity of Iraq, besides the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

Solutions to the problems I referred to should be sought in a spirit of justice and compromise which leads to appease and assuage the feelings of prejudice and unfairness and to bring about a climate of peace, hope, and cooperation to the Muslim world in general, and the Middle East region in particular. Heavy responsibilities lie on the decision makers, intellectuals, and policy shapers. Some of them are present with us today.

Ladies and gentlemen, to conclude my statement on a positive note, I would like to inform you that on our part in the Muslim world, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the largest regional intergovernmental organization at the international level, as well as the flagship organization of the Muslim world with its membership of 57 states, is leading a massive effort, a leap forward to disseminate messages of modernization and moderation in the Muslim world and a dialogue with the West in total rejection of extremism, violence, and intolerance. As some careful observers have already noted, the recent extraordinary Islamic Summit which was held in Mecca in December of last year will be registered in history as the turning or starting point of crucial movement in this direction of modernity and modernization.

The task in front of us is immense. We need to work hard, we need to cooperate. The positive messages and steps of policy makers in Washington will facilitate our task. In turn, with the gradual success of our reform agenda, we will be able to assist the policy makers to find a more conducive atmosphere in the Islamic world.

We are fortunate and optimistic because the relations between the Muslim world and the United States have never reached the point of no return. I would like to repeat, we are fortunate and optimistic because the relations between the Muslim world and the United States have never reached the point of no return. There is a large reservoir of good-will and ardor on both sides to heal the wounds and to engage in a constructive dialogue with the aim of reaching practical and just solutions. This remains in the domain of the possible and we look for the day when this ardent wish could become a reality through your reconciliatory efforts leading to a peaceful and stable Middle East in its entirety, and contributing to the world's peace. I thank you for your attention.

To speak about where the Middle East shall be in five years, I think that deficiencies and failures shall remain in the foreseeable future, and may be aggravated, unless serious and effective actions, which are in harmony with what we are calling for, are taken.

Peter W. Singer
*Senior Fellow of Foreign Policy Studies
at The Brookings Institution*

As we bring this Forum to a close, I think it is useful to reflect back to the themes that brought us here: change and leadership. There are always two sides to change. Change can be positive and welcome, change can be dangerous and stressful. Change can solve problems and improve conditions. There is a popular saying in South Asia "Barkat Hey Harkat Mey," "There is blessing in change." Change can result in more fulfillment and happiness. Growth is change. All forms of life move towards growth. Growth is natural. Change is natural. But change can be feared. Just as life is change, death is change as well. Just as change can improve, change can be disruptive and destructive. There was great debate at this Forum about whether the changes we are witnessing are positive or negative. For example, what is interesting is that both American and Muslim leaders here are divided over whether the changes we are seeing in the Palestinian Territories and Iraq are of the positive or the negative. I think part of this is that change in and of itself can be overwhelming. Any kind of transition increases anxiety, fear of change, a worry about result. I spend much time on planes and a magazine article I read compared change to diving off a swimming board at a pool. Standing on the board isn't scary, being in the water is fine. It's the period in between. It is the falling part that is scary.

Change is like that. Sometimes change happens from specific plans for change, from what we call "agents of change." It can come from the outside, such as through a new American interest in democratization, or from within, which is essentially what the entire agenda of reform in the Middle East is about, be it from governments or civil society. Sometimes, change is led by forces outside any one agent's controls. Our discussions of how technology is changing security, markets are shaping development and the arts, and the massive demographic changes—100 million new jobseekers—are altering politics and the economy, all reflect that. Sometimes change can be easily predicted. There are so many issues that we discussed that we can see will harken great changes. For example, at the phenomenal session yesterday at lunch we heard about a new generation of women leaders, moving into business and politics. It is clear that this will create change.

Sometimes, changes should be predictable and yet we act surprised at this. The victory by Hamas has seemed so shocking, not merely to American leaders, but also to Arab and Muslim leaders, and indeed to Hamas itself, that no one seemed prepared for something that now seems so blindingly obvious.

Sometimes change is truly unpredictable. Who gathered here last year would have predicted that a central issue that we would have to deal with in U.S.–Muslim world relations would be an insulting and tasteless cartoon in a Danish newspaper? And yet we must.

Perhaps the only thing we can say is that change is inevitable and change inevitably changes the way we view each other and ourselves. As we gather here, I think back to the forces that bring us together almost 5 years since 9/11. For me personally and for my generation 9/11 was a force that changed my generation. It reshaped global politics, creating as our colleague Shibley Telhami puts it, a new prism through which we both view the world and act within it. For myself, I lost two friends on 9/11, Rama and Mickey, who were a couple on board the flight from Los

Angeles that was crashed into the World Trade Center. Rama and Mickey were both Muslim. They were all that was noble about both Islam and change. They were Muslims who had founded their own computer software company, based in the U.S. and South Asia; they were models of how Muslims could thrive in the 21st century economy. At the same time, Rama was pregnant, timeless change. So for me 9/11 was about change, about those that could not accept change trying to fight change, to bring back the dark ages rather than accept the 21st century.

But you cannot defeat change.

And that to me is what this Forum is about. It is about American and Muslim world leaders gathering and saying that we accept that change is happening and want to understand it better. We are creatures of habit. But change requires new ways of thinking, breaking old habits. We wrap ourselves in the garments of status quo concepts as if we could not live without them. And yet, now we must change—change our way of thinking and interacting.

The Forum is also about American and Muslim world leaders from all sectors gathering and saying that they want to do something about change to ensure that it is positive not negative.

As our arts panel would have it, it is appropriate that I reference the true agent of change of America—Hollywood. The most popular TV show right now among American youth is the show "The OC." In it, a character had this saying: "You can either ride change, or change can ride you." And that is what the leaders gathered here the last 3 days have done. They have focused on how they can develop strategies for managing change in a positive direction, in areas ranging from youth and development to reform and security. They have also sparked a series of actions that are exciting and inspiring. One of the most fun aspects of this meeting for me is visiting each of the sessions and hearing about the developments and linkages that are taking place.

Ones that I have listened to range from large-scale agendas like:

- The science and technology partnership session's 10 point action plan that will begin in May,

- A new initiative on public and private partnerships in youth development,

- An American media organization developing a partnership with TV channels in the Arab world and Pakistan,

- The linkages made between American and Muslim arts and culture leaders which have raised discussions of follow-up arts festivals, seminars for catalytic funding, and similar gatherings in Hollywood and Washington to widen the discussion, to

- Contacts made on a personal basis, from the discussion in the hallways and over meals,

Thus, change is inspiring. You are all inspiring.

Islam's message to the world is
that human relationships must
be instituted on justice, fairness
and practiced with the highest
moral standards.
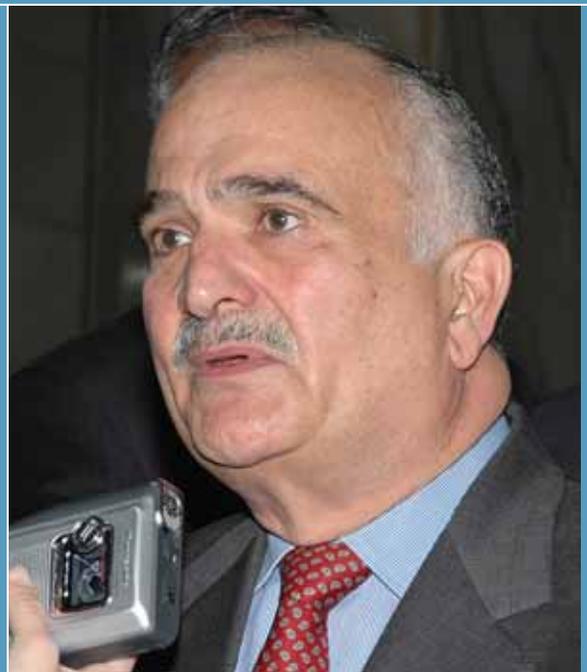
Shibley Telhami

We must re-examine our roles and decide how do we live with each other. No matter what our real judgment of each other, interaction will always be necessary. "No man is an island." As such, we must strive to overcome the prejudices and intolerance in an increasingly diverse and pluralistic world.

Perceptions and Reality:
The Latest from Public Opinion Polling

This first session of the U.S.–Islamic World Forum served to underlie much of the discussion in the following few days by providing an analysis of the prevailing state of relations between selected Muslim countries and the United States, as obtained through public opinion polling. Chaired and presented by Shibley Telhami, Anwar Sadat Professor at the University of Maryland and Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, this Leaders' Briefing also saw illuminating presentations by Daniel Yankelovich, Chairman of Public Agenda and Viewpoint Learning, Inc.; Khalil Shikaki, Director, Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research; and David Brooks, Columnist at *The New York Times.*

Together with Zogby International, Telhami has conducted public opinion polls for a number of years in six countries throughout the Middle East and North Africa—Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Morocco, and Lebanon. The latest poll was conducted in October 2005 and indicated that unfavorable views of the United States in those countries has declined slightly from the previous year. The vast majority polled did not believe that President Bush's Christian faith and/or his democratic ideals drive his Middle East policy. Instead, many believe him to be motivated by his own interpretation of U.S. national interest. This is a positive viewpoint, as it is significantly more troubling to have other nations believe that American policy in the Middle East is motivated by religious faith, rather than national interest. Another positive result is that when asked what factors influence their decision to purchase a product in the marketplace, 80 percent of the people polled responded that they choose on the basis of best product at the best price rather than the origin of the product. Historically, any negative effect on business has been episodic and driven by external factors. For example, McDonald's sales in Egypt declined nearly 50 percent during Israel's assault on Jenin and the Iraq war. However, six months later, there was almost a complete revival to pre-episodic sales. The public opinion survey simply confirmed how people actually do business in the marketplace.

The general picture, however, remains hugely challenging for the United States in terms of its relationship with the Arab world. Strikingly, the survey indicated that most Arabs polled now view the United States through the prism of Iraq. Together with the decades-old issue of Palestine, both serve as prisms of pain through which Arab attitudes towards the United States and the West are shaped. When asked to name the two biggest threats to them personally, over 70 percent of those surveyed listed the United States as one. The vast majority do not believe American policy towards Iraq is driven by the promotion of democracy or human rights; rather, by oil, Israel, and a desire to weaken the Muslim world. Most surveyed also believe Iraqis are worse off today than prior to the U.S. invasion; however, polls conducted in Iraq suggest public opinion is mostly divided along sectarian lines.

The polls further reflected Arab world opinions as shown in the results of the following polls: when given a list of seven countries—including several European nations, Russia, China, and Pakistan as an Islamic nuclear power—and asked to pick which one that they would most prefer as a single superpower, France was

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Columnist, *The New York Times*

KHALIL SHIKAKI
Director, Palestinian Center
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DANIEL YANKELOVICH
Chairman, Public Agenda
and Viewpoint Learning, Inc.

"Iraq has emerged [as] the new prism through which people pass judgment...the Arab view of what is happening in Iraq is entirely negative, and they see the U.S. through that prism."

ranked first, followed by China and Pakistan. The United States was ranked at the bottom with Russia. This was despite the laws passed regarding veiling in French schools, which was a source of discussion in most of the Arab and Muslim world. When asked who among the world leaders they admired, Jacques Chirac was number one, by far. When asked to name two countries where there is the most freedom and democracy for Arab individuals and communities, France was again first. France was ranked number one because it was seen to have stood up to the United States on the issue of Iraq. Again, the interpretation of the situation was seen through the Iraq prism. This positive opinion of France may have declined in the wake of the French riots; it is nevertheless a significant point to bear in mind, particularly in the aftermath of the cartoon controversy. The Danish cartoons that sparked so much outrage and the riots across the Arab and Muslim world cannot simply be explained by anger over the cartoons, per se; rather, the cartoons are symbolic of a broader anger that is partly political and partly religious.

The magnitude of violence, conflict, and bloodshed in Iraq juxtaposed with the relative decline of violence in the Israeli–Palestinian areas at the time, and the election of Abu Mazen which paved the way to a friendly Palestinian–American relationship, served to place the Iraq prism at center stage. However, if polling was conducted after Hamas' election, the Palestinian issue would likely return to prominence, especially if sanctions were imposed on Hamas.

The polling found mixed views on Iran in the Arab world, particularly in the Gulf region where Iran remains a major power and maintains historical tensions between Iran and Iraq. Although questions related to Iran are included in the survey, the subject was of diminished importance in Arab public opinion again due to the Iraq prism through which people view the United States. The possibility of Iran's rise to regional dominance in place of Iraq was, surprisingly, the least of the public's worries. When asked if they believed that Iran was building nuclear weapons or simply pursuing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, almost half opted for the former. But when asked if the international community should pressure Iran to stop, majorities in every country replied negatively. The implication is that at the public opinion level, the anger towards the outside world is far greater than actual concerns about Iran.

In discussing issues of democracy, it is evident that there are cultural differences among the Arab world's democratic outlook. As a result, any implementation of democracy would doubtless be different in various Arab societies. However, there are some common notions of freedom and democracy. When asked to name the countries with the most freedom and democracy for their citizens, western countries ranked top five. Although China and Pakistan placed second after France as a preferred superpower, the two Asian countries were not preferred countries to live in among those polled. Similarly, China and Pakistan dropped to the bottom when those surveyed were asked where they wanted to send students to study. Western countries, including the United States, were preferred.

The Palestinian elections were as democratic as possible given the prevailing circumstances at the time. They exemplified that the question is not whether

"...Those people who think that people in the Arab world have different notions of freedom and democracy really have not looked at the polls in general."

democracy can take hold in the Arab world, or even if people in the Middle East know what democracy is, but rather, what are the opportunities available and how do they view the American role. The vast majority of people in the Arab world see the articulation of democracy advocacy as a mere instrument for promoting other strategic interests. Interestingly, when asked if they believed the Middle East to be more or less democratic now than before the Iraq war, a majority believed it to be less democratic. Even in Egypt, where there were freer parliamentary elections, that more than 70 percent did not vote is a key indicator of what they thought about the elections.

Daniel Yankelovich began his session by examining the way American public opinion affects leadership in the capacity to effect change. He states two conditions must exist simultaneously to effectuate change. First, there must be a feeling among the public of shared urgency about a problem. Second, the solution to the problem must be in accord with the public's common sense. Two recent examples highlight the necessity of both to spark "threshold issues." For example, President Bush's push for institutional changes in Social Security failed not only because the American public viewed Social Security as being risk-free but also because the President's proposals were perceived as involving some degree of risk. A second example is the gasoline tax. Although almost all economists agree that taxes should be raised on gasoline to discourage the American "addiction" to it, it is simply not going to happen. The suggested move violates the public's common sense, regardless of its economic virtues. This means that both the issues are not going to force the hand of leaders in the United States.

In the foreign policy arena, three threshold issues exist which successfully meet the two conditions above. First, is the situation in Iraq, that has for some time exceeded the threshold levels for both public urgency and common sense. The public is concerned about the number of casualties in Iraq, and that the cost and effort there will distract from other threats and priorities. In a recent poll conducted among Americans, the public, by a three to one margin, thought it more sensible to view diplomatic and economic efforts as the solutions, distinct from military ones, and 61 percent believed the government is not successful in meeting its objectives in Iraq. The second issue in U.S. foreign policy which has reached its threshold is U.S. energy independence; this was reached over the last six months after 20 or 30 years of comparative American indifference. Third, U.S.–Muslim relations are tipping the barrier of that threshold. Most other issues, including the Israeli–Arab conflict, remain below the bar.

The Iraq war is incredibly politically divisive among Americans. Most Republicans polled believe the government is completely truthful about why it invaded Iraq, compared to a very small number of Democrats. By a three to one margin, Republicans feel that the government is successful in meeting its objectives in Iraq. On the flip side, the feeling that the war is leading to too many casualties is held very strongly by Democrats and less so by Republicans.

There is a similar pattern of very high levels of concern about the United States' energy dependence and, specifically, access to a reliable supply of oil and

energy at reasonable prices. The government is seen to be failing to do what it should. About 85 percent of the American public feel that the government can significantly improve their reaction to this problem. However, the opinions on this issue are not as divided along party lines as on the Iraq war. An equal number of Republicans and Democrats comprise the 20 percent of those polled who believe that the government is successfully meeting its energy-related objectives.

On U.S. relations with Muslim countries, a majority of Americans believe that improved communication and dialogue will reduce hatred of the country in the Muslim world. However, only one in four Americans believe the government has succeeded in establishing good relations. A majority of Americans feel that more democracy in the world would lessen conflict, but an even larger majority feel that countries must achieve democracy on their own. Only 22 percent believe that the U.S. government can do a lot to create a democracy in Iraq. Therefore, there is a growing skepticism of the feasibility of exporting American-style democracy elsewhere.

In ranking what American foreign policy goals should be, Americans listed as top priorities: natural disaster assistance, cooperation on the environment and disease control, and support for United Nations peacekeeping efforts. Midrange priorities included improving the treatment of women, facilitating education for people in developing nations, and helping poor countries move out of poverty. At the lowest end of the scale was the call to be less involved with global issues and actively create democracy abroad. Therefore, while the majority supports some level of international engagement, the American public seems more prepared to see and support humanitarian ideals accentuated in relation to Muslim countries. This suggests that policies should extend beyond simply communication and dialogue to actual organization around humanitarian goals which the public will support. Additionally, there should be a more determined and ambitious effort to achieve energy independence. This would be good not only for the United States but for the world, as it would reduce oil politics which currently poison relationships all over the world.

Khalil Shikaki discussed recent polling results in the Palestinian Territories. He stated that the 44 percent margin by which Hamas won the Palestinian elections represents the highest level of support for the group yet. The vote was undoubtedly a punishment for Fatah, and an indication that voters wanted Fatah defeated. On election day, most people expressed confidence in Hamas as being more capable of dealing with the basic problems of Palestinian society, including the corruption, lawlessness and failure at state-building that Fatah failed to address over the years.

The election of Hamas into government should not be viewed as a condemnation of efforts to reach a peace agreement. An overwhelming majority of voters, including 44 percent of Hamas voters, clearly stated support for the peace process. One exit poll conducted on election day indicated that a majority of Fatah and other supporters, as well as one-third of Hamas voters, were in favor of decommissioning. In response to a question regarding the implementation of the Road Map, one-third of Hamas voters and a majority of Palestinians supported the idea. Similarly, on the question of a two-state solution in which Palestinians

would recognize Israel as a Jewish state and Palestine as a Palestinian state, a majority supported this compromise, including one-third of Hamas voters. This indicates that over the last decade, Palestinians have become more willing to compromise due to a preference for peace and stability over violence. Nonetheless, there are still certain matters on which Palestinians are unwilling to compromise. These include the long-standing issues of Jerusalem and refugees' right of return.

Until recently, the Palestinian attitude towards violence was a function of threat perception. The more threatened they felt, they more likely they were to support violence. For example, in the middle of the *intifada*, the level of violence was at its highest because Israel had been implementing harsh punitive measures. However, when Israel began talking about disengagement, Palestinians began to view violence differently. More than 80 percent of Palestinians consider the disengagement as a measure of victory for violence. Two-thirds of those polled believe that the Hamas-led violence of the *intifada* was more effective in helping to achieve national rights than diplomacy. On election day, the decision to vote for Hamas or Fatah reflected a consideration of whether diplomacy was still relevant. At the time, most Palestinians believed that diplomacy was no longer a relevant option. As a result, Fatah's biggest asset was neutralized and Hamas gained more votes.

Another issue followed in Palestinian public opinion over the past decade is their commitment to democratic values. Results confirm that the overwhelming majority of Palestinians support elections, freedom of speech, independence of the judiciary, and the freedom to establish political parties. Even in a largely traditional society, a majority of Palestinians supported gender equality. These issues became more prominent on public agendas about two years ago.

The question remains, if Palestinians and Israelis are more willing to make and accept similar concessions and compromises, why has there been no drastic change in action?

First, peace-making in the region is a matter of state-to-state relations and public opinion is not highly instrumental in achieving outcomes. The public likes to defer to leaders and although there is tremendous pain and suffering involved, most people do not wish to impose their own attitudes as a measurement of others. Second, there is an enormous amount of mutual misperception between Palestinians and Israelis. Although polls indicate that a majority on both sides support compromise, only a small minority of Israelis think a majority of Palestinians support compromise and vice-versa. This misperception is reflective of a much deeper problem of collective self-ignorance. As a result, these concessions and moderation have not yet become normative.

Third, there is a problem of framing. Leaders' groups that are perceived as legitimate are highly successful in framing compromises that the public may accept, if presented in neutral terms. For example, when the compromises within the Geneva Initiative are individually presented to Palestinians and Israelis, they are likely to support them to varying degrees. Similarly, a majority on both sides would also be supportive of the compromises if presented as a package. However, because the Geneva Initiative had such negative connotations in the mind of the public,

"When asked who should take credit, therefore, for disengagement, a plurality of the Palestinians said Hamas."

"Anytime you are able to increase the level of optimism in Palestinian and Israeli society, you dramatically increase the level of support for the peace process and for the compromises of the peace process."

only about one-third of Israelis and Palestinians would support it. Therefore, in any future peace process, while the actual compromises may be acceptable to the public, the presentation and packaging will be crucial to win the necessary support.

Shifting the discussion away from polls and toward societal behavior as a measure of societal values, David Brooks suggested that behavior is very different from public opinion as people sometimes say one thing but behave differently. He cited as an example that in the 1960s, attitudes about sex in the United States and the West changed dramatically, but actual sexual behavior did not change that much. The latter, in fact, changed after World War I and World War II, proving that reality actually affects behavior, not always public opinion.

Continuing the discussion on societal behavior, Brooks considered health care in the United States. A revolution occurred in child care in the United States over the past 25 years, driven by a more competitive global economy and the growing importance of cultural capital. This has resulted in an increase in parents investing heavily in their children. A World Bank report recently suggested that 80 percent of the wealth of nations is in intangible capital—skills, ideas, and intellect. Over the last 20 years, the amount of time American children have passed unsupervised has declined by 20 to 30 percent. Conversely, the amount of time they spend in adult-structured skill-enhancing activities has risen by 30 percent.

There are several positive and negative effects arising from the phenomenon of the most highly supervised generation in history. First, in the past 20 years, there has been a 70 percent drop in crime, a 70 percent drop in teenage violence, a 50 percent drop in domestic violence, a 30 percent drop in teenage pregnancy, a 30 percent drop in abortion, dramatic drops in drug use, drunken driving, teenage suicide, and divorce. All the negative trends of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States turned around starting in the mid-1990s because of this wholesome generation. Second, productivity has risen from this workaholic generation. In 1982, Americans and western Europeans had an identical number of hours worked per year. Now, the average American works 350 hours, or nine weeks, a year longer than the average European. Consequently, the American economy has become much more productive with rates rising twice as fast as they did in the 1990s. This has enabled the United States to keep up economically with its global competitors. In 1971, the U.S. economy constituted 30.5 percent of the world economy. Today, the percentage is much greater.

Nevertheless, this economic and even cultural success has not translated into a positive feeling about the country. This may be explained by a widening lifestyle and educational inequality. In the United States and around the world, there is now a hereditary meritocracy of highly educated parents passing down their skills to highly educated youths, creating a cycle of success. One statistic indicates that a child from a family averaging $96,000 a year has a 50 percent chance of graduating from college. A child from a family averaging $50,000—which is the American median—has a one in 10 chance of graduating. That chance is reduced to one in 17 if a child comes from a lower-middle class family making $36,000. At Harvard University, the average student comes from a family making $150,000

a year. Thus, the family a child is born into now makes a more significant difference in his/her life destiny than it did 20 years ago. Secondly, there has been a widening of lifestyle inequality in the United States. In the 1960s, rich and poor families basically had the same divorce rates and child patterns. Now, the divorce rate for high school graduates is twice that of college graduates. It is the same for obesity levels and there is a similar pattern of bifurcation for other behaviors such as smoking, voting and voluntary activity caused by today's information age economy. Highly educated people live one lifestyle; less educated people, another.

The bigger problem, however, is the segmentation that occurs as different cultural groups separate from each other. The most common is political polarization and segmentation. Legislatively, the United States is in its most polarized era in a century. Interestingly, the more educated a voter is, the more likely s/he is to be polarized. More educated voters are less moderate than less educated voters. Polarization also occurs in religiosity. While there has been a rise in people who go to church every month, there has also been a rise in people who do not. A third area of polarization is in basic lifestyle choices such as fertility. On average, women in Rhode Island have one fewer child per woman than women in Texas. One of the oddest segmentations is in professional life. In the 2004 election cycle, business people gave to the Republican Party at a two to one rate, as did accountants. Academics, on the other hand, gave to the Democratic Party at an 11 to one rate, actors at 18 to one, journalists at 93 to one, and librarians at 223 to one. There is also media segmentation in that there are enough channels on television, cable or radio that accord with the different views of varied people.

Despite its prosperity, the United States is not a happy country; rather, it is experiencing greater internal conflict and greater anxiety than it did when it was less prosperous. It was once believed that as people become richer and better educated, they would become more secular. Today, the opposite is true, and tribal, ethnic, and nationalistic emotions and identities have become even stronger relative to the weakness of transnational organizations such as the U.N. and NATO. The irony is that even with improved communications globally, there is more segmentation and better educated voters are becoming more polarized than their less educated counterparts. Al-Qaeda terrorists tend to be better educated. The implication is that human beings are not what economists think them to be: rational utility maximizers. Instead, human beings are more as anthropologists, theologians, and sociologists think they are: socially embedded creatures whose minds are shaped subliminally when very young. They form groups which naturally and eventually come into conflict.

Brooks concluded that there are ostensibly five avenues toward reform in pacification between the West and the Muslim world—economic, democratic, institutional, cultural, and theological reform. The still unanswered question, however, is which should come first. Although the United States is a country with a lot of internal social, cultural, and political conflict at present, that conflict has been democratically managed because democracy tends to moderate passions. Democracy also gives people who are politically apathetic a strong voice in the system.

We are shouldering the responsibility to demonstrate, by word and by action, that a Muslim country can be modern, democratic, tolerant and efficient. Islam does not teach the Muslims to turn our backs against the rest of the world, neither does it enjoin us to preach hatred or commit crimes against humanity.

The Greater Middle East Five Years After 9/11, Five Years Forward

The greater Middle East is a region rich with history, culture, and religious significance, yet fraught with seemingly intractable violent conflict. An area where many international interests lie, regional events pepper the front pages of Western media nearly every day, especially in the years since September 11th, 2001. This dinner session brought together experienced diplomats, officials, and practitioners to speak about the changes and challenges the region has faced during the past five years, and prospective developments in the near future. Topics specifically addressed in this discussion included Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and the Israeli Palestinian conflict.

Chaired by Martin Indyk, Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, the evening featured remarks from Sheikh Hamad Bin Jassim Bin Jabr Al Thani, the First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Qatar; Abdullah Abdullah, Foreign Minister of Afghanistan; Eyad Sarraj, Chairman of the Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights; Marwan Muasher, Senator in Jordan and Former Deputy Prime Minister of Jordan; and Edward Djerejian, Director of the James A. Baker Institute for Public Policy at Rice University in the United States, and Former U.S. Ambassador to Syria and Israel and Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs. Each speaker presented a brief analysis of regional events from their respective professional and national perspectives.

The session opened with remarks from Sheikh Hamad on Iran, in response to a question posed by Ambassador Indyk, as to the direction in which he sees the stand-off between Iran and the United States going, and how it would impact greater regional or international affairs. Sheikh Hamad expressed concern over the situation with Iran, noting that any outcome—peaceful or not—would inherently affect the surrounding countries, including Qatar. According to Sheikh Hamad, among other difficulties in reaching a mutually acceptable resolution is the respective determination of the U.S. and Iran to stand by their positions. Furthermore, none of the parties trust the other. He cited the lack of trust as the primary barrier to the success of a potential GCC security guarantee that would propose a security structure for the Gulf and provide Iran with guarantees necessary for them to agreeably move toward a diplomatic solution with the United States and Europe.

The remarks that followed, presented by Foreign Minister Abdullah, addressed the situation in Afghanistan and whether they will be able to maintain their path toward stability as they have succeeded in doing in recent years. Abdullah emphasized that there has been significant progress in Afghanistan since 2001, when 90 percent of Afghanistan was under the control of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda. Whereas at the time the country was used as training grounds for thousands of terrorists, it has since started to rise out of the devastation of 25 years of war. Abdullah clearly acknowledged the crucial role that the international community has played in supporting and facilitating Afghanistan's development. Successful improvements thus far include the elimination of Al-Qaeda rule, the revival of an education system, the ratification of a constitution, and both presidential and parliamentary

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MARWAN MUASHER
Former Deputy Prime Minister,
Jordan

EYAD SARRAJ
Chair, Palestinian Independent
Commission for Citizen's Rights,
Palestinian Territories

"We are trying to tell both our friends from the United States and our friends in Tehran that this problem has to be tackled in a diplomatic way with a spirit to finish and to put a time limit for this problem, not to talk just for a talk."

elections. Despite such, Abdullah recognized that Afghanistan still faces significant challenges, including democratization, security, drug trafficking, and terrorism. He expressed optimism that things would continue to improve in Afghanistan; the extensive trauma the Afghan people have faced has brought them to support serious change and progress toward greater political and economic stability.

Shifting the conversation toward Palestinian politics, Eyad Sarraj offered remarks on the situation in Gaza today and the impact of a Hamas-led government on local and regional affairs. Eyad Sarraj unequivocally credited Israeli and American policies, as well as the ineffectiveness of the Palestinian Authority with the election of Hamas to power. Furthermore, he suggested that a Hamas government would be advantageous to Israel, as it would provide an excuse for them to pursue the unilateralist policies that they have begun and intend to continue with anyway. Asked what he envisions as possible scenarios for Hamas-led governance, Sarraj offered three alternatives: a clash between the interests of Hamas, Fatah, and Mahmoud Abbas resulting in a civil war; a willingness on the part of Hamas to compromise, which might result in greater stability, but would also result in a loss of some of their constituency; or a third option where the United States, Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and other regional powers work together to reach a peaceful resolution. Although the most difficult and far reaching alternative, he noted that the third would be the most favorable for all parties involved.

Sarraj was optimistic about the potential for Hamas to turn into a responsible political power, but emphasized that they must be given incentives to do so. Citing a conversation with a Hamas leader in Gaza, Sarraj identified three conditions that must be met in order for Hamas to disarm: that elections are held, that assurances are made that Israel will not assassinate Hamas leaders, and that assurances are made that Palestinian Authority officials will not arrest them. He suggested that Hamas should be engaged by the United States, rather than isolated, as isolation breeds extremism and in many cases, additional support for their policies. Sarraj is confident that there are smart leaders within Hamas who are committed to peace and will one day recognize Israel. He emphasized that Hamas has the capabilities and discipline necessary to rule the Palestinian Authority, but they must be given incentives to push them toward proper governance.

Speaking for the first time as a non-government official, Marwan Muasher commented on the role of Arab states in dealing with Hamas, and in particular of Jordan and Egypt, both of whom have peace treaties with Israel. According to Muasher, although the Hamas victory has implications for the region, it does not have an implication for the future of the peace process, as he is convinced that Israel had decided to pursue a unilateral policy even before Hamas came to power. Furthermore, although most of the Arab states and even Hamas itself was surprised at its victory, Muasher said that it was to be expected. It follows with a growing trend of Islamist governance in the region, including in Egypt and Iraq. He attributed this trend to the fact that Arab states have kept such tightly closed political processes, ironically, in an effort to prevent the rise of Islamist groups. In contrast to what was intended, the attempted isolation of these groups has

"If you want to promote a democracy, you should also have to produce a schedule and timetable what you are going to do, so that people can believe in what you say."

strengthened them and enabled them to develop into an alternative preferable to the often corrupt Arab regimes. The Islamist parties have been able to provide basic services for the populace that the government has not, and have therefore developed a significant following. Muasher emphasized that positive change will only come with the gradual opening of Arab regimes.

Edward Djerejian was asked to offer the last remarks, commenting on the impact of Hamas coming to power from a Washington perspective, as one who has been involved with similar situations previously. Ambassador Indyk specifically requested that Djerejian comment on his opinions of the Hamas victory in comparison with the result of the Algerian elections in 1992, when an Islamist party was elected to power and then overturned immediately thereafter. Djerejian cited a speech that he gave on the eve of the 1992 Algerian elections, in which he identified terrorism and extremism as the next post-communism "ism" that the United States would face. At a time when people were widely questioning whether Islam should be feared and the validity of the clash of civilizations theory, Djerejian's speech was a bold statement. Speaking as a representative of the United States government at the time, he encouraged working with the Arab states on political and economic reform, as well as the development of civil society in order to encourage a gradual opening of political structures from within. It was clear that such reforms should not be imposed if true democracy and positive change were to take root. In contrast to current U.S. government policy, Djerejian emphasized that the first steps in any political reform had to be the development of a civil society and multi-party political system, and that elections alone were not enough.

Regarding the regional situation today, Djerejian suggested a strategic approach to each particular situation that addresses the struggle of ideas within the Muslim world, such as the tensions between extremist, moderate, and secular factions, in order to gradually marginalize the extremists and amplify the moderates. Echoing Sarraj, Sheikh Hamad added that in many cases, the Islamists should be given incentives to cooperate with reforms and opportunities to be brought into the political process, rather than kept on the fringe. Ambassador Indyk emphasized that while perhaps parties—including Islamist parties—should not be excluded from political processes, there should be rules that parties must adhere to in order to be included, such as not being allowed to carry arms and have an independent militia. Lastly, Muasher commented that while political reforms are absolutely necessary, in the Arab world they are not enough. Attention must also be paid to developing an independent judiciary, a free press, and a quality education system.

"If the Arab world is to draw a lesson from the Hamas victory in Palestine, the only lesson in my view that can be drawn is that there is no escape from opening up the political system."

"The state should be the only one allowed to carry arms, no one else is allowed to carry arms, and no one should engage in violence. That should be totally clear."

The time has come for us to take a collective effort toward enabling an environment of understanding and peaceful coexistence, notwithstanding our diversity and differences.

Women Leading Change

The role of women in society and governance has become a contentious subject in the already volatile debate over the potential for democracy to flourish in the non-Western world. While the rights of women have increased considerably in recent decades, there is still a gap between the rights and opportunities afforded to men and to women. Around the world, including in the United States, there are still relatively few women leaders, whether in politics, academia, or business. This panel convened to compare the experiences and perspectives of women in three different societies and discuss how to develop the environment necessary to empower women and establish gender equality across the Muslim and Western worlds.

The Women Leading Change roundtable was chaired by Robin Wright, Diplomatic Correspondent for *The Washington Post* and a Visiting Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. The session featured statements by Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Sheikha Abdulla Al-Misnad, the President of Qatar University and a Board Member of the Qatar Foundation, and Joan Spero, President of the Doris Duke Foundation, former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs and former businesswoman on the board of American Express. Each woman spoke from the perspective of their respective societies and professional experiences. All three emphasized the importance of education as a first step toward women's empowerment and equality.

Robin Wright opened the session with positive examples of women's involvement in civil society, education, and politics. Among them she praised the Islamic Conference Organization for selecting the issue of women's rights as the first agenda item for their ministerial meeting in December, in Turkey, and the host society, Qatar, where two of three students enrolled in the University of Qatar is female. Wright acknowledged the difficulty of initially integrating women into leadership positions, highlighting the complex and controversial nature of a quota system such as has been implemented by the Iraqi government and the Palestinian Authority electoral systems. Commenting on the diversity of gender roles in Islam, Wright noted that the number of women seeking higher education in the Islamic Republic of Iran has increased in recent years, as traditional religious families who would not send their daughters to public schools during the Shah's regime, have been willing to do so under an Islamic regime. As such, Iran has narrowed the gap between males and females receiving higher education, and now hosts women in parliament and a diverse array of professional sectors, including engineering.

Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto followed with an elaboration on the role of women according to Islam, pointing out that although such may not be appropriately reflected in all Muslim societies today, gender equality is a fundamental Islamic value defined in the Qur'an. Bhutto explained that the women's movement is in fact as old as Islam itself, because the Qur'an insists that neither gender can be superior to the other. To reinforce this statement, and that historically women in Islam have been encouraged to take an active role in society, she spoke about Khadijah, the wife of the Prophet Muhammed, and first witness to

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OPENING SPEAKERS
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President, Qatar University, Qatar

BENAZIR BHUTTO
Pakistan's People Party, Former Prime Minister, Pakistan

JOAN SPERO
President, Doris Duke Foundation, United States

"At its most basic level, the debate over democracy either breaks down or becomes most imaginative when it deals with the status of women."

Islam. She was not only the first to give testimony about Islam, but also a business woman. However, Bhutto recognized that the significant challenge now is how to restore adherence to these fundamental principals and enable equal rights for women in practice.

Bhutto defined contemporary realities of discrimination, violence against women, and terrorism as unequivocally un-Islamic, and called for a significant investment in education as a means to empower women, and for a commitment on the parts of the United States and the Islamic world to make democracy and gender rights a centerpiece of bilateral relations. Bhutto identified additional measures that need to be taken in order to more readily enable women to hold leadership roles and enter the workforce in Muslim societies: judicial representation for women; involvement of women in the police force and investigation; separate police stations for women, as a safe space for them to report crimes that they are not comfortably able to report to male officers; infrastructure to support abused women; reliable childcare facilities; and credit. As such, women's empowerment must address not only the right to an education, but also the right to be economically independent, the right to a professional career, and the right to make and pursue one's own choices.

Sheikha Abdulla Al-Misnad's observations on the progress of Qatari women revealed that there is considerable potential for women's education in the Islamic world where apt economic, social and political conditions exist. In Qatar, the development of such conditions were facilitated by ever-increasing oil revenues, a small population, and a relatively liberal society and government. This resulted in the government investing heavily in education and encouraging women to enroll in its modernized universities. Today 73 percent of students at Qatar University are women. Upon graduation, women are welcomed into government positions and other highly skilled professions. According to Al-Misnad, there is now more of a problem with the position and role of men in society, rather than of women.

However, speaking about the broader Arab world, Al-Misnad stated that women's issues in the Arab world are inseparable from human rights issues; both men and women are often subjected to oppression, lack basic freedoms, and lack access to quality education. She recognized a need for the rule of law, respect for human rights, encouragement of public participation, and a strengthening of civil society in the Arab world, as well as higher quality education for both men and women. Al-Misnad identified one of the primary challenges for Qatari society to be how to attract more young men to post-secondary education opportunities, in order for them to become engaged as prominently in society as women are currently.

Joan Spero addressed the audience with observations on the status of women in the United States, lauding the work of three pioneers: Betty Friedan, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King. Herself a pioneer of women's rights in the professional arena—in 1974 Spero became the first female on the faculty of Columbia University, and 1993 she became the first woman to hold the position of Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs—Spero noted that although women still hold a disproportionately small number of leadership positions, due

to the efforts of Friedan, Parks, and Scott King, among other women committed to similar change, university faculties and corporate boardrooms in the United States have seen increasing numbers of women in recent years.

Spero attributed Betty Friedan, founder of the modern women's movement, with changing her life and the lives of many women in the U.S. through her book, *The Feminine Mystique*, and her political activism on behalf of women's rights. According to Spero, Friedan encouraged women to think differently about their roles and positions in a male dominated society. Friedan argued that women did not have to accept the traditional image of the American woman as only a housewife and mother, but that women could have families and careers, as well as political power and economic independence. In addition to her inspirational book, Friedan's lobbying efforts created opportunities for women that enabled them to gradually enter the work force in greater numbers.

Spero noted that despite Friedan's work for women's rights, and the commendable efforts of Rosa Parks and Corretta Scott King for social equality and economic opportunity for African American, minority, poor women, and others in the U.S., American popular culture still reinforces traditional images of women as nurturers and men as leaders, and that there still exists some level of racial segregation and discrimination. Spero pointed out that even today American women remain largely outside the formal institutions of leadership and power—over 90 percent of corporate executives are men—and therefore must continue to focus on education, political activity, and developing economic independence. As such, she recognized a special opportunity to expand a dialogue over these issues not only across genders, but especially across cultures, to explore the inherent and potential bonds between Muslim societies and the United States.

"I think empowerment is the right to be economically independent, to be educated, to be able to make choices, to be able to balance a profession and a career."
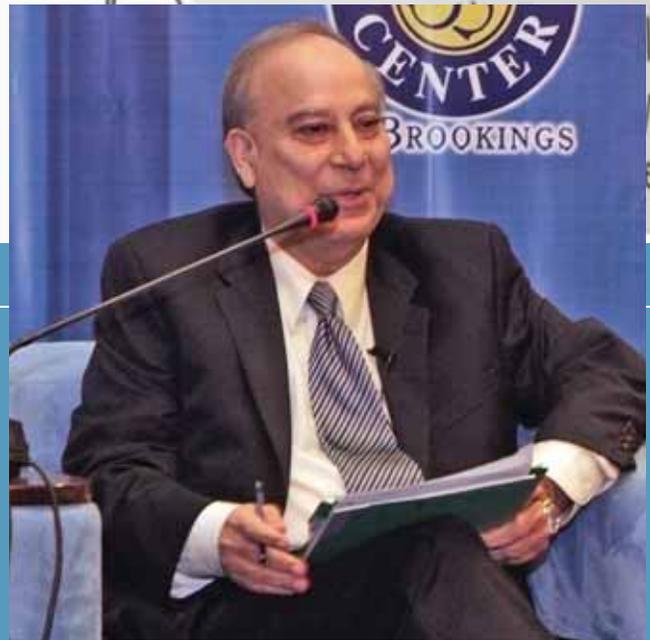
...the real dividing line was between moderates and extremists, whether they were Muslim or not. There is a challenge to traditional religious values in globalization today, but we must all recognize the common ground shared in trying to solve the problem.

Policy, Faith and Change in an Age of Globalization

The issue of religious faith and policy has become increasingly important in the years since September 11th, 2001. The leaders' roundtable on Policy, Faith and Change in an Age of Globalization convened to consider three crucial issues. First, what are the forces defining relationships between populations, leaders, religion, and politics. Second, do leaders of faith bring different perspectives to the issue? Finally, who speaks for religion as it pertains to public life?

The roundtable was chaired by Akbar Ahmed, Ibn Khaldun Chair of Islamic Studies at American University. The three panelists were HRH Prince Hassan Bin Talal of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Chris Seiple of the Institute for Global Engagement, and Ziad Abu Amr, member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

In his presentation, HRH Prince Hassan stressed the importance of recognizing that the rise of extremism is not a problem within Islam. Rather, Prince Hassan argued that discontent against the West arose from those excluded from the benefits of globalization. Muslims disproportionately fall in this category and are therefore susceptible to ideologies opposed to globalization. Soft security, which Prince Hassan defined as helping the poor live with dignity and hope, is essential.

Prince Hassan emphasized three categories of human relations that the world must address in countering extremism: basic and current security, economy, and culture. A young population in the Middle East is going to place increased strain on local economies, threatening the basic security necessary for development.

Continuing on the topic of soft power, Prince Hassan noted that the United States faces a choice between continued support of authoritarianism or accepting and trying to work with governments whose agendas may contradict the United States' interests. However, Prince Hassan also noted that soft power is about dialogue. Deeper non-governmental and civil society networking will allow both sides to better understand one another. Promoting educational links will serve as a means to develop cultural affinity of the other and lay the foundation for necessary dialogue.

In conclusion, Prince Hassan argued that the real dividing line was between moderates and extremists, whether they were Muslim or not. There is a challenge to traditional religious values in globalization today, but we must all recognize the common ground shared in trying to solve the problem.

In his remarks, Chris Seiple of the Institute for Global Engagement agreed with HRH Prince Hassan that soft power must complement hard power. Religion and politics must intersect if moderates are going to have any chance of combating extremism. Seiple cited five proposals necessary to succeed in finding a way for religion and politics to exist together. In particular, he pointed to aspects of religion that Americans have difficulty engaging.

First, if religion is part of the problem, it must be engaged as part of the solution. Americans are unprepared for a dialogue on religion because it is socially unacceptable to engage the intersection between religion and politics within American society.

Second, religion must be allowed a seat at the table of international affairs. Again, this is difficult for Americans to comprehend. Instead, Americans tend to

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Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

ZIAD ABU AMR
Member, Palestinian Legislative Council, Palestinian Territory

CHRIS SEIPLE
President, Institute for Global Engagement, United States

"Our future well being depends on an integrated approach to humanity and security, which necessarily includes the voiceless victims, or the 'silenced majority.' Some would call this viewpoint idealistic; I would call it necessary."

"In the context of the strange mix of autocracy and ideological extremism that contributed to 9/11 and other atrocities, the United States faces a tough choice. It can side with authoritarianism and risk losing further credibility among the millions who want to believe that it means what it says about democracy, or it can try to win round fairly-elected governments whose agendas may very well contradict United States' interests."

look at religion as part of the problem, without looking at the potential positive role that it can play in developing solutions. Seiple argued that we need to invest in people who understand the importance of faith across cultures and can bridge the divide that separates the West from the Muslim world.

Third, the war of ideas against extremists must have at its foundation an understanding of theology. Americans need to understand the theology behind the ideology used by extremists to succeed in countering the extremist threat. Americans must find ways to work with Muslim communities inside and outside the United States.

Fourth, people of faith know how to talk to one another. Faith leaders and institutions must be funded to participate in public diplomacy, civil society development, and people to people exchanges. Finally, Americans must acknowledge that calls for religious freedom must be founded on a cultural understanding of the Middle East. Reading other sacred texts is a first step toward understanding the local nexus between religion and politics.

Ziad Abu Amr, member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, concluded the session with a discussion on the election of a Hamas government. While Hamas has not yet renounced violence, Abu Amr is hopeful that the democratic process will moderate Hamas. He discussed the recent transformation of Hamas, drawing attention to the 2003 indirect truce with Israel through Mahmoud Abbas. Even though that truce did not last long, the 2005 direct truce with Israel still holds. Abu Amr attributes this to Hamas realizing that there may be other ways to achieve its objectives.

Abu Amr argued that the election of Hamas should not be seen as a Palestinian drift towards radicalization. Peaceful resolution of the conflict is still the predominant mindset for the Palestinian people. Hamas must gain international recognition and the desire for a resolution to the Palestinian–Israeli conflict may push them towards greater contact with Israel.

However, the election of a Hamas government demonstrates the difficulty that the Palestinians are having with regards to marrying secularism and religion in a developing Palestinian order. The tension between the two sides will be visible in the political process as Fatah tries to tries to assert its remaining power over the Hamas government. Abu Amr concluded that Fatah and Hamas will need each other politically and socially if Palestinian society is to effectively develop. Placing international pressure on Hamas may not allow this necessary process to develop, which would be a detriment to Palestinian society in the long run.

Security

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Summary—Session 1

The concept of security has, over the years, broadened from its traditional euphemism for military threats to more nebulous but equally pressing notions of food security, energy security, and societal security. More recently, the threat of terrorism has democratized insecurity by manifesting new threats of violence on a global scale previously unseen.

It was posited that any discussion on a security architecture must be prefaced by the stark acknowledgement that war is a constant because human beings do not value peace as the highest goal. They place, alongside it, their own beliefs, aspirations and ambitions so that any security architecture founded solely on the desire to preserve peace becomes unrealistic. There are not many historical examples of successful security architectures, but those that were more successful such as the Concert of Europe in the 19th century were founded on a common order, whether ideological, economic or religious. If this unifying sense dissipates, the existence or long-term endurance of the structure then also becomes questionable.

Because security structures are usually established during, or in the aftermath of, a great conflict and rarely in peacetime, a security structure in the Muslim world would have to resemble the actual prevailing power system although it is unclear how this would work. In the last 50 or 60 years, the typical case has been for regional security structures to ultimately depend on an external hegemon to provide peace. This is occasionally problematic because while that power is needed to maintain stability due to the region's own incapability to provide for its own safety, the former's very presence can be overbearing. This is a complication that both the Middle East and the United States currently face, given the latter's role as offshore protector of security in the region.

Numerous examples of insecurity in the Middle East were also identified under three broad sources: geographical (at the local, regional and global levels); historical; and the myriad economic, political, religious, social, psychological and military issues. These include a sense of indignity throughout the region; a deep-seated dependency on oil and energy resources, central government funds, and foreign support systems which breed a sense of weakness and vulnerability, in turn leading to simultaneous feelings of dehumanization, immobility and inertia; the prevailing Arab–Israeli issue and its repercussions, including weapons of mass destruction and nuclear concerns surrounding Iran; and the cynicism that the U.S.'s greater priorities lie in securing the oil flow and the security of Israel rather than the needs of ordinary Arabs.

In addition, there have been six overall trends in the last 35 to 40 years that have contributed to these various insecurities. First, and probably most significant, is the urbanization of Arab youth. About 65 to 70 percent of the region is under the age of 30. Most are educated and have access to social services. However, while their basic needs are being met, their political needs are almost totally unsatisfied, resulting in anger and bitter frustration. This is an especially significant gap given that terrorism is a youth industry. Second, the persistence of Western and Israeli military intervention, engagement, presence and occupation

"Any security structure or system or architecture...founded solely on the desire to preserve the peace...will not succeed because nations and people seek more than peace."

"...The historical memory issues are absolutely critical in this region (the Middle East) and ones that probably Westerners and especially Americans are really almost totally ignorant of or unable to grasp, but they are powerful elements from within the region..."

in parts of the Middle East has shifted into a form of "new-conservative political genetic engineering." Intervention is no longer conducted for access to oil or the preservation of security but to change political, ideological, religious and other values. Third, the decline of the nation-state as the primary unit of analysis in the Arab world has centered discussions on tribes, ethnicities and religious groups such as Shias, Kurds, Sunnis, Maronites, Copts and others. Fourth is the militarization of the entire Middle East. While official spending on defense and security in Arab countries is around 20 to 25 percent, there is now an extraordinary proliferation of militias—'good' and 'bad', acceptable and unacceptable. Fifth is the persistence of authoritarian regimes and top-heavy power structures that leave a general dissatisfaction among most people. The same issues that pervaded the 1920s such as Arabism, Zionism, relations with the West, religiosity and secularism, statehood, citizen rights, and military power—are still being inadequately addressed today. Exacerbating this is the sense of an abuse of power by leaders ruling with little or no accountability. Sixth and related, is the dominance of the military security sector symbolized by leaderships that have spanned three to four decades in Middle Eastern republics. The cruel irony is that some of these leaders are now presenting themselves as champions of reform. Consequently, capable civil oversight of the military sector is the single most important issue to strive towards for internal security to be maintained.

A stable and useful security architecture needs to be rooted in real sovereignty in statehood and logic in nationhood. This basically means that countries need to make sense to their own people, especially since most Arab countries were created by a combination of local elites and Western colonial withdrawing powers. In this vein, foreign military occupations must also end. There also needs to be legitimacy—through religion, democratic elections and tribal values—in government. Citizenship rights and responsibilities, and state limits expressed through the rule of law and accountability, need to be improved so that people may feel more comfortable in manifesting their identities legitimately and peacefully. Furthermore, equality and simultaneity must prevail in the rights of people and states throughout the Middle East. There cannot be double standards or a higher order of priorities for some peoples' rights and not others.'

As both the state and citizen are today imprecise and volatile, the antidote would be a kind of democratic process with the adherence to two basic principles: majority will, including protection of minority rights, and the consent of the governed which, together, form self-determination. There has never been a truly self-determinant Arab people whose entire populations have defined themselves and answered the questions from 1910 and 1920 about religiosity and secularism, relations with Zionism and Israel, relations with the West, and the role of women, among others. An enduring security architecture must be the combination of democratic self-determination in all the countries, combined with equal application of the law. Consistency in democracy and accountability without double standards must be the absolute bedrock of a security system.

"It is very insulting for ordinary Arabs to have somebody who is in power by the military for 30 to 40 years, coming and telling us that he is going to be the champion of reform...what these guys need to do is not reform; they just need to retire and give other people a chance to contest power peacefully."

Discussion touched on the instability in Iraq and whether that was sparked by the region's inability to maintain its own security which then drew in external actors to restore security, or whether it was the U.S. invasion which destabilized the region. It was pointed out that the "symbiotic relationship" between the local tyrants and foreign armies has probably promoted terrorism in a way that is much more difficult to diffuse. It was also suggested that the United States, in its desire to create order in the region, had instead created disorder. The starting point for redressing that was to talk to people in the region more and apply the same standards to the Middle East as it would to others in the world.

Other salient points included the reminder that there is no watertight compartmentalization of the United States and the Muslim world as separate entities; that there are large Muslim minorities that live in the West, and that the Muslim world is not monolithic but diverse. However, the assumption that the problems of the Muslim world are extraneous should be resisted. To redress those problems, change should not be expected to come solely from others. That responsibility should be borne from within and because change cannot be imposed, it is the job of the Muslim world to bring about fundamental long-term solutions. The United States can be supportive and contribute to those solutions but it cannot create them. The session ended by identifying a key unanswered question: if security has to come from within, what are the individual values to which countries must be willing to commit in order to create an effective and sustainable broader regional security architecture?

Summary—Session 2

The second session focused on internal conflicts that present multi-faceted challenges in the form of outside interventions and spillover regional effects. The reality is that such conflicts have increased over time. From 1947 to 2003, the United Nations (U.N.) has been involved in 54 peacekeeping missions abroad. Forty one of those have occurred since the end of the Cold War, which means that in the last 15 years, the U.N. has been involved in three times as many peacekeeping missions than in the past 45 years. This coupled with the fact that, historically, 43 percent of the countries experiencing conflict lapse back into conflict within the first five years, means that there are many security implications and lessons learned for the present day.

From a broad global prism, it is essential to understand the drivers of conflict. Some of these include political marginalization, religious or ethnic persecution, the absence of a justice system to redress grievances, and economic inequality leading to frustration, resentment and anger. Usually, these manifest in major population movements either out of, or within, countries. When accompanied by the means to spark a conflict—such as weapons construction technology downloadable from the Internet—the potential for devastation can become very real.

Ten lessons were identified to address the drivers of conflict internally within states. First, the importance of dialogue through non-governmental organizations such as the Conflict Management Initiative, headed by Finnish former president

"We (the United States) can't just throw up our hands and say, you guys sort it out because, unfortunately, the result too often of that is that people in the region demand that we sort it out."

"...If you don't end up going back and dealing with the root causes that led to that conflict to begin with, you are actually going to be back there and dealing with [it] once again, and it is usually harder the second time around..."

Martti Ahtisaari, in negotiating between the Indonesian government and the rebels in Aceh, regional organizations such as the European Union's continued critical role in the Balkan region, and finally, the U.N. While this last recourse has not been very effective in the past, the challenge now must be to create and define a U.N. Peace Building Commission that is effective and successful in the future. Second, the involvement of women in peace negotiations. Traditionally, women have been the most practical in questioning and providing effective solutions to resolve day-to-day problems such as how children are going to be educated, or how access to water and land can be obtained. Women have to be involved in an effective way in promoting trust and understanding to increase the chances of a successful peace agreement. Third, the establishment of standards and means for political participation. Two sub-points to consider are (a) whether there can be a regional or international agreement on key requirements for political participation, and (b) if there are practical ways of creating regional funds to support political party development, accountability training and good governance. Within (a), three requirements that were advanced for political participation were the acceptance of (i) peaceful means, disbandment of militias and cantonment of weapons; (ii) political and cultural diversity, implying the inclusiveness of the political process; and the adherence to (iii) constitutional provisions for political succession. Fourth, the encapsulation of political understandings and peaceful relationships among parties in written agreements. There must be clarity on timelines, the requirements for participation and funding sources, among others. These were not included in the early negotiations in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Fifth, the importance of building a regional as well as a multi-national capacity to maintain security and order. Ordinary people should feel secure enough to leave their homes and lead a normal life. Where this is not the case and there is an acute situation, a country must be able to depend on a regional organization for peace-keeping assistance or provision of constabulary forces. Sixth, the importance of building local capacity and having local partners to train security forces, in particular, the police. Indigenous police forces are essential to any security agenda as they maintain daily contact with the population. Training them should, therefore, be a priority. Seventh, the necessity of having trustworthy courts and penitentiary systems. A possibility to consider is regional review among states—such as currently being considered by the African Union—with a critical indicator being the status of political detainees, which would undoubtedly create uncomfortable situations for a range of countries, including the United States, but would nevertheless be telling and important. Eighth, the creation of transparent regimes for wealth management. Frameworks such as the West African Pipeline System and the Kimberley Agreement for diamonds could be developed for natural resource arrangements. As well, governments could publicize their budgets, and open them up to civic reviews and public hearings for scrutiny. Ninth, the creation of space and norms for civil society by providing for a legal framework for NGO registration and funding as well as training to maintain records, accounts, and reports so that, ultimately, these NGOs gain transparency themselves. Lastly, the

unmitigated fight against corruption because nothing discredits a government more quickly than the perception that it has become corrupt.

The internal conflict in the southern Philippines was offered as a case study of the more general analysis above. It was emphasized that the situation there is very political in nature and the struggle over the past 30 to 40 years relates to issues of sovereignty, justice and equitable access to resources. Nine years after the signing of a peace agreement with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), however, Muslim Mindanao is worse than before with a deterioration of human development indicators in MNLF areas. There is concern that the U.S. presence there could push the MNLF's troops over to the side of terrorist elements rather than preventing terrorism from taking hold.

The military aspect is only part of the solution because without development, terrorism will take root. In the medium-term, government agencies and the international community need to contribute towards development and poverty alleviation programs in those affected areas to prevent radicalization due to marginalization, poverty and the absence of social development communities. Another area which could be supported in Mindanao is the administration of justice including prison and police reforms as well as human rights protection. Similarly, local government institutions need to be self-empowered so that they can sustain operations without heavy reliance on the international donor community. There is also a need for healing and repatriation after years of armed confrontation and yet there is little evidence of reconciliation and integration programs being implemented. Human security should encompass this need for trauma healing and basic services such as government-provided primary health care. Thus, assistance in strengthening civilian institution capacities and reestablishing the rule of law are key intervention areas for long-term peace and security in the region. In Mindanao, donor funds are most needed in the areas of education, infrastructure, micro-enterprise and livelihood assistance programs, and the implementation of the rule of law to strengthen the voice of the those who promote the true peaceful and progressive meaning of Islam.

At an experts' workshop held in December 2005 on the radicalization of Muslims in Southeast Asia, several policy recommendations were forwarded to best neutralize violent extremism. First must be the identification and support of partners within the Muslim community itself instead of the present over-reliance on governments. Second, governments need to support economic development and a justice system that will benefit the mass base. The conflict zones of southern Thailand, Mindanao, Sulawesi and Maluku are rich in natural resources yet poor and underdeveloped as a result of resource extraction by foreign investors. While big business is developing in southern Thailand, it is developing in such a way that local communities are increasingly being impoverished because employees are being imported from other areas of Thailand, not from southern Thailand itself. Third, rather than demonize Islamic education—as has been done of *madrassahs* by the Western media—there is a need to support it both in the private and public spheres to provide not just religious and Arabic training but general

"...Whereas the budget of the U.S. military is over $400 billion, the budget...for peace and development is a fraction of that. Maybe if you were to work it out a little bit more, so that there would be a little bit more funding for the peace and development side, then definitely your strategies to combat terrorism would be more effective."

skills as well. Fourth, there is a need to correct the prevailing misconception that democracy is Western and could therefore be used as a tool for colonization.

Fifth is the need for sensitivity to the diverse historical and cultural context of Muslim communities in the region. Democracy cannot be imposed externally and should be cultivated out of the local communities' own aspirations and capacities. Sixth, there must be recognition of the importance of empowering women in Muslim communities, while maintaining their Muslim identity, to address injustices committed by government and also by more orthodox and fundamentalist *ulama*. Women must be given a voice in the development and implementation of programs. Last, the voice of Muslim progressives, which form the silent majority, should be amplified and supported to reclaim lost ground hijacked by the extremist minority.

Summary—Session 3

The notion of trans-border security is increasingly significant in today's world due, in part, to globalization and porous geographical borders. What happens within a nation's borders can trigger regional or international security crises. More than 10 years on, the Rwandan genocide still serves as a stark reminder of exactly this dynamic. There is, therefore, growing recognition that the unstable conditions of one country cannot simply be treated as an internal issue and the most pressing of issues must be dealt with by the international community.

One of the biggest issues identified as threatening trans-border security was weapons of mass destruction (WMD) proliferation. It was asserted that nothing other than nuclear, chemical and especially, biological weapons could possibly pose as great a danger. Immediate concern had to be nuclear weapons programs being developed by Iran and North Korea. What differentiates those countries from other nuclear powers such as Israel, France and Great Britain is the fact that the latter are democracies, and do not threaten neighbors nor sponsor terrorism. Ultimately, the crux of the issue raised by WMDs is the nature of the regimes. Destructive regimes are threats without nuclear weapons but are a million times more threatening, it was suggested, with them. The solution lies in regime change, not necessarily through outside military intervention but hopefully in a relatively peaceful manner, such as the revolutions from Ukraine to Lebanon.

The threat of terrorism follows closely. As September 11th and July 7th showed, even without WMDs, terrorists can cause massive devastation and casualties. In the last few years, attention has focused on stateless terrorism such as that carried out by sub-national groups, with Al-Qaeda being the most famous. However, it is important to keep in mind that terrorism exacerbates regional and international tensions and can lead to potential conflicts between countries. There needs to be a greater doctrine for state responsibility for acts of terrorism occurring within a country's borders. This should include the understanding that the permission of, or complicity in, any acts of terrorism is equivalent to an act of war and should be dealt with as severely as Iraq's cross-border invasion of Kuwait, for example.

The biggest category of trans-border crises lies in the more traditional area of border disputes and irredentist claims although these have, in general, declined in the last 40 or 50 years not only because borders are much more sacrosanct than before but because the information economy puts much less of a premium on controlling territory. As wealth is generated intellectually, there is less of an imperative to seize neighboring territory for enrichment than 100 years ago. That notwithstanding, there are still a number of outstanding cross-border crises such as those involving India and Pakistan over Kashmir, Morocco and Algeria over Western Sahara, and Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno–Karabakh. While the Israeli–Palestinian issue has garnered a lot of attention, it was argued that the matter received far more attention that it deserved. Israel has simply been made a scapegoat for the underlying problems of a lack of education, equality, freedom, and economic development in the Middle East, as laid out in the 2002 U.N. Arab Human Development Report. Even if the Israeli–Palestinian crisis were settled with a two-state solution, radicals would still not be satisfied and would continue to use Israel's existence to justify terrorism. This conflict is probably not what truly motivates them but it certainly provides them with a convenient rationale. A much larger potential trigger area is Taiwan. China's rhetoric, it was suggested, is only intensifying because Beijing has lost its Communist rationale for existence and increasingly depends on nationalism to assert its authority. Asian democracies should make clear to China that they will cooperate with China's peaceful economic development but will stand together against any possible cross-border aggression.

Trans-border crises will continue because of competition over resources, disputes over migration, refugee crises and even diseases in the future. A mass epidemic such as SARS could imaginably create a cross-border conflict if it results in a halt in international trade. While the world is probably a less dangerous place than it was 15 years ago, it is also a less predictable place with threats that are less easy to deter or contain. More importantly, trans-border issues also include the borders that people may have built or broken down in their own minds. The cartoons that were published in the Danish newspaper had far-reaching effects on Muslims beyond that nation's borders due, in part, to the Muslim concept of *ummah* extending beyond Westphalian notions of the nation-state.

Trans-border issues that involve Muslim states are not necessarily Islam-related. The water problem that India has with Bangladesh and Pakistan is more resource-related, the post-colonial aftermath of a political and geographical partition. Resource-rich Central Asian countries which have the mightiest of the mighty—the United States, Russia and China—contesting their turf have what may be termed the 'big brother' dilemma. If the presence of one power creates complications, its absence or withdrawal may lead to either another power seeking to fill that gap, or a vacuum and resulting chaos. In the case of Afghanistan, there is a Pashtun saying which loosely translated says, "You have no place to stay but you also have no place to go."

Trans-border problems have been solved by two countries reaching a bilateral accord. Saudi Arabia and Yemen, for example resolved their disagreement

"…Of paramount importance and closely related to the WMD issue is, of course, terrorism because that is, in many ways, the most destructive and potentially worrisome delivery system for WMD."

"When you look at the crises around the world, it is really striking…how they are not… being caused by the United States of America… In fact, in nine cases out of ten, the United States is looked upon as the solution of the crises, even by countries [which] are not necessarily all that friendly to the United States."

when the former agreed to a few extra kilometers of Yemen's territorial claim. There is no chance of an organization emerging among Muslim countries to resolve trans-border conflicts because there is no external or internal hegemon which can lead this effort. The OIC is not a serious contender with a membership of 57 very different countries. However, while that structure may be untenable to resolve conflicts, perhaps a group of elders might be, especially given the propensity among Muslim countries to heed a respected, elderly person or a tribal chief. This group of elders would be bolstered if, in fact, it was a good mix of Muslim and non-Muslim leaders including, for example Jimmy Carter, Nelson Mandela, Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Chandra Shakar. A group such as these of 5 to 15 prominent and respected leaders could probably start resolving some lesser problems. The confidence gained through that approach might one day enable the management or resolution of bigger problems.

Discussion returned to the intractable Arab–Israeli conflict. At issue was the debate about the thoughts and desires of Palestinians and whether there was enough focus on the crisis. The point was raised that since World War I, Muslim countries have been arbitrarily divided by a pen and ruler. Is there now a desire or need to redraw borders based on ethnicity, religion or language? There needs to be a better understanding of grassroots sentiment—Muslim or non-Muslim—and the empowerment of people on the basis of humanity and human rights without increasing the inflammation of cross-border conflict. If change needs to be conducted and borders need to be redrawn, then that change should ideally occur peacefully such as with the breakup of Czechoslovakia into the Czech and Slovak Republics. The underlying principle of border redrawing should be a peaceful manner done in accordance with the wishes of the majority in that territory, not through violence or ethnic cleansing.

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Summary—Session 1

In societies where as much as 65 percent of the population is under the age of 25 and fertility rates remain high, leaders are challenged with how to effectively educate and engage youth as productive members of a global society. The need for quality education and increased employment opportunities is consequently a topic of great concern across much of the Muslim world. The Youth and Development Task Force, coordinated in partnership with the International Youth Foundation, addressed three important questions in the first session: education reform, high unemployment rates, and the integration of women into higher education and the work force.

It was repeatedly emphasized that education reform must be a priority in both the private and public sectors in order to provide more opportunities for quality education at all levels. It was noted that after the attacks on September 11th, 2001, there developed a great interest in reforming the education system for Muslim youth in order to provide alternatives to the madrassa system. Suggested reforms included the development of career-oriented education models, where students would be taught skills deemed necessary by a particular employer and the inclusion of more liberal arts models, which tend to encourage critical thinking and give students the necessary tools for learning.

It was suggested that both the private sector and public sector should devote significant resources to education reform. In Saudi Arabia, for example, all education was provided by the government. Until recently, the private sector was reserved for businesses and commercial enterprise, rather than educational institutions. It is positive that the government provides access to education. However, this education is not of sufficient quality to prepare youth for professional careers locally or abroad. Results from a survey of female Egyptian students indicated that the subjects taught in school and at universities do not prepare them for what they need to know thereafter. They cited their education system as a failure, complaining that they were asked to memorize, rather than learn, and expressed an interest in studying topics that were of relevance to future careers and life experiences.

The Dar Al-Hekma School, among the first women's colleges in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, was cited as an example of a successful experiment in private higher education. It was founded by a group of individuals with the aim of creating an institution of Harvard University quality and stature in Saudi Arabia, which could provide girls and women with the best education possible. It has graduated several classes of bright, successful Saudi women, trained in business, design, and education. The prospect of such a college for women challenged a work environment that was not accustomed to well-educated women, and the administrators were initially forewarned that their graduates would not find jobs. On the contrary, all of the graduates of the business school were hired to work in local offices. With more women prepared for professional careers, the challenge has now become how to satisfy the unique needs of women in the work place and to integrate them into the labor force.

"65 percent of the population in the MENA region, the Middle East and North African region, is under age 25. It's commonly said now that we need 80 million jobs over the next 15 years just to keep pace; 100 million if we're going to put a dent in the already high employment rate."

While the success of the Dar Al-Hekma School is significant, far wider improvements to higher education are necessary in Saudi Arabia and beyond. Affluent countries such as Saudi Arabia have the financial resources to support education but it was noted that in many cases, education is not a priority recipient of funds. It is often easier to garner support to build a large shopping center, residential complex, or ornate building, than to build a college. Ironically, colleges and universities will be necessary to produce the future professionals who will staff and shop in the shopping centers, or live in the luxurious residential complexes.

There are currently increasing numbers of educated youth who are unable to find employment. In recent years, educated first-time job seekers are 90 percent of the unemployed in Egypt, 65 percent of the unemployed in Yemen, and 50 percent in Jordan and Morocco. It is especially worrisome that these youths are unable to find appropriate jobs. Prevented from entering the working world, there is a greater likelihood that they will fall prey to feelings of social exclusion than the older, long-term unemployed who have managed to adjust to such an unfortunate state. Youth are more likely to end up demoralized and discouraged from wanting to productively contribute to society. As such, there is a high likelihood of unemployed youth resorting to crime, drug abuse, and religious fanaticism, as a result of alienation from society.

It was pointed out that to help educated youth find work would be beneficial for governments, as well as for society as a whole. As more individuals are employed, fewer will be dependent on government services and resources. In addition to being a lower social cost to the government, the employed citizens will generate increased tax revenues. It was suggested that private sector resources be put toward developing education models, in addition to the governmental resources already there, in order to prepare students to enter the private sector job market after graduating.

Although unemployment levels suggest otherwise, in many societies there are available jobs to be filled and professional fields to be discovered. Currently, students are not being educated with the necessary skill sets to work the available jobs, and resources are not being appropriately allocated to develop these new fields. For example, potential professional fields to be developed in Jordan include emergency medical technicians, trained to respond to the many car accidents on local roads and highways. It was suggested that resources be devoted to develop educational models to train students in such a profession, and in turn develop the respective field.

Economic reform was recommended to address the problem of unemployment and improper training for available jobs, to create new jobs, followed by educational reform to appropriately prepare students to fill them. Suggested economic reforms included integration of the local and national economies with the global economy, encouragement of foreign and local investment, and encouragement of microfinance to promote entrepreneurship. Suggested education reforms included better coordination between the education system and the job market, and developing curriculum based on what a particular employer needs.

There was debate over whether career-driven education systems are in fact the best way to prepare youth to enter the working world. Critics of this system suggested that a liberal arts education system, where students are taught to think critically and question assumptions, is preferable to a vocational system, where students are only taught skills for a particular field or particular job. While vocational and skills-based training is important, it was argued that the ability to think critically and learn independently was of equal importance. Technical education was criticized for providing a weak academic education, cited as the principle driver for economic growth. Education City in Qatar was mentioned as an example of a largely successful education model.

It was suggested that individuals can be taught certain habits and skills, and thus can be engaged in society, even while unemployed or unschooled. Examples of such efforts include a voter registration drive, as was held in Egypt prior to the last elections, or a literacy campaign to teach and encourage youth to read. Both are low-cost ways of keeping youth involved in productive civil society efforts until they find employment or begin their formal education. These initiatives provide youth with important skills and values, which often contribute to a general sense of empowerment and involvement in the community.

It was noted that the education of women is crucial to the development of a productive and engaged civil society. Women tend to be responsible for raising and educating their children at a young age, so to educate a woman is essentially to educate an entire family. Many efforts are underway around the world to involve women in setting up non-governmental organizations to address issues of women's rights and women's opportunities. Women are increasingly being educated and trained to understand their positions in Islam and their rights and obligations in the community. An example of professional development is a program in Egypt where university graduates are trained as nurses in an accelerated two year program and given jobs thereafter. This program was developed in response to a survey where women indicated they were inadequately educated and subsequently unable to find appropriate jobs. It has yielded significant positive results.

The high cost of building education systems and facilities and of enrolling in private education was cited as a barrier to the development of and access to quality education. There is a widespread dilemma over which is preferable: education that is of questionable quality but accessible to more students, or high quality education that is only available to wealthier individuals. Currently, the majority of educational opportunities are publicly funded but academically weak. Private institutions, which often offer a better academic education, have difficulty attracting students because the public universities offer a stipend. In an effort to draw bright and motivated students to private colleges, some have begun to offer merit scholarships and sources of financial aid, but funds are limited.

It was generally agreed that in order to provide the greatest number of students with the highest level education, significant resources from the private and public sectors must be directed toward the enhancement of current programs, as well as economic and education reform. To provide students with quality education is not

"Particularly, in the Muslim world, the issue of demographics is very important, and that directly impacts on youth because the Muslim population is a young population."

enough; there must be appropriate jobs for them to fill thereafter in order to engage educated youth in society. Although there are numerous examples of such initiatives across the Muslim world, similar efforts must continue to be encouraged, supported, and spread. It was duly noted that the Muslim world is comprised of a diverse array of societies, each at different levels of development. Many of these societies are unable to initiate reform efforts alone. Therefore, education and economic development should be a focus of bilateral relations so that wider success can be achieved.

Summary—Session 2

Expanding on the discussions from the previous session focusing on youth education and empowerment, this session opened with identification of six key areas on which to deliberate toward constructive solutions. These areas included: the use of the creative arts to engage and educate, as well as to promote cross cultural understanding; the inclusion of science and technology in basic curricula across all levels; how to facilitate interfaith interaction and understanding; the importance of distinguishing between cultures, resources, and traditions in different parts of the Muslim world; the debate over technical, career-oriented education models versus a liberal arts education; and the role of the private sector in workforce development and education reform. Suggestions were offered for ways in which youth engagement and empowerment programs can and should be developed.

It was noted that in order for Islamic societies to catch up with globalization, there must be a reorientation of religious education to allow for the integration of secular studies such as science, technology, and the arts. This development must be an important part of any education reform effort, especially in more traditional societies and institutions. In many cases there is resistance to the promotion of secular studies, resulting from a fear that they will pose a threat to religious studies and religious beliefs. It is not only important to teach the students and youth to overcome these fears, but also to educate the teachers who tend to be the ones promoting such messages. Secular and religious studies must be reconciled in a way that allows both to be taught together or side by side if education systems are to be reformed in a way that prepares students for the contemporary, globalized world.

However, it was emphasized that the encouragement of secular studies and education reform must not be imposed by the West or United States, but must be the result of joint cooperative efforts between local organizations and institutions in order to account for the specific needs of and challenges faced in each society. For example, Malaysia and Saudi Arabia face very different situations that would need to be addressed with approaches unique to each respective society. There are economic, cultural, religious, and political disparities that must be considered if any reform effort is to be effective, and local organizations will be sensitive to those specific needs.

Outside the realm of formal education, suggestions for enhancing understanding and interaction between societies and individuals of different national, ethnic, and religious background included interfaith dialogue initiatives and

cross-cultural student exchanges. It was also noted that it is tremendously important to recognize the diversity within societies while working to increase interreligious and interethnic understanding on both a national level and an international level. Malaysia's National Service was cited as an example of a model that successfully brings together individuals of different ethnic, religious, and socioeconomic backgrounds. Forced by law to undergo disciplinary training together for a number of months, the individuals finish their service far more knowledgeable about and committed to each other than when they begin. Not only does this model serve to bridge religious, ethnic, and racial differences, but it also empowers and engages citizens in a positive way. Although recognized to be a significant challenge, it was suggested that a similar program be developed on an international scale, to encourage international interethnic, cross-cultural, and inter-religious understanding.

In addition to bridging the gap between the public in the United States and across the Islamic world, it was agreed that efforts should be directed toward narrowing the divide between leadership and youth within many Muslim countries. Where leadership is not attentive to the needs of their citizens, in particular the youth, progress will not be made in appropriate directions, namely toward higher quality education, and economic development and integration on a global scale. Similarly, where youth do not feel a sense of empowerment and potential to make a difference in their own or other's lives, they will not have sufficient interest in pursuing ambitious education or professional opportunities. One way of facilitating such a bridge would be by building strong partnerships between the public sector, the non-profit sector, and the corporate sector within a single country. Each part brings resources and abilities that are necessary for development to occur.

It was emphasized that any reform must be approached in a holistic way in each society, paying appropriate attention to education and to the economy, as well as to gender differences and values. Whereas most gender-based aid and reform effort has been focused on women—women's education, rights, and empowerment—in many cases men are now falling by the wayside. Far greater numbers of women are seeking higher education than men, though despite the disparity in education or skill level, it is still a challenge for women to find employment equal to that available to men. The values mentioned that must be infused in men, women, children, and entire families include respect for differences, respect for the environment, the importance of education and literacy, and an emphasis on gender equality. Such values must be encouraged from a young age in a way that resonates with both religious or secular beliefs and traditions. How to promote these values in practice and ensure that they are subsequently translated into action was recognized as a significant challenge, and one that would be discussed further in consecutive sessions.

Summary—Session 3

There are a number of partnerships between public and private sector institutions across the United States and countries in the Muslim world working toward youth

"We must ensure that the Muslim, the person who goes through this reformed education system, should be a confident, tolerant, no inferiority complex type of person, who's actually a wholesome person who could fit in this highly globalized, competitive world."

"As a result of modernization in these Muslim countries, there seems to be fear among the young of corruption of the West. Development has been associated with corruption as has been indeed demonstrated by leadership behavioral patterns."

engagement, education reform, and economic development. After identifying a host of challenges societies face with regards to education systems and unemployment levels, this session focused on a few of these partnerships and the potential for similar public-private sector initiatives to develop in the near future. Three international partnerships were cited as models of successful, quality cross-cultural education: the Cisco Networking Academy Program, the International Youth Foundation Education and Employment Alliance, and a global association of academics. The importance of getting students excited about and engaged in what they are learning was emphasized as well. Encouragement of culture, science, and arts education, as well as people-to-people exchange were suggested as means by which to do so.

The first example of public-private sector partnership, the Cisco Networking Academy Program, is run in partnership between public and private institutions around the world and Cisco Systems, Inc. With over 10,000 academies in 167 countries teaching lessons in approximately 12 different languages, it uses the Internet to deliver accessible curriculum of a consistent quality. Private sector partners are encouraged to invest significantly in educational programming that will cater to their own needs and interests, thereby preparing students for job opportunities and enabling growth in their particular industry. With outreach to a diverse array of students, including Israelis, Palestinians, and Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Cisco is exploring whether their curricula can effectively incorporate more formal coexistence building programming. Because students of different ethnic and religious backgrounds are drawn together out of their common interest in the Networking Academy Program, this could provide a good opportunity to incorporate a structure to learn about each others' respective faiths and traditions. As such, students would come out of the program with a quality education, as well as a deeper understanding of and respect for different cultures.

A second example of a public-private sector partnership initiative aimed at improving education and employment opportunities is the International Youth Foundation's (IYF) Education and Employment Alliance (EEA). The IYF currently works in six countries: Egypt, Morocco, Philippines, Indonesia, India, and Pakistan. In cooperation with USAID, it facilitates dialogue between representatives of the public sector, the private sector, and educational institutions, in order to develop curricula and educational programs which respond to specific employment needs. One of EEA's successes is the Punjab Vocational Training Center (PVTC), which trains individuals in trade areas that have been identified as necessary for Pakistan's economic development. In order to expand the job opportunities available to students beyond local and national Pakistani industries, IYF assists the PVTC in attracting major multinational companies to work with them and hire their graduates.

The final example of public-private partnership was a global association of academics. These academics convene to determine the highest priorities for youth education around the world and develop curricula to reflect these priorities, as appropriate for specific locales. A significant challenge the association has identified is how to channel the curiosity inherent in most young children into produc-

"I suggest we begin to think about arts education from an early age. It's a lot of fun for kids at a very early age, and it begins to give them a sense of their own culture and where they fit in. Then they begin to take ownership of their own culture, they begin to have pride in who they are and national pride as well."

tive educational environments. Suggestions included curricula that feature science, the arts, and cultural studies. The ability to incorporate hands-on and interactive lessons on these topics is particularly attractive in developing educational models that engage young children. The association is currently working to convene a group of educators to develop strategic plans for implementing programs focused specifically on science and technology for elementary school education.

Citing Saudi Arabia as an example, it was emphasized that there is still a strong interest in receiving an American education above all else, as American education systems are commonly perceived as being of the highest quality. American-style academic institutions were developed with the help of American experts in higher education before September 11th, but similar exchange has been difficult since. Similarly, there were previously thousands of scholarships offered to Saudi students to study in the United States, but because of recent difficulties getting student visas to America, many of these students remain in Saudi Arabia. It was emphasized that the current visa restrictions on students, faculty, and others are detrimental not only to contemporary U.S.–Saudi relations, but also to the future development of an educated Saudi population that is favorable to the West.

Due to the present difficulties students face entering the United States from abroad, private and public institutions have begun to use Internet and video conferencing technology for face-to-face exchanges. These initiatives are able to overcome visa restrictions and reach a wide audience at a low cost to the participant and to the sponsoring institution. In addition to face-to-face dialogues, work is being done to develop additional e-learning programs and virtual libraries with resources for higher education. However, it was noted that there is a danger in relying on the internet as an educational tool or source of information, due to the difficulties in monitoring what is exchanged. It was emphasized that the internet should be used as a temporary tool to develop and disseminate programs and resources, but must not be relied upon as a long-term solution for cross-cultural interaction and exchange.

As in the previous sessions, the importance of coupling education reform with economic development was highlighted in this session. Partnerships between the public and private sectors toward these aims must be encouraged, as well as bilateral efforts between the United States and respective private and public institutions across the Muslim world. The use of science, art, culture, and storytelling were identified as creative ways to engage students of all ages, including youth who may otherwise be uninterested in pursuing educational opportunities. Channels must continue to be developed to provide quality programs to as many individuals as possible to facilitate their interest and abilities in contributing to local, national, and international societies in productive ways.

"We're extremely worried in most of the Islamic countries that the quality of science education, mostly at schools and the university, is deteriorating."

"Everybody recognizes that American higher education— not school education, but higher education—is the best in the world, so there is a lot of admiration and respect for American education."

"There are two challenges that development is currently facing: we don't know enough about how we can sustain our efforts, and we don't know enough about how to reach scale."

Governance and Reform

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Summary—Session 1

The year 2005 was a year of unprecedented elections in the Middle East and in the Muslim world, resulting in much anticipation and energy and a few surprises. According to some, the high number of elections held across the Arab world was a positive outcome of external intervention. According to others, it was an outcome in spite of external intervention. According to others yet, it was an outcome that was not positive at all. The Governance and Reform Task Force addressed this and other related issues, including the obstacles to political reform, the role of outside forces in promoting reform efforts according to both internal and external perspectives, and lessons learned based on recent efforts.

The first session of this task force opened with a discussion of recent Arab government efforts at reform and some of the obstacles they have faced. The 2004 Arab Summit in Tunis was cited as a watershed in the history of Arab reform, as it was the first time Arab governments themselves put forth a real program of reform. At the time, the summit's recommendations were criticized as abstract and lacking a means of implementation and monitoring. However, since 2004, clear components of what reform would entail have emerged, including the separate tracks of political reform, freedom of the press, economic liberalization, empowerment of women, and judicial independence.

Jordan was cited as a system facing many challenges. Until 2005, governance reform in Jordan was implemented on an ad hoc basis with no integrated vision. That year, a royal committee was commissioned to formulate a ten-year reform plan for the country. Members of the committee were chosen from all levels of society, including not only a number of government ministers and sitting members of Parliament, but also members of the Muslim Brotherhood and leftist politicians, journalists and other members of the media, civil society activists, and liberal private sector businessmen. The committee developed a system of performance indicators to chart reform progress. After the reform document was published and the public saw that the committee was sincere, most Jordanians welcomed the initiative. Two groups remain opposed to the initiative: those who benefit from the current system and would lose their position if reform were to be implemented, and those who remain skeptical of the sincerity of the initiative. Opposition by entrenched members of the status quo has stalled the process for now.

The influence of outside parties, namely foreign governments or international organizations, has had a significant impact on governance reform initiatives across the Arab world. However, it was noted that successful reform cannot be imposed by an external actor, but must spring from within a country. Reform-minded outsiders must limit their involvement to sending a clear signal that they will only support aspects of reform that are consistent with democratic governance, rather than acting to initiate reform directly. At the same time, they must be frank about what they will not support. While the United States may be able to play a role in coaxing parties to accept what the U.S. believes is the best democratic reform solution, ultimately the parties themselves must adapt these concepts to their particular local circumstances to bring about lasting change.

The secular or the liberal forces in the country are not organized; and whereas the status quo forces are very well entrenched in the system and have the ability to fight any attempt at reform in a very effective manner, we have not been able, on the other hand, to organize the forces that are calling for change, and I hope that we will be able to do so in the next few years."

Reform must also be embedded as a central component of U.S. foreign policy. The reform imperative will not breed success until it becomes an operative instrument in foreign policy that goes beyond rhetoric.

As such, the discussion turned to address the ongoing debate in the U.S. Congress over the Arab Reform Initiative. In the wake of numerous elections in the Middle East, some of which brought Islamic political parties into power, the benefits of democracy promotion in the region are being reconsidered and debated anew in the U.S. Congress. The U.S. Congress has a legacy of bipartisan support for human rights and democracy around the world—even at the cost of clashing with presidential policies—which is unlikely to change. In the wake of congressional concern and discussion, it was noted that there may be a shift of emphasis in how the United States defines its role in future democratization processes. The U.S. may withdraw to a background support role in the democratization process, rather than a forward initiating force. Likewise, the U.S. may shift its emphasis from encouraging elections to encouraging institution-building in order to prepare societies for responsible, democratic government that does not exacerbate ethnic or sectarian conflict.

A major focus for the ensuing discussion was whether or not reform would ever occur in the Islamic world without pressure from the outside. Some participants agreed that, in an ideal world, reform would be internally-driven. Unfortunately, most of the Arab region is not in a state where internally driven reform could succeed, as entrenched governments often co-opt foreign business interests to keep reform off the table. Participants called on regional players to refrain from using the mere existence of outside pressure as an excuse to do nothing. Arab citizens are generally in favor of reform, and most of them are not overly concerned with the source of the impetus for reform. For a comparable example, Indonesian political reform sprang from within, sparked by the demands of the people. When the United States began supporting the reform initiative, the people did not back away from the process. As a result, democratic reform was successful in Indonesia.

Participants pointed out that the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq is perceived to be an imperialist campaign by most of the Arab world, marring the credibility of the subsequent democratic reform project. Others countered that since the French expedition in Egypt in 1798, every major change in the Middle East has come from outside. Many believed that the success or failure of Iraq as a model for democratic change in the region would determine the course of reform over the next decade, much as the Algerian government's nullification of the Islamic movement's election victory in 1992 served as a bellwether for the following years.

Turning to the role of Islamist political parties in electoral politics, participants debated what position the United States and Western countries should take toward these actors. Some participants were concerned that no mechanism had yet been created to guarantee that Islamist political parties would play by the rules and allow successive fair and competitive elections after they gained control of the government. Others downplayed this fear, asserting that the United States cannot

"We can encourage; we can coax; we can show our reform model as what we think is valid but we should not try to parachute our model externally into the region or the country we're focusing on."

choose winners in regional electoral contests, lest such interference undermine the idea of democracy. Furthermore, there is no way to achieve democracy without the participation of Islamic parties who command a wide following in many Islamic countries. As a result, the United States should respect the will of the people and place its faith in democracy as a self-correcting form of governance, at least in the long run. On the other hand, some participants argued that the United States cannot be indifferent to the outcome of elections, because democracy promotion is but one of a number of important issues on the U.S. policy agenda in the Middle East and Islamic world. The United States should not shy away from extending support to its natural local allies among the liberal democrats, even at the risk of appearing hypocritical.

Participants proposed various competing visions for the nature of democracy itself. Some said that there is only one type of democracy, whereas others believed that there are a variety of shades of democratic rule, including Islamic democracy. It was asserted that what most differentiates the authoritarian regimes currently in power from democratic systems is the complete lack of understanding on the part of both the rulers and the ruled of the separation of powers, such as that between army and state. Likewise, some of those who demand Islamic democracy do not understand the vital separation between religion and the state. Others dismissed the significance of this particular line of inquiry, countering that the average citizen was most interested in economic reform. In a choice between greater political freedoms and greater economic prosperity, it was argued that most would choose the latter.

Lastly, the discussion turned toward the debate on democracy promotion by the U.S. government. Because many foreign governments and even U.S. citizens do not trust the U.S. government and its policies, the reform initiative suffers from a lack of credibility. Recent polling shows that the spread of democratization in the Middle East is not supported by the majority of Americans. American credibility was further damaged by the apparent double-standard when the Bush administration expressed hostility toward Hamas after the party won a fair electoral contest. Nonetheless, polling in the Arab world shows that when Arabs think of democracy, they continue to cite the West as the paradigm.

Summary—Session 2

The second session of the Governance and Reform Task Force opened with a discussion of four dialectics at play in the governmental reform process across the Muslim world: Islamic/liberal, reform/radical, autocratic/popular, and internal/external. It was noted that the region faces two types of despots, either status quo despots who are presently in power, or radical Islamists who want to replace them. In opposition to both types of despots are the liberal civil society actors. These civil society actors cannot be effective unless they enfold all of their demands into a "Magna Carta" vis-à-vis the despots and their allies. Before liberal forces within a country will be able to triumph over the despots, three preconditions must be met. First, a cultural reformation must occur within the society.

"Some forces in our countries resist democratization, saying that it is not adaptable with our values as culture. This is nonsense. Democracy is democracy."

Citizens must learn to harmonize Islamic governance with good governance, the protection of human rights, and the preservation of internal and external peace. Second, civil society actors whose activities have long been restricted by dictatorial regimes must be empowered to function as an effective political force. Third, the United States must wield its power to set examples of democratic governance across the region and channel the internal debate toward democracy.

The discussion continued with questioning why the United States does not have a clear vision of reform even though it is the single most important actor on the reform stage in the Arab world. Rather than outline a clear reform program, U.S. officials often retreat and say that reform must take into account country-specific circumstances that cannot be dictated from outside. The United States, it was argued, has fallen back on support for freedom and democracy in a general sense, virtually abandoning the internal political arena to those with competing visions of society. As a result, the status quo regimes benefit. The United States should adopt a clear set of universal criteria that all democratic reform programs must contain, such as rule of law, minority rights, accountability, and transparency.

The United States, it was asserted, should not feel compelled to support groups such as Hamas or the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood who have not embraced the principles of democracy. There is no incompatibility between Islam and democracy—the Turkish Justice and Development (AKP) party is proof that an Islamic party can participate fully in a democratic system. The United States should strongly support those liberal parties which are the embodiment of democratic governance, regardless of how popular these parties are within their own societies at present. U.S. double standards regarding which parties to support in each Arab country give rhetorical ammunition to the critics of democracy promotion.

Participants pointed to a number of factors that need to be weighed in considering the inclusion or exclusion of Islamist actors in emerging democracies. The traditional view, supported by historical precedent, holds that inclusion of these actors leads to moderation and exclusion leads to further radicalization. However, it is not always certain that radicals will turn into moderates when they are brought into a democratic government; the results are mixed. Successful moderation occurs where there are strong state institutions already in place which can provide checks and balances.

As a byproduct, inclusion of radicals in the political process creates greater space for moderates to promote their agendas. In cases of extreme repression, radicals are often the only alternative. Bringing them into the political process shifts the broader social equation and demonstrates that radicals do not have large bases of support. An oft-neglected dynamic is that within the same group one often finds radicals and moderates. A political environment can be created that produces opportunities for moderates to bring in more recruits, while limiting the appeal of the radicals within the same party.

Opening participation to Islamic and radical parties when they are only the political forces does necessarily mean granting them full rights of participation. There are other forms of less-than-complete participation. For example, in Jordan,

various parties including the Islamists were brought together to discuss the National Charter. All had a seat at the table and many cross-party cooperative alliances were formed. In this case, the moderate-radical dynamic was neutralized as all parties had a stake in the success of the National Charter.

Egypt was cited as an example of the difficulties of political reform. Part of the reason for this is that the public in Egypt has not felt the benefits of the reforms that have been undertaken by the government on its behalf. Despite having a monopoly on power and money, the government has been unable to implement reforms that have noticeably improved the lives of the poor. What was different in this most recent parliamentary election in Egypt was that the state did not have control over votes via its control of the public sector. Without state regulation, a vacuum existed in which many influences determined the outcome of the vote.

The Muslim Brotherhood, which made significant gains in the last election, exists in a unique situation of "included and excluded," in that they are formally and legally banned, but are the only significant civil society force. The government feels more threatened by reformers because they are enemies within who require a new strategy to counter. The ruling party already has a long and successful track record fighting its fundamentalist opponents.

Egypt is now practicing "partial democracy." Although the system is theoretically open to any party, there is direct governmental interference against parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood to prevent them from winning a majority. Partial democracy, more than despotism or democracy, will lead to an increase in radicalism.

Defining the differences between radicalism and moderation proved a major point of contention. One participant said that while it is true that radicals can become progressives, the difference between present-day radicals and moderates in the Arab region is that the former espouse violence. Additionally, a radical view can be one outside the norm that does not accept the legitimacy of other visions. It was argued that a democratic system cannot function properly if radical forces or armed militias are able to enter it with force and retain their arms. There cannot be independent sources of force outside of the state within a democracy; this applies to the Kurdish militias in Iraq as well as Hizbullah and Hamas.

On the other hand, it was suggested that the discussion need not be so casually hostile to "radicalism," because all prophets, such as Jesus and Mohammad, were in their time considered radicals. On the contrary, there is a need for more such radicals to shake up the status quo and force change. One participant recast the debate on reform in terms of two competing visions. The democratic vision is forward-looking and seeks to deal with the world which we live in now, whereas the anti-democratic vision is backward-looking and seeks to purify religion and culture.

In the case of Hamas, it was suggested that the end goal is to condition the political movement to accept the will of the Palestinian people, especially in terms of relations with Israel. The test Hamas consistently faces is whether it will abide by the ceasefire with Israel established by the Palestinian Authority. Though the Hamas movement may be coaxed into changing its political attitudes, it is not reasonable to expect that the political process will change Hamas party members' core

"On the other hand, we're presented with the suggestion of embracing [Islamist groups] before acceptance in the hope that they will moderate. We can't have it both ways. It's either isolate first to compel or embrace in the hope that it will moderate. We can debate which works, but we can't do both."

beliefs. Another participant said that the issue at stake with Hamas was not the possibility that it might moderate its vision, but rather one of sudden empowerment. Hamas is bypassing these proposed stages of gradual political maturation to seize power directly. In response, others asserted that the empowerment issue was a moot point now that Hamas has gained power. The question at hand is whether or not political socialization can occur once a radical party is holding power.

It was pointed out that undemocratic authoritarian regimes have managed to crush all forces of opposition except for the Islamic forces. These forces are deeply rooted in society and tradition and therefore it is no surprise that they are so powerful within their societies. However, with the passing of time a democratic environment should nurture the emergence of other political currents. Islamists will be the most powerful societal force only in the short-term. The question is whether it is possible to make legitimate demands on a party that plays by the rules of democracy, even if that party's political views are considered abhorrent. When societies reach the stage when the public begins to clamor for elections, external actors cannot oppose elections however unfavorable internal circumstances may be for the liberal forces we favor.

Several participants added to the essential components of democracy that were proposed by one of the speakers. Separation of religion and the state and the independence of the judiciary were cited as overlooked but crucial components of a functioning democratic system. Another participant added the alternation of power and the willingness of parties to step aside if they are defeated in elections.

Although most people in the Arab region want democracy, they fear anarchy even more. This is why the Iraqi model has not inspired greater democratic openings. The American occupation of Iraq also diverts the energies of aspiring democrats, many of whom look toward the occupation and possible breakup of Iraq as a more pressing regional issue than democracy. These fears are enhanced by the widespread belief among Arabs that the United States will not withdraw from Iraq even after the new Iraqi government demands it.

In conclusion, one participant pointed out that there is a danger of overgeneralization in the discussion of Islamist political movements. Not all Islamic organizations involved in politics clamor for Islamic rule, because even among these organizations and political groupings there are differences in interpretation of Shari'a law. In Indonesia, for example, there is widespread recognition that an attempt to impose Shari'a law would destroy unity among Muslims, who would compete amongst themselves to impose their favored interpretation. As there are major differences between the clergy even with the same faith, Islamists should not be feared as a monolith.

Science and Technology Leaders Seminar

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IN 2005, THE U.S.–ISLAMIC WORLD SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY Leaders Seminar sought to identify the science and technology needs of the Islamic world, and the priorities and most pressing opportunities for cooperation in these fields between the U.S. and countries in the Islamic world. Building on the insights and conclusions thus achieved, the 2006 seminar was focused on developing specific, actionable proposals for partnerships, with particular regard to how the potential of the private sector might be harnessed. To this end, it brought together governmental science policy makers, representatives from the private sector, non-governmental science and education policy developers and advocates, educators and academics. The Science and Technology Leaders Seminar was organized by the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, with the support of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and hosted by the Government of Qatar.

One of the most important ways in which science and technology can make a difference is by fostering job creation and economic growth through the work of the private sector. In order for this engine to work as efficiently as possible, it is necessary for countries to adopt the correct macroeconomic policies, but gaining acceptance of these policies has proven difficult. In a few countries of the Islamic world, such as Qatar, has there been sufficient recognition of the importance of science and technology in any national strategy. In those countries with large reserves of oil and gas, there has never been a better time to make the policy decision to accord science and technology a higher priority in national budgets.

Although innovation is always risky, the risk can be reduced by judicious selection of resource investment based on a country's particular strengths. Consulting teams should be employed to lay out innovation strategies for companies, regions or even countries. On a related point, the bottom-up process of 'knowledge assessment,' which creates the conditions for technology growth, also has a role to play in developing this sector of the economy and is being carried out by the National Academies of Science in a cooperative World Bank project in Nigeria. It was pointed out that the private sector is a particularly good channel through which to develop cooperation between the U.S. and the Islamic world because partnership is integral to the business world, and partnership stimulates innovation. The private sector's role in development should involve, and in fact largely be confined to, the use of its particular area of expertise. Only in this way can effort be efficiently directed to yield maximum benefit. Although the goals of social and economic development, and the means to achieve them, differ substantially from normal business, the concept of fundable business models with measurable and tangible outcomes still holds. (There does, however, need to be agreement as to what the indicators should be; for example, in education, tangible outcomes could be published as research papers, or studies on the economic impact of research.) Additionally, 'normal business' is an integral part of the development within the Islamic world that participants in the workshop aim to stimulate and achieve.

Most of the industries in the Third World, especially in the Middle East, are small or moderate-sized assembly-type industries, and those people involved lack

"Companies cannot in and of themselves innovate—it must be as the result of empowered individuals working together."

education and an understanding of the value of research. Some developing countries have a weak and unstructured national system for research and development and there is no mechanism for linking supply and demand in the field of technology. There is also a split between science and technology because many research scientists, even those trained in the U.S., have never been trained to be technologists. To address this shortcoming, reformed post-doctoral training is needed; for example, academics could undertake specific development projects in industry. There is a need to create frameworks and channels through which companies can invest, and contact between ministries is valuable in assisting this. Organizations such as the World Economic Forum can be useful partners in generating and managing internal investment. An essential goal of development work through partnership must be local sustainability, since U.S. and foreign support and assistance cannot continue indefinitely. It is a little-known fact that businessmen from less developed countries who find success in the developed world can, in the right conditions, gain a larger return on their investment by returning to their homeland. Hence it could be possible to create an environment in which it is attractive for expatriate businessmen to make such a move, which would benefit the economy of the country to which they are returning, especially in economic sectors of particular need or priority. In seeking to cultivate hi-tech business, some strategic priority-setting is needed. Successful technology-based enterprises need local sources of graduates and suppliers, as well as an appropriate infrastructure, and the available resources will favor certain types of business over others. Governments need to create the right conditions to give financing institutions or individuals the certainty they need, and to avoid an overwhelming burden from legal, regulatory and other requirements.

There was a consensus in the seminar that education is a key precondition for progress in other areas, such as job creation or improving health care. The fact that there are no more than 350 universities in the Islamic world, to serve more than 1.1 billion people—of which more than 70 percent are under 35—was highlighted as being particularly worrisome.

Steps to develop education must be customized to the country and environment in which they are to be implemented. This development must be sustainable, of high and consistent quality, and should involve enhanced teaching and learning methodologies. Priorities include reform of educational policy, regulation, and curricula; improvement of teaching standards and the accreditation of qualifications; development of enabling frameworks; management of change; professional development of teachers; deployment of educational technology; improvements in school leadership; development of community-based and lifelong learning; and provision of more technical, vocational schools. The German system of technical schools (*Fachschule*) was cited as a desirable model, especially in contrast to the community colleges common in the Islamic world, which are not of a high standard. It is now widely recognized that inquiry and problem-based learning works better than rote learning and merits wider implementation. There is a large Cisco Network Academy program which operates through public-private partnerships in 167 countries, and uses blended

"Higher education institutions should adopt 'train-to-retain' and 'anti-brain-drain' strategies."

learning (rather than e-learning) to educate 500,000 students through 10,000 academies, assessing and accrediting them online. This can be a model for how corporate social responsibility programs can work, making the best use of technology.

A number of speakers highlighted the possibilities provided by the internet for e-learning and distance learning. It was noted that the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has placed its entire curriculum on the web, and that training teachers and academics in the Islamic world and elsewhere to do likewise would greatly improve access to knowledge. The U.S. Trade Development Agency is currently funding distance learning in Iraq, and the UNESCO network to connect Iraqi universities with others in the West by online lecturing, training courses, and joint research was cited as a model. Another means of increasing access to information is the provision of free or subsidized subscriptions to professional literature, whether online or on paper. For example, the Mellon Foundation is providing journals to African countries via JSTOR (the scholarly journal archive). Publishers are normally happy to send current and new books or journals abroad as this donation can be written off against taxes. The National Academies of Science have been able to negotiate a 95 percent discount for purchasing scientific literature for Pakistan, and this could be broadened to include the whole OIC.

It was pointed out that lack of commitment on the part of governments in the Islamic world has been an obstacle to cooperation. Many politicians do not give science and technology the focus that their rhetoric implies they intend to. It can also be difficult to work with the U.S. government. Nevertheless, science and technology collaboration at the international level can complement partnership efforts focused on the private sector or education, and international collaborations under government-to-government umbrella agreements can take place at the ministerial or institutional level, with wide societal benefits. These international collaborations may be bilateral, multilateral or regional, and can take numerous forms, such as exchange of information (seminars, classes, workshops, conferences), exchange of personnel (at the student, technical or administrative level), or jointly implemented technical projects. Initially, a group could be formed to recommend how to implement the first steps of such a partnership, and a pilot project could be implemented in a host country such as Qatar or another Gulf Cooperation Council member state.

It was noted that there can be a stigma associated with working with the U.S. Advocacy of teaching mostly or entirely in English (as takes place in Malaysia) must by tempered by consideration of the fact that lecturers and students in the Islamic world can find it humiliating to conduct all their work and study in English. However, U.S. universities are already engaged in many successful collaborations which have proven to be a vehicle for partnership that could be further developed and expanded to include businesses, and further facilitated by governments. An example of the type of initiative that such support can yield is the establishment of branch campuses of U.S. universities (Georgetown, Virginia Commonwealth, Cornell, Texas A&M, and Carnegie Mellon) in the Education City in Qatar. Science in particular is a discipline in which collaboration occurs

extensively, among academies of science (though the Interacademy Panel, IAP, for example). The chances of a partnership yielding success are higher when people work in an area in which there is already a dialogue or partnership.

Further scope for partnership is provided by the ideas of joint (U.S.–Islamic world) faculty and curriculum development programs, the establishment of project design teams that would create employment opportunities and strengthen the industrial base (particularly as spin-offs from the applied sciences), and university-business partnerships in which faculty and students would work with social entrepreneurs supported by a proven group of organizations that provide capital placement and professional development. Western universities, such as Stanford, MIT, Oxford, and Cambridge, provide numerous examples of successful university-business partnerships, whereas Islamic world universities tend to work more in isolation and with their main focus on teaching. 170 American universities have business incubators that earn 1 billion dollars per annum, an approach that needs to be adopted in the Islamic world. Another proposal was that there should be closer collaboration between expatriate scientists, who would remain in their country of residence, and their colleagues in their homeland, thus enabling the homeland to derive actual benefit from emigration. Governments or foundations could institute a system of funded sabbaticals or prizes that would allow top scientists—ideally expatriates—to spend a period of time in an Islamic world university. This would yield greater connections between advanced and developing universities, and could result in reinvestment and improvements in the institutions of the host country. As to the question of which fields of research in which to invest, it was noted that desalination and solar energy have a special focus in the Arab world and Africa, but that it is necessary to support a range of research in order to advance key interests. Shorter-term collaborations focused on specific problems (such as pollutants, food standards, or natural resource management) can yield almost immediate benefit, and can be tailored to local needs and available resources. The U.S. has engaged in projects of this type with Jordan, Qatar and the Central Asian states.

In developmental terms, 'leapfrogging' can allow a country to move from a less developed state to an advanced technological state while bypassing the intermediate steps. This could possibly be achieved through multidisciplinary educational systems that are linked more tightly to the applied sciences that meet national priorities and the needs of local industry—such as laser technology, fiber optics, composite materials, pharmaceuticals, fine chemicals, and biotechnology—and which obtain financing from business. The creation of high-quality educational establishments in which hi-tech businesses or international centers of excellence are involved, either of which can attract people from all over the world, would contribute to leapfrogging. Such centers of excellence could spring from the focused collaborative projects mentioned above. It was commented that many universities in the Islamic world could become world class with a concerted and intense effort to develop them, and that centers of excellence could be a means to this end. The Kazakh science and technology model, which is aiming to make rapid progress in leapfrogging, closely follows that of Finland, in which five billion

dollars is invested in research and development per annum, of which one third is from the government, one third from domestic businesses, and one third from the Nokia Corporation.

Higher education institutions in third-world countries should adopt a 'train-to-retain' and 'anti-brain-drain' strategy, part of which requires that the government create an environment conducive to technological and economic progress. The establishment of technology incubators can expedite the commercialization of spin-off technologies, which are often stifled in developing countries by lack of support and technical expertise. It was noted that it is necessary to maintain and strengthen the connection between higher education and research to ensure a supply of young people able to follow and contribute to the frontiers of science and technology and increase economic productivity through technology. The technology incubator in Taiwan provides an example of how to enable technically trained people to move into new industry.

Obtaining money for research is a constant challenge. It is important to some in the Islamic world that money is not seen to be coming from the U.S., but some speakers noted that large American investment in third-world research could make a major impact on research development. In Kuwait, where money is plentiful, there is a 5 percent tax on companies, the proceeds of which are directed towards science and technology. However, because the Kuwaiti science and technology sector is not developed enough to have use for all the money, and cooperation amongst Arab states is poor, much of it is not put to good use. On the other hand, the Arab Science and Technology Foundation has experienced difficulty in securing funding for a major grants program. COMSTECH, the science and technology focused body established by the OIC which aims to strengthen cooperation among states of the Islamic world, has not been consistently supported by all member states.

Many Islamic world states are unable to spend larger sums of money directed to science and technology research and development, owing to their low level of science and technology infrastructure and small hi-tech private sector. Non-governmental organizations and foundations can be a source of funding. An example of such a program is provided by the initiatives of the Carnegie Corporation in which money is given to universities in Africa, Russia and the Caucasus, to be directed towards the priorities identified by the universities. This type of program could be employed elsewhere. Empowering universities is an important precondition to strengthening education, research and innovation. In many Islamic world states, higher education is or is seen to be state-controlled, and therefore does not have the freedom to reach out independently. As a result, the quantity and quality of research, and the training of talent, suffer. Typically, a large and excessive amount of expenditure goes towards salaries; for example, Egypt has 170 research institutes which spend about five billion dollars in total, of which 85 percent is spent on salaries. This system is in need of reform.

Considerable discussion was devoted to the question of student exchange and training. It was emphasized that there is a significant chance that when students go

abroad for study they may never return. Different approaches to dealing with this 'brain drain' problem, which is more serious in poorer countries, were advocated. Some speakers pointed out that if a country pays for its students to go abroad it can insist that, upon conclusion of their studies, the students either return to the country or repay the money. Other speakers concentrated on the need to attract the students back to their homeland, rather than force them to return on coercion. "Global Science Partnerships", a U.S.–Islamic world partnership scheme modeled on that which the U.S. has with other parts of the world, was proposed. This would involve the U.S. educating students from Islamic world countries provided that their home country guaranteed to provide facilities, support and funding for them to return home upon conclusion of their studies. The students could undertake industrial or other training while in the U.S., and the program could also involve teacher-training. After returning home, the student and his/her former supervisor would write joint research proposals for a number of years, making applications for funding to the appropriate bodies in their respective countries. The number of students participating would depend on a country's ability to take them back upon completion of their course. Such a program would be likely to have long-term benefits. An arrangement whereby students would enroll in Islamic world universities but would receive one or two years' advanced training in the U.S. might also be useful. Iraq would be an example of a situation where problems of environmental contamination could be addressed through joint U.S.–Iraqi supervision of students. In this case, scientists that left Iraq during the Saddam Hussein era could be a resource for the development of joint research projects. There are ongoing student exchange schemes, but most do not have a strong focus on the Islamic world. One that does is run by the Islamic Development Bank, which funds scholarship opportunities for students to go to the U.S. for undergraduate or postgraduate training, and this could serve as a model. It was also mentioned that more opportunities of the type afforded by the Fulbright program, which is effective but rather small, would be useful.

Scholarly exchange is no less important. Executive seminars given by prominent scientists, mathematicians, etc., on visits to universities in the Islamic world could be a cost-effective way of transferring knowledge, and an "academic council", which would entail visits to these universities by groups of eminent scientists who would then offer advice and support to the academics there, would help to raise standards. Financial support for scientists who wish to attend conferences would not cost a large amount of money but would make a great difference to their research. Some scientist exchange programs are already operational, such as a program sponsored by Senator Ted Stevens of Alaska, which brings Russian visiting scientists to the U.S. to work with their collaborators, or the Science Corps program, led by Nobel Prize-winner Harold Varmus and supported by the Millennium Science Initiative, in which scientific professionals travel to and spend time in developing world countries to advise on research directions, to train scientists and to collaborate. There is also an existing program on strengthening scientific decision-making, and a globally-based study of energy options is now underway; the National Academies of Science are involved in both

of these initiatives. To build scholarly connections there is a need for a more complete mechanism for identifying the best and most active scientists, technologists and innovators in the Islamic world and diaspora, and national academies could play a role in addressing this.

It was noted that the Muslim states of the Caucasus have a very different historical experience from the rest of the Islamic world because of their former position as parts of the Soviet Union. This has left a legacy of a relatively high level of education and a large base for development in terms of specialists, scholars and infrastructure. This could be a resource for the rest of the Islamic world. Students from the Islamic world can be more amenable to studying abroad in another Islamic world country, and during the Soviet era many students from the Arab world, Turkey and Pakistan studied in Azerbaijan. Hence, it was proposed that educational, applied science or agricultural institutions be established in this region, which could engage the wider Islamic world. Creating the conditions for using educated professionals locally is also vital, and the post-Soviet experience in the Caucasus shows that collaboration with the U.S. can be helpful in building up local scientists.

Attention was drawn to the current debate in the Islamic world about the 'Islamization of knowledge,' and, connected with this debate, the belief of some that science is based on a kind of agnosticism and is chiefly a Western discovery. It was proposed that an explicitly non-ethnocentric university to study the history of science be established in the Islamic world, and that efforts be made to improve the public understanding of science.

In conclusion, the Science and Technology Leaders Seminar addressed the question of how the private sector in the Islamic world could be strengthened through partnership with the U.S., and how the private sector itself could play a role in developing science and technology in the Islamic world, especially though education and research. Proposals were offered that focused on improving the linkages between academia, research institutions, and the hi-tech private sector. The need to focus efforts to reflect national priorities was emphasized, and the importance of creating the right conditions for retaining talented individuals in a particular country and for private sector growth and investment was highlighted. It was also noted that patience is needed when laying the foundations of innovation.

A number of speakers recommended that attention should be paid to examples of success, where countries have managed to reform or improve their educational system and develop their economy, such as Malaysia, or to develop a hi-tech private sector, such as Turkey. Other examples of industrial success included the development of composite to reduce pollution of textile industry in Egypt, technology for production and storage of gari from dried cassava root in Nigeria, discovery of new class of anti-epileptic bio-agents from indigenous medicinal plants in Pakistan, and oral rehydration therapy for diarrhea treatment in Bangladesh.

Finally, it was proposed that mechanisms such as directed exchanges and small follow-up meetings be convened to implement the recommendations of the Seminar. These might include the identification of existing science and technology centers which could serve as facilities for interaction.

"If you only train for yesterday's technology you won't be able to close the technological gap."

Arts and the Public Sphere: Arts and Culture Leaders Seminar

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ART IS OFTEN A REFLECTION OF NOT ONLY ITS CREATOR, BUT OF the artist's interpretation of society as well. At the same time, an artist has a unique power to directly or indirectly influence societal attitudes and opinions on almost any subject. The Arts and the Public Sphere: Arts and Culture Leaders Seminar was convened for the first time this year, in an effort to address the important contributions art, music, and culture bring to society, and to explore ways in which these media can help to increase understanding between societies, break down stereotypes, and influence positive cross-cultural relations between the Muslim and Western worlds.

The Arts and Culture Leadership Seminar was co-chaired by Salman Ahmed, lead guitarist of popular Pakistani rock band Junoon, and Jane Alexander, American actress and former Director of the National Endowment for the Arts. Cynthia Schneider, Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, coordinated and facilitated the Seminar. The Seminar featured discussion of print art, music, film, and literature; although significant challenges and risks were identified, participants almost unanimously supported further engaging the arts as a means to promote positive cross-cultural understanding between Islam and the U.S.

Cynthia Schneider opened the seminar with a question to Salman Ahmed regarding his intentions in creating his music and his recent film, *The Rock Star and the Mullahs*, and his interpretation of the role of arts and culture in the Islamic world. Ahmed attributed his interest in and relations with "the other" to a desire to learn about their culture, music, and sports. Recognizing the inherently multidimensional nature of humanity, Ahmed identified these as crucial means by which to bridge differences. As such, he noted using emotion to communicate knowledge of culture and religion through his music and films. Ahmed contested the notion that there is no place for music and art in Islam, citing evidence of centuries of internationally renowned and respected Islamic poetry, music, and art.

Schneider posed a similar question to American actress Jane Alexander, regarding her interpretation of the role of the artist in the United States and in the Muslim world, and the amount of influence an artist has on local, national, and international society. Alexander identified the Danish cartoon controversy and other controversial art she dealt with during her tenure at the National Endowment for the Arts as examples of the power that art can have not only for good, but at times for bad. However, she defended one's right to freedom of expression and recognized that even art which is offensive can have positive ramifications, because it often brings to the table controversial issues that would not otherwise be discussed, and it brings artists to the table in situations where they would not otherwise be addressed. Alexander emphasized that because artists always have an audience, they constitute a remarkable opportunity to engage in cultural diplomacy and cultural exchange. She called on the U.S. government to show vast support for such efforts, and on the non-profit art industry to actively seek opportunities to learn from and engage their counterparts in the Muslim world.

The influence of hip-hop music and culture worldwide has grown enormously in recent years. Founder of *A Tribe Called Quest* and a Muslim–American

"We should just get together and just jam. Listen to some music. Jam. That is what it is, really. We are so close. We are so similar in so many ways. The differences, they are minor compared to that."

"The most powerful images today are coming through music, through film, and through literature, and that is the way that people mostly interact with the West."

himself, Ali Shaheed Muhammad was asked to address the role of American musicians in the hip-hop phenomenon, and his own role in bridging American and Muslim cultures. Muhammad noted that hip-hop and other music often have the most influence on children and adolescents and should therefore carry positive messages targeted at them. Regardless of religious affiliation or ideas, music educates and can be used as a tool to bridge gaps, teach lessons, and forge connections between peoples.

Turning the conversation toward film, Schneider asked Bader Ben Hirsi, producer of the first Yemeni feature film, to discuss his experience and intentions in creating his film, *A New Day in Old Sana'a*. As a Yemeni living in the UK, Ben Hirsi became frustrated with the sensationalist media coverage of the Arab world and decided to use his film-making abilities to contribute to the public knowledge of his country, Yemen. Ben Hirsi said the film-making process emphasized the lack of freedom of speech in Yemen and the tendency for the media to fabricate information. As examples of such, he cited occasional verbal abuse toward the actresses involved, the difficulties the Yemeni government posed to their funding efforts, and the countless false articles written about the film before it was completed. Nonetheless, he and producer Ahmed Abdali succeeded in creating a film that gives viewers an honest portrayal of Yemen "behind the walls." As intended, it conveys age-old Yemeni culture, customs and traditions that otherwise go unnoticed, in a way that is accessible to diverse audiences worldwide.

Amy Tan is an author who has influenced international audiences with her work as well. Asked to address the role of fiction in confronting political problems and increasing understanding across cultures, Tan described her perspective as a novelist as ignorant and curious. She does not write with the intention of conveying specific messages that she thinks an audience should hear; rather she aims to create a story that will express her own personal vision and explore her own personal questions, discovering the answer for herself along the way. Her imperative to the reader is to create a story worth the money they pay for the book, and what more they glean from it is up to them. Nonetheless, even without having the intention to deliver a deliberate message, an author does have the power to influence the public through the art of the story that they tell.

Similar to Tan, Michael Nozik, producer of the movie *Syriana,* expressed that it is the role of the artist to reflect on themselves. From their individual reflection inherently develops a reflection on their culture, as well as often a reflection on their general state of being. To answer Schneider's question about how to develop a market for Muslim artists in the United States, Nozik noted that resources should be directed to identifying and helping young Muslim artists who are already reflecting on their culture through music, film, or art to sell their product as such, rather than as purely entertainment.

The discussion that followed highlighted some of the negative effects of relying on art as a medium for cultural exchange. It was initiated by one audience member who pointed out that before a market can be developed for Muslim art in the United States, the film and art industry must be cultivated within the

Muslim and Arab worlds. Censorship and intimidation often inhibit artistic development and hinder an artist's willingness to freely reflect on their culture or society. Furthermore, in arenas where artists can express themselves freely, the social commentary they portray often results in unfair stereotypes, which then become difficult to erase.

Taking into account the potential negative influence of art, as well as its potential positive contributions to cross-cultural understanding, and the recognition that free expression is easier in some locales than others, the challenge then becomes how to develop the most effective programs to promote culturally sensitive and reflective art as a means of cultural diplomacy or cultural exchange. Suggestions included organizing an independent film festival in the Arab world or a similar festival of Arab and Muslim films in the United States, a joint American–Muslim hip hop jam session, and the creation of stationary exhibits that could be sent around the world and displayed in different locations.

How to finance such initiatives, in the United States or abroad, was an important topic of conversation during this Seminar, as well. Joan Spero, President of the Doris Duke Charitable Foundation for the arts described Doris Duke's admiration of Islamic art and commitment to promoting its exposure world-wide, and addressed the dilemma that foundations such as her own face in determining where to direct their support. Having worked in government previously, Spero noted that as a non-governmental entity the Doris Duke Foundation is fortunate to not be constrained by federal regulations; however, as such it does not have the resources—financial or otherwise—to support as many initiatives as it would like. Spero identified current visa regulations as an additional constraint on the Doris Duke sponsored programs, in particular those that seek to bring Muslim artists to the United States.

Despite the challenges, all speakers and participants in the Arts and Culture Leadership Seminar agreed on the potential for the arts to evoke positive change and promote cross-cultural understanding. There was praise for Brookings for having included artists in the U.S.–Islamic World Forum, and an almost unanimous interest in convening additional groups of similar composition to further engage on related issues.

In one of the last statements, Salman Ahmed cited events in Pakistan and India as examples of pop culture's powerful influence on politics, where film, music and sports—as well as business—were the catalysts for their governments to stop fighting. As such, he recommended that Brookings help to foster a collaboration between artists from Muslim countries who appeal to their respective local populaces, and individuals from the West who would resonate in the Muslim world. Such a combination would have influence on multiple levels across a variety of societies, and could represent effective cultural diplomacy among the Muslim world and the West.

Peter Singer, Director of the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World at The Brookings Institution, identified three important conclusions from the Arts and Culture Leadership Seminar: there must not only be efforts to bring

"Art, however, is a double-agent proposition, because it creates dramatic and lasting images, and here is a danger that artistic works—especially film industry, plays, novels—can contribute also to stereotyping that does not advance mutual understanding."

"With U.S.–Islamic relationships we have to show both sides—first of all, breakdown stereotypes—you know, humanize what we have demonized, and pop culture does that. Film does that."

together artists from different parts of the world, but also to bring together artists and policy-makers; there must be efforts to convene similar groups elsewhere and often; research must be done in parallel with these efforts to ensure the best, most efficient, and most effective practices. The research should address questions such as how to ensure adequate private sector funding for cultural exchange, what should be the role of governments in supporting cultural exchange, and how to develop initiatives that have the deepest and broadest impact on societies and individuals. Dr. Singer also emphasized the importance of turning even the richest of discussions into action, rather than resting with dialogue alone.

Bridging the Divide:
Muslim Minorities Leaders Seminar

THE TENSIONS THAT HAVE DEVELOPED BETWEEN MUSLIM minority communities and European societies demonstrate the importance of bridging the divide between these separate communities. The Muslim Minority Leaders Seminar brought together experienced individuals to discuss this point. There were three objectives for this seminar: to identify key concerns of Muslim minority communities; to determine how Muslim minority communities can assist in developing positive relations between the United States and the broader Muslim world; and to identify capabilities on which to better capitalize within the Muslim communities.

M.J. Akbar, Editor-In-Chief of *The Asian Age*, began the first session with a discussion of the Muslim minority experience in India. He argued that minority status is not only determined by sheer population numbers, or lack thereof, but also by whether minority communities feel empowered. If a group is not empowered, it sees itself through a lens that tends to justify its minority status.

Akbar continued by both emphasizing the importance of the participation of minority communities in the political process, and of having a political system that evolves to account for their needs. He cited the successful gathering of forces within the Indian Muslim community to topple the Hindu–nationalist BJP government in favor of Congress in the last Indian elections as an example of such. He also emphasized the long tradition of Hindu–Muslim cooperation. This does not mean that Hindus and Muslims are always in agreement, but there is a respect for disagreement that has existed throughout India's long history. The existence of fruitful dialogue has limited the development of a minority complex within the Indian–Muslim community.

The second speaker to address the key concerns of Muslim minority communities was Hady Amr, Co-President of the Arab Western Summit of Skills. Amr stressed the importance of Muslim communities, particularly those in the United States, to act as mediators and interlocutors between the West and the Islamic World. At the same time, Muslim minority communities must mediate between established Muslims and immigrant Muslims within their respective communities. Divisions only serve to reinforce stereotypes.

Amr continued by emphasizing the need for Muslims to develop their identity as Western Muslims. This requires a process where Islam is seen as native and accepted within Western society. Equally as important, Muslims must decide how to define the term Islamic state. Amr concluded that it should be an ends-driven term and not a means-driven term; an Islamic state should reference the quality of the actions of its people and not specific stipulated rules. This also points to the importance of using a lexicon of terms that will improve and clarify discourse on the Muslim world, as opposed to confuse it.

Muqtedar Khan, Professor at the University of Delaware, and a Non-Resident Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, was the third speaker for the session. Professor Khan emphasized two issues that all Muslim minority communities face: the challenge of becoming part of the mainstream within their societies and the problem of getting other religious and ethnic

"The point being that minorities and minority-ism is not a function of demographics; it is a function of empowerment. If any community feels that it is empowered within a particular complex society, then it doesn't see itself as a minority."

communities to accept the presence of Islam. This is particularly true in Europe, where recent events have highlighted underlying political and religious tensions. Khan pointed out that Muslims in Europe remain economically and socially marginalized. While American Muslims are not as socially marginalized as their European counterparts, Khan contended that the interdependency of minority Muslim communities will have a worldwide effect, particularly if the problems in Europe persist.

Finally, Khan proposed an alliance of Western Muslim minority communities that would focus on five areas of action. The first: facing the challenge of internal extremism; the second, empowering Muslim institutions in the West. For example, there must be organizations that interpret *fiqh* for Muslim communities in the West. The third action area: creating organizations to exercise political influence; the fourth, challenging the rise of Islamophobia; and the fifth, working on bridging the divide between Western and Muslim societies.

Salam Al Marayati, Executive Director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council, focused on how American–Muslims could engage the policy making and opinion-making sectors of American society. He began by emphasizing the importance of American Muslims recognizing that the United States is their home and prioritizing the issues that they discuss to pressure decision-makers accordingly. This will go a long way in dispelling the myth that Muslims are alien within American society.

Al Marayati stressed the importance of effective communication in working to overcome the stereotypes of Muslims in areas where Muslims reside as minority communities. The American–Muslim community must amplify Islam's message against terrorism, create partnerships between law enforcement and grassroots communities, and develop guidelines for the facilitation of those partnerships. Unfortunately, this process is an uphill battle, but it is one in which the Muslim community must be active. Seminar participants all agreed on the importance of dialogue, and more importantly, the need to use clear, mutually understood language, in order that Islam would be properly understood in Western societies.

The discussion continued to address the concept of citizenship. The participants debated whether Islam limited certain rights and responsibilities of national citizenship, especially with regard to the concept of the Muslim Ummah. The question was raised whether citizenship is enough to make somebody part of a society. The seminar came to the conclusion that citizenship was only the first step to necessary empowerment and acceptance of pluralism within an entire society, particularly within a democratic system.

The second session began with a presentation by Mohammed Abdul Aziz on the status of British Muslims and the successes their community has had in changing perceptions within British society. The goal of the session was to determine how Muslim minority communities could affect positive change within their own societies. While British Muslims are only 1.2 percent of the population, they reside in concentrated areas within British society. This has resulted in the rise of "Islamophobia." Abdul Aziz identified four aspects of Islamophobia: outright prejudice and hatred, employment discrimination, direct and indirect institutional disadvantage, and the manifestation of "Islamophobic" stereotypes.

Working with legislators, the Muslim community in the United Kingdom has put statutes in place to protect Muslims from hate crimes, riots, and acts of incitement. The Muslim community has also been quite successful in protecting Muslims from discrimination in the workplace. Unfortunately, institutional discrimination continues to exist, particularly when looking at socio-economic indicators such as housing and crime statistics. Even in the public sector, Muslims are underrepresented in Parliament and the media. However, on a positive note, the British government now requires public service agencies to track public sector employment statistics on various levels. The Muslim community is trying to persuade the government to identity religion as significant, in a first step toward pressuring institutions to reform. Finally, Abdul Aziz expressed hope in the ability to counter stereotypes.

Mohammed Abdul Aziz concluded his remarks by identifying four areas upon which British Muslims must concentrate. First, developing Muslim leaders who have both a firm understanding of Islam and of the current social context in which they live. Second, developing a sense of citizenship that balances responsibility towards the world, responsibility towards the Muslim Ummah, and responsibility to one's local society. Third, supporting equality within the Muslim community. Finally, supporting a process of integration that actively involves Muslims and enables them to feel a part of the broader society.

The proceeding discussion related the Muslim experience in Britain to the Muslim experience in the United States. Hady Amr argued that Muslim youth leaders must be seen not just as Muslims of a religious community, but as American leaders. Most of the participants agreed. Muslim leaders must be able to engage issues that are important to the countries in which they live. The participants also agreed that interfaith dialogue must expand to include interfaith service. Many participants argued that much more can be accomplished if people of different faiths can work together. Barriers, particularly those that revolve around stereotypes, will fall more quickly in an environment of collaboration.

The discussion then turned to identifying the different situations that minority communities face. In particular, participants contrasted the experience of the Muslim community in the Philippines with that of Muslim community in the United States. Establishing ties between these communities would provide a valuable tool for understanding how various Muslim minority communities are working to adapt and adjust to different social settings.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Dr. Saleha Abedin asked where Muslim minority communities are going and to whom should they turn as partners. He noted that it is important for Muslim minority communities to have answers to these questions in order to build bridges, improve relationships with other communities, and challenge stereotypes about themselves and others. Dr. Abedin also encouraged countries with Muslim majorities to pay more attention to Muslims living in minority communities elsewhere.

The seminar participants decided that it was important to coordinate strategies to empower Muslim minority communities and integrate and involve them in the political participation processes in their home countries. It was emphasized that these strategies should be open and should allow for the input of other Muslims.

"We have people who understand the context that we live in but have very little knowledge of Islam, Islamic history, Islamic law, jurisprudence, et cetera. On the other hand, we have people who understand Islamic law, all that kind of stuff, but don't have an understanding of the context or how that law should operate in that context. So we need to sort of somehow synthesize what's happening there. We need to bring those two sets of leadership together to promote and develop leadership."

"I think also we need to train and instruct our people on how to be civically involved and integrated into the society, and let them realize that they don't have to compromise their religious integrity to be part and parcel of the integration process in America."

The Media Effect: The U.S.–Islamic World Journalism Leaders Seminar

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JOINTLY CHAIRED BY ZAFAR SIDDIQI, CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER of *CNBC Arabiya,* and Margaret Warner, Senior Correspondent at *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* (PBS), the session saw presentations by David Aaron, Director of the RAND Center for Middle East Public Policy; Faisal Al Kasim, Host of *Al-Jazeera*; Bambang Harymurti, Editor of *Tempo*; Rami Khouri, Editor-at-Large of *The Daily Star*; Eric Larson, Senior Policy Analyst at RAND; Carol Saivetz, Research Associate at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University; and Mohd Annuar Zaini, Chairman of BERNAMA. The session initially focused on the results of a comparative analysis of media reporting and later expanded to cover issues such as the responsibility of the media and its role as an opinion shaper. The study, conceptualized by Marvin Kalb, Senior Fellow at the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University, and carried out by teams from Harvard and RAND, sought to examine how different media in the West and the Muslim world reported on the same event: the Israeli withdrawal from Gaza.

The RAND team used a number of measures to determine the differences between media outlets' coverage of the Gaza withdrawal. The team compared the number and diversity of individuals quoted in each story as a measure of balanced reporting, including quotes from Palestinians and Israelis both in favor of and opposed to the withdrawal. It also considered the themes and specific issues that each outlet focused on as a measure of comparison.

There were four main human interest themes that the RAND team looked for in media coverage. The first concerned Israeli settlers' losses; the second, the prospect or actuality of clashes between Israeli security forces and settlers; the third, prospects for post-withdrawal chaos among Palestinians; and the last, Palestinian hopes for the future. The team sought to compare a fairly wide range of sources from different countries, in order to get a sense of media reporting from both the Western and Muslim world. It considered Israeli media as a point of comparison, as well. It was noted that the Israeli media tended to quote Israeli pro-withdrawal voices and the Palestinian media tended to quote Palestinian voices. However, *Al-Quds*, which had an exceptionally high average number of quotes in its stories, drew very heavily from both the Israeli pro-withdrawal community and Palestinian voices. On average, there were not many quotes from Israeli anti-withdrawal sources.

The three additional countries that RAND examined were the United States, Germany, and Malaysia. In the United States, there was a high amount of television footage of Israeli clashes, but little political or analytical reporting. In both American and Malaysian sources, the quotes and themes used shifted over time in a morally satisfying arc: while the stories initially focused on prospects for violence, they seemed to convey relief when the worst fears were avoided. Limited attention was paid to the possible future of Palestinians in Gaza. The German sources were the most balanced, as they generally quoted from two or more sources and had the highest amount of political analysis.

The RAND team also tallied the number of words four different media outlets devoted to coverage of the Gaza withdrawal, including *CNN, National Public Radio*

(NPR), *The Washington Post,* and *ABC News.* The amount of coverage peaked during different periods including: the beginning of the withdrawal on August 15, during the forced evacuations beginning August 17, during the standoff at the synagogue on August 22, and at the end of the withdrawal on September 12. In various sources, including pan-Arab, Palestinian and Israeli ones, it is typical to see a very high peak in media reporting initially and then diminished attention as a story loses its salience. The Israeli and Arabic language media showed similar trends, although they peaked at slightly different times. The Israeli coverage peaked prior to the forced evacuations, likely in anticipation of the clashes and their significance for Israel. The Arabic language media coverage peaked after the standoff.

Before the withdrawal began, CNN used significantly more quotes from Israeli anti-withdrawal sources than Palestinian or Israeli pro-withdrawal quotes. As it became clear that the clashes would not amount to widespread violence or civil war, there was a decline in media reporting overall. It was also found that CNN focused on the theme of Israeli loss slightly more than Israeli clashes during the pre-withdrawal phase, but in the early phases of withdrawal, the former predominated by 6 to 1. Overall, a significant amount of space was devoted to coverage of the Gaza withdrawal during the course of its implementation.

Carol Saivetz raised the question of whether the media can be considered an opinion-shaper according to an international relations "constructivist" theory framework. While national identity influences the way any state views the international system, identifies threats, and determines foreign policy, some analysts point out that identity is constantly being negotiated and changing over time. This has implications for the national narratives of both Israelis and Palestinians. Although each side's respective media tended to predominantly use quotes from among its own citizens, nuanced reporting in some Israeli outlets and *Al Quds,* for example, allowed for some kind of conversation between the two sides, and indicated changes in the respective national narratives. For example, *Ha'aretz,* was very careful to quote the Palestinian authority, the Palestinian military, and the Palestinian populace, in order to differentiate between the different factions of Palestinian society. By comparison, *Yediot Ahronoth* and *The Voice of Israel* merely quoted "Palestinians." The latter quoted primarily from pro-withdrawal forces, while *Yediot Ahronoth* offered a balance between the pro- and anti-withdrawal sources.

Among Arabic-language media outlets surveyed, *Al-Hayat* included more quotes from pro-withdrawal Israeli sources at the beginning of the forced evacuations period, while *Al-Sharq* quoted more frequently from anti-withdrawal Israeli sources throughout the withdrawal period. Therefore, each of these outlets seemed to tell a very different story.

Feisal Al-Kasim suggested that the data seemed to confirm the "golden media wisdom" best summarized in the film, *Dead Poets' Society,* where Robin Williams' character tells his students that their view of things depends greatly on where they stand. Similarly, media organizations and their generalists tend to view the world according to their political biases, emotions and stance. He noted that many Arab observers think that the American coverage is not that different from the Israeli coverage.

"...The Arab media has not done a good job of explaining why ordinary Americans supported the war in Iraq or many of the things the American government has been doing."

Rami Khouri was not surprised by the study's findings. He pointed out that Arab, American, and Israeli media are all subject to some amount of pressure to write about what their readers want to hear in order to sell their product. Media coverage is also influenced by the ideological preferences of an organization's owners or managers, particularly in the examples of *Fox* or *Al-Manar* television networks. Khouri noted that the most dramatic media development since 9/11 and the war in Iraq has been the emergence of the media not only as a forum for confrontation between many dimensions of society, but also as an instrument of warfare, literally and figuratively. Embedded journalists in war zones enable the media to play a more direct role in war, and figuratively, the media is used as an instrument in political battles within and between society and government.

The quality of journalism has increased as Arab and American media have become increasingly competitive in an increasingly commercial environment. The United States has reacted to this by creating its own Arab media such as *Al-Hurra*, *Radio Sawa* and *Hi* magazine. There is also greater segmentation of the American and Arab media so that there may be five golfing channels and numerous shopping channels in the United States but also four or five music video, business and fashion channels in the Arab world. Both Arab and American media are increasingly entertainment-driven rather than fact and analysis-driven. Both cater to public opinions and public emotions. On both sides, particularly in recent years, there has been a strong tendency toward emotionalism, flag-waving nationalism and vindictiveness alongside more sexy material, argumentative approaches to journalism and ideological manifestations.

There is a fascinating divergence between the privately run media and the state-managed media. As Arab media is becoming more privatized, the American media seems to be more under the influence of the government. *Al-Hurra*, *Sawa,* and the payment of journalists in Iraq are all examples of this new phenomenon in the United States. It was suggested by one participant that an analysis of the Iraq war in *Al-Jazeera,* or *Al-Arabiya,* as examples of mainstream Arab networks, would portray a more balanced coverage of the subject than *CNN*, *Fox*, or *MSNBC.* It was noted that most of the red lines in the Arab media are gone, with the exception of two: not criticizing the monarch in monarchies and not criticizing the security services in most Arab countries. Issues that were never previously discussed are now being raised in the Arab media, including sexual violence, legitimacy of regimes, government spending, corruption, domestic abuse, and homosexuality. However, in-depth, comprehensive analysis of Israel or the United States is still lacking, and there is still very little accountability of Arab mass media to their own local societies.

Regarding American media, it was pointed out that there is very little probing of the nuances, diversity, or pluralism of Arab society. There is confusion in American official policy, mass culture and mass media over separating the religious from the political and national dimensions of life. This may be due, in part, to the United States still reacting to the Islamic revolution in Iran and the hostage crisis, but at a deeper level, there is also the fundamental problem of the United

"...Political change will foster media change more than the other way around...if you get more open governance you will get more disparate voices in the media."

States not understanding the role of historical memory and angst transmitted from one generation to another.

In Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim state, journalists are aware that the Iraq war is not as clear-cut as the American media portrays it to be. However, as discussed above, it was noted that the media has to consider market forces and commercial pressures to sell newspapers. As such, a local headline may be more similar to *Al-Jazeera,* while the content would be more similar to that of Western media. Bambang Harymurti posited that because the war is often confusing and produces no clear 'winner' on a given day, it is important that this confusion be conveyed to the reader, even as he is being bombarded by propaganda from all sides.

Mohd Annuar Zaini argued that while it may be very difficult for journalists to remain detached from the external commercial and managerial constraints on their reporting, or from their personal religious, cultural, political, and social preferences and environments in which they operate, it is possible to expect a paradigm shift in ideals. All sides must be genuinely interested in resolving the underlying issues in order for a conflict to be resolved. The media has the ability to play a potent role in bridging the chasm of misunderstanding between the United States and the Muslim world, but this can only be achieved in a supportive political environment. Zaini emphasized that the media does not exist in isolation.

Several efforts may be pursued to bridge this gap. Khouri suggested that it would be practical and beneficial to convene serious, credible journalists from both cultures to work together in several ways, such as reporting on similar issues from their perspectives and subsequently writing a joint story, two separate stories, or a series of stories together. This should be supplemented by an exchange visit, for example, whereby a journalist from *The Washington Post* or *The New York Times* would spend some time working at Lebanon's *The Daily Star* or *Al-Ahram Weekly* and vice versa. This would be the single most useful way for people to bridge this divide without sacrificing their journalistic standards.

...freedom cannot be viewed as something infinite or absolute. We must appreciate sensitivities on subjects that are taboo, such as anti-Semitism whether against Jews or Arabs. Islamophobia should also be itemized in the same category.

Action and Reaction: Moving Forward

There is an international, existential debate over the nature of change—whether it is good or bad, positive or negative. Throughout the 2006 U.S.–Islamic World Forum it became evident that this debate exists, too, between American and Muslim world leaders, for example, regarding the nature of change in political circumstances, such as Iraq, or the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The last session of the Forum, Leaders Roundtable 4: Action and Reaction: Moving Forward, offered an opportunity for speakers and participants to reflect on conversations and presentations held during the previous two days, and propose constructive recommendations for follow-up action and future U.S.–Islamic World Forum discussions.

Peter W. Singer, Director of the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World at The Brookings Institution moderated this last Leaders Roundtable. It featured remarks from Muhammadu Buhari, Former Nigerian Head of State; Elmar Mammadyarov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan, and Shibley Telhami, Professor at the University of Maryland and Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution. Each speaker was asked to reflect on what they learned over the course of the Forum, and what the subsequent steps for action should be.

To open the discussion, Dr. Singer spoke about the importance of change and how one confronts it. He noted that change is often frightening and sometimes predictable—such as the change that will inevitably be caused by the increasing number of women entering the workforce across the Muslim world—yet change is at times unpredictable, as well. Few people, if any, would have predicted that U.S.–Islamic world relations would have been shaped by a cartoon in Denmark. There are also times when change should be predictable, but still manages to surprise the masses, such as the case of an overwhelming Hamas victory in the Palestinian Authority elections, which in retrospect seems obvious, but at the time surprised even Hamas. Dr. Singer concluded that change is inevitable and cannot be defeated. He identified September 11th as the force that reshaped global politics for his generation and fundamentally changed the way that he and many others view the world. He described one of the primary goals of the U.S.–Islamic World Forum as defining how best to understand change and take advantage of the opportunities it presents to American and Muslim leaders for positive political, economic, and societal development.

General Muhammadu Buhari noted that the change that resulted from the fall of the Soviet Union in 1989 impacted many countries in Africa in a similar way to the impact of September 11th. At the collapse of the Soviet Union, many societies became compartmentalized according to religion and nationality, as independent states had to begin taking over governmental responsibilities. A similar situation occurred after September 11th, which contributed to Muslims feeling under siege. General Buhari emphasized that Islam is fundamentally against terrorism and against hurting any innocent soul. He noted the importance of education to eliminate stereotypes and increase American understanding of Islam and Muslim understanding of American priorities and policies across the Arab and Muslim worlds.

MODERATOR
PETER W. SINGER
Director, Project on U.S. Relations With the Islamic World, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution, United States

OPENING SPEAKERS
MUHAMMADU BUHARI
Former Head of State, All Nigeria Peoples Party, Nigeria

ELMAR MAMMADYAROV
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Ministry of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijan

SHIBLEY TELHAMI
Anwar Sadat Professor, University of Maryland; Non-Resident Senior Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution, United States

Foreign Minister Mammadyarov also emphasized the importance of education as a means to bridge the large gap between the way the U.S. and Muslim world view each other. He noted that the discussions during the Forum made him realize how large this gap remains. Mammadyarov especially stressed the need for Americans to learn more about Islam and of the importance of being sensitive to religion so as not to unintentionally offend. Nonetheless, he mentioned the secularity of Azerbaijan as a reason for the successful coexistence of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities on such a small territory. As an action item, Mammadyarov encouraged leaders to be pro-active and pre-empt the problems that result from terrorism and regional conflict, rather than being reactive, as most have been in the past. He praised the increasing inclusion of women in society as a positive stabilizing development across much of the Muslim world.

Shibley Telhami focused his remarks on the differences he noticed in the discussions held at the 2006 U.S.–Islamic World Forum, from those issues raised in the past. He noted that while the Israeli–Palestinian issue dominated most of the discussions in 2002, the dominant topics of concern in 2006 included Iraq, Hamas, and the ramifications of the Danish cartoon controversy for the Muslim world. Discussions over Hamas pointed to the larger role of Islamic groups in politics and of the broader Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Discussions over the cartoon controversy highlighted broader concerns regarding the humiliation, victimization, and absence of dignity that prevails across much of the Muslim world with regard to their relationship with the United States.

Dr. Telhami acknowledged that the Forum does not hope to immediately change U.S. policy decisions or direction, as policies are driven by interests, among many other elements. He offered that the aim of such a forum is for participants to gain clarity on a number of pertinent issues confronting the U.S. and the Muslim world and their bilateral or multilateral relations. Dr. Telhami offered three suggestions for future Forums: expanding the scope of participation to include a wider array of perspectives, coming to a clearer understanding of what the role of the media should be in the Forum and in terms of disseminating its messages outside, and developing a series of follow-up programs to further discuss the lessons learned and implement ideas for action.

A number of suggestions for future Forums were raised during the question and answer period of this discussion. Lucas Welch, President of Soliya pointed out that there are many small organizations, including his own, working to bridge the divide between American and Muslim communities; however, they unfortunately have to spend much of their time seeking resources to support their efforts, rather than engaging in further productive work. On the converse, there are many foundations and individuals who would like to be supporting such efforts, but spend much of their time seeking initiatives that are in line with the work they want to support. Welch proposed creating a formal process by which to bring together the organizations and funding sources who are seeking to accomplish the same broad strategic goals of bridging the gap between the U.S. and Muslim world. He suggested that this in itself could catalyze a significant amount of positive on-the-ground action in a short period of time.

Other suggestions included more focused discussion or action regarding the Muslim minority communities, as opposed to countries with Muslim majorities, and in particular, more focused discussion regarding the American Muslim community. It was noted that at least one third of the total Muslim population in the world lives as minorities in their host countries, and to address issues that are of particular concern to them would be beneficial not only to their communities and host countries, but also to relations between the United States and Muslims worldwide. It was suggested that follow-up Forum be convened in Western Europe, to address some the concerns of local Muslim minority communities.

Regarding American Muslims, Salam Al-Marayati, Executive Director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council, remarked that they are a significant asset to the United States, who are not being taken advantage of in American government efforts to engage the Muslim world or confront radical Islam. He noted that most American Muslims have a strong sense of American identity as citizens of the United States, an understanding of Western values, and a deep knowledge of Islam; yet, they are largely ignored by the American government. Shibley Telhami agreed that the American Muslim community could provide a great asset to the U.S. government, but suggested that they too are somewhat at fault for their own lack of political representation. He noted that while the government has failed to engage the American Muslim communities, the communities themselves have failed to adequately organize or mobilize themselves to take part in the political process.

In conclusion, a number of participants emphasized the importance of education to further the development of the Muslim world, U.S.–Muslim world relations, and the elimination of divisive stereotypes worldwide. There must be greater clarity on the issues that concern respective Muslim and American communities, and constant dialogue to address these concerns in constructive ways. It was also noted that with education must come job opportunities, in order to engage the vast number of able-bodied members of society. The U.S.–Islamic World Forum was praised for supporting the development of educational, economic, cultural and other initiatives by convening a diverse array of Muslim and American leaders each year, and was encouraged to continue to do so through follow-up dialogues and localized forums to address issues relevant to specific Muslim communities, as well as those relevant to broader U.S.–Muslim world relations.

"Particularly, in the
Muslim world, the
issue of demographics
is very important, and
that directly impacts
on youth because the
Muslim population is a
young population."

Soliya Youth and Multimedia Outreach

A HIGHLIGHT OF THE 2006 U.S.–ISLAMIC WORLD FORUM was its multi-media youth outreach program. The outreach element was developed in partnership with Soliya Interactive, a non-profit organization that uses media technology to connect university students in the United States, Europe, and predominantly Muslim countries for cross-cultural dialogue and learning. A local film crew of students from Qatar University assisted with the on-site operation and taping.

The initiative provided a multi-media interface through which students in the Muslim world and the West were able to ask questions to a number of leaders that attended the Forum. Videos of these questions and answers were then made available on-line to the students, university classes, and the wider public. This enabled a unique discussion between leaders and students across the U.S. and the Muslim world.

The participants consisted of a diverse set of Soliya students from Birzeit University, American University in Cairo, Tufts University, University of Maine–Machias, Carnegie Mellon University in Doha, and Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. Their questions were posed to twenty-five Forum attendees. These participants included such notables as Ahmed Abdail, Producer of Felix Films Entertainment in Yemen; Salman Ahmad, Lead Musician of Pakistani band Junoon; Jawad al-Boulani, Member of the Parliament of Iraq; Feisel al Kasim, Host of *Al Jazeera*; Salam Al Marayati, Executive Director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council; Syed Hamid, Foreign Minister of Malaysia; Hossam Badrawi, Chairman of the People's Assembly in Egypt; David Brooks, *New York Times* Columnist; Martin Indyk, Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution; Saad Eddin Ibrahim, Chairman of the Ibn Khaldun Center; Guy Raz, *CNN* Correspondent; Rami Khouri, Editor-at-Large of *The Daily Star*; Jennifer Mincin, Executive Director of Families of September 11; and Shibley Telhami, Anwar Sadat Professor at the University of Maryland and Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at The Brookings Institution.

Via video, the students asked the attendees questions on a series of issues that the students were most concerned about. Their questions ranged from whether the U.S. considers Islam a threat, and vice versa, to the nature of media coverage in the U.S. and the Muslim world. Interestingly, the multimedia format allowed the same set of student questions to be asked of each individual participant. The result was a unique compilation of viewpoints that were then compiled on the internet, providing a way to compare and contrast the views of the leaders questioned, and discover both common themes and key areas of discord.

In sum, the proceedings enabled the leaders who help to shape relations between the U.S. and the Islamic world to interact with a group of concerned students, who will help to shape these relations in the future. It expanded the scope of the Forum's dialogue to include the younger generation. Video archives are available at the website of the U.S.–Islamic World Forum: **www.us-islamicworldforum.org.**

Media Outlets that Covered the 2006 U.S.–Islamic World Forum

ABC News (United States)
Africa News (Global)
Al Ahram (Egypt)
Al Hayat (United Kingdom)
Al Iqtisadia Newspaper (Saudi Arabia)
Al Jazeera (Pan–Arab)
Al Rayah (Qatar)
Al Sharq (Qatar)
Al Sharq Alawsat (Pan–Arab)
AntiWar.com (United States)
Asahi Newspaper (Japan)
The Associated Press (United States)
Attajdid Newspaper (Morocco)
Bahrain News Agency (Bahrain)
BBC Worldwide Monitoring (United Kingdom)
BERNAMA Malaysian News Agency (Malaysia)
China International Radio (China)
The Christian Century (United States)
CNBC (United States)
CNBC Arabiya (Pan–Arab)
The Commercial Appeal (United States)
Common Ground News Service (Pan–Arab)
The Daily Star (Lebanon)
El Hayat Newspaper (London)
Federal News Service (United States)
Financial Times (United Kingdom)
Foreign Information Agency (Qatar)
Germany News Agency (Germany)
Gulf News (United Arab Emirates)
Gulf Times (United Arab Emirates)
Inter Press Service (United States)
IslamonLine.net (Global)
The Jordan Times (Jordan)
KuwaitTimes.net (Kuwait)

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The U.S.–Islamic World Forum, organized by the Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, is designed to bring together key leaders in the worlds of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Islamic world (including Muslim communities in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East) and the United States.

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 Muslim believers 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.

The U.S.–Islamic World Forum, organized by the Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, is designed to bring together key leaders in the worlds of politics, business, media, academia, and civil society from across the Islamic world (including Muslim communities in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Middle East) and the United States. Such an 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 Islamic world.

The Forum is designed to serve as both a convening body and catalyst for positive action. Therefore, its focus will not be on dialogue just for dialogue's sake, but on developing actionable programs for government, civil society, and the private sector. The Forum's annual conferences are targeted to become the foremost meeting for positive cross-cultural engagement among leaders from the U.S. and the Islamic world. The meetings also provide the foundation for a range of complementary activities designed to enhance the effectiveness of the dialogue. These include a follow-up regional conference series, which would run parallel conferences within other Muslim regions, 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.

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 discus a wide variety of topics including: the peace process, Iraq, human development, education, the role of the private sector, the new media, etc. The leaders in attendance ranged from Government Ministers and CEOs to Deans of Universities and News Editors. Former U.S. President Bill Clinton and Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, the Emir of Qatar, delivered the keynote addresses. Following Forums have sought to build upon these foundations by addressing the sense of an upswell for change in the region and in the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world.

The theme of the 2006 U.S.–Islamic World Forum, "Leaders Effect Change," seeks to build on the past sessions. Past Forums have established that, in a region once characterized by stasis and stability (for good or bad), immense change has taken place in the relationship between the U.S. and the wider Muslim world since 9/11.

In addition to the dialogue and debate, among the most heartening aspects of the meetings are the various networks and endeavors that are sparked by convening so many dynamic leaders. These included the construction of series of schools and human development initiatives in the region, the formation of a Muslim American foreign policy caucus, and the initiation of "track two" diplomatic talks for certain conflict zones. A summary of the Forum, including all its programs can be found at **www.us-islamicworldforum.org**.

The underlying aim of the Project is to continue the Brookings Institution's original mandate to serve as a bridge between scholarship and public policy.

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

The *Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World* is a major research program, housed under the auspices of the *Saban Center for Middle East Policy*. It is designed to respond to some of the profound questions that the terrorist attacks of September 11th raised for U.S. policy. In particular, it seeks to examine how the United States can reconcile its need to fight terrorism and reduce the appeal of extremist movements with its need to build more positive relations with Muslim states and communities. Its goal has been to serve as both a convening body for people and research and a catalyst for new questions, new ideas, and policy. The Project has several interlocking components:

- The U.S.–Islamic World Forum, which brings together American and Muslim world leaders from the fields of politics, business, media, academia, arts, science, and civil society, for much-needed discussion and dialogue,

- A Washington Task Force made up of specialists in Islamic, regional, and foreign policy issues (emphasizing diversity in viewpoint and geographic expertise), as well as U.S. government policymakers, which meets to discuss, analyze, and information share on relevant trends and issues,

- A Visiting Fellows program that brings distinguished experts from the Islamic world to spend time at Brookings, both assisting them in their own research, as well as informing the work ongoing in the Project and the wider DC policymaking community,

- A series of Brookings Analysis Papers and Monographs that provide needed analysis of the vital issues of joint concern between the U.S. and the Islamic world,

- An Education and Economic Outreach Initiative, which explore the issues of education reform and economic development towards the Islamic world, in particular the potential role of the private sector,

- A Science and Technology Policy Initiative, which looks at the role that cooperative science and technology programs involving the U.S. and Muslim world can play in responding to regional development and education needs, and in fostering positive relations,

- "Bridging the Divide," an initiative that explores the role of the American Muslim community in foreign policy issues,

- "Islam in the Age of Globalization," a joint initiative with American University and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, that explores the issues of authority and legitimacy that underpin leadership in the 21st century, and

- A Brookings Institution Press Book Series, which explores U.S. policy options towards the Islamic World. The aim of the book series is 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 has been supported through the generosity of a range of partners and donors including the Government of the State of Qatar, the Ford Foundation, the US Institute of Peace, the MacArthur Foundation, The Carnegie Corporation, Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, the Shorenstein Center, The Pew Forum, American University, RAND Corporation, the Education for Employment Foundation, and the Institute for Social Policy Understanding. The Project Convenors are Ambassador Martin Indyk, Dr. Peter W. Singer, and Professor Shibley Telhami. Dr. Steve Grand serves as Project Director. For further information, please see: **http://www.brook.edu/fp/research/projects/islam/islam.htm.**

THE SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY WAS ESTABLISHED on May 13th, 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, who is a specialist on political reform in the Arab world; Shibley Telhami, who holds the Sadat Chair at the University of Maryland; Shaul Bakhash, an expert on Iranian politics from George Mason University; and Daniel Byman, from Georgetown University, a Middle East terrorism expert. The center is located in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at Brookings, led by its Director and 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 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, in particular in Syria and Lebanon, and the methods required to promote democratization.

The center also houses the ongoing Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World directed by Steve Grand. The project focuses on analyzing the problems in the relationship between the United States and the Muslim world with the objective of developing effective policy responses. The Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World includes a task force of experts and the U.S.–Islamic World Forum, an annual dialogue between American and Muslim world leaders, a visiting fellows program for specialists from the Islamic world and a monograph series.

Forum Fast Facts

6	Number of current or former heads of state at the Forum
16	Number of current or former Government Ministers at the Forum
19	Number of universities represented at the Forum
22	Number of businesses represented at the Forum
25	Number of civil society organizations represented at the Forum
36	Number of Countries represented at the Forum: Algeria, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Egypt, France, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestinian Territories, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Spain, Sudan, Syria, Tajikistan, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Yemen
173	Number of participants at the Forum
302	Number of degrees attained by participants at the Forum
324	Number of books written by participants at the Forum
13,348	Furthest distance (km) traveled to attend the Forum (California)
26,000,000	Number of records sold by participants at the Forum
192,964,558	Number of Google citations on participants at the Forum
901,031,400	Total readership and audience of media organizations at the Forum
2,791,070,663	Total population of countries represented at the Forum (43% of world population)
$25,788,164,000,000	Combined GDP ($) of countries represented at the Forum
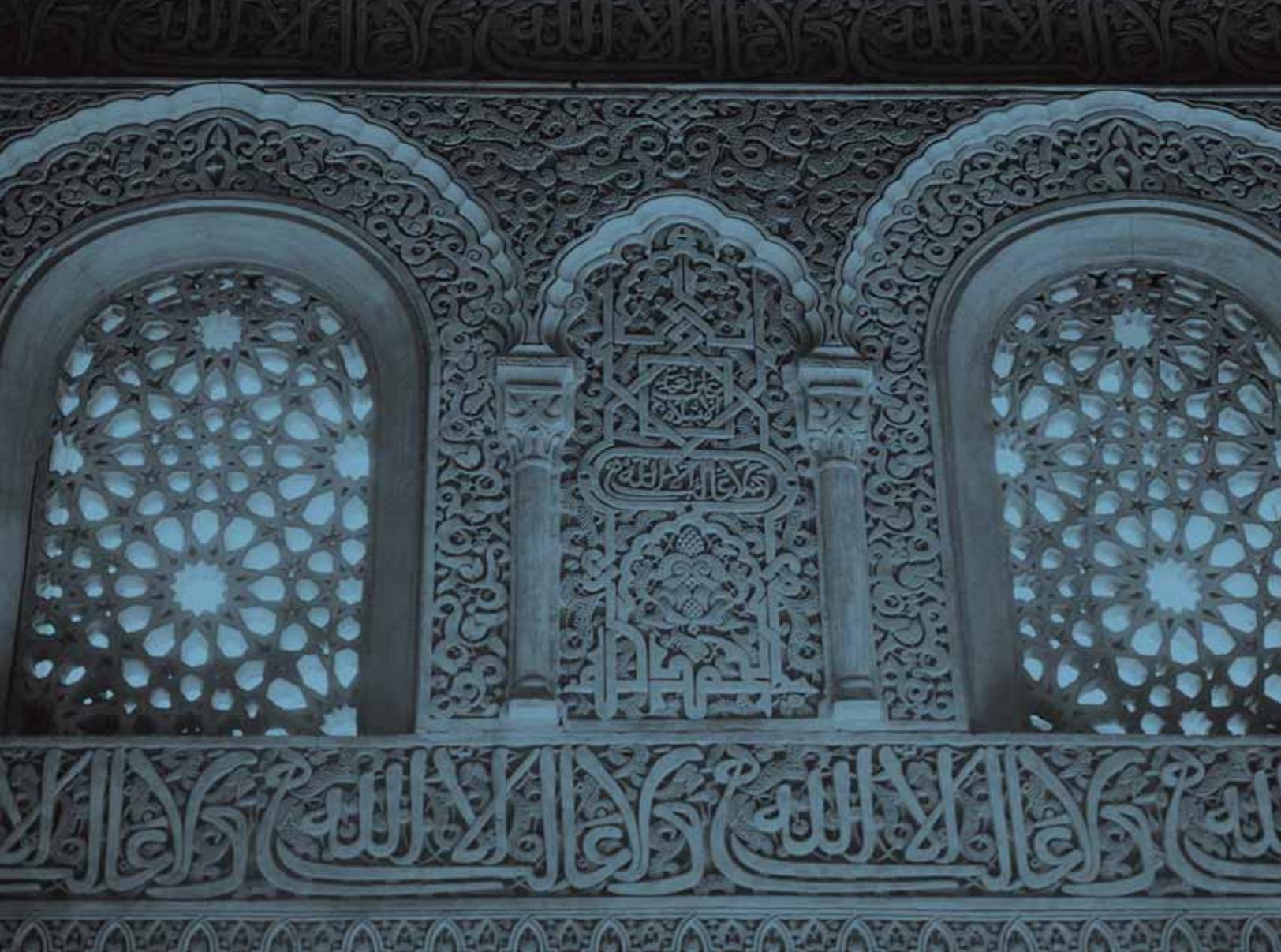
**The Brookings Project on
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