

# The Second Annual Subarana Annual Subar

# Navigating Challenges in the Middle East



Institut Regionaliternational Stu

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# Dear Friends,

It is my distinct pleasure to welcome you to my hometown of Sulaimani, and to the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS) for the second annual *Sulaimani Forum*. This university was established to become a catalyst for innovation in higher education and a place where free debate and inquiry can take place. AUIS started as a distant dream, but thanks to the help of our generous donors and our intrepid faculty, staff, and students, we have transformed this dream into a reality that has already begun to contribute much needed reform in the region and beyond.

The *Sulaimani Forum* is central to that mission. What is happening in the Middle East at present has profound consequences not only for the region but also for the international community. That is why, in the spirit of concern for our common futures, we need serious debate about issues of interest and concern for our people, for our region, and for the world at large. I cannot say there will be easy answers to these issues, which are often intractably rooted in history, culture, politics and also regional and international interests, but AUIS and the *Sulaimani Forum* can bring experts and people of goodwill together to make sure that this debate is guided in the right direction.

The theme of this year's *Forum* is "Navigating the Challenges of the Middle East." We will discuss the internal developments and external relations of Iraq, Iran, and Turkey, and we will assess the dynamics in Syria and the myriad factors contributing to the turmoil there and how it impacts Syria's neighbors. These country-specific cases will bear on the *Forum*'s broader investigations into the future of ethno-sectarian conflict and natural resources policy throughout the region as well as investment in Iraq. A concluding panel will then help to put into perspective the various challenges of the Middle East.

Enjoy your time in Sulaimani and at AUIS. I look forward to seeing you again here in future years.

Sincerely,

Bal San Lin

Barham A. Salih Founder & Chairman of the Board of Trustees, AUIS



#### 9:00-9:45

#### WELCOME ADDRESS Dr. Dawn Dekle / AUIS President Dr. Ali Al Adeeb / Minister of Higher Education and Scientfic Research Dr. Barham Salih / AUIS Chairman

#### **OPENING KEYNOTE** PM Nechirvan Idris Barzani

Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government of Iraq

10:00-11:00 OPENING PLENARY SESSION

**Moderated by:** 

#### Speakers:

**Barham Salih** Chairman of the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani **Ahmet Davutoğlu** Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey

**Hoshyar Zebari** Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq

#### 11:15-12:00 IRAQ: AN INSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE

#### Moderated by:

#### Qubad Talabani

Director of the Office of Follow Up for the Council of Ministers, KRG

#### **Speakers:**

**Falah Al-Fayyadh** National Security Advisor of Iraq

**Hajim Al-Hassani** Former Speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly

**Fuad Hussein** Chief of Staff to the KRG Presidency

#### 12:00-1:00 PM IRAQ'S CHALLENGES IN 2014 AND BEYOND

#### **Moderated by:**

#### Christine van den Toorn

Analyst of Iraq and Kurdistan Region of Iraq

#### **Speakers:**

**Prashant Rao** Baghdad Bureau of Agence France-Presse

Kirk Sowell Uticensis Risk Services, Inside Iraqi Politics

**Charles R.H. Tripp** SOAS, University of London

#### 1:00-2:00 PM LUNCH

#### 2:00-3:15 PM SYRIA'S CURRENT STATUS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

#### **Moderated by:**

#### **Speakers:**

Maria Fantappie International Crisis Group **Bayan Jabir** Iraqi Member of Parliament

Karen AbuZayd International Commission of Inquiry for Syria

**Fabrice Balanche** University of Lyon 2

**Peter Harling** International Crisis Group

Andrew Slater The American University of Iraq, Sulaimani

#### 3:30-4:45 PM THE IRANIAN DIPLOMATIC 'SHIFT': UNDERSTANDING INTERESTS, MOTIVES, AND IMPLICATIONS

#### Moderated by:

**Pooneh Ghoddoosi** BBC World/BBC Persia

#### Speakers:

Adil Abd Al-Mahdi Former Vice President of Iraq

Kenneth Pollack Brookings Institute Expert

Karim Sadjadpour Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Robin Wright Award-winning Analyst, Journalist, and Author

#### 5:00-6:15 PM TURKEY: INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

#### **Moderated by:**

Speakers:

Karim Sadjadpour Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Henri Barkey Lehigh University

Nuray Mert Hurriyet Daily

**Ipek Cem-Taha** Columbia Global Centers, Turkey

**Bejan Matur** Author, poet, and member of DPI's Council of Experts



#### 9:00-10:15 AM THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES DILEMMA: WATER AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR COOPERATION ACROSS THE REGION

#### **Moderated by:**

Speakers:

**Virginia Tice** Nature Iraq Foundation **Monadel Fadel Al-Mahdawi** International Water Resources Division expert at the Ministry of Water Resources

Andrea Cattarossi MED Ingegneria

**Mukhtar Hashemi** Newcastle Institute for Research on Sustainability, NIReS

**Azzam Alwash** Nature Iraq Foundation

#### 10:30-11:45 AM IRAQ OIL POLICY: IMPLICATIONS FOR DOMESTIC POLITICS, RAMIFICATIONS FOR REGIONAL STABILITY

#### **Moderated by:**

#### **Speakers:**

**Rachel Bronson** Chicago Council on Global Affairs **Michael Howard** Advisor to the Minister of Natural Resources

**Luay Al-Khatteeb** Iraqi Energy Institute

**Murat Özçelik** Former Turkish Ambassador to Iraq

Bilal Wahab The American University of Iraq, Sulaimani

#### 12:00-1:15 PM THE FUTURE OF ETHNO-SECTARIAN CONFLICTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

#### Moderated by:

**Bakhtiar Amin** Former Minister of Human Rights of Iraq

#### **Speakers:**

**Mahdi Al-Hafez** Former Minister of Planning of Iraq

**Cengiz Çandar** Journalist, Former War Correspondent, and Al Monitor Columnist

Fanar Haddad National University of Singapore

Athanasios Moulakis President Emeritus of the American

1:15-2:15 PM LUNCH

#### 2:15-3:30 PM REALITIES OF INVESTING IN IRAQ

#### **Moderated by:**

**Shwan Taha** Rabee Securities **Speakers:** 

Faruk Mustafa Rasul Faruk Group

**Ziad Badr** International Finance Corporation

Philip Khoury Impera Capital

**Esra Pelitozu** Selco Finance and Industrial Group

#### **3:45-5:30 PM** CONCLUDING PANEL

#### **Chair:**

Hoshyar Zebari Minister of Foreign Affairs of Iraq

#### Speakers:

**Adil Abd Al Mehdi** Former Vice President of Iraq

**Abd Al Karim Al Samarrai** Minister of Science and Technology of Iraq

Hassan B. Diab Minister of Education and Higher Education of Lebanon

Zalmay Khalilzad Khalilzad Associates, Inc.

**Brett McGurk** U.S. Department of State

# THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF IRAQ

Institute of Regional and International Studies

# **ABOUT IRIS**

Through the promotion of rigorous scholarship and open dialogue among academics and influential public leaders, IRIS examines today's most complex regional and global development issues. Drawing from the diversity of fields of expertise at AUIS, the Institute includes in its scope of activities historical, cultural, socio-economic, anthropological, and religious dimensions pertinent to present day realities and problems. As a space for regional and international encounters, IRIS fosters mutual understanding and awareness that reaches across national borders, sectarian divisions, and differing perspectives.





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# **ABOUT AUIS**

The American University of Iraq, Sulaimani is the only independent, non-profit, non-sectarian institute for public benefit in Iraq. The University was founded in 2007 to provide a student-centered American-style education that embodies the philosophy, standards, and teaching practices of the American higher education model. At AUIS, young Iraqis do more than co-exist – they learn lasting values of respect for the individual and a spirit of free inquiry, and they thrive in a culture of achievement and accountability. Today nearly 1,100 students from all parts of Iraq study at AUIS. To learn more, visit our website at www.auis.edu.iq.





# NAVIGATING CHALLENGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

#### OVERVIEW

The Institute of Regional and International Studies (IRIS) at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS) are pleased to host the second annual *Sulaimani Forum*. Through a series of public panels, private discussion sessions, and hands-on workshops, this two day event will delve into the theme of "Navigating Challenges in the Middle East."

This unique conference will convene prominent experts academics, and policymakers from around the world, and foster a diverse and rigorous academic dialogue on complex and pressing issues in the region. The focus areas of the *Forum* include geopolitical dynamics in Iraq, Syria, Iran and Turkey, in addition to security, energy, water, and economic developments in the region.

# KAREN KONING ABUZAYD

COMMISSIONER ON THE INDEPENDENT INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON SYRIA, UNHCR

Since retiring to Chicago in 2010 from the United Nations, where she was the Under Secretary General and Commissioner-General at the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, based in Gaza, AbuZayd has been engaged in a variety of refugee, human rights and humanitarian activities. In September 2011 she was appointed Commissioner on the Independent International Commission of Inquiry on Syria, mandated by the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva.

Before joining UNRWA in 2000, AbuZayd had been with UNHCR for 19 years working in or on Sudan, Namibia, Sierra Leone, the Horn of Africa, Kenya/ Somalia, South Africa, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Washington D.C. and as High Commissioner Ogata's Chef de Cabinet in Geneva. Prior to UNHCR, she was a lecturer at Makerere University, Uganda and Juba University, Sudan.

Her B.Sc. is from DePauw University, Indiana (from which she also has an Honorary Doctorate and received the McNaughton Medal for humanitarian service) and her M.A. is from the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, Montreal. She received the Spanish UN/Catalonia Peace Prize in 2010 and the Republic of Austria's Gold Medal with Star in 2011.

# ALI AL-ADEEB

#### MINISTER OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Al-Adeeb, Iraq's Minister of Higher Education, is a politician and senior member of the Islamic Dawa Party. He was born in Karbala in 1944 and went to secondary school in Baghdad. He earned a Bachelor's Degree in Literature and Education from Baghdad University and an M.A. in Psychology from Al-Mustansiryah University.

After graduating from the University of Baghdad, Al-Adeeb taught specialized courses in public and private teaching methods, child psychology, school administration and educational psychology at the Institute of Basic Education in Abu Ghraib, the Institute of Teachers of Primary in Karbala, and the Institute of Teachers in Babil. He has participated in many higher education conferences, including the Conference of Education Development in Iraq, which was organized by UNESCO in Paris 2004.

While Saddam Hussein was the President of Iraq, Al-Adeeb was exiled to Iran, where he headed the Teheran-based Political Bureau of the Dawa Party. He returned to Iraq in 2003. Adeeb was appointed to the committee that drafted the Constitution of Iraq in 2004, and has been a member of the Iraqi Parliament since 2004.



# FALIH AL-FAYYADH

#### NATIONAL SECURITY MINISTER FOR IRAQ

Al-Fayyadh was appointed Iraq's Minister of State for National Security Affairs by Prime Minister Maliki in January 2011.

He has been a member of the Dawa Party since 1973. Al-Fayyadh is Director of National Reconciliation; president of the Supreme Committee for the security, communications, and information; vice-chairman of the National Coordination of Intelligence; and Deputy Minister of State for national security affairs. Al-Fayyadh was born in 1956 in Baghdad. He earned his B.A. in Electrical Engineering from Mosul University in 1977.

He was a member of the Political Bureau of the Dawa Party and has had numerous high ranking government roles throughout his distinguished career, including serving as a member of parliament in 2005.

# MAHDI AL-HAFEZ

FORMER MINISTER OF PLANNING OF IRAQ

Al-Hafez was Minister of Planning in the cabinet appointed by the Interim Iraq Governing Council in September 2003 and in the Iraqi Interim Government. A Shia Muslim, Al-Hafez was the Iraqi representative to the United Nations from 1978 to 1980; afterwards, he headed the Arab Economic Research Association in Cairo. He is associated with the Iraqi Independent Democrats. He was elected to the Iraqi Council of Representatives in the Iraqi legislative election of December 2005 as part of the secular Iraqi National List.

# HAJIM AL-HASSANI

FORMER SPEAKER OF THE IRAQI NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Al-Hassani was the speaker of the Iraqi National Assembly under the Iraqi Transitional Government. A moderate Sunni Arab, Al-Hassani had previously been a member of the Iraqi Islamic Party in exile and was Industry Minister under the interim government of Iyad Allawi.

Born in Kirkuk, Hassani attended Mosul University and relocated to the United States in 1979. He studied at the University of Nebraska and earned a Ph.D. degree from the University of Connecticut and then spent 12 years as CEO for an investment and trading company in Los Angeles. While in the U.S., he was involved in the opposition to the Saddam Hussein regime in exile, and was actively involved with the Iraqi Islamic Party (IIP).

Al-Hassani returned to Iraq in 2003 and worked with the Interim Iraqi Governing Council appointed during the period of the Coalition Provisional Authority. As the IIP wielded influence in the Anbar province, Al-Hassani was involved in negotiating a temporary truce with Fallujah-based insurgents in 2004 and successfully stopped an imminent attack on the city.

Under the Iraqi Interim Government of Iyad Allawi, formed in 2004, Al-Hassani was named industry minister in the new administration. He left the party when the IIP withdrew from the government, retaining his ministry post.

He was elected to the Council of Representatives of Iraq in the Iraqi legislative election of December 2005 as part of the Iraqi National List coalition led by Iyad Allawi. Later he formed Nationalist List and participated in the provincial election.



# LUAY AL-KHATTEEB

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE IRAQ ENERGY INSTITUTE

Al-Khatteeb is a visiting fellow at the Brookings Doha Center, focusing on the geopolitics and political economy of the GCC and Iraq. He is the founder and director of the Iraq Energy Institute (IEI) and serves as senior advisor to the Federal Parliament of Iraq for energy policy and economic reform. His experiences in the private sector span more than 20 years, and he is a frequent commentator on issues related to energy security, economic, and politics in the Gulf region.

Al-Khatteeb has served in an executive capacity with various international oil companies, including Shell E&P and Crescent Petroleum. Through the IEI he has also worked with the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), the Iraqi Federal Parliament, and Iraqi regional governments to debate vital issues on economic and legislative topics, with a focus on federalism, revenue-sharing, hydrocarbon policy, fiscal regimes, power-sharing, and national reconciliation.

In addition to his professional commitments, Al-Khatteeb is an active participant at the Brookings Doha Center, the Royal Institute for International Affairs (Chatham House), and the Revenue Watch Institute. He is a frequent commentator for the Middle East Economic Survey, MEED, Interfax, the Petroleum Economist, and the Financial Times.



# MONADEL FADEL AL-MAHDAWI

INTERNATIONAL WATER RESOURCES DIVISION EXPERT AT THE MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES

Al-Mahdawi received his B.Sc. in civil engineering in 1969 from the University of Basrah and his M.Sc. in Hydrology in 1975 from the University of Birmingham in UK.

Between 1969 and 1992 he worked as an engineer at the Iraqi Ministry of Irrigation and from 1992 to 1999 he worked as a private consultant to the same ministry.

From 1999 to 2004 he was a lecturer at the Institute of Higher Engineering Occupation in Benghazi, Libya.

From 2004 until 2012 he headed the Strategic Studies Division at the Iraqi Ministry of Water Resources.

He is now working as an expert in the International Water Resources Division at the Ministry of Water Resources and is part of the Iraqi negotiation team for water.

# ADIL ABD AL-MAHDI

FORMER VICE PRESIDNT OF IRAQ

Abd Al-Mahdi is an Iraqi Shi'a politician and economist. He served as Vice President of Iraq from 2005 to 2011. He also served as finance minister in the government of Dr. Iyad Allawi in 2004 and has represented the Islamic Supreme Council of Iraq (ISCI) in several countries.

Born in Baghdad in 1942, Abd Al-Mahdi received his Bachelor's Degree in Economics from the University of Baghdad in 1963. He is a trained economist who left Iraq in 1969 for exile in France, where he earned his master's degree in 1970. He is fluent in Arabic, English and French.

As an economic searcher, he worked in the Regional Center for Economic Research at Poitiers University before moving to Syria and Lebanon in 1973 to work at the Arab Institute of Development and the National Institute of Arab Development. He also chaired the Islamic Center of Studies and Documentation in Paris, where he launched *Al Muntaka*, an Arabic, French and English magazine.

Abd Al-Mahdi has attended numerous Iraqi, regional and global conferences focused on politics and economics. He has also published several books, including *The Economic Encyclopedia*, *The Global Inflation*, *Constants and Variables in the Historical Economic Experience of the Islamic Country*, *Reflections on Iraqi and Regional Economics*, and *Conflicts Between Islam and Modernity*.

After leaving the post of Vice President, he dedicated himself to a series of cultural, social, educational and developmental projects related to water, electricity, education, libraries, religion and agricultural reclamation. He also helped organize a project of micro credit to develop Iraqi small businesses, and writes daily for his newspaper, Al Adala.



# ABDUL KARIM ALI AL-SAMARRAI

MINISTER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Al-Samarrai was appointed to serve as Minister of Science and Technology in 2010. Additionally, he has twice served as a member of the Iraqi Council of Representatives, once as Vice-President of the Commission on Security and Defense. He also worked as Assistant General Manager of the Engineering Department of the Sunni Endowment in 2005.

Al-Samarrai earned a Bachelor's Degree in Mechanical Engineering from the University of Baghdad in 1980, Bachelor of Science in Islam from the University of Baghdad in 1999, and a Master of Law from Islamic University in 2007. He completed a Ph.D. in Sharia and Law at the University of Iraq in 2012.

He has participated in numerous international conferences related to national reconciliation. He has also attended international parliamentary conferences throughout the Arab world, and has visited the European Union and NATO Headquarters in Brussels.



# AZZAM ALWASH

FOUNDER AND CEO OF NATURE IRAQ

Alwash is the recipient of the 2013 Goldman Prize for excellence in protecting the environment. He was also named one of Foreign Policy's 100 Leading Global Thinkers in 2013.

Born in Kut, Alwash is the founder and CEO of Nature Iraq, a nongovernmental agency that works to protect, restore, and preserve Iraq's natural environment. After earning a postgraduate degree and a doctorate in civil engineering from the University of Southern California, he spent 20 years working with Pacific Soils Engineering, a consulting firm specializing in geologic, geotechnical, and environmental services in Southern California.

He has served on the board of directors of the Iraq Foundation, a Washingtonbased nonprofit organization promoting democracy and human rights in Iraq. In 1998, Alwash started Eden Again, a nonprofit environmental advocacy group, to bring attention to the environmental disaster caused by Saddam Hussein's destruction of the marshlands in southern Iraq.

He gives speeches to international audiences and continues to promote the restoration of Iraq's southern marshlands, as well as education reform in Iraq.

Alwash is a member of the Board of Trustees of the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS).

# **BAKHTIAR AMIN**

#### FORMER IRAQI MINISTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Amin was born in 1959 in Kirkuk. He has served as Minister of Human Rights of Iraq, Alternate Member of Governing Council in Iraq, Refugee Councilor in Sweden and Secretary General of Paris Kurdish Institute, Adviser to Danielle Mitterrand Foundation France-Libertes, Director of Human Rights Alliance in Washington D.C., and Executive Director of the International Alliance for Justice (IAJ), which coordinated a network of 275 international nongovernmental organizations from more than 120 countries. The IAJ called for the establishment of an International Ad Hoc Tribunal to investigate the former Iraqi leadership's crimes against humanity, crimes of war and genocide.

He was educated at the Sorbonne in Paris and has a master's degree in international relations. He pursued doctoral studies in geopolitics and studied journalism in Sweden. He has over three decades' experience in the field of democracy, international human rights and humanitarian work. He has worked extensively on issues involving minorities, indigenous peoples, good governance, empowerment of youth and women, rule of law, water cooperation, weapons of mass destruction, land mines, justice, peace, non violence, the International Criminal Court, genocide, crimes against humanity, mass graves, freedom of expression, cultural issues, federalism, refugees and IDPs, liberating prisoners and conflict resolution. He has participated in fact-finding missions in Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Syria, Kurdistan, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, among others. He has testified before US Congress, European Parliament, Council of Europe, OSCE, NATO, various UN bodies in Geneva & New York, and spoken at many prestigious institutions, think-tank organizations and universities worldwide.

He is currently the Chairman of the board of directors for the Foundation for the Future, which is carrying out over 200 projects in the field of democracy, civic participation and human rights in the broader Middle East & North Africa.

# **ZIAD BADR**

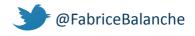
### IRAQ COUNTRY MANAGER FOR THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORTATION

Badr, a Lebanese national, joined the World Bank in 1993 and worked in the Africa and MENA regions. He assumed various responsibilities, including Senior Economist in the Africa Knowledge and Learning Unit, where the concepts of "Knowledge Bank" and "Monitoring and Evaluation tools" were pioneered. In 2003, he became the Head of the World Bank mission in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. In 2006, he relocated to Jordan as Head of the World Bank Iraq Interim office in Amman. Badr has been instrumental in establishing the World Bank's presence in Baghdad, and nurturing the relationship with the Iraqi government. He also lead the first World Bank mission to the Kurdistan region that opened the door for closer cooperation with the regional government, and the development of several projects in the north of Iraq. In July 2011, Badr joined IFC, and became their first manager in Iraq responsible for setting up the new IFC office in Baghdad, developing and executing IFC's strategy in the country, and leading IFC's dialogue and coordination with the Iraqi government, private sector, donors, and other stake-holders.

# FABRICE BALANCHE

LECTURER AT UNIVERSITY OF LYON 2

Balanche is assistant professor at the University of Lyon 2 and Director of the GREMMO (Research Group on the Mediterranean and the Middle East). Since his first fieldwork in the Middle East in 1990, he has spent ten years living in Syria and Lebanon, which are the main areas on which his research focuses. He is frequently called upon as an expert in water issues and the Syrian crisis. He published a work on contemporary Syria in 2006 entitled *La région Alaouite et le Pouvoir Syrien* ("Alawit region and Syrian power"). In 2012, he published *Atlas du Proche-Orient Arabe* ("Atlas of Arab Near East").



# HENRI J. BARKEY

# CHAIR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AT LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

Barkey is the Bernard L. and Bertha F. Cohen Professor in International Relations and International Relations Department Chair at Lehigh University. A leading expert on Turkey, from 1998-2000 he served as a member of the U.S. State Department Policy Planning Staff working primarily on issues related to the Middle East, the Eastern Mediterranean and intelligence. Respected worldwide as an authority in the field, he has provided expertise and opinion editorials in all forms of media, invited lectures, and conferences including the Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, C-SPAN, The News Hour with Jim Lehrer. His most recent interviews have focused on Turkey's status as one of America's regional allies amidst the uncertainty of the Arab Spring, and the escalating tensions between Turkey and Israel, and the effects of the Syrian crisis. He is widely published and has authored, co-authored and edited five books, among them Irag, Its Neighbors and the United States, with Phebe Marr and Scott Lasensky. Barkey has taught at Princeton, the State University of New York, and the University of Pennsylvania. He recently completed a two-year position as a non-resident visiting scholar in the Carnegie Middle East program, and was also visiting fellow at Columbia University. Barkey is a member of the Board of Trustees of the American University of Irag, Sulaimani (AUIS).



# **H.E. NECHIRVAN BARZANI**

PRIME MINISTER OF KURDISTAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

Barzani was appointed Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) on 7 March 2012. He has previously served as Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government in two successive cabinets from 1999 to 2009.

Prime Minister Barzani was born in 1966 in the mountain village of Barzan. He is the grandson of Mustafa Barzani, the legendary Kurdish leader and founder of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP). His father, Idris Barzani, was also a senior member of the KDP.

In 1975, Barzani and his family, along with tens of thousands of Kurds from Iraq, were forced to flee to Iran in search of safety from Iraq's former Ba'ath regime. Following the example of leadership set by his father and grandfather, he became actively involved in political affairs and rose rapidly through the ranks of the KDP.

Barzani was first elected to the leadership of the KDP at its 10th Congress in 1989 and re-elected at its 11th and 12th Congress in 1993 and 1999 respectively. In 1996 he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Regional Government, which was established following the 1992 regional elections that resulted from the Kurdish Uprising in the spring of 1991.

In 1999, Barzani was appointed Prime Minister of the Regional Government, and in March 2006, he was elected the first Prime Minister of the unified Government of the Kurdistan Region, where he served until 2009. Barzani was elected Vice President of the KDP at its 13th National Congress in December 2010.

Barzani is married and has three sons and two daughters. He is fluent in Kurdish, Persian, and English, and has a working knowledge of Arabic. He is fond of Kurdish and Persian poetry. He has travelled widely in the Middle East, Europe, the United States and Asia, meeting with heads of state and senior government officials.



# **RACHEL BRONSON**

VICE PRESIDENT OF STUDIES AT THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON GLOBAL AFFAIRS

Bronson is the Vice President, Studies at The Chicago Council on Global Affairs where she is helping to create a nationally and internationally recognized foreign policy think tank in Chicago. Her previous position, Vice President of Programs and Studies, included overseeing the more than 150 programs The Chicago Council runs annually. Prior to that, she served as Senior Fellow and Director, Middle East Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York. Earlier positions include Senior Fellow for International Security Affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Fellow at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and Adjunct Professor at Columbia University. Her writings have appeared in numerous publications, and she has written a book *Thicker than Oil: America's Uneasy Partnership with Saudi Arabia.* 

She has commented widely on foreign affairs in news outlets, has served as a consultant to NBC News and the Center for Naval Analysis, and has testified before Congress on many occasions. In 2012, Bronson was named by Today's Chicago Woman magazine as one of 100 Women to Watch. She earned a B.A. in history at the University of Pennsylvania and an M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University in 1997.

Bronson is a member of the Board of Trustees of the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS).



# **CENGIZ ÇANDAR**

JOURNALIST AND FORMER WAR CORRESPONDENT

Çandar is an expert on the Middle East and the Balkans and has worked for the leading Turkish newspapers. Currently, he is the senior political columnist for the daily Radikal in Istanbul. He served as special adviser to Turkish President Turgut Özal between 1991 and 1993. He was a lecturer on History and Politics in the Middle East at Bilgi University in İstanbul from 1997 to 2011. Between 1999 and 2000, he did research work on Turkey of the 21st century as a Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and was a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace.





# **ANDREA CATTAROSSI**

HEAD OF MED INGEGNERIA'S INTERNATIONAL DIVISION AND IRAQ OPERATIONS; CONSULTANT FOR IRAQI MINISTRY OF WATER RESOURCES AND MINISTRY OF IRRIGATION

Cattarossi is head of the international division at MED Ingegneria s.r.l. in Italy, as well as head of all MED Ingegneria's operations in Iraq. For the past 6 years, Cattarossi has been heading the hydrology team during the preparation of the New Eden Master Plan for Integrated Water Resources Management in the Marshlands of Southern Iraq. He is presently managing the design of three large dams in northern Iraq. Cattarossi has also worked throughout Europe and America doing consultancy work, including climate change impacts assessment, hydrological modeling, flood hazard and risks assessment.

Cattarossi is a civil engineer by training with over 10 years of experience in the field of water resources planning matured while working on several international assignments including South America, the USA, Africa, China and the Middle East. Specifically, he has considerable experience working in Iraq where, since 2003, he has consulted extensively for various private and public bodies including the Iraqi Ministry of Water Resources and Ministry of Irrigation.

# **ІРЕК СЕМ-ТАНА**

#### DIRECTOR OF COLUMBIA GLOBAL CENTERS IN TURKEY

Cem is a Turkish businesswoman, journalist and a leading member of several community-based and international organizations. Until recently, she was producing and hosting 'Global Leaders,' a television program, in association with NTV networks, a leading news channel. The show consisted of one-on-one interviews with political, business and other opinion leaders who shape our world today, including Kofi Annan, Richard Branson, Madeleine Albright and Pele. Ipek had been a columnist commenting on international trends, politics and economics for major Turkish daily newspapers including Milliyet, Sabah and Yeni Yuzyil for eight consecutive years.

She is a founding member and active participant in several non-profit organizations in Turkey and abroad including Women Entrepreneurs of Turkey (KAGIDER), International Competitiveness Council (URAK), Initiative to Support Contemporary Art (SAHA), the Center for Mediterranean Integration in Marseilles (CMI) and the Eisenhower Foundation in Philadelphia. Cem is also an Eisenhower Fellow as of 2003. She has also been named an Honorary Professor in the Department of Public Relations and Communications of T.E.I. (Hellenic Republic Technological Educational Institute of Ionian Islands) for her scientific and humanitarian work including the consolidation of friendship, peace and cooperation between the neighboring countries of Greece and Turkey.



#### AHMET DAVUTOĞLU TURKISH MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Davutoğlu was born on February 26th,1959 in Konya. He graduated from Bosphorus University with a double major in Political Science and Economics. He completed his M.A. in the Department of Public Administration and received his Ph.D. from the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Bosporus University.

In 1990 he became an Assistant Professor at the International Islamic University of Malaysia, where he established and chaired the Political Science Department until 1993. Davutoğlu also held teaching positions at the Beykent University and Marmara University. Additionally, he was a visiting lecturer at the Military Academy and the War Academy between 1998 and 2002.

Following the November 2002 elections he was appointed as Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister and Ambassador at large by the 58th Government of the Republic of Turkey. He continued to serve in the 59th and 60th Governments.

Davutoğlu published several books and articles on foreign policy in Turkish and English. His books and articles have also been translated into numerous languages including: Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, Arabic, Persian and Albanian.

On May 1, 2009 he was appointed as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the 60th Government of the Republic of Turkey. Davutoğlu is married with four children and speaks Turkish, English, German and Arabic.



# **DAWN DEKLE**

PRESIDENT, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF IRAQ, SULAIMANI

Dekle joined the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani in September 2013. She is the first woman to serve as president of a university in Iraq. As President, she oversees efforts to: earn regional accreditation in the United States; build academic programs that continue to attract top students from across the country; and strengthen resource acquisition, allocation, and management, including the establishment of an endowment capable of supporting scholarships, construction, faculty development, and co-curricular activities.

Before joining AUIS, Dekle served as the Provost at the American University of Afghanistan (AUAF), where she implemented undergraduate law and business programs and led the institution's US regional accreditation efforts. Dekle comes to AUIS with distinctive teaching, scholarship, and management experiences. As a pioneer member of the faculty at Singapore Management University (SMU), she served as the Head of Teaching Excellence, and held academic appointments in the School of Business and School of Economics and Social Sciences, where she also won two teaching awards. Prior to SMU, she held faculty appointments at The National University of Singapore, James Madison University, and Dartmouth College. Before moving to Afghanistan, Dekle served as Dean of the Undergraduate Program and Dean of the Center of Leadership for the S P Jain School of Management in Singapore. Dekle has held leadership positions outside of academia, such as a member of the Board for the Singapore Institute of International Affairs, and as a leadership specialist and Global Knowledge Manager at the consulting firm McKinsey & Co, where she helped launch the McKinsey Center for Asian Leadership.

As a scholar of leadership and management, Dekle has published in academic journals, presented at international conferences, given keynote addresses for the Young Presidents Organization (YPO), and served as an analyst for television and radio regarding President Obama and his strategies in Asia and

the Middle East.

Dekle earned her bachelor's degree in Psychology with honors from Texas A&M University. She then went on to achieve a Ph.D. in Experimental Psychology (Cognitive Science) from Dartmouth College and a J.D. from Stanford Law School.

# HASSAN B. DIAB

VICE PRESIDENT FOR REGIONAL EXTERNAL PROGRAMS AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

Diab received his Ph.D. in Computer Engineering from the University of Bath, U.K. in 1985 and his M.Sc. (with Distinction) in Systems Engineering from the University of Surrey, U.K. in 1982. He is a Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering at AUB. He has over 130 publications in internationally refereed journals and conferences. He refereed over 300 papers for over 55 international journals and conferences. He received 13 international and regional awards including the Fulbright research award (1988), and the 1992 Young Arab Scientists Shuman prize in Engineering.

Diab was seconded as Founding President of Dhofar University and Dean of Engineering. He was an external reviewer for the Oman Accreditation Authority charged with assisting in the development of the Omani higher education, and was a member of the Scientific Research Council of Oman. In 2006, Diab was appointed as VP for REP, the external consulting and corporate relations arm of AUB. He was Minister of Education and Higher Education of Lebanon, and he is currently MEHE caretaker pending the formation of a new cabinet.

Diab is a registered Chartered Engineer in the Engineering Council, UK, and a Chartered Professional Engineer in the National Professional Engineers Register, Australia. He is a fellow in IEE & IEAust and a Senior Member in IEEE.

# **MARIA FANTAPPIE**

IRAQ ANALYST AT INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

Fantappie is an Iraq Analyst for the International Crisis Group. She was a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut specializing in state building in the Middle East. Fantappie has written extensively on Iraq's domestic political development and on the evolution of the Kurdish issue in the Middle East. She received her B.A. from the University of Florence, her Masters from Sciences-Po in Paris, and is currently a Ph.D. candidate at King's College, London.

Fantappie is a Spring 2014 IRIS Visiting Fellow. Her research will focus on the impact of the Syria conflict on questions of Kurdish identity questions amongst the Syrian-Kurdish refugees.



# **POONEH GHODDOOSI**

ANCHOR, NEWS PRESENTER AT BBC WORLD NEWS

Ghoddoosi joined the BBC in 2000 and is one of the BBC's select group of multilingual presenters. In her 12 years at the BBC, Ghoddoosi has worked as a radio and television presenter and producer on news, current affairs, documentaries, and interactive programmes for BBC World News and BBC Persian. She presented BBC Persian's award winning Interactive programme, "Nobat-e Shoma" (Your Turn), and has appeared as a guest presenter on BBC World Service Radio's "World Have Your Say", and "The Fifth Floor".

In 2009-2010, Ghoddoosi managed a project on the effective use of social media and user-generated content in BBC Global News. The project led to new editorial guidelines for social media, which are currently being used across BBC Global News.

Ghoddoosi first started working as a journalist in 1990 for the New York Times and has since worked for a number of international media outlets including the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Daily Telegraph, Financial Times, and PBS.



# FANAR HADDAD

RESEARCH FELLOW AT THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE

Haddad is a Research Fellow at the Middle East Institute, National University of Singapore. He previously lectured in modern Middle Eastern politics at the University of Exeter and at Queen Mary, University of London. Prior to obtaining his DPhil, Haddad was a Research Analyst at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office where he worked on North Africa. He has since published widely on issues relating to historic and contemporary Iraq. His main research interests are identity, historical memory, nationalism, communal conflict and minority politics. He is the author of Sectarianism in Iraq: Antagonistic Visions of Unity (London/New York: Hurst/Columbia University Press, 2011). His current research focuses on historical memory and narratives of state in the Middle East.



#### PETER HARLING

PROJECT DIRECTOR FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PROGRAM AT INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP

Harling is Project Director with the Middle East Program of the International Crisis Group. His research at International Crisis Group is focused on Iraq, where he lived and worked over 7 years. He also conducts and supervises research in Lebanon and Syria. Harling's areas of expertise include the Iraqi insurgency, the Sadrist movement, tribalism in Iraq, and Syrian foreign policy.

Prior to ICG, Harling served as an independent consultant for the French public and private sectors including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French Institute of International Affairs. He also worked as a Political Science Researcher in Paris at the Higher School for Social Science Studies, and as a Research Fellow at Sorbonne University Centre for International Studies (Centre de Recherches Internationales de la Sorbonne - CRIS).



#### **MUKHTAR HASHEMI**

NEWCASTLE INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH ON SUSTAINABILITY, NIRES

Hashemi is an associated researcher at the Newcastle Institute for Research on Sustainability, NIReS, at Newcastle University, where he gained his Ph.D. in Water Resources Engineering and Management in 2012 and M.Sc. in Hydraulic Engineering in 1995. He is a visiting lecturer at the University of Kurdistan, Iran, a water-resources management consultant, and an IWRM specialist working with major international and nations projects in Iran and the Middle East and providing consultancy services on IWRM plan, Decision Support Systems, wetland ecosystem management, conflict resolution, and institutional analysis.

He has extensively studied the role of ethics, religion, and culture, as well as institutional aspects (water policy, law, and administration), in water management in the West Asia and North African (WANA) region. He is a member of IAHS, Gender Water Alliance (GWA) and Iran's Engineering Council, Farmers House of Iran and Kurdistan, as well as the editorial board of Iran Water Research Journal.

#### **MICHAEL HOWARD**

ADVISOR TO THE MINISTER OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Howard is a Communications Advisor to Dr. Ashti Hawrami, the Minister of Natural Resources in the Kurdistan Regional Government. An award-winning journalist and consultant specializing in Kurdistan, Iraq and the Middle East, from 2002-2009 Michael reported from across Iraq for the Guardian newspaper and the Economist. On his father's side, Michael is descended from a prominent family in the town of Koi Sanjaq in the Kurdistan Region.

## **FUAD HUSSEIN**

CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT, KURDISTAN REGION

Hussein is the Chief of Staff to the President of the Kurdistan Region. He holds the rank of minister and plays an active role in the KRG Council of Ministers. Hussein earned his Ph.D. from Amsterdam University in the Netherlands, where he also served as a lecturer. In 1985, he published his influential work, *The Legal Concept of Self-Determination and the Kurdish Question*.

#### ZALMAY KHALILZAD PRESIDENT OF GRYPHON PARTNERS

From 2007 to 2009, Ambassador Khalilzad served as U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations. Prior to that, he served as U.S. Ambassador to Iraq (2005 to 2007) and U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan (2003 to 2005). He also served as U.S. Special Presidential Envoy to Afghanistan (2001 to 2003).

Khalilzad sits on the boards of the National Endowment for Democracy, America Abroad Media, the RAND Corporation's Middle East Studies Center, and the American University of Afghanistan. He is also a counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He maintains close ties with high-level leadership throughout the Middle East and Central Asia, and is regularly called upon to provide strategic advice to numerous heads of state. He appears frequently on US and foreign media outlets to share his foreign policy expertise. Khalilzad earned his B.A. and M.A. degrees from the American University of Beirut and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

#### **PHILIP KHOURY**

MANAGING DIRECTOR AT IMPERA CAPITAL

Khoury has been involved in emerging markets for 20 years as a central banker, investment banker, equity analyst and portfolio manager. In 2009 he co-founded Impera Capital, a portfolio management company specializing in frontier markets, where he manages the Impera Iraq Opportunities Fund. Between 2002 and 2008, he was head of research and a member of the executive committee at EFG-Hermes and was part of the team that built the firm into the MENA region's leading investment bank. In 2000, he founded an independent research firm providing macroeconomic, strategy and banking research, that was subsequently sold to EFG-Hermes. Prior to that, Khoury was an equity research analyst and investment banker in London at Robert Fleming and Merrill Lynch. He began his career in 1993 at the Central Bank of Lebanon as assistant to the Vice Governor. Khoury holds a an M.Sc. in International Relations from the London School of Economics (1993) and an M.A. in Economics (1991) from Trinity College, Cambridge



# **BERNARD KOUCHNER**

FORMER FRENCH MINISTER OF FOEIGN AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Minister of Foreign and European Affairs of France from 2007 to 2010, Kouchner started his career as a gastro-enterologist at Hospital Cochin, Paris. Founder and President of Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) and Médecins du Monde, he became a minister in several French governments, in charge of public health and humanitarian affairs from 1988-2002.

In 1999 he was appointed by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan as his Special Representative for Kosovo. Previously, he was a member of the European Parliament. He taught at the Harvard School of Public Health and at the CNAM in Paris (Health and Development).

He published 12 books and many essays on international and national politics, as well as on public health and development issues. He has been awarded numerous international distinctions, and became KCBE in 2002.



#### **BEJAN MATUR**

#### AUTHOR, POET, AND MEMBER OF DPI'S COUNCIL OF EXPERTS

Matur is a poet, writer, and columnist. She was born of an Alevi Kurdish family in southeast Turkey in 1968. She began her education as a girl in her village, then attended Lycée in Gaziantep, and later studied Law at Ankara University.

Her first book, *Rüzgâr Dolu Konaklar* (Winds Howl Through the Mansions), published in 1996, won several literary prizes. Her second book, *Tanrý Görmesin Harflerimi* (God Must Not See The Letter of My Script) (1999) received critical acclaim. She published two books in 2002, *Ayın Büyüttüğü Oğullar* (The Sons Reared by the Moon) and *Onun Çülünde* (In His Desert), continuing the distinctive language and world of imagery special to her poetry.

She is also a columnist. She writes about Kurdish politics, Armenian issues, prison literature, and women issues. She also runs a cultural foundation called DKSV (Diyarbakır Cultural Art Foundation). In 2011, she became an expert council for DPI (Democratic Progress Institute), which focuses on conflict resolution. She works currently as expert council on Kurdish issues.



#### **BRETT MCGURK**

DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS AT THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

McGurk serves as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Iraq and Iran in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. His previous assignment was Senior Advisor in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs with a focus on Iraq and other regional initiatives. In the Obama administration, McGurk has served as a special advisor to the National Security Staff and as Senior Advisor to Ambassadors Ryan Crocker, Christopher Hill, and James Jeffrey in Baghdad. In these capacities, McGurk participated in President Obama's 2009 review of Iraq policy and helped manage the transition from military to civilian lead in the wake of the U.S. military drawdown. During the Bush administration, McGurk served as Director for Iraq and then as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Iraq and Afghanistan.

In 2008, McGurk served as a lead negotiator and coordinator during bilateral talks with the Iraqi Government on both a long-term Strategic Framework Agreement and a Security Agreement to govern the temporary presence of U.S. forces and the normalization of bilateral relations between Iraq and the United States. For these assignments he received the State Department's Distinguished Honor and Superior Honor Awards. He was also one of the chief architects with President Bush of the strategy known as the surge, which contributed to a reduction of violence in Iraq and set the conditions for the responsible withdrawal of U.S. forces.

McGurk had earlier served as a legal advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority and then the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad under Ambassador John Negroponte.

#### NURAY MERT COLUMNIST FOR HURRIYET DAILY NEWS

Mert is a Turkish journalist and political scientist. She is a columnist for Hurriyet Daily News and was previously a TV talkshow host. After graduating from Fevziye Mektepleri Işık College, she studied political science and history at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, where she obtained her master's degree on a thesis entitled Prens Sabahaddin ve Terakki Mecmuası (Prens Sabahaddin and Terakki Magazine), and the doctorate on a thesis entitled Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Laik Düşünce (Secular Thought in the Early Republican Period). She worked as a research assistant at Boğaziçi University, after which she became lecturer in the Department of Economics of Istanbul University. In 2012 she was an International Scholar in Residence at the Stanford Humanities Center.



# ATHANASIOS MOULAKIS

PRESIDENT EMERITUS, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF IRAQ, SULAIMANI

Moulakis has over forty years of experience in higher education and academia in Europe, the United States, and Asia.

He joined the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani in September 2010. As the chief executive officer, Moulakis oversaw the young institution's expansion from a small start-up to a prominent, American-style university serving students from every area of Iraq and across the region.

Before joining AUIS, Moulakis served as Chief Academic Officer and Interim President at the American University of Afghanistan, where he was also a Distinguished Professor of Government & International Relations. Prior to moving to Asia, he directed the Institute of Mediterranean Studies at the University of Italian Switzerland, Lugano.

Moulakis has also held teaching positions in political science, philosophy, and the humanities at University of Colorado, Boulder, the European University Institute, the London School of Economics and Political Science, and Ruhr Universität, Bochum. He was also a Fulbright Professor of Philosophy at the University of Jena.

Moulakis has authored and edited numerous books on the history of political thought and liberal education, including *Beyond Utility, Liberal Education for a Technological Age* (1994), which won the AAC&C Frederick Ness Award for Best Book on Liberal Education and was named Choice "Outstanding Book of the Year."

Moulakis obtained a Ph.D. in Political Theory from Ruhr Universität, Bochum in 1969. Moulakis speaks fluent English, German, French, Italian and Modern Greek.

# MURAT ÖZÇELIK

DIRECTOR OF NIFA INVESTMENT AND CONSULTANCY SERVICES; FORMER: UNDERSECRETARY OF PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY, AMBASSADOR TO BAGHDAD, SPECIAL ENVOY OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT FOR IRAQ, HEAD OF CABINET TO THE LATE PRESIDENT TURGUT ÖZAL

Ambassador Özçelik served as a member of the Turkish Foreign Ministry for over 30 years. His foreign assignments included postings to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, the Turkish Permanent Representation to the then-European Economic Community in Brussels and Washington D.C., and Turkey's first Consul General to Shanghai, PRC, in 1997 and 1998. He was also stationed in Houston as Deputy Consul General between 2001 and 2005. Ozcelik held several executive positions within the Foreign Ministry including Head of the Balkans Department, Deputy Spokesperson, and Turkey's Special Envoy to Iraq between 2007 and 2009. He was assigned as Turkey's Ambassador to Iraq in 2009. After completing his tour in Iraq, he was assigned to be the Undersecretary for Public Order and Security in November 2011. He retired from Foreign Service in 2013.

Having acted as the Vice-Chairman responsible for Overseas Business Development at the MNG Holding Co. between 1999 and 2001, Özçelik also has private-sector experience.

# ESRA PELITOZU

DIRECTOR, KARO DIS TICARET VE SANAYI LTD. STI.

Pelitozu is a Turkish businesswoman with experience in the trading of petroleum products and manufacturing of petro-chemical products. She has been working in the family business since 2006 and she has been overseeing Karo's investment in a petro-chemical manufacturing plant in Baghdad, Iraq since 2010.

Prior to joining Karo in 2006, she worked on strategy and project management at the World Bank's Social Development Network in Washington, DC. During her time at the World Bank, she worked on improving the efficiency of the World Bank's response to HIV/AIDS.

Pelitozu holds an undergraduate degree from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and a masters degree from Johns Hopkins University.

#### **KENNETH POLLACK**

SENIOR FELLOW ON FOREIGN POLICY AT THE SABAN CENTER FOR MIDDLE EAST POLICY, BROOKINGS

Pollack is an expert on Middle Eastern political-military affairs, with particular emphasis on Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the other nations of the Persian Gulf region. He is currently a senior fellow in the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. He served as the director of the Saban Center from 2009 to 2012, and its director of research from 2002 to 2009. His most recent book is *Unthinkable: Iran, the Bomb, and American Strategy.* 

Pollack began his career as an Iran-Iraq military analyst at the Central Intelligence Agency, where he was an employee from 1988 until 1995. During that time, he was the principal author of the CIA's classified post-mortem on Iraqi strategy and military operations during the Persian Gulf War of 1990-1991. Pollack received the CIA's Certificate of Distinction for Outstanding Performance of Duty for work before and during the Persian Gulf War. He also twice received the CIA's Exceptional Performance Award, also for work related to the Persian Gulf War.

Pollack has twice served on the staff of the National Security Council. In 1995-1996, he was director for Near East and South Asian affairs, and in 1999-2001 he served as director for Persian Gulf Affairs. In this latter capacity, he was the principal working-level official for U.S. policy toward Iraq, Iran, Yemen and the Gulf Cooperation Council States at the White House.

#### **PRASHANT RAO**

BAGHDAD BUREAU CHIEF FOR AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Rao is the Baghdad Bureau Chief for Agence France-Presse, the world's oldest news agency and one of the three big international news wires. He has been based in Iraq since June 2009, and leads a team of nearly 40 journalists and photographers nationwide, stationed in all but one of Iraq's provinces. Along with Iraq, he has reported for AFP from Jordan, Turkey and Syria. Prior to his posting in Baghdad, he was a reporter for AFP in London. He holds a Bachelor's degree from the London School of Economics.

#### FARUK MUSTAFA RASOOL

CHAIRMAN OF FARUK GROUP HOLDING

Rasool is an entrepreneur with over 30 years of experience in the business world. He built one of the country's first wireless networks, Asiacell, which was recognized by the French market research firm Altai as being Iraq's leading brand in 2012 – not only in the mobile telecommunications market but across all industry sectors.

He is the chairman of Faruk Group Holding, which is comprised of 27 companies operating across 12 separate sectors vital to Iraq's reconstruction: telecommunications and information technology, cement, construction, industry, energy, insurance, medical services, hospitality, real estate, agriculture, project management, commerce and trade.

He graduated from the University of Baghdad with a degree in economics and accounting in 1964.

## KARIM SADJADPOUR

SENIOR ASSOCIATE AT THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Sadjadpour is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment, prior to which he worked as the chief Iran analyst at the International Crisis Group in Washington and Tehran. He is a regular contributor to BBC TV and radio, CNN, National Public Radio, PBS NewsHour, and Al-Jazeera, and has published articles in *the Economist, Washington Post, New York Times, International Herald Tribune,* and *Foreign Policy*. He regularly testifies before Congress, has lectured at Harvard, Princeton, and Stanford Universities, and has been the recipient of numerous academic awards, including a Fulbright scholarship. In 2007 Sadjadpour was named a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum in Davos. He is a board member of the Banu Foundation, an organization dedicated to assisting grassroots organizations that are empowering women worldwide.



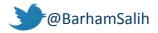


# **BARHAM SALIH**

#### CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF IRAQ, SULAIMANI (AUIS)

Salih is the founder of the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani. He is a veteran Kurdish politician with years of public service and leadership in both the Kurdistan Region and in Iraq. Salih served as Prime Minister of the Kurdistan Region most recently from 2009-2012. He was elected to leadership at the first conference of the Political Union of Kurdistan (PUK) party after the liberation of Kurdistan from dictatorship in 1992, and was also chosen to head the PUK office in the United States. Following the first parliamentary elections in the same year, he became the representative of the newly-formed Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) to the US. During his time in America he was very active in improving Kurdistan's relations with the West and his vigorous campaigning against Saddam Hussein's dictatorial Ba'ath regime helped to influence decision-makers in Washington. The PUK leadership asked Barham Salih to take over as Prime Minister of the KRG from 2001 to 2004.

After the fall of the Baathist regime, he became Deputy Prime Minister of the Interim Iraqi Government in mid-2004, Minister of Planning in the Transitional Government in 2005, and then Deputy Prime Minister in Nouri Al-Maliki's cabinet after the 2005 elections. In addition to his role as Deputy Prime Minister, he was also in charge of the economic portfolio and Head of the Economic Committee. Salih earned a Bachelor's degree in Civil Engineering and Construction at the University of Cardiff, graduating in 1983, and went on to receive a doctoral degree in Statistics and Computer Applications in Engineering from the University of Liverpool in 1987. He is married to Dr. Sarbagh Salih, a women's rights activist, and they have a son and a daughter. He is fluent in Kurdish, Arabic and English.



## **ANDREW SLATER**

PROFESSOR AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF IRAQ, SULAIMANI

Slater is a published author of both fiction and non-fiction with interests in oral history, personal narrative, Arab society, and conflict. His fiction has appeared in *Epiphany: A Literary Journal* and the anthology *Fire and Forget* by Da Capo Press. His non-fiction writing has appeared in *The Daily Beast* and *The New York Times*, and he has appeared as a guest on Anderson Cooper 360 and NPR's Here and Now.

As an educator he ran the Veterans' Writing Workshop at Columbia University from 2010 to 2012. His current research project is a collection of personal narratives from deserters from the Syrian army and their families during the ongoing civil war.

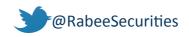
#### **KIRK SOWELL**

POLITICAL RISK ANALYST AND THE PRINCIPAL OF UTICENSIS RISK SERVICES (PUBLISHER OF INSIDE IRAQI POLITICS)

Sowell is a political risk analyst based in Amman, Jordan, and the principal of Uticensis Risk Services, the publisher of Inside Iraqi Politics. He is an expert in online Arabic-language research with several years experience working on a variety of Arab countries. A licensed attorney and published author, his 2004 book, *The Arab World: An Illustrated History*, was published by Hippocrene Books. Sowell is a graduate of the University of Texas at Austin and Cornell Law School, and has also studied at the University of Jordan in Amman.

#### SHWAN TAHA CHAIRMAN OF RABEE SECURITIES; FOUNDER OF MELAK INVESTMENTS

Taha has over ten years of experience in managing money in the MENA region, including Turkey, Greece and Pakistan. From 1997 to 2006, Taha worked for Franklin Templeton as part of Mark Mobius's emerging markets team. Responsible for investments in the MENA region, he established two research and investment offices: one in Dubai and the second in Istanbul. In 2006, Taha joined a two-man team to manage a hedge fund that was funded and sponsored by George Soros. Taha has left the partnership with Soros and founded Melak Investments, an investment advisory firm concentrating on opportunities in Iraq. Taha is also the chairman of Rabee Securities, a premier Iraqi Stock Exchange. Rabee Securities maintains offices in Baghdad, Erbil, Sulaimani, and Istanbul. Taha obtained an undergraduate degree in biomedical engineering from Case Western Reserve University and an MBA from George Washington University.





# **QUBAD TALABANI**

DIRECTOR OF THE OFFICE OF FOLLOW UP FOR THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Talabani, as Representative of the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) to the United States, worked closely with the U.S. Government, the media and research institutions providing critical analysis and up-to-date information on Iraq and the Kurdistan Region.

After Operation Iraqi Freedom (Spring 2003), he served a year as Senior Foreign Relations officer for the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) (one of the leading Kurdish political parties in Iraq), operating mainly out of Baghdad and Sulaimani. There, he worked closely with the U.S-led Coalition Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA), and was PUK's top liaison to the Coalition after it became the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and to US forces in Iraq. Talabani was also a key negotiator in drafting the Transitional Administrative Law (TAL), Iraq's first post-Saddam constitution.

During the period 2001 - 2003, Talabani served first as a Special Assistant to the then PUK Representative in Washington and then later he served as the Deputy PUK Representative in Washington D.C.

Talabani is frequently interviewed by the popular press and other publications. He has appeared numerous times to discuss Kurdish and Iraqi issues on major television networks including: CNN, BBC, FOX News, and other American and international networks.

Talabani's family has been involved in Kurdish politics for decades. His father, Jalal Talabani, is the President of the Republic of Iraq and Secretary General of the PUK.Talabani studied in London and holds a B.Sc. in Mechanical Engineering.



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CEO OF THE NATURE IRAQ FOUNDATION

Tice, CEO of the Nature Iraq Foundation, is the attorney for Nature Iraq, an Iraqi non-profit organization. She has spent the last ten years working for conservation and human rights organizations, and specializes in the intersection of international and environmental law. She holds a Bachelor's and Master's degree from Florida State University, a Juris Doctorate from University of Hawai'i at Manoa, and is bar certified in Hawai'i and New York.

#### **CHARLES R H TRIPP**

# PROFESSOR OF MIDDLE EAST POLITICS AT SOAS, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

Tripp is Professor of Politics with reference to the Middle East and a Fellow of the British Academy. His research interests include the nature of autocracy, state and resistance in the Middle East, the politics of Islamic identity, and the relationship between art and power. He is currently working on a study of the emergence of the public and the rethinking of republican ideals across the states of North Africa. Together with other colleagues in the department, he has been one of the founders of the Centre for Comparative Political Thought at SOAS.

His publications include Islam and the Moral Economy: The Challenge of Capitalism and A History of Iraq. His most recent book is The Power and the People: Paths of Resistance in the Middle East.

#### CHRISTINE VAN DEN TOORN ANALYST OF IRAQ AND THE KURDISTAN REGION

Van den Toorn has over ten years of professional and academic experience in the Middle East region, including five in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI). During her four years as a lecturer in Middle East History at the American University of Iraq, Sulaimani (AUIS), she was heavily involved in student services and conducted on the ground research in many parts of the country with a particular focus on Bashiqa and other disputed territories in Ninewa.

She has published articles in Niqash and openDemocracy, consulted and written reports for a variety of leading news and policy outlets, and delivered talks and moderated panels on Iraq. Van den Toorn has also conducted baseline reports and social impact assessments for major international oil companies.

She is currently continuing her work on higher education issues in Iraq, and recently founded The Primary Source, a news outlet and consulting group made up of former and current AUIS students. Van den Toorn received her M.A. in Middle East History from the University of Virginia and was in the United States Peace Corps in Morocco. She has studied Arabic at Middlebury College and Georgetown University, as well as at the University of Damascus and the French Institute of Near East Studies, also in the Syrian capital.

#### **BILAL WAHAB**

LECTURER AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF IRAQ, SULAIMANI (AUIS)

Wahab joined AUIS in September 2012 as a Lecturer in the Social Sciences Department. He is also currently a Ph.D. candidate in Public Policy at George Mason University in Arlington, Virginia and will soon defend his dissertation titled Iraqi Oil Policy Since 2003. Wahab has written widely on energy policy, transnational crime, illicit trade, good governance and transition to democracy. Before AUIS, he taught at Salahaddin University in the Political Science and English Language Departments. He was also previously the managing editor of Foreign Policy Bulletin.

Wahab received his M.A. in International Affairs from the American University in Washington D.C. as a Fulbright Fellow and received his Bachelor's degree in the English Language from Salahaddin University.

Wahab is an IRIS Faculty Fellow. His research aims to study KRG petroleum policy, and to identify and analyze the key factors that contributed to shaping that policy since 2003. His study will also analyze the interactions among international oil companies (IOCs), the government and the public.



# **ROBIN WRIGHT**

AWARD-WINNING ANALYST, JOURNALIST, AND AUTHOR ON MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS

Wright has reported from more than 140 countries on six continents for *The Washington Post, the Los Angeles Times, The New Yorker, The New York Times Magazine, TIME, The Atlantic, The Sunday Times of London*, CBS News, *Foreign Affairs* and many others. Her foreign tours include the Middle East, Europe, Africa and several years as a roving foreign correspondent worldwide. She has covered a dozen wars and several revolutions. Until 2008, she covered U.S. foreign policy for *The Washington Post.* 

Wright's most recent book is *Rock the Casbah*: *Rage and Rebellion across the Islamic world*. Her other books include *Dreams and Shadows*: *The Future of the Middle East* (2008), which *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* both selected as one of the most notable books of the year. She was the editor of *The Iran Primer: Power, Politics and U.S. Policy* (2010). Her other books include *The Last Great Revolution: Turmoil and Transformation in Iran* (2000), which was selected as one of the 25 most memorable books of the year 2000 by the New York Library Association, *Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam* (2001), *Flashpoints: Promise and Peril in a New World* (1991), and *In the Name of God: The Khomeini Decade* (1989).

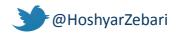
Wright has also been a fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Brookings Institution, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as well as Yale, Duke, Stanford, and the University of California.



#### H.E. HOSHYAR ZEBARI FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRAQ

Zebari was born in 1953 in Aqra, Iraqi Kurdistan, and was educated at the University of Jordan, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, and the University of Essex in the UK, obtaining a Master of Arts in Sociology of Development. He participated in the armed national resistance campaign against the regime of Saddam Hussein from 1980 -1988 and became an elected member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party's (KDP) Political Bureau and Chief Representative of the Kurdistan Front in Europe in 1989. Zebari held the post of the KDP's Chief Foreign Representative from 1988-1991 and acted as a spokesman during the 1991 Gulf War.

Zebari became Head of KDP's International Relations Bureau in 1992, a position he held until his most recent appointment as Minister for Foreign Affairs. In 1994, he became the principal negotiator in the Kurdish peace process and participated in peace talks held in Paris, Ireland, Ankara, London and Washington which produced the 1998 Washington Peace Agreement between the KDP and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan. Zebari was elected to the Executive Council of the Iraqi National Congress (INC). He became Head of International Relations of the Iraqi Opposition in 1992. He was elected as a member of the INC Leadership Council in 1999 and in 2002. Zebari was first appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Iraqi Governing Council in Baghdad on September 3rd 2003. He has been sworn in five consecutive times as the Foreign Minister, under the Iraqi Interim Government, the Iraqi Transitional Government, and each constitutional government after Saddam Hussein.





## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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