



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات  
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

# The Arab World and the US: Interests and Concerns in a Changing Environment (An Academic Perspective)

June 14–16, 2014

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# Time Table



# Day One

## June 14, 2014

**Opening Address by Azmi Bishara (9:00–9:30 am)**

Coffee Break (9:30–10:00 am)

**First Session: US Strategies in the Middle East (10:00–11:30 am)**

**Chair: Marwan Kabalan (ACRPS)**

Richard Murphy (independent consultant): The Roots of Realism and Idealism: US Engagement with the Middle East 1918–1939

Mahmoud Hamad (Drake University, Cairo University): A Region Long Forgotten: The United States and the Arab World

Ibrahim Sharqieh (Brookings Institution): Is the United States Re-formulating its Foreign Policy in the Middle East?

David Ottaway (Woodrow Wilson Center): The Obama Administration's Search for a New Middle East/Gulf Policy

Coffee Break (11:30 am – 12:00 pm)

**Presentation of the Findings of the Arab Opinion Index 12:00 pm – 1:00 pm**

Mohammad al-Masri (ACRPS): Arab Public Attitudes Towards the US

**Second Session: Stereotyping Across the US-Arab Divide: A Two-Way Street (1:00–2:30 pm)**

**Chair: Khalil Jahshan (consultant and media commentator)**

Ayad al-Qazzaz (California State University): The Image of the Arab and Islam in Introductory Sociology Textbooks in the US in the Aftermath of 9/11

Hatem Bazian (University of California, Berkeley): Palestine, Islamophobia and the Centrality of Pro-Israel Producers of Muslim Otherness

Marda Dunsky (Northwestern University): Old Story, New Story: Reframing US Media Coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Shamseddin Alkelani (ACRPS): Approaches to Understanding the Image of the US in the Arab World

Lunch Break: (2:30–4:30 pm)

**Third Session: Energy, Security and US-GCC Relations (4:30–6:00 pm)**

**Chair: Mohammed al-Khulaiifi (Qatar University)**

Abdullah Baabood (Qatar University): Elusive Energy Self-Sufficiency and the Future of the US Role in the Gulf

Daniel Serwer (Johns Hopkins University, Middle East Institute): Shifting Sands: the Global Oil Market and Its Impacts on the Middle East

Frederic Wehrey (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace): Saudi-American Relations in a Changing Middle East

Suhaim Al-Thani (ACRPS): US-Qatari Relations: Trends and Dimensions

Coffee Break (6:00–6:30 pm)

**Fourth Session: The Future of US-GCC Relations (6:30–8:00 pm)**

**Chair: Khalid Al Jaber (Al-Sharq Newspaper)**

Anthony H. Cordesman (CSIS): Improving the US-GCC Security Partnership

Abdullah K. al-Shayji (Kuwait University): The Future of US-GCC Relations: Dimensions and Ramifications

Mansour Almarzoqi Albogami (Sciences Po de Lyon): Saudi Arabia and the United States: The Relationship of the New Era

Raghid al-Solh (independent writer): Options for the GCC Countries in Light of the US's Declining Influence

# Day Two

## June 15, 2014

### **Session One: American Approaches to the Arab Revolutions (9:00–10:30 am)**

**Chair: Muhammad al Misfir (Qatar University)**

- David Pollock (The Washington Institute): US Policy Toward the "Arab Spring": A Critical Analysis
- Ghassan al-Izzi (Lebanese University): American Policy Toward Democratic Transition: Examples from Eastern Europe (1990) and the Arab World (2011)
- Radwan Ziadeh (Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies): American Policy on the Middle East Region After the Arab Spring: The Syrian Case
- Mohamed Elmenshawy (Middle East Institute): American Policy Toward Egypt After July 3, 2013

Coffee Break (10:30–11:00 am)

### **Session Two: Democratic Transformation in the Arab World: The Dilemma for US Policy (The Cases of Egypt and Tunisia) (11:00 am – 12:30 pm )**

**Chair: Saouad al-Mawla (ACRPS)**

- Michele Dunne (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace): US Policies Toward Egypt and Tunisia since 2011
- Najwan al-Ashwal (Arab Center for Conflict Transformation): The Position of the Revolutionary Movements in Egypt Regarding the United States
- Khalil al-Anani (Johns Hopkins University): United States' Policy Toward Political Islam: The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt
- Anouar al-Jamaoui (Tunisian Academic): The Stance of the US Administration on Islamist Rule in Tunisia

### **Third Session: Trends in American Relations with the North African States (1:00–2:30 pm)**

**Chair: Mustafa Hamarneh (Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan- formerly)**

Yahia Zoubir (KEDGE Business School): The United States and the Maghreb-Sahel: From Neglect to Security Priority

Idriss Lakrini (Cadi Ayyad University): Strategic Dimensions of Moroccan-American Relations

Youssef al-Sawani (University of Tripoli): The US and Libya: A Turbulent History and an Uncertain Future

Lunch Break (2:30–4:30 pm)

### **Fourth Session: Questions on American Policies Toward Sudan and Yemen (4:30–6:00 pm)**

**Chair: Mahjoub al-Basha (COMESA Committee of Elders)**

Hassan al-Hajj Ali (University of Khartoum): American Policy on Sudan: from Foreign Policy Issue to Domestic Concern

Abdelwahab el-Affendi (University of Westminster): America and Sudan: A Model Arab-American Relation or an Exception to the Rule?

Muhammad al-Afandi (Sana'a University): Defining Issues in US-Yemen Relations

Charles Dunbar (Boston University): The Yemeni-US Relationship

Coffee Break (6:00–6:30 pm)

### **Fifth Session: US Relations with Regional and International Powers and the Repercussions on Arab States (6:30–8:00 pm)**

**Chair: Khaled al-Dakheel (independent researcher)**

John Parker (National Defense University, Woodrow Wilson Center): Russia's Reemergence: Prospects, Limits, and Shifting Balances

Hamid Dabashi (Columbia University): The Impact of the American-Iranian Rapprochement on the Arabs

Omar al-Zobidy (C.E.R.S. Institute for Strategic Studies): American-Iranian Relations: Managing Conflict in the Arab Gulf

Kadir Ustun (SETA Foundation): Turkey's Role in the US Strategy Towards the Middle East

# Day Three

## June 16, 2014

### **Problematic Issues in Arab-American Relations: Palestine and Iraq (9:00–10:30 am)**

**Chair: Abdulwahab Al-Qassab (ACRPS)**

**Marwan Bishara (Al Jazeera English):** Palestine in American Foreign Policy: Alignment of Policy, Strategy and Diplomacy

**Osama Abu-Irshaid (ACRPS):** The Reality of Political Settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, and its Prospects Under the Obama Administration

**Haifa Zangana (Iraqi author):** The Mechanisms of Soft Power following the US Military Withdrawal from Iraq

**Mazen al-Ramadani (Al Nahrain University):** The Future of American Policy on Iraq: Three Scenarios

Coffee Break (10:30–11:00)

**Panel Discussion on Arab-American Relations (11:00–12:00)**



# Participants



Participant	Biography
Abdullah Baabood	is the director of the Gulf Studies Center at Qatar University's College of Arts and Sciences. Baabood completed MA degrees in Business Administration and International Relations in the UK, before also completing a PhD in Political Economy in Britain.
Abdelwahab El-Affendi	is an associate professor of political science at the University of Westminster's Centre for Democracy Studies. He also supervises the Democracy and Islam Programme within the same center. Alongside his academic work, El-Affendi is a research fellow in the Program on Global Change at the British Research Council, and a member of the Royal Society (RSA). He holds an MA in Philosophy from the University of Wales-Swansea, and a PhD in Political Science from Reading University in the UK.
Abdullah K. AlShayji	is professor of international relations and former chairman of the Political Science Department at Kuwait University. He previously served as special advisor to the speaker of the Kuwaiti Parliament and acted as counselor and head of the Kuwaiti Information and Media Bureau at the Kuwaiti Embassy in Beirut. AlShayji holds a PhD from the University of Texas at Austin.
Abdulwahab Al-Qassab	is an associate researcher at the ACRPS. He worked as a researcher in the Center for International Studies, University of Baghdad, and the Al-Mustansiriya Center for Arab and International Studies in Al-Mustansiriya University, Baghdad, Iraq. Al-Qassab also taught Strategy in Al-Nahrain University, Baghdad. He earned his PhD in Strategic Studies from Campbell University in the US.
Anouar al-Jamaoui	is a Researcher in the Center for Research and Studies for Dialogue between Civilizations and Religions, in the Tunisian city of Sousa. Al Jamaoui is a scholar with an interest in the fields of cultural anthropology, Islamic studies, linguistics and translation, and In the study of Islamist political movements. He was the Laureate of the ACRPS Prize for Young Researchers in the Social Sciences and Humanities in 2011.

Participant	Biography
Anthony H. Cordesman	holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). Before joining CSIS, Cordesman served as director of intelligence assessment in the Office of the Secretary of Defense and as civilian assistant to the deputy secretary of defense. He is the author of numerous studies on energy policy, national security, and the Middle East. He holds a PhD from the University of London.
Ayad Al-Qazzaz	is a professor of sociology at California State University, Sacramento. He is the author of three books and more than fifty articles on subjects related to the Arab world, Islam, and the Middle East. Al-Qazzaz was an associate editor of <i>Pacific Sociological Review</i> . He received his degrees from the University of Baghdad and the University of California, Berkeley.
Charles Dunbar	is a lecturer at Boston University and has spent 50 years living in, learning about, and writing on the Muslim world. He served for 21 years as an American and United Nations diplomat and ambassador in seven Middle Eastern countries, and after leading the Cleveland Council on World Affairs for eight years, he taught full-time at Simmons College in Boston and Boston University until 2011.
Daniel Serwer	is a senior research professor of conflict management and a senior fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He is also a scholar at the Middle East Institute. Serwer was former vice president for centers of peacebuilding innovation and vice president for peace and stability operations at the US Institute of Peace. He holds a PhD from Princeton University.
David Ottaway	is a senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center. He worked 35 years for <i>The Washington Post</i> as a foreign correspondent in the Middle East, Africa, and Southern Europe, and later as a national security and investigative reporter in Washington before retiring in 2006. Ottaway was twice nominated a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize. He holds a PhD from Columbia University.

Participant	Biography
David Pollock	is the Kaufman fellow at The Washington Institute, focusing on the political dynamics of Middle East countries. He served previously as senior advisor for the Broader Middle East at the State Department, providing policy advice on issues of democracy and reform in the region. Pollock has served as a visiting lecturer at Harvard University and as assistant professor at George Washington University. He holds a PhD from Harvard University.
Frederic Wehrey	is a senior associate in the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He focuses on Gulf political and security affairs, Libya, and US policy in the Middle East. Prior to joining Carnegie, he was a senior policy analyst at the RAND Corporation. Wehrey is the author of "Sectarian Politics in the Gulf: From the Iraq War to the Arab Uprisings". He holds a PhD from the University of Oxford.
Ghassan Al-Izzi	is an international affairs scholar and a professor of political science and international relations at the Lebanese University. His scholarship has been published in both Arabic and French. Al-Izzi obtained his PhD from France's Reine University.
Haifa Zangana	is an Iraqi author, journalist, and human rights activist. She is a regular contributor to European and Arabic publications and academic conferences on women's issues, literature, resistance, and war. She is a founding member of the International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies (IACIS) and a consultant at the UN. Among her books are <i>City of Widows</i> and <i>Dreaming of Baghdad</i> .
Hamid Dabashi	is the Hagop Kevorkian Professor of Iranian Studies and Comparative Literature at Columbia University. He is a founding member of the Institute for Comparative Literature and Society and a founding member of the Center for Palestine Studies at Columbia University. Dabashi holds a dual PhD in Sociology of Culture and Islamic Studies from the University of Pennsylvania.

Participant	Biography
Hassan Al Hajj Ali	is the dean of the College of Economic and Social Sciences at Khartoum University. From 2001 to 2005, Al Hajj Ali was a visiting professor at the Graduate School for Area Studies at the Hankuk University for Foreign Studies in South Korea. Al Hajj Ali holds an MA from the University of Missouri at Columbia and a PhD from the University of North Texas.
Hatem Bazian	is co-editor and founder of the Islamophobia Studies Journal and director of the Islamophobia Research and Documentation Project. He is the co-founder of Zaytuna College, the 1st Muslim Liberal Arts College in America. He is a senior lecturer in the Departments of Near Eastern and Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. He received his PhD in Philosophy and Islamic Studies from the University of California, Berkeley.
Ibrahim Sharqieh	is a foreign policy fellow at the Brookings Institute and a professor of international conflict at Georgetown University-Qatar. Previously, Sharqieh had served as an academic advisor at the Embassy of the United Arab Emirates to Washington, DC, and taught international conflict resolution at a number of US universities. He earned his PhD in International Conflict Resolution from George Mason University in Virginia in 2006.
Idriss Lakrini	is a professor of international relations and political culture at the Qadi Ayyad University in Marrakech, where he is the director of the Research Group on Crisis Management. Lakrini is also the president of the Al Manara Forum on Development Research, and the author of a number of works, including one on the international repercussions of 9/11.
John W. Parker	is an adjunct research fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies of the National Defense University, and a public policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center. He served from 1974-2010 in the US Department of State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research in the Office for Russian and Eurasian Analysis. Parker has served two tours at the American Embassy in Moscow. He holds a PhD from Yale University.

Participant	Biography
Kadir Ustun	is the research director at the SETA Foundation in Washington, DC. He is an assistant editor of <i>Insight Turkey</i> , a policy-oriented academic journal published by the SETA Foundation. Ustun holds a PhD in Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies from Columbia University and a Master's Degree in History from Bilkent University.
Khaled Al Dakheel	is an independent Saudi Arabian researcher who sits on the editorial board of the Journal of Palestine Studies. Al Dakheel was previously a professor at King Saud University in Riyadh. He has written extensively on political reform, and is a regular columnist in the Arab press. He completed his PhD at the University of California-Los Angeles.
Khalid Al-Jaber	is assistant professor of Political Communication in the Gulf Studies Program at Qatar University. He works as the deputy editor-in-chief of <i>Al-Sharq Daily</i> , Al-Sharq Press in Doha. He also serves as the principal at Global Media Consultants in the United States. Al-Jaber is a scholar of Arab and Gulf studies whose research focuses on media, political communication, and international relations.
Khalil Al-Anani	is an adjunct professor at the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. He is a leading academic expert on Islamist movements, Egyptian politics, and democratization in the Middle East. He was a scholar of Middle East politics at the School of Government and International Affairs at Durham University, UK, and a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC.
Khalil Jahshan	is a Middle East consultant and media commentator. Between 2004 and 2013, he served as the executive director of Pepperdine University's Washington DC Internship Program and was a lecturer in international studies and languages. Prior to that, he held senior executive positions in various Arab-American organizations including AAUG, PREC, NAAA, and ADC.

Participant	Biography
Mahjoub al-Basha	is a member of the Committee of Elders of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). Ambassador al-Basha is a Sudanese diplomat who served as the director of the National Center for Diplomatic Studies in Khartoum. He graduated from the Faculty of Economics and Political Science at Khartoum University before moving on to obtain an MA and PhD in International Relations from Japan's Keio University.
Mahmoud Hamad	holds a joint appointment as associate professor of politics and international relations at Drake University and assistant professor of political science at Cairo University. Mahmoud previously taught at BYU and the University of Utah. He received his PhD from the Department of Political Science at the University of Utah and his MA in Political Science from Cairo University.
Mansour Almarzoqi Albogami	is a PhD student at Sciences Po, and is the co-author of two books: <i>The Gulf in a Changing Strategic Context</i> and <i>The Salafist Phenomenon: Organizational Pluralism and Policies</i> . Before beginning his MA and doctoral studies in France, Albogami had completed his BA in English Literature and Political Science at Oregon State University.
Marda Dunsky	is an author, educator, and media/communications consultant specializing in Middle Eastern affairs. She is currently a visiting scholar at The Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, and a contract editor for the UNICEF MENA Regional Office. Dunsky is the author of <i>Pens and Swords: How the American Mainstream Media Report the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict</i> .
Marwan Bishara	is an editor at Al Jazeera English, where he also presents Empire, a weekly current affairs show focused on American policy. He is the author of a number of works published in both English and Arabic, and previously taught at the American University of Paris. He holds a PhD from the Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

Participant	Biography
Marwan Kabalan	is a researcher at the ACRPS. He was previously the head of the Sham Research Center in Damascus, and dean of the College of International Relations at Syria's Al Qalamon University. Kabalan earned his PhD at Manchester University.
Mazen Al-Ramadani	is a professor of future studies, international conflict, and strategic thinking, as well as the founder and first dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences at Baghdad's Nahrain University. He is a member of the Iraqi Academy. Al-Ramadani earned his MA and PhD of Political Science from the University of Freiburg in Germany.
Michele Dunne	is a senior associate in the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. She was the founding director of the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East at the Atlantic Council and a visiting professor at Georgetown University. Prior to that, she served as a Middle East specialist at the White House and the US Department of State. She holds a PhD from Georgetown University.
Mohamed Elmenshawy	is a resident scholar at the Middle East Institute. He also works as Washington Bureau Chief for the Egyptian daily <i>Al Shorouk</i> , in which he writes a weekly column. He recently testified before the House Committee on Homeland Security's Subcommittee on Counterterrorism and Intelligence, where he addressed the current state of Egypt. He is part of the UN Secretary General's High Representative for the Alliance of Civilizations initiative.
Mohammad Al Misfir	is a professor of political science at Qatar University, and a regular columnist for both Doha-based and pan-Arab newspapers. He writes widely on Arab nationalism and related issues. Al Misfir earned his PhD while studying in New York.

Participant	Biography
Mohammad al-Afandi	is head of the Yemeni Center for Strategic Studies, editor of the journal <i>Shu'uun al-'Asr</i> (Current Affairs), professor of economics at Sana'a University, and author of numerous works on macro- and micro-economics, economic theory, monetary economics, and the global economic crisis.
Mohammad al-Masri	is a research professor at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, where he is also the coordinator of the Arab Opinion Index Project. Al-Masri holds an MA and a PhD from Durham University in the UK.
Mohammed Al Khulaiifi	is an assistant professor of commercial law and associate dean for academic affairs at Qatar University's College of Law. Al Khulaiifi holds MA and PhD degrees in Commercial Law from the University of California-Berkeley.
Mustafa Hamarneh	was the director of the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan. He is the founder and publisher of the <i>Al Sijill</i> monthly magazine. Hamarneh is also a Jordanian Member of Parliament. He received his MA and PhD in history from Georgetown University, and holds a degree in economics from Spain.
Najwan al-Ashwal	is the director of the Arab Center for Conflict Transformation and Democratic Transition. Al-Ashwal holds a PhD with a focus on social and Islamic movements from the European International University in Florence, and was a visiting researcher at the German Institute for International Studies (SWP) in Berlin. She is a member of the Cortoba Forum for Conflict Transformation in Geneva.
Omar Al Zobidy	is the director of the France-based C.E.R.S. Institute for Strategic Studies. From 2009 to 2011, Al Zobidy was the Saudi Arabia Bureau Chief for the BBC, and a number of other journalistic posts, including for <i>Al Arabiya</i> , in Saudi Arabia. The author of a number of books, including <i>The Saudi Arabian Mosaic</i> , Al Zobidy earned his MA and PhD degrees from the UK's Canterbury University.



Participant	Biography
Osama Abu Irshaid	is the founder and editor in chief of <i>Al Meezan</i> , an Arabic language periodical which is published in the United States. A researcher and lecturer, he is widely published in both Arabic and English. Abu Irshaid earned his PhD in Political Science from the UK's Loughborough University.
Payam Mohseni	is the Iran project director and fellow for Iran studies at Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and a visiting assistant professor in the Department of Government at Harvard University where he teaches Iranian and Middle East politics. He holds a PhD in Government from Georgetown University.
Radwan Ziadeh	is the executive director of the Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Washington, DC, and, since 2005, has served as the director of the Damascus Center for Human Rights.
Raghid El Solh	is an independent researcher and author on Arab and regional affairs, and democracy. He was previously a consultant to the Issam Fares Institute at the American University of Beirut and the UN's Economic and Social Council for West Asia (ESCWA). He is the author of <i>Lebanon and Arabism</i> , published in English by IB Tauris. El-Solh earned his PhD while at St. Antony's College, Oxford University, completing some of his studies at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies.
Richard W. Murphy	was a career foreign service officer in the US State Department and served as American ambassador to Mauritania, Syria, the Philippines, and Saudi Arabia. From 1983-1989 he was assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. On his retirement from government service, Murphy was the Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Participant	Biography
Saoud al-Mawla	is a researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He was a professor of political sociology at the Institute of Social Sciences at Lebanese University, and has authored many books and other publications.
Shamseddine Alkelani	is a researcher within the Unit for Contemporary Syrian Studies at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. Alkelani has written extensively in the fields of culture and politics, with a special focus on Arab cultural perceptions of Europe, East Asia, and Africa. His book <i>The Transformation of Syrian Elites' Attitudes Toward Lebanon</i> was published by the ACRPS in 2012.
Suhaim Al-Thani	is a research assistant at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. A number of his research papers have been published in peer-reviewed journals since he gained his MA from Royal Holloway at the University of London.
Yahia Zoubir	is professor of international relations and international management, and the director of research in Geopolitics at KEDGE Business School, Marseille, France. Zoubir has taught in the United States, China, Germany, Austria, Mexico, and Iran. He has published numerous books, articles, book chapters, and entries in encyclopedias, on US foreign policy, Maghreb politics, governance, and conflicts.
Youssef al-Sawani	is a professor of politics and international relations at the University of Tripoli in Libya. His work on Libya, international relations, strategic affairs, and the politics and culture of the Arab world has been widely published in both Arabic and English. Al-Sawani earned his PhD in International Relations from the University of Kent in the UK.



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