



Program on Arab Reform and Democracy
From Political Activism to Democratic Change in the Arab World
May 12-13, 2011

Bios of Participants

Christopher Alexander

Christopher Alexander is Associate Dean for International Programs and Director of the Dean Rusk International Studies Program at Davidson College. He also teaches Middle East politics in Davidson's Department of Political Science. His publications on political and economic development in North Africa include *Tunisia: Stability and Reform in the Modern Maghreb* (Routledge, 2010).

Maryam Alkhawaja

Maryam Alkhawaja currently serves as the head of the foreign relations office at the Bahrain Centre for Human Rights. Due to threats of arrest during a crackdown on activists, Maryam was forced to leave Bahrain in September 2010 due to threat of arrest, but she returned on the 10th of February to document and report on human rights violations during the uprising planned to begin on the 14th. Since then, Maryam has been a leading activist in speaking to the international media and reporting to international organizations about the situation in Bahrain. Prior to arriving in the US, Maryam traveled to Geneva to speak at the UN Human Rights Council. Due to her activism, she has been subjected to defamation, harassment, and death threats; and now is not able to return to Bahrain due to being targeted. Her father, uncle and two brothers in law are currently in under arrest, their whereabouts unknown.

Amer Bani Amer

Dr. Bani Amer has been the founder and general Director of Al-Hayat Center since May 2006 and has been a young leader activist since 1994. He has extensive experience in planning and implementing youth related projects, especially in the field of youth inclusion within political life. He served as the director of the 2007 and 2010 Jordan parliamentary elections monitoring projects, in which an estimated 4000 young Jordanians participated in election monitoring preparation and activities, and has additionally provided trainings on election monitoring to Moroccan and Algerian organizations. Dr. Bani Amer has also participated in various programs related to young activists all over the world, recently participating in the 2011 "Young Political Leaders" program in the United States, coordinated by the U.S. State Department. He holds a PhD degree on urban planning from UKM University in Malaysia.

Mustafa Barghouthi

Member of the Palestinian parliament; former Minister of Information under the 2007 National Unity Government; 2005 presidential candidate; General Secretary of the Palestinian National Initiative; physician; social, political, human rights and peace activist; one of the most active grassroots leaders in Palestine; campaigner for the development of Palestinian civil society and grassroots democracy; outspoken advocate of internal reform; international spokesperson for the Palestinian cause; leading figure in the non-violent, peaceful struggle against the Occupation; and organizer of international solidarity presence in the Palestine, Mustafa Barghouthi has made an extraordinary contribution to initiatives to peacefully challenge the ongoing Israeli Occupation of Palestine and bring it to end, as well as efforts to build the institutional framework of Palestinian

civil society and promote the principles of internal democracy and good governance. He writes extensively for local and international audiences on civil society and democracy issues and the political situation in Palestine, as well as on health development policy in Palestine. In 2010 Dr. Mustafa Barghouti was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by Mairead Maguire, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate and Co-founder of the Peace People.

In 2002, Dr. Barghouti co-founded Al Mubadara (the Palestinian National Initiative, PNI), along with Dr. Edward Said, Dr. Haider Abdel-Shafi and Mr. Ibrahim Dakak, and currently serves as its General Secretary. Al Mubadara is a democratic opposition movement that provides a reformist, inclusive, democratic alternative to both autocracy and corruption, and to fundamentalist groups. It looks to achieve this by promoting an accountable and transparent democratic system in Palestine, and by strengthening contacts between Palestinians in the Territories and those in the Diaspora. It also seeks to develop mass non-violence and international solidarity as the preferred means of ending the Israeli Occupation and achieving lasting peace, and to mobilize public opinion by making the Palestinian story visible in the international media.

Khalil Barhoum

Khalil Barhoum is the Director of the African and Middle Eastern Languages and Literatures Program at Stanford University.

Hicham Ben Abdallah

Hicham Ben Abdallah is Consulting Professor at Stanford University and the founder of the Moulay Hicham Foundation. He received his B.A. in Politics in 1985 from Princeton University, and his M.A. in Political Science from Stanford in 1997. His interest is in the politics of the transition from authoritarianism to democracy. He has written extensively on that and related subjects pertaining to the Arab world in publications such as *Journal of Democracy*, *Le Monde*, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Politique Internationale*, and *Al-Hayat*. He has also lectured in numerous universities and think tanks in North America and Europe. His work for the advancement of peace and conflict resolution has brought him to Kosovo as a special Assistant to Bernard Kouchner, and to Nigeria and Palestine as an election observer with the Carter Center. He is also an entrepreneur with interests in agriculture, real estate, and renewable energies. His company, Al Tayyar Energy, has a number of clean energy projects in Asia and Europe. His latest project is the development of an eco-city in Morocco.

Ahmed Benchemsi

Ahmed Benchemsi is a visiting scholar at Stanford University's Program on Arab Reform and Democracy at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law. His focus is on the democratic grassroots movement that recently burgeoned in Morocco, as in Tunisia and Egypt. Ahmed researches how and under what circumstances a handful of young Facebook activists managed to infuse democratic spirit which eventually inspired hundreds of thousands, leading them to hit the streets in massive protests. He investigates whether this actual trend will pave the way for genuine democratic reform or for the traditional political system's reconfiguration around a new balance of powers - or both.

Before joining Stanford, Ahmed was the publisher and editor of Morocco's two best-selling newsweeklies *TelQuel* (French) and *Nishan* (Arabic), which he founded in 2001 and 2006, respectively. Covering politics, business, society and the arts, Ahmed's magazines were repeatedly cited by major media such as *CNN*, *BBC*, *Al Jazeera* and more, as strong advocates of democracy and secularism in the Middle East and North Africa.

Ahmed received awards from the European Union and Lebanon's Samir Kassir Foundation, notably for his work on the "Cult of personality" surrounding Morocco's King. He also published op-eds in *Le Monde* and *Newsweek* where he completed fellowships.

Ahmed received his M.Phil in Political Science in 1998 from Paris' Institut d'Etudes Politiques (aka "Sciences Po"), his M.A in Development Economics in 1995 from La Sorbonne, and his B.A in Finance in 1994 from Paris VIII University.

Nathan J. Brown

Nathan J. Brown is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at The George Washington University in Washington, DC. He is a specialist on the comparative politics of the Middle East. He also serves as a nonresident senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He has recently completed a book on Islamist movements and electoral politics in the Arab world, entitled *Participation Not Domination: Islamist Parties and Semiauthoritarian Politics in the Arab World*, to be published by Cornell University Press in the fall. In the past, his work has focused on issues of constitutionalism, rule of law, and democracy in the Arab world. He has worked on Egyptian, Palestinian and Gulf politics.

Professor Brown is the author of five books: *Between Religion and State* (with Amr Hamzawy; Carnegie Endowment, 2010) *Palestinian Politics since the Oslo Accords: Resuming Arab Palestine*, (University of California Press, 2003); *Constitutions in a Nonconstitutional World: Arab Basic Laws and the Prospects for Accountable Government*, (State University of New York Press, 2001); *The Rule of Law in the Arab World: Courts in Egypt and the Gulf* (Cambridge University Press, 1997); and *Peasant Politics in Modern Egypt*, Yale University Press, 1990). In addition he has edited *The Dynamics of Democratization* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); and *The Struggle over Democracy in the Middle East* (with Emad Shahin, Routledge, 2009). In 2009, he was named a Carnegie Scholar by the Carnegie Corporation of New York for his work on Islamist political movements.

Daniel Brumberg

Daniel Brumberg is Senior Adviser to the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, where he focuses on issues of democratization and political reform in the Middle East and wider Islamic world. He is also an associate professor at Georgetown University and a former senior associate in the Carnegie Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project (2003-04).

Previously, he was a Jennings Randolph senior fellow at USIP, where he pursued a study of power sharing in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Brumberg was a Mellon junior fellow at Georgetown University and a visiting fellow at the International Forum on Democratic Studies. He was a visiting professor in the Department of Political Science at Emory University and a visiting fellow in the Middle East Program in the Jimmy Carter Center, and has taught at the University of Chicago. Brumberg is the author of many articles on political and social change in the Middle East and wider Islamic world. With a grant from the MacArthur Foundation, he is currently working on a comparative study of power-sharing experiments in Algeria, Kuwait and Indonesia.

A member of the editorial board of the Journal of Democracy and the advisory board of the International Forum on Democratic Studies, Brumberg is also chairman of the nonprofit Foundation on Democratization and Political Change in the Middle East. He has worked closely with a number of nongovernmental organizations in the Arab world, including the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs. Brumberg is also a member of the editorial board of the American Political Science Association's Political Science and Politics.

He received his B.A. from Indiana University and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Larry Diamond

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, where he also directs the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, and professor by courtesy of political science and sociology. He is the founding co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy* and also serves as Senior Consultant (and previously was co-director) at the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy. His latest books are *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (Times Books, 2008), and *Squandered Victory: The American Occupation and the Bungled Effort to Bring Democracy to Iraq* (2005).

Michele Dunne

Michele Dunne is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington DC and editor of the on line *Arab Reform Bulletin*. A specialist at the State Department and White House on Middle East affairs from 1986 to 2003, she has also been a visiting professor of Arabic language and an adjunct professor of Arab Studies at Georgetown University. Dunne's research interests include political reform in the region, Egypt, Israeli-Palestinian issues, and U.S. policy. She holds a Ph.D. in Arabic language and linguistics from Georgetown University.

Nabiha Jerad

Nabiha Jerad received a PhD in linguistics from the University of Paris 7. She is an Associate Professor at the University of Tunis and a research associate at the IRMC : Institut de recherches sur le Maghreb contemporain , in Tunis. She was a Fulbright scholar at Stanford in 2009. She works in the areas of sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. She has written extensively in Arabic and French on Language policies , the issue of language and identity in the postcolonial Maghreb, Maghrebi migration into France and Discourse analysis of every day life interactions. She is currently completing a book called « *The representation of the self in postcolonial Tunisia through ads and Tourism Brochure* » and conducting research on the Tunisian revolution in collaboration with Susan Ossman, an anthropologist at UC Riverside.

Lina Khatib

Lina Khatib is the manager and co-founder of the Program on *Arab Reform and Democracy* at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. She is an expert on Middle East politics and media and has published widely on topics such as new media and Islamism, political media and conflict in the Arab world, and the political dynamics in Lebanon and Iran. She is currently writing a book titled *Image Politics in the Middle East* for IB Tauris, which examines the power struggles among states, political leaders, political parties, civil society groups, and citizens in the region, and recently led a research project on US public diplomacy towards the Arab world in the digital age. She is the author of *Filming the Modern Middle East: Politics in the Cinemas of Hollywood and the Arab World* (2006), and *Lebanese Cinema: Imagining the Civil War and Beyond* (2008).

Stéphane Lacroix

Stéphane Lacroix is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Sciences Po in Paris. His most recent book, "Awakening Islam: The Politics of Religious Dissent in Contemporary Saudi Arabia" was published by Harvard University Press in April 2011.

Laurence Louër

Laurence Louër is Research Fellow at Sciences Po, the Centre for International Research and Studies (CERI). She has been a permanent consultant for the Policy Planning Staff of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs between 2004 and 2009. She is the editor in chief of the French journal *Critique Internationale* since 2006. An Arabist, she focuses on identity politics in the

Middle East. She is currently undertaking a research on the transformation of the welfare state in the Gulf monarchies. She is the author of *To Be an Arab in Israel* (London, Hurst/New York, Columbia University Press, 2007), *Transnational Shia Politics. Religious and Political Networks in the Gulf*, London, Hurst/New York, Columbia University Press, 2008) and *Shia Political Islam in the Middle East* (forthcoming at Hurst and Columbia University Press in 2011).

Ellen Lust

Ellen Lust is an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at Yale University.

She received a PhD in Political Science and an MA in Middle East Studies at the University of Michigan. Her books include *Structuring Conflict in the Arab World* (Cambridge University Press, 2005); *Political Participation in the Middle East* (Lynne Rienner Press, 2008), co-edited with Saloua Zerhouni; and *The Middle East*, an edited textbook (CQ Press, 2010). She has also published articles in such journals as *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* and *Politics and Society*. Her work broadly examines the politics of authoritarianism, and through this, the prospects for development and democracy in the region. She is currently working on a book manuscript examining the politics of elections in the Arab world, as well as a collaborative project focusing on the ways in which ongoing social and economic transformations in Africa and the Middle East affect governance programs (with Stephen Ndegwa, World Bank). She is also an associate editor of a the newly launched journal, *Middle East Law and Governance*, sponsored by the University of Toronto and Yale University Law Schools. Ellen Lust has studied, conducted research, and led student and alumni groups in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Israel, Palestine and Syria.

Marwan Muasher

Marwan Muasher is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment, where he oversees the Endowment's research in Washington and Beirut on the Middle East. Muasher served as foreign minister (2002–2004) and deputy prime minister (2004–2005) of Jordan, and his career has spanned the areas of diplomacy, development, civil society, and communications. He is also a senior fellow at Yale University.

Muasher began his career as a journalist for the *Jordan Times*. He then served at the Ministry of Planning, at the prime minister's office as press adviser, and as director of the Jordan Information Bureau in Washington. In 1995, Muasher opened Jordan's first embassy in Israel, and in 1996 became minister of information and the government spokesperson. From 1997 to 2002, he served in Washington again as ambassador, negotiating the first free trade agreement between the United States and an Arab nation. He then returned to Jordan to serve as foreign minister, where he played a central role in developing the Arab Peace Initiative and the Middle East Road Map. In 2004 he became deputy prime minister responsible for reform and government performance, and led the effort to produce a ten-year plan for political, economic, and social reform. From 2006 to 2007, he was at the Jordanian Senate. Most recently, he was senior vice president of external affairs at the World Bank from 2007 to 2010. He is the author of *The Arab Center: The Promise of Moderation* (Yale University Press, 2008).

Ziad Majed

Ziad Majed is an Assistant Professor of Middle East Studies at the American University of Paris and the Coordinator of the Arab Network for the Study of Democracy, gathering academics and activists from Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, Yemen and Bahrain.

Majed has worked as a consultant for international organizations in France, Sweden and the US on issues related to democratization in the Arab world. He has coordinated projects at the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies on electoral reform, civil society and civic education. Edited the opinion pages of the Lebanese daily Assafir in 2001/2002, and publishes regularly since 2002

in the daily Annahar and its cultural supplement. He is also an editorialist in Now Lebanon since 2009.

Munir Mawari

Munir Mawari is a Washington-based Yemeni journalist and contributor to the al-Jazeera TV, Voice of America, the BBC Arabic service and other satellite TV channels. He has devoted his work to supporting change in the Arab World specifically Yemen. Mawari was the only analyst in Washington that predicted the Egyptian Revolution two years ago. Mawari warned President Hosni Mubarak that change, desperately needed by Egypt, will be achieved by the enthusiastic Internet youth who are able to organize demonstrations using Facebook. Mawari told Mubarak: "It will be difficult for your government to stop the Storm of Change when it begins to become a reality". Mawari said in his article that "resisting change by means of tyranny and oppression could produce a successful push to open a Pandora's Box in Egypt, exposing large files full of corruption, oppression and bullying." Because of that article Mawari was not only put in the black list of Mubarak government but also banned from entering Syria which was criticized in the same article.

Mawari has also been analyzing Yemeni issues for different major domestic and pan-Arab media outlets since 1989, when he received his degree in Journalism and Mass Communication from Yarmouk University in Jordan. In 2009, he published two analytical books in Arabic about the dynamic situation in Yemen, in which he predicted the fall of Salih regime. In the same year, a Yemeni Press and Publications Court sentenced Mr. Mawari, in absentia, to two years in prison on charges of defaming President Salih. The court also imposed a lifetime ban on practicing journalism in Yemen. The case stemmed from an opinion piece in which Mawari called Saleh's leadership style a "mass destruction." Mawari hopes to be able to visit his home country as soon as its current president leaves. He also plans to visit the already free Egypt and Tunisia but he will not be able to enter Syria while Bashar Assad is still in power.

Ahmed Salah

Ahmed Salah is the Executive Director of The House of New Future Center For Legal and Human Rights Studies and a freelance reporter in Egypt. He has been an independent political activist since 2001. He is one of the liberal co-founders of Kifaya in 2004 (and involved in the preparations since 2003), and a member of the Coordinators Council of Kifaya since 2005, one of the co-founders of Youth For Change 2005, and the longest serving Coordinator in the movement (two years). He is also a co-founder, strategist, ideologist, and foreign affairs representative of April 6 Youth Movement, which started in March 2008 until November 2010. He made and spread the plan that helped create the first day of the revolution, January 25th, which was to create a large number of small rallies in poor and middle class areas all over the country, which grew into very large rallies. He is currently working on creating democratic representations from every part of the country.

Sean L. Yom

Sean L. Yom is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Temple University. He is finishing his first book on authoritarian state-building in this region, tracing how social conflict and international interventions shaped pathways of post-colonial stability. His current work includes new projects on transnational hierarchy, methods of comparative-historical analysis, and patterns of shared sovereignty in the Persian Gulf. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 2009, and thereafter served as a CDDRL Hewlett Fellow at Stanford.

Radwan Ziadeh

Radwan Ziadeh is a Visiting Scholar at The Institute for Middle East Studies (IMES) at Elliot School of International Affairs at George Washington University. He was most recently a Prins Global Fellow at Hagop Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies at New York University and Visiting Scholar at The Center for Contemporary Arab Studies (CCAS) at Georgetown University. Before that he was Reagan–Fascell Fellow at National Endowment for Democracy (NED) at Washington D.C and Visiting Scholar at the Center for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University in New York City, he was also a Visiting Fellow at Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) in London and a visiting scholar at Carr Center for Human Rights at Harvard University (2008–2009). In 2007–2008 he was a Senior Fellow at United States Institute of Peace (USIP) in Washington, D.C.

He is the founder and director of the Damascus Center for Human Rights Studies in Syria and co-founder and executive director of the Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Washington, D.C. He is the managing editor of the Transitional Justice in the Arab World Project.

Before that, Ziadeh was editor-in-chief of *Tyarat* magazine in 2001–2002 and secretary of the Syrian Organization for Transparency. He was a researcher with the UNDP's "Syria 2025" project and was named best political scientist researcher in the Arab world by Jordan's Abdulhameed Shoman Foundation in 2004; in 2009 he was awarded the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Academic Freedom award in Boston; and in 2010 he was awarded the Democracy Courage Tributes award on behalf of the Human Rights movement in Syria by the World Movement for Democracy at Jakarta- Indonesia.

Ziadeh has been one of the major players in the “Damascus Spring,” a period of intense debate about politics, social issues and calls for reform in Syria after the death of President Hafez al-Asad in 2000. His most recent book is *Power and Policy in Syria: Intelligence Services, Foreign Relations and Democracy in the Modern Middle East* (I.B.Tauris ,2010). He has written ten books: *The Clash of Values Between Islam and the West*, with Kevin James O’Toole (2010), *Political Islam in Syria* (2008), *Decision Making and Foreign Policy in Syria* (2007), *The Challenges of Reform in The Arab World: Islam, Identity, Modernity and Globalization* (2006), *The Intellectual Confronts Power: Dialogues of Syrian Civil Society* (2005), and *The Near Peace: The Syrian–Israeli Negotiations* (2005—the first book written by a Syrian on the subject), *The Ideology of Renaissance in Contemporary Arab Discourse* (2004), *The Question of Renewal in Contemporary Islamic Discourse* (2004), *Modernism and Post-Modernism in Western Philosophy* (2003), and *Human Rights in the Arab World* (2000).