

CONFERENCE
The Day After: Planning for a Post-Saddam Iraq

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Biographies

Ibrahim Alolom is a petroleum engineer with twenty-two years of experience in his field, including five years as a reservoir engineer in Kuwait. A Ph.D. graduate of the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology, he has lectured at the university level and coauthored a number of specialist industry publications. For the past ten years he has held the post of senior petroleum engineer at Duke Engineering and Services in the United Kingdom, where he has worked extensively in oil field development nationally and internationally. He has also undertaken extensive research in many aspects of reservoir and hydrocarbon fluid behaviour. Mr. Alolom is also the director of Relief International UK, a non-governmental organization that has, for the last nine years, formulated and implemented humanitarian programs for both Iraqi Arab and Kurdish refugees and displaced people in the Middle East. Mr. Alolom comes from a distinguished family of religious and civic leaders who have been subjected to severe persecution by the current Iraqi regime. He is a member of a number of opposition political parties and has written and lectured extensively on the plight of the Iraqi people and the need for democracy in Iraq.

Ahmad Chalabi is the president of the Iraqi National Congress, where he has developed political and military contacts, created radio and television broadcast networks, and established humanitarian relief and peacekeeping agencies. Mr. Chalabi served as a mathematics professor and as an assistant dean of arts and sciences at the American University of Beirut and is the founder of the Petra Bank in Amman, Jordan. Mr. Chalabi was an active member of the International Board of VISA and the chairman and chief executive officer of the Petra Bank when a 1989 military decree deposed him from his positions. For more than thirty years, Mr. Chalabi has been active in the political opposition to the Baath Party in Iraq.

Patrick L. Clawson is the deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and the senior editor of *Middle East Quarterly*. From 1981 to 1992, he was a research economist for four years each at the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the Foreign Policy Research Institute, where he was also the editor of *Orbis*, a quarterly review of foreign affairs. Before that, he was a senior research professor at the Institute for National Strategic Studies of the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., where he was the editor of the Institute's flagship annual publication, *Strategic Assessment*. His most recent books and monographs include, *The Last Arab-Israeli Battlefield? Implications of an Israeli Withdrawal from Lebanon*, co-editor (The Washington Institute, 2000), *Dollars and Diplomacy: The Impact of U.S. Economic Initiatives on Arab-Israeli Negotiations* (The Washington Institute, 1999), *Iran Under Khatami: A Political, Economic, and Military Assessment* (The Washington Institute,

1998), *Iraq Strategy Review: Options for U.S. Policy* (The Washington Institute, 1998), and *U.S. Sanctions on Iran* (Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 1997).

Şerif Egeli is a member of TUSİAD, the Turkish Businessman Association and acts as vice-chairman of its Foreign Relations Committee. He is also currently active as the chairman of the Turkish-Jordan, Turkish-Palestine, vice chairman of Turkish-U.S.A., Turkish-U.K., and Turkish-French Business Councils. He is a board member of Setkom, Inc., a strategic partner of Motorola; Shenco, Inc., consultants in defense industry and space telecommunications; Pimsa, Inc., a company producing automotive polyurethane; and Oncu, a brokerage firm. Since 1995 he has been an advisory board member of Princeton University's Near Eastern Studies Department. In 1972, he founded the ENKA Marketing Export Import Company and was its managing director till 1989. Throughout the 1980's Enka Marketing was the largest international foreign trade company in Turkey. During this period Mr. Egeli also served as foreign trade advisor to Turkish Government and was the founder and executive vice president of Turkish Foreign Trade Organization, TURKTRADE.

Munther al Fadhal is a visiting associate professor of Middle Eastern law at the International College of Law in London, and a legal adviser in Stockholm. Currently, he is also serving as a member of the U.S. State Department working group on the future of Iraq for which he has drafted an Iraqi constitution. He has taught civil law at numerous universities including, the University of Al-Zaytoonah in Amman, Jordan; the University of Baghdad; and the University of Annaba in Algeria. From 1979 to 1981, Mr. Al Fadhal served in the Iraqi Justice Ministry. He is the author of many articles and books, published in Arabic, Swedish, English, and Kurdish.

Rend Rahim Francke is a founding member and the executive director of the Iraq Foundation, a nonprofit organization that promotes democracy and human rights in Iraq, and serves the Iraqi community in the United States. In this capacity, she has worked extensively with the Iraqi community in northern Iraq and in exile and has traveled to the Kurdish region in northern Iraq on numerous occasions. Mrs. Francke was the editor of *Iraqi Issues*, the Foundation's periodical from 1992-1998. She has published many essays and articles on Iraq, including a chapter titled "The Iraqi Opposition" in *Iraq After the Gulf War* (ZED Books, 1994); "Iraq: Race for the Finish Line" in *Middle East Insight*; and "The Iraqi Opposition and the Sanctions Issue" in *Middle East Report*. Her articles have appeared in the *Washington Post*, *The Washington Times* and *The Boston Globe*. She is the coauthor of a book titled *The Arab Shi'a*, published by St. Martin's Press in February 2000.

Reuel Marc Gerecht is a resident scholar at AEI. An expert in Middle Eastern affairs, he focuses on regions such as Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and the former Soviet Union, as well as issues such as terrorism and intelligence. He is the author of *Know Thine Enemy: A Spy's Journey into Revolutionary Iran* (1997) and a chapter on Iran in *Present Dangers: Crisis and Opportunity in American Foreign and Defense Policy* (2000), as well as a regular contributor to the *Weekly Standard*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *International Herald Tribune*, among others. He is also currently working on a book titled *For Their Eyes Only*. Mr. Gerecht formerly held such positions as the director of the Middle East Initiative for the Project for the New

American Century, and as a Middle Eastern specialist for the Central Intelligence Agency.

Feisal Istrabadi is an attorney with Boesch & Istrabadi, P.C., in Valparaiso, Indiana, as well as a member of the planning committee for the State Department's Future of Iraq Project. He is chairman of the humanitarian committee and a member of the executive committee of the Iraqi-American Association of Illinois. From 1999 to 2001 Mr. Istrabadi served on the steering committee of the Iraqi House Chicago, an organization addressing the social needs of recent emigrants from Iraq. His numerous articles include "Life and Death in Iraq," *Boston Book Review* (June 2000); "Human Rights and Sanctions," *Iraqi Issues* (May 1999); and "Sanctions Detrimental to Iraqis, not Saddam," *Chicago Tribune* (December 1998).

Ryszard Krystosik is the former chief of the United States Interests Section in Baghdad, Iraq, a position he relinquished in 2001. From 1990 to 1994, he was a deputy director in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Throughout the previous decades, Mr. Krystosik served in numerous positions in the Polish Embassy in Washington, D.C. He also was a member of the Polish Permanent Mission to the United Nations, and the deputy representative of Poland to the U.N. Security Council. In 2001, Mr. Krystosik received the Distinguished Service Award from the U.S. secretary of state.

Bernard Lewis is the Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies, Emeritus, at Princeton University. He began his teaching career in 1938 as a lecturer in Islamic history at the School of Oriental and African Studies in Britain. He was a professor at the University of London until 1974, at which point he began teaching at Princeton University. Mr. Lewis's initial research focused on medieval Islamic history, especially that of religious movements such as the Ismailis and Assassins, but he has recently been studying the contemporary Middle East and especially the history of the Ottoman Empire. He is the author of numerous publications, including *Islam and the West* (Oxford University Press, 1993); *Islam in History* (Open Court Publishing Company, 1993); *The Shaping of the Modern Middle East* (Oxford University Publishing, 1994); *Cultures in Conflict: Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Age of Discovery* (Oxford University Press, 1994); *The Middle East: A Brief History of the Last 2,000 Years* (Touchstone Books, 1995); *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (Schocken Books, 1998); *A Middle East Mosaic: Fragments of Life, Letters, and History* (Princeton Review, 2000); and *What Went Wrong: Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (Oxford University Press, 2001).

Kanan Makiya is a scholar-in-residence at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University and a past convenor of the Human Rights Committee of the Iraqi National Congress. His first book, *Republic of Fear* (Trafalgar Square, 1989), published under the pseudonym Samir al-Khalil became a bestseller after Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. He has also published *The Monument* (1991), and *Cruelty and Silence: War, Tyranny, Uprising and the Arab World* (W.W. Norton & Company, 1993), which was awarded the Lionel Gelber Prize for the best book on international relations. Mr. Makiya collaborated on the film for television, *Saddam's Killing Fields*, which received the Edward R. Murrow Award for Best Television Documentary on Foreign Affairs. His most recent book, *The Rock: A Tale of Seventh-Century Jerusalem* (Pantheon

Books, 2001), weaves together historical accounts as well as Jewish, Christian, and Muslim religious narratives to tell the story of the Rock of Jerusalem.

Hania Mufti is the London Director of the Middle East and North Africa Division of Human Rights Watch, with special responsibility for Iraq and Egypt. Born in Amman, Jordan and educated in Lebanon and the UK. From 1983 to 1997 she worked at Amnesty International as the head of research teams investigating abuses in a wide range of countries, in particular Iraq, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Syria. Ms. Mufti is the author of numerous reports for Amnesty International including, *Iraq: The World Would Not Listen* (1994); *Kuwait: Three Years of Unfair Trials* (1994); *Iraq: Human Rights Abuses in Iraqi Kurdistan since 1991* (1995); and *Bahrain: A Human Rights Crisis* (1995).

Nawaf Obaid is a Saudi oil and security analyst. He joined the Hess Energy Trading Company as the adviser for Gulf Operations in 2001. From 2000 to 2001, he directed a project for the director of net assessment in the office of the U.S. secretary of defense on China's future strategic energy requirements and the Saudi strategic factor. He has served as a visiting research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and as a consultant to the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs where he prepared a project on the sociopolitical viability of the Gulf Cooperation Council states. Mr. Obaid is the author of *The Oil Kingdom at 100*, a book on the dynamics of Saudi petroleum decision-making, published in 2000 by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. He is currently working on a forthcoming book entitled *Saudi Arabia since 9/11*.

Michael E. O'Hanlon is a senior fellow in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution, where he specializes in U.S. defense strategy and budgeting, military technology, Northeast Asian security, Balkan security, and humanitarian intervention. He is also an adjunct professor at the public policy school of Columbia University, and a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and the Council on Foreign Relations. Before joining the Brookings Institution, he worked at the Congressional Budget Office and the Institute for Defense Analyses. Mr. O'Hanlon's articles have appeared in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.

Siyamend Othman has been working since 1998 as an independent media and IT consultant. In the early 1980s, he was the managing editor of *Studia Kurdia*, an academic journal specializing in Kurdish issues. From 1988 to 1994 he worked for Amnesty International as the head of the research team investigating human rights violations in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Libya. He subsequently became senior vice president at United Press International. Mr. Othman is the author of numerous reports for Amnesty International on Saudi Arabia and has published academic papers and opinion pieces on Iraq, most recently this year in the *International Herald Tribune*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the Arabic daily *al-Hayat*.

Richard Perle is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and cochairman of Hollinger Digital. He has codirected the Commission on Future Defenses, a group organized to explore the use of advanced technology to increase the productivity of the armed forces. Mr. Perle is the chairman of the Defense Policy Board and a consultant to the secretary of defense. He was the assistant secretary of defense for international

security policy and the chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization High Level Defense Group from 1981 to 1987. Mr. Perle writes frequently for the op-ed pages of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Daily Telegraph*, and other publications. He is the editor of *Reshaping Western Security* (1991) and the author of *Hard Line* (1992), a political novel.

Danielle Pletka is the vice president for foreign and defense policy studies at AEI. Her research areas include the Middle East, South Asia (India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan), terrorism, and weapons proliferation. Before coming to AEI, she was a senior professional staff member for the Near East and South Asia on the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations from 1992 to 2002. Ms. Pletka also served as a staff writer for *Insight Magazine*, as well as an editorial assistant for the *Los Angeles Times* and *Reuters* in Jerusalem.

Olivier Roy is the research director in the humanities and social sciences sector of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, as well as a consultant with the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1984. He undertook several journeys in Afghanistan during the Mujahideen resistance to the Soviet invasion of 1979 and then embarked on numerous trips to the ex-Soviet Central Asian republics, notably Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. He was the special representative of the Organization for Security & Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in Tajikistan in 1993 to 1994 and headed the OSCE Mission to Tajikistan in 1994. Mr. Roy is the author of numerous articles and books including *Islam and Resistance in Afghanistan* (Cambridge University Press, 2nd ed. 1990); *The Failure of Political Islam* (Harvard University Press, 1994); *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (I.B. Tauris, 2000), and *Vers un islam européen* (Éditions Esprit, 1999).

Sinan Al-Shabibi is a consultant on trade, debt, and finance and was previously a senior economist at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, researching financial flows, the economics of disarmament, balance of payments, external debt, globalization, and the Iraqi Economy. From 1977 to 1980, he served in the Iraqi Ministry of Planning and was the head of the importation and marketing section for the Ministry of Oil in Iraq from 1975 to 1977. Mr. Al-Shabibi has also taught at institutions such as Baghdad University and Mustansiryah University in Iraq. His publications include *Globalisation of Finance: Implications for Macroeconomic Policies and Debt Management* (2001), *Prospects for the Iraqi Economy: Facing the New Reality* (1997), *The Arab Share in OPEC Aid: Some Related Facts* (1988), and *OPEC Aid: Issues and Performance* (1987).

S. Rob Sobhani is the president of Caspian Energy Consulting and an adjunct professor of government at Georgetown University, where he earned his Ph.D. in political economy. Mr. Sobhani has served as a foreign policy consultant to several agencies of the U.S. government and members of Congress. He has appeared on numerous national television news programs analyzing Iranian politics, U.S.-Iran relations, and Central Asian energy development issues and has published essays on these subjects in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Times*, *Washington Post*, and other publications.

Ruth Wedgwood is a professor of law at Yale University, teaching international law, constitutional law, legal history, criminal procedure, and conflict of laws. Previously, she was the Charles Stockton Professor of International Law at the U.S. Naval War College. She has served on the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on International Law, and as the director of studies at the Hague Academy of International Law. She is a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the Hart-Rudman Commission on National Security in the Twenty-first Century, and is the special representative to the U.N. Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict. Ms. Wedgwood is also the editor of *After Dayton: Lessons of the Bosnian Peace Process* (1999).