

13th Annual Foreign Policy Conference

## Democracy and Security in the Middle East

How are Germany and the EU responding to the upheavals in the Arab World

Thursday, November 8, 2012, 4 pm - 7.30 pm

Friday, November 9, 2012, 9 am – 6 pm

Beletage of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Schumannstraße 8, 10117 Berlin, Germany

### Short Biographies

**Mohammed Ali Abdallah Addarrat**, Member of the General National Congress and Founding Member and President of the National Front Party, Tripoli

Mohammed Ali Abdallah Addarrat is a Libyan political activist. He migrated at a young age with his father and lived in exile in six different countries for 29 years. He settled in the United Arab Emirates before returning to Libya after the revolution of February 17. He received a university in the United States of America for physical therapy, communication engineering and business administration. Ali Abdallah became a leader of the Libyan Student Movement in exile, served in the Executive Committee of the General Union for the Students of Libya (GUSL) from 1992 to 1998. He worked for a US company in the information technology sector as general manager of its branch in the Middle East since 2009, and he also served on many advisory committees for Arab governments in the field of information technology strategy. He participated in the work programs of the National Front for the Salvation of Libya at an early stage through the work of the Task Youth Front and magazine rescue team. In 1998 he was appointed administrator and in 2002 he was appointed to the Permanent Bureau of the National Front for the Salvation of Libya in 2002. He became a member of the Executive Committee in 2004, was elected Deputy Secretary General of the Front in 2007, and has been responsible for Front work at home since 2004. In June 2012 he was elected vice-chairman of the National Front Party and is a member of the National Conference, representing the city of Misrata. On August 12, 2012 he became President of the National Front Party.

**Dr. Mohamed Kadry Said Abdelaal**, Military and Technology advisor, Head of military studies unit, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo

Dr. Mohamed Kadry Said Abdelaal is Maj. Gen. (ret.), Military and Technology Advisor and Head of the Security Studies Unit of Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (ACPSS), Cairo. He is board member of the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs; member of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs since 2000, member of the American Planetary Society since 1990. He has a B.Sc. in military science and mechanical engineering from the Military Technical College (MTC), Cairo, Egypt (1970); and PhD in mechanical engineering from the Ecole Nationale Supérieure de l'Aéronautique et de l'Espace (ENSAE), Toulouse (1981). He joined Al-Ahram Center in July 1998. Mohamed Kadry Said Abdelaal is a member of the Euro-Mediterranean Security and Cooperation (EuroMeSCo) working group on the Euro-Med Security Charter and contributor to its final reports on "Building Blocks for the Euro-Med Charter on Peace and Stability" January 2000 and "Barcelona Plus: Towards a Euro-Mediterranean Community of Democratic States" April 2005. From 2008 to 2010 he lectured on international security at the American University in Cairo. His current research interests are Middle East and Mediterranean security; WMD proliferation; security sector reform, military strategy and armament technology. He was a fellow of the Norwegian Nobel Institute, Oslo, Norway, April-June 2009. As a former fellow of the Norwegian Institute, Dr. Said has the right to nominate for Nobel Peace Prize.

**Tomas Avenarius**, Middle East correspondent, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Cairo

Tomas Avenarius works as a Middle East correspondent for the German daily Süddeutsche Zeitung. After studying political science and attending the German School of Journalism in Munich, he began his career at Süddeutsche Zeitung as editor before becoming a Süddeutsche correspondent for Russia and the CIS countries in 1999. Mr. Avenarius has lived in Cairo since 2005. His reporting area includes the Arab world and Iran.

**Dr. Hossam Bahgat**, Founder and Director, Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR), Cairo

Dr. Hossam Bahgat is the founder and director of the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR), a Cairo-based independent organization defending human rights in Egypt. Since 2002, the EIPR has used research, advocacy and litigation to promote and defend the rights to privacy, religious freedom, health, and bodily integrity. Since the 2011 revolution that ended the rule of Mubarak, the EIPR has expanded its scope of work to include transitional justice, the protection of civil liberties and political rights, the promotion of economic and social justice and reform of the criminal justice system. With training in political science and international human rights law, Dr. Bahgat is also a board member of the International Network for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ESCR-Net), and a member of the Board of Directors of the Fund for Global Human Rights. In 2011 Dr. Bahgat received the Human Rights Watch's Alison Des Forges Award for Extraordinary Activism.

**Dr. Claire Beaugrand**, Policy analyst for the Gulf countries, International Crisis Group, Brussels

Dr. Claire Beaugrand is a Gulf senior analyst for the International Crisis Group. She earned her PhD in international Relations from the London School of Economics in 2011; her doctoral thesis, investigating the emergence and persistence of statelessness in Kuwait, will be published in 2013 by I.B. Tauris under the title "Stateless in the Gulf: Migration, Nationality and Society in Kuwait". She wrote several articles on the Bahraini experience of liberalization and labor reforms that were profoundly questioned by the 2011 uprising.

**Dr. Annegret Bendiek**, Deputy Head of EU External Relations Research Division, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

Dr. Annegret Bendiek is senior researcher and deputy head of the research division for EU external relations at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin. She joined the SWP in 2005. She has published on the development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), the European Neighborhood policy and EU-US counter-terrorism cooperation. At present she is dealing with strategic partnerships and interregional relations of the EU as well as with the European cyber strategy. She is a member of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Standing Committee on Europe/Transatlantic and takes part in the policy lab on "Cyber-Foreign Policy" organized by Stiftung Neue Verantwortung and the German Foreign Office. Previously, from 2003 to 2005, she was at Bielefeld University's international relations department. Her most recent SWP publications are dedicated to European Cyber-Security Policy, published by the SWP in July 2012. For more details: [http://www.swp-berlin.org/de/wissenschaftler-detail/profile/annegret\\_bendiek/person\\_view/publications.html](http://www.swp-berlin.org/de/wissenschaftler-detail/profile/annegret_bendiek/person_view/publications.html).

**Olaf Böhnke**, Director, European Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin office

Olaf Böhnke joined the European Council on Foreign Relations in September 2011 as head of the Berlin Office. Previously he was a Senior Foreign and European Policy Advisor in the German Bundestag (2009-2011). Prior to that, he worked as Senior Program Officer at the Aspen Institute Germany (2007-2009). As head of the Middle East Department, he executed three conference programs on civil society issues in Iran, Syria and Lebanon. From 1999 to 2006 he was chief of staff and senior advisor to several members of the German Bundestag. Mr. Böhnke is also a visiting lecturer at the Otto Suhr Institute for Political Sciences at Freie Universität Berlin. He received his M.A. from the Free University Berlin, where he studied international relations, political science and economics. Olaf Böhnke has published on European and transatlantic issues; he is a Marshall Memorial Fellow (2007) of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and an Aspen Fellow (2005/06) of the Aspen Institute Berlin.

**Dr. Franziska Brantner**, Member of the European Parliament, The Greens/EFA, Brussels

Dr. Franziska Brantner was elected to the European Parliament in 2009. She is spokeswoman for foreign affairs of the Greens/EFA group in the European Parliament and Parliament's standing rapporteur for the Instrument for Stability. She has also been her group's chief negotiator for the establishment of the European External Action Service, the EU's new foreign ministry. She serves as member and coordinator on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and as substitute member on the Subcommittee on Security and Defense, the Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality and on the Committee on Budgets. Franziska Brantner graduated in 2004 with a dual degree (M.A. and diplôme) from the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University in New York and Sciences Po in Paris. She wrote her dissertation on the capacity of the UN for reform at the University of Mannheim, completing her PhD in 2010. She was a member of the Peace and Security Commission of the national Green Party and was one of the authors of the party's platform for the European election in 2009. As a consultant for the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), she helped design a European action plan for UN Security Resolution 1325.

**Dr. Tamara Cofman Wittes**, Senior Fellow and Director, Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution, Washington DC

Dr. Tamara Cofman Wittes is a senior fellow and the director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings. Dr. Wittes served as deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs from November of 2009 to January 2012, coordinating U.S. policy on democracy and human rights in the Middle East for the State Department. She also oversaw the Middle East Partnership Initiative and served as deputy special coordinator for Middle East transitions. She was central to organizing the U.S. government's response to the Arab awakening. Before joining the State Department, Dr. Wittes was a senior fellow in the Saban Center at Brookings, where she directed the Middle East Democracy and Development (MEDD) Project. Before joining the Saban Center in December 2003, she served as Middle East specialist at the U.S. Institute of Peace and previously as director of programs at the Middle East Institute in Washington. She also taught courses in international relations and security studies at Georgetown University. Dr. Wittes was one of the first recipients of the Rabin-Peres Peace Award, established by President Bill Clinton in 1997.

Dr. Wittes is the author of "Freedom's Unsteady March: America's Role in Building Arab Democracy", (Brookings Press, 2008). She is also editor of "How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process" (USIP, 2005). She holds a B.A. in Judaic and Near Eastern studies from Oberlin College, and an M.A. and Ph.D. in government from Georgetown University. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and Women in International Security.

**Dr. R. Abdul Mawgoud Dardery**, Member of Parliament, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), Cairo

Dr. AbdulMawgoud R. Dardery is a Member of Parliament for the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) and since 2012 a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Tourism Committee. He is also director of the Luxor Islamic Center for Global Dialogue since 2012. Until 2011 Dr. Dardery was based in the United States as Adjunct Professor of Cultural Studies at the Metro State University in Minnesota and before Adjunct Professor of Cultural Studies and Assistant professor of Islamic Studies at Seton Hill University in Pennsylvania. He worked as an expert and advisor on several programmes in the United States and Egypt between Arab and American students. From 2001-2008 he was Assistant Professor of Cultural Studies and Critical Discourse at South Valley University in Egypt. Dr. Dardery holds a BA and MA in English and a PhD in Cultural Studies on Euro-centrism vs. Islamism from the University of Pittsburgh.

**Ibrahim El-Houdaiby**, Senior Researcher, House of Wisdom, Center for Strategic Studies, AMIDEAST, Cairo

Ibrahim El Houdaiby is a senior researcher at House of Wisdom Center for Strategic Studies, and lecturer at AMIDEAST. A graduate of the American University in Cairo (2005), he holds a B.A. in Political Science and is currently finishing his M.A. in Political Science and Development Studies. He also earned a diploma in Islamic Studies from the High Institute of Islamic Studies in 2010, where he is currently pursuing his M.A. in Islamic Shariah. He writes a weekly column for the Arabic Daily Shorouk, and is a freelance columnist in English lan-

guage Al-Ahram Online. His research focuses on Islamic movements, democratization, and political economy of the Middle East.

**Dr. Oded Eran**, Senior Research Associate, Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), Tel Aviv

Dr. Oded Eran, a senior research associate at the Institute for National Security Studies, served as director of INSS from July 2008 to November 2011, following a long career in Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other government positions. In his most recent post before joining INSS, Dr. Eran served as the World Jewish Congress Representative in Israel and the Secretary General of the WJC Israel Branch. From 2002-2007, he served as Israel's ambassador to the European Union (covering NATO as well). Prior to that (1997-2000) he was Israel's ambassador to Jordan, and head of Israel's negotiations team with the Palestinians (1999-2000). Other previous positions include deputy director general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the deputy chief of the Israeli embassy in Washington. Dr. Eran serves as an advisor to the Knesset Subcommittee on Foreign Affairs. He holds a Ph.D. from the London School of Economics.

**Minister Abdallah Frangi**, Personal Adviser on Foreign Affairs to the President of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, Gaza

Abdallah Frangi was born in 1943 in Beersheba in what was then Palestine. In 1948 he was expelled with his family to Gaza. Frangi studied Medicine and Politics in Frankfurt/Main. Already while at university he became politically active, campaigning for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. In 1974 he became the official PLO representative in Germany and, between 1993 and 2005, was the General Delegate of Palestine in Bonn and Berlin. After a couple of years as the foreign affairs spokesman of Fatah between 2007 and 2009, Abdallah Frangi is now the personal adviser of President Abbas in Gaza and Ramallah.

**Ralf Fücks**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

Ralf Fücks has been co-president of the Heinrich Böll Foundation since 1996. The main focus of his work is on sustainable development, migration, the future of Europe and international politics. He is responsible for strategic and program development in the following areas: political education in Germany, Europe and North America; the Green Academy; the scholarship program; and the foundation's green archive. He studied social sciences, economics and history in Heidelberg and Bremen, was an activist in the students movement, and, in the 1970s, a member of an ultra-leftist group. In 1982, he became a member of the Green Party. From 1985 until 1989, he was Member of Parliament in the German state of Bremen. In 1989, he was elected speaker of the Green Party's federal committee. In 1991, he returned to Bremen, where he became minister for urban development and the environment in a three-party coalition government.

**Dr. Mouna Ghanem**, Political Activist and Vice-President of Building the Syrian State, Damascus

Dr. Mouna Ghanem is a Syrian politician who works as a deputy for the President of the Syrian State building movement (SSB) in Syria. She is also one of the founders of the SSB, which is considered to be the first opposition movement established in Syria. As a representative of the SSB, she has attended several international and regional meetings and conferences on the crises in Syria. She is also one of the founders the forum of "Women and Democracy" which is affiliated with the SSB. Mouna Ghanem is also a senior gender advisor with an extensive experience in the Arab region, mainly on women issues and reproductive health. She worked for more than 10 year as an assistant representative for the United Nations Population Fund in Syria; she also chaired the "Syrian Commission for Family Affairs". Furthermore, she was the Regional Director of the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in Jordan. Dr. Ghanem served as a deputy chairperson for the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) in New York, USA. She represented her country at different international forums and meetings, most importantly, presenting the CEDAW report to the CEDAW United Nations Committee in New York, USA. She has attended several regional and international meetings on health, women and development. Finally, she has authored several papers and articles on social issues and development published in Syrian and Arab websites and newspapers.

**Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger**, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference, Munich

Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger is Chairman of the Munich Security Conference (MSC). He is also Global Head of Government Relations, Allianz SE, Munich. He is a member of the Supervisory Board of Allianz Deutschland AG, and of the Advisory Board of Investcorp, London. From 2006 to 2008, he was the Federal Republic of Germany's Ambassador to London. Prior to this assignment, he was the German Ambassador to the United States of America from 2001 to 2006. In 2007, he also represented the European Union in the Troika negotiations on the future of Kosovo. From 1998 to 2001 he served as State Secretary (Deputy Foreign Minister) in the German Foreign Office.

**Dr. Margret Johannsen**, Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, University of Hamburg

Dr. Margret Johannsen studied in Berlin and Hamburg. She obtained her doctorate at the University of Hamburg and wrote her thesis on "American nuclear weapons in Europe". From 1987 to 1997 she organized and contributed to the IFSH's peace education service. Since 1997 she has belonged to IFSH as Senior Research Fellow and has since 2009 co-edited the annual Peace Report. She is a lecturer in the postgraduate program "Master of Peace and Security Studies - M.P.S." at the University of Hamburg.

**Prof. Mehran Kamrava**, Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS), Georgetown University, Doha

Mehran Kamrava is Professor and Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service in Qatar. He is the author of a number of books, most recently, "The Modern Middle East: A Political History since the First World War", 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (University of California Press, 2011) and "Iran's Intellectual Revolution" (Cambridge University Press, 2008). His edited books include "The International Politics of the Persian Gulf" (Syracuse University Press, 2011) and "Innovation in Islam: Traditions and Contributions" (University of California Press, 2011), as well as "The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf" and "The Nuclear Question in the Middle East" (both by Columbia University Press, 2012).

**Kristina Kausch**, Senior Researcher und Research Coordinator, FRIDE, Madrid

Kristina Kausch is a senior researcher and research coordinator at FRIDE in Madrid, where she heads the think tank's research program on the Middle East and North Africa. She specializes in the EU's relations with its neighborhood, in particular the Southern Mediterranean; democracy, human rights and governance; and Mediterranean geopolitics. She co-edited the books "Islamist Radicalisation: The Challenge for Euro-Mediterranean Relations" (CEPS/FRIDE, 2009) and "Europe in the Reshaped Middle East" (FRIDE, 2012). She appears regularly on English-, Spanish- and German-speaking media. In the 2012/13 academic year she will also be teaching a Masters class in international relations at the CEU San Pablo University in Madrid. Prior to joining FRIDE in 2004 she worked for the German Technical Cooperation agency (GTZ, now GIZ) and for the Bertelsmann Foundation. Kristina holds a master's degree in International Relations from the University of Göttingen, Germany.

**Doreen Khoury**, Research Fellow, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin

From January 2009 until August 2012, Doreen Khoury worked as a program manager at the Middle East Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Beirut. Prior to that, she was an election expert and project coordinator at the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, Beirut (2006-2008) and executive director of the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (2005-2006). She is currently a fellow at Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (The German Institute for International and Security Affairs) in the project: "Elite change and new social mobilization in the Arab World."

**Jörg Lau**, Foreign Policy Editor, *Die Zeit*, Berlin

Jörg Lau holds an MA in Philosophy, Literature and History from the Ruhr University Bochum. During his studies he was a freelancer for *die tageszeitung (taz)*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Merkur* (monthly review). In 1993 he became literature editor for *die tageszeitung* in Berlin. Since 2003 he has been a diplomatic correspondent in the Berlin office of *Die Zeit*. Since 2006 he has authored a “Jörg Lau Blog” ([zeit.de/blogs/joerglau](http://zeit.de/blogs/joerglau)) on immigration, integration, Islam in Europe. He has been foreign policy editor for *Die Zeit* since 2007. In 2008 he was visiting fellow at Harvard's Center for European Studies. He has published several books.

**Dr. Radwan Masmoudi**, President, Center of the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID), Washington, DC, and Tunis

Dr. Radwan A. Masmoudi is the Founder and President of the Center of the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID), a Washington-based non-profit think tank dedicated to promoting dialogue about democracy in the Muslim world. He is also the Editor of the Center's quarterly publication, *Muslim Democrat*. He has written and published several articles and papers on the topics of democracy, diversity, human rights, and tolerance in Islam. He is active with local Muslim organizations, and was elected as member of the Board of Director of the Muslim Community Center, in Silver Spring, Maryland. He is a member of the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), the Tunisian Scientific Society (TSS), and a member of the board of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies (ACSIS) and the International Forum for Islamic Dialogue (IFID). In April 2012, he was elected a member of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy. Radwan organized twelve Annual Conferences of CSID, which brings together more than 250 scholars of Islam from all over the world. Radwan appears regularly on radio and TV shows, including Voice of America, FoxNews, CNN, CBS, CNBC, NPR, Al-Jazeera, Algerian TV, al-Mustakillah TV, Press TV, Tunisia TV, etc. He has participated and organized over 100 seminars, conferences, and workshops about democracy, freedom, and human rights in Islam, at speaks often at major public policy think tanks, such as the Brookings Institute, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Cato Institute, etc.

**Dr. Oliver Meier**, International Representative, Arms Control Association, Berlin

Dr. Oliver Meier is senior researcher with the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg and the International Representative and Correspondent of the U.S. Arms Control Association. Previously, he worked on the staff of Uta Zapf, who is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and chairperson of the subcommittee on disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation in the German *Bundestag*. He also was (Senior) Arms Control and Disarmament Researcher with the Verification Research, Training and Information Centre (VERTIC) in London, Senior Analyst with the Berlin Information Centre for Transatlantic Security (BITS) in Berlin and Geneva and a consultant to several non-governmental organizations.

**Heba Morayef**, Researcher, Middle East and North Africa Division, Human Rights Watch, Cairo

Heba Morayef, researcher in the Middle East and North Africa division of Human Rights Watch, investigates human rights abuses in Egypt and Libya. She produces detailed reports, news releases and op-eds based on her findings and conducts local and international advocacy. Before joining Human Rights Watch, Morayef worked at Amnesty International's international secretariat in London as campaigner on Libya and Tunisia. She has also worked as Middle East program officer at Article 19 in London, and at UNDP's Human Rights Capacity Building Project in Cairo. Ms. Morayef holds a bachelor's degree in political science with a specialization in public international law from the American University in Cairo and a degree in public international law from the London School of Economics and Political Science. She speaks English, Arabic, and French.

**Saïd Mouline**, Director, National Agency for the Development of Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency, Rabat

Saïd Mouline is an engineer specializing in the energy and environmental questions. He graduated from the Institut National Polytechnique (Grenoble, France) and from the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, PA). He is President of the Green Economy Commission at the General Confederation of the Moroccan Companies (CGEM) and President of the Moroccan Center for Clean Production. He was policy advisor for sustainable development to the President of OCP, the world leading phosphate company. He has in the past worked within the Cabinet of the Minister of Energy and Mines and counseled various national and international organizations like the Mohammed VI Foundation for Environmental protection, BMCE Bank, WLPGA, World Bank, IFC, GTZ, KfW and UNDP. He is currently CEO of the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency National Agency (ADEREE) in Morocco.

**Kerstin Müller**, Member of Parliament, Spokesperson on Foreign Policy, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

Kerstin Müller is member of the German Bundestag and parliamentary spokesperson on Foreign Policy as well as member of the Foreign Policy Committee (since 2002) and deputy chairwoman of the Subcommittee for Civilian Crisis Prevention (since 2010). From 1994 to 2002 Kerstin Müller was the chairwoman of the Greens parliamentary party in the German Bundestag. She was Minister of State at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2002-2005. Her work focuses on the Middle East, MENA especially the current change in the Arabic world, and Afghanistan as well as on transatlantic relations and the role of women in conflict and security policies.

**Omid Nouripour**, Member of Parliament, Spokesperson on Security Policy, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin

Omid Nouripour was born in Tehran and came to Frankfurt/Main at the age of thirteen. After graduating from high school in Frankfurt, Omid Nouripour studied German philology, political science and law as well as philosophy and macroeconomics at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz. Since 1996 Omid Nouripour has been an active member of the German Green Party (Alliance 90/The Greens). He first worked on an initiative for strengthening the rights of immigrants in Germany; later he was actively engaged in his state party's Working Committee for Migration and European politics. From 1999 until 2003 he was chairman of the Green Party's youth organization in Hessen, his German home state. In December 2002 Omid Nouripour was elected to the managing board of the federal Green Party, and he stayed in office until December 2006. From 2002 until 2009 he was also the spokesperson of the Federal Working Committee on Migrants and Refugees of the Green Party. Since September 2006, Omid Nouripour has been a member of the German Parliament, taking over the seat of Joschka Fischer, the former German foreign minister. He first worked on European issues and home affairs and was a member of the Budget Committee and the Defense Committee. Omid Nouripour is currently the chairman of the Green caucus in the Defense Committee and is his party's spokesperson on defense and security issues.

**Prof. Soli Özel**, Professor for International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

Soli Özel holds a BA in economics from Bennington College (1981) and an MA in international relations from Johns Hopkins University (1983). Mr. Özel is a senior lecturer at Kadir Has University and a columnist at Habertürk Daily newspaper. He is also an advisor to the chairman of Turkish Businessmen Association. He has written on domestic and foreign policy issues both in Turkey and abroad. His latest article, "NATO and Turkey after the end of the Cold War", is coauthored with Serhat Guvenc.

**Joachim Paul**, Heinrich Böll Foundation, MENA, Tunis

Joachim Paul has been director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's MENA office based in Tunis since June 2012. From 2009 to 2012 he was director of the foundations Arab Middle East office in Ramallah. He holds an MA in Arab and Middle Eastern studies and political science from the Free University, Berlin. Prior to his work with the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Joachim Paul directed humanitarian relief work in conflict areas.

**Michael Reiffenstuel**, Head of Division, Maghreb and Transformation in the Arab World, German Federal Foreign Office, Berlin

Michael Reiffenstuel has served since July 2012 as Head of Division 312 at the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin, responsible for Transformation in the Arab world, as well as bilateral and EU relations with Maghreb countries. Throughout his career, Michael Reiffenstuel has worked in various positions at numerous German Embassies abroad: serving as Deputy Head of Mission in Sarajevo, political officer in London, Press Counsellor at the German Embassy in New Delhi and, most recently, from 2009 to 2012 in Cairo, first heading the German Information Center and later covering foreign policy issues. His work in the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin has spanned from legal to non-proliferation and security issues. From 2005 to 2009, he served as Head of “Germany’s Image Abroad” team and Deputy Head of Division in charge of strategy and planning for the Ministry’s communication policy abroad. Michael Reiffenstuel studied law at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and received a Master’s degree (LLM) at the University of Georgia/Athens (USA). He entered the Federal Foreign Office’s diplomatic service in 1993.

**Dr. Andreas Reinicke**, EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process, European External Action Service, Brussels

Dr. Andreas Reinicke assumed his function as EU Special Envoy for the Middle East Peace Process on 1st February 2012. Prior to this appointment he was German Ambassador to Syria (2008-12), Director of the Middle East Division of the German Foreign Office (2004-2008) and the German Representative to Ramallah (2001-2004). His earlier postings were in Tel Aviv and New York. Dr. Reinicke is a lawyer by training, having studied law at the Universities of Giessen, Lausanne and Cambridge, and holds a LL.M. (Cantab) and Ph.D (Giessen).

**Dr. Martin Rocholl**, Political Director, European Climate Foundation, Berlin

Dr. Martin Rocholl is the director of the transport program of the European Climate Foundation; he also heads ECF’s operations in Germany. He joined ECF in 2008 when it was founded, and has played a central role in building up its political strategy. Dr. Rocholl previously worked as a consultant on environmental and European policies in Berlin. From 1998 to 2005 he was the director of Friends of the Earth Europe in Brussels, Europe’s biggest grassroots environmental network. Since 2005 he has served Friends of the Earth Europe as chairman and since 2008 as honorary chairman. Martin Rocholl has over 30 years’ experience as a volunteer and professional in NGOs and co-founded and chaired organizations from the local to the international level. He has worked on projects covering a wide range of issues, such as transport, energy, climate change, EU cohesion and agricultural policies, biotechnology or sustainable urban planning (Co-founder of Forum Vauban, Freiburg – UN Habitat Best Practice). He was the coordinator of the successful ecological tax reform campaign in Germany in 1996/1997 (together with ‘Deutscher Naturschutzring’) and has also worked as a journalist and scientist. Martin Rocholl holds a PhD in molecular biology.

**Danny Rothschild**, Former General, Institute for Policy and Strategy, Interdisciplinary Center (IDC); Herzliya Conference Series, Herzliya

Maj. Gen. (Res.) Danny Rothschild is the Director of the Institute for Policy and Strategy at IDC Herzliya and Chairman of the Institute’s Herzliya Conference Series. For more than 30 years, General Rothschild held senior command and staff positions in the Israel Defense Forces, his last post being Coordinator of Government Activities in the Territories. In this position he played a central role in the negotiation processes that led to the peace agreements with Jordan and with the Palestinians. Prior to that, he served as Chief of the Military Intelligence’s Research and Analysis, Commander of the IDF Liaison Unit in Lebanon, and Assistant to the Chief of General Staff. Upon resigning his commission, he co-founded a global security consultancy firm, NETACS, and assumed several public positions. A former member of the Bank of Israel’s Advisory Board and a former president of the Council for Peace and Security, he currently chairs the Board of Trustees of the Afeka School of Engineering.

**Wael Sawah**, Journalist and Author, Researcher and Advisor at the Syrian League for Citizenship, Damascus

Wael Sawah is a Syrian researcher on issues of civil society in Syria, author of a number of research papers, and coauthor of a number of books in Arabic and English. He is Project Director of the Syrian Justice and Accountability Centre (SJAC,) a center that has been documenting human rights violations during the Syrian uprising. In addition, Sawah is a member of the Annual Middle East Legal Studies Seminar (MELSS, Yale University;) a board member of the Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression, Damascus; a founding member of the Syrian League for Citizenship a founding member of the Arab Rationalists League, Paris; and editor of Al Awan Website for Secular Studies ([www.alawan.org](http://www.alawan.org)). Mr. Sawah is co-author of "Issues of secularism in the Levant" and "A tale entitled Syria" in Arabic; co-author of "Le Printemps arabe: un premier bilan," Centre Tricontinental, Belgique, 2012, in French; and "Taking to the Streets: Activism, Uprisings and Democratization in the Arab World", in English. He is a regular columnist at *a/ Hayat* Newspaper in London. Sawah has participated in a number of academic and political conferences organized by reputed universities in Europe and the United States and has written dozens of papers and policy briefs both in English and Arabic for international and regional institutions. In addition, Mr. Sawah has worked as a political analyst at the U.S. Embassy in Damascus.

**Dr. Bente Scheller**, Heinrich Böll Foundation, MENA, Beirut

Dr. Bente Scheller is director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's MENA office Beirut, a position she took after having been director of the hbs Afghanistan office from 2008 to 2011. She holds a PhD from the Free University of Berlin and specializes in foreign and security policy. Between 2002 and 2004 she worked at the German embassy in Damascus and is author of the book "The Wisdom of Syria's Waiting Game" (Hurst, April 2013).

**Petra Stienen**, Author, Arabist, former Human Rights Diplomat for the Netherlands in Egypt and Syria, Amsterdam

Petra Stienen is an author and independent advisor. She worked as a human rights diplomat at the Netherlands Embassies in Egypt and Syria. After she left the Foreign Ministry in 2009 she established her own business as an independent advisor for various clients in the field of democracy, diversity and diplomacy. In February 2012 she won the 'Women in the Media Award 2011' for her work on the Arab revolutions on TV and radio in the Netherlands. In February 2010 she participated in a BBC Intelligence Squared debate on Europe is failing its Muslims <http://www.intelligencesquared.com/controversies/europe-is-failing-itsmuslims/preview> In September her second book (in Dutch) "Other Arab Voices. Towards a new future in the Middle East?" was published. Her first book "Dreaming of an Arab Spring. A Dutch Diplomat in the Middle East" was published in April 2008. Petra Stienen is board member of various organizations such as CARE International and Masterpeace. She studied Arabic and Middle Eastern studies at the universities of Leiden, Cairo and London.

**Dr. Sylke Tempel**, Editor-in-Chief, *Internationale Politik*, Berlin

Dr. Sylke Tempel is editor-in-chief of the journal *Internationale Politik* and lecturer in international relations and modern German history at the Stanford Study Center, Berlin and at Stanford University, California. Between 1993 and 2003 she was a correspondent for several German newspapers and magazines in Jerusalem. Here most recent publication is "Israel - Reise durch ein altes, neues Land", (in German, Rowohlt Berlin).

**Prof. Binnaz Toprak**, Member of Parliament of the CHP opposition party, Ankara

Dr. Binnaz Toprak has taught at the Department of Political Science and International Relations of Boğaziçi University for 32 years and at Bahcesehir University for two and a half years. She also taught at Koc and Minnesota universities as visiting professor. She has a Ph.D. in political science from the Graduate Center and University School of the City University of New York, from where she received the President's Award for Distinguished Alumni in 2012, and an Honorary Degree in Humane Letters from St. Olaf College, Minnesota. She has published widely both in English and Turkish on political Islam in Turkey. Her publications include "Islam and Political Development in Turkey", Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981; four books in Turkish, three of which are based

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on nation-wide surveys on religion, social change, and politics and on in-depth interviews in Anatolian cities with people of different identities; as well as numerous articles in English in edited books and scholarly journals. While in academia, she wrote editorials for the Turkish daily, Radikal, for a while. She is currently a member of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from the social democratic party, CHP, representing Istanbul.

**Barbara Unmüßig**, President, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin

Barbara Unmüßig has been the director of the Heinrich Böll Foundation since 2002. She is responsible for its strategy and program development for Latin America, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and for the Gunda Werner Institute for Feminism and Gender Democracy. Her work focuses on issues of globalization and international climate policy, national and international gender policy, and the promotion of democracy and conflict prevention. In 1991 and 1992, she managed the UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) project office of the German environmental organizations the German League for Nature and Environment (Deutscher Naturschutzring, DNR) and Friends of the Earth Germany (Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz Deutschland, BUND) in preparation for the Rio de Janeiro summit in 1992. In 1992, Barbara Unmüßig was a founding member – and until 2002 spokesperson – of the Forum on Environment and Development, a German NGO, and in 1993 the founder and until 2002 the executive chairperson of World Economy, Ecology, & Development (WEED). In 2000, she cofounded the German Institute for Human Rights (Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte, DIMR), a human rights organization, and has been on its board of trustees since 2001. From 1996 to 2001 she chaired the supervisory board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Her numerous contributions to periodicals and books have covered international trade and finance, international environmental issues, and gender policy.

**Paul van Son**, CEO, Desertec Industrial Initiative (Dii), Munich

Paul van Son's career has prominently been marked by his activities in the framework of energy grid operation, the liberalization of energy markets and the development of green energy in Europe and beyond. Presently Paul van Son is CEO of Dii, a consortium of 21 industrial companies and over 36 associated partners with the aim to bring the Desertec vision into reality in MENA i.e. to develop a market for large-scale renewable energy from the deserts. He is co-founder of EFET, the European Federation of Energy Traders, where he was Chairman from 1999 till 2012. In addition he is Chairman of the Energy4All Foundation / NICE International, supplying decentralized energy, water and internet services for small communities in developing countries. Amongst other duties, Paul van Son has been Chairman of the APX Advisory Committee, Chairman of the Environment Committee of EnergieNed, Member of the Supervisory Board of swb (formerly Stadtwerke Bremen), Chairman of the Supervisory Board of energy trading company KOM-STROM AG and a member of several environmental and industry committees in Europe, including CIGRE, UCTE, FGE (Germany).