

**The 9th meeting of
 The Global Strategy Group Middle East**
 6-7 February 2012, Marina Hotel, Kuwait City

Agenda

Monday 6 February	<i>Sessions will take place at the Marina Hotel, Salmiya, Gulf Rd., 22000 Kuwait Meeting room: Coral Ballroom (Lower Ground level) All sessions are private, held behind closed doors</i>
9:00-9:15 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<i>Welcome and self-introduction of participants</i>
9:15-11:15 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<u><i>Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya: The day after and where does it go from here?</i></u>
9:15-10:15 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<p><i>Egypt: The tortuous road to consolidation</i></p> <p>With the Islamists as the clear winners of the legislative elections, Egypt is entering a new phase of the post-revolution era.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How will the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamists forces and the military evolve? • How will the Islamists agree to cooperate with other political forces in Egypt? Will the Egyptian youth consider that its aspirations are on the way of being met or do see their revolution in danger of being highjacked? • What prospects for gradual consolidation and stabilization of the political and economic scene? <p><u><i>Introduction:</i></u> Shafeeq Ghabra, Founder and CEO, Jusoor Arabiya, Kuwait</p> <p><u><i>Followed by a Roundtable discussion with members of the Group</i></u></p> <p><u><i>Moderated by:</i></u> Claude Smadja, President, Smadja & Smadja, Switzerland</p>
10:15-11:15 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<p><i>Tunisia and Libya: Different revolutions, different prospects</i></p> <p>Their revolution was different and Tunisia and Libya are now following quite a different path in the post revolution phase. In Tunisia elections conducted in a reasonably fair way have led to a victory of the Islamists now in control of the transition government. But the business class and segments of the pro-democracy forces are concerned that power will be confiscated and that the new government will not be able to create the proper conditions for restoring economic activity. It still remains to be seen how the situation will play out between the more radical and the more moderate wings among the Islamist camp.</p> <p>In Libya, the key issue is whether the centrifugal forces unleashed by the revolution can be brought under control and whether the transitional authority will be able to keep the disparate components of the revolution unified on some key national objectives such as restoring law</p>

	<p>and order, creating a sustainable institutional framework and getting economic activity restarted.</p> <p><u>Introduction:</u> Noman Benotman, Senior Analyst - Strategic Communications, Quilliam Foundation, UK Amel Grami, Professor, Department of Arabic Studies, the Faculty of Literatures, Arts and Humanities, Manouba University, Tunisia Ibrahim Sharqieh, Foreign Policy Fellow, The Brookings Institution and Deputy Director, the Brookings Doha Center, Qatar</p> <p><u>Moderated by:</u> Claude Smadja, President, Smadja & Smadja, Switzerland</p>
11:15-11:40	<i>Coffee break</i>
11:40-13:10 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<p><i>Rebellions in process: The state of Syria and Yemen. Bahrain's dilemma</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Will the Assad regime be able to survive? • What are the possible outcomes for Syria and what would they mean for the balanced of power in the region? • What will be the outcome of the scheduled 21 February elections in Yemen? • What prospects for stabilization as protests continue throughout the country? • What prospects for stabilization in Bahrain as the regime tries to push for a reform agenda against a backdrop of continuing unrest? • Will the Bahrain regime be able to navigate between the continuing pressures for significant political liberalization that will give greater weight to the Shia population and Saudi Arabia's pressure to prevent a neighboring monarchy to experiment some form of democratization and set a precedent?. <p><u>Introduction:</u> Mansoor Al-Jamri, Founder, Editor-in-Chief & Daily Columnist, Alwasat Newspaper, Bahrain Ibrahim Sharqieh, Foreign Policy Fellow, The Brookings Institution and Deputy Director, the Brookings Doha Center, Qatar Joe Stork, Deputy Director, Middle East and North Africa Division, Human Rights Watch, USA</p> <p><u>Moderated by:</u> Shafeeq Ghabra, Founder & CEO, Jusoor Arabiya, Kuwait</p>
13:15-14:30	<p><i>Lunch</i></p> <p>At the Six Palms Restaurant (Lower Ground level)</p>
14:45-16:15 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<p><i>What course for the Monarchies? How are they adjusting to the new Arab landscape</i></p> <p>With the exception of Bahrain, the Arab monarchies, have sustained surprisingly well the turmoil generated by the Arab spring. But all these regimes realize that something has radically changed in the Arab world. While the Arab Spring has stirred up enduring political agitation in Kuwait, Abu Dhabi has created a consultative Council with a limited form of popular representation, and the King of Morocco has initiated a constitutional reform and put the head of the Islamist party in charge of the government; the Saudi King has allowed women to vote in the next municipal elections... four years from now to show some receptivity to the frustrations of the middle class.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Will the Arab monarchies prove able to answer some of the aspirations of the middle

	<p>class and of the young generations in their respective countries?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How these monarchies will be able to coexist with new regimes emerging from popular revolts or revolutions? <p><i>Introduction:</i> Turki Al-Dakhil, Chairman, Almesbar Center of Studies and Research & Presenter on Alarabiya News Chanel, Saudi Arabia Abdulaziz Al Fahad, Principal, the Law Office of Abdulaziz H. Fahad, Saudi Arabia Rana Sabbagh, Journalist and Columnist, Jordan</p> <p><i>Moderated by:</i> Shafeeq Ghabra, Founder & CEO, Jusoor Arabiya, Kuwait</p>
16:30-18:00 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<p><i>2012 as the most critical year for Iran?</i></p> <p>The new US and European sanctions against Iran after the revelation that medium-level uranium enrichment has begun at the Fordo nuclear plant and Tehran threat to close the straits of Hormuz have built up tensions between Iran and the Western countries. Meanwhile, although the regime seems united on its nuclear policy, rivalries inside the Iran leadership have not abated and the economic situation keeps deteriorating.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What kind of scenarios can be envisaged in this increasingly tense context? • What comes with respect to the sanctions on Iran's side? • What are the options for the US? • How is what is happening in Damascus impacting Iran? <p><i>Introduction:</i> Jon Alterman, Director and Senior fellow of the Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA Michele Dunne, Director, Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, Atlantic Council, USA Shafeeq Ghabra, Founder and CEO, Jusoor Arabiya, Kuwait</p> <p><i>Moderated by:</i> Claude Smadja, President Smadja & Smadja Switzerland</p>
20:00-22:00	<p><i>Dinner in honor of the Global Strategy Group Middle East</i></p> <p>The Ghabra Residence Al Andalus, Block 12, Street 18, House 19</p> <p>buses will be in front of the hotel and will leave at 7:30 PM</p>

Tuesday 7 February	
09:00-10:15 <i>Corall Ballroom</i>	<p><i>The economic outlook for the Arab world: How will businesses address the sustainability challenge in a context of regional political turmoil and global uncertainty?</i></p> <p>While ensuring a high enough rate of economic growth to ensure significant jobs creation is more crucial than ever to the success of the new regimes in the Arab world, never before has the region's outlook been so clouded by the political turmoil in the Arab world and the poor prospects of the global economy. This not only creates major additional obstacles to the region's stabilization but generates major challenges for the sustainability of many Arab</p>

	<p>businesses.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does the 2012 economic outlook for the Arab world look like? • What could help Arab businesses play their role in generating jobs? • How can the Arab world avoid an even greater divide between the big oil producers in the region and the others? <p><u>Introduction:</u> Adnan Al-Bahar, Chairman and Managing Director, The International Investor (TII), Kuwait Randa Azar-Khoury, Group Chief Economist, National Bank of Kuwait, Kuwait Usameh Jamali, Advisor to the Chairman, Australian College of Kuwait and Former Economic Advisor, Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, Kuwait</p> <p><u>Moderated by:</u> Claude Smadja, President, Smadja & Smadja, Switzerland</p>
10:15-10:30	<i>Coffee break</i>
10:30-12:00 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<p><i>The Waning of US influence in the Arab world. A new power play for Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Iran? What does this mean for the region's stability?</i></p> <p>With US forces now out of Iraq and on their way out of Afghanistan and with Washington trying to keep pace with the developments in the region but without much ability to influence them significantly, never before has the American profile in the region been so low. The widespread perception of the decline of US power, of an America primarily absorbed by its tremendous domestic challenges is opening a new space for Turkey eager to assert a greater role and influence in the region, while Riyadh is looking at new ways to ensure its long-term security. In that context Tehran, enjoying an increasing influence in Iraq and uncertain about the implications of the turmoil in the Arab world is reassessing its game.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What remains of the ability of the US to assert influence in the region? • How much influence can Turkey gain in promoting its model of “democratic Islam”? • Will Iran turn into a winner or a loser after the remodeling of the Arab political landscape? <p><u>Introduction:</u> Jaber Al-Jaberi, Member of the Iraqi Parliament and Sr. Advisor to the Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister, Iraq Jon Alterman, Director and Senior fellow of the Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies, USA Salem Chalabi, Head of Iraq Practice, DLA Piper Middle East LLP, UAE Michele Dunne, Director, Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East, Atlantic Council, USA</p> <p><u>Moderated by:</u> Claude Smadja, President, Smadja & Smadja, Switzerland</p>
12:00-13:15 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<p><i>Will political Islam adjust to the realities of power? Initial observations</i></p> <p>The rise to power of Islamist parties in Tunisia, Algeria, Libya and their growing influence elsewhere in the Arab world has generated major concerns outside in the region while, inside the region, there are growing tensions between Islamists and secularists.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How will the pressures to deliver economic and social benefits to the people impact on the Islamist Parties and will they be able to put pragmatism behind ideology? • What role women will be able to play in countries such as Tunisia, Egypt to contain radical Islam? • Will secularist parties be able to organize themselves into a coherent force and avoid a

	<p>confiscation of power by the Islamists?</p> <p><u>Introduction:</u> Turki Al-Dakhil, Chairman, Almesbar Center of Studies and Research & Presenter on Alarabiya News Chanel, Saudi Arabia Khaled Hroub, Director of Media Programme, Gulf Research Centre- Cambridge (and of Cambridge Arab Media Project - CAMP), Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, UK</p> <p><u>Moderated by:</u> Shafeeq Ghabra, Founder & CEO, Jusoor Arabiya, Kuwait</p>
13:15-13:25 <i>Coral Ballroom</i>	<i>Concluding points: What to take home?</i>
13:30-14:30	<i>Closing luncheon</i> At the Atlantis Restaurant (Lobby level)