Appendix I: Contributing Authors’ Biographies

Richard Cincotta is the Demographer in Residence at the Stimson Center in Washington, DC, and a consultant to the Woodrow Wilson Center’s Environmental Change and Security Project. Dr. Cincotta served as the Political Demographer in the National Intelligence Council’s Long Range Analysis Unit from 2006 to 2009. He has authored articles in various publications, including *Foreign Policy*, *Current History*, *Nature*, and *Science*.

James C. Clad is an independent consultant and a Senior Adviser at the Center for Naval Analyses, Alexandria, VA. From 2007-2010 he served as a US Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Asia security affairs, and as a Senior Research Fellow at the National Defense University. He has also held senior positions at the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and at the US Agency for International Development. During the 1990s up to 2002, he was Professor of South and Southeast Asian Studies at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service. During the 1980s and 1990s, he wrote for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

F. Gregory Gause, III, is Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Department at the University of Vermont, and was Director of the University’s Middle East Studies Program from 1998 to 2008. He was the Kuwait Foundation Visiting Professor of International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, in 2009-10, and in the spring of 2009 he held a Fulbright Fellowship at the American University of Kuwait. He was previously on the faculty of Columbia University, and was Fellow for Arab and Islamic Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

Robert Grenier is the Chairman of ERG Partners and recently served on a national task force dealing with the intelligence community. Previously, Mr. Grenier was the Chairman for Global Security Consulting and a Managing Director at Kroll. He worked for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for 27 years, serving as Director of the Counter-Terrorism Centre from 2004-2006.

Andrew Houk is the Research Associate for the Southwest Asia program at the Stimson Center. While at Stimson, he has published analyses examining nuclear energy in the Middle East and factors affecting Iran-Afghan relations. Prior to joining Stimson and completing an MA in International Affairs from the George Washington University, Houk taught social studies in secondary education from 2004-2008. Through the Fulbright-Hays program, he studied religious pluralism in secular Middle East societies (Syria, Turkey) in 2007, and studied Arabic in Damascus in 2009. He has held internships at the International Rescue Committee and the Stimson Center.

Ellen Laipson is President and Chief Executive Officer at the Stimson Center. She also directs the Southwest Asia project, which focuses on security issues in the Gulf region. Before joining Stimson in 2002, she served in government for 25 years and held senior positions in the National Intelligence Council (NIC), the National Security Council, the US
Department of State, and the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress. In late 2009, President Obama named Laipson to the President’s Intelligence Advisory Board.

Andrew Marshall is currently a consultant to clients in the US and UK via Consultifi. He has worked for risk consulting companies Kroll and Oxford Analytica, focusing on business intelligence, investigations, and security; and was also Managing Editor at eCountries.com. He spent 13 years in international journalism, working primarily in the UK, US and Europe, and covered politics, foreign affairs, business, and economics for the Independent and the Financial Times.

David Michel is Senior Associate and Director of the Environmental Security program at the Stimson Center. He previously served as Senior Associate at the Center for Transatlantic Relations at the Johns Hopkins University’s Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies. He has written widely on the human security and international governance challenges presented by global environmental change, has advised the US government, and has consulted with several NGOs on climate policy and resource management issues.

Courtney C. Radsch is an international media expert with more than 10 years of journalism and media-affairs experience in the US and the Middle East. She is currently a Senior Program Officer at Freedom House, where she manages the Global Freedom of Expression Campaign. She previously held positions with Al-Arabiya, the New York Times, and the Daily Star in Lebanon. She is completing her Ph.D. in international relations at American University’s School of International Service and turning her dissertation, “The Revolution will be Blogged: Cyberactivism in Egypt,” into a book.

Corey Sobel is the Research Associate for the Environmental Security program at the Stimson Center. While at Stimson, he has published analyses of refugee movements in East Africa, Africa’s negotiating stances in international climate negotiations, environmental degradation in the Nile River Basin, and scientific cooperation between the US and the Muslim world. Prior to joining Stimson, Sobel was a Duke University Hart Fellow in Northern Thailand, a Research Associate at the National Endowment for Democracy, and an HIV/AIDS researcher in Kenya.

Mona Yacoubian is an independent consultant and Special Adviser to the US Institute of Peace (USIP) Center for Conflict Management, where she provides analysis and policy advice on the Middle East and North Africa. She currently directs the Institute’s Lebanon Working Group, and also contributes to the Institute’s ongoing work on the Arab Uprisings. Yacoubian has consulted for a number of organizations, including the World Bank, the Department of State, RAND Corporation, and Freedom House.
Appendix II: Experts Interviewed or Consulted

- Khairi Abaza, Senior Fellow, Foundation for the Defense of Democracies
- Abdelwahab Al-Kebsi, Regional Director for Africa and MENA, Center for International Private Enterprise
- Jon Alterman, Director and Senior Fellow of the Middle East Program, Center for Strategic and International Studies
- Hussein Amin, Professor and Chair, Department of Journalism and Mass Communications, American University of Cairo
- Ben Barber, former Middle East Correspondent and Editor, USAID *Frontlines* magazine
- Kerry Boyd Anderson, Deputy Director of Advisory, Oxford Analytica
- Eva Bellin, Associate Professor of Political Science, Brandeis University
- John Bradley, journalist and Cairo resident
- David Butter, Regional Director, Middle East and North Africa, Economist Intelligence Unit
- Daniel Calingaert, Deputy Director of Programs, Freedom House
- Les Campbell, Senior Associate and Regional Director, Middle East and North Africa Programs, National Democratic Institute
- Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Scott Carpenter, Keston Family Fellow, Washington Institute for Near East Policy and Director of Project Fikra
- Juan Cole, Professor of History, University of Michigan
- Isobel Coleman, Director of the Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy Initiative and Director of the Women and Foreign Policy Program, The Council on Foreign Relations
- Steven Cook, Hasib J. Sabbagh Senior Fellow for Middle Eastern Studies, Council on Foreign Relations
- Lorne Craner, President, International Republican Institute
- Mark Danner, Principal, National Strategies, Inc.
- Michael Denison, Research Director for Global Risk Analysis, Control Risks Group
- Director of Mid-East Analysis, Stratfor
- Michele Dunne, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and Editor of the online journal, *The Arab Reform Bulletin*
• Heba el-Shazli, currently Visiting Professor at the Virginia Military Institute, Regional Program Director, Middle East and North Africa, The Solidarity Center
• Anthony Garrett, Consultant, Internews
• Thomas Garrett, Vice President for Programs, International Republican Institute
• Eric Goldstein, Deputy Director of Middle East and North Africa Division, Human Rights Watch
• Jack Goldstone, Director, Center for Global Policy, George Mason University
• David Gordon, Head of Research and Director, Eurasia Group
• Nate Haken, Senior Analyst, Failed States Index, Fund for Peace
• Julien Barnes-Dacey, Editor, Middle East, Control Risks Group
• Barry Hughes, Pardee Center for International Futures, University of Denver
• Graham Hutchings, Director of Analysis, Oxford Analytica
• David Ignatius, Columnist, The Washington Post
• Lila Jaafar, Country Director in Egypt, National Democratic Institute
• Omar Karmi, Washington Bureau Chief, The Nation
• Eric Kaufmann, Reader in Politics and Sociology at Birkbeck College, University of London
• Mohamed Ali Kembi, Director/ Tunisian Institute de Presse et des Sciences de l’Information (IPSI)
• Rami Khouri, journalist and writer; Contributing Editor, The Daily Star
• Carol Klinger, All Things Considered, National Public Radio
• Laith Kubba, Director of the Middle East and North Africa Program, National Endowment for Democracy
• Sherif Mansour, Senior Program Officer, Middle East and North Africa Program, Freedom House
• Scott Mastic, Regional Director for MENA, International Republican Institute
• Monty Marshall, Director of Research, Center for Global Policy, George Mason University
• Rafaello Matarazzo, Senior Researcher, Instituto Affari Internazionale (IAI)
• Amira Maty, Program Officer for Middle East and North Africa, National Endowment for Democracy
• Steven McInerney, Executive Director, Project on Middle Eastern Democracy (POMED)
• Hugh McLeod, Chief Operating Officer, Stirling Assynt
• Christian Mesquida, Researcher/Administrator, York University
• Karim Mezran, Director/Centro Studi Americani
• Fadi Nahas, writer, businessman and founder, The Awakening
• Paolo Passarini, Senior Correspondent, La Stampa
Appendix II: Experts Interviewed or Consulted

- Mark Perry, a Washington, DC-based journalist
- Political Risk Specialist, a US-based multinational oil company
- Kenneth M. Pollack, Senior Fellow and Director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy, Brookings Institution
- David Pollock, Senior Fellow, focusing on the political dynamics of Middle Eastern countries, Washington Institute for Near East Policy
- Hugh Pope, journalist, author, and Turkey/Cyprus/ Middle East Rep. for International Crisis Group
- Risk Advisor to a leading Western energy firm
- Patrice Sabatier, Editor, Liberation
- Hani Sabra, Senior Egypt Analyst, Eurasia Group
- Security Specialist, a US-based multinational oil company
- John Sullivan, Executive Director, Center for International Private Enterprise
- Jonathan Wright, former Reuters Cairo Bureau Chief
- Tim Williams, Head of Training, Stirling Assynt
- Vice-President for Strategic Intelligence, Stratfor
Appendix III: Mission Statements of Organizations Interviewed or Consulted

Democracy Promotion Organizations

National Endowment for Democracy
The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a private, nonprofit foundation dedicated to the growth and strengthening of democratic institutions around the world. Each year, with funding from the US Congress, NED supports more than 1,000 projects of non-governmental groups abroad who are working for democratic goals in more than 90 countries.

The National Endowment for Democracy’s Core Organizations:

- **Center for International Private Enterprise** (CIPE)
  CIPE aims to strengthen democracy around the globe, through private enterprise and market-oriented reform.

- **International Republican Institute** (IRI)
  IRI advances freedom and democracy worldwide by developing political parties, civic institutions, open elections, democratic governance, and the rule of law.

- **National Democratic Institute** (NDI)
  NDI and its local partners work to promote openness and accountability in government by building political and civic organizations, safeguarding elections, and promoting citizen participation. The Institute brings together individuals and groups to share ideas, knowledge, experiences, and expertise that can be adapted to the needs of individual countries.

- **Solidarity Center**
  The Solidarity Center’s helps to build a global labor movement by strengthening the economic and political power of workers around the world through effective, independent, and democratic unions.

Human Rights Organizations

Freedom House
Freedom House, an independent nongovernmental organization, supports the expansion of freedom in the world. The organization supports nonviolent, civic initiatives in societies

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1 All organizations are US-based unless otherwise noted.
where freedom is denied or under threat and stands in opposition to ideas and forces that challenge the right of all people to be free. Freedom House functions as a catalyst for freedom, democracy, and the rule of law through its analysis, advocacy, and action.

**Human Rights Watch**

Human Rights Watch is dedicated to protecting the human rights of people around the world. It stands with victims and activists to prevent discrimination, to uphold political freedom, to protect people from inhumane conduct in wartime, and to bring offenders to justice. Human Rights Watch investigates and exposes human rights violations and holds abusers accountable. It challenges governments and those who hold power to end abusive practices and respect international human rights law. It enlists the public and the international community to support the cause of human rights for all.

**Hybrid Organizations**

**Hybrid Organizations**

*(Democracy Promotion-Think Tanks)*

**Arab Reform Initiative [Jordan]**

The Arab Reform Initiative is a network of independent Arab research and policy institutes, with partners from the United States and Europe. Its goal is to mobilize the Arab research capacity to advance knowledge and develop a program for democratic reform in the Arab world which is realistic and home grown. The Initiative also aims to produce policy recommendations that can help promote reform in the region.

**Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED)**

The Project on Middle East Democracy is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to examining how genuine democracies can develop in the Middle East and how the US can best support that process. Through dialogue, research, and advocacy, POMED works to strengthen the constituency for US policies that peacefully support democratic reform in the Middle East.

**Think Tanks**

**American Enterprise Institute (AEI)**

The American Enterprise Institute is a community of scholars and supporters committed to expanding liberty, increasing individual opportunity, and strengthening free enterprise. AEI pursues these unchanging ideals through independent thinking, open debate, reasoned argument, facts, and the highest standards of research and exposition. Without regard for politics or prevailing fashion, AEI dedicates its work to a more prosperous, safer, and more democratic nation and world.
Brookings Institution

Brookings conducts high-quality, independent research and, based on that research, provides innovative, practical recommendations that advance three broad goals: strengthen American democracy; foster the economic and social welfare, security, and opportunity of all Americans; and secure a more open, safe, prosperous, and cooperative international system.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations and promoting active international engagement by the United States. Founded in 1910, its work is nonpartisan and dedicated to achieving practical results.

Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)

At a time of new global opportunities and challenges, the Center for Strategic and International Studies provides strategic insights and policy solutions to decision makers in government, international institutions, the private sector, and civil society. CSIS conducts research and analysis and develops policy initiatives that look into the future and anticipate change.

Chatham House [UK]

Chatham House is a world-leading source of independent analysis, informed debate, and influential ideas on how to build a prosperous and secure world for all.

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR)

The Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries.

FRIDE [Spain]

FRIDE informs policy and practice in order to ensure that the EU plays a more effective role in supporting multilateralism, democratic values, security, and sustainable development.

The Hoover Institute

The Hoover Institute recalls the voice of experience against the making of war, endeavors to make and preserve peace, and sustains for America the safeguards of the American way of life….with these purposes as its goal, the Institution itself must constantly and dynamically point the road to peace, to personal freedom, and to the safeguards of the American system.
Appendix III: Mission Statements of Organizations Interviewed or Consulted

**RAND Corporation**

RAND helps improve policy and decision making through research and analysis.

**Washington Institute for Near East Policy**

The Washington Institute for Near East Policy advances a balanced and realistic understanding of American interests in the Middle East. Under the guidance of a distinguished and bipartisan Board of Advisors, the Institute seeks to bring scholarship to bear on the making of U.S. policy in this vital region of the world. Drawing on the research of its scholars and the experience of policy practitioners, the Institute promotes an American engagement in the Middle East committed to strengthening alliances, nurturing friendships, and promoting security, peace, prosperity, and democracy for the people of the region.

**Government and Inter-Governmental Research Institutes**

**Food and Agriculture Organization**

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations leads international efforts to defeat hunger. Serving both developed and developing countries, FAO acts as a neutral forum where all nations meet as equals to negotiate agreements and debate policy. FAO is also a source of knowledge and information. It helps developing countries and countries in transition modernize and improve agriculture, forestry and fisheries practices, and ensure good nutrition for all. FAO has focused special attention on developing rural areas, home to 70 percent of the world’s poor and hungry people.

**International Food Policy Research Center (IFPRI)**

The International Food Policy Research Center seeks to provide policy solutions that reduce poverty, and end hunger and malnutrition. The two key premises that underlie IFPRI’s mission are that sound and appropriate local, national, and international public policies are essential to achieving sustainable food security and nutritional improvement; and that research and the dissemination of its results are critical inputs into the process of raising the quality of food policy debate, and formulating sound and appropriate policies.

**International Labour Organization (ILO)**

The International Labour Organization (ILO) is devoted to promoting social justice and internationally recognized human and labour rights, pursuing its founding mission that labour peace is essential to prosperity. Today, the ILO helps advance the creation of decent work and the economic and working conditions that give working people and business people a stake in lasting peace, prosperity and progress. Its tripartite structure provides a unique platform for promoting decent work for all women and men. Its main aims are to promote rights at work, encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection and strengthen dialogue on work-related issues.
USDA Economic Research Service (ERS)

The Economic Research Service is a primary source of economic information and research in the US Department of Agriculture. ERS conducts a research program to inform public and private decision making on economic and policy issues involving food, farming, natural resources, and rural development. ERS’s highly trained economists and social scientists conduct research, analyze food and commodity markets, produce policy studies, and develop economic and statistical indicators. The agency’s research program is aimed at the information needs of USDA, other public policy officials, and the research community. ERS information and analysis is also used by the media, trade associations, public interest groups, and the general public.

Academic Institutions

The American University of Beirut (AUB)

The American University of Beirut is an institution of higher learning founded to provide excellence in education, to participate in the advancement of knowledge through research, and to serve the peoples of the Middle East and beyond. The university bases its educational philosophy, standards, and practices on the American liberal arts model of higher education. It believes deeply in and encourages freedom of thought and expression, and seeks to foster tolerance and respect for diversity and dialogue.

The American University in Cairo (AUC)

The American University in Cairo is committed to teaching and research of the highest caliber, and offers exceptional liberal arts and professional education in a cross-cultural environment. AUC builds a culture of leadership, lifelong learning, continuing education and service among its graduates, and is dedicated to making significant contributions to Egypt and the international community in diverse fields. AUC upholds the principles of academic freedom and is dedicated to excellence.

Center for Global Policy

The Center for Global Policy at George Mason University conducts research on a wide range of global policy issues. Faculty undertakes basic academic research on such topics as foreign trade, democratization and state-building, and transnational networks, and analyze specific policy issues for a variety of government agencies.

Pardee Center for International Futures (IF)

The Frederick S. Pardee Center for International Futures is the home of long-term forecasting and global trend analysis at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies on the University of Denver campus. The core of the Center’s forecasting efforts is the Patterns of Potential Human Progress series. This project produces annual volumes on human development topics, beginning with global poverty reduction, which can be purchased or
downloaded for free. The second published volume, Advancing Global Education, can also be purchased or downloaded. Each volume includes tables with long-term country-level forecasts across the various issue areas of the IFs model.

Other Organizations

The Aspen Institute [Italy]
The mission of the Aspen Institute Italy is the internationalization of entrepreneurial leadership, political, and cultural life of the country through a free exchange of ideas and different backgrounds to identify and promote values, knowledge, and common interests. The Institute focuses its attention on the problems and challenges of today’s politics, economy, culture, and society, with special emphasis on the Italian and international business community.

Center for Systemic Peace
The Center for Systemic Peace (CSP) is engaged in innovative research on the problem of political violence within the structural context of the dynamic global system, that is, global systems analysis. CSP supports scientific research and quantitative analysis in many issue areas related to the fundamental problems of violence in both human relations and societal development. The focus of CSP research is on the possibilities of complex systemic management of all manner of societal and systemic conflicts. CSP regularly monitors and reports on general trends in societal-system performance, at the global, regional, and state levels of analysis and in the key systemic dimensions of conflict, governance, and (human and physical) development in the sincere belief that the foundation and guarantor of good governance is an active, informed public.

The Freedom Forum
The Freedom Forum is a nonpartisan foundation dedicated to free press, free speech and free spirit for all people. The foundation focuses on three priorities: the Newseum, First Amendment freedoms, and newsroom diversity. The guiding principles of the Freedom Forum are: Free Press – the freedom to print or broadcast without censorship. Free Speech – the freedom to speak without compromise. Free Spirit – free spirits dream, dare, and do. A free spirit can also be a risk-taker, a visionary, an innovative leader, an entrepreneur or a courageous achiever who accomplishes great things beyond his or her normal circumstances.

Fund for Peace
The Fund for Peace is an independent, nonpartisan research and educational organization that works to prevent war and alleviate the conditions that cause conflict.
It promotes sustainable security through research, training and education, engagement of civil society, building bridges across diverse sectors, and developing innovative technologies and tools for policy makers.

**Institute for Security Studies [South Africa]**

The Institute for Security Studies conceptualizes, informs, and enhances the debate on human security in Africa in order to support policy formulation, implementation, and decision making at all levels.

**Institut de Presse et des Sciences de l’Information (IPSI) [Tunisia]**

IPSI is a state institution under the Ministry of Higher Education. Its aims are training journalists and specialists in the field of Information Sciences and communication; participation in the development of scientific research in the fields of Information Sciences and Communication; and organization of training periods and missions related to IPSI’s fields of specialization in cooperation with regional, national and international institutions.

**Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) [Italy]**

The Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI)’s main objective is to promote an understanding of the problems of international politics through studies, research, meetings, and publications, with the aim of increasing the opportunities of all countries to move in the direction of supranational organization, democratic freedom, and social justice.

**Knight Foundation**

The Knight Foundation is a national foundation with local roots. The Foundation advances journalism in the digital age and invests in the vitality of communities where the Knight brothers owned newspapers. The Foundation focuses on projects that promote informed, engaged communities and leads to transformational change. It believes that information is a core, community need and seeks to ensure that all citizens get the information they need to thrive in a democracy, and act in their own best interest.

**The Nieman Fellowship**

The Nieman Fellowship is the oldest and best-known mid-career program for journalists in the world. More than 1,300 journalists from the US and 88 other countries have come to Harvard for a year of learning, exploration, and fellowship. Nieman Fellows are provided the opportunity to step back from deadlines, renew their intellectual curiosity, and enrich their understanding of the topics they cover.

**The Open Technology Initiative (OTI)**

The Open Technology Initiative Formulates policy and regulatory reforms to support open architectures and open source innovations, and facilitates the development and
implementation of open technologies and communications networks. OTI promotes affordable, universal, and ubiquitous communications networks through partnerships with communities, researchers, industry, and public interest groups, and is committed to maximizing the potentials of innovative open technologies by studying their social and economic impacts – particularly for poor, rural, and other underserved constituencies. OTI provides in-depth, objective research, analysis, and findings for policy decision-makers and the general public.

**Wolfensohn Center for Development**

After five years of rigorous, independent research and analysis, the Wolfensohn Center for Development has concluded its work. During its tenure, the Center did high-quality research on a number of important topics, including how to lift people out of poverty and create a better future for today’s youth. Following this successful endeavor, issues of development and global poverty, including foreign aid effectiveness, have been powerfully woven into a host of initiatives across Brookings and in particular, the Global Economy and Development program.

**Political Risk Firms**

**Control Risks Group [UK]**

Control Risks is an independent, specialist risk consultancy with 34 offices on five continents. Control Risks enables its clients to succeed in complex or hostile business environments. By applying the right mix of skills and experience, Control Risks enables its clients to pursue their interests wherever in the world they may wish to operate. Since 1975 Control Risks has worked in more than 130 countries for more than 5,000 clients, including more than three quarters of the Fortune 100. Through 34 offices worldwide, Control Risks enables its clients to succeed in complex and hostile environments around the globe.

**The Economist Intelligence Unit [UK]**

The Economist Intelligence Unit delivers trusted business intelligence and advice to more than 1.5 million decision-makers from the world’s leading companies, financial institutions, governments, and universities. They credit their rigorous and transparent methodology as the principal reason for being one of the world’s most trusted sources of research, analysis, and forecasting services. The Economist Intelligence Unit is renowned for the accuracy and consistency of their analytical insight and quantitative forecasts, all sustained by an abiding commitment to objectivity, clarity, and timeliness.

**Eurasia Group**

The Eurasia Group is the world’s leading global political risk research and consulting firm. By providing information and insight on how political developments move markets, the Eurasia Group helps clients anticipate and respond to instability and opportunities everywhere they do business.
Oxford Analytica [UK]

Oxford Analytica is a global analysis and advisory firm, which draws on a macro expert network to advance clients’ interests at the intersection of politics and economics, government, and business. Oxford Analytica works closely with corporate clients to identify the key political, economic, legal, and regulatory factors affecting their commercial interests in complex markets, where macro factors often can determine success or failure. For investors and corporations seeking growth and value, Oxford Analytica provides critical macro diligence capabilities that expose hidden risks and reveal unseen opportunities. In their macro analytical capacity, they ensure the strongest foundation for market entry in emerging markets. As macro advisors, they serve their clients in the equally important execution stage, ensuring the strongest long-term foothold in a new market and forging sustainable partnerships with key stakeholders across business and government. For government and institutions, they provide advice and research to complement or benchmark their clients’ own findings, from political, economic and social analysis of key state actors, to transnational issues such as trade or demographics.

Stirling Assynt [UK/Hong Kong]

Stirling Assynt provides strategic business intelligence needed to ensure that clients have the depth of information necessary to aid the decision-making process. Their approach is to provide transparency of sourcing and costs, an informal dialogue on all aspects of the work in hand, and easy access to all senior analysts and researchers. Stirling Assynt offers services in: enhanced due diligence, new market entry, and crisis resolution.

STRATFOR

STRATFOR’s global team of intelligence professionals provides an audience of decision-makers and sophisticated news consumers in the US and around the world with unique insights into political, economic, and military developments. The company uses human intelligence and other sources combined with powerful analysis based on geopolitics to produce penetrating explanations of world events. This independent, non-ideological content enables users not only to better understand international events, but also to reduce risks and identify opportunities in every region of the globe.
Appendix IV: Selected Publications, Blogs, and Websites Consulted

Blogs and Websites

- Ammanet
- April 6 Facebook/blog (Arabic)
- April 6 Movement
- Arab Barometer Reports
- A Tunisia Girl
- Baheyya
- BahrainOnline.org
- Egyptian Chronicles
- El Shaheed /We are all Khaled Said page
- Global Voices: all of the MENA posts from 2005-2010
- Mahmoud’s Den
- Manalaa.net (English and Arabic)
- Misr Digital blog
- Nawaat (Arabic)
- Sandmonkey
- Saudi Jeans
- Saudiwoman’s Weblog
- Silly Bahraini Girl
- The Arabist/3arabawy

Books

- Abul-Futtouh, Ayat M. “Challenges to Democratization” Dissent and Reform in the Arab World: Empowering Democrats  (American Enterprise Institute, 2008).
- Bayat, Asef. Life as Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East (Stanford University Press, 2009).

• Beinin, Joel. *The Struggle for Worker Rights in Egypt* (Solidarity Center, 2010).


• Brown, Nathan J. and Emad El-Din Shahin (eds.) *The Struggle Over Democracy in the Middle East* (Routledge, 2009).


• Brynen, Rex, Korany Bahgat, and Paul Noble (eds.) *Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World – Volume 1, Theoretical Perspectives* (Lynne Rienner, 1995).

• Catherwood, Christopher. *A Brief History of the Middle East: From Abraham to Arafat* (Running Press, 2006).


• Cohen, Jared. *Children of Jihad: A Young American’s Travels Among the Youth of the Middle East* (Gotham, 2007).


• Eickelman, Dale and Jon Anderson (eds.) *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere* (Indiana University Press, 2003).


• Indyk, Martin. *Innocent Abroad* (Simon & Schuster, 2009).


Appendix IV: Selected Publications, Blogs, and Websites Consulted

- Osman, Tarek. *Egypt on the Brink* (Yale University Press, 2010).
- Posusney, Marsha Pripstein and Michele Penner Angrist. (eds.) *Authoritarianism in the Middle East* (Lynne Rienner, 2005).
- Pratt, Nicola. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Arab World* (Lynne Rienner, 2006).
- Rossi, Melissa. *What Every American Should Know About the Middle East* (Plume, 2008).
- Schlumberger, Oliver. (ed.) *Debating Arab Authoritarianism* (Stanford University Press, 2007).
- Stack, Megan K. *Every Man In This Village is a Liar* (Doubleday, 2010).

**Journals**


**Reports of Research Organizations**


Appendix IV: Selected Publications, Blogs, and Websites Consulted

• Middle East Research and Information Project. *Middle East Report.*
• New America Foundation. *Open Technology Initiative.*

**Scholars**

Various academic works of the following:

• Jon Anderson
• Lisa Anderson
• Michele Penner Angrist
• Asef Bayat
• Eva Bellin
• Lisa Blaydes
• Nathan Brown
• Jason Brownlee
• Dan Brumberg
• Rex Brynen
• Sheila Carapico
• Steven Cook
• Dale Eickelman
• Michael Herb
• Steven Heydemann
• Michael Hudson
• Stephen J. King
• Bahgat Korany
• Joseph Kostiner
• Ellen Lust-Okar
• Marc Lynch
• Sherif Mansour
• Paul Noble
• Gwenn Okruhlik
• Marsha Pripstein Posusney
• Nicola Pratt
• Olivier Roy
• Ghassan Salame
• Oliver Schlumberger
• Emad El-Din Shahin
• Lisa Wedeen
• Tamara Cofman Wittes

Think Tank Related Works

• Alterman, Jon. *The Death of Political Islam*. Center for Strategic and International studies (December 2007).


• Cook, Steven A. “The Myth of Moderate Islam” Foreign Policy (June 16, 2008).


• Cook, Steven A. “Egypt’s Weakness on Display in Elections” Council on Foreign Relations (November 29, 2010).


• Dunne, Michelle. “Can Egypt Change?: Reviewing a Decade of Changes” Foreign Policy (July 23, 2010).


• Hamid, Shadi. “Can’t We All Just Get Along?” Foreign Policy (June 2, 2010).

• Hamid, Shadi. “In Egypt, Mubarak’s Regime May Be a Victim of Its Own Success” The National (July 29, 2010).


Appendix IV: Selected Publications, Blogs, and Websites Consulted

- Ottaway, Marina, and Michele Dunne. *Incumbent Regimes and the “King’s Dilemma” in the Arab World: Promise and Threat of Managed Reform*. Carnegie Papers, No. 88 (December 2007).
- Shehata, Dina. “Youth Activism in Egypt” *Arab Reform Brief* (October 23, 2008).
- Telhami, Shibley. “In the Mideast, the Third Way is a Myth” *The Washington Post*. Op-Ed (February 17, 2006).
Appendix V: 
Insights from the Experts 
(Chronological)

“For most of the Arab world, technological change means that they are exposed to a broader variety of views than has ever been true before. As literacy and bandwidth both expand dramatically, publics are exposed to a broad, often unregulated, spectrum of views that range from secular to religious, from nationalist to global, and from material to spiritual. Under the new paradigm, information is demand-driven rather than supply-driven, and the universe of available views is far broader than ever before...One consequence of this is greater political spontaneity. Whereas Arab politics have often been characterized by orchestrated demonstrations of solidarity, anger, sorrow, or joy, the regime’s ability to orchestrate such demonstrations in the future will be greatly diminished. What we are likely to see is a more bottom-up expression of joy or rage.


“While I would agree that the political systems in most Arab states today retain a wide variety of powerful tools to sustain the ruling regimes in power, it appears to me as a social scientist that the demographics and the economics in the region are such that those regimes are rubbing up against the limit of their ability to use those tools effectively. I think that, more than anything else this is what has driven liberals in the region and others in the region to discuss questions of reform. ...there is a younger generation of liberals who are not necessarily all journalists and novelists: they are businessmen, they are lawyers, they are doctors and they are parliamentarians.”


Mr. MOHAMMED KAMAL: “Reform is not as easy as the Bush Administration thinks it is. Too much reform, too quick reform might lead to instability. Reform is a risky business.

AMOS: After 24 years of autocratic rule, Mubarak has taken a risk. In February, he called for the first open and direct presidential election in the country’s history, but his party and parliament effectively sets the rules on who can challenge him in September’s election. The guidelines seem to rule out any Islamist candidates, a message, says Mohheed Taki of the Ibn Khaldun Center, that Mubarak intends to tightly control the pace of change.
Mr. TAKI: He’s always raising the fear of the bogeyman. If you are going to push me too far, too quickly, you will destabilize the area and who are you going to get? You’re going to get the Islamists. Do you want the Islamists?

AMOS: This argument was strengthened by recent suicide attacks in Cairo against tourist targets, this one near the Egyptian museum where police tried to seal off the area. Some here believe radical Islamists see this time of political unrest as an opportunity, and that could also set back reforms. Still, Ahmed Galal, an economist with an independent think tank in Cairo, believes change is now inevitable.

Mr. AHMED GALAL (Economist): I do know that there is a democratization process that’s taken place over time. Its taken place in all sort of subtle ways that are very hard to see from a distance.

AMOS: Even close up, it’s not always clear. On the streets of Cairo, not much has changed. Only a new protest movement has given voice to the anger. Again, Ahmed Galal.

Mr. GALAL: We don’t really know how does a country move from a state of authoritarianism to a fully-democratic regime.

AMOS: How Egypt finds the answer to that question matters to the rest of the Middle East.”

“Yet the truth is that we can probably not predict with any convincing certainty how ‘democracy’s drama’ would unfold in the Middle East or what broad ramifications it would visit upon the region. If there is a convincing conclusion to be drawn from the rich literature on democracy and international relations, it is that democracy itself can have a dramatically varying impact across different states, strategic contexts, and time periods. The potency of path-dependency in democratic change militates against overly confident prediction – especially at a moment when debate is so vivid over the extent to which the Middle East’s internal politics really are on the brink of meaningful change.”

“A Revolution is bubbling underneath the shrouds of ignorance. It will not happen overnight, but everyday is a step closer to it.”

“Egypt, like much of the Middle East, is a powder keg. An increasingly unpopular regime seeks to hold power at any cost, even if the cost is violent confrontation.”
Mr. GHARBIA: “I think it is a big victory. Bloggers are now trying to fill the gap that the mainstream media kept empty. I mean, in Morocco, last three months, there is a video snipe of someone who is shooting video of police officer taken money from auto driver and letting them bypass the road. So – and this videos on YouTube are causing that the Moroccan governments are blocked access to YouTube. And there is new office in the police establishment in Morocco who is following those corrupted police officers, so it is being infused in the political scene inside those countries.

BURBANK: Well, Sami Ben Gharbia, thank you so much for coming on The Bryant Park Project, and talking to us. Your blog – the Fikra blog – is from the Netherlands, and is not quite getting back to Tunisia where you hail from originally, but maybe someday. We’ll put your blog – a link to it up on our blog. Also, he’s the director of advocacy at a group called Globalvoices.com.”

— A Tunisian blogger was interviewed on National Public Radio’s “Bryant Park Project.”

October 18, 2007.

“Islamic extremism is no longer the most important, interesting, or dynamic force in the Middle East… in the early twenty-first century, a budding culture of change is instead imaginatively challenging the status quo – and even the extremists. New public voices, daring publications and increasingly noisy protests across two dozen countries are giving shape to a vigorous, if disjointed, trend.”


“Web sites and blogs have become the twenty-first century chroniclers of policy crackdowns, human-rights abuses and election irregularities. In countries where I once sought out clandestine cells, I now also look for computer nerds, now known as ‘pyjamahedeen’ (pajama warriors) in Arabic slang.”


“Egypt is now at a real turning point, and more ripe for change than at any time in the past…. we have to move to the confrontation stage…It’s no longer any use begging for our rights by appealing to the regime, because it will not listen. But if a million Egyptians went out into the streets in protest or announced a general strike…the regime would immediately heed the people’s demands.”

— Excerpt from Egyptian novelist Alaa El-Aswany’s Arabic-language columns in Cairo’s Al-Dustur and Al-Shorouk newspapers. February 2008.

KENYON: “For Egypt’s poor, it’s not just the indignity of the bread lines – cooking oil is up, rice and oil and meat has long been a luxury item. The local press is filled with stories of how the economic crisis is affecting people. Civil servants are now depending on bribes to
make ends meet, young men are extorting protection money from small shops. One report even claims the crisis is causing Egyptians to lose their legendary sense of humor.

The pain is spreading around the region. In Tunisia and Morocco, where dissent is not tolerated, police have been deployed recently to quell food protests. In oil-rich Saudi Arabia, boycott campaigns spreading out to protest the soaring coast of staple foods. Poor people in Yemen are reportedly spending more than a quarter of their income on bread.

Food experts are warning that prices are likely to stay high in the near term and social unrest could turn into violence.”


“The people are feeling that they are suppressed and can’t take it any longer. They are so angry and pissed off this government and regime… The people can’t take it any more from this government or this regime.”


“Western and regional analysts say in general, these governments have been right to make security a priority in the face of al-Qaeda threat, but they wonder if the repression that has resulted is sowing the seeds of future unrest that could prove every bit as destabilizing as a terror campaign.”

— National Public Radio. “All Things Considered” Peter Kenyon reported on August 13, 2008 that the anti-terrorism measures in North Africa were eroding civil rights.

“When it happens, it will rock the world, at least briefly: octogenarian Hosni Mubarak, President of the largest Arab country for over a quarter century, will leave office, either by his own decision or that of Providence, probably within the next three years. So far, few in the West have paid much attention. But Egyptians certainly are getting ready, and we should do so as well. The question is not so much one of stability. Few expect a succession in Egypt to be violent.”


“Protests and strikes have proliferated in a way that Egypt has not seen since 1952… Revolution is a stage a society goes through at a certain moment, when everything becomes liable to ignite…We are definitely at such a stage… the old status quo is no longer tenable or acceptable, and change is inevitably on its way.”

— Excerpt from Egyptian novelist Alaa El-Aswany’s Arabic-language columns in Cairo’s Al-Dustur and Al-Shorouk newspapers. March 2009.
“Egypt will not be the same by the end of 2011.”

“Egypt has witnessed an explosion in the blogosphere, with thousands of Egyptians, both citizens and trained journalists alike, providing information and analysis and pushing the limits of what the government will tolerate.”

“At a closer look, however, the socio-economic situation appears neither as uniformly positive nor as sustainable as it is usually portrayed...Youth unemployment is on the rise...corruption and patronage are rampant...Popular discontent is also growing stronger, leading young people increasingly to turn to radical ideologies, and raising the possibility of a popular uprising. The recent social unrest over unemployment, corruption, and lack of equal opportunities in the southern mining region of Gafsa, for instance, has revealed the extent of rage within both the workers’ movement and the wider population...According to activists, the desperation in the south, which led to the Gafsa uprising is present everywhere... insofar as socio-economic development is unsustainable and inequalities are on the rise, it is questionable how long this will last.”

“... Events over the course of the past five years have done much to undermine the pervasive sense of fear that runs though Egyptian society despite the leadership’s best efforts to reestablish its deterrent. It is entirely possible that Egyptians – like the millions of Iranians who turned out into the streets to protest rigged elections in June 2009 – would rally around a charismatic figure armed with an attractive alternative vision of society. Under these circumstances, it is not at all clear that Egypt’s commanders...or their conscripts would have the fortitude to kill large numbers of demonstrators.”

“Openly debating who should rule the country and how they obtain this power is now a defining feature of the political landscape... This does not mean that Egypt’s citizens are on the cusp of choosing who rules them. Not soon, and not for some time to come, alas.”

“Western elites didn’t understand, or perhaps refrained from accepting, that the multiplication of political parties and elections in Iraq and Afghanistan has unleashed the dreams of the
youth and women around the region… we haven’t realized… that mere debates about a possible democracy in the region have triggered unprecedented liberal narratives in the Gulf, the Maghreb and beyond.”


“The upsurge of workers’ protests which began in 2004 and continued into 2010 has been the most powerful movement for democracy in Egypt in more than half a century.”


“Conditions in Egypt have reached rock bottom…the reality is likely to produce an explosion at any moment…”

— Excerpt from Egyptian novelist Alaa El-Aswany’s Arabic-language columns in Cairo’s Al-Dustur and Al-Shorouk newspapers. May 2010.

“With or without El Baradei, Mubarak’s reign will soon be over. The West, with great stakes in Egypt as a regional power hub, would be well advised to forge new alliances before it is too late.”


“Despite Ben Ali’s best efforts to conceal his government’s dishonest methods to silence and quash dissent, the carefully crafted façade of ‘modern, democratic, and moderate’ Tunisia is coming apart at the seams.”


“The relative liberalization of some Arab regimes, and their greater reluctance to use deadly force against striking nationals or other domestic demonstrators, may have turned some protests in an inward, rather than anti-American direction.”


“The regime [Egypt] – consisting of the traditional bureaucracy, neo-liberal technocratic ministers, state security, business cronies loyal to Gamal, and a military less loyal to him – has become too large to function as a unitary actor. The one thing keeping the lid on is Hosni Mubarak.

“Political talk in Egypt has always been acidly cynical, but now a new bitterness has crept in. This has not been prompted by any change from above, since little has really changed in Egyptian politics since President Hosni Mubarak came to office 29 years ago. The sour mood is informed instead by the contrast between rising aspirations and enduring hardships; by a growing sense of alienation from the state; and by the unease of anticipation as the end of an era inevitably looms ever closer...

Nevertheless, the expectation of a seismic shift is almost tangible in the air, and not just because of Mr. Mubarak’s health. Egyptians may be renowned for being politically passive, but the rising generation is very different from previous ones. It is better educated, highly urbanized, far more exposed to the outside world and much less patient. Increasingly, the whole structure of Egypt’s state, with its cumbersome constitution designed to disguise one-man rule, its creaky centralized administration, its venal, brutal and unaccountable security forces and its failure to deliver such social goods as decent schools, health care or civic rights, look out of kilter with what its people want.

For some time Egyptian commentators have been noting resemblances between now and the years before Egypt’s previous seismic shift. That happened in 1952…

This time may just be different. The country now faces three main possibilities. It could go the way of Russia, and be ruled by a new strongman from within the system. It might, just possibly, go the way of Iran, and see that system swept away in anger. Or it could go the way of Turkey, and evolve into something less brittle and happier for all concerned.”


“We must face the fact that all the new media, and hundreds of thousands of young bloggers from Morocco to Iran have not triggered a single significant or lasting change in Arab or Iranian political culture. Not a single one. Zero.”


“… the surprisingly positive reaction of Egyptian citizens to the seven-point initiative of El Baradei – which would make real political contestation legitimate … – suggests that the idea is gaining ground among the public…if citizens on a large scale start acting as though they want and deserve open political contestation, we are looking at big change. And if that happens, the United States will have some tough choices to make about whether it values more its friendship with the regime or with the people of Egypt.”


“...There is, today, a critical mass for substantive change. The lines between economic and political reform are increasingly blurred, replaced by an enveloping sense that too much has gone wrong for too long. ...Egypt’s ruling elites have become almost comically out of touch with their own people. While they continue emphasizing their economic bona fides
to the few who still care to listen, their own citizens are angry, growing angrier, and – more importantly – doing something about it.”


“Many in Egypt’s entrenched military elite will not easily agree to surrender control to a civilian president with no credentials to lead country and army…A military coup is rather unlikely, as the army is loyal to Mubarak and keen to keep current arrangements in place. This may change, however, if the prospective succession outcome were to endanger the military elite’s considerable rents and prerogatives.”


“Egyptians are awakening to this reality and demonstrating creative outlets of resistance. Understanding that no one will bring change to Egypt but Egyptians themselves, many regime opponents are working for change at great personal risk. Indeed, several opposition groups are coalescing around the rejection of father-to-son succession, out of a concern that an undemocratic transition will allow Egypt’s authoritarianism to deepen, weakening the country domestically and internationally. Egypt’s ailing infrastructure and aging institutions and leadership are juxtaposed against an increasingly bold media, unprecedented youth connectivity through new media, and rising expectations prompted by economic growth, all of which are creating opportunities for change, but also possible instability. In a report earlier this year on Egypt’s growing labor activism, the Solidarity Center, which promotes the rights of workers worldwide, noted that “workers’ protests, strikes, sit-ins, and various types of job actions have reached a crescendo, becoming daily, weekly, and monthly events threatening the stability of Egypt’s economy and social structure, and without doubt having an effect on the political regime.”


“Sectarian conflicts are among several other issues – economic dissatisfaction, police brutality and torture, and public safety problems – souring the attitude of Egyptians toward the government and keeping the internal situation at a simmer, if not a boil. A parliamentary election seen by Egyptians as having been stolen will turn the temperature up another notch.”

“While the Egyptian regime is escalating its crackdown on political opposition, Internet and Facebook activism provide an alternative space for newly emerging civil society groups and political forces to operate. Growing dissent movements are planning nationwide grassroots organizing to peacefully mobilize against Mubarak and his party in the upcoming presidential elections.”


“It would be misleading to say that Egypt is ‘on the brink’ – as several experts have recently claimed – although it may be… In opting to wipe out its opposition, and with such lack of subtlety, it has made a major and potentially debilitating miscalculation. The regime has lost whatever legitimacy it had left. More importantly, however, it has breathed new life into what was just one month ago an aimless, fractious opposition that couldn’t agree on whether or not to boycott the elections.”