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THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

THE ELLIOTT SCHOOL  
OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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DIALOGUE ON IRAQI MINORITY COMMUNITIES

November 18, 2008

FINAL REPORT

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TAB 1

DIALOGUE ON IRAQI MINORITY COMMUNITIES

November 18, 2008

Summary of Proceedings

On November 18, 2008, representatives of several Iraqi minority communities and interested observers convened at the Elliott School of International Affairs for a “Dialogue” on the situation of minority communities in Iraq. The objective was to give participants an opportunity to raise and to discuss the difficult issues faced by Iraq’s minority communities and to examine possible actions that might be taken to maintain these communities as vital components of the Iraq nation.

The dialogue was convoked under Chatham House rules, meaning that participants, panelists and speakers were encouraged to speak forthrightly and candidly with the understanding that there would be no attribution of remarks to a specific person outside the event. In accordance with those guidelines, there follows a summation of the discussions. In this compilation we have attempted to provide as much specificity as possible given the guidelines under which the event was held.

### **Opening Session:**

Speakers during the opening session focused on the vital role that minority communities have had in the history of Iraq and the important contributions that they have made to the Iraqi nation. Unanimous was the view that it was essential that minority communities be preserved and maintained as a crucial component of Iraqi society. (Note: During the dialogue participants expressed the view that the Mandaean community could not be maintained in Iraq.)

### **Panel One: Threats to Minorities in Conflict Zones (Comparative Experiences)**

Panelists addressed a number of issues including the history of minority experiences in conflict zones, the interaction of diaspora communities with their host countries, the ability of diaspora communities to be a strong force for peace, and the pros and cons of autonomous and nationalist approaches to the integration of minorities into the political and social sphere of their home states.

Issues and questions posed to the panelists ranged from how to distinguish between assimilation and integration in the Middle East and what role the attitudes of various constituencies play in policy toward minorities, to what the application of the historic example of “Balkanization” would mean for Iraq’s religious minorities.

All panelists agreed that the partitioning of Iraq into separate states is not the answer to problems currently facing minorities, especially given the extremely small size of some minorities, and that these smaller minorities face especially difficult conditions in maintaining their cultural and religious identity regardless of the state’s assimilation or integration policies.

### **Panel: The Situation of Minority Communities in Iraq**

Panelists described a variety of issues concerning Iraq’s current political and security situation to lay the foundation for the subsequent discussion. Key elements were the

substantial yet fragile gains in security throughout Iraq as a whole, the importance of translating these security gains into political reconciliation, and the need to close the gaps between the words and deeds of policy makers in Iraq.

Key points of discussion between the panelists focused upon a number of issues. Concerns over the current and growing tension between the Government of Iraq (GOI) and the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) were prominent, with the stake and future of minorities in the resolution of disputes over Mosul and the Ninewa plain being of specific importance to this dynamic. The panelists cited the tensions between the GOI and the KRG as one of the prominent reasons that the insurgency has remained strong in the city of Mosul, and expressed fears over the tension that is accompanying Kurdish claims in the border cities of Khaniqin and Mandali. The panelists also discussed historical actions of states in the displacement of religious and ethnic minorities, and the difficulties accompanying the return of displaced populations to their homes after conflicts, ranging from property disputes to voter and election registration problems.

From a broad-based question and answer session, the main themes and questions that were expressed by participants were the implementation of Article 140 of Iraq's constitution, security concerns of smaller religious minorities like the Mandaean, one of the smallest minority groups in Iraq with no specific enclave of population, and what ability outside actors like the United States and European Union have to help create a secure atmosphere for these minorities.

The panelists expressed sentiments that Article 140 was not a solution to the current tension between the KRG and the GOI, since the drafting of this article had no significant political participation from the Sunni minority. Given the current timeline for the withdrawal of US ground forces from Iraq, the issue of security for minorities has special importance, and there is a potential for the situation for minorities to worsen. The panelists and participants both acknowledged the unique security situation of smaller religious minorities in Iraq, specifically the Mandaean.

### **Discussion Session on Political and Security Issues**

During the afternoon plenary sessions, discussion was much less structured fostering a more in-depth conversation on a number of issues that the participants felt important.

The key themes that emerged from these conversations were concerns over the lack of current minority participation in the Iraqi government and need for stronger representation, the lack of trust between minorities and the Iraqi government, and the desire of minority groups to be represented in international bodies like the United Nations, the European Union, and the Arab League.

After discussing the security situation of minority groups in Iraq, participants generally agreed that minorities should have a larger role in policing their own communities but not as separate minority security forces but as part of a unified army and police force.

Participants who spoke advocated a variety of actions including changes to the current Iraqi constitution and a new focus on the role of minorities in the War on Terrorism. Participants generally agreed that there are many problems with the current Iraqi constitution; but there was an overwhelming consensus that the prevailing problem is the clause stipulating that laws cannot be passed which “contradict the tenets of Islam.” Participants expressed the view that until this element of the constitution is revisited, the full inclusion of minorities in Iraqi society will remain in question.

(Note: Article 2.1 (A) of the Constitution: “No law may be enacted that contradicts the established provisions of Islam.” Also Article 2.1 (B): “No law may be enacted that contradicts the principles of democracy.”)

Many of the participants expressed the desire that the “minority issue” needed to be considered within the context of the broader War on Terrorism, arguing that minorities are precisely the moderates that the United States and its allies are seeking to bolster, and that they are currently living on the front lines among the extremists. Specific recommendations in this regard were against creating divisions within minority communities, to respect electoral outcomes in conjunction with stringent electoral supervision, to develop minority areas in order to bring back diaspora communities, and lastly to initiate a strategy to foster greater security and political reconciliation between these groups and the Government of Iraq, described as a “minority surge.”

### **Discussion Session on Assistance and Essential Services**

The majority of conversation during this discussion session revolved around the question of whether we should be attempting to foster a return of diaspora communities to Iraq, and how to promote the emergence of cohesive communities in the diaspora.

General consensus existed among the participants that in most cases, a return to Iraq at this time is not possible for minority communities, but that security for those communities that remain in Iraq is essential and must be a top priority. Granting easy access for minorities to resettle in America is also not a viable or preferred option. Participants saw this as giving the insurgent elements in Iraq exactly what they want.

Discussion of the possibility of a form of self-governance for larger minority communities led to questions about Article 125 of the Iraqi constitution, and whether the implementation of this article would help or hurt matters.

Text of Chapter Four of the Iraqi Constitution (The Local Administration) - Article 125: “This Constitution shall guarantee the administrative, political, cultural, and educational rights of the various nationalities, such as Turkomen, Chaldeans, Assyrians, and all other constituents, and this shall be regulated by law.”

Upon discussion of Article 125, participants expressed a general state of fear among minorities that the implementation of this article would result in more centralized

authority being vested in Baghdad, and that without regional autonomy minority groups would have even less ability to protect their interests.

Some discussion occurred regarding the differences in specific articles of the Iraqi constitution, and stipulations allowing for semi-autonomous governance on the local level. Given that the enabling legislation for these articles has not yet been written however, consensus could not be reached upon these issues.

### **Breakout Workshop Sessions**

See Tab 2 for recommendations from the five Breakout Workshop Sessions.

### **Wrap-Up**

After dinner, Dr. Marc Lynch, Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at The George Washington University, presented a summary of the results of the breakout workshop sessions, with commentary to the participants on the need to seek a balance between aspirations and realistic proposals. Lynch pushed the participants to prioritize and to think carefully about which recommendations to put forward as primary. They should be cognizant of the balance of power and interests in Iraq today, and be careful about opening up questions that could lead to unwelcome consequences. He advised being careful about maximalist demands which would not be feasible given the realities of Iraqi politics and the risks of a backlash from other Iraqi groups should such demands be put forward. More realistic proposals were more likely to be implemented, while a large number of proposals would make it more likely that the easiest would be selected even if they were not the most urgent. It is important for minority groups to speak with a unified voice, and to work with existing institutions.

The primary proposal from the two breakout sessions on *political representation* was to pursue an autonomous region for minorities in the Ninewa Plains in line with Article 125 of the Constitution. A second, strongly held, recommendation was self-policing, with local police forces drawn from the local minority populations. Other suggestions included pushing for Constitutional reforms, for minority representation in Parliament based on the 1957 census (which would entail a dramatic increase from the current representation), and for American recognition of minorities, also referred to in the day's dialogue as "non-core groups". Finally, the sessions proposed heightened international monitoring of minority rights and elections.

The breakout session on refugees called for the government of Iraq to do more to assist citizens abroad and the internally displaced, and to develop the administrative capacity of the Ministry of Displacement and Migration to assist IDPs and to protect property rights. While safe return to original homes was a desirable goal, few thought this was currently feasible and all opposed forced return. The session recognized the distinctive problems of the Mandaean community, for which return was not viable, and proposed measures to assist their collective resettlement to preserve the survival of the group. On resettlement,

the group agreed with the existing practice of giving preference to minorities when they were objectively the most vulnerable because of their minority status. They urged greater use of family reunification and the involvement of community groups on both sides of the resettlement process. The group was divided on the question of pushing for mass resettlement under “P2” status as a threatened, persecuted religious minority, with the majority recognizing that this would be a provocative and dangerous step.

The breakout session on religion and culture proposed a UNESCO workshop on minority issues, and a major investment in cultural and educational representation including changes to the educational curriculum, cultural preservation, a foundation to preserve manuscripts and heritage, and annual conferences. The session viewed the status of Sharia law in the Constitution as an “insurmountable obstacle” and called for the secularization of foundational documents.

TAB 2

BREAKOUT WORKSHOP SESSIONS

**RECOMMENDATIONS\***

Security

Political Representation (I)

Political Representation (II)

Religious and Cultural Affairs

IDPs and Refugees

\*Breakout Workshop Recommendations presented in this tab are the texts as provided by the groups themselves without editing.



## Breakout Workshop Session on Security

### Recommendations for Report

#### Short-term security

- Provincial election security and fairness (Ninevah Province)
  - Provide sense of security for/prevent intimidation of minorities in lead-up to election
    - Iraqi and Coalition security forces representation in communities outside of Mosul, especially in areas where election problems occurred previously
    - Oversight of KRG and local political parties by neutral observers from local communities to reduce interference and sense of insecurity
      - Observers elected by local communities and not appointed by GOI or local governments
      - Observers free to report on interference, threats against jobs, etc, and free from retaliation for said reporting
    - Encourage active and independent media – no financial support for party-based media
    - Encourage local NGOs to be active during campaign process through funding - no financial support for party-based NGOs
  - Transparent security of ballots arriving and departing from the polling stations
  
- Long-term
  - Accountability in police and judiciary
    - Judicial education
    - Promoting tolerance and rule of law in education
    - Police independent from political figures
    - Police drawn from specific neighborhoods yet not beholden to local party machines
  - Improving trust in security forces/police through accountability and transparency
  - Allow access to police and security apparatus for minorities

#### Minority Security Council

##### PRT/US Mil

- Advise ISF
- Professionalize police
- Create accountability
- UN representation
- Elected representatives, not appointed

GOI should acknowledge minority problem

- Need for GOI to not only acknowledge concerns of minorities, but also to begin acting on these concerns in recognizable ways
- Need for GOI to work together with minorities to:
  - create policies;
  - provide financial support for refugees, registration of property losses;
  - expeditiously respond to issues/concerns of the minority groups;
  - investigate atrocities in an expeditious manner;
  - resolve cases under investigation in a transparent public manner – transparency; who killed/threatened/harassed? Address the questions of where are these people from and what is being done to combat their actions?;
  - create institutions (schools, hospitals) in minority locales so that they are not likely to be threatened and unable to access them in other locales;
  - encourage senior GOI officials (security, economic, governance) to come to Ninevah to meet with local leaders and hear their concerns – use Ramadi model;
  - ask PM to be able to elect officials for the Minority Security Council, not appointed by GOI, and independent observers to oversee the council (eg - Amnesty Intl);

#### Economic security

- Promote economic development targeted at minorities (QRF)
- continued support for minority groups from USG
  - Raise awareness of Provincial Development Plans and funds and support available through PRTs
- increased support for minority groups from GOI
  - infrastructure development in minority locales relatively safe from threat of violence
- Need to appoint a new director for Provincial Investment Commission
  - Long-term need to move towards election of director, instead of appointment
- Improve transparency on fund expenditure by GOI and local government

Breakout Workshop Session on **Political Representation (I)**

**Conclusions – Political Representation Discussion Group (Nathan Brown)**

**\*\*Group in agreement that a separate administrative unit should be created on the Nineweh Plain attached directly to the federal government, with its own security forces. The establishment of this unit should proceed independently of the settling of disputed international borders under Article 140. However, one member supported the linking of the autonomous unit to the KRG, rather than to Baghdad.**

**\*\*Robust international monitoring (by groups such as NDI/IRI, for example) will be a critical element of elections to ensure all voices are freely expressed and heard.**

**\*\*Most participants supported creation of a formal Iraqi police force drawn directly from the local population in the NP.**

## Breakout Workshop Session

### **Political Representation (II)** – Harris moderator

Recommendations:

Constitution should use census of 1957 to accord representation to minorities – one quarter of representatives. There is no good statistics now to decide percentages. 1957 is a good census b/c it was a time when the issue was not so politicized. '57 will guarantee good representation in govt./parliament. - **all agree**

We need monitoring – responsibility of US b/c of their intervention. Esp. if govt. is replaced with another dictatorship. Is US committed to monitor rights of minorities? Is of huge importance that someone sees what happens to minorities? - US, and UN, etc. – **all concur**

The best way is to re-align constitution of Iraq. Then no one can use it as a political game.

Own a beat-up house or rent a mansion? If you rent a mansion, you are always indebted to the landlord. **Create an autonomous region under article 125 – all concur**

From a pragmatic standpoint, what we need is an official US policy on “non-core groups” saying that we recognize these groups. Then that gives minority reps in Iraq leverage t. - **one person, not full agreement**

## Breakout Workshop Session on Religious and Cultural Affairs

### **Common Suggestions/Agreement:**

- 1) UNESCO Workshop:
  - a. There should be an internationalized workshop on minorities, so the burden is not only on the United States in pressuring the Iraqi government to secure the rights of minorities, the US needs to use their power elsewhere.  
UNESCO would be more effective. To inform about culture and ethnic and historical importance that the minority communities in Iraq bear.
- 2) Cultural and Educational Representation:
  - a. Curriculum issues- schools should be more tolerant and reflective of the diversity of Iraq- not removing Islamic education but including others as well.
  - b. Cultural Preservation- not just physical structures like churches and temples, but maybe a foundation with funding from Iraq government or foreign aid to form a center where manuscripts, an archive of heritage can secure cultural history, where annual conferences can take place to address and protect issues facing minority communities in Iraq.  
Money, institutions, and balanced curriculums in school recognizing the history and heritage of Iraq's minority communities and not specifically their theology will help reduce stigma and contribute to mutual understanding.
- 3) The Constitution:
  - a. The current Iraqi Constitution presents an insurmountable obstacle for minorities to overcome. The Central Government demands that Sharia law cannot be violated and Islamic Clergy must be on the Supreme Court- this is not representative of the diversity in Iraq. Make the constitution a secular constitution
- 4) Representation of the Yazidi community in Waqf:
  - a. Yazidi's are under represented and not represented at all. In Waqf they need to be represented not as just Assyrian umbrella but specifically recognized to receive support.

## Break Out Sessions

### **IDPs and Refugees**

#### Consensus Recommendations:

1. For Mandaeans (a distinct set of issues which do not apply to other groups): Iraq is no longer a viable option. Take the community as a whole and relocate it based on its identity. The U.S. is the recommended site.
2. The Iraqi Government should devote increased resources to dealing with IDPs and refugees.
3. The safe return of refugees to Iraq is desirable in the long-run but is not currently possible and should not be encouraged or forced.
4. Preference for resettlement to third countries should be given to the most vulnerable among minorities, in line with UN standards defining vulnerability.
5. For others, long term residential permits in new countries and formal refugee status to allow the needs of these communities to be met outside of Iraq.
6. Resettlement is important in the future and requires the involvement of all western nations.
7. Family (Re)unification should be emphasized as a vehicle for rapidly helping vulnerable minorities: I-130 petition and refugee status can be processed immediately.
8. Pursuit of recognition as a threatened religious minority eligible for P-2 status should not be pursued at this time, due to risks of backlash.
9. Strengthen support for IDPs. Create regional liaison offices inside Iraq for displaced persons. Restore IDP rights.
10. Establish liaison offices in the U.S. to help minority groups adjust as refugees in U.S., and involve community members on both sides in resettlement.

TAB 3

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THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

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## **Dialogue on Minority**

### **Communities in Iraq**

Tuesday, November 18, 2008



City View Room  
1957 E St. NW  
Washington, DC 20052

# Dialogue on Minority Communities in Iraq Program

8:00 – 9:00 Breakfast Buffet

9:00 – 9:30 Opening Plenary  
Welcoming Remarks: Amb. (Ret.) Edward “Skip” Gnehm  
Remarks by Ambassador John Hanford, Ambassador at-Large for  
International Religious Freedom at the Department of State  
Keynote Remarks: H.E. Ambassador Samir Shakir al-Sumaida’ie  
Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq to the United States

9:30 – 10:30 Panel: Threats to Minorities in Conflict Zones (Comparative  
Experiences)\*

Panelists:

Dr. Dina Rizk Khoury, Moderator, Associate Professor of History and  
International Affairs, The George Washington University

Dr. Marshall Breger, Professor, Columbus School of Law, The  
Catholic University of America

Dr. Nathan Brown, Professor of Political Science and International  
Affairs, The George Washington University

Dr. Harris Mylonas, Academy Scholar, Harvard Academy for  
International and Area Studies, Weatherhead Center for  
International Affairs

\*Panelists will make opening remarks followed by question and  
answer discussion with attendees.

10:30 – 10:45 Break

10:45 – 12:15 Panel: The Situation of Minority Communities in Iraq\*

Panelists:

Dr. Marc Lynch, Moderator, Associate Professor of Political Science  
and International Affairs, The George Washington University



Dr. Elizabeth Ferris, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy and Co-Director,  
Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement, the Brookings  
Institution

Sam Parker, Program Director for Iraq, U.S. Institute of Peace

\*Panelists will make opening remarks followed by question and  
answer discussion with attendees.

12:15-1:15 Buffet Lunch (City View Room)  
Remarks by Dr. Richard Schmierer, Deputy Assistant Secretary of  
State for Iraq

1:15-2:15 Discussion Session on Political and Security Issues

Moderator: Ambassador (Ret.) Edward “Skip” Gnehm, Kuwait  
Professor of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Affairs, The George  
Washington University

2:15-3:15 Discussion Session on Assistance and Essential Services

Moderator: Ambassador (Ret.) Edward “Skip” Gnehm

3:15-3:30 Break

3:30-5:00 Breakout Workshop Sessions

- Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)
- Security Concerns
- Political Representation
- Economic Issues (Assistance and Support)
- Religious and Cultural Affairs

Note: Locations to be announced

6:00-8:00 Presentation of Key Considerations and Program Summations by  
Workshop Groups moderated by Dr. Marc Lynch

Dinner

Location: Primi Piatti Restaurant  
2013 “I” Street, NW  
Telephone: 202-223-3600

8:00 Program Concludes

## Panelist and Speaker Biographies

**His Excellency Ambassador Samir Shakir al-Sumaida'ie** is Ambassador of The Republic of Iraq to the United States of America. H.E. Samir Sumaida'ie was appointed Iraq's Ambassador to the United State of America in April 2006. Prior to his appointment, Ambassador Sumaida'ie served as Permanent Representative to the United Nations from July 2004 - April 2006. Prior to that Ambassador Sumaida'ie served as the Minister of Interior in Baghdad. In this capacity he managed a domestic security force of over 120,000 and made considerable progress in reorganizing and modernizing the Ministry's operations. In addition, Ambassador Sumaida'ie served as a member of Governing Council (GC) in Iraq. In the GC, he was Chairman of the Media Committee. He played an integral role in the founding of the Iraqi Telecoms and Media Commission and the Public Broadcasting Institution. He also held positions on the Security, Finance, and Foreign Relations Committees.

Prior to the removal of the Baathist regime, Ambassador Sumaida'ie was actively involved in opposition efforts in the United Kingdom and attended a number of high-level conferences throughout the world. As founding member of the Association of Iraqi Democrats and the Democratic Party of Iraq, he is widely renowned as an expert on the political climate in Iraq.

A successful businessman, Ambassador Sumaida'ie founded a procurement agency in 1978 and has embarked on a number of entrepreneurial ventures in his career. In the 1980's Ambassador Sumaida'ie established a design office in London, pioneered the use of computers in Islamic art and completed important works in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and the United Kingdom. Most recently he served as Co-Founder and Managing Director of China Business International, an investment consultancy and procurement company based in Beijing.

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**Marshall Breger, PhD** is a Professor of Law at the Columbus School of Law at The Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. Under the Bush (forty-first President) Administration Dr. Breger served as Solicitor of Labor—the chief lawyer of the Labor Department. From 1987-1989 he served as alternate delegate of the United States to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Dr. Breger has testified before the U.S. Congress over thirty times on subjects such as alternate dispute resolution, administrative law, labor law, and international law. He has also contributed to many prestigious newspapers and periodicals including but not limited to the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, the *Middle East Quarterly*, and the *Stanford Law Review*

**Nathan Brown, PhD** is Director of the Institute for Middle East Studies, Director of the Middle East Studies Program, and Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at The George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs. He is an expert on government and politics of the Middle East, democratization and constitutionalism, and rule of law in the Arab world. Dr. Brown is an accomplished author and recently served for two years as Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

**Elizabeth Ferris, PhD** is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy and co-director of the Brookings Institution—University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement, in Washington, D.C., where her work encompasses a wide range of issues related to forced migration, human rights, humanitarian action, the role of civil society in protecting displaced populations, and the security implications of displacement.

Prior to joining the Brookings Institution in November 2006, Dr. Ferris spent twenty years working in the field of humanitarian assistance, most recently in Geneva, Switzerland at the World Council of Churches where she was responsible for the Council's work in humanitarian response and long-term development. While serving in this capacity she worked with many local, national, and international non-governmental organizations to support capacity building to advocate for protection of refugees, internally displaced persons, and other populations affected by conflict.

**Ambassador Edward W. Gnehm (ret.)** is Kuwait Professor of Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Affairs at The George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs. Ambassador Gnehm is an accomplished diplomat, serving in the United States Foreign Service for thirty six years prior to joining the faculty at the Elliott School of International Affairs in August 2004. Throughout his career Ambassador Gnehm served throughout the Middle East and held many positions in the United States Department of State, achieving the rank of Career Minister.

Ambassador Gnehm's most notable accomplishments are U.S. Ambassador to Jordan, U.S. Ambassador to Australia, Director General of the Foreign Service, Deputy Permanent Representative of the United States to the United Nations, and U.S. Ambassador to Kuwait. Ambassador Gnehm is an expert in Middle East politics, U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, international relations of the Persian Gulf region, and the United Nations organization.

**Ambassador John Hanford** has served as United States Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, since his swearing in on May 2, 2002. The Ambassador at Large is, by law, a principal advisor to the President and

Secretary of State and America's chief diplomat on issues of religious freedom worldwide.

From 1987 to 2002, Mr. Hanford served as an expert on international religious freedom, while working on the staff of Senator Richard Lugar (R-Indiana). During this period, Mr. Hanford organized numerous efforts involving U.S. Senators and Representatives, Presidents, and Secretaries of State to address some of the world's most severe problems of religious persecution.

In 1998, Mr. Hanford led a team of Congressional offices in crafting the International Religious Freedom Act and worked with the bill's lead sponsors in guiding the Act through the legislative process to unanimous passage in both houses of Congress. The International Religious Freedom Act is regarded by many as one of Congress's most significant legislative achievements in the area of human rights.

**Dina Rizk Khoury, PhD** is an Associate Professor of History and International Affairs at The George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs. Prior to joining the faculty at the Elliott School of International Affairs, Dr. Khoury taught at Georgetown University, where she previously earned her PhD.

Dr. Khoury is an expert in the history of the Middle East. She focuses her studies on the political culture of the Arab world during the Ottoman period. She has recently received a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment of the Humanities.

**Marc Lynch, PhD** is an Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at The George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs. Dr. Lynch is an expert on Arab media and public opinion, Islamist movements, constructivism in international relations, and public diplomacy. Dr. Lynch received his PhD in Government from Cornell University and is an accomplished author with such works as *State Interests and Public Spheres: The International Politics of Jordan's Identity* (1999) and *Voices of the New Arab Public* (2006).

**Harris Mylonas, PhD** is a Academy Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. He received his PhD from Yale University in 2008 and will be

joining The George Washington University, Elliott School of International Affairs faculty as an Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs in September 2009.

**Sam Parker** is program officer in the Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations. He is involved in coordinating and providing consultation for USIP's programs in Iraq, as well as researching and writing for the Institute's Iraq publications.

Prior to joining USIP, Mr. Parker worked on open-source intelligence analysis on Iraqi politics and the Iraqi insurgency at Science Applications International Corporation. Prior to that, he worked at USIP as a researcher for the Iraq Study Group and as an assistant to esteemed Iraq scholar Phebe Marr.

Mr. Parker received a B.A. in liberal arts from St. John's College in Annapolis, M.D., and a M.A. in Arab studies from Georgetown University. He is a fluent reader of Arabic.

**Richard Schmierer** is Deputy Assistant Secretary for Iraq at the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. Mr. Schmierer's diplomatic career began in 1980. His first Foreign Service tour was in the Federal Republic of Germany, where he served in Bonn, Frankfurt, and Hamburg from 1980 through 1984. Following a year of Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies in Washington, D.C., Mr. Schmierer then served a three-year assignment as the Public Affairs Officer at the American Consulate General in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia (1985-88).

After returning to Washington, DC in 1988, Mr. Schmierer served at the headquarters of the U.S. Information Agency from 1988 to 1992, first as the head of the Middle East office of the International Visitor Program, and later in the Agency's Office of European Affairs. In 1992, Mr. Schmierer returned to Germany as the Press Attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Bonn until 1996.

After undertaking additional Arabic and Middle Eastern studies, Mr. Schmierer returned to Saudi Arabia in August 1997, where he served as Counselor for Public Affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh, until June 2000. From June 2000 through June 2004 he served as Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs at the American Embassy in Berlin, Germany. In June 2004 Mr. Schmierer transferred to Baghdad, Iraq, where, with the reestablishment of the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad on June 28, he assumed the position of Embassy Counselor for Public Affairs, a post he held through June, 2005.

TAB 4

<b>Participants (Last Name, First Name)</b>	<b>Organization</b>
Al-Kaidy, Diyar	German-Ezidish Society
Bejan, Jacklin	Chaldo-Assyrian-Syriac Council
Breegi, Wisam	Mandaean Society of America
Buwalda, Ann	Jubilee Campaign
Canon, Waleeta	Assyrian National Coalition
Dakko, Kheder	London Yezidis Community
Dawood, Dawood	London Yezidis Community
Dayaa, Kamal	London Yezidis Community
Deutsch, Nathaniel	Professor of History Director of the Center for Jewish Studies The University of California- Santa Cruz
Hasso, Djengizkhan	Yezedi
Ismail, Mirza	London Yezidis Community
Jawdat, Lisa	Mandaean Society of America
Jennifer Babaie	Assyrian Universal Alliance
Joseph, Ken Jr	Assyrian Universal Alliance
Kamber, Dr. Emanuel	Professor of Physics University of Western Michigan
Kassab, Joseph	Chaldean Federation of America
Khalaf, Barakat	
Khoshaba, Audisho	Chaledan Syriac Assyrian Council
Lasu, Sherif	Yezidi
Mansour, Alan	Assyrian Democratic Movement
Maran, Nadya	
Michael, Aphram	Assyrian Democratic Movement
Micheal, Katrin	Christian Aid Program Northern Iraq
Mirza, Alen	Assyrian Universal Alliance
Naby, Eden	Contributing Editor on Modern Assyrians Encyclopedia Iranica
Nashi, Suhaib	Mandaean Associations Union
Nona, David	Chaldean American Chamber of Commerce
Odisho, Captain Fred F.	United States Army Reserve
Omarkhali, Dr. Khanna	Professor Georg-August-Universitaet Goettingen Specialist on Kurdish Religious Minorities
Oshana, Steven	Assyrian American National Coalition Policy Director
Shammo, Dakil	Yezedi
Shamuel, Elias	Assyrian Patriotic Party
Weston, Erin	Jubilee Campaign
Youash, Michael	Iraq Sustainable Democracy Project
Youkhana, Father Emanuel	Assyrian Iraqi Christian Assyrian Church of the East

**Total Participants**

**33**

<b>Observers</b>	<b>Organization</b>
Ambassador Samir Sumaida'ie	The Republic of Iraq Ambassador to the United States of America
Barno Shamansurova	International Republican Institute
Brender, Reinhold	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Executive Director
David Sands	International Republican Institute
Don Argue	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Commissioner
Elizabeth Cassidy	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom International Legal Specialist
Graig Klein	Kurdistan Regional Government Staff Assistant
Hanna, Michael	The Century Foundation Program Officer, International Affairs
James Standish	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Commissioner
Kody Kness	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Assistant Director of Government Relations
Leonard Leo	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Commissioner
Maité Hostetter	European Union Commission
Maki, Peter	
Mays Sabri	Embassy of the Republic of Iraq
Nina Shea	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Commissioner
Talal Eid	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Commissioner
The Reverend Dr. Keith Roderick	Washington Representative Christian Solidarity International
Tiffany Lynch	United States Commission on International Religious Freedom Researcher
Zaidoon Abdulwahab	Embassy of the Republic of Iraq

**Total Observers**

**18**

<b>Panelists</b>	<b>Organization</b>
Ambassador Edward Gnehm	George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs
Dr. Dina Rizk Khoury	George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs
Dr. Elizabeth Ferris	The Brookings Institution
Dr. Harris Mylonas	Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies Weatherhead Center for International Affairs
Dr. Nathan Brown	George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs
Dr. Marc Lynch	George Washington University Elliott School of International Affairs

Dr. Marshall Breger	Catholic University
Sam Parker	U.S. Institute of Peace

**Total Panelists**

**8**

<b>Staff</b>	<b>Position</b>
Maro Youseff	Rapporteur
Bob Kubinec	Rapporteur
Rhea Myerscough	Rapporteur
Elliott Daniels	Rapporteur
Kyle Renner	Rapporteur
Jared Reene	Chief Rapporteur
Wade Shafer	Administrative Assistant

**Total Staff**

**7**

<b>US Government Reps.</b>	<b>Department</b>
Adam Wasserman	National Security Council
Aja Bonsu	United States State Department Provincial Reconstruction Team Representative
Al Gombis	United States State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor Office of International Religious Freedom
Ambassador John Hanford	United States State Department Office of International Religious Freedom
Amy Norris	United States State Department Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Ashtar Analeed Marcus	United States Agency for International Development
Cheryl Harris	United States State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor Office of International Religious Freedom
Col. Charlton	Department of Defense
Dalia Abu-Eid	United States State Department Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
David Cobs	National Security Council
Deputy Assistant Secretary Richard Schmierer	United States State Department Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Faiza Ali	United States State Department Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
George Sibley	United States State Department
Jeanne Pryor	United States Agency for International Development



Jenny Marion	United States Agency for International Development
Justin Kern	United States State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor Office of International Religious Freedom
Katie McLain	United States State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor
Kurt Donnelly	United States State Department
Lauren Smith	United States State Department
Madelyn Spirnak	United States State Department Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Marie Moser	United States State Department Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Mave Mooer	United States State Department Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs
Randy Brandt	United States State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor Office of International Religious Freedom
Simone Heinlein	United States Department Bureau of Populations, Refugees, and Migration

**Total Government Reps**

**24**

**GRAND TOTAL ATTENDEES**

**90**