

17-18 March 2012
The University of Melbourne



The Middle East in Revolt: The First Anniversary

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The Middle East in Revolt: the First Anniversary

International Conference 17-18 March 2012

Old Arts Building, University of Melbourne, Australia

This conference is a welcome opportunity to revisit the Arab revolution on its first anniversary. The fall of the government in Tunisia in January 2011 was soon followed by the departure of President Hosni Mubarak in Egypt. The popular uprising spread rapidly to other Arab states, threatening entrenched regimes and the status quo. In Libya the uprising turned into a bloody civil war. While many observers have drawn parallels with the crumbling of the Soviet bloc and the eastward spread of democracy to Eastern Europe, the outcome of the Arab uprising is far from clear. This popular uprising has challenged authoritarian rule and highlighted the widespread desire for political accountability and responsible government. Yet it may be premature to celebrate the 'Arab Spring' as heralding democracy to the region. Democracy in the Middle East remains a difficult and long-term project.

Conference Committee

Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh (Convenor)

Dr Kylie Baxter

Associate Professor Richard Pennell

Charles W. Dunne

'The Middle East in Revolt: The First Anniversary' conference is organised by The University of Melbourne and Freedom House Washington DC, and is supported by the National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies (NCEIS) and the Australian Government through the Council for Australian-Arab Relations (CAAR), and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT).

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Program

Saturday 17 March		
Registration begins at 8.00am, Foyer, The Old Arts Building, The University of Melbourne		
Welcome & Opening		
Public Lecture Theatre, Old Arts Building		
9.00am - 9.15am	Welcome by Professor Shahram Akbarzadeh (Conference Convenor)	
9.15am - 9.30am	Official Opening by Professor the Hon Gareth Evans AO QC	
9.30am - 10.30am	Keynote Address: <i>The Challenges of Egypt's Transition to Democracy</i> , by Prof Samer Soliman (American University in Cairo)	
10.30am - 11.00am	Coffee Break	
Session One 11.00am - 1.00pm	Parallel Panel One: Implications of the Arab Spring Theatre B, Old Arts Building Chair: A/Prof Richard Pennell (The University of Melbourne)	Parallel Panel Two: Egypt Theatre C, Old Arts Building Chair: Prof Emma Murphy (Durham University)
	<i>As 'Spring' moves towards 'Autumn'</i> , Prof George Joffé (London University & University of Cambridge)	<i>Gender and Politics in Egypt Today: Continuities and Change One Year On</i> , Dr Lucia Sobera (The University of Sydney)
	<i>The Arab Revolt: not a 'Spring' but an 'Awakening'</i> , Prof Amin Saikal (Australian National University)	<i>Political Islam in the New Egypt</i> , Ms Raihan Ismail: PhD Candidate (Australian National University)
	<i>Limits/consequences of Social Engineering the Arab State</i> , Prof Bahgat Korany (The American University in Cairo)	<i>The Egyptian Uprising: A Political Economy Approach</i> , Mr Adel Abdel Ghafar: PhD Candidate (Australian National University)
1.00pm - 2.00pm	Lunch	
Session Two 2.00pm - 3.30pm	Parallel Panel One: Africa and the Maghreb Theatre B, Old Arts Building Chair: TBC	Parallel Panel Two: Cultural Dimensions Theatre C, Old Arts Building Chair: TBC
	<i>The Qaddafis and their kin: genealogies of power and myth</i> , A/Prof Richard Pennell (The University of Melbourne)	<i>The January Revolution as a Struggle on the Language</i> , Ms Mansoura Ez-Eldin (Literary News, Cairo)
	<i>The Arab Spring and the Challenges of Reforms and Democratic Transition</i> , Prof Fethi Mansouri (Deakin University)	<i>Body as a Symbol of Dignity: how Arabs merged to defend dignity</i> , Mr Matthieu Rey: PhD Candidate (College de France, Paris)
	<i>Libya: Between Revolt, Uprising, Upheaval, Turmoil and NATO</i> , A/Prof Milad M El.Harathi (Benghazi University)	<i>Soccer as an Engine of Change and Assertion of Identity</i> , Mr James Dorsey, (S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore)

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Saturday 17 March (continued...)	
The Old Arts Building, The University of Melbourne	
3.30pm - 4.00pm	Coffee Break
Session Three	Panel: Western Policy and the Arab Spring
4.00pm - 6.00pm	Public Lecture Theatre, Old Arts Building Chair: Mr Charles Dunne (Freedom House)
	<i>Title TBC</i> Ms Mariam al-Khawaja (Bahrain Centre for Human Rights)
	<i>Title TBC</i> Mr Ammar Abdulhamid (Tharwa Foundation)
	<i>Title TBC</i> Mr. Aly Abuzaakouk (Libyan Human Development Forum)

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Program

Sunday 18 March		
The Old Arts Building, The University of Melbourne		
Session One 9.00am - 11.00am	Panel: Security, Participation and Reconstruction Public Lecture Theatre, Old Arts Building Chair: Prof. Amin Saikal (Australian National University)	
	<i>Non-Violent action and revolutionary change</i> , Prof Stephen Zunes (University of San Francisco)	
	<i>What Next for Political Participation? Electoral Reform in Lebanon and Egypt</i> , Dr Benjamin MacQueen (Monash University)	
	<i>Al-Qaida and the Arab Spring: Reacting to Surprise and Adapting to Change</i> , Dr Norman Cigar (Marine Corps University, USA)	
11.00am - 11.30am	Coffee Break	
Session Two 11.30am - 1.30pm	Parallel Panel One: Syria, Palestine and the Gulf Theatre B, Old Arts Building Chair: Dr Kylie Baxter (The University of Melbourne)	Parallel Panel Two: Movements and Narratives of the Arab Spring Theatre C, Old Arts Building Chair: Prof Samer Soliman (American University in Cairo)
	<i>The Fertile Crescent: between impotence and despair</i> , Dr Fiona Hill (Almanar Consultancy)	<i>Youth, The Arab Spring and the Problem of Generations</i> , Prof Emma Murphy (Durham University)
	<i>The Gulf One Year On: The Impacts of the Bahrain Uprising</i> , Dr Matthew Gray (Australian National University)	<i>Diffusion Effects and the Arab Uprisings: Explaining the Spread</i> , Dr Kristian Alexander (Zayed University)
	<i>From Non-violence to the UN Statehood Bid: The Impact of the Arab Spring on the Occupied Palestinian Territories</i> , Dr Victoria Mason (Australian National University)	<i>Diplomacy, Civil Society and the Arab Spring</i> , Prof Bob Bowker (Australian National University)
		<i>The Arab Spring Movement: Lessons and Challenges</i> , Mr Kamaruzaman Yusoff (National University of Malaysia)
1.30pm - 2.30pm	Lunch	

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Sunday 18 March (continued...)		
The Old Arts Building, The University of Melbourne		
Session Three 2.30pm – 4.00pm	Parallel Panel One: The Obama Administration and the Arab Spring Theatre B, Old Arts Building Chair: Dr Ben MacQueen (Monash University)	Parallel Panel Two: Turkey and Iran Theatre C, Old Arts Building Chair: Prof Shahram Akbarzadeh
	<i>Same old Story? Obama and the Arab Uprisings</i> , Prof Jeremy Pressman (University of Connecticut)	<i>Is Turkey a role model for democratic reform in the Middle East?</i> , Prof Greg Barton and Ms Derya Akguner (Monash University)
	<i>Whose Stability? Western governments and the Yemen Uprising</i> , Dr Sarah Phillips (The University of Sydney)	<i>Turkey: A Model for Emerging Arab Democracies</i> , Dr Halim Rane and Ms Bridget Minogue (Griffith University)
	<i>The Absent Obama Doctrine</i> , Ms Kumuda Simpson: PhD Candidate (The University of Melbourne)	<i>The Arab Spring and Iran's political opposition</i> , Mr Hadi Sohrabi: Phd Candidate (Swinburne University)
4.00pm - 4.30pm	Coffee Break	
Plenary Session 4.30pm - 5.30pm	Public Lecture Theatre, Old Arts Building Prof Emma Murphy Prof Samer Soliman Prof Bahgat Korany Prof George Joffé	

NOTE: The conference program is correct at the time of printing. The Conference Organisers reserves the right to make changes to the program when and as required.

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Abstracts & Biographical Notes

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Western Policy and the Arab Spring – Freedom House Panel Speaker

Biography

Ammar Abdulhamid (Foundation for Defense of Democracies, Washington D.C) is a liberal democracy activist whose anti-regime activities led to his exile from Syria in 2005. He now lives in Silver Spring, Maryland, with his family. Ammar is also the founder and director of the Tharwa Foundation, a non-profit dedicated to democracy promotion in the Greater Middle East and North Africa region.

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Western Policy and the Arab Spring – Freedom House Panel Speaker

Biography

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Maryam Al-Khawaja
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Western Policy and the Arab Spring – Freedom House Panel Speaker

Biography

Maryam Al-Khawaja is currently the Head of Foreign Relations for the Bahrain Center for Human Rights, and a former Fulbright Scholar at Brown University. Al-Khawaja was present in Bahrain during the beginning of the February 14th uprising, as protesters demanded democratic reforms, and witnessed a government response of excessive use of force, widespread arrest, discrimination, and fear to suppress dissent and quell voices for reform. She is also the daughter of Abdulhadi al-Khawaja, the founder of the Bahrain Center for Human Rights, who was among a group of high-profile human rights activists and opposition leaders recently sentenced to life imprisonment. Although she left Bahrain in early March and has not been able to go back in order to avoid arrest and/or imprisonment, she remains very connected to events on the ground as an advocate and has emerged as a leading voice for human rights. She has been influential in shaping official responses to the atrocities in Bahrain around the world by engaging with prominent European and American policymakers in her advocacy efforts.

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Dr Kristian Alexander

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Diffusion Effects and the Arab Uprisings: Explaining the spread

Biography

Dr. Kristian Alexander is Assistant Professor at the College of Arts & Sciences, Zayed University, Abu Dhabi, U.A.E. He has a Ph.D. from the University of Utah (Salt Lake City) and an M.A. in Political Science from Ruprecht Karl Universitaet Heidelberg, in Germany. His research examines the significance of social movements in the Middle East and the impact some of them have had on political change. Prior to arriving at ZU, he taught at the University of Utah and University of Wyoming.

His publications include articles, encyclopedia entries, book reviews and a book chapter. They have appeared in *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest: 1500 to the Present*, *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, as well as *Political Violence and Terrorism and Arab Studies Quarterly*. He is a member of several editorial boards, including *Annual Editions: Violence and Terrorism*, McGraw-Hill and *Taking Sides: Clashing Views in World Politics*, McGraw-Hill.

Abstract

The Arab uprisings that shook the Middle East at the beginning of 2011 were unprecedented. A sequence of Arab revolts started with an unlikely candidate in Tunisia, and then moved on to Egypt, followed by Yemen, Libya and Bahrain. Many commentators have asserted that the initial revolt in Tunisia sparked the subsequent revolts in adjacent countries. The spread of these revolts has been, generally speaking, attributed to what Political Scientists have labelled the 'contagion effect'. This term has been used interchangeably with others, such as demonstration or diffusion effect, and has been applied to explain the spread of the color revolutions in the CIS and Balkan states. This paper seeks to explain how particular events in one Arab country can have an influential effect on other Arab countries where circumstances were not necessarily favorable to political change. How do the mechanisms and dynamics of diffusion work in the case of the Arab world/Middle East?

This paper asserts that it was not just the social media that contributed to the spread of information and inspiration but that examples of prior success (i.e., Tunisia) and perceptions of people seeing themselves in analogous situations led to mobilization elsewhere. Equally important is the notion of a shared common Arab identity that inspired Arabs in one country to identify with fellow Arabs elsewhere. This led to an increased sense of self-esteem and a common feeling of ownership in the uprisings, breaking down the barriers of fear. Most importantly, however, this paper argues that changes in the public sphere alone do not suffice to spur demonstrations and spill over effects. They add to the changes in public debates, but structural factors must be ripe as well. Through network analysis a basic model will seek to provide a framework of how to explain the concept of diffusion in this particular case.

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Professor Greg Barton & Ms Derya Akguner

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Is Turkey a role model for democratic reform in the Middle East?

Biography

Greg Barton is the Herb Feith Research Professor for the Study of Indonesia at Monash University. He is acting director of the Centre for Islam and the Modern World and a research leader in the Global Terrorism Research Centre. His research focuses on the ways in which religious thought – Islamic thought in particular, individual believers, and religious communities respond to modernity and to the modern nation state. He also has a general interest in comparative international politics and the Muslim world and specialist interests in Indonesia, Southeast Asia and Turkey. His biography *Abdurrahman Wahid, Muslim Democrat, Indonesian President: A View from the Inside* was published in 2002. His study of the Indonesian terrorist movement— *Indonesia's Struggle: Jemaah Islamiyah and the Soul of Islam*—was published in 2004. He is currently working on *Islam's Other Nation: Faith in a Democratic Indonesia* which is due to be published by Black Inc. in 2012.

Derya Akguner is the Centre Officer of the Global Terrorism Research Centre, Monash University, Australia, and a Research Associate for the Monash European and European Union Centre. She is also a PhD candidate at Monash, researching about Turkish identity, secularism, democracy, Islam and foreign & domestic Policy changes in Turkey. Derya holds a BA in International Relations, Deakin University, Australia, partly completed at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul-Turkey. She also holds an MA with Honours in International Studies from the University of Sydney, where she wrote her thesis on the EU and Turkey. Derya has extensive experience working in the non-government sector in Turkey, for various organisations like UNHCR, UNDP, UN Security, EU, HRDF, ICMC, IOM, and the Cancer Foundation. Her research interests include Turkish domestic and foreign policies, Turkish society and culture, identity politics, minority studies, ethnic and religious conflict, Middle Eastern and Mediterranean politics and terrorism.

Abstract

Prior to the Arab Spring Turkey's AKP led government was portrayed by many analysts of Middle Eastern affairs as an 'Islamist government' pursuing greater ties with Arab and other Muslim majority nations at the expense of Turkey's traditional close ties with Europe and Israel. This view found stronger support following Erdogan's heated encounter with Shimon Peres at Davos in January 2009 and the prime minister's repeated expressions of disappointment with Israel's refusal to apologise for the deaths of nine Turkish activists involved in the 'Free Gaza' flotilla in May 2010. In the Arab world, where the memory of Ottoman rule remains fresh, these two incidents had the effect of dispelling suspicions of Turkey's intentions to play a larger role in regional affairs. Ankara's timely engagement with Arab Spring activists in Libya, Egypt, Bahrain and Syria consolidated this rising sense of confidence in Turkey. This paper will explore the ways in which Turkey might serve, in part, as a role model for democratic reform in the Middle East. It will also delve into the necessary reforms which are required of Turkey for it to be able to completely fulfil its potential of becoming an 'inspiration' and a 'model'. The paper will examine the extent and nature of the AKP government's approach to both secularism and democracy and the reasons for believing that it points the way to reconciling Islam and the modern nation state.

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Professor Robert (Bob) Bowker

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Diplomacy, Civil Society and the Arab Spring

Biography

Robert Bowker retired from the Australian Foreign Service in 2008 after a 37 year career specialising in Middle East issues. He was Australian ambassador to Egypt (2005-2008) and Jordan (1989-1992), in addition to postings in Syria (1979-1981) and Saudi Arabia (1974-1976). He was accredited from Cairo as non-resident Australian ambassador to Sudan, Libya, Syria and Tunisia. In 1997-1998 he was Director of External Relations and Public Information, and later Senior Adviser, Policy Research of the United Nations Relief and Works Program for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). He was based during those assignments in Gaza and Jerusalem.

Dr Bowker has been Adjunct Professor at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies (the Middle East and Central Asia) at the Australian National University since July 2008. His main areas of research interest and teaching include economic, social and political change in the Arab world; the impact of political mythologies on Middle East politics; contemporary Islam in the Middle East; Palestinian refugees; Persian Gulf security issues, and the challenges to the development of cooperative security in the Arab-Israeli context. He is currently working with Dr Leanne Piggott on an edited compilation of official documents relating to Australian diplomacy in the Middle East.

He is the author of *Beyond Peace: the Search for Security in the Middle East* (Lynne Rienner, 1996) and *Palestinian Refugees: Mythology, Identity and the Search for Peace*. (Lynne Rienner 2003). His latest book is *Egypt and the Politics of Change in the Arab Middle East* (Edward Elgar, 2010).

Abstract

As the political situation in countries most affected by the Arab Spring matures, there will emerge a contest of ideas concerning how civilized Arab societies should behave. Donor countries have significant foreign policy and security interests at stake in that debate: they would wish their values to be respected, and hopefully admired, in the emerging Arab world.

In the hubris of the new era, however, a high level of suspicion surrounds attempted involvement by foreigners, or individuals closely associated with external parties, in the strengthening of Arab political institutions and values. Similar limits and political constraints apply to external engagement in project activity and debate linked to gender issues and other sensitive social values and practices. This is the case even where change has already been taking place from within Arab societies, and where reform of traditional values and practices has long been recognized, by Arab intellectuals, as overdue.

Pressure for change at all levels — individual, family and state — preceded the Arab revolutions. It will continue after them. But the revolutions and upheavals in Arab countries were directed at a single political issue — the removal of unpopular regimes. They were not focused on social issues, nor were they envisaged, among most of those involved, as part of a process of changing Arab societal values and institutions. The tectonic plates of Arab society are shifting, amidst abundant evidence of social malaise, but there is no consensus about the desirable direction of social change at this point.

External parties seeking to participate in shaping that process in an intricate, multidimensional playing field do so at their peril. More importantly, perhaps, they risk doing so to the disadvantage of those within Arab countries who advocate the values most western countries would wish to see prevail. In the volatile political environment of the next

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few years, foreign-sponsored programs directed at engagement with Arab civil society have an associated risk of generating accusations of external involvement in domestic politics under the guise of supporting human rights.

The capacity of civil society in Arab countries to harness the intellectual energy of a more empowered political audience, and thereby to make further progress in terms of human security and economic development will improve over the coming decade, especially if political leadership is effective. Over a decade, possibly longer, the majority of Arab political systems will probably evolve, through their own efforts and in keeping with a broader desire to be regarded as both Arab and modern, in ways which manage to achieve a reasonable balance between progress and stability.

Political reform will be part of the process of economic transformation, and vice versa. For that to occur in the coming few years, reformists in both Islamist and secular parties will need to be more active and effective in seeking to capture the political imagination of the emerging Arab middle class. At present there is little evidence that is happening. In the course of the remainder of the decade, however, as political outcomes and institutions mature, there is a better chance that in some cases, at least, they will do so.

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Al-Qaida and the Arab Spring: Reacting to Surprise and Adapting to Change

Biography

Dr. Norman Cigar is Director of Regional Studies and the Minerva Research Initiative Chair at the Marine Corps University, Quantico, Virginia. Before retiring, he was on the staff of the Marine Corps Command and Staff College and the Marine Corps School of Advanced Warfighting, where he taught military theory, strategy and policy, military history, and Middle East regional studies. Previously, he was a senior political-military analyst in the Pentagon, where he was responsible for the Middle East in the Office of the Army's Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, and supported the Secretary of the Army, the Chief of Staff of the Army, and Congress with intelligence. He also represented the Army on national-level intelligence issues with the inter-agency intelligence community. During the Gulf War, he was the Army's senior political-military intelligence staff officer on the Desert Shield/Desert Storm Task Force.

He is the author of numerous works on politics and security issues dealing with the Middle East and the Balkans, and has been a consultant at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia at the Hague. He has also taught at the National Defense Intelligence College and was a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for Conflict Analysis & Resolution, George Mason University. He is now focusing on the strategic and military aspects of radical Islamic movements and on proliferation issues. His recent publications include *Al-Qa'ida's Doctrine for Insurgency*; "Al-Qaida's Theater Strategy" (on press); and *Al-Qaida, the Tribes, and the Government: Lessons and Prospects for Iraq's Unstable Triangle*.

Dr. Cigar holds a D. Phil. from Oxford (St Antony's College) in Middle East History and Arabic; a Master of International Affairs from the School of International and Public Affairs, and a Certificate from the Middle East Institute, Columbia University; and a Master of Science in Strategic Intelligence from the National Defense Intelligence College. He has studied and traveled widely in the Middle East.

Abstract

As the political situation in countries most affected by the Arab Spring matures, there will emerge a contest of ideas. Al-Qaida, like other actors, has had to engage the Arab Spring in terms of analyzing, forecasting, and seeking to shape it. This paper focuses on the thinking and policy of the leadership and analysts in Al-Qaida, although the leadership itself has often provided some of the most authoritative analysis. The thesis is that Al-Qaida is an adaptive organization and has attempted to retool and refocus its strategy while retaining its long-standing political objectives.

Al-Qaida first found itself obliged to understand what was occurring, as the Arab Spring had taken it by surprise, and sought to identify its causes and implications, conducting a cost-benefit calculus in order to adjust its strategy within the global war it has been waging. Such assessments have been largely in Realpolitik terms, even when the conclusions were questionable, and resulted in a broad consensus. In particular, Al-Qaida has been anxious to create an explanatory structure to claim a major role in preparing the conditions for the popular uprisings and of being the catalyst through its example of defiance to local regimes and weakening of the U.S.'s ability to intervene. Often, the analysis revealed the importance of addressing its own members to retain cohesion and reassure them of Al-Qaida's wisdom and prospects.

As part of it rethinking, Al-Qaida sought to forecast the dynamics of the Arab Spring in order to influence its direction, while recognizing that the future was difficult to predict. Al-Qaida concluded that the revolutionary process would

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continue in those countries where it had begun and spread to still other countries, thereby offering Al-Qaida an opportunity to open new theaters of operation.

Al-Qaida's analysis and forecasting are intended for plans to shape the direction of what it views as a malleable Arab Spring. Al-Qaida's thrust has been to promote an uprooting of the political system, while cautioning against the lure of secular democracy and trusting the West, and insisting on the need for the jihad, as well as providing guidance to its followers on operational methods. Advice and direction have usually been tailored to address the specific conditions in each country within Al-Qaida's established overarching religious/ideological framework of establishing an Islamic state.

The conclusion is that Al-Qaida intends to remain an active player in order to exploit a situation of change which it sees as an opportunity to expand its influence, while recognizing the uncertainty of the future and its own limited leverage. The research is based on Al-Qaida's Arabic-language analytical and policy writings.

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Soccer as an Engine of Change and Assertion of Identity

Biography

James M. Dorsey is a senior fellow at Nanyang Technological University's S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, an award-winning veteran foreign correspondent and the author of the acclaimed blog, *The Turbulent World of Middle East Soccer*.

James has covered ethnic and religious conflict in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America for *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *Financial Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor*. He has been based across the Middle East in Cairo, Jerusalem, Tehran, Kuwait, Cairo, Dubai and Riyadh as well as in Europe in Paris, London, Amsterdam, Nicosia, Athens and Istanbul and in the Americas in Washington, Lima and Panama City.

He sits on the international editorial board of *The Middle East Studies Online Journal*, is vice president of *Ecquant*, an online news market place scheduled for launch later this year, and serves as an advisor to global public relations agency Hill & Knowlton. James was an advisor to the chairman of the World Economic Forum (WEF) for the first Middle East and North Africa summits in the 1990s in Casablanca, Cairo and Amman, and chairs panels at WEF gatherings.

At RSIS and as a foreign correspondent, James has dealt extensively with the region's multiple conflicts, international relations, security, politics, economics and social movements. He has met and/or interviewed and maintained relations with many civilian and military leaders in the Middle East and North Africa as well as representatives of militias and guerrilla groups.

Abstract

For much of the past three decades, soccer constituted the only major battleground that rivalled Islam in the creation of alternative public space in a swath of land stretching from the Gulf to the Atlantic coast of Africa. Away from the glare of the international media, soccer provided a venue to release pent-up anger and frustration and struggle for political, gender, ethnic and national rights. By the time the Arab revolt erupted in December 2010, soccer had emerged as a key non-religious, non-governmental institution capable of successfully confronting security force-dominated repressive regimes and militant Islamists.

Soccer became a high-stakes game, a political cat-and-mouse contest between fans and autocrats for control of the pitch and a counterbalance to jihadi employment of soccer as an important bonding and recruitment tool. All players banked on the fact that except for soccer, nothing besides Islam captured deep-seated emotion, passion and commitment of a majority of the population in the Middle East and North Africa.

This essay explores soccer's unique role in the battle against the yoke of autocratic rule, economic mismanagement and corruption as well as that of militant, highly politicized, violence-prone soccer fans in this year's popular revolts. The role of the militants extends a tradition of soccer's close association with politics across the Middle East and North Africa that is evident until today in derbies in cities like Cairo, Amman, Tehran and Riyadh.

My essay will also look at the crucial part soccer plays in challenging conservative gender prejudice; serving as a key nation-building tool for stateless people like the Kurds and the Palestinians or conflict-riddled countries like Iraq; and offering a unique platform for building bridges across seemingly gaping divides.

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It will further highlight the importance of soccer for autocratic leaders as a key tool in their failed attempts to polish their tarnished images and distract attention from widespread discontent and unpopular policies. Egyptian, Iranian and Yemeni presidents Hosni Mubarak, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad Ali Abdullah Saleh as well as Libyan leader Colonel Moammar Qaddafi's son, Al Saadi al Qaddafi, identified themselves with their country's national teams, turning their successes and failures into barometers of how their regimes were faring.

In exploring soccer as a battlefield, I hope to shine a different light on the national, ethnic, religious, social, economic and political fault lines in the Middle East and North Africa by looking at them through the prism the beautiful game that serves as a narrative and a descriptive tool.

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Associate Professor Milad M. El.Harhi

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Libya: Between Revolt, Uprising, Upheaval, Turmoil and NATO

Biography

Milad ElHarathi is an Associate Professor in the Political Science Department, Faculty of Economics & Politics, Benghazi University, Libya. He has a MA in International Relations from Schiller University, France and PhD from the Institute of International Relations (Euro-Mediterranean Politics), Warsaw University.

Abstract

The popular revolt spread rapidly from Tunisia to Egypt, and then from Egypt to Libya, threatening entrenched regimes and the status quo. In Libya, for example, the revolt turned into a bloody civil war and spilling over of armaments everywhere in the country. In Tunisia, the Muslim movement (Nahda Party) led the country into social unrest. In addition, Egypt and its revolt turned into Christian-Muslim confrontations as daily practice. While many observers have drawn parallels with the rising of the American control of the International Order and the domination of the Western alliances, and its major leading role in combating terrorism and the eastward spread of democracy to Eastern Europe, the outcome of the Arab revolts is far from bringing political and social stability in the Arab region. This popular revolt has challenged authoritarian rule in the whole region, and highlighted the widespread desire for a responsible government. Institutionalization of Democracy, in Libya, Tunisia and Egypt, remains a difficult and long-term course. This paper will discuss the following issues:

- What role did NATO play in supporting Libya's uprising?
- Why did NATO take this action, particularly in Libya, and not in Egypt or Tunisia's revolts?
- What is NATO's application and the implications of its involvement in Libya?
- Did NATO have any particular impacts on Libya's revolt?
- In the aftermath of Libya's revolt, will NATO repeat its action in Libya, to diffuse the ongoing armed confrontations among fighters factions, and restore social stability among Libya's tribes?
- Did NATO succeed in its campaign in Libya, in order to establish democracy and bringing social stability in the country?
- Who will carry out NATO's expenses in Libya and how?

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Akhbar al-Adab (Literary News) in Egypt

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The January revolution as a struggle on the Language: The People's desire to liberate their language!

Biography

Mansoura Ez-Eldin is an Egyptian novelist and journalist, born in Delta Egypt in 1976. She studied journalism at the Faculty of Mass communication, Cairo University and has since published short stories in various newspapers and magazines: she published her first collection of short stories, *Shaken Light*, in 2001.

This was followed by two novels, *Maryam's Maze* in 2004 and *Beyond Paradise* in 2009. Her work has been translated into a number of languages, including an English translation of *Maryam's Maze* by the American University in Cairo (AUC) Press, which came out in 2007. In 2009, she was selected for the Beirut39, as one of the 39 best Arab authors below the age of 40. Her second novel, *Beyond Paradise*, was short listed for the prestigious Arabic Booker prize 2010, and is translated into Italian (Piemme Mondadori), German (Unionsverlag), and is being translated into Dutch (MM Boeken). Ez Eldin is working as literary editor for Akhbar al- Adab literary magazine since 1998, and is the Book review editor of the magazine since 2003.

Abstract

The paper looks at the January revolution as a revolution against a corrupt, artificial, and equivocal language (where the true meaning is the opposite of the apparent meaning) which has prevailed in Egypt for decades. During Mubarak's regime, corruption had become the backbone of the state and its institutions. This culture of corruption dominated every aspect of daily life including the language itself.

The Mubarak's era has proved that language can become a partner in corruption, conniving with complicity and becoming persistently evasive, leaving the truth to flounder into darkness. Typically language is not particularly vulnerable to rapid social change, but in the political and media-related discourse which prevailed in Egypt, there is ample evidence to demonstrate the impact of widespread corruption – especially in terms of linguistic fragmentation, where words are deliberately scrambled and acquire contradictory meanings.

The corruption of our language has taken place steadily and systematically by various means, including: giving new meanings to every day expressions; using words incorrectly; using deceptive wordplay, and using words in non-neutral contexts. These mechanisms were also used extensively during the days of the revolution, and combined with all the disruptions, tensions, and predicaments of the regime which had been forcibly exposed to the world, ultimately resulted in a babble of confused, broken-down pronouncements which appeared to mean one thing but actually meant precisely the opposite.

The January revolution witnessed a conflict between two discourses. The first discourse (the discourse of the protesters) was vigorous, modern, and open to the world. The second (the discourse of the regime and its media) was self contradictory and confused. The revolution exposed the huge gap yawning between the young people who started the revolution and the regime which, under Mubarak, failed to understand the language or the mentality of these young people.

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The Egyptian Uprising: A Political Economy Approach

Biography

Adel Abdel Ghafar is a PhD student at the Australian National University; his thesis is titled 'A Political Economy of the 2011 Egyptian Uprising'. He has been published in *Foreign Affairs*, *Al Jazeera English* and the *New York Times*. He has appeared on German, French and Australian TV to commentate on Egyptian politics.

Adel took part in the 2011 Egyptian uprising and was in Tahrir Square from day one, January 25th 2011 until Hosny Mubarak was deposed. He was also a volunteer on one of the first Egyptian medical convoy to enter Benghazi on the 27th of February 2011 during the Libyan conflict. He has a book chapter about his experiences in '*From the Masses of the Arab Spring: Personal Stories of the Arab Revolutions*'. (Edited by Professor. Asaad Al Saleh, forthcoming by Columbia University Press, 2012)

Before pursuing an academic career, Adel was a Banker who had worked for several multinational institutions such as HSBC and Citigroup. He holds an MA in Arabic and Islamic Studies from the University of Sydney (High Distinction with First Class Honors), a Combined Masters of International Business and Commerce also from the University of Sydney and a Bachelor of Commerce from Cairo University.

Abstract

This paper focuses on the Egyptian case within the Arab Spring and attempts to investigate the economic reasons that led to the downfall of the Mubarak regime.

The World Bank and the IMF for the last several years before the fall of Mubarak had spoken glowingly of 'economic reforms' spearheaded by Gamal Mubarak, the president's son and suspected heir, and his team of technocrat ministers. That team had implemented a neo-liberal economic agenda of opening up the economy, privatizations, and the elimination of trade barriers. In 2007, Egypt recorded a spectacular 7% GDP growth rate and was labelled by IMF as a "top economic reformer". The IMF report for that year concluded, "Egypt's economy had another year of impressive performance supported by sustained reforms, prudent macroeconomic management, and a favourable external environment." All this hid a dark reality; there was no trickle down to the average Egyptian. According to the World Bank itself, about 40 percent of Egypt's 80 million people live below or close to the poverty line, surviving on about \$2 a day.

This paper analyses the last ten years of the Mubarak regime and uses political economy framework to investigate how the neoliberal economic policies propagated by the President and his son Gamal Mubarak were one of the root causes of the uprisings. It argues that these economic policies only benefited a few business oligarchs closely tied to the regime, and not the average Egyptian. This paper investigates how these economic policies had begun to lead to worker agitation, coupled with a re-invigorated civil society and social movements had sown the seeds of the uprisings.

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The Gulf One Year On: The Impacts of the Bahrain Uprising

Biography

Dr Matthew Gray has been *Sheikh Hamdan bin Rashid al-Maktoum* Senior Lecturer at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies since January 2005. Prior to this, over 1997-2005 he held several positions with the Australian government, working in trade promotion, defence intelligence, and immigration policy. At ANU his teaching is focused on Middle Eastern political economy and Gulf politics and international relations, and his current research interests are Middle East conspiracy theories and Gulf political economy.

He has published widely on Middle Eastern politics and political economy. He is the author of *Conspiracy Theories in the Middle East: Sources and Politics* (Routledge, 2010), and has also published widely on Middle Eastern political economy, Gulf politics, and development issues, including in journals such as *Critique: Critical Middle East Studies*, *Arab Studies Quarterly*, *Global Change, Peace & Security*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Thunderbird International Business Review*, and *The Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*. He holds a PhD from ANU (2000), and a Master of Arts degree (1994) and Bachelor of Arts degree (1992) both from Macquarie University in Sydney.

Abstract

The Gulf states – specifically, the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates – were shaken by the February-March 2011 uprising in Bahrain against the Āl Khalīfa. The Saudi regime was nervous enough to intervene in Bahrain with security personnel and to try to placate its own population at home with vast rent-derived largesse. The key question that will dictate the future stability of the Gulf and the durability of its political orders is this: Can the rentier bargain, which has defined Gulf politics during the oil era, be sustained by regimes and their domestic allies, or will population growth, youth expectations, economic change and new technologies all force real change upon the region's monarchies? This paper will address this question, focusing on Bahrain and Saudi Arabia but also constructing wider observations, making several arguments.

At the domestic level, the Āl Khalīfa have tried to steady and recalibrate the state-society relationship, but that this has been extremely challenging given the erosion of their legitimacy and the delicate balance of cooptation and repression that they had used to maintain power prior to the uprisings. The long-term survival of the Āl Khalīfa is by no means guaranteed, especially while Sunni-Shici tensions remain unresolved. In other Gulf states, the example of Bahrain has been noticed, but the regimes have sought a clearer allocative relationship with society rather than genuine political reform, which may ultimately fail to meet societal demands for change. This is especially true in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, while states such as the UAE are becoming increasingly repressive while maintaining its generous rent allocations.

At the regional level, the nature of the GCC has become clearer: while it is partly an economic bloc, the intervention in Bahrain and membership invitations to Jordan and Morocco demonstrate that, above all, it is a Saudi-dominated, mutual defence bloc for the Sunni monarchies. This has implications both for GCC relations with Iraq and Iran, and for future Gulf economic relations and development. It also potentially will impact Sunni-Shici dynamics within several Gulf states and between the GCC states and Iran.

While change in the Gulf is usually very slow, it is highly likely that aftershocks from the 2011 Arab Spring will continue to shake the region, and ultimately will force at least some changes on their state-society relationships and on regional political and economic dynamics.

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Dr Fiona Hill

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The Fertile Crescent ‘between impotence and despair’? ^[1]

Biography

Dr. Fiona Hill is the Owner Manager of Almanar Consultancy. For the past quarter century Fiona Hill has visited Syria annually, first as an ethno-archaeologist then as an Anthropologist in the north-west Euphrates River valley. Fiona has over two decades of academic, commercial, and cultural project experience in Libya, Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Bahrain, UAE, and Oman, but focuses her expertise on Syria, and on Saudi Arabia where she has visited almost annually for the past 15 years.

Through Almanar Consultancy, Fiona assists Australia-Arab interactions through briefings, market intelligence, and strategic itineraries, including her unique women-only commercial and cultural visits to Arab countries. Her business supports philanthropic education projects for young women in Syria.

BA Media (RMIT University); BA Middle East Studies, PhD Anthropology (University of Melbourne); Certificate in Upper Intermediate Arabic (Damascus University); RSA/Cambridge Certificate in TEFL; Honorary Associate School of History, Heritage & Society, Deakin University; Co-Investigator ‘Australia-Syria Archaeological & Historical Collaborative Project’ Wadi Tishreen, Syria (University of Melbourne & SAR Ministry of Culture).

Abstract

While the ghosts of Sykes-Picot stalk Syria alongside the ‘shabbiha’, the presenter wonders if Syrian responses to political change are polarised as much by generational divides as by imperial designs. Are the youth, as Heikal observed, ‘between impotence and despair’, or are they energised, articulate, and angry? In Syria in March-April 2011, at the beginning of the so-called Syrian Revolution, and again in December 2011, the presenter surveys on-the-ground (as opposed to cyberspace) viewpoints offered by officialdom, active government opposition, and the Syrian street that offer more pieces of the puzzle.

[1] Mohamed Hasseinein (sic) Heikel: *The wise man of the Middle East* Robert Fisk, The Independent, 9 April 2007

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Political Islam in the New Egypt

Biography

Raihan Ismail is a PhD candidate at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies at the ANU.

Raihan was born to an Egyptian mother and a Malaysian father. She graduated with Bachelors and Masters degrees from the International Islamic University Malaysia. Her current research topic is "The Attitudes of the Saudi 'Ulama towards the Shi'a".

Abstract

Egypt's revolution has significantly changed the country's political landscape. The removal of the Mubarak regime provides the platform for Islam to be established as a strong influence over the country's politics, with the likelihood of the Muslim Brotherhood wielding political power, the emergence of the Salafi movement as a political force, and the increasing independence of al-Azhar. These three institutions are now competing with each other to assert their religious credentials and authority.

This paper investigates the dynamics between these institutions and their struggle for power and religious legitimacy in the new Egypt. It also discusses the roles they play both in promulgating conservative Islam and setting the course for Egypt's nascent democracy. Many commentators are concerned by the possibility that the Egyptian polity will be radicalised by the often extreme rhetoric against women, Christians and other minority groups that has become a feature of political Islam in Egypt after the revolution. Moreover, the factionalisation of the Muslim Brotherhood into progressives, conservatives and ultra-conservatives raises concerns that the organisation will struggle to establish itself as a united and moderate force. The same concerns apply to al-Azhar.

However, this paper finds that while Egyptian politics is likely to become more religious, the country is in little danger of becoming a theocracy or even state-sponsored Islamism. Egypt has a distinct religious identity that is not prone to the rigid interpretation of Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood's largely progressive attitudes towards democracy and modern Islam will likely help to moderate more conservative influences in Egypt. Moreover, Egyptian Muslims, although largely conservative, vary in their understandings of Islam and its implementation. The ability to openly debate and contest the theory and practice of Islam in Egypt should allow radical ideas to be challenged. Al-Azhar may also emerge, following its decline and subordination under the Mubarak regime, as an institution that fosters open debate about religion and politics.

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As 'Spring' moves towards 'Autumn'

Biography

Professor George Joffé teaches the international relations of the Middle East and North Africa on postgraduate courses at the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Cambridge in England and supervises PhD studies in this and related fields. He is also attached to the Centre for Global Governance in the London School of Economics in London University. He also teaches an MA course on the geopolitics of the Middle East and North Africa at King's College, London University. He is a professorial fellow at the Global Policy Institute in London Metropolitan University where, until September 2009, he ran a seminar series on Middle Eastern issues. He also held a visiting fellowship at the Centre of Islamic Studies at the University of Oxford between 2006 and 2009. Previously he was the deputy-director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London.

His primary interests are in North African and Middle Eastern affairs and he runs a research centre in the Department of Politics and International Studies, devoted to these issues. The Centre also produces a journal, the *Journal of North African Studies*, which he founded and now co-edits with Professor John Entelis at Fordham University in New York. It is the only peer-reviewed journal on North African studies in English and is published in conjunction with AIMS by Routledge. He also has an active interest in energy security, having acted as a consultant to the Iran-American Claims Tribunal at The Hague over offshore joint-venture compensation claims and having recently authored, with Professor Paul Stevens and others, a major research report for the International Association of Petroleum Negotiators. He has also recently published a study on resource nationalism.

In addition to his academic responsibilities, he lectures and provides consultancy on the Middle East and North Africa to, amongst others, the Royal College of Defence Studies in London, the NATO Defence College in Rome and the Centre for Security Policy in Geneva. He is also a senior research associate at the Institute of Security Studies of the European Union in Paris, as well as being a professorial research fellow at the Royal United Services Institution for Security Studies in London, where is director of the Institute's Qatar programme. Until 2009, he was also a research fellow at the Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais in Lisbon where he was associated with the EuroMeSCO policy institute network which brought together policy institutes and universities in Europe and the South Mediterranean. He is currently engaged in writing a book for Cambridge University Press on Muslims in Europe.

Abstract

Spengler's description of the evolution of civilisations seems an apt metaphor for the growing realisation that universal change within the Arab world, sparked off by the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, is unlikely to be achieved. Instead a differentiated outcome, in which some regimes remains essentially unscathed, others experience revolutionary change and yet others face confrontation between population and government, seems the most likely outcome of the Arab Spring. The question, then, is how we can explain such differentiated outcomes. To this end, use is made of Daniel Brumberg's concept of liberalising autocracies and of social movement theory in explaining why, in some cases, genuine revolutionary change emerged whilst, in others, virtual civil war has been the outcome.

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Limits/consequences of social engineering the Arab state

Biography

Bahgat Korany is professor in the Department of Political Science, American University in Cairo, and Director, AUC Forum. He is also an Honorary professor, Department of Political Science, University of Montreal. After receiving his B.A. (honors) from the University of Cairo, Bahgat Korany obtained his M.A. (International Relations) from the University of Sussex, England, the Diploma in Development Studies (Economics and Sociology) from the Institute of Development Studies in Geneva as well as a Ph.D. (Political Science) from the University of Geneva (1974).

Dr. Korany's post-graduate work experience has been varied, ranging from the United Nations (European Office, 1970-74) to academia. He began his academic career in 1970 at the graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva (1970-74) and at the University of Montreal (1974-2000). He is founder and first Director of the Interdisciplinary Program of Arab Studies at the same University (1979-1993), and co-founder and first Director of the Inter-University Consortium of Arab and Middle East Studies, (Canada 1987-1999). Dr. Korany has furthermore been a visiting professor at the University of Dakar, Laval, Carleton, Harvard (visiting scholar), McGill, Algiers, Aix-Marseille, Princeton, Oxford, and Paris. He is also a founding member of the International Organization of South-South Cooperation (Beijing).

In addition to publishing newspaper articles (e.g., *Al-Ahram, Cairo*, regular columnist to *El-Ettihad's UAE*, since 2001) and giving radio and TV interviews in North America, Europe and the Middle East, Dr. Korany has published nine books – in English or French - and contributed chapters to about 29 other books as well as about 55 articles in periodicals such as *International Social Sciences Journal*, *Journal of the Social Sciences*, *Annals of International Studies*, *Études Internationales*, *Revue Française de Science Politique*, *Peace Research Society Papers (Canada)*, *International Journal*, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Third World Quarterly*, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *Third World Affairs Yearbook*, and *World Politics*. He has also authored more than 130 conference papers. Some of his writings have been translated and published in Arabic, Spanish, Italian and Chinese.

He is a member of the Editorial Board of several established periodicals such as *Canadian Political Science Review*, *Études Internationales*, *Third World Affairs Yearbook*, (London, England), *International Interactions* (Washington D.C.), *European Journal of International Relations*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly*. His first book, *Social Change, Charisma and International Behaviour* was awarded the Hauchman Prize. In 1993, Bahgat Korany was elected to the Royal Academy of Canada and has been included in the annual Canadian Who's Who since then.

In 2008-2009, Dr. Korany was the Head of the Scientific Committee of the 2nd Arab Summit on women and was the senior editor of the two-volume study of *Arab Women in the Concept of Human Security* (2010). In 2010, he was a member of the European Union's Expert Group on "Euro-Mediterranean Relations" which published its 276-page report, *Euro-Mediterranean Relations: Scenarios for 2030*, in 2011. At present, Dr. Korany is the director of the international team and lead-author of the 10th anniversary special volume *Arab Human Development Report*, U.N. Development Program, 2012.

Abstract

The Arab Spring – as many revolutionary upsurges – is proving costly, in economic and human terms. But such a cost will be well-accepted if this 'Arab Spring' manages to social engineer the future.

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'Arabs' of course differ. Economically, the Qatari's per capita income is almost 80 times that of the Yemeni. They also differ in patterns of state-formation and even contemporary social processes (Moroccan Monarchy, Saudi Arabia's, not to talk about Lebanon). Yet in a world witnessing accelerated waves of democratization, all of them have to face up to the challenges of transition of democratic rule. What are the most pressing challenges of this long awaited transition? More importantly, what are the means to allow this transition to proceed successfully if not always smoothly?

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What Next for Political Participation? Electoral Reform in Lebanon and Egypt

Biography

Dr Benjamin MacQueen is Senior Lecturer in Politics at Monash University, Melbourne, Australia. His research and teaching centres on the politics of the Middle East, with a focus on conflict, its resolution, and issues surrounding post-conflict reconstruction in the region. His publications include 'An Introduction to Middle East Politics' (London: Sage, 2012) and 'Political Culture and Conflict Resolution in the Arab World: Lebanon and Algeria' (Melbourne: MUP, 2009). He is a regular media commentator with both Australian and international outlets, and blogs at mideastmatrix.wordpress.com.

Abstract

It is increasingly clear that the unrest across the Arab World does not simply represent a democratic challenge to an established authoritarian order. Whilst calls for democracy have been pronounced, these events have not just been confrontations between pro- and anti-democratic forces. More importantly, contest has been increasingly over efforts to reform or do away with established patterns of politics in Arab societies. As a result, the creation of new mechanisms for political participation, particularly formal institutions such as constitutions, parliaments, and elections, have become the focus of political competition. This paper will examine two cases of contest over controlling means of political participation, Lebanon and Egypt, to argue that we are witnessing a categorical change in the way politics is conducted in the Middle East. Drawing on discussions of both democratisation theory and literature on popular informal political participation, this paper will argue that this contest for control over the institutions of formal political participation is a fundamental break from previous patterns of political conduct and control through informal channels. As such, discussion on the development of formal political institutions in the Arab World should no longer focus on their role as superficial legitimising tools for authoritarian regimes, but as potential facilitators of genuine political participation for the people of the region.

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The Arab Spring and the Challenges of Reforms and Democratic Transition

Biography

Professor Fethi Mansouri, Director of the Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation, holds a Chair in Migration and Intercultural Relations, School of International and Political Studies, Deakin University. He is the editor of the A-ranked *Journal of Intercultural Studies* (Routledge) and an expert advisor to the United Nations Alliance of Civilisations (UNAOC) on cultural diversity and intercultural relations. His recent publications include: *Political Islam and Human Security* (2008) and *Islam and Political Violence: Muslim Diaspora and Radicalism in the West*, (with S. Akbarzadeh, 2007); *Identity, Education, and Belonging: Arab and Muslim Youth in Contemporary Australia* (with S. Percival-Wood 2008); *Youth Identity and Migration: Culture, Values and Social Connectedness* (2009); *Australia and the Middle East: A Frontline Relationship* (2011, second edition); and *Migration, Citizenship and Intercultural Relations: Looking Through the Lens of Social Inclusion* (with M Lobo 2011). His forthcoming books include: *Muslim Diasporas and the Challenges of Representations and National Belonging* (with V Marotta 2012); *The Arab Revolutions in Context: Socio-Political Implications for the Middle East and Beyond* (with B. Isakhan and S. Akbarzadeh 2012); and *Reframing Multiculturalism for the 21st Century* (with B. de B'beri 2013). His 2004 book *Lives in Limbo: Voices of Refugees under Temporary Protection* was short-listed for the 2004 Human Rights Medals and Awards.

Abstract

The Arab Spring, now entering its second year, was no random event. Rather, it was a synthesis of many interconnected failings within the post-colonial Arab state system ranging from endemic political corruption, to dire economic stagnation and associated social marginalisation of the masses, to list just the obvious ones. But revolutions, as idealistic and romantic as they may appear to be, are never meant to be quick and tidy events. Indeed, as this paper will discuss, the Arab Spring from its beginnings in Tunisia on 17 December 2010 to its current manifestation in Syria, is exhibiting all the hallmarks of a highly unpredictable phenomenon driven by a combination of internal dynamics and external interests. This paper will provide critical reflections on the current challenges and major achievements of the Arab Spring focusing specifically on the Tunisian case. From the rise of political Islam during the 23 October 2011 elections, to the intensifying ideological polarisation of political and social debates and the pressing need for economic recovery, the Arab Spring in its Tunisian articulation is well and truly entering a critical phase where the masses are demanding and expecting real substantive change within all key institutions and not just the mere holding of free elections.

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From Nonviolence to the UN Statehood Bid: The Impact of the Arab Spring on the Occupied Palestinian Territories

Biography

Victoria Mason is a lecturer in the School of Politics and International Relations/Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies at the Australian National University. Her broad research areas focus on Middle East Politics/international relations and human rights issues and debates. Victoria's research within the Middle East focuses on the Palestinian question, conflict and conflict resolution in the Middle East (particularly Israel-Palestine and Iraq) and human rights in the region. Her wider human rights research includes projects on state violence, the treatment of refugees, and issues of Islamophobia and anti-Arab discrimination in the West.

Abstract

Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPTs) – facing a multilayered struggle against Israeli Occupation, the inequities entrenched by the asymmetrical Israeli-Palestinian 'peace process' and deep divisions between the key Palestinian factions of Fatah and Hamas – have been deeply impacted by the events of the 2011 'Arab Spring'. This paper will explore the response of Palestinians – both at grassroots and leadership levels – to the pro-democracy/equity/justice movement that has swept the Middle East since the beginning of 2011.

This paper will demonstrate that at the grassroots level the Arab Spring has provided new momentum for what has been a growing Palestinian non-violent resistance movement against the Israeli occupation in recent years. However, while non-violent resistance in the wider Arab Spring (and the brutal response by states such as Syria, Bahrain and Libya) has received extensive global media coverage, the use of non-violent resistance by Palestinians, and the brutal response to this by Israel, has been rendered largely invisible. As Arundhati Roy outlines, 'non-violence is a piece of theatre' and requires a responsive audience in order to be effective ('They are trying to keep me destabilised. Anybody who says anything is in danger', *The Guardian*, 5 June 2011). The lack of response by the international community to the brutal repression of non-violent resistance by Palestinians has resulted in the marginalisation of a movement that arguably has the potential to shift the entire landscape of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

The Arab Spring has also inspired additional grassroots action which has had a direct impact on the Palestinian leadership. Epitomized in events such as the '15 March demonstrations' and hunger strikers in Ramallah's Manara Square, the Arab Spring movement in the OPTs has called for a number of key demands to be met: 1) the unification of Fatah and Hamas; 2) a democratically elected PA; 3) the establishment of an independent Palestinian state; and 4) the end of the Israeli occupation. This paper will examine to what degree key developments at the leadership level – such as the fragile unification of Hamas and Fatah, and the decision of the Palestinian Authority to seek UN recognition of a Palestinian state as a way out of the quagmire that has become the Israeli-Palestinian peace process – have been influenced by the Arab Spring and its movement within the OPTs.

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Youth, the Arab Spring and the Problem of Generations

Biography

Emma Murphy is Professor of Political Economy in the School of Government and International Affairs at Durham University. Her early work focused on aspects of Palestinian and Israeli politics and political economy (including *Israel: Challenges to Identity, Democracy and the State*, with Clive Jones, Routledge 2002), and North African political economy (including *Economic and Political Change in Tunisia: From Bourguiba to Ben Ali*, Macmillan 1999). More recently she has been working on information and communications technologies in the Arab region, publishing a number of articles addressing related issues of public sphere and political culture. This has included articles on “Theorizing ICTs in the Arab World: Informational Capitalism and the Public Sphere” (*International Studies Quarterly*, 53, 2009), and “The Arab State and (Absent) Civility in New Communicative Spaces” (*Third World Quarterly*, 32, 5 2011) and an edited volume (with Mahjoob Zweiri 2011) on “The New Arab Media: Technology, Image and Perception”. She also recently published “The International Politics of the Red Sea” (with Anoush Ehteshami, Routledge 2011) and is currently working on the themes of Arab Youth Politics and Food Politics in the Middle East. She is co-editor of the Thompson ranked journal *Mediterranean Politics*, and a member of the Area Studies Research Excellence Framework Panel. She is also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and an Academician of the Academy of Social Sciences.

Abstract

The political turmoil in the Middle East has brought Arab youth to the world’s attention in a very dramatic and vivid way. In accounting for the rapidity of the mass mobilisation, and the urgency of the popular demands expressed, analysts have pointed to the region’s exceptionally high rates of youth unemployment, the development over the past decade of youth-based activist groups, and the use of new communications technologies favoured by youth, as key resources of the Arab Spring. Little attention has been paid, however, to problematising youth in a meaningful way. This paper seeks to present a number of emerging paradigms for understanding the Arab youth phenomenon – as human resources, as a condition of “waiting”, and as a set of constructed identities. It concludes that youth can best be understood as a generational narrative characterised by exclusion, marginalisation, and alternative modes of expression and mobilisation. Individuals move fluidly into and out of this narrative, age being only one determinant of membership. Arab youth is a dynamic social construction which has found its voice through protest. But how will it evolve in a post-revolutionary era if the conditions of that construction have profoundly changed?

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The Qaddafis and their kin: genealogies of power and myth

Biography

Associate Professor Richard Pennell is the al-Tajir Lecturer in Middle East and Islamic History at the University of Melbourne. He did both his BA (in Arabic and Spanish) and his PhD (in Islamic History) at the University of Leeds in Britain. Before joining the History Department in Melbourne he taught for nine years, on and off, at the National University of Singapore. He taught for two years at the University of Nairobi, in Kenya, in the late 1980s and has also taught in Garyounis University in Benghazi, Libya and at Bogazici University in Istanbul, Turkey. In the second half of 2003 he was a visiting scholar hosted by Al-Akhawayn University, at Ifrane in the Middle Atlas Mountains of Morocco.

Abstract

This paper dissects the genealogy of the Qaddafi family and relates it to the nature of power, and how it was expressed, in Libya. Its hypothesis is that strengths and weaknesses of the regime were revealed in the way it collapsed. The civil war was fragmented and the regime collapsed piecemeal. Its opponents, equally piecemeal, focussed on the personality of the regime rather than its ideology, explaining the lack of alternative structures that became apparent as the regime disintegrated.

To an extent the Qaddafi genealogy was mythologised. The regime sought to validate the regime in ideological terms: the Qaddafi as men and women who symbolised Libya; the death of “adopted” and “real” daughters and sons (whose actual existence is open to question) was part of this mythology. Its enemies wanted to undermine it with the same tactics, ascribing disreputable origins to its members, questioning the ancestry of both Muammar and his wife Safia.

More practically, the family was a political and economic group, consisting of the immediate family of Muammar al-Qaddafi and his sons and daughter, and an extended family attached to it. Sibling wrangling over power or over economic advantages paralleled family solidarity. In Libya, kinship patterns extended through Muammar al-Qaddafi’s marriages and the marriages of his kin, linking it to powerful factions in Cyrenaica and central Libya. Externally, the siblings’ involvement in educational, philanthropic and financial activity abroad was paralleled by diplomatic crises requiring state intervention after they got into trouble in European capitals.

The pre-eminence of the family meant that the opponents of the regime saw the Qaddafi family as the rotten core of the system – ‘Qaddafi and his boys’ were the main enemy. That enmity played out with great viciousness in the final stages of the civil war.

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Whose Stability? Western Governments and the Yemeni Uprisings

Biography

Dr. Sarah Phillips lectures at the Centre for International Security Studies (Sydney University), where she specialises in Yemeni and Middle Eastern politics, and the politics of state-building. She lived and worked in Yemen for several years and has advised numerous Western governments and aid agencies on matters relating to Yemen. Sarah has published widely on Yemeni politics, including her two books “Yemen’s Democracy Experiment in Regional Perspective” (Palgrave Macmillan, December 2008) and “Yemen and the Politics of Permanent Crisis” (The Adelphi Series – an International Institute for Strategic Studies publication), Number 420, July 2011.

Abstract

The Yemeni uprising has been viewed externally through the prism of security, particularly counterterrorism, concerns. It is widely feared that as the country experiences increasing violence, militant jihadis may be able to establish another state-base from which to target the West. This perception has manifested itself in policies by external actors that aim to essentially bolster the political status quo, albeit probably without President Saleh, and it is hoped that the formal institutions and procedures of democracy can quickly drive a new political settlement between state and society.

Leaving aside the important underlying question of whether major social changes are ever really stable, the fact that President Saleh, al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), and the US Administration all argue that political unrest in Yemen is good for al-Qaida should give pause for thought. This paper will argue that by framing Yemen’s likely future in this way, America’s counterterrorism agenda has inflated the level of risk that Yemen’s instability poses to international security in three important ways. First, it has created a series of perverse incentives for the regime (particularly President Saleh) to maintain the threat the al-Qa’ida poses. Second, it is based on several stereotyped notions of the ways that violence is regulated in Yemen, and third, it constricts the political space available for those who do seek major developmental change in the country.

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Same old story? Obama and the Arab Uprisings

Biography

Jeremy Pressman is the Alan R. Bennett Honors Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Connecticut. He earned his B.A. from Brandeis University and received his Ph.D. from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is the author of *Warring Friends: Alliance Restraint in International Politics* (Cornell University Press, 2008) and co-author of *Point of No Return: The Deadly Struggle for Middle East Peace* (Brookings, 1997). Pressman has published articles in the *Boston Review*, *International Security*, *Security Studies*, the *Washington Post*, and elsewhere. His research is focused on the Arab-Israeli conflict, military alliances, and U.S. foreign policy.

Pressman began his career at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, DC, and was a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He has held fellowships at the Belfer Center at Harvard, the UConn Humanities Institute, and the United States Studies Centre at the University of Sydney. He is on twitter @djpressman and blogs at mideastmatrix.wordpress.com.

Abstract

The policy of the Obama administration toward the Arab uprisings has varied across Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen. In 2011, the United States government has cast off (e.g. Egypt, Syria) and stood by (e.g. Bahrain) Arab leaders. It has used backroom military-to-military ties to influence the outcome (Egypt) as well as supported direct military intervention, first in the case of the Saudi-led move into Bahrain and then, along with America's NATO allies, with the bombing and covert training campaign in Libya. While President George W. Bush's second inaugural address (January 2005) or President Barack H. Obama's Cairo speech (June 2009) might have been understood as signalling changes in U.S. policy, the Obama administration's reactions in 2011 indicate the continued centrality of the same old post-WWII tension. The United States will embrace neither democracy (and freedom, openness, and reform) nor stability (and national interests and friendly autocrats) to the exclusion of the other. Democracy and stability remain in constant tension in U.S. decision-making. Thus, the United States had an easy time supporting calls for democracy with an adversary, Syria, where the regime's fall might also mean the end of an alliance with Iran. In contrast, in the home of the U.S. Navy's Fifth Fleet, Bahrain, the U.S. administration was accepting when brutal repression prevailed. In September 2011, the juxtaposition of U.S. policy toward Palestine and UN membership with questions about the Arab uprisings further heightened the democracy-stability clash.

A discussion of Obama policy raises a number of subsidiary debates as well. Perhaps in the medium term, democracy would lead to a less radical region and thus less antagonism toward the United States. Or, democracy might unleash popular sentiment in countries like Mubarak's Egypt where autocrats underplayed anti-US and anti-Israel sentiment. Perhaps America's stability fetishism and the alliances, arms, and meddling that have resulted itself fostered instability by provoking regional players. Yet if the United States were to be seen as closely involved with the democratization movement, it might very well taint that movement in the eyes of other citizens.

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Turkey: A Model for the Emerging Arab Democracies?

Biography

Dr Halim Rane is the Deputy Director of the Griffith Islamic Research Unit and a Senior Lecturer in the School of Humanities at Griffith University. Dr Rane is the author of numerous articles and books concerning the Middle East, Islamic and Muslim issues including *Islam and Contemporary Civilisation: Evolving Ideas, Transforming Relations* (Melbourne University Press, 2010); *Islam and the Australian News Media* (Melbourne University Press, 2010); and *Reconstructing Jihad amid Competing International Norms* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Ms Bridget Minogue is an honours student at Griffith University. She has lived and worked in Turkey and is currently writing her dissertation on current political dynamics within the country.

Abstract

Since the 1990s Turkey has been suggested by successive US administrations as an appropriate political model for Muslim-majority countries to emulate. However, it was not until the rise of Turkey's current government led by the Justice and Development party (AKP) that Turkey has received significant attention from the Muslim world, particularly the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). This interest in Turkey as a model is based on three main factors: 1. Turkey's successful balancing of Islam and democracy; 2. Turkey's successful economic development; and 3. the influence Turkey has come to wield in the region and its championing of such causes as Palestinian rights and statehood. The question of the Turkish model has been a major of focus of academics and commentators since the Arab uprisings of 2011 began. This paper examines the viability of the Turkish model for the various emerging democracies of the MENA region. In comparing Turkey to these countries this paper's focus is on three main factors: political and historical experience; economic conditions, and approaches to and perceived role for Islam in state and society.

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Body as a symbol of dignity, how Arabs merged to defend the dignity

Biography

Matthieu Rey is currently doing a PhD on political systems in Syria and in Iraq between 1946 and 1963, supervised by Professor Henry Laurens (Collège de France, Paris) and Hamit Bozarslan (EHESS). His study is focused on the parliamentary systems and the public sphere and to understand how democratic ideas had given way to a revolutionary project. Matthieu has published articles in *Vingtième Siècle, revue d'histoire*, about the Wathba, and participated in a workshop as part of the Tanmia, politiques du développement project (Geneva, March 2010) and was selected for identités en Méditerranée (Tunis, May 2010), Cold War Culture (Austin, October 2010), the third Congress of World and Global History (London, April 2011), and Riots around the Mediterranean, (Mediterranean Program, European University in Florence, April 2011). Since November 2009, he has been a research fellow at the French Institute for the Near East (Damascus).

Abstract

This paper tries to compare the very first steps of Egyptian and Syrian movements. During Summer 2010, Egyptian press and social networks focused on Khalid Said's case. This young man was killed under torture in Alexandria and became a new symbol of the country's national corruption. In March 2011, fifteen teenagers in Deraa came back to their family with heavy marks of torture. The following days, families merged in protest to denounce this violence and to request justice. Both events were based on the same fact: a young body was tortured and became, symbolically, the materialization of the authoritarian system.

We first have to study the link between corruption and torture in order to understand how it became a topic that was able to mobilize people. Torture emphasizes the absence of a State of Law. In that prospect, both financial corruption and torture were part of a specific way to govern the country. Authoritarian systems are built on the law's negation, which means that some groups or people are allowed to act as they want pretending to defend the country. Requesting the end of torture, denouncing it, might be conceived as requesting the end of 'lack' of law.

Then, it may be possible to study how the dignity changes in the discourses. Dignity had been a motto in the political discourse since the independence. For example, Nasser requested the recognition of Egyptian dignity when he negotiated with Great Britain, during the fifties. In the protests that occurred in Egypt and in Syria, dignity became a private request. The martyr's body represented in some ways, how the ordinary citizen may be concerned by the coercive system, that is to say, dignity changes from a 'national' request to an 'individual' request. Thanks to this motto, mergers occurred following mainly horizontal links. It is interesting to notice, here, how the Syrian province entered the movement. More or less, old family links played a major role. Indeed, Homs declared its solidarity with Deraa, Latakia, with Idlib. Gradually, body became the symbol of national dignity, which has to be understood as the individual dignity of each citizen.

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The Arab Revolt: not a 'spring' but an 'awakening'

Biography

Amin Saikal is Professor of Political Science and director of the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies (the Middle East and Central Asia) at the Australian National University.

Professor Saikal has been a Visiting Fellow at Princeton University, Cambridge University and the Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex), as well as a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow in International Relations (1983-1988). In April 2006, he was appointed Member of the Order of Australia (AM) for service to the international community and to education, and as an author and adviser. He is also a member of many national and international academic organisations, and the author of numerous works on the Middle East, Central Asia, and Russia. His books include: *The Rise and Fall of the Shah: Iran from Autocracy to Religious Rule* (Princeton University Press, 2009); *Modern Afghanistan: A History of Struggle and Survival* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006); (editor) *The Afghanistan Conflict: Australia's Role* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, June 2011); *Islam and the West: Conflict or Co-operation?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); (co-author) *Regime Change in Afghanistan: Foreign Intervention and the Politics of Legitimacy* (Westview Press, 1991); (co-editor) *Islamic Perspectives on the New Millennium* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2004); (co-editor) *Democratization in the Middle East: Experiences, Struggles, Challenges* (New York: United Nations University Press, 2003); (co-editor) *The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (Cambridge University Press, 1989); (co-editor) *Russia: In Search of its Future* (Cambridge University Press, 1995). Professor Saikal has also published many articles in international journals, as well as numerous feature articles in major international newspapers, including *The International Herald Tribune*, *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Guardian* and *The Globe and Mail*. He is also a frequent commentator on radio and television.

Abstract

The term 'Arab Spring' does not capture accurately the realities of the situation on the ground in the Arab world. With all the carnage going on, it may be called the 'Arab peoples' awakening' and, for that matter, 'third awakening' in the last fourteen centuries. It is essentially in pursuit of free self-determination and empowerment of the Arab peoples in charting their national destinies and methods of governance, with an emphasis on pro-democratic reformation of their societies. This paper examines where the 'third awakening' has come from and where it is likely to lead. Further, it looks at some of the myths that it has already debunked.

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The Absent Obama Doctrine

Biography

Kumuda Simpson is a PhD Candidate with National Centre of Excellence for Islamic Studies, Asia Institute, University of Melbourne. Her thesis explores how the tension between American values and interests affected the construction of policy towards Iran during the Presidency of George W. Bush.

Abstract

There has been a lot of commentary about President Barack Obama's response to the uprisings in the Middle East. Much of it has sought to find a pattern in the Administration's policy, searching for evidence of an Obama Doctrine. Yet overwhelmingly the result has been a conspicuous absence of anything resembling a grand strategy. Rather, President Obama and his Administration have appeared to adopt a wait a see approach, tackling each crisis on a case by case basis.

In June 2009, President Obama gave what came to be regarded as an important policy speech in Cairo. He focused on restoring a sense of trust and respect between America and the Middle East. He acknowledged the history of the US meddling in the internal affairs of many Middle Eastern countries and the damage this had done to relationships with America. He promised a significant change in policy. When talking of democracy he was adamant in stating that democracy could not be imposed from outside yet he reaffirmed America's commitment to supporting those who desire freedom and democracy.

The political uprisings from Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, to Bahrain and Syria, have fundamentally tested President Obama's promise. What has become increasingly apparent is that there is a tension between American values and interests in US foreign policy. As the Obama Administration has responded to each crisis, the question of whether reform or stability would best protect American interests has played an important role in determining what course of action Washington has adopted. The inevitable result, that in some cases interests have trumped values, has led to criticism that President Obama has failed to live up to the ideals expressed in the Cairo speech.

This paper will argue that American foreign policy has always been a balancing act between values and interests. President Obama's policy towards the Middle East has reflected this dilemma and in many ways has benefitted from the absence of a well defined grand strategy by avoiding the limitations of a one size fits all policy. At the same time, however, the inability of the US to control the direction of the political transitions in strategically important states has the potential to further diminish American power and influence in the Middle East.

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Arab Spring and Iran's political opposition

Biography

Hadi Sohrabi is a PhD candidate of sociology at Swinburne University in Melbourne. His research focuses on Muslims in Australia and their integration with the broader Australian society. Hadi has been researching the political role of new media in Iran particularly in the aftermath of 2009 disputed presidential election about which he has published: 1.) Sohrabi-Haghighat, M H 2011, [New media and social change](#), *CyberOrient*, Volume 5, issue 1; and 2.) Sohrabi-Haghighat, MH, Mansouri, S (2010), 'WHERE IS MY VOTE?' ICT Politics in the Aftermath of Iran's Presidential Election, *International Journal of Emerging Technologies and Societies*, vol. 8, no. 1., pp. 24-41.

Hadi has also been acting as a guest reviewer for the *International Journal of Emerging Technologies and Societies* in the last two years.

Abstract

The political earthquake beginning with the Tunisia's regime change has shocked the world. It has led to the overthrow of three dictators in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. A number of other countries have gone through violent political and ethnic conflicts particularly in Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria. Other countries in the region have been more or less affected by these events. Iran's case in relation to the Arab Spring is unique and very interesting to investigate from several standpoints.

Iranian regime has played a double game: acknowledging the right of protesters outside Iran (with the exception of Syria) and repressing the political opposition inside. The political opposition, so called Green Movement, attempted to take advantage of the situation and remobilise the Iranians against the regime. However, the first protest in Tehran received immediate and effective crack down and opposition leaders were put under house arrests. The region's political upheaval sparked new debates among Iran's political opposition. This paper aims to look at the Arab Spring through the prism of Iran's Green Movement and investigate the ways through which Arab Spring was discursively constructed within the Iranian opposition. The followings are the research questions this paper purports to answer:

1. What are the overarching political and ideological discursive frameworks adopted by the political opposition in casting light on the Arab Spring (including but not limited to Islamism, democratic aspirations, anti-Israel and anti-western ideologies)?
2. Does Iran's political opposition view Arab political movements similar/dissimilar to the Green Movement in terms of genesis and socio-political roots, strategies (reformist, revolutionary) and outcomes (failure, success, uncertainty)? What lessons do they draw from the experience of Arab protesters?
3. Is there any discursive variation in explaining the uprisings in different Arab countries? Syria and Bahrain will be interesting cases as they have been the most sensitive cases to the Iranian regime.

The evidence will come from discourse analysis of four opposition's websites: Kalame, Saham News, RaheSabz, and Rooz. The first two websites represent the views of Mir Hussein Mousavi and Mehdi Karroubi, the Green Movement's leaders. The other two websites were selected due to their popularity and readership among political opposition inside and outside Iran. It should be noted that since the 2009 disputed election the public sphere has been under the close examination and censorship of the Iranian regime; opposition's newspapers were either shut down or published under strict governmental surveillance. In these circumstances the internet along with satellite channels are the main channels of communication and news circulation among political opposition. Hence, we believe that opposition's websites are suitable to the aim of this research.

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The Challenges of Egypt's Transition to Democracy

Biography

Prof. Samer Soliman is working as associate professor of political economy at the American University in Cairo. He teaches development, political economy, Egyptian politics, state theory, and other subjects.

He received his Ph.D from the Institute of Political Studies in Paris (Science Po) in 2004.

The Autumn of Dictatorship is his latest book on Egypt issued by Stanford University Press, April 2011. He has many writings on the State and development, the State and capitalism, the sectarian problem in Egypt, parliamentary elections, Islamic banking and the transition to democracy. He regularly publishes articles in the daily *Shorouk*.

Soliman is an activist for human rights, and one of the founders of the new Egyptian Social Democratic Party.

Abstract

TBA

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Gender and Politics in Egypt today. Continuities and Changes One Year Later....

Biography

Lucia Sorbera is Lecturer of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Sydney, department of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Her main research interest is the modernity in the Arab World and the challenges it poses to current views. She is particularly interested in exploring the way in which Egypt's relationship with European culture questions some fundamental assumptions of traditional historiography, primarily the binary distinctions that are still drawn between colonisers and colonised, East and West, tradition and modernity. The cultural construction of gender is part her research, as it unveils many hidden continuities between different cultures.

She is currently (2011) working on a FRSS research project, which is titled "Fifty Years of Transnational Sisterhood from the Arab Perspective: 1956-1995".

Abstract

The paper describes the spaces and the circumstances that shape women's political agency in Egypt today. It revolves around a pivotal question: does the political agency of women represent a challenge to conventional ideas of leadership, or does it indeed match the same mechanisms of power that run the *palais du pouvoir*? In addressing this issue, the paper's focus is placed at the intersection of the dialectic between formal and informal powers, individual and collective, personal relationships and movements, cooptation and opposition, or resistance.

Historically, women's mobilisation has occurred with regular frequency. Its outcomes are, nevertheless, at least controversial: while certain female political actors have been co-opted into the institutional power-game (whose mechanisms do not differentiate them from their male counterparts), others have shaped new arenas for women's agency, and new gender roles. Such considerations will guide the analysis presented in this paper, which will focus on Egypt one year after the beginning of the uprisings. 2011 uprisings highlighted the dynamism of a vibrant and plural civil society. Women and men of Egypt, together, performed new gender roles, challenging not only gender and generational (i.e. patriarchal) patterns of leadership, but established State powers as well. After one year from the beginning of the mobilization, can we see new platforms of political actions for women? Has the revolution affected the idea of gender relationships in Egypt?

These are the key questions addressed by this paper, which grounds on the historical analysis of the Egyptian feminist movements, and on my last field work in Cairo (November and December 2011).

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The Arab Spring movement: lessons and challenges

Biography

Kamaruzaman Yusoff graduated from Edinburgh University, UK. He specialises in Middle Eastern studies. He started his career as a lecturer in 1988 at the History Department, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, National University of Malaysia and was promoted to an associate professor in 1999. He has written about 15 articles, 6 books, chapter in books and encyclopaedia on Middle Eastern Studies. Currently he is also a fellow at Institute of Western Asian Studies at the same university. He became an expert on the subject of the Arab Spring when he continuously appeared on Malaysian TV to discuss the subject.

Mansoureh Ebrahimi is a postgraduate student at the National University of Malaysia, working on Modern Iranian History.

Abstract

This study tries to discuss current events in the West Asia region. The Arab Spring movement made the world community transfixed by developments unfolding in the region pushing all other issues to the back seat. The first objective of this article is to analyse factors that lay behind current events and developments. Secondly, it attempts to examine the impact of these movements to the stability of this region as well as to the western hegemony. Finally, it elucidates expectations from various groups of people on this situation. Qualitative method has been used to prepare this paper based on primary and secondary sources. Extensive usage of books and reports from media will give different perspectives on the incidents and its aftermath to the world community at large. The main finding of this paper is the changing attitude of the western powers towards their former political allies in West Asia which is totally unacceptable. This development also indicates the imminent demise of previously potent mixture of Arabism, socialism and capitalism to be no longer sustainable. Furthermore, it shows that how civil society movement is more appropriate when political parties were not given proper place in the society. Additionally, it illustrates how new media play a major role in this age of 'global village'. Current events in West Asia invite historians and others to rethink and look ahead since this new scenario expected to alter patterns and themes of this region in the near future.

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Non-Violent action and revolutionary change

Biography

Dr. Stephen Zunes is a Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of San Francisco, where he chairs the program in Middle Eastern Studies. He received his PhD. from Cornell University and serves as a senior policy analyst for the Foreign Policy in Focus project of the Institute for Policy Studies and chair of the academic advisory committee for the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. Professor Zunes is the author of scores of articles for scholarly and general readership on Middle Eastern politics, U.S. foreign policy, international terrorism, nuclear nonproliferation, strategic nonviolent action, and human rights. He is the principal editor of *Nonviolent Social Movements* (Blackwell Publishers, 1999), the author of *Tinderbox: U.S. Middle East Policy and the Roots of Terrorism* (Common Courage Press, 2003) and co-author (with Jacob Mundy) of *Western Sahara: War, Nationalism and Conflict Irresolution* (Syracuse University Press, 2010.)

Abstract

The civil insurrections which have swept the Arab world over the past year constitute a dramatic intensification of largely nonviolent popular uprisings in support of political freedom and social justice which have been taking place globally in recent decades in such countries as the Philippines, Chile, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Serbia and elsewhere. They also follow comparable North African insurrections which toppled dictatorships in Sudan in 1985 and in Mali in 1991, the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979, the 2005 Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, and ongoing struggles for self-determination in Palestine and Western Sahara. Still, there are aspects of these recent insurrections that are unique, including the number of countries affected and the dramatic early successes of the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, as well as the way it has impacted both pro-Western and anti-Western regimes. This presentation examines the significance and dynamics of strategic nonviolent action as the decisive factor in these insurrections, along with a critical examination of the role of social media, foreign powers, the military, and other actors. In challenging both Western and radical Islamist assumptions about the nature of regime change as well as in empowering civil society to an unprecedented degree, these popular uprisings have permanently altered the politics of the Arab world.

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