On February 13, 2012, Peter Bergen delivered a lecture titled, “The Awakening: How Revolutionaries, Barack Obama, and Ordinary Muslims are Remaking the Middle East.” In addition to being CNN’s security analyst, Bergen is a Schwartz Fellow at the New American Foundation and an adjunct lecturer in public policy at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Bergen discussed five different but interrelated topics, which he listed as “Al Qaeda, terrorism, Afghanistan/Pakistan, the Arab Spring, and the influence of President Obama on some of these issues.”

On the topics of Al Qaeda and terrorism, Bergen explained how he was one of the few Westerners to have met the world’s most-wanted man, Osama bin Laden, face to face in 1997 in Eastern Afghanistan. During that interview, Bin Laden declared war on the United States because of its support for Israel, sanctions against Iraq, as well as other foreign policy critiques. Bin Laden described the United States as weak and scarred from all of its past failed wars and pullouts from Vietnam, Beirut, and Mogadishu. This analysis of a weak United States, Bergen said, was an important insight into why 9/11 happened because it showed that Bin Laden thought that he could pressure the United States into similarly pulling out of the Middle East. It turned out, however, that “9/11 was a major strategic error for Al Qaeda because, first of all, Al Qaeda—which of course means ‘the base in Arabic’—lost their base in Afghanistan,” he said. So, instead of the United States being pressurized to exit the Middle East, the reverse happened, and now, as a result, the United States has increased its presence on the ground in several different countries of the Arab world.

Continued on page 7
Warm greetings from Doha. Over the past semester, CIRS has been engaging in productive research, publications, and public affairs programming. We are extremely proud of the latest CIRS-produced edited volumes: *Migrant Labour in the Persian Gulf, The Nuclear Question in the Middle East, and The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf*. All three books are published by Columbia University Press/Hurst, and will be on shelves in April 2012. These books are the result of multi-year research initiatives in which renowned scholars shared their original research towards these CIRS-led research initiatives. You can read more about these edited volumes and how to purchase them on page 3 of this newsletter.

In addition, CIRS has recently published two new *Occasional Papers*: one on workforce nationalization in the GCC and another on transformations of regional governance within the Gulf region. We have also released a new *Summary Report* on the subject of “Nuclear Question in the Middle East,” which contains synopses of papers delivered at the working group meetings that we held at the Georgetown University in Qatar campus. For more information on our most recent publications, please refer to page 5 of this newsletter.

With the events of the Arab Spring playing out in the background, CIRS has put into action its newest research initiatives on “The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East.” This project will scrutinize the ways in which domestic political arrangements in the Middle East are evolving, and how the authoritarian bargains are being challenged in the region by popular revolt. CIRS will probe some of the existing analytical assumptions and develop new understanding of the drivers of change in the Middle East. Look out for a future CIRS book on the topic in the coming year. For more information on the working group held, please turn to page 4.

Finally, we are conducting the second phase of the “Food Security and Food Sovereignty in the Middle East” research initiative with another Doha-based working group meeting. Last year, CIRS awarded funds in support of empirically-based, original research projects on the topic and the grant recipients have already made significant strides towards completing their awarded projects. As with other research initiatives, our goal is to fill in existing gaps in the literature and to contribute original knowledge to this topic.

As the 2011-2012 academic year draws to a close, I and the rest of the CIRS team look forward to hearing from you and seeing you at one of our upcoming lectures. You may also keep abreast of CIRS activities by joining us on our Facebook and Twitter social media pages and by logging onto the CIRS website at: http://cirs.georgetown.edu.

Sincerely,

Mehran Kamrava
Director of CIRS
Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar

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**About CIRS**

The Center for International and Regional Studies at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar is guided by the principles of academic excellence, forward vision, and community engagement.

The Center’s mission revolves around five principal goals:

- To provide a forum for scholarship and research on international and regional affairs;
- To encourage in-depth examination and exchange of ideas;
- To foster thoughtful dialogue among students, scholars, and practitioners of international affairs;
- To facilitate the free flow of ideas and knowledge through publishing the products of its research, sponsoring conferences and seminars, and holding workshops designed to explore the complexities of the twenty-first century;
- To engage in outreach activities with a wide range of local, regional, and international partners.
Migrant Labour in the Persian Gulf
Columbia University Press/Hurst, April 2012

“The Migrant Labor in the Gulf” research initiative is especially significant in the current global financial climate, and also given its size and significance in relation to the GCC economies. CIRS undertook this research initiative in order to fill the vacuum in the scholarship on the conditions, composition, and overall significance of migrant labor throughout the Gulf region with new and original, previously unstudied aspects of migrant labor in the Gulf region.

Migrant Labour in the Persian Gulf, edited by Mehran Kamrava and Zahra Babar, examines the multiple causes, processes, and consequences of labor migration from the disciplinary perspectives of sociology, anthropology, political science, and economics. It incorporates empirically grounded research to explore the diverse nature of migration and its effects on native communities, identifying the functions of formal and informal binational and multinational networks emerging from migration patterns over time.

The Nuclear Question in the Middle East
Columbia University Press/Hurst, April 2012

In early 2010, CIRS began working on a research project on “The Nuclear Question in the Middle East.” Given the increased level of interest in nuclear energy worldwide, and the particular implications for the region, this subject is one that required further scholarly discussion and focus. Engaging with a number of academics experts, CIRS examined the complexities and nuances of the subject, especially in relation to the tensions between nuclear energy and nuclear weapons.

The Nuclear Question in the Middle East, edited by CIRS Director Mehran Kamrava, is the first book to combine thematic and theoretical discussions regarding nuclear weaponry and energy with case studies from across the Middle East. Beginning with the assumption that, in the current international environment, the energy and military aspects of nuclear programs are becoming increasingly difficult to decouple, this book comprehensively examines nuclear energy and security issues across the Middle East.

The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf
Columbia University Press/Hurst, April 2012

The CIRS research project on “The Political Economy of the Gulf” was launched in 2009. As with other CIRS research initiatives, after a thorough review of existing literature on the topic, certain gaps were identified meriting further original research and scholarship. Select scholars were invited to participate in working group meetings and to engage in focused discussions on a range of sub-topics. In addition to the thematic streams of scholarship that CIRS included in this project, several academics worked on individual country case studies. During working group meetings, the participants contributed their expertise, and began working on papers in their area specialties. The ultimate product of this research project is a book The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf, edited by CIRS Director Mehran Kamrava.

Grasping the full extent of the political-economic situation in the Persian Gulf, this book addresses key concerns such as the future demography of the Gulf Cooperation Council; the feasibility of establishing a GCC monetary union; the effects of rentierism on state autonomy; and the salient aspects of sovereign wealth funds and models of Islamic banking. Contributors offer original, empirical and theoretical contributions to the study of the Persian Gulf’s political economy. Each chapter is an in-depth work of scholarship that makes a significant contribution to the field.

For more information on how to purchase these books, please visit: http://cirs.georgetown.edu/publications/books/
CIRS held a two-day working group meeting on February 19-20, 2012, on the topic “The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East.” Several scholars and experts on the Middle East were invited to the Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS) at Georgetown University’s Qatar campus to take part in the discussions. At the conclusion of the research initiative, the working group participants will contribute chapters towards a book on the subject.

As a preliminary consideration before commencing presentations and discussions, the participants questioned the terms of the debate and offered different analyses of what “ruling bargain” might mean in different contexts as well as how this term differs from the notion of a “social contract.” There was consensus among the group that every state-society relationship is bound by an unwritten and informal hegemonic understanding in the form of a social pact between the ruler and the ruled, whether authoritarian or otherwise. In many countries of the Arab world, this general understanding between state and public has been less of a “bargain” and more of a top-down “imposition” of governance. However, the participants acknowledged that whether in authoritarian or democratic countries, the terms of a social contract are in a state of constant flux and are negotiated on a daily basis either through peaceful means or through violence, resistance, and uprisings.

The participants identified the necessary methodological threads that bring together the various issues as well as the general theoretical tropes that will run throughout the project. A central theme that emerged was the nature of the relationship between the citizen and the state in the Middle East and how this has been renegotiated through citizen action in recent years. For the first time in modern Arab history, there have been demands for an alignment between the individual; the communal group whether gender-based, religious, ethnic, or tribal; civil society organizations; and government agencies. The participants argued that it was always important to discuss the Arab Spring at the level of the individual and how Mohamed Bouazizi’s spontaneous act of self-immolation resonated with millions of people across the region who shared similar grievances.

Although there have always been formal opposition parties in many Middle East states in one form or another, these functioned as part of the status quo and served as mechanisms of legitimation of the authoritarian state. The public protests that constitute the Arab Spring are a means by which publics in Egypt, Libya, and Tunis, as well as in other countries, voice their dissatisfaction with the status quo. These protests are unprecedented and reveal the existence of a whole generation of people who demand change and who are, in effect, the informal opposition. People have carved out a platform within which they are active agents of change who are able to negotiate questions of power, identity, jurisprudence, and accountability. Media networks such as Al Jazeera, informal social media platforms, and human communication networks more generally acted as catalysts for transmitting ideas that have had far-reaching consequences and have inspired people all over the world to forge vibrant and creative political cultures of resistance.

Other issues that were discussed during the meeting include the effect of the Arab Spring on the rise of Islamist parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood; the effect of foreign influence on social unrest; the active participation of women in the political arena; questions of constitutional reform; future international relations and foreign policies; and the emergence of new political parties and discourses that have long been absent in many Middle Eastern countries. In addition, the scholars analyzed specific case-studies related to the situations in Syria, Libya, Egypt, Bahrain, Iran, Yemen, and Tunis. Although each country has its own set of complex political dynamics dictating possible outcomes, the participants also discussed the reasons why people in Morocco and Algeria did not join in public protests.

Towards the conclusion of the working group meeting the participants cautioned about using the word “revolution” to describe the uprisings in the Middle East. Even though they agreed that tremendous changes have taken place, they questioned whether it was possible to completely eradicate ingrained patronage networks and whether these post-authoritarian regimes would actually transition to democracies. A cloud of uncertainty still lingers over the fate of all these countries and so, during these unpredictable times, it is important to ask “what happens next?” This question will be the focus of some of the chapters in the upcoming edited volume.
Transformations of Regional Economic Governance in the Gulf Cooperation Council
Fred Lawson (2012)

In the latest CIRS Occasional Paper, Professor of Government at Mills College, Fred Lawson, argues that most studies of regionalism in the Middle East fail to distinguish among divergent types of regional formations, and make little effort to chart the developmental trajectory that regionalist projects display over time.

This paper lays out a typology that can be used to elucidate crucial differences across regional formations in the contemporary Arab world, and also to highlight significant changes in the kind and level of governance that take place in any particular regionalist experiment. The utility of the framework is demonstrated through an analysis of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). This regional formation has undergone two major transformations since it took shape in 1981, and at the present time exhibits a substantially different form of economic regionalism from the one it boasted three decades ago. Four alternative explanations for shifts from one form of GCC regionalism to another are outlined as an invitation to further investigation.

Workforce Nationalization in the Gulf Cooperation Council States
Kasim Randeree (2012)

Kasim Randeree, Research Fellow at the Said Business School, University of Oxford, argues that in recent decades, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states have become reliant on migrant workers to the extent that foreign inhabitants constitute nearly one-third of the total GCC population. Consequently, workforce nationalization—the concept of reducing expatriate employment by bringing more citizens into the workplace—has become the human resource management strategy of all GCC countries.

This paper is a first attempt to review all six GCC states’ nationalization policies. It takes an exploratory-cum-constructivist approach and argues that closer cooperation and unified policy structures on nationalization are needed across all GCC countries. A clear and unified policy in terms of structural reform across GCC countries needs to be collectively defined, although methods of implementation would need to be more tailored and distinctive from one country to another.

The Nuclear Question in the Middle East
Summary Report (2012)

In early 2010, CIRS began work on “The Nuclear Question in the Middle East” research initiative. While the world community’s attention may currently be drawn to Iran’s nuclear program, the CIRS project aims to take a far more comprehensive and expansive look at the issue across the region. During working group meetings that took place in Doha, CIRS engaged with a number of academics and specialists who were invited to contribute individual chapters to a book on The Nuclear Question in the Middle East, which is published in April 2012 by Columbia University Press/Hurst (See page 3 of this Newsletter for more details).

This Summary Report highlights the participants' discussions about balancing the need for civilian nuclear technology against the concerns of weaponization programs. Among other issues discussed by the working group were matters related to global security, regional mistrust, the prestige of gaining nuclear capabilities, and the role of NGOs and civil society groups in pressuring governments to abstain from nuclear energy initiatives.

The Political Economy of the Gulf
Summary Report (2012)

The Arabic language “Political Economy of the Gulf” Summary Report details research conducted at the CIRS “Political Economy of the Gulf” working group meetings held in Doha over the course of two years. During these meetings the participants contributed their expertise, and began working on papers in their specialty areas.

The ultimate product of this research project is an edited book on The Political Economy of the Persian Gulf (Columbia University Press/Hurst, 2012). Authors were able to work closely together for better coherence and intellectual synergy of the volume. Each study is an in-depth work of scholarship that is original, analytical, and makes a significant contribution to the field.

CIRS publishes Arabic language materials for distribution to our Arabic-speaking readership. The publications are in the form of original research conducted in the Arabic language as well as Arabic translations of existing research published by CIRS over the years.
On February 26, 2012, CIRS hosted a *Focused Discussion* with Ambassador James Larocco, Distinguished Professor and Director of the Near East South Asia Center at the National Defense University in Washington, DC. The talk titled, “The Gulf Looking East: Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Iran,” was supported by the United States Embassy in Qatar. The Ambassador recounted his experiences as a diplomat in the Middle East, saying that his interest in the Arab World began in the 1970s and that he has been a regular resident in the region for many years.

Citing full academic freedom, Larocco gave his take on the Gulf’s relationship with its neighbors “from Marrakesh to Bangladesh.” He explained to the audience how representing an academic research center afforded him freedom from the official US diplomatic stance, and that he was able to have frank conversations with Pakistani and Iranian authorities. Larocco described his role as that of an educator, rather than an emissary of the US government.

The Ambassador described the Near East South Asia (NESA) Center as an institution that “was deliberately created to try to bring people together from this region to have serious dialogue, to create communities of influence, to eliminate misunderstandings, and to—as much as possible—open minds.” There are currently over 3,000 of the center’s alumni in leadership positions all over the world, he said. In fact, the alumni are so prevalent in politics, that they constituted members of both the government as well as the opposition in a recent political dispute in the Maldives.

The current nexus of power in the Middle East, the Ambassador said, includes Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Israel—all of which exert tremendous amounts of hard and soft power, and will continue to do so. Pakistan and Afghanistan, Larocco said, are in extremely difficult situations for which he did not see an immediate solution—although he suggested that Qatar’s diplomatic and economic efforts could play a leading role in the future of Pakistan.

Moving further east, the Ambassador said that he did not see China as a military threat, but as a country that has grown powerful through commerce. China’s expansion “is strictly based on its mercantilist policy of securing economic interest because China has to produce 20 million jobs every year.” Much of the US government’s efforts in South Asia, Larocco said, have been established in order to contain the growing influence of China, although this has never been acknowledged as the official US stance. In the next few years, people will notice that US policy, as well as naval and military presence, will shift towards South Asia, he said.

Larocco concluded by saying that “the Middle East, for the most part in the United States, is a problem to be worked with and to be endured, whereas South Asia and the Asia Pacific region are considered the future for the policy of the United States.” In addition, because of its strategic geographic location, roughly 50% of all world trade passes through the Indian Ocean, and so this also increases the challenges that will be faced in relation to maritime security. Because the local institutions and infrastructure are inadequately equipped to deal with the myriad future challenges, including the increased threat of maritime piracy, the Ambassador explained that “the Indian Ocean is going to be the focus of either conflict or cooperation.”

Larocco joined the NESA Center as a distinguished professor in August 2009, after serving more than 35 years as a diplomat. He held key leadership assignments related to the Near East region, including Director General of the Multinational Force and Observers (MFO), 2004–2009; Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East, 2001–2004; U.S. Ambassador to the State of Kuwait, 1997–2001 and Deputy Chief of Mission and Charge D’Affaires in Tel Aviv, 1993-1996.
Bergen continued by saying that “the 9/11 attacks were a strategic failure not only because they didn't achieve the goal that Bin Laden wanted, but also because they led eventually to the defeat of Al Qaeda, and, in fact, to the death recently of Bin Laden himself.”

“The idea of an Al Qaeda hospital or an Al Qaeda school is an oxymoron.”

“Al Qaeda was losing the war of ideas in the Muslim world,” Bergen argued, not because the United States and the West were winning, but because Al Qaeda was losing any support it ever had through its detrimental demands and actions. Because “Bin Laden never proposed a positive vision of the Middle East,” in terms of economic, infrastructural, or developmental policies, he had nothing to offer Muslims but destruction, which is not an impressive prospect of future governance, Bergen explained. “The idea of an Al Qaeda hospital or an Al Qaeda school is an oxymoron,” he said.

The Arab Spring was an interesting backdrop for understanding exactly how weak and out of touch Al Qaeda was with Arab societies across the Muslim world, Bergen argued. The fall of Arab regimes signaled some of the most significant events in the region in decades, and, yet, Bin Laden was silent on these issues, despite his penchant for commenting on important world events over the years. Thousands of people marched through cities in Egypt, Tunis, and Libya, and yet none voiced any affiliations with Al Qaeda's anti-Western ideologies. “Bin Laden's foot soldiers and his ideas were notably absent in the events of the Arab Spring.”

Describing what he thought the future governance of the Middle East will look like, Bergen said that “the monarchies in the Middle East, for a variety of reasons, are going to be able to weather the Arab Spring fairly well.” This, he explained, is because monarchies, whether in the Middle East or elsewhere, have the benefit of being able to transform themselves from absolute monarchies to constitutional ones, unlike dictatorships, which are by definition absolute.

“Bin Laden's foot soldiers and his ideas were notably absent in the events of the Arab Spring.”

Elsewhere in the surrounding region, although there is a rapidly increasing population and only 2% economic growth in Pakistan, there are still some emerging positives such as a strong independent media, judiciary, and civil society groups. Similarly, in Afghanistan, there have been some positive developments, especially in terms of schooling, a decrease in infant mortality, an increase in GDP, better infrastructure, and a general consensus on the ground that the country is heading in the right direction. A future problem that will surface, however, will be the withdrawal of United States financial support and the subsequent economic crisis, Bergen warned.

In conclusion, Bergen noted that President Obama's popularity in the Middle East has been in a steady state of decline, stemming from, among other things, “the Obama Administration's lack of real effort on the Israeli/Palestinian negotiations.” Many people thought of Obama as the “anti-war president,” but he surprised everyone by actually being very tough on national security and has engaged the United States in a variety of covert and actual wars all over the world.

Earlier in the day, Bergen was invited to the Georgetown University in Qatar campus, where he spoke informally with students, faculty, and staff, and took questions about his experience as a journalist and author.

For more than 15 years, Peter Bergen has traveled extensively throughout the Middle East to report on national security and the Al Qaeda network. His work can be found in many prestigious publications including the New York Times and the Washington Post.
Ahmad H. Sa’di, Professor in the Department of Politics and Government at Ben-Gurion University of Negev, delivered a CIRS Monthly Dialogue on the topic “Population Management and Political Control: Israel’s Policies towards the Palestinians in the First Two Decades, 1948-1968.” Sa’di based his lecture on the results of investigations into historical and archival Israeli documents regarding the management of the Palestinian population.

“Islamic settlers who arrived before 1948 were placed at the top, while Palestinian ‘present absentees’ were relegated to the bottom.”

Israeli authorities and academics claim that Israel never conducted any form of systematic control of Palestinian populations. Yet, the documents that Sa’di analyzed rebuke this claim and list detailed descriptions of the extreme measures taken in order for Israeli authorities to control and reduce the size of the Palestinian population during the early years of establishing the Israeli state. These “archival documents could shed light and help clarify premises of policies, world views, dogmas, and what social scientists call discourses,” he said.

Sa’di recounted that Israel was established in 1948 through the occupation of 77.8% of historical Palestine. In November 1948, Israel conducted a census aimed at presenting a legal position to deny Palestinian refugees the right of return at the end of the war. “This census founded the political basis for a hierarchical order of citizenship rights and entitlements. Jewish settlers who arrived before 1948 were placed at the top, while Palestinian ‘present absentees’ were relegated to the bottom,” he explained.

Beside overt and coercive transfers and ghettoization, other means of control included “insurmountable legal and practical hurdles in order to prevent the establishment of an organized political body to voice the opinions and concerns of the minority,” as well as encouraging Arab students to study abroad and establishing Arabic-language media networks that espoused Israeli ideology.

Further, more nuanced, measures involved the introduction of family planning and the initiation of measures for the liberation of women—particularly the raising of their educational standards. Israeli policymakers reached the conclusion that an increase in a woman’s education causes a decline in her fertility.

Sa’di concluded the lecture by pointing to the necessity of conducting independent archival investigation that questions the dominant discourse relayed by Israel. He argued that not only do these documents show what guided Israeli thinking in the early years of establishing the state, but also the relevance of Israeli regulations to current realities on the ground. “These tactics carry the fingerprints of Israeli diplomacy and aimed to absolve the Israeli State of liability for the actions of its agents,” Sa’di explained. He cautioned that it is always important to point to the discrepancy between representation and reality. This, he said, “should not be overlooked nor underestimated, particularly since Israel has always endeavored to present the image of a democratic, enlightened, and moral state.”

Ahmad Sa’di received a Ph.D. degree in sociology from the University of Manchester in 1991, followed by two years of service for a Palestinian NGO. Sa’di has published over 38 articles, in English, Arabic, Hebrew, German and Japanese, and most recently co-edited a book of Palestinian memoirs entitled Nakba: Palestine, 1948 and the Claims of Memory. His areas of interest include political sociology, social movements and political mobilization.
Mari Luomi on Climate Politics and the Forthcoming UN Climate Conference in Doha

Mari Luomi is a 2011-2012 CIRS Post-Doctoral Fellow. She obtained her PhD in Middle Eastern Studies from Durham University and has recently authored a forthcoming book titled, The Gulf Monarchies and Climate Change; Abu Dhabi and Qatar in an Era of Natural Unsustainability. She tweets as @mariluomi.

The year 2012 will mark yet another milestone for the rising star of the Gulf region. Starting on 26 November, tiny Qatar will host the annual conference of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The largest international conference ever to have been organized in Doha, the two-week event is expected to attract 10-15,000 registered participants, observers, and journalists. It will also be the first UNFCCC Conference of Parties (COP) taking place in an oil-exporting country and in the Middle East. Having the 18th COP in Doha will be significant on many levels. Although the image and prestige opportunities may seem obvious, Qatar’s bet is far riskier than the government originally calculated. In the following, I outline what the conference is expected to deliver for the global climate negotiating process and suggest how it could transform the regional agenda.

The UNFCCC is the main global framework for multilateral climate change decision-making and action aimed at preventing dangerous climate change and decreasing the need to adapt to its negative impacts. Currently, only 37 industrialized countries, producing less than 30% of global CO2 emissions, have agreed to binding emission cut targets under the first period of the Kyoto Protocol (2008-2012). The major industrialized emitter, the United States (19%), has not ratified Kyoto. Among the core UNFCCC principles is the historical responsibility of developed countries, but even if these cut their emissions to zero, this would not be enough to achieve a safe level. China alone already produces 24% of global CO2 emissions.

In COP18, industrialized countries must agree on their exact targets in the second Kyoto period. The conference should also kick-start negotiations on the exact form of the new, all-inclusive climate agreement, to be concluded by 2015. Important advancements are therefore expected from this year’s conference.

The Middle East and North Africa produce 8% of global CO2 emissions and Qatar produces only 0.2%. Qatar, however, has the world’s highest per capita emissions and GDP. Qatar and its neighbors, therefore, face some international pressure to pledge new commitments to the climate regime. Governments will need to make moral judgements regarding how much they are prepared to do now, for future generations. Of major near-term significance, however, is the on-going policy shift in three key GCC OPEC states: the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar.

The Arab League has so far failed to function as a representative aggregate of its member states’ interests. It has often been shadowed by the highly vocal OPEC group, led by Saudi Arabia, which has largely focused on defending its future oil revenues from potential negative impacts of international mitigation. Due to its broader negotiating strategy, it has also gained an obstructionist’s reputation.

Since 2009, the UAE—now home to two major alternative energy initiatives and the International Renewable Energy Agency—has gravitated towards a more independent external climate policy and is engaging with new players across traditional reference groups. Qatar, too, is only now beginning to formulate a strongly grounded national policy. Saudi Arabia, left feeling increasingly lonely, has very recently replaced its long-term chief negotiator and given rhetorical signals of a more balanced policy to come. If Qatar is able to define a strong national position that is aligned with its domestic interests, and if it manages to bridge the former divide between oil-exporters and the rest of the world, a new regional climate leader will be born in COP18.

For COP18 to be regarded a success for Qatar, a number of challenges must be overcome. The logistics of accommodating and transporting 15,000 people must be impeccable. Security personnel should be able to respect the climate civil society’s tradition of holding peaceful protests in the vicinity of the conference venue, and it should not come as a surprise if some of these demonstrations are directed at Qatar’s domestic issues. The media should also be granted reasonable access to locations of interest. Qatar has many positive initiatives to showcase, but any “bad press” will be best received in a constructive manner. On the diplomatic side, Qatar needs to build domestic capacity and formulate its own, consensus-based negotiating position, which will support its role as a fair and transparent host. To be seen as seriously engaging in the process, the government will need to make a mitigation-related pledge, against which its commitment to the cause will be closely scrutinized.

Climate change has finally arrived to the core of GCC policy agendas. This COP will be of the Arab countries, GCC OPEC states, and the world’s leading LNG exporter, Qatar. If a fossil fuel giant can perceive the opportunities of the low-carbon economy and make a global climate conference a success, everything will be possible.
David Dyment, senior research associate at the Center on North American Politics and Society at Carleton University in Ottawa, gave a CIRS Focused Discussion on “A New Canadian-American Relationship.” The lecture summarized the main arguments relayed in his book, Doing the Continental: A New Canadian-American Relationship (Dundurn, 2010). Dyment explained that the title of his book harked back to a song and dance routine that was popular in the 1930s called “Doing the Continental.” This, he said, was an apt metaphor for Canada's relationship with the United States, which he described as a “rehabilitation project” that requires both sides to dance in time with each other by learning the necessary steps to conduct a smooth and mature partnership. “Part of what this book is about is our dance with the United States […] and so the twelve steps of Doing the Continental are both a ‘rehabilitation program’ for someone who is perhaps recovering from an addiction—the twelve steps to recovery—and also steps that would be involved in a dance,” he explained.

Dyment argued that Canada has to deal with two major issues on a daily basis: managing its internal differences between mainly French-speaking Quebec and the English-speaking rest of the country, as well as managing its relationship with its neighbor, the United States. Acknowledging the many different nationalities represented in the audience, Dyment gave a basic overview of why Canada's relationship with the United States is so important, including the 5,000 km border that runs between the two countries, the strong influence of US culture and media on Canadian daily life, the long-standing energy and trade relations between the two countries, and the increase in joint Canadian-US intelligence and security efforts post 9/11.

With a population of 30 million in Canada compared to 300 million in the United States, there are real fears on the ground of being subsumed under North America. This, he said, is a relationship that must be managed carefully. “To this day, when people think about how to engage the United States and Canada, they come at it from two perspectives […] the left nationalist perspective—these are parties who are not comfortable with the American political culture—and the right continentalist perspective that favors close political and trade relations with the United States,” he said. This highly polarized, ideological debate between the left and the right means that Canadians normally fall into one or other category. In the interests if conducting research for the book, however, Dyment said that he was able to debunk some of the popular political myths that are perpetuated daily on both sides of the ideological divide. “Through empirical social science,” he was able to clearly see the pros and cons of both perspectives as he tested the merits of the contending schools of thought. “I realized this was a great opportunity to see the relationship differently so that we wouldn't further our contending national competing ideologies, but, rather, step back and ask how […] can we best advance Canada's national interest?” he said.

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With a population of 30 million in Canada compared to 300 million in the United States, there are real fears on the ground of being subsumed under North America. This, he said, is a relationship that must be managed carefully. “To this day, when people think about how to engage the United States and Canada, they come at it from two perspectives […] the left nationalist perspective—these are parties who are not comfortable with the American political culture—and the right continentalist perspective that favors close political and trade relations with the United States,” he said. This highly polarized, ideological debate between the left and the right means that Canadians normally fall into one or other category. In the interests if conducting research for the book, however, Dyment said that he was able to debunk some of the popular political myths that are perpetuated daily on both sides of the ideological divide. “Through empirical social science,” he was able to clearly see the pros and cons of both perspectives as he tested the merits of the contending schools of thought. “I realized this was a great opportunity to see the relationship differently so that we wouldn't further our contending national competing ideologies, but, rather, step back and ask how […] can we best advance Canada's national interest?” he said.

Canada, Dyment explained, is “the largest exporter of energy to the United States by far—more than Saudi Arabia.” Instead of concentrating on some Canadians’ sense of vulnerability and fear of the US, it is important to recognize the many positive contributions towards the United States. The provision of 40% of the US imports of natural gas makes Canada more of a “moose” than a “mouse,” he said. “We are faced with a force of nature in North America with this huge American partner that we have to be wary of—which is what the left nationalists would say—but which we can also benefit from so long as we tame that force in our national interest.”

In conclusion, Dyment argued that for a new Canadian-American relationship to be forged, Canada must acknowledge its unique contribution as the basis for Canada’s engagement in the world. It is important to ask “What can we do that the Americans can't do?” and offer a particular set of skills and comparative advantage. This will make Canada stronger internationally as well as give it more clout with the US. Through this new appreciation of Canada’s value, “we can go into the world making a unique contribution and be more helpful and more influential with our American allies,” he said.

Dyment has served as a senior policy adviser in the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and on the immediate staff of the Governor General of Canada (the Queen’s vice-regal representative).
On January 23, Kwame Anthony Appiah, Professor of Philosophy at Princeton University, delivered the first CIRS Monthly Dialogue of 2012 titled, “Being a Citizen of the World Today.” Appiah’s lecture was centered on the question of global citizenship and how historical intellectual theories of “cosmopolitanism” have a bearing on how people live their lives in the contemporary world. Appiah pointed out that the etymology of the word “cosmopolitan” is derived from the Greek “kosmos” meaning “world” and “polite” meaning “citizen,” and so “cosmopolitanism” literally means a “citizen of the world.” Taking the audience on a journey back to ancient Greece, Appiah relayed how current understandings of cosmopolitanism are inherited from ancient Greek political philosophy.

Appiah recounted that Diogenes, a philosopher and founder of the Cynic movement, was the first known European to ever look beyond the borders of the ancient Greek Empire to claim that he was a citizen of the world. Appiah explained that this statement made by Diogenes is a metaphor for tolerance of otherness and does not necessarily mean that Diogenes favored a single world government, which is precisely what Alexander the Great was attempting to do at that time through his project of world conquest and domination. People can think of themselves as fellow citizens and can care about the fate of their fellow human beings even if they are not members of a single political community. “Cosmopolitanism believes that every human being matters and that we have a shared obligation for one another,” he said.

Diogenes’ idea of cosmopolitanism entered Western philosophical traditions through the Stoics and has survived to this day through Christian and Islamic traditions that emphasize a spiritual affinity between all human beings. Similarly, the intellectual core of European enlightenment was based on the idea of global concern for humanity, without advocating a centralized world government. With the rise of Westphalian ideology, the idea of the nation-state was consolidated through common cultural and linguistic affiliations between the people of a single geographical area. Although calls for national unity and homogeneity are always strong, Appiah noted that they are not all encompassing and there will always be diverse groups of people living in a single country. “Different communities are entitled to live according to different standards because human beings can flourish in many different kinds of society and because there are so many values worth living by,” Appiah said.

Kwame Anthony Appiah joined the Princeton faculty in 2002 as Laurance S. Rockefeller University Professor of Philosophy and the University Center for Human Values. His current interests range over African and African-American intellectual history and literary studies, ethics and philosophy of mind and language; and he has also taught regularly about African traditional religions. Professor Appiah was educated at Clare College, Cambridge University, in England, where he took both B.A. and Ph.D. degrees in the philosophy department.

Because cultural diversity is a condition of the world, “conversation across identities, religions, races, ethnicities, and nationalities is worthwhile, because through conversation, you learn from other people with different, perhaps even incompatible, ideas from your own,” Appiah argued. As such, today’s globalization has made the ancient ideal of cosmopolitanism even more relevant; an individual can reach millions of international others through communication technologies and through global media and economic systems.

As a final thought, Appiah explained that cosmopolitanism is an empowering concept and one that forms the basis of mutual respect for oneself and for others. He concluded that “if people were to manage their own lives, which is what they are responsible for, then they need the powers to do so. And the closer the powers are to people, and to small communities of people, the greater the control they can have over the shaping of their lives.”

Anthony Appiah during his Monthly Dialogue lecture.
Shahla Haeri, a cultural anthropologist at Boston University and a 2011-2012 CIRS Visiting Scholar, gave a Focused Discussion titled, “From Bilqis to Benazir: Women and Political Leadership in Muslim Societies” on February 26, 2012. Haeri’s current research interests revolve around examining Muslim women in positions of power, both past and present.

Haeri began her talk by critiquing western media accounts of the Arab Spring that pondered the motivations compelling Muslim women to suddenly become active in politics. She pointed out that there was nothing sudden or unprecedented about Muslim women’s participation in the political domain as evidenced by the long and rich history of women in leadership roles. Haeri recounted the Judeo-Islamic story of the Queen of Sheba, also known as Bilqis, as one that is prominent in the Qur’an and favorably portrays the queen as a wise, intelligent, and caring ruler. The story of the Queen of Sheba shows that “the Queen’s gender is immaterial to her leadership and governance, and gender politics plays no role in this Qur’anic story.”

The story, however, has seldom played an important role in modern Muslim feminist discourse. “Given that this story permeates popular cultures and is explicitly specified in the Qur’an, what has prevented Muslim women from appropriating the Queen’s model of leadership and actively participating in the political life of their societies?” Haeri mused.

The answer to this question, she said, can be found in the dynamics of an alleged hadith, or prophetic saying, and its patriarchal resonance in Muslim societies. The Prophet is reported to have said “those who entrust their affairs to women will never know prosperity.” In order to reconcile these two opposing narratives, Haeri proposed juxtaposing the Qur’anic story that supports women’s political leadership with that of its reported condemnation in the hadith in order to determine the patriarchal and political machinations at work in undermining women in leadership roles.

As examples of Muslim women in power, Haeri offered Raziya Sultan, ruler of the medieval Mamluk dynasty in India; Benazir Bhutto, the late Prime Minister of Pakistan who was democratically elected as leader of a highly conservative Muslim nation; and Ayesha, the Prophet’s wife, who led the “Battle of the Camel” against the reigning Caliph Ali.

By examining the many historical examples of Muslim women in positions of power, Haeri highlighted the religious ambivalence regarding Muslim women leaders rather than a categorical condemnation. Predominant patriarchal opposition, she argued, happens within a socio-political sphere, rather than emanating primarily from the scripture.

Of the Camel” against the reigning Caliph Ali.

All these women, although hailing from different cultural traditions and historical periods, shared a distinguished genealogical pedigree and had support from their powerful fathers or husbands. As Haeri explained, “the patriarch’s support bestows power and prestige on the daughter, facilitates her presence in the public domain, and legitimates her political authority and activities,” thus working to silence her detractors. Here lies what she has called “paradox of patriarchy.” While “history provides ample examples of fatal rivalries between the imperial fathers and coveting sons, little is said on the political implications of the relationships between a patriarch and his daughter, whom he may indeed favor over his sons who are in a structural position to dislodge the patriarch from his position of authority.”

Haeri ended her discussion by noting that popular views against women in leadership were/are often emanating from patriarchal and political discourse, and not necessarily from religious or scriptural dictates. “Aware of the hierarchy of the sources of authority in Islam—that between the Qur’anic revelations supporting women’s leadership and the alleged Prophetic hadith opposing it—religious authorities bide their time until an opportune moment arises to challenge the authority of a queen, a sultan, or a prime minister.”

Spotlight on the Faculty

Reflections on SFS-Qatar’s Role in the Development of Qatar’s Knowledge Economy

John T. Crist is Director of Research at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar and Associate Director of Research at the Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS). He received his Ph.D. in interdisciplinary social science from the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts (PARC) in the Maxwell School at Syracuse University (1998).

During the past year, Education City has been undergoing an important transformation about which readers of the CIRS Newsletter may not be aware. Under the direction of Her Highness Sheikha Mozah, Chair of Qatar Foundation, and in partnership with the campuses hosted in Education City, there has been a concerted effort to highlight, expand, and upgrade the research capacity and research production across the campuses. This is the latest move in a long-term strategy in Qatar to develop a knowledge economy and to establish itself as a prominent global and regional hub for scientific research.

Compared to the world’s oldest and largest research and development economies (for instance, the U.S., Germany, China, and Japan), Qatar is a late entrant to the field. But with its enormous resources and focused ambition, Qatar has established itself rapidly as an important supporter of basic and applied research in the oil and gas sector, medical research, engineering and computing, among other areas. Apart from the faculties in Education City, Qatar Foundation has built in the past decade or so a substantial research infrastructure as part of its national vision for jumpstarting a knowledge economy. Important elements of this infrastructure include the Qatar National Research Fund, Qatar Science and Technology Park, Sidra Medical and Research Center, and three research institutes focused on areas considered key to Qatar’s future development (the Qatar Environmental and Energy Research Institute, the Qatar Biomedical Research Institute, and the Qatar Computing Research Institute).

In contrast, the social sciences and humanities have lagged behind the hard sciences in this competition for resources. Georgetown University SFS-Qatar has led the pack in Education City for securing funding from QNRF in the social sciences and humanities. According to QNRF’s key performance indicators, Georgetown comes out on top among all EC institutions in the ratio of investment to scholarly output. The projects that have been funded deploy the best research strategies to shed light on topics that are of vital importance to Qatar’s development plans. Abbas Al-Tonsi, Hana Zabarah, Amira El-Zein, and Yehia Mohamed (Arabic language faculty at SFS-Qatar) received a large grant to study the state of Arabic language instruction in Qatari schools and to develop Arabic instructional materials for heritage learners. Alexis Antoniades (Assistant Professor, Economics) was funded to examine the dynamics of inflation in Qatar and the Gulf, price differentiation across the Gulf, and the projected economic consequences of a common currency and common monetary authority in the Gulf. Mehran Kamrava (Director, CIRS) and Katja Niethammer are tracking and analyzing Qatar’s and Saudi Arabia’s roles in regional diplomacy, mediation, and conflict resolution. Frieda Wiebe, the Director of the SFS-Qatar Library, and Doris Goldstein, the Senior Library Advisor for International Initiatives with the Kennedy Institute of Ethics on main campus, are building an on-line and physical collection of documents related to Islamic bioethics, including issues ranging from genetic research, environment and health, lifestyle diseases, and women’s and children’s health.

Alongside such QNRF-funded projects, there are several other key pillars of SFS-Qatar’s research culture. Since 2007, the Center for International and Regional Studies has perhaps been the main public face of SFS-Qatar’s research activity. Through working groups, fellowships, publications, and conference presentations, it has nurtured a global community of top quality scholars working on matters related to the Gulf and broader Middle East. Yet beyond this, as one would expect from a Georgetown University institution, the relatively small SFS-Qatar faculty as a whole has authored a substantial amount of high quality scholarship in a variety of disciplines—reflecting the diverse curriculum at SFS-Qatar.

Finally, student research on campus is a vital and thriving part of SFS-Qatar’s research culture. Georgetown has had considerable success with the Undergraduate Research Experience Program (UREP), a QNRF grant program to support faculty mentoring of undergraduate research projects. This reflects a strong appreciation among faculty for the direct connections between classroom pedagogy and the research enterprise outside the classroom. The quality of Hoyas student work was acknowledged by Qatar Foundation at its recent Annual Research Forum when Mashael Al-Hajri (SFSQ’14) won the “Best Student Research” award at the Qatar Foundation Annual Research Forum. A result of her summer internship at Msheireb Properties where she worked as a research assistant on the Gulf Encyclopedia for Sustainable Urbanism (a project led by the Harvard University Graduate School of Design, and involving SFS-Qatar’s Dr Rogaia Abu Sharaf) Mashael conducted an empirical study of urbanism in the Gulf, with special emphasis on the fireeq (an indigenous urban settlement model).

From his appointment in October, 2011, Dean Gerd Nunneman has taken up the challenge to re-examine SFS-Qatar’s structure and priorities to answer the call to enhance SFS-Qatar’s research culture beyond the original mandate to deliver the SFS curriculum in Qatar. This has meant developing a coherent strategic plan—through a broad consultative process—that among other things places scholarly research culture. priorities to answer the call to enhance SFS-Qatar’s research culture beyond the original mandate to deliver the SFS curriculum in Qatar. This has meant developing a coherent strategic plan—through a broad consultative process—that among other things places scholarly research alongside teaching as an integral part of our mission in Doha. It has also meant providing new incentives to promote research output, such as research semesters for junior and senior faculty and course buy-outs for those who bring in research funding to the university. He has also established a Director of Research at SFS-Qatar to support and promote our research activities with key stakeholders and external partners. Steps like these help SFS-Qatar build our internal capacity to produce high-quality research and to seek out the kind of international collaboration that is a hallmark of any mature and vibrant research culture.
Walter B. Denny, Professor of Art History at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, gave a CIRS Monthly Dialogue lecture on “Innovation in the Visual Arts of Islam: New Ways of Looking at Islamic Art.” The lecture was a follow-up to a previous one Denny gave for CIRS at the “Innovation in Islam” conference that took place back in 2008. Subsequently, Denny contributed to the CIRS edited volume on Innovation in Islam: Traditions and Contributions, which was edited by Mehran Kamrava and published in 2011 by the University of California Press.

Contextualizing the concept of “innovation,” Denny described the ways in which it is understood in relation to art. He argued that innovation does not relate solely to the contemporary, but is paradoxically a historical feature of creative endeavors in all artistic categories. “One of the things that has always fascinated me about the history of Islamic art is the way that the past is constantly used as an inspiration for the present and, of course, for the future,” he said. As an example, Denny said that the Mamluk style has been continually revived in the history of Egyptian architecture, as has the Ottoman style been reproduced in Turkey and elsewhere in the former Ottoman Empire. Innovation in art history is always based on something that came before, and “there is no such thing as total innovation. Innovation is always, to one extent or another, incremental,” he explained.

In much of the Islamic art that Denny examined, patterns and forms are not newly designed, but are borrowings from previous times, locales, and traditions that were either forcibly learned or subtly transferred as cultures came into contact with one another across the centuries. The geometric designs that have come to define art-works of the Islamic world are in fact derived from previous Roman traditions, Denny argued. This is not to say, however, that these works should not be considered innovative. Each iteration of a previous form is creating something new, and yet, it is something that must acknowledge its debt to a past formulation. Denny gave an example of how themes or motifs have been transferred from one culture to another to produce entirely new meanings. In ancient China, for example, the dragon was used as a powerful symbol of the cosmos, but when used in Ottoman artworks, it lost this meaning entirely and was instead used to symbolize a fearsome creature.

“Dynastic patronages in Ottoman and Persian art ensured that certain styles were used in order to set their works apart from others, or, as Denny explained, the use of particular motifs is in fact, a traditional form of “branding.” These are innovations that are created specifically for works of art to stand out in the marketplace, and to signal the uniqueness of one culture or another. “The Ottoman Empire, consciously, as a matter of state policy, adopted certain forms in its art,” he said.

Not only is innovation a feature of art itself, but, Denny argued, it is also an aspect of how art is viewed and how we conceive of our relationship with artworks. Denny, Senior Consultant in the Department of Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, described how displays at museums are constantly updated over the years in order to give the viewer a better sense of the work. The ever new and sophisticated ways in which art is being displayed, lighted, and categorized, all move toward the development of a new type of relationship between the work of art and the viewer.

In conclusion, Denny said that the artist is constantly in a state of transmutation between the past and present, even at times being accused of plagiarism when his or her work too closely resembles another’s. Yet, Denny argued, much of what we consider to be works of art are in fact created by emulating what has come before. After surveying several innovations in the history of Islamic art, he concluded that “we are beginning to look at Islamic art as we should have looked at it all along—as a phenomenon; art that reflects the totality of the human experience, from the human psyche, to human belief, to patronage systems.”

Denny joined the faculty of the University of Massachusetts-Amherst Art History Program in 1970. His primary field of research is the art and architecture of the Islamic world, in particular the artistic traditions of the Ottoman Turks, Islamic carpets and textiles, and issues of economics and patronage in Islamic art.
The Season in Events

Audience at a CIRS Distinguished Lecture.

Anthony Appiah during his Monthly Dialogue lecture.

Ahmad Sa’di with audience members after the lecture.

Peter Bergen (Center) converses with audience members.

Spring 2012 | CIRS Newsletter 15

Participants of “The Evolving Ruling Bargain in the Middle East” working group.

Audience members peruse CIRS publications at a Monthly Dialogue Lecture.
Call for Papers

Georgetown University’s Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS) is pleased to announce a call for contributions to its publication series. CIRS publishes original research in a broad range of issues related to the Gulf region in the areas of international relations, political science, economics, and Islamic studies. Other topics of current significance also will be considered.

Papers should be a maximum of 10,000 words and cannot have been previously published or under consideration for publication elsewhere. Papers must adhere to the Chicago Manual of Style (16th edition) and all transliterations must adhere to the International Journal of Middle East Studies. All submissions are subject to a double-blind review process. Any copyright concerns are the full responsibility of the author. Please submit manuscripts to cirsr@georgetown.edu. Inquiries about publications or other related questions may be directed to Suzi Mirgani, Manager and Editor for CIRS Publications at sm623@georgetown.edu.

Post-Doctoral Fellowship

Georgetown University’s Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS) awards Post-Doctoral Fellowships. The fellowship supports a recent Ph.D. recipient in any discipline working on the area of the Middle East with priority given to those working on the Gulf. The Fellowship is for a period of one academic year. Compensation, benefits and other terms of employment are highly competitive.

Interested candidates should visit the website for more information: http://cirs.georgetown.edu/research/fellowships/114126.html

Visiting Scholar/Researcher

Georgetown University’s Center for International and Regional Studies (CIRS) awards nonresidential Visiting Scholar Fellowships. The position is open to scholars in all disciplines working on any area of the Middle East, with priority given to those working on the Gulf. This position is ideal for mid- and senior-level academics. Compensation, benefits and other terms of employment are highly competitive.

Interested candidates should visit the website for more information: http://cirs.georgetown.edu/research/fellowships/114127.html

CIRS Newsletter ISSN 2072-6961
© 2012 Center for International and Regional Studies
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