



جامعة قطر
QATAR UNIVERSITY

The 6th Annual International Conference of the Gulf Studies Center

Towards a new 'comprehensive security' in the Gulf

7 November (Sunday) and 8 November (Monday) 2021

Organizer: Gulf Studies Center

Qatar University, Doha, Qatar



Program Schedule

Date	Time	The event	
Sunday, 7 November, 2020	9:00 am - 9:45 am	Welcome	
		Inaugural Address	
		Mahjoob Zweiri Director, Gulf Studies Center, College of Arts and Science, Qatar University	
		Luciano Zaccara Research Coordinator, Politics and Security in the Gulf, Gulf Studies Center, Qatar University	
	9:45 am - 11:45 am	Guest Speaker: Bulent Aras <i>Sabanci University and Qatar University</i> Turkey and the GCC region in the Aftermath of Al-Ula Summit	
		Session 1: Frameworks and Approaches to the Regional Security System in the Gulf Chair: Mahjoob Zweiri - Qatar University	
		Name of the Participants and Affiliation	Paper Titles
		Abdullah Baabood <i>Waseda University and Qatar University</i>	Regional inclusive mechanism for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region; Bringing 'Pipe Dreams' to Reality
		Hamid Reza Deghani and Fahimeh Abbasi <i>Ambassador of Iran to Doha & First Secretary of I.R.I Embassy in Doha</i>	The Existing Initiatives to Establish Regional Security Arrangement in the Region Towards a Desirable Model
		Mehran Haghirian <i>Qatar University</i>	Reconfiguring the Regional Security Architecture in the Persian Gulf: Intra-GCC Conflicts, Relations with Iran, and Great Power Interests
		Victoria Silva Sánchez <i>The Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM)</i>	Red Sea security as Gulf security: building a new regional order in the Red Sea
	12:30 am – 14.30 pm	Session 2: Non-Conventional Security Aspects in the Gulf: Towards a Comprehensive Security Chair: Luciano Zaccara - Qatar University	
		Name of the Participant and Affiliation	Paper Title
		Mohammad Yaghi <i>Konrad Adenauer Stiftung</i>	Toward a Constructivist Approach to the Gulf Region's Security
		Azza Abdelmoneium <i>Doha International Family Institute</i>	Social Impact of COVID-19 on Qatari Families: Challenges and Coping Strategies

		Asieh Haieri-Yazdi <i>University of Dundee</i>	Political Dimensions of Climate Justice in the Persian Gulf
		Javad Heiran-Nia <i>Center for Scientific Research and Middle East Strategic Studies, Iran</i>	Toward New Architecture for Persian Gulf Order, Necessity of Overlapping the Human Security and State Security

Date	Time		
Sunday, 7 November, 2021	14:30 - 16:30 pm	Session 3: Roles and Policies of the GCC States in the Regional Security Chair: Nesibe Hicret Battaloglu	
		Name of the Participants and Affiliation	Paper Titles
		Fadhl Bashir <i>International Islamic University Malasia (IIUM)</i>	The Role of GCC Foreign Aid Policy in Enhancing the Regional Security: The Case of the State of Qatar
		Matías Ferreyra <i>Inter-institutional Graduate Program in International Relations 'San Tiago Dantas' (UNESP, UNICAMP, PUC-SP).</i>	International military organizations of the Global South: comparing the Peninsula Shield Force, the Africa Standby Force, and the Southern Cross Combined Force
		Fatma Hilal Al-Mohannadi <i>Qatar University</i>	Qatar Defense Strategies
		Joel Foyth <i>Rosario Institute of Arab and Islamic World Studies (IREMAI)</i>	The role of the United Arab Emirates in the internationalization of the Yemeni conflict

Date	Time	
Monday,	9:00 am - 10:30 am	Session 4: Cyber Security in the Gulf Chair: Amr Al Azm - Qatar University

		Name of the Participants and Affiliation	Paper Titles
		Ian Parmeter <i>Australian National University</i>	Countering The Growing Cyber Threat To Gulf Security
		Asiya Bukhari <i>National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST) Islamabad</i>	Emergence of Cyber Conflict and Cyber Security Resilient in Gulf region
		Marc Owen Jones <i>Hamad bin Khalifa University</i>	Disinformation as cybersecurity: a holistic approach
	11:00 am - 13:00 pm	Session 5: External Actors and Case Studies Chair: Nikolay Kozhanov - Qatar University	
		Name of the Participant and Affiliation	Paper Title
		Aref Bijan <i>St. Petersburg State University</i>	Russia and the new security system in the Persian Gulf; Approach and strategy
		Salem Ghurab <i>Qatar University</i>	The Iraq-Iran war causes; a theoretical reexamination
		Kamyar Hatef, Maryam Jaferi <i>Allameh Tabataba'i University</i>	A Comparative Study of the Role of the Nation-State Building Process in the Middle East Crises; a Case Study of the Crisis in Bahrain, Iraq and Yemen
		Huzeyfe Altiok, Hamdullah Baycar <i>Qatar University & University of Exeter</i>	The GCC from the hegemony of one to the balance of power to all

Closing remarks and future plans	8 November 2021 (Monday) 13:00 pm to 13:30 pm Closing remarks: Mahjoob Zweiri Discussions about publication issues: Luciano Zaccara
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Conference Organizing Committee

Dr. Luciano Zaccara



Nesibe Hicret Battaloglu



Dr. Nikolay Kozhanov



Dr. Md Mizanur Rahman



Welcome Note

On behalf of the Gulf Studies Center at Qatar University, it gives the conference committee great pleasure to extend a very warm welcome to the participants of the “6th Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference: Towards as new ‘comprehensive security’ in the Gulf.

It is the mission of the Gulf Studies Center to implement and advance Qatar University’s vision of developing research and academia in Qatar and the region. Therefore, this annual international conference on the new trends in Gulf security will bring together scholars, policy makers, local stakeholders and students from a wide-range of disciplines to engage in distinct debates on a number of themes such as new approaches to Gulf Security, conventional and non-conventional security aspects, human security, cyber security and environmental security.

Top priority of the 6th Annual Conference is to discuss original approaches that may address the wide range of threats faced by the Gulf countries starting with traditional military security challenges and ending with the latest issues such as environmental, health, economic, food, water, energy, human, and cyber security challenges. The scope of the conference encompasses research on the member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates, in addition to Iran, Iraq, and Yemen.

We are pleased that our international, regional, and local guests have accepted our invitation to partake in this thought-provoking event, and the Gulf Studies Center is looking forward to two days of intriguing research and academic papers presented by the scholars in the field.

Best Regards,
Conference Committee



Concept Paper

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the Gulf region has encountered multiple new and old security challenges of different natures. Among others, these challenges included:

- Intermittent political unrest provoked by the events of the 2010 – 2011 Arab Spring
- Socio-economic grievances caused by domestic mismanagement, structural problems and corruption
- Rise to power of non-state actors that challenged the existing governments, borders and regional order
- Traditional inter-state conflicts driven by old feuds
- Regional proxy wars fueled by some power ambitions to shape the future of the Gulf
- Sanctions and economic blockades imposed both from inside and outside of the region
- Growing food, water and energy insecurity that is directly connected to long-neglected environmental issues of the region
- Transformation of oil and gas markets that negatively affects the volume of revenues ensuring socio-political stability of Gulf states
- Finally, the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic reminds the Gulf on the necessity to ensure health and social security for both expats and nationals.

This list of issues faced by the region within the last twenty years is incomplete and can be continued. Yet, it already demonstrates that the Gulf – considered here as the six GCC states, Iran, Iraq and Yemen- is far from being secure. Existing threats are diverse in nature and capable to affect both domestic politics, state-society relations, economic development and foreign policies of every Gulf state. What is more important is that the existing diversity of the nature of threats makes classical approaches towards regional security obsolete and often inapplicable of searching for potential answers to existing challenges: the majority of traditional approaches are based on hard power and military deterrence doctrines and cannot deal with the new set of multi-dimensional threats.

Under these circumstances, the top priority of the 6th Annual Conference, organized by the Gulf Studies Center, is to discuss original approaches that may address the wide range of threats faced by the Gulf countries starting with traditional military security challenges and ending with the latest issues such as environmental, health, economic, food, water, energy, human, and cyber security challenges. Topics covered in this conference will be:

- Military security
- Political security
- Economic security
- Societal security
- Environmental security
- Cyber security



Web Platform

The 6th Annual International Conference of the Gulf Studies Center (First Day)
Sunday, November 7, 2021 at 09:00 AM - 16:30 PM Doha Time

Session 1: Frameworks and Approaches to the Regional Security System in the Gulf

Session 2: Non-Conventional Security Aspects in the Gulf: Towards a Comprehensive Security

Session 3: Roles and Policies of the GCC States in the Regional Security

WebEx Event Link: <https://qu-edu.webex.com/qu-edu/j.php?MTID=e89a2f05dab871c1e944387f3e28864e6>

Using Laptop:

to Enter First name, Last name, Email Address and click 'Join Now'

Event ID: 2673 563 7485 Password: Gsc2021

YouTube Live Link: <https://youtu.be/CfBLirJ16u0>



The 6th Annual International Conference of the Gulf Studies Center (Second Day)
Monday, November 8, 2021 at 09:00 AM - 13:30 PM Doha Time

Session 4: Cyber Security in the Gulf

Session 5: External Actors and Case Studies

WebEx Event Link: <https://qu-edu.webex.com/qu-edu/j.php?MTID=mb12512ec13b6fae518a02b68de709979>

Using Laptop:

to Enter First name, Last name, Email Address and click 'Join Now'

Using Smart Devices:

Event ID: 2671 409 7803 Password: Gsc2021

YouTube Live Link: https://youtu.be/fLxd7_x_P3Q



Abstracts and Biographies

Day 1: Sunday, 7 November 2021

Inaugural Session, 9:00 am - 9:15 am

Inaugural Address

Mahjoob Zweiri, Director, Gulf Studies Center, College of Arts and Science, Qatar University

Luciano Zaccara, Research Coordinator, Politics and Security in the Gulf, Gulf Studies Center, Qatar University

Guest Speaker, 9:15 am-9:45 am

Bulent Aras, Senior Scholar at Istanbul Policy Center at Sabanci University and Visiting Professor of International Relations, Qatar University

Turkey and the GCC region in the aftermath of Al-Ula Summit

Abstract: The Al-Ula Summit of January 5, 2021, officially brought the most recent Gulf crisis to an end after almost four years. Saudi Arabia's leadership was crucial in the GCC decision to normalize relations with Qatar. Last-minute Kuwaiti shuttle diplomacy flattened the road for the Qatari emir's participation, which ensured the reopening of diplomatic and transportation links prior to the summit. The Saudis seem to have controlled the Emirati and Egyptian opposition to normalization without concessions, implying that their ideological repugnance for the Qatar-radical-Islamist nexus had not disappeared. While the normalization is perhaps overly optimistic, as the resolution does not contain references to the roots of the crisis, Qatar has yet to announce any changes in its foreign policy.

The ending of the diplomatic rift was generally seen as a goodwill offering to the incoming Biden administration and a signal of Saudi readiness to address common threats—i.e., Iran—in a cooperative manner. This move was pursuant to a number of Saudi initiatives to reshape the image of Mohammed bin Salman as a more suitable partner to US interests, including the prince's own project: to build an “environmentally friendly” city. In that sense, this might be construed as a flashback to King Salman's debut, when he sidelined the MB threat and tried to focus on rolling back Iran in cooperation with Qatar and Turkey under the banner of “Sunni Islam.” Yet, even pre-crisis dynamics have largely melted away, and singling out the Iranian threat might not ensure Gulf unity today. Without a more consensual settlement of the dispute that in the end would bring all parties to a sustainable resolution, three factors could reopen the rift with Qatar. As a result, the Al-Ula declaration should be read as an incomplete first step toward normalization. Restoring stability and security would entail taking broader steps such as a constructive dialogue, not only with Turkey and Iran but also other stakeholders such as China, Russia, and the EU. This paper will explore the implications of the Gulf normalization process on Turkish foreign policy towards the region. It will discuss two ways interactions--from Turkey to region and vice versa--in this dynamic setting, which will be more likely to restructure the regional rivalry patterns rather than making it disappear.



Bio: Bülent Aras is Visiting Professor at Qatar University and Senior Expert at Center for International Policy Research. He is also Senior Scholar and Coordinator of the Conflict Resolution and Mediation stream at Istanbul Policy Center and Research Professor of International relations at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. His writings include *Turkey's State Crisis* (Syracuse, 2021) and *Arab Spring, Turkey and Beyond* (Routledge, 2016).



Session 1: Frameworks and Approaches to the Regional Security System in the Gulf

Chair: Mahjoob Zweiri, Qatar University

9:45am to 11:45 am

Regional inclusive mechanism for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region; Bringing 'Pipe Dreams' to Reality

Abdullah Baabood, *Waseda University & Qatar University*

Abstract: The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region is going through an existential crisis due to a complex, multifaceted historical and new entrenched set of reasons. The root causes of the current situation are rife in the area and driven by both old and new challenges and conflicts. Regional, international governments and global governance actors seem unable to provide viable solutions to the MENA regional entrenched challenges and conflicts.

The region seems to lack an overarching regional structure that is more comprehensive and more inclusive. However, there has been some initiatives like the Iranian Hormuz Peace Plan (HOPE), the Russia's Collective Security Concept for Gulf security and the Middle East Strategic Alliance (MESA) among others but they remain rather limited in nature and scope.

The overall objective is to create a more comprehensive and inclusive regional mechanism in the MENA region with the aim of facilitating dialogue, mediation, confidence building measures, and regional cooperation. The paper will discuss existing regional structures and proposed initiatives and shed light on the evolving idea of creating a regional mechanism that is more comprehensive and more inclusive



Bio: Abdullah Baabood is a professor in international relations with special interest in the Middle East and the Gulf states economic, social, and political development and their international relations. Currently he is the Chair of the State of Qatar for Islamic Area Studies and Visiting Professor, Faculty of International Research and Education, Waseda University and Adjunct Professor, Gulf Studies Center, College of Arts & Sciences, Qatar University.

The Existing Initiatives to Establish Regional Security Arrangement in the Region Towards a Desirable Model

Ambassador Hamid Reza Dehghani and Fahimeh Abbasi

Abstract: Security, stability, and cooperation are the missing links in our region. Over the last few decades, many attempts have been made to establish the security mechanism such as UNSCR 598, where requests UN Secretary- General to “examine in consultation with Iran, Iraq and with other states in the region measures to enhance the security and stability in the region”. Since then, host of initiatives presented by the regional and external actors, however, it is far from establishing an inclusive and sustainable security mechanism. overwiewing these initiatives, this study seeks to answer that why these plans has not been able to create a viable and inclusive security mechanism so that serves the interests of the nations in the region. the answer is that lack of trust among the littoral states and disagreement about the role of external powers are among factors influencing the formation of this security mechanism and any model for the regional security architecture should be based on the regional dialogue and mutual understanding.



Bio: Hamid Reza Dehghani is currently Iran's Ambassador to Qatar. Previously he served as Assistant Minister and Director General of the Middle East and North Africa at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He holds a PhD in Private Law from the Islamic Univesity of Lebannon.



Bio: Fahime Abbasi is the first secretary of Iran Embassy in Doha. She holds a PhD in Middle East and North Africa Studies, University of Tehran.



Reconfiguring the Regional Security Architecture in the Persian Gulf: Intra-GCC Conflicts, Relations with Iran, and Great Power Interests
Mehran Haghirián, *Qatar University*

Abstract: The member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) -Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE)- were often characterized as being a part of a singular unit and assumed to be following the same foreign policy objectives. While it had always been the case, the imposition of a blockade on Qatar in 2017 proved that the GCC states are not in lockstep and that many intra-GCC conflicts exist. Two of the most important and apparent of these conflicts are the differences in their foreign policy approaches toward Iran and reconfiguring the regional security architecture.

The GCC states do not have a unified policy towards Iran, and each state has a unique approach based on its diplomatic, economic, and security considerations. Moreover, each GCC state's foreign policy decision-making calculus toward Iran includes various internal, regional, and international factors. For some, Iran has almost-always been a primary security concern. Saudi Arabia and the UAE perceive Iran's regional policies as directly targeted at challenging their regional influence, and Bahrain views Tehran as a challenger to its survival. On the other hand, Oman, Qatar, and Kuwait have been compartmentalizing their concerns and interests when dealing with Iran. The same divide is true with regard to reconfiguring the regional security architecture.

In the context of the regional security architecture, the United States has always been a key player. More recently, in 2015, it was President Obama's policies that led to the Iran Nuclear Deal, and it was he who advised that the GCC states should "share the region with Iran." In 2017, President Trump's "maximum pressure" campaign inhibited the actual implementation of those policy changes and set-in motion a series of new geopolitical shifts in the region. The imposition and end of the blockade on Qatar, the normalization of relations between some GCC states and Israel through the Abraham Accord, and continuous military tensions in the Persian Gulf are all legacies of the Trump Administration. Now, in 2021, Biden's presidency has brought with it another wave of shifts in the foreign policy approaches of the GCC states.

Reconfiguration of the current security architecture is inevitable. The path ahead depends on whether the GCC states accept an inclusive framework or not. The actions by global powers and actors in the broader region will shape the GCC states' outlook. Moreover, the willingness of European and Asian powers to engage both Iran and the GCC states is entirely different compared to the United States' one-sided approach toward the Persian Gulf region. China, Russia, and some European countries have expressed their interest in facilitating dialogue in the region. The involvement of more external players is further complicating the already complex Great Power competition in the region.

This paper uses traditional theories in International Relations and modern concepts under the umbrella of Foreign Policy Analysis. Through this approach, the paper has a holistic theoretical and conceptual framework to differentiate the foreign policy approaches of the GCC States toward the reconfiguration of the regional security architecture.



Bio: Mehran Haghirian is the Director of Regional Initiatives at the Bourse & Bazaar Foundation, a think tank focused on economic diplomacy, economic development, and economic justice in the Middle East and Central Asia. In this role, Mehran draws on his extensive background researching regional political and security frameworks. He is a PhD candidate at Qatar University, where he focuses on the geopolitics of the Persian Gulf region, and holds a master's degree in international affairs from American University's School of International Service in Washington DC. Prior to joining B&BF, Mehran worked at the Ibn Khaldon Center for Humanities and Social Sciences as a researcher and assistant director and at the Atlantic Council's Future of Iran Initiative as a project assistant.



Red Sea security as Gulf security: building a new regional order in the Red Sea
Victoria Silva Sánchez *The Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM)*

Abstract: During the past few years, the Red Sea has attracted increased attention from both scholars and policymakers due to several events of regional importance. However, this novelty approach neglects a long and deep history of relations between both shores. Nowadays these security interdependencies are more visible than ever, manifested in a myriad of ways that include traditional economic cooperation and investment, humanitarian aid, diplomatic relations, cooperation against piracy and terrorism, but also interference in domestic politics, arms trade, and regional projects. This paper contends that Gulf security cannot anymore be understood as separate from Red Sea security. This fact is proven not only for the growing linkages mentioned above but also for its recognition of the actors belonging to this so-called Red Sea region, which through their security practices have developed a common security space spanning both shores. The paper will follow a theoretical approach based on constructivist and post-structuralist regional theories, including theories of regional security, applied to the Red Sea region. Then it will seek to understand how different Gulf countries are incorporating this area into their national security realm by delineating different projects for a Red Sea regional order.



Bio: Victoria Silva Sánchez is PhD candidate in International Relations at the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM) with a thesis focusing on Red Sea regional security. She is a member of the Group of Studies in International Relations (GERI) and of the editorial board of the journal *Relaciones Internacionales*. She has published several book reviews, book chapters and papers for several think tanks and research centres (IEMed, Spanish Institute of Strategic Studies) and has participated in national and international conferences and seminars exposing her research on Red Sea regional security, including XXII FIMAM (Barcelona, Oct 2019), the New Regionalisms Working Group of the Arab Council on Social Sciences (Beirut, Feb 2020) or the Fourth AEGIS Thematic Conference of the Collaborative Research Group Africa in the Indian Ocean (Lisbon, Sept. 2021), among others.

Session 2: Non-Conventional Security Aspects in the Gulf: Towards a Comprehensive Security,

Chair: Luciano Zaccara, Qatar University

12:30 pm to 14:30 pm

Toward a Constructivist Approach to the Gulf Region's Security

Mohammad Yaghi, *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung*

Abstract: For long decades, the Gulf States have relied on the United States to provide security for their countries, but since the Obama's administration, the U.S. is signaling its intention to withdraw from the MENA region making the current security architecture in the Gulf region in need for revisiting. While the Gulf States can diversify their security, this process takes time, costly and it is doubtful that it can bring about security to the region. Instead of using a realist paradigm to establish a new security arrangement in the Gulf region, this paper is using a constructivist approach to argue that the Gulf States, Iraq, and Iran can establish a security community where they all can enjoy security. The security community refers to the creation of a peaceful comity of states through gradual confidence building and integration. It is a multilateral organization that provides collective security to its members and where states also align together to eliminate the use of force as a recourse of action within their designated political space. The paper explains first why the Gulf region needs a new security arrangement. It then argues that an alternative realist approach is not in the Gulf States' interests. Finally, using the ASEAN countries as an example, it outlines a constructivist approach to the region's security.



Bio: Dr. Mohammad Yaghi is a research fellow and programme manager at the Regional Program Gulf States at Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS). Previously, he was an adjunct professor in the department of political studies at Queens University in Canada teaching comparative politics. His work at KAS combines the various internal and foreign relations issues of the GCC states. In particular, he focuses on the growing role of the GCC in MENA region, the Gulf States' security, the GCC's foreign aid, and the social transformation within the Gulf States.



Social Impact of COVID-19 on Qatari Families: Challenges and Coping Strategies

Azza Abdelmoneium, *Doha International Family Institute*

Abstract: The pandemic of the coronavirus has swept the world and affected health, economic, social and financial aspects on all countries around the world in an unprecedented way due to its universal spread. Qatar is no exception from these countries.

Families in Qatar were greatly disturbed by the pandemic leading to many challenges, which affect their health and social functioning. Using a qualitative approach, this paper examines the social impacts of COVID-19 on families in Qatar and investigates coping strategies that could strengthen family cohesion. Based on in-depth interviews with a total number of 47 Qatari and Non-Qatari male and female participants, the results showed that families faced social challenges such as social isolation, marital disputes, tension between family members and social distancing during lockdown. Coping strategies such as the use of social media, family connectedness, family activities were strategies used by the families to survive the crisis.

Policy recommendations and interventions programs is important in aiming for better health and social life needed for the families during the pandemic in Qatar.



Bio: Azza O. Abdelmoneium (Phd Social Science) currently working as the director of the research department at Doha International Family Institute – member of Qatar Foundation in Qatar. She has more than fifteen years of experience at the academic, research and civil society organizations. She worked in the academic field in the Netherlands and Sudan teaching and supervision of undergraduate and graduate students. She worked with international organizations, the United Nations, IOM on issues related to children, displacement and families. She published scientific articles and presented conference papers on children, disability, elderly care, family issues. Her research interest include family, children, parenting, rights, gender, elderly care and civil society.



Political Dimensions of Climate Justice in the Persian Gulf

Asieh Haieri-Yazdi , *University of Dundee*

Abstract: The research utilises the framework of Regional Security Complex Theory to explore and integrate a conceptual approach tailored to climate justice in energy debates of the Persian Gulf. This study tries to analyse the political aspects of climate policy inside the Persian Gulf region. The study aims to capture the regional relations debate on politics of infrastructure of the power grid and interconnected gas pipelines. The multilevel aspect of RSCT has been adapted the analysis on four different levels: domestic, bilateral, regional, and global. On this basis, the concept helps to explain the reasons leading countries to cooperate or conflict and describe their interests in social justice, environmental justice, and energy justice. This is particularly the case when addressing whether energy is perceived as a security instrument or facilities for social justice. The analytical framework is based on considering three key variables: (1) the level of energy vulnerability of the countries and their domestic energy trends as the independent variable, (2) the foreign policy induced by the distribution of power and geopolitical relationships as the dependent variable, and (3) ideological or perceptual support for ethical implications of political decision-making as an intervening variable.



Bio: Haieri-Yazdi's background is in electrical engineering, but she was always interested in social sciences. In 2017, she joined the Science and Policy Research Unit at the University of Sussex in the master's Energy Policy program. The topic of MSc dissertation was about low-carbon mobility, especially light rapid transit, and innovation in a Technological Innovation System framework. Currently, she is a Ph.D. candidate at the Centre for Energy, Petroleum, Minerals Law and Policy at the University of Dundee, Scotland since October 2019. Her thesis topic is "Regional energy politics: the role of energy in foreign policy within the Persian Gulf."



Toward New Architecture for Persian Gulf Order, Necessity of Overlapping the Human Security and State Security

Javad Heiran-Nia, *Center for Scientific Research and Middle East Strategic Studies, Iran*

Abstract: The security regimes in the Persian Gulf are mainly based on the realism that emphasizes statism. Accordingly, the security regimes have been trying to ensure the security of the state, and in its reduced form, the security of the ruling elites.

These ruling systems mostly try to form regional or extra-regional alliances or coalitions, and these coalitions or alliances are used by one group of countries against others.

This article discusses the issue of “comprehensive security”, which includes the overlap of “state security” and “human security” to ensure security and stability in the Persian Gulf. The question is what interpretation of security can be used to increase the overlap between these two approaches of security? The answer to this question depends on the interpretation of the “state” in order to derive a security approach in which the “human security” and the “security of the ruling elites” overlap more.

This overlap requires a minimalist approach toward state in which the interests of the state are aligned with those of its constituents (citizens). The minimalist approach toward state is related to John Locke's concept of a social contract in which the state is directed towards its constituent citizens.



Bio: Javad Heiran-Nia, Ph.D., International Relations, Director of the Persian Gulf Studies Group at the Center for scientific Research and Middle East Strategic Studies, Tehran, Iran. His articles have appeared in Middle East Policy, LobeLog and Atlantic Council. Heiran-Nia's commentary and interviews have been published by leading outlets including NewsWeek, Anadolu Agency, The Asahi Shimbun, The Yomiuri Shimbun, Alarab. He is currently working on a book project about Persian Gulf's Security Orders. His recent articles under title “China's Iran Strategy” (common with Prof.

Monshipouri, University of California, Berkeley) appeared in Middle East Policy, Winter 2020, and “Iran's Security Interests and Policies in the South Caucasus” in Iran and the Caucasus journal, August 2021

Session 3: Roles and Policies of the GCC States in the Regional Security,

Chair: Nesibe Hicret Battaloglu- Qatar University

14:30 pm to 16:30 pm

The Role of GCC Foreign Aid Policy in Enhancing the Regional Security: The Case of the State of Qatar

Fadlh Bashir, *International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM)*

Abstract: This paper presents an important aspect of the regional security of the GCC region and the neighboring countries. It explores the use of foreign aid policy in GCC states, and the state of Qatar in particular, to enhance national and regional security aspects. Based on the fieldwork; reviewing of policy documents and interviewing policy makers and senior officials, my research findings have unveiled the role of foreign aid in achieving Qatar's security motives and enhancing its political agenda. An essential outcome indicated in this paper is related to Qatar's foreign aid policy response to regional security challenges and obstacles. Qatar has effectively used foreign aid to encounter several national and regional security events such as the Arab Spring, Gulf Crisis, civil conflicts, and inter-states wars. The state of Qatar has further benefited from its foreign aid to set constant partnerships with regional and global powers, and with recipient countries as well, to achieve security goals like combating terror, tackling humanitarian crises, and realizing peace and reconciliations. Qatar's foreign aid policy has effectively contributed to maintaining the country's stability and improving its invulnerability as well as enhancing the regional security.



Bio: Fadhl Bashir is an international development and aid policy expert with over seventeen years of extensive academic and professional experience; working with the UN, NGOs and diplomatic missions and academia. He serves as an assistant professor teaching international relations, public policy, and international crises. Specialized in Muslim Aid framework, and foreign aid policy of Arab donors in particular, he has conducted several field research projects examining GCC NGOs and donors' behavior.

International military organizations of the Global South: comparing the Peninsula Shield Force, the Africa Standby Force, and the Southern Cross Combined Force

Matías Ferreyra, *Inter-institutional Graduate Program in International Relations 'San Tiago Dantas' (UNESP, UNICAMP, PUC-SP).*

Abstract: In the post-Cold War era, only three international military organizations with standing headquarters made up exclusively of militaries of states in the Global South have emerged in the field of peace operations. These are the Peninsula Shield Force, composed of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries, the Africa Standby Force - made up of five sub-regional African forces, and the Southern Cross Combined Force in South America. This paper proposes a typological-comparative framework to analyze organizational and operational differences between the three mentioned multinational military organizations. The analysis conceptualizes a common condition – iso-dependence – in the peripheral formation of international military organizations. Our analytical framework includes seven organizational variables considered relevant by the literature on international military cooperation: a) isomorphism, b) external dependence, c) operational profile, d) intercultural strategy, e) multinationalism, f) specialization, and g) operational partnerships. This subject is part of doctoral research in development. In the field of military security studies in the Gulf region, this paper allows for the use of relational knowledge on forms of international military cooperation with other areas in the Global South.



Bio: Matías Ferreyra obtained a Bachelor's degree in International Relations from the National University of Rosario (Argentina) in 2014. He completed his master's studies at the Fluminense Federal University (Brazil) and currently in the final stage of his doctorate thesis by the Graduate Program in International Relations 'San Tiago Dantas' (Brazil). His research area of concentration refers to defense and international security issues, and his line of research is international military cooperation.

Qatar Defense Strategies

Fatma Hilal Al-Mohannadi , *Qatar University*

Abstract: Security become a crucial subject in the Arab world and Gulf region, particularly is that the security concept now include different aspects represent in social, cyber, economic and health security. So, the security of the small state of Qatar is a part of the security of the GCC countries. When the security concept of Qatar is connected to the GCC countries, it mainly revolve on the threats and the security variables in the Gulf region and Arab world. It is important to understand the security challenges for the GCC countries in order to understand Qatar security challenges. Adding to this, it is significant to highlight that the Gulf region security came under the American protection after the British withdrawal from East Suez in 1968. Therefore , Qatar has been keen to adopt different types of security strategies to keep its stability and security in a region replete with turmoil and clashes, which made Qatar gain an impressive influence not only in the region but also worldwide. It is important to mention that role of the active foreign policy of the small state Qatar. As a result of this active foreign policy was the blocked of Qatar in 2017. This paper will focus on the state of Qatar security in unstable region. Mainly is that Qatar is a small state located between two big countries “ Saudia Arabia – Iran”. This situation impose challenges for Qatar government in preserving it is security especially in dealing with the variables that can affect the defense and security strategy of the Qatar.

Bio: Fatima Hilal Al-Mohannadi is M.A student at Gulf studies program in Qatar university. Fatima graduated from Bachelor of Arts Degree/ International Affairs–College of Arts & Sciences in 2012. Fatmia specializes in Qatar foreign policy and working at ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2013. Also Fatima participated in many international events such as: the training program in the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) in London 2016, Al Jazeera Media Institute for PR writing program in 2018, Third committee of the general assembly at its 75 th of the United Nation in 2020 and Unitar United Nation Institute for training and research.



The role of the United Arab Emirates in the internationalization of the Yemeni conflict

Joel Foyth , *Rosario Institute of Arab and Islamic World Studies (IREMAI)*

Abstract: In 2011, tired of poverty and corruption, thousands of Yemenis mobilised to demand the departure of President Abdullah Saleh. After thirty years in power, Saleh signed his resignation, and an initially peaceful and promising political transition process began. However, the absence of real change and long-standing rivalries undermined the process, leading to civil conflict.

The convulsive Yemeni reality became intertwined with dark regional geopolitics, marked by sectarianism and competition between different powers for hegemony. Undoubtedly, the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran was an important factor in the internationalisation of the conflict. However, researchers have overemphasised this rivalry, and few have considered the importance of the role of the United Arab Emirates, which in recent years has begun to play a key role in regional politics. Although it shares the enmity towards Iran, in Yemen it has shown autonomous and even competitive action with Riyadh, making Gulf geopolitics more complex. Given the centrality of the Yemeni conflict for the security and stability of the region, this analysis aims to contribute to a better understanding of the conflict from an International Relations perspective.



Bio: Joel Foyth is an advanced student of the Degree in International Relations, Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, National University of Rosario (UNR), Argentina. Young researcher, specialising in International Relations in the Middle East and North Africa, Turkish foreign policy, Gulf geopolitics, the Yemeni conflict and economics in the Middle East and North Africa.



Day 2: Monday, 8 November 2021

Session 1: Cyber Security in the Gulf,

Chair: Amr Al Azm- Qatar University

9.00 am- 10.30 am

Countering The Growing Cyber Threat To Gulf Security

Ambassador Ian Parmeter, *Australian National University*

Abstract: The global threat of cyber attacks from hostile international and domestic actors against states, commercial enterprises and private individuals is rising exponentially. Foreign states use cyber operations against governments, private companies and individuals to steal information, influence populations, and damage physical and IT critical infrastructure. In worst cases such attacks are capable of causing the devastation of major conventional-weapon strikes – without requiring substantial investment in armament purchase and development.

Non-state actors use cyber for ransomware attacks, and some skilled cyber criminals maintain mutually beneficial relationships with countries that offer them safe haven or benefit from their activity. Some states in the Gulf have already been victims of cyber operations, which are now a serious and growing threat to the economic and political security of all Gulf states.

This paper outlines the extent of the cyber threat to Gulf states from within and outside the region. It examines the defences these states have in place and analyses the effectiveness of these measures against different categories of hostile actors. It then proposes action that Gulf states can take now, individually and collectively, to minimise the threat.

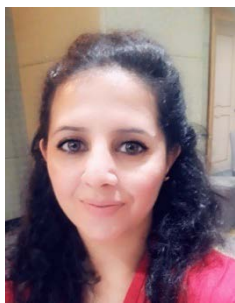


Bio: Ian Parmeter worked for 25 years in the Australian Foreign Ministry, where his diplomatic postings included Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Russia (as Deputy Head of Mission) and Lebanon (as Ambassador). From 2004 to 2015 he was Assistant Director-General at the Office of National Intelligence, Australia's intelligence analytical agency, where he was responsible for overseeing assessments of developments in the Middle East and South Asia. Since 2015 he has been Research Scholar at the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, Australian National University, where he focuses primarily on Russian policy towards the Middle East in the Putin era.

Emergence of Cyber Conflict and Cyber Security Resilient in Gulf region

Asiya Bukhari, *National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST) Islamabad*

Abstract: As conventional warfare grows increasingly obsolete, the future of combat will undoubtedly shift towards the domain of cyberspace. Cyber-attack is a new contrivance of national supremacy. It offers a means of intimidation, power, and warfare. The Gulf has become a flashpoint for cyber conflict. Cyberspace has become an arena for covert struggle, with the United States, Israel and other nations on one side, and Iran and Russia on the other. Iran has far outpaced the GCC states in developing its cyber capabilities, both for monitoring internal dissent and deploying hackers to disrupt or attack foreign targets. In the absence of international cyber treaties and agreements, states are actively booming out persistent surveillance against friends and foes and launching devastating cyber-attacks. Terrorists are using cyberspace for recruitment, funding and propaganda. Sabotaging of nuclear facilities through cyber-attacks is a vigorous terrorism approach between nuclear states (Recent example of Israel and Iran Cyber-attacks on Iran Nuclear facilities) and the past example of (the landmark Shamoon cyber-attack in Saudi Arabia and Qatar in 2012). With the growing volume and complexity of cyber-attacks, the volume of these attacks reaches to thousands daily. Cyber security researchers have been working for many years to prevent computers, databases, programs, systems and networks from unauthorized access, attack, change or destruction. This research emphasis Lack of Cooperation between states regarding Cyber space attacks are threaten dilemma which is need to understand for Cyber security Environment. The paper expound on the nature of Middle East Cyber Conflict and Cyber warfare with particular focus on cyber threats, Cyber security and how to strengthen the Cyber Security culture and Nuclear facilities of the region. How the Country enable to enhance the security and promote the importance of security in emerging cyber- technology. The paper dissects the implication and challenges in Cyber security. This profound research will highlight the analysis of the governments and large organizations in almost every vital sector of the region sustained damage from cyber-attacks.



Bio: Asiya Bukhari is a Ph.D. Scholar in National University of Sciences and Technology from Department of Centre of International Peace and Stability. Her research interests lie in the area of Peace and conflict studies. In recent years she has focused on Conflicts in the Middle East regarding Pakistan's relationships with GCC states. Multilateral she is interested in nuclear safety and security study in South Asia , Middle East and Non-proliferation, Nuclear Terrorism, Disarmament and Verification, arms control and disarmament. She graduated from the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) with a master of Business administration. Further knowledge attainment she joined Riphah Islamic international University for Post Graduate degree with a specialized field of conflict management and Organization behavior. After receiving her education, she was interned with World Bank consultancy. She later joined and worked with the World Bank as a junior Human Resource Officer.

Disinformation as cybersecurity: a holistic approach

Marc Owen Jones, *Hamad bin Khalifa University*

Abstract: Definitions of cybersecurity tend to differ on whether to include disinformation or misinformation. This intervention argues that disinformation is an important aspect within the context of critical security. Only a holistic interpretation of cybersecurity will enable effective multi leveled responses to the growing problems of attempts to adversely impact human behaviour through digital infrastructure



Bio: Marc Owen Jones is an Assistant Professor of Middle East Studies at Hamad bin Khalifa University, where he lectures and researches on political repression and informational control strategies. His recent work has focused on the way social media has been used to spread disinformation and fake news in the Middle East. In March 2019, he published 'The Gulf Information War| Propaganda, Fake News, and Fake Trends: The Weaponization of Twitter Bots in the Gulf Crisis', in the International Journal of Communication. His recent monograph, Political Repression in Bahrain, was published in July 2020 by Cambridge University, Press.. Jones also specialises in providing timely analysis on disinformation campaigns, and has taken an active role in numerous high-profile investigations.

Session 2: External Actors and Case Studies,

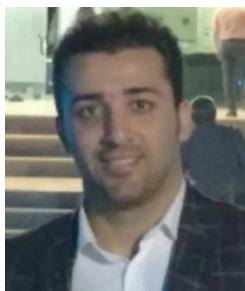
Chair: Nikolay Kozhanov-Qatar University

11:00 am- 13.00 pm

Russia and the new security system in the Persian Gulf; Approach and strategy

Aref Bijan, *St. Petersburg State University*

Abstract: The region of the Persian Gulf, which is strategically important for the whole world, is experiencing extremely alarming trends. Ensuring security in the strategically important area of the Persian Gulf is one of the key regional problems of our time. Over the past decades, tensions have not subsided in the Persian Gulf zone. This negatively affects security, political and economic stability in the region and in the world. In the meantime, Russia maintains traditionally friendly relations with all the countries of the Persian Gulf region without exception, and builds interaction with them on an equal and mutually respectful basis. The Russian concept of security in the Persian Gulf zone, which provides for the priority of regional cooperation and the participation of neighbors, instead of focusing on non-regional players, can be effective in ensuring peace and de-escalation, which at the same time faces various problems. The main question is what is Russia's approach and strategy to the security of the Persian Gulf region. Russia seeks to create a Long-term and lasting peace in the Persian Gulf Region by providing a concept of collective security and tries to act as a mediator. Back in the late 1990s, in completely different geopolitical realities, Russia began to develop the Concept of ensuring collective security in the Persian Gulf zone. The ideas outlined in the document have been updated several times, acquiring a new, relevant sound in the current circumstances. The concept presupposes a phased advance, based on equal interaction of all regional and other interested parties, towards unblocking conflict situations, developing confidence-building measures and control, and, ultimately, forming an integral mechanism of collective security and cooperation in this sub region with the creation of appropriate organizational structures. Russia's strategy for the security of the Persian Gulf is to replace the US plan and cooperate with all influential actors in the region.



Bio: Aref Bijan current field placement is with the Middle East, Persian Gulf and Eurasia. He is interested in Iran-Russia relations, Israel-Russia relations, Russia-Iran foreign policy and security issues in the Middle East, Persian Gulf and Eurasia. He has written articles in Persian and English in domestic and foreign journals such as the Council on Foreign Relations of Russia (RIAC), Modern Diplomacy and Future for Advanced Research and Studies (FARAS). His latest published articles are "Youth as an Object of Online Extremist Propaganda: The Case of the IS" (2021), Russia-Israel Relationship: In the Perspective of the Syrian Civil War (2020) and "Russia's role in Syria: From geopolitical convergence to competitive partnership" (2020) and The book "The end of the Iraq war against Iran and its impact on the security order in the Persian Gulf region, National Defense University Press, 2021.

The Iraq-Iran war causes; a theoretical reexamination

Salem Ghurab , *Qatar University*

Abstract: On 22 September 1980, Iraqi forces started their invasion of Iran, heralding the longest conventional war in the twentieth century. A year earlier, both Saddam Hussein in Iraq and Ruhallah Khomeini in Iran consolidated their power. Saddam aspired regional dominance due to the waning power of neighbor Arab countries. Employing realism, with a more emphasis on Iraq, it assumes rational actor model and that Iraq is a united entity. Such a theory does not touch upon intra-conflict regarding other entities in Iraq. Shia communities and army generals played a crucial part outside the sovereignty of the regime, whether colluding or attempting to stage a coup. Iran-Iraq literature argued that Saddam went to war, fearing the impact of his neighbor Islamic Revolution on his country. According to Iraqi officials, the reason was otherwise. Opportunity prevailed over fear. While Realism explained conflicting interests, constructivism would explain more. Incorporating ideational aspects along material ones, the extent to which constructivism deals with causes of war is substantially convincing, ontologically speaking. Discourses prior to the war and the ongoing process in which interaction transformed from rivalry into enmity illustrate the theoretical capacity of constructivism.



Bio: Salem Ghurab is a teaching assistant at Gulf Studies Center at Qatar University, he earned his BA in Political Science from Ohio University in 2017, and an MA in International Conflict Studies from King's College in London in 2020.

A Comparative Study of the Role of the Nation-State Building Process in the Middle East Crises; a Case Study of the Crisis in Bahrain, Iraq and Yemen

Kamyar Hatef, and Maryam Jaferi, Allameh Tabataba'i University

Abstract: Political stability has always been the most important concern of the states. Political stability is equal with lack of serious threats and challenges that can put country in danger. Due to multiple reasons like; the lack of democratic governments, revolutionary movements, globalization and expansion of communications, rentier states, improper nation-state building and other factors, Gulf countries are experiencing instability in the region and also inside their countries. As one of the Gulf countries, Saudi Arabia has a closed political-social system. Despite all Saudi leaders strive for advancing reforms, Wahhabi leaders started to expand the Wahhabi principles and conservatism. Still, reforms continued to its execution with Bin-Salman's leadership in King Salman's era and later when Bin-Salman himself seized the power in 2017, continued with much more intensity and enthusiasm. These reforms were including; curbing Wahhabi leaders, concentrating on generational changes, cultural and social reforms for women, enhancing the civil freedoms, economic reforms using document of future perspective, setting limits for members of the royal family, and strive for proper nation-state building. Consequently, in this essay we attend to investigate the political reforms of Bin-Salman in Saudi Arabia and its impacts on country's political stability.



Bio: Kamyar Hatef is a Master's student of International Relations at Allameh Tabataba'i University of Tehran, and he is a central council member of the Allameh Tabataba'i Scientific Association of International Relations. His main field of study is the Middle East, Arab World, Peace Studies, and Iran's domestic and foreign policy. He currently serves as Protection Assistant at United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).



Bio: Maryam Jafari is a Master's student of the Middle East and North Africa studies at Allameh Tabataba'i University, and her bachelor's degree is in political science from Shahid Chamran University, Ahvaz. She is a member of the Allameh Tabataba'i Scientific Association of International Relations, the editor-in-chief of the Regional Studies Journal, and a researcher in the Middle East and the Arab world.

The GCC from the hegemony of one to the balance of power to all

Huzeyfe Altiok, Hamdullah Baycar, *Qatar University & University of Exeter*

Abstract: Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) was founded by six monarchies to protect the small members from regional threats, namely Iran and Iraq. However, the failure of the GCC to stop the Kuwaiti invasion questioned the organisation's deterrence. Thus, the bandwagoning of the smaller members to Saudi Arabia began to be questioned as Qatar, the UAE, and Kuwait reinforced their alliances with external powers both militarily and economically. The UAE challenged Riyadh in the monetary union while Muscat refused to be fully integrated. The Gulf crisis between Qatar and the other three member states could be seen to maintain the old Saudi-dominated status quo. However, the resolution of the dispute, without any solid compromises of Qatar, is a sign of the intra-GCC balance of power. This research argues that the security approach of GCC has turned from bandwagoning to Saudi Arabia into an intra-GCC balance of power. Unlike the general pessimism about the GCC, this study argues that the organisation serves as a diplomatic bridge between the Gulf monarchies and have the potential for further cooperation in economic, technological, environmental, and educational areas. The need for a regional umbrella was reinforced with the Covid-19, in which nation-states were unable to fight individually.



Bio: Hamdullah Baycar is a Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter. His research focuses on the identity politics of the Gulf. Before joining Exeter, he was a graduate student in the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University (2017). He holds a B.A. in International Relations from Abant Izzet Baysal University (2013). @HamdullahBaycar



Bio: Huzeyfe Altiok is an M.A. student at the Gulf Studies Centre at Qatar University. His research focuses on GCC politics and identity. His research interests include security and international relations, particularly topics related to dispute resolutions and peacebuilding. He holds a B.Sc. from Istanbul Technical University (2019)