Event Program and Abstracts
The Gulf Studies Center Third Annual International Conference
Gulf Crisis: Origin, Repercussions and Future

Sunday & Monday, 9-10 December 2018
8:30 am-4:30 pm
Qatar University-Higher Administration Building (B01)-Conference Hall
Welcome Note

On behalf of the Gulf Studies Center at Qatar University, It gives me great pleasure to extend a very warm welcome to the participants of the “Third Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference: Gulf Crisis, Origin, Repercussions and Future.” The Gulf Studies Center will lead in the production of academia that will reflect the history of the GCC crisis.

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, the conference’s main goal is to connect our students with advanced and improved research directions. In addition, this annual international conference on the Gulf Crisis 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 ranging from the role of the cyber and information security on the politics, as well as the shift of alliances in the region. This conference will also explore the long-term economic implications of the blockade on Qatar and the region. Overall, the conference will participate in an in-depth exploration of all political, economic and social aspects of the GCC blockade to offer its participants and our students a holistic study of this ongoing siege. The study will take place through the following themes:

- Epistemology of the Gulf Crisis
- Cyber and Information Security
- Role of the media and information technology
- Shift in political alliances

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

Conference Committees
كلمة ترحيب

بالنسبة عن مركز دراسات الخليج في جامعة قطر، يسعدنا أن نرحب بالمشاركين في المؤتمر الدولي السنوي الثالث المتعدد التخصصات والذي يكون تحت عنوان "أزمة الخليج: الأصل والتداعيات والأفاق". وتتبنى مركز دراسات الخليج هذا المؤتمر في سبيل إنتاج أكاديمي يعكس تاريخ آزمة أزمة دول مجلس التعاون الخليجي.

وتتمثل مهمة ورؤية مركز دراسات الخليج في تطوير وتعزيز رؤية جامعة قطر لتطوير الأبحاث الأكاديمية في قطر والمنطقة. لذلك، فإن الهدف الرئيسي للمؤتمر هو المساهمة في تعرية الأفكار والتحديات البحثية لطليتنا في برامج دراسات الخليج. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، سيجمع هذا المؤتمر الدولي السنوي حول أزمة الخليج العديد من العلماء وصناع القرار والسياسات وأصحاب المصلحة المحليين والدوليين بالإضافة إلى الطلبة من مجموعة واسعة من التخصصات للمشاركة في مناقشات متخصصة حول عدد من الموضوعات مثل دور الإنترنت وأمن المعلومات في التحولات السياسية، وتحول التحالفات في المنطقة. سيتلاقى هذا المؤتمر أيضاً الآثار الاقتصادية طويلة المدى للمحارب على قطر والمنطقة.

ويشكل عاماً، سيتجلى المؤتمر فرصة للفهم الأكاديمي المنهجي لجميع الجوانب السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية للأزمة الخليجية، وذلك ليقدم للمشاركين ولطلبة برامج دراسات الخليج دراسة شاملة لهذا الحصار المستمر. وسيغطي المؤتمر المواضيع الأساسية التالية:

- أبستمولوجيا الأزمة الخليجية
- أمن المعلومات والأمن السيبراني
- دور وسائل الإعلام وتكنولوجيا المعلومات في الأزمة.
- التحول في التحالفات السياسية

كما يسعدنا أن ضيوفنا الدوليين والإقليميين والمحليين قد قبلوا دعوتنا للمشاركة في المؤتمر مركز دراسات الخليج، ونحن نتطلع لاستضافة الأبحاث والعروض الأكاديمية المبتكرة التي سيقدمها مجموعة من كبار العلماء والباحثين في المجال المركز خلال يومي المؤتمر.

لجنة المؤتمر
Conference Committees

Conference Organizing Committee

Mahjoob Zweiri
Arwa Kamal
Luciano Zaccara
Farah Al-Qawasimi

Conference Scientific Committee:

Luciano Zaccara
Amani El-Jack
Hela Miniaoui
Mizanu Rahman
Afyare Abdi Elmi
First day 9th December:

8:00       Registration
8:30       Welcoming Speech
            Hassan Al-Derham, President of Qatar University
            Mahjoob Zweiri, Director, Gulf Studies Center, Qatar University
9:00–10:00 Keynote Speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title of Paper</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kristian Coates Ulrichsen</td>
<td>Evolving Threat Perceptions And Changing Regional Dynamics In A ‘Post-GCC’ Era.</td>
<td>Fellow for the Middle East, Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10:00–11:30
Panel 1: Epistemology of the Gulf Crisis.
Chair: Abdulaziz Al-Horr (Director of Diplomatic Institute at MOFA)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title of Paper</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eva Adam</td>
<td>Popular Sentiments And Elite Threat Perception In The Gulf: Iran In The Public Discourse In Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Antal Jozsef Knowledge Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ali Fathollah-Nejad</td>
<td>Qatar’s Crisis Resilience: An Account Of Power In The 21st Century</td>
<td>Brookings Doha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adriana Lukaszewicz &amp; Wojciech Grabowski</td>
<td>Crisis Management In The Era Of Global Network. The Case Of Qatari Blockade</td>
<td>University of Gdansk/ Kozminski University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majid Al-Ansari</td>
<td>The Inevitableness Of GCC Conflicts: An Analysis Of Intra-Gulf Relations And Regional Hegemony Attempts</td>
<td>Qatar University</td>
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11:30–12:00 Coffee break

12:00–14:00
Panel 2: Security issues after the crisis
Chair: Afyare Elmi, Gulf Studies Program QU

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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title of Paper</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Shires</td>
<td>Cyber Security And Foreign Policy: Leaks And Legitimacy In The Gulf Crisis</td>
<td>Belfer Center for Science and International Security Harvard Kennedy School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabrouk Sahli</td>
<td>The Repercussions Of The Gulf Crisis On Qatari Food Security And Possible Mechanisms</td>
<td>University of Arabi Ben Mehdi Um El Bouaki – Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betul Dogan</td>
<td>Re- Approaching Food Security Of Qatar: Challenges And Possibilities</td>
<td>Qatar University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fahad Al-Marri</td>
<td>To What Extend Sovereign Wealth Funds Assisted Qatar's Security And Foreign Policy In Resisting The Blockade</td>
<td>Oxford University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14:00–15:00 Lunch break
15:00–16:30  Conference Guest: HE. Mr. Wolfgang Ischinger
(Chairman of the Munich Security Conference (MSC))
“European Role in Regional Security of the Gulf”.

16:30 – 18:00
Panel 3: Role of Media and Information Technology in the Crisis
Chair: Noureddine Miladi, Mass Communication Department, QU

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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nurgul Oruc</td>
<td>Automation In Digital Sphere: The Case Of The Gulf Crisis</td>
<td>Qatar University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zahia Yasad</td>
<td>Social Media And Its Role In Making Crisis.</td>
<td>University of Qusdi Marbah – Algeria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustafa Bakhouch</td>
<td>What Is The Role Of Gulf Media In Managing Gulf Crises?</td>
<td>Mohammed Khaydar University - Algeria</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

End of day one
Dinner at the Oriental Pearl

Second day 10th December:

9:00–10:00  Keynote Speech

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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title of Paper</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohammad Moctar El-Shanqiti</td>
<td>Qatar: A New Paradigm in Small States’ Role and Strategy?</td>
<td>Hamad Bin Khalifa University – Qatar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10:00–11:30  Panel 4: Reshaping alliances in the Gulf after the crisis
Chair: Mahjoob Zweiri, Gulf Studies Center and Program, QU

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mustafa Cuneyt Ozsahin</td>
<td>Qatar-Turkey Re-Approachement: Challenging The Regional Status Quo In The Middle East</td>
<td>Necmettin Erbakan University-Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noof Rashid Al-Dosari</td>
<td>Qatar Crisis: An Eye On Regional Powers</td>
<td>Qatar University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehran Haghiriyan</td>
<td>Iran’s Pragmatic Foreign Policy In Response To Regional Crises: The Case Of The Blockade Against Qatar</td>
<td>Qatar University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shareefa Al-Adwani</td>
<td>Look Middle, Look East! The Future Of GCC Strategic Alliances</td>
<td>Gulf Studies Center, American University of Kuwait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11:30 – 12:00 Coffee break
## Panel 5: The crisis impact on Qatar
Chair: Naif bin Nahar, Ibn Khaldun Center, QU

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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title of Paper</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michael Ewers</td>
<td>The Impact Of The Blockade On Qatar's Industrial Companies</td>
<td>SESRI, Qatar University</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justin Gengler</td>
<td>Qatari Political Attitudes After The Blockade: Findings From A Natural Experiment</td>
<td>SESRI, Qatar University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asma Al-Attiya</td>
<td>National Committee Of Human Rights And Crisis Of Qatar Blockade From The Viewpoint Of A Sample Of Youth: Preliminary Pilot Study</td>
<td>Qatar University</td>
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**13:30 – 14:30 Lunch break**

## Panel 6: Qatar, the crisis and the broader region
Chair: Luciano Zaccara, Gulf Studies Center, QU

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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
<th>Title of Paper</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moises Garduño García</td>
<td>Trans-Gulf Resonances: The Central Role Of Egypt In Saudi-UAE Dispute On Qatar</td>
<td>National Autonomous University of Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federico Donelli</td>
<td>The Effects Of The Gulf Crisis In The Red Sea. Between Perception And Reality</td>
<td>Department of Political Sciences – University of Genoa - Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert J. Riggs</td>
<td>Shifts In Political Alliances And Economic Diversifications In The Gulf Crisis: The Qatar-Iran-Turkey Nexus</td>
<td>University of Bridgeport, USA</td>
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**16:00 – 17:30**

## Panel 7: Qatar, the crisis and the world.
Chair: Amani El Jack, Gulf Studies Center, QU

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<tr>
<th>Presenter</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ishtiaq Hossain &amp; Syaza Farhana Binti Shukr</td>
<td>Building Malaysia-Qatar Relationship: A Perspective From Malaysia</td>
<td>International Islamic University Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asiya Bukhari</td>
<td>Gulf Crisis In The Academia Of Pakistan</td>
<td>National University of Sciences and Technology, Islamabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alieu Manjang</td>
<td>Gulf Crisis And Qatar Foreign Policy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>Qatar University</td>
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**17:45** Final remarks
End of Conference
The Gulf Studies Center Third Annual International Conference
Gulf Crisis: Origin, Repercussions and Future

The Gulf Studies Center Third Annual International Conference
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التسجيل
8:00
الكلمة الافتتاحية
8:30
حسن الدرهم، رئيس جامعة قطر
محمد الزويري، مدير مركز دراسات الخليج، جامعة قطر

لمتحدث الرئيس
6:00 – 9:00

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<tr>
<th>جمهـة المـشارـك</th>
<th>عنوان الورقة</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جيمس شاير</td>
<td>مركز بيفير للعلوم والتأمين الدولي وجامعة هارفارد</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ميرون سالتي</td>
<td>جامعة العربي بن محمد أم الرياحي – البحرين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>فهد المري</td>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
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<tr>
<td>فهد المري</td>
<td>جامعة أكسفورد</td>
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| استراحة الغداء
12:00 – 14:00

الجلسة الثانية: الإبعاد الأمني للأزمة
رئيس الجلسة: أفكار، أمين عام مركز دراسات الخليج، جامعة قطر

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<tr>
<td>إيفا آدم</td>
<td>مركز أنتوني جوزف للمعرفة</td>
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<td>علي فتح الله نجاد</td>
<td>جامعة الدوحة – مركز بروكنغز</td>
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<tr>
<td>إدريانا نوكس، جوزيف جرودوسيك</td>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
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<tr>
<td>ماجد الأنصاري</td>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| استراحة القهوة
14:00 – 15:00

الجلسة الأولى: استراتيجيات الآراء الخليجية
رئيس الجلسة: عبد العزيز عمر (رئيس المعهد الدبلوماسي بوزارة الخارجية)

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<th>جمهـة المـشارـك</th>
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<tr>
<td>كريستن كونتيس</td>
<td>النشر</td>
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<td>علي فتح الله نجاد</td>
<td>جامعة الدوحة – مركز بروكنغز</td>
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| استراحة الغداء
12:00 – 14:00

### الجلسة الثالثة: دور الإعلام وتقنية المعلومات في الأزمة الخليجية

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>التحكم الآلي في المجال الرقمي: أزمة الخليج</td>
<td>نورغل أوروك</td>
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<tr>
<td>جامعة الجزائر</td>
<td>الإعلام الاجتماعي ودوره في صناعة وتغذية الأزمات</td>
<td>زهية بسعد</td>
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<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>ماهو دور وسائل الإعلام الخليجي في إدارة الأزمات</td>
<td>مصطفى بخوش</td>
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**رئيس الجلسة:** نور الدين ميلادي، قسم الإعلام، جامعة قطر

**اسم المشارك**

- نورغل أوروك: "التحكم الآلي في المجال الرقمي: أزمة الخليج"
- زهية بسعد: "الإعلام الاجتماعي ودوره في صناعة وتغذية الأزمات"
- مصطفى بخوش: "ماهو دور وسائل الإعلام الخليجي في إدارة الأزمات"

**نهاية اليوم الأول**

عشاء في مطعم لؤلؤة الشرق

### اليوم الثاني 1 ديسمبر

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<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>قطر: نموذج جديد لدور واستراتيجية الدول الصغيرة؟</td>
<td>محمد مختار الشنقيطي</td>
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**رئيس الجلسة:** محجوب زويري، مركز وبرنامج دراسات الخليج، جامعة قطر

**اسم المشارك**

- محمد مختار الشنقيطي: "قطر: نموذج جديد لدور واستراتيجية الدول الصغيرة؟"

### الجلسة الرابعة: إعادة تشكيل التحالفات في الخليج بعد الأزمة

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<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>إعادة مقارنة العلاقات القطرية التركية، تُحمي الوضع الإقليمي في الشرق الأوسط</td>
<td>مصطفى سويني أوراهيم</td>
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<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>أزمة قطر نظرة على القوى الإقليمية</td>
<td>نوف راشد الدوسري</td>
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<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>سياسة إيران الخارجية في مواجهة الأزمات الإقليمية: حصار قطر أنموذجا</td>
<td>مهران هجريان</td>
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<td>مركز دراسات الخليج – الجامعة الأمريكية في الكويت</td>
<td>مستقبل التحالفات الاستراتيجية لدول مجلس التعاون الخليجي</td>
<td>شريفة العوداوي</td>
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**رئيس الجلسة:** محجوب زويري، مركز وبرنامج دراسات الخليج، جامعة قطر

**اسم المشارك**

- مصطفى سويني أوراهيم: "إعادة مقارنة العلاقات القطرية التركية، تُحمي الوضع الإقليمي في الشرق الأوسط"
- نوف راشد الدوسري: "أزمة قطر نظرة على القوى الإقليمية"
- مهران هجريان: "سياسة إيران الخارجية في مواجهة الأزمات الإقليمية: حصار قطر أنموذجا"
- شريفة العوداوي: "مستقبل التحالفات الاستراتيجية لدول مجلس التعاون الخليجي"
# الجلسة الخامسة: أثر الأزمة على قطر

**نايف بن نهار الشمري، مركز ابن خلدون – جامعة قطر**

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<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>مايكل إيورس</td>
<td>تأثير الحصار على الشركات الصناعية في قطر</td>
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<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>جستن كينجلر</td>
<td>المواقف السياسية القطرية بعد الحصار: نتائج على تحرك علمي</td>
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<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>اسماء العطية</td>
<td>اللجنة الوطنية لحقوق الإنسان وأزمة الحصار: دولة قطر من وجهة نظر عينة من الشباب: دراسة استطلاعية أولية</td>
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**استراحة الغداء**

**14:30 – 16:00**

# الجلسة السادسة: قطر والمنطقة في ظل الأزمة

**لوسيانوا زاكارا، مركز دراسات الخليج، جامعة قطر**

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<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>مويسيس جاردونو جاساريا</td>
<td>دور المركزى لمصر في الحصار السعودي – الإماراتي على قطر</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>جامعة قطر</td>
<td>فدریکو دوئیل</td>
<td>آثار أزمة الخليج على البحر الأحمر: بين الإدراك والواقع</td>
</tr>
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# الجلسة السابعة: قطر والعالم في ظل الأزمة

**أماني الجاك، مركز دراسات الخليج، جامعة قطر**

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الملاحظات الختامية

**17:45**

**نهاية المؤتمر**
The Gulf Studies Center Third Annual International Conference
Gulf Crisis: Origin, Repercussions and Future
Abstracts & Biographies
Conference Guests:

H.E. Mr. Wolfgang Ischinger
Chairman of the Munich Security Conference (MSC)

Ambassador Ischinger has been Chairman of the Munich Security Conference (MSC) since 2008 and teaches at the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin, where he is the director of the Center on International Security Policy (CISP). He advises the private sector, governments, and international organizations on strategic issues. He has published widely on foreign, security and defense policy issues. Ambassador Ischinger had a very distinguished diplomatic career. From 2006 to 2008, he was the Federal Republic of Germany’s Ambassador in London and from 2001 to 2006 in Washington, DC. He served as Deputy Foreign Minister (State Secretary) of Germany from 1998 to 2001, and as Political Director of the Foreign Ministry from 1995 to 1998. In 2007, he represented the European Union in the Troika negotiations on the future of Kosovo. In 2014, he served as the Special Representative of the OSCE Chairman-In-Office in the Ukraine crisis. In 2015, he chaired the OSCE “Eminent Persons Panel on European Security”, mandated to offer recommendations on how to build a more resilient European security architecture. From 2008 to 2014, he was also Global Head of Government Relations at Allianz SE, Munich. Wolfgang Ischinger studied law at the universities of Bonn and Geneva and obtained his law degree in 1972. He did graduate and postgraduate work at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and at Harvard Law School, Cambridge/USA. He serves on a number of corporate boards and advisory councils, including the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), the East-West Institute New York, the American Academy Berlin, the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS), and Atlantik-Brücke. He is also a member of the Trilateral Commission and the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) and advises the Federal Chancellor of Austria as a member of the Think Austria initiative’s board of experts.
“Evolving Threat Perceptions and Changing Regional Dynamics in a Post-GCC Era”

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen

Biography

Kristian Coates Ulrichsen is a Baker Institute fellow for the Middle East. Working across the disciplines of political science, international relations and international political economy, his research examines the changing position of Persian Gulf states in the global order, as well as the emergence of longer-term, nonmilitary challenges to regional security. Previously, he worked as senior Gulf analyst at the Gulf Center for Strategic Studies between 2006 and 2008 and as co-director of the Kuwait Program on Development, Governance and Globalization in the Gulf States at the London School of Economics (LSE) from 2008 until 2013.

Coates Ulrichsen has published extensively on the Gulf. His books include “Insecure Gulf: the End of Certainty and the Transition to the Post-Oil Era” (Columbia University Press, 2011) and “Qatar and the Arab Spring” (Oxford University Press, 2014). In addition, he is the author of “The Logistics and Politics of the British Campaigns in the Middle East, 1914-22” (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) and “The First World War in the Middle East” (Hurst & Co, 2014). His most recent books include “The Gulf States in International Political Economy” (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) and “The United Arab Emirates: Power, Politics, and Policymaking” (Routledge, 2016). Coates Ulrichsen’s articles have appeared in numerous academic journals, including Global Policy and the Journal of Arabian Studies, and he consults regularly on Gulf issues for Oxford Analytica and the Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Center. He also writes regularly for the Economist Intelligence Unit, Open Democracy, and Foreign Policy, and authors a monthly column for Gulf Business News and Analysis.

Coates Ulrichsen holds a doctorate in history from the University of Cambridge.
“Popular Sentiments And Elite Threat Perception In The Gulf: Iran In The Public Discourse In Saudi Arabia”

Eva Adam

Abstract

Prior to the ascendency to the throne by King Salman, two significant developments had already determined the framework of Saudi Arabia's future foreign and domestic policies. First, the changing dynamics in Iraq and Syria had introduced into the Iranian regime's assertiveness, which had been confined to soft-power projection before the Arab Spring, a new dimension, namely hard power projection in the Levant and Yemen. Second, following the 2014 crash in oil prices and due to structural inefficiency, the Saudi economy was heading towards a massive financial decline, which could not have been averted had the state not have made serious structural adjustments.

While Iran's regional ambitions triggered a fiery rhetoric from Saudi leaders, and public opinion makers have traditionally raised their voice against Iran's "hegemonic" intentions, the Saudi structural development plans executed by Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman have generally been hailed on several levels. Although Western considerations regarding the overexaggeration of the Iranian threat and the overestimation of the prospects of Saudi reforms are not very popular in the region, existing public opinion survey data shows that threat perceptions of the falling oil prices and other non-Iran-related issues are in fact more widespread than concern over the Iranian threat. Therefore, the Saudi elite needs to overbalance public sentiment if it wants to accentuate the primacy of the Iranian threat over other considerations.

This analysis points out through the method of discourse analysis how important the Iran threat-perception is in Saudi public discourse. My thesis is that upholding the perception of the Iran threat is in the interest of the Saudi rulers, as it overshadows some unpopular domestic developments such as the crackdown on dissent. Therefore, it is expected that the Saudi rulers would prefer the prolongation of conflicts in the Levant and Yemen, thereby justifying an even more ardent public media campaign against Iran.

Biography

Mr. Adam Eva is an international relations manager and a researcher at the Antall József Knowledge Centre in Budapest, Hungary. Adam is an expert of international relations with a specialization in Arab and Iranian affairs. He holds degrees from the Corvinus University of Budapest and from Eötvös Loránd University. He is a PhD candidate at Eötvös Loránd University focusing on the relationship between Islamic legal theory and modern political thought in Tunisia.
Qatar’s Crisis Resilience: An Account Of Power In The 21st Century

Ali Fathollah-Nejad

Abstract

The paper will provide a preliminary examination into Qatar’s resilience in the face of the blockade imposed by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and others. It asks how such a small state like Qatar could be resilient against a much larger group of states that arguably possesses a larger about of economic, political and military might – at least in the way conventionally conceived so far. Towards that end, in a first part the paper engages with various theories of power (‘hard’, ‘soft’, ‘smart’, etc.) and identifies Qatar’s various sources of power. In a second part, it looks at how Qatar’s “diversified power portfolio” (a term proposed by the paper) contributed to its crisis resiliency since the imposition of the blockade in June 2017. The contribution aims to make an addition to the academic debate around the meaning and definition of power, especially those of small states, in the 21st century.

Biography

Dr. Ali Fathollah-Nejad (PhD SOAS) is a political scientist based in Doha and Berlin, with a focus on Iran, the Middle East, the post-unipolar world order as well as right-wing populism in the West. Currently, he works as a Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Doha Center and a part-time Assistant Professor at Qatar University’s Gulf Studies Center. Previously, he was a post-doctoral Associate with the Harvard Kennedy School’s Iran Project and an Associate Fellow with the Middle East and North Africa Program of the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) – acting as the latter’s in-house Iran expert. Currently, he is also an Affiliated Researcher with Freie Universität (FU) Berlin’s Center for Middle Eastern and North African Politics and a Research Associate at the Centre d’Études de la Coopération Internationale et du Développement (CECID) at Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB).

Ali holds a PhD in International Relations from the Department of Development Studies at SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London), with a dissertation on Iran’s international relations in the 2000s in a changing world order. He has taught courses on globalization and development in the Middle East, contemporary Iran and the Arab Revolts among others at FU Berlin’s Center for Middle Eastern and North African Politics, the University of Westminster and SOAS. His almost 150 analytical pieces in English, German and French have been translated into a dozen languages. A frequent speaker at political forums and academic conferences, he regularly contributes to international media outlets in English, German or French. Ali is fluent in German, French, English and Persian.

Abstract
The principles of crisis management are aimed at mitigating (limiting) the risks associated with potential blockade and at improving state security. Effective teamwork and communication are the key elements in crisis management. Successful crisis management also requires knowledge about instruments and policies that allow to deal with problems before they occur. In Alan Hilburg’s model of crisis management there is an assumption defining three stages: crisis avoidance, crisis mitigation and crisis recovery.

In case of the current Qatar blockade impending trouble was diagnosed after the first crisis within GCC states in 2014. This gave Qatar at least 3 years to get prepared for the forthcoming blast.

The Qatari strategy of resilience or crisis management has comprised of: 1) quick establishing of new sources of supply of food stuffs (initially with Turkey and Iran and later with Oman, Pakistan, India and the UK), 2) releasing of massive financial reserves aimed at stabilizing domestic prices (that have grown as a result of increased import costs) and funding local start-up projects to support domestic production in order to increase the level of self-sufficiency, 3) producing counter-evidence falsifying accusations and fake news against Qatar targeting media, foreign states and international organizations e.i. UN, WTO, ICAO, 4) vie for allegiance of international public opinion (donating PSG football team, support for the state of Texas after hurricane Harvey), 5) demonstrating determination in opposing sanctions (completing projects in progress, opening a new port and new trade routes etc.)

This crisis management has resulted in rapid growth of local manufacturing and increased self-sufficiency in agricultural and farming activities. It has also led to community cohesion and conviction of Qatari citizens concerning positive perspectives even after the blockade.

Our analysis is based on the following two analytical methods: 1. Crisis management mainly used in case of corporations but also applicable in analyzing countries; 2. The theory of global network by Manuel Castells. These two analytical instruments allow to show how Qatar has developed certain round about ways to maneuver itself out of the sanction driven blockade (e.i. creating alternative sources of supply).

The hypothesis of the article state that in the sudden shock caused by external forces the attacked state can lead effective crisis management if it function in the global network.

To verify the hypothesis we pose following research questions: 1) how Qatar has managed to resist the blockade? 2) what Qatari crisis management model comprises of? 3) has Qatar succeeded to protect their life standards from before the blockade?
Biography of Adriana Lukaszewicz

Prof. Adriana Lukaszewicz- researcher and academic teacher, specialist in the field of economics, political sciences and international relations. For many years an employee of the University of Warsaw- at first the Faculty of Economics and later the Institute of International Relations. From 2017 a professor of economics at the Kozminski University in Warsaw.

In her research she focuses on interdisciplinary analysis of the Gulf region, energy market and a global economy. Author of dozens of research papers and monographies in prestigious Polish and international scientific journals. Frequent lecturer at a number of European universities.

Regular economic and political commentator on topics related to the Gulf region for the influential Polish news radio station TokFM. She visited Qatar University in 2016 as a visiting professor.

Biography of Wojciech Grabowski

Dr. Wojciech Grabowski holds a Ph.D. in the Political Science and is affiliated at the University of Gdansk, Poland. He wrote a monograph “Muslim Fundamentalism on the Middle East” and published numerous articles and book chapters on the Arab monarchies and the international relations of the Persian Gulf. He also edited three books on terrorism and Arab world in the International Relations. He was visiting researcher at the Qatar University, Allameh Tabatabai University (Tehran), Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi) and King Faisal Foundation (Riyadh). He was also contributor of the NATO project on targeted killing in terrorism as well as Polish Foreign Ministry project on “Poland’s model of transformation: Implications for New Foreign Policy of Poland”.

“The inevitableness of GCC conflicts: An analysis of intra gulf relations and regional hegemony attempts”

Majid Al-Ansari

Abstract
This paper utilises the political scenarios model devised by William Bennet to understand the current GCC crisis and foresee the future of relations in the gulf region. The paper starts by applying the model through identifying political players, resources and demand for these resources and moves then to suggesting possible scenarios for the end of the crisis. The paper concludes that the GCC crisis is a result of competing regional hegemony aspirations by KSA, Iran and Turkey and that the tensions in the Gulf are inevitable as long as KSA is entangled in defending its stance as regional hegemon.

Biography
He is a Professor of Political Psychology and is a Manager of the Policy department at the the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI). He received his PhD and master’s degree in social change from the University of Manchester, and wrote a thesis entitled, “A Minority of Citizens: The Effects of Religious, Social and Political Values on Trust in Expatriates in Qatar”. Al Ansari previously served at the Qatari Ministry of Foreign Affairs and various civil society institutions. His research interests include public opinion surveys, social resources, political and religious values, charity work and political analysis of domestic and regional issues. He has contributed extensively as a political analyst on different television channels such as Al Jazeera, BBC Arabic, Russia Today, Al Araby TV and Qatar TV. In addition, Al Ansari writes weekly political articles for the Qatari daily, Al Sharq.
“Cybersecurity and foreign policy: leaks and legitimacy in the Gulf crisis”
James Shires

Abstract
The immediate catalyst for the Gulf crisis was an offensive cyber operation: the implanting of false information on the website of the Qatar News Agency, reportedly conducted by contractors working for the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This cyber operation demonstrated a new tactic in foreign policy, as – unlike well-publicised Russian interference with the US elections – it was tightly directed at a specific premeditated foreign policy aim, namely to legitimate the subsequent ostracization of Qatar by Bahrain, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the UAE. However, it is not the first time that purported ‘leaks’ have occurred due to cyber operations in the Gulf: for example, the publication of thousands of documents from the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the so-called ‘Yemen Cyber Army’ in 2015 was a clear precedent, while the hack of the private email account of the UAE Ambassador to the USA immediately followed the Qatar News hack.

This chapter outlines a framework for understanding leaks and legitimacy in the Gulf, arguing that we must rethink the effects of divulging and fabricating secret information in an era of ubiquitous digital technologies and severe political crises. The argument proceeds in three stages. First, it draws on cybersecurity studies to outline the concept of a ‘cyber leak operation’ as a combination of traditional leaking techniques with cyber tools. Second, it places the concept of a cyber leak operation within wider theories of political legitimacy in Gulf studies. Third, it uses this juxtaposition to assess the broader impact of cyber leak operations in the Gulf states. This chapter thus contributes to studies of cybersecurity in both International Relations (IR) and Gulf studies. It concludes with comparative reflections on cyber leak operations elsewhere and cautious predictions for future trends.

Biography
James Shires is a research fellow with the Cyber Security Project at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard Kennedy School. His research examines cybersecurity in the Middle East, focusing on the interaction between threats to individuals, states and organizations, new regional dynamics, and cybersecurity expertise. He is also a DPhil candidate (expected 2018) in International Relations at the University of Oxford, having submitted his thesis on cybersecurity in Egypt and the Gulf states in August 2018. He has won awards for cybersecurity papers from the German Marshall Fund and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He holds an MSc from Birkbeck College, University of London, and a BA from the University of Cambridge.
The Repercussions Of The Gulf Crisis On Qatari Food Security And Possible Mechanisms

Mabrouk Sahli

Abstract

Qatar has imported about half of its food commodities. Governments and decision-makers have become increasingly concerned with the issue of food security because of its direct impact on political, economic, military, environmental and security situations in general. This requires following new policies to adapt to the current situation, especially after the crisis with the Arab Gulf countries. It also requires the mobilization of national efforts to make the necessary adjustments in agricultural policies in order to enhance food security, where national food security is a priority for national security and political and economic stability.

The study focuses on the study and analysis of the national food security under the current economic and political conditions. It is now clear from the previous period that dependence on the outside is necessary to ensure the food needs of the population in an era marked by economic, political and even climatic changes to achieve a minimum of self-sufficiency in food commodities. The study then attempts to answer the following main question: What is the impact of the Gulf crisis on Qatar’s food security? And, what are the mechanisms to confront it?

The methodology is based on a number of scientific methods including descriptive analytical approach, comparative approach, statistical methodology, case study methodology in addition to the approach of analyzing the new political economy and the systemic approach.

I will address the study according to the following:

First: Analysis of the reality of food security in terms of: the determinants of food security in Qatar, the Analysis of the food gap index and the self-sufficiency ratio before and after the crisis, and the analysis of the national food export and import index before and after the crisis.

Second, implications of Gulf crisis on Qatari food security.

The study will set some recommendations in the conclusion.

Biography

Mabrouk Sahli is a professor of political science in the Political Sciences Department at Al-Arabi Ben-Mehdi University in Algeria. He holds an MA in Political Sciences specializing in Contemporary Political Studies from Baji Mokhtar Annaba University. He had his PhD in 2015 from the University of Batna, specializing in Political and Administrative Planning. He Published many journal articles and books and has participated in many conferences regionally and internationally.
“Re-Approaching Food Security of Qatar: Challenges and Possibilities”
Betul Dogan Akkas

Abstract
Food security has been on the agenda of the Gulf Countries, especially after 2008 global food crisis, and has a new face with the current blockage imposed on Qatar since June 2017. This study aims to discuss the challenges of food security in Qatar and the possible solutions in the context of/given the current Gulf Crisis. Challenges and possibilities for the Qatari state in any condition of food insecurity are discussed in detail under the umbrella of food security literature and dimensions declared in Rome Declaration on World Food Security of 1996. Qatar is quite vulnerable in terms of food security and this chronic problem requires multifaceted strategies and partners to eliminate it and ease the current situation rooted in the embargo conditions. The research elaborates underlying impact of the Gulf crisis on this relatively small oil monarchy’s food insecurity and emphasizes the need of further development, despite all achievements done so far by the Qatari policy makers.

Biography
Betul Dogan Akkas is a PhD candidate at Qatar University Gulf Studies Center, where she got also her MA degree with the thesis titled “Securitization of Qatari Foreign Policy”. Dogan Akkas completed her BA in International Relations at Bilkent University. Following her undergraduate studies, she conducted a field research on in Jenin, Palestine. Her research interests include foreign policy making, security and social transformation of the Gulf Countries. Her contributions appeared on varied platforms as op-eds, journal articles and book chapter, mainly focusing contexts mentioned above.
The tiny Gulf State of Qatar currently being blockaded by fellow GCC members, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Bahrain in collaboration with Egypt has largely withstood the sanction. One means by which the Qatari government has managed to withstand the challenges of the blockage is the use of parts of its sovereign wealth funds (SWF). QNB (2017) indicates that $30 billion dollars of the domestic holdings of Qatar’s sovereign wealth fund has been transferred to the Ministry of Finance and that further assets could be sold from the SWF to meet the budgetary requirements. With over $335 billion of assets around the world, Qatar Investment Authority which manages the country’s main SWF is the 14th largest according to the Sovereign Wealth Fund Institute (Sergie, 2017).

Sovereign wealth funds which are national wealth management agencies investing mostly in foreign assets with a relatively long-term investment horizon. They have become prominent potential institutional investor in the global capital market (Xie et al, 2015). Broadly, SWFs can be classified into two criteria especially according to their source of funding. SWFs can be grouped into commodity-based and non-commodity-based. Countries of the GCC of whom Qatar is a member as well as Russia and Norway among others have commodity-based SWF. Most of China’s SWF’s are non-commodity based (Xie et al, 2015).

Although SWF investors have indicated that their investments are purely business transactions, concern about how they could possibly be used to influence domestic activities especially from Western governments has led to debate about their real purposes (Chhaoc‘hharia and Laeven, 2008). In this light, Gilson and Milhaupt (2008) argue that SWF’s voting rights in companies be suspended so as to mitigate the concern that Western powers exhibits towards them. Bahgat (2011) however indicates that GCC’s SWF could have foreign and security policy undertone. However, Fotak et al (2008) indicate that SWFs have shown positive returns on their investments and it can be said that they are legitimate part of the investment milieu.

Biography

PhD candidate reading Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick. He is a Senior Advisor in the President’s Office at Qatar’s Pension Funds. Also, he is a member in the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Al-Marri holds a master’s degree in Public Administration (MPA). He has published articles in several prestigious journals and made research contributions at international conferences. His last research paper was “The Impact of the Oil Crisis on Security and Foreign Policy in GCC Countries: Case Studies of Qatar, KSA and UAE” published with the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS).

PhD thesis title: “The Role of Sovereign Wealth Funds in GCC Countries’ Security & Foreign Policy”.

Research interests: security studies; international relations; foreign policy analysis; Middle Eastern security & foreign policy; sovereign wealth funds; soft power.
Abstract
Until recently digital media devices and social media have been regarded as tools that cultivate a new political environment where ‘ordinary’ citizens are not only better informed about politics but also active agents in shaping and circulating political information. While digital media technologies have served to positively influence political communication to empower individuals to do what was previously available only to institutions, they have also been incorporated into existing power structures. In certain cases, they have morphed into a medium for disinformation, manipulation and spread of politically-biased information at the disposal of interest groups and political elites. The combination of scientific developments in coding and algorithm technologies along with the increasing use of social media had led to the proliferation of automated accounts. New scholarship on digital media show that automation is increasingly used in political communication worldwide. A case in point is the ongoing Gulf crisis between Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Egypt. Media reports have shown extensive use of automated social media accounts since the beginning of the Gulf crisis. In a region with very high internet penetration and widespread use of information and communication technologies, it is necessary to examine how automated accounts have functioned within the socio-technical system of digital media during the Gulf crisis. This paper aims to empirically show how automation has played out in the Gulf crisis by taking a closer look at twitter accounts that posted crisis-related tweets.

Biography
Nurgul Oruc is a PhD candidate at Qatar University Gulf Studies Program. Her research examines the intersection between digital media, politics and society in the Gulf region. She earned her Master’s Degree at Qatar University Gulf Studies Program. Her MA thesis focused on the manifestations of solidarity on digital media environments in the face of an external threat during the Gulf crisis. Oruc has also degrees in mechanical engineering from Yildiz Technical University in Istanbul and in communication studies from Northwestern University in the United States.
“Social Media And Its Role In The Production And Nutrition Of Crises”
Zahia Yasad

Abstract

Social networking sites have become very popular since the beginning of the current decade and have become linked to our daily life. We follow the news, analyzes and opinions on the one issue in a way that attracts millions of users and the number grows every second. On Twitter, one of the most important social networking sites, all social groups rushed from the president to the last citizen to open accounts after they found themselves forced to do so.

During the recent Gulf crisis, Twitter was buzzing with Twittes, which achieved the largest circulation globally. Instead of serving the issue and directing it to serve the Arab interest, most of the publications were on the negative side; The publications spread hatred and eliminate what remained among the Arab peoples. The negative exploitation of technology fueled the diplomatic crisis and created others: political, social and economic crises in the form of Hitler’s propaganda.

Biography

Dr. Zahia yssaad is a professor in the Department of Media and Communication Sciences at the University of Qassidi Marbah in Algeria, in parallel she is a news anchor and broadcaster TV programs. She obtain doctorate in science and communication sciences, specializing in cultural media with a very honorable degree. She is interested in research in the fields of radio and television, The new media and their impact on the public life of the Arab masses, participated in dozens of international conferences as well as local research field and has ten articles published in international and national magazines.
“What is the role of Gulf media in managing Gulf crises?”

Mustafa Bakhouch

Abstract
Media today is one of the most important means of communication, which gives them special status in the communication process and qualifies them to play an important role in ensuring national unity and reshaping public opinion because of the spread of the media and its easy accessibility. In light of this fact, and in consideration that the crisis is a humanitarian phenomenon that exists in all countries and societies, the media plays a special role in providing information and awarnig people about the situation in crisis cases, where the media can play a positive role, through quieting and encouraging them to do positive work, and vice versa, when these media lacks of professionalism, and omits of the skillfulness where it may fall on the pretext of achieving the perviousness of journalism, or for seeking for realizing a highest percentage of reading or viewing, or looking for support from the parties are involved in the crisis by adopting the style of excitement. Thus, it become a cause for terrorizing the population, and creating chaos. In This context we refer here that all the kinds of the media can play crucial role in crisis management. Firstly, by raising awareness of how to deal with the crisis when it occurs. Secondly, by the fact that the media coverage during and after crises should be realistic, objective, and non-promotional, so that events are reported in an accurate way. This has helped to reduce tension and escalation, especially in the midst of the public opinion during these crises. The aim of this paper is to identify the role of the Gulf media in crisis management, especially with regard to informing the public, calming it and instilling confidence in it, and letting the competent authorities work quietly away from pressure and agitation. Through research on the modalities and methods covered by various media, the recent Gulf crisis between the four countries (Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, Egypt) on the one hand and Qatar on the other.

Biography
Dr. Mustapha Bekhouche, holds a PhD in “Political Sciences and International Relations “from the University of Algiers, taught as an “Assistant Professor” at the University of “Biskra”(Algeria), and then, as an “Associate Professor “ at “King Faisal University” (Saudi Arabia), before joining the “Saudi Electronic University” in SEP 2013. Then he returns to his university in Biskra in 2015. He upgrades in JAN 2018 to upgrade of “Professor”. He is a member of the “Arab association for political sciences”. He has experience in the field of “Strategic Planning” which he acquired from membership and chairmanship of committees preparing strategic plans. He participated in many International conferences, and published many contributions in specialized international journals. He also published a book titled: Sea after the end of the Cold War. His main research interests are security studies related to the security concept shift resulting from the end of the Cold War and its impact on geographical arrangements in the Middle East and North Africa in the form of comprehensive geopolitical re-engineering. He is also interested in strategic studies, especially in the theoretical dimension, through research in the levels of analysis and trying to identify the intersections shared between the strategic thought in its macro and micro level, to identify the role of non- states Actors in international relations. He is also interested in studying the role of the media in the new international environment. From the academic side, he was interested in quality assurance and academic accreditation, where he accumulated experience through his work in various committees accreditation.
“Qatar: A New Paradigm in Small States’ Role and Strategy?”
Mohammad Moctar El-Shanqiti

Abstract
Several scholars of geopolitics and international relations have recently developed a special interest in Qatar’s emergence, its transformative role in the region and its highly visible presence on the international scene, despite all the constraints that small states usually have in term of geography and demography.

Different interpretive methods have been advanced by these scholars to grasp this unusual role and visibility of Qatar. Some scholars have focused on Qatar’s soft power (wealth, media and public diplomacy); some on the leadership and ruling elite of the country since 1995; while others adopted a comparative approach and found some similarities between Qatar and the small states of northern Europe.

This paper explores a wide range of Western literature on Qatar’s emergence over the last quarter-century. Taking into consideration the importance of the previous interpretations of the emergence of Qatar, the paper argues that the case of Qatar is setting a new paradigm in the studies of geopolitics and international relations—a paradigm that contradicts much of the conventional wisdom on small states’ role and strategy.

Biography
Associate professor of political ethics at Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Doha, Qatar. He got his Ph.D. in history of religion from Texas Tech University. His academic interests include political philosophy, philosophy of religion, religious sectarianism, and Arab-American relations.

Among his books in Arabic:
- The Constitutional Crisis of Islamic Civilization;
- The Crusades’ Impact on Sunni-Shi’a Relations.
- The Best Muslim Minds in the Twentieth Century;
- Political Discords among the Prophets’ Companions.
- Wounds of the Soul (a poetic collection).

Among his works in English:
- “Defensive Jihad: Islamization of the Turks and Turkification of Islam.”
- “A Painful Quest for God: the Pre-conversion Moment of Augustine and Al-Ghazali.”
- “Early American Perceptions of Muslims.”
- “Slaves of Allah: Early African Muslims in America.”

Most of his works were translated and published in Turkish Language. Some were translated into French, Kurdish, Persian, Albanian and Bosnian.
Abstract

Following the election of the Justice and Development Party and Turkey’s opening to the Middle East, Qatar has become one of the closest allies of Turkey in the Middle East. Turkey-Qatar alliance has reached a new high with the Arab Revolutions as two pro-revolutionary states. Established ties between Turkey and Qatar has continued even after the Arab Spring. Turkey stood by Qatar during the diplomatic crises between Qatar and the Gulf states including Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Bahrain in 2017-2018. Similarly, Qatar supported Turkey financially after the devastating currency crises in August 2018. Moreover, Turkey launched a military base in Qatar which is of critical significance in the history of Turkish foreign policy. This study aims to examine the bilateral ties between Turkey and Qatar. For this purpose, two theoretical approaches to be utilized: (i) Palmer and Morgan’s (2010) “a two good theory of foreign policy”, and (ii) Buzan and Weaver’s (2003) “regional security complex theory.” It is argued that each of these states, Turkey and Qatar, seek to change the regional status quo to forge a new regional security order. Accordingly, to achieve this goal, Turkey and Qatar cemented an alliance and harmonized their foreign policies toward the countries in the region.

Biography

Mustafa Cüneyt Özsahan is Assistant Professor of International Relations at Necmettin Erbakan University. Dr. Özsahan holds his Ph.D in International Relations from Selcuk University and MA in Political Science from University of Missouri-Columbia where he was a Fulbright scholar. Currently, he is an Assistant Professor in Necmettin Erbakan University in Konya. His primary research interests include Politics in the Middle East and Africa, International Political Economy, International Security, Human Rights and Democratization.
Abstract
Qatar Crisis is a Saudi–led blockade on Qatar started in June 2017 and still not resolved yet. There are so many questions, predictions and concerns looming over it, like is this crisis going to be the first domino for the dismantle of the Gulf Cooperation Council. Furthermore, in foreign policy making ideology plays an important role that it serves in influencing foreign policy making decisions. One of the important readings that been raised of why Qatar crisis appeared is because of the ideological struggle between GCC states from the beginning and after the Arab Spring. Moreover, in foreign policy making not only leader’s ideology influence foreign policy making decisions but also their perceptions. For example, when Neville Chamberlain signed a peace agreement with Adolf Hitler in Munich. Chamberlain perceived that he got an assurance of peace time not knowing that his perception came against the reality ground which is the start of the second world war. Therefore, perception is a unique phenomenon in foreign policy making decisions. It unfolds different aspects that is related to it or affects it such as thought structure, emotion, and consciousness. Moreover, Foucault said that we have to know the historical conditions which motive our conceptualization. The second thing to check is the type of reality with which we are dealing with. In this crisis, the ideological struggle throughout the discourse of regional powers like Turkey and Iran is reflecting the position of each member of the Gulf Cooperation Council and their role in shaping new geostrategic alliances. Using discourse theory and discourse analysis as my research methodology I will explain the How GCC states perceive Iran and Turkey? and how their perceptions of these regional powers is influencing their foreign policy making?

Biography
Noof Rashid Al-Dosari is a Ph.D student at University of Essex, Department of Government. She holds a Master degree in Public Policy from Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Qatar. She also holds a Bachelor degree in English Literature and Linguistic/International Affairs. Her Ph.D thesis deals with Iranian and Gulf Cooperation Council(GCC) foreign policy discourse, in which she is questioning Gulf states political discourse and the role of Khalijism in influencing GCC foreign policymaking toward Iran.

She is currently on leave lecturer at Qatar University Department of International Affairs-Public Policy Program (2014-present). She was an associate in Silatech organization, 2014. And a part-time Research Assistance in the Research Centre for Islamic Legislation and Ethics–Education City, 2013. Her Research Interest is about: public policy making, policy studies, institutionalism, government, foreign policy, discourse theory and discourse analysis, political ideology, Iranian political studies, Arabian Gulf politics.
“Iran’s Pragmatic Foreign Policy in Response to Regional Crises: The Case of the Blockade Against Qatar”

Mehran Haghirian

Abstract

Iran has time and again adapted its foreign policy in response to regional crises to take advantage of the disorder by advancing its national interests. Looking at Iran’s position to Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait in 1991, its maneuvering with regard to Iraq post-2003, and the country’s support for the 2011 uprisings in Bahrain, the Islamic Republic has had a varying, and often unpredictable, reaction to regional upheavals. The unjust blockade that was imposed on Qatar in June 2017 was the latest region wide crisis that exposed the disunity within the Gulf Cooperation Council and prompted a pragmatic shift in Iran’s foreign policy. This paper analyzes Iran’s foreign policy decision-making process with respect to the Persian Gulf region by looking at the level of pragmatism in its approach towards regional crises. The blockade is used as a case study to examine Iran’s policy shift towards Qatar from a mere rivalry to a practical and win-win relationship. By presenting a brief history of key factors and events that have shaped relations between Iran and Qatar, this paper examines Iran’s decision to assist Qatar at a critical juncture in the geopolitical environment of the Persian Gulf. With the objective of assessing the nature and durability of this revived relationship and its impact on regional politics, this paper also delves into the State of Qatar’s post-conflict regional approach in enhancing its relations with Iran in order to guarantee the food security of its population, ensure an air-route for its leading international airline, and secure further regional diplomatic support for the country. While severing relations with Iran was among the thirteen demands levied on Qatar by the quartet, the level of this bilateral relationship was minimal in comparison to some of the other GCC countries. It was indeed the blockade itself that propelled Qatar towards enhancing relations with Iran, and the primary reason for the changes in the regional status quo with respect to alliances and partnerships between the countries surrounding the Persian Gulf.

Biography

Mehran Haghirian is a PhD student at Qatar University’s Gulf Studies program and a Graduate Research Assistant at the Ibn Khaldon Center for Humanities and Social Sciences. He is a graduate of American University’s School of International Service in Washington, DC, with a Master’s degree in International Affairs and a research focus on Iran and the Persian Gulf region.
Abstract
The members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) have long-term strategic relations with the superpowers: US, China, Russia, and the EU. Recently, many of these superpowers spend much of their political and financial resources addressing their own domestic and internal dilemmas, leaving fewer of these resources for the GCC. As such, and particularly during the Gulf Crisis, GCC members should foster relations with other stable states in order to ensure continuity in areas such as diplomacy, trade, even security.

In which states should the GCC develop durable strategic partnerships? Which states would be invested in encouraging peaceful political and economic relations with and among GCC members?

This paper advises GCC members to (1) look to middle powers and (2) look east. Specifically, the middle-power countries of South Korea, India, and Japan are all potentially strong allies in the long-term strategic plans of GCC members.

In much of the international relations literature, there is substantial evidence supporting the idea that commerce facilitates cooperation between states, promoting peace and stability. Thus, in order to foster GCC regional stability and long-term strategic growth, there should be collective interest toward developing international partners that are invested in all GCC states. There are existing partners that fit this necessary condition: The top export destinations and import origins for GCC trade include South Korea, India, and Japan for almost all GCC states. By developing strategic partnerships with these middle-power countries east of the GCC, I contend that (1) both bilateral and multilateral political, economic, and even security relations may develop; (2) there is a shared interest among GCC members and these middle powers to maintain and increase stability and peace in the GCC region; and (3) the long-term partnerships will provide key allies for tough future GCC negotiations with superpowers.

Biography
Dr. Shareefa Al-Adwani is an Assistant Professor of Political Science in the Department of International Relations and the Director of the Center for Gulf Studies at the American University of Kuwait. She completed her PhD in Political Science at the University of California, Davis in June 2016, focusing on the two fields of International Relations and Quantitative Methods. She earned her second M.A. in Political Science from the same university in March 2016. Her current research projects involve (1) the investigation of GCC socio-political phenomenon and changes over time using recently available government data and (2) using various new and existing cross-sectional time-series data to investigate the domestic factors for international cooperation, treaties, and agreements. She has written for Kuwait’s RAI Institute for Strategic Studies and Research, earned a grant from the Kuwait Foundation for the Advancement of Sciences, and is on the Advisory Board for New Kuwait Public Relations Committee (NKPRC). At AUK in her current position, she teaches courses related to Kuwait foreign policy, international law and organizations, politics and women in the Middle East, and quantitative methods, and has served as the Acting Chair of the Steering Committee for the Masters in International Relations.
“The Impact of the Blockade on Qatar’s Industrial Companies”
Michael Ewers

Abstract
Today, Qatar’s business community faces an unprecedented air, land and sea blockade. The economy has performed remarkably well despite these challenges, but more information is needed on how the embargo has impacted Qatar’s business community, how firms have navigated these challenges, and what policymakers can do to help firms to succeed. Therefore, we at Qatar University, led by the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) and the College of Business and Economics, conducted a survey of 113 industrial companies in Qatar, where we asked businesses about the initial and ongoing effects of the blockade on their operations, as well as how they view the future. We find that while views are generally positive about the overall business environment in Qatar, these companies have experienced significant difficulties with their supply chains and ability to import to and export from Qatar. Nevertheless, we find that companies have moved quickly to find alternate source countries for imports and destination countries for exports. Ultimately, we hope these results will allow us to provide economic analysis which will inform key decision makers as they develop policies to support Qatar’s industrial sector. This effort will also provide baseline data for what could in the future become a regular survey whereby we could track firms’ views over time.

Biography
Dr. Michael Ewers is a Research Assistant Professor at the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at Qatar University. Before SESRI, he was an Assistant Professor at Texas A&M University in the United States. Michael is a geographer and interdisciplinary social scientist who studies the population dimensions of economic development in the Middle East, including migration, employment, and human capital formation. His work at SESRI analyzes the policy dimensions of these processes and also focuses on the geographical visualization of individual-level survey data through GIS mapping. Ewers’ research has been published in numerous international journals and has been supported by grants from U.S. National Science Foundation and the U.S. Department of Education.
“Qatari Political Attitudes after the Blockade: Findings from a Natural Experiment”

Justin Gengler

Abstract

This paper examines changes in political attitudes among Qatari citizens since the blockade imposed on the country in June 2017. It assesses changes in views toward the regional Gulf Cooperation Council, toward international relations, and toward domestic politics by leveraging SESRI survey data collected prior to the blockade in 2016 and in early 2017. These pre-blockade data are compared to findings from another survey conducted in May 2018, which replicated key questions from previous studies. This approach amounts to a natural experiment. As such, it minimizes the problem of social desirability bias inherent in more direct solicitations of changes in attitudes and behaviors due to the blockade.

How has the economic and political blockade imposed on Qatar in June 2017 by other Arab states changed the orientations of Qatari citizens toward the country’s international relations and domestic politics? Here we utilize a natural experiment, leveraging two sets of survey data on political attitudes collected in the period prior to the blockade in order to assess changes in views resulting from the event. Although this analysis cannot directly tie observed differences in attitudes to the blockade, the highly significant and unforeseen nature of the event in June 2017 provides a strong basis upon which to infer causality. Certainly, this political earthquake is the defining shock to the domestic and regional political context in the period separating the pre- and post-blockade surveys used in the analysis to follow.

In the months before the onset of the blockade, the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at Qatar University carried out two nationally representative, face-to-face surveys of citizen political attitudes, which can be used as a baseline from which to assess subsequent shifts in attitudes among Qatars.

Biography

Justin Gengler is Research Assistant Professor at the Social and Economic Survey Research Institute (SESRI) at Qatar University. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science in 2011 from the University of Michigan. He studies political behavior and political economy in the Arab Gulf states, mainly using public opinion survey data. He is the author of Group Conflict and Political Mobilization in Bahrain and the Arab Gulf: Rethinking the Rentier State (Indiana University Press, 2015), and publishes regularly in both scholarly and policy fora on topics related to Gulf politics, public opinion, and survey methodology in the Middle East.
Abstract

Qatar Blockade, as a decision taken by KSA, UAE, Bahrain in addition to Egypt, is a horrible decision in all its political, economic and Social dimensions; specially in an era that witnesses tensions in the surrounding regional circumstances and deepens worries in gulf relations because of the various pressure instruments used by blockade countries to bring influence on government and people of Qatar. Blockade of Qatar presents a unique situation which has never been experienced by a gulf state, yet it may be likened in its psycho-social impacts and familial connectedness to Kuwait war 1990 (Al Zoferi, 1992). The negative repercussions ensuing Kuwait war during Iraqi aggression resulting from captivating individuals, martyrdom or displacement, all contributed to extensive psychological trauma. Wars and disputes always have various powerful influences on the affected individuals and communities.

Qatari and gulf solidarity have been greatly shocked. The statement, issued by the three blockade countries which stipulated the return of their citizens back to their countries and the expulsion of Qatari citizens, has ensued serving ties and forcibly separating members of the same family which can be considered a threat to the social fabric and brought negative consequences on the Qatari families sharing one of its members in one of the blockade countries. This resulted in the disintegration of these families and the absence of one parent a result of belonging to one of these countries. It resulted also in spread of estrangement among relatives of GC and their families in Qatar, either because of fear of punishment imposed by their countries in case of sympathizing with Qatar or because of believing their countries’ allegations against Qatar. Blockade countries have given no considerations to religious certainties and relations and social norms that unit gulf peoples and urge maintaining links and rejecting estrangement. National committee in its first report stressed the volume of damages and legal violations perpetrated against these families after embargo (Al Jazeera, 2017).

In this respect, National Human Rights Committee (NHRC) played an effective role on the national, regional, and international levels in dealing with all legal files of those affected by blockade especially joint families. Therefore, the aim of the current study is to investigate views of a sample of youth about the role of NHRC and blockade imposed on Qatar and keeping up on its role, its due role and lessons learned from blockade.

Sample of the study consisted of 228 Qatari and non-Qatari students (10.8 % males, 89.2 % females). Results of the study show that 84.89 % are following NHRC, 90.28 % considers its role as greatly important, 33.09 % views it as defending the affected especially those with relatives in blockade countries. The upholding of morality that Qataris showed and which was stressed by His Highness Sheikh Tamim Bin Hamad Al-Thani The Emir of the State in Speech of Persistence, occupied the first place pertaining learned lessons from blockade crisis. Important recommendations are illustrated.
Biography

Member of a number of University and community committees, such as Accreditation Committee member. College of education, QU, National Human Rights Committee Member State of Qatar, The Executive of the Education Excellence Committee Member, Ministry of Education and higher Education (Master level). Advisory Committee member Awasj Academy, Qatar Foundation for Educational, Science and Community Development. State of Qatar, Accessibility Forum member, the Supreme Committee for Delivery & Legacy, Qatar National Reward of Child Literacy member Ministry of Culture and Sport Member, Board of Governors member Social Rehabilitation Center. State of Qatar (2013-2011), Vice Chair Childhood Committee Supreme Council for Family Affairs (2009-2007), Board Member Childhood Cultural Center member Supreme Council for Family Affairs- Qatar (2007-2002). Volunteer, Qatar Society for Rehabilitation Individual with Special Need more than 15 years. Dr Al Attiyah have Publications, Conference Papers and research grant related to inclusion and individual with disability and mental health. Dr Al Attiyah Received Qatar University Outstanding Faculty Service Award for academic year 2015-2016. College of Education Excellency and Quality Award 2009, Gulf Disability Society G.C.C 2008, the Egyptian Society for the Rehabilitation of the Handicapped Award 2002 and The International Volunteer Day Award Qatar 2001.
“Trans-Gulf Resonances: The central role of Egypt in Saudi-UAE dispute on Qatar”
Moises Garduño García

Abstract
The popular revolts and political changes in Egypt during 2011-2014 generated different positions within the GCC countries what can explain the non-existence of a common or unanimous position on the issue. While on one hand Qatar was in favour of supporting the political tendencies represented by the Muslim Brotherhood, Saudi Arabia and UAE chose to support the so called “deep State in Egypt” with which the military plays a central and strategic role. This support was not only carried out with the granting of a voluminous financial aid to the current government of Al Sisi, but also through a series of conspiracies developed by the intelligence services of Riad and Abu Dhabi. These factors explain the position of Egypt in the current crisis of GCC in which Saudi Arabia and UAE are taking up several plans to achieve higher levels of military aid and security to Cairo to contain the rise of Iranian influence in the region. Egypt was part of a Saudi-led military coalition that intervened in Yemen in March 2015, is a central actor in Riad’s counter terrorism strategy through the Global Center for Combatting Extremist Ideology (GCCEI), and is included in the bloc of Arab states that boycotted Qatar since June 2018. Moreover, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and UAE try to achieve the $500 billion NEOM project, a state industrial, commercial and tourist metropolis in north-western Saudi Arabia, with which almost 1,000 sq.km of south Sinai would be developed. In any case, Egypt shares Saudi and Emirati goals with respect to curbing Iran, Qatar and Turkey’s expansionist regional ambitions.

Biography
Moisés Garduno García is a full-time professor at the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). He holds a Ph.D. in Contemporary Arab and Islamic Studies from the Autonomous University of Madrid, a Master’s degree in Asian and African Studies with a Specialization in the Middle East from El Colegio de México, and a BA in International Relations from UNAM.

After conducting a postdoctoral research in the Center for Research and Higher Studies in Social Anthropology of Mexico (CIESAS), he served as Head of the Department of Asian Languages of the National School of Linguistics, Translation and Foreign Languages of UNAM. He belongs to National Research System of Mexico, and he holds studies in Arabic language by the National School of Translators of Toledo, as well as Persian Language Studies by the Dekhoda Institute of the University of Tehran.
Abstract
Following the Arab uprisings, the Horn of Africa has acquired a new centrality for Middle Eastern countries such as Iran, Turkey and the Gulf monarchies. Such renovated interest has grown mainly due to the Horn geopolitical prominence and it has opened a scramble for influence among Middle Eastern players driven by both geo-economic and geo-security imperatives. The aftermath of the Arab spring unrests, the Syrian civil war, and the conflict in Yemen have all combined to push regional states to seek advantage through alliance, trade and cultural outreach beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Centuries of shared faith and intense trade exchanges have placed the Middle East and the Horn of Africa among the world’s most interdependent regions, to the point that the latter is considered part of the Greater Middle East or the New Middle East. From this perspective, the Horn reflects the dynamics, tensions and rivalries of Middle East geopolitics which intertwined with the regional interstate and intrastate conflicts. Therefore, the Gulf crisis has sharply infected the Horn of Africa, destabilising the area, sowing new regional divisions and rekindling old hostilities.

Drawing into the regional security conceptual framework, this paper intends to grasp such developments, seeking to explore the new system of alliances and counter alliances that ties the Horn and the Middle East in the post-Arab Spring era. Specifically, it aims to analyse the reshuffle of security environment in the Horn of Africa, identifying the actors, agendas and threats. The main argument is that traditional security dynamics of the region - domestic dynamics regionalized through various spill over mechanisms - have been intertwined and overlapped by others that are flowing in the opposite way. In other words, the paper argues that regional dynamics of the Greater Middle East are internalized by the Horn of Africa’s regional system, threatening the stability and precarious balance of the whole region.

Biography
Federico Donelli is a postdoc research fellow in International Relations at the University of Genoa, Department of Political Sciences, and visiting fellow at the Center for Modern Turkish Studies of the Şehir Istanbul University. His research fields have covered International Relations and security studies of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, focusing on the foreign policy of the different actors. Currently he is working on the process of militarization in the Horn of Africa with particular focus on the Turkey’s African policy. Among his latest works “Features, Aims and Limits of Turkey’s Humanitarian Diplomacy” published in Central European Journal of International and Security Studies and “The Ankara Consensus: the significance of Turkey’s engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa” in Global Change, Peace & Security.
“Shifts in Political Alliances and Economic Diversifications in the Gulf Crisis: The Qatar-Iran-Turkey Nexus”
Robert J. Riggs

Abstract
The yet unresolved diplomatic rupture within the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has shed light on deep disagreements within the economic and political bloc over regional alliances and competing economic interests. This dispute calls into question the viability of the GCC as a lasting regional arrangement in the Middle East region. While the U.S. has attempted to broker a reconciliation between the disputing parties, analysts question what leverage the Trump Administration wields to bring the sides to a negotiated solution. Furthermore, as the rift erupted between the Saudi Arabia-led coalition on one side and Qatar on the other in June 2017, both Iran and Turkey quickly stepped in to support Qatar. They offered airspace for commercial flights and shipping, as well as food and other goods to replace the goods and services that had been blockaded from entering Qatar through the previous GCC arrangements. Both Turkey and Iran have varying regional interests that require good relations and cooperation with Qatar; however, these good diplomatic and economic relations have set Qatar at odds with its fellow GCC members. Among the reasons why Saudi Arabia and its allies imposed sanctions on their Arab and Muslim neighbor is Qatar’s friendly relations with Iran. In fact, Saudi Arabia is planning to fund a canal to further isolate the Qatari peninsula. This paper explores the following relevant research questions, using a qualitative analysis of primary and secondary data:
- How has the diplomatic fragmentation within the GCC affected Qatar’s relationships with Iran and Turkey?
- How have the competing economic and political interests of the contesting parties sparked the conflict?

Biography
Robert Riggs is an Associate Professor at the University of Bridgeport, where he teaches courses on the political economy, history, and religions of the Middle East. His forthcoming book, “Shiascapes: The Changing Face of Contemporary Arab Shi’ism” by Lexington Books, focuses on changing dynamics within of Shi’a communities in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and the GCC. He also serves as a regular commentator on Middle East issues for a variety of news outlets, such as CTV News and Al-Jazeera.
Abstract

Malaysia is an emerging middle power. Therefore, Malaysia’s relationship with Qatar should be understood within the context of foreign policy behaviour of an emerging middle power within an international environment, which is undergoing rapid changes and a domestic context in Malaysia, which has undergone a fundamental change in its political order following the General Election (GE-14) held in May, 2018. The GE-14 results ended the lengthy 61-year rule by the coalition of parties known as the Barisan Nasional (the National Front or the BN) by another coalition of political parties popularly known as Pakatan Harapan or the Coalition of Hope (PH). In terms of foreign policy, Malaysia has mostly continued with the previous governments’ foreign policy thrusts; for example prioritizing relations with the ASEAN states and the Muslim world. It should be noted that the PH government has adjusted, wherever necessary, its relationship with states like China, Japan, Russia, the Middle Eastern nations, and the United States. The domestic political changes, no matter how small, did affect Malaysia’s relations with some countries. The drive to fight high-collar corruption by some members of the previous government led by Najib Tun Razak is likely to affect its relationship with countries like China and Saudi Arabia.

President Donald Trump’s ‘America First’ policy and the US-China trade wars have contributed towards upsetting the liberal world order. The world is now watching the rise of populism in the form of religious extremism, Islamophobia, and even fascism in various parts of the world. Unfortunately, rather than combating these ideas, political leaders in Europe and elsewhere now understand very well that populism, not policy, have become vote-getters. This phenomenon does not augur well for the future of the world. Like other members of the international system, Malaysia has to grapple with this new challenge.

Part-1 of this paper would point out the justification of such a study. Part-II of this paper would define the concept of emerging power and, in addition, describe Malaysia’s foreign policy behaviour as an emerging power. Part-III provides a shot literature review. Part-IV of this paper would undertake an analysis of the ideas that are changing international order. The election results of Malaysia’s 14th General Elections in May, 2018, ended the 61 year old rule of Barisan Nasional (BN). The new government led by a coalition of political parties known as Pakatan Harapan (PH) or the Alliance of Hope, have not only re-tuned the country’s domestic policy but also its foreign policy, which affects Malaysia’s relationship with Qatar. These changes will be discussed in Part-V. Factors Contributing to Malaysia-Qatar Trade and Economic Ties will be discussed in Part-VI. While Part –VII is devoted to a discussion on steps that may be taken to further strengthen Malaysia’s trade and economic relationship with Qatar.
Biography of Ishtiaq Hossain

Dr. Ishtiaq Hossain is currently working as an Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) teaching mainstream courses in the discipline of International Relations in the Department of Political Science. He is also serving as the Post-Graduate Coordinator in the Department. Dr. Ishtiaq is the editor of Intellectual Discourse, a Scopus-listed flagship journal of the IIUM. Author of nearly 60 articles in indexed journals, and books, in 2018 he was recognized as one of the top researchers and post-graduate thesis supervisors in the IIUM. Before joining the IIUM, Dr. Ishtiaq served as a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the National University of Singapore. He was also a Visiting Professor at the Elliott School of International Affairs at George Washington University, and the Department of Politics at the University of Waikato, New Zealand. His latest research report was in 2018 entitled Malaysia’s Foreign Policy under the Pakatan Harapan Government: the First Hundred Days. Dr. Ishtiaq Hossain is currently engaged in writing research reports on China’s One Belt, One Road (OBOR) Policy, and writing a text-book titled Muslim International Organizations.

Biography of Syaza Farhana Mohamad Shukri

Syaza Farhana Mohamad Shukri is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). She received her PhD from IIUM and Master’s Degree from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), and undergraduate degree from the University of Pittsburgh. Her research interests include political Islam, Middle Eastern politics, political parties and democratization. Her latest publication is entitled “From political Islam to democrat Muslim: A comparison between Rached Ghannouchi and Anwar Ibrahim” in Intellectual Discourse, Vol. 26, No. 2 (June, 2018). She is currently conducting research on “Gender Discrimination among Professionals in the State of Selangor, Malaysia”.

“Gulf Crisis in the Academia of Pakistan”
Asiya Bukhari

Abstract
Over the last many years, scholarship on Middle East issues amongst Pakistan academia is increasingly growing. Ranging from the regional and area studies centres, academic seminars, workshops and conferences, and research papers are vivid indicators to that effect. The growing academic interest in the Middle East, particularly in the Gulf region, is factored by many reasons. The proximity between the two regions transcends geographical connection; an intersection underscored by history, culture, religion, and economic ties. In this backdrop, it is safe to say that conflict or crisis in the Gulf resonates with the sensibility of Pakistan both as a state and people.

Through the heaps of Pakistani academic writings, the paper explores and articulates the nature of Gulf crisis and its ramifications on Pakistan. More particularly, ramifications in the area of foreign policy, the extent to which Gulf crisis is sways the dynamics of alliance between Pakistan and the Gulf countries. Consequently, the paper also underscores how young generation of Pakistan academics are intellectually contributing to the discourse of issues in the Gulf region, with an increasing interest in the dynamics of contemporary conflict in that part of the world.

Methodologically, the paper addresses the issues through content analysis of selected journals of local think tanks and academic institutions focusing on contemporary issues in the Gulf region. The paper qualitatively explores articles published in the last five years (2013-2018); the selection of articles is done through simple random sampling of articles. The paper submits that the nature and trajectory of academic writing over the last five years has relative weightage on Pakistan’s foreign policy making towards the region.

Biography
Asiya Bukhari is a PHD Scholar in National University of Sciences and Technology from department of Peace and stability. Her Research interests lie in the area of Peace and conflict studies. In recent year she has focused on Conflicts in Middle East regarding Pakistan relationships with GCC states. Multilateral she is interested in nuclear safety and security study, arms control and disarmament. She achieved a multi focused fellowship from University of Tennessee (USA), in Nuclear safety, security and safeguards, spend two months in Sandia national Laboratory in Albuquerque New Mexico (USA) and presented her final Capstone project in Washington DC (USA).

She Graduated from Kohat University of science and technology with a master of Business administration. Further knowledge attainment she joined Riphah Islamic International University for Post Graduate degree with 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 World Bank as a junior Human Resource Officer.
“Gulf Crisis and Qatar Evolving Foreign Policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa: Perspectives from Neoclassical Theory of Foreign Policy”

Alieu Manjang

Abstract

In the early day of June 5th 2017, the Gulf region was stroke by a grip of an unprecedented regional crisis as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt announced a diplomatic break with the tiny-yet-wealthy peninsular nation of Qatar. This diplomatic breakdown included cutting air, sea and land links with Qatar as well as ordering Qatari officials and nationals residing in their countries, to return home. Given heavily interlinked social and commercial ties that bound the Gulf States together Qatar was expected to be affected adversely. Nonetheless, Qatar took pragmatic measures to diversifying its regional and international partnerships to address economic and political challenges created by the blockage. Accordingly, countries of Sub-Saharan Africa have been targeted in the course of Qatar hyper foreign policy activities. Within this framework the Emir of Qatar Sheikh Tamim, accompanied by high power delegation, embarked on unprecedented state visits to six West African countries in December 2017. Number of projects and agreements were culminated from these visits including, but not limited to, support worth $13.8m for the funding a cancer hospital in Burkina Faso and a project for educating 596,000 children in the Republic of Mali with an estimated contribution of $40m within the ‘Educate a Child’ initiatives. In addition to this, Qatar has recently increased its presence in the Horn of Africa, the geopolitical significance of which dictates Qatar to rival Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirate. This has pushed Qatar to consider multi-billion dollar investments and large aid flows in countries stretching along the east African coast from Sudan to Somalia.

In the light of these developments in Qatar’s engagement in Africa, this paper borrows from Neoclassical Theory of Foreign Policy to explain determinants and motives the evolution of Qatar foreign policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa in the wake of the Gulf Crisis. Towards this end, the author believes that Qatar’s foreign policy to Africa in general is motivated by its attempt to achieve different economic and political goals i.e. the goal of increasing influence in the continent, and creating a favorable environment for its existing and potential investment portfolios in different sectors across the continent. These goals are believed to serve its ultimate aim of consolidating its position at regional and global levels amid the Gulf crisis, and to satisfy its domestic needs of economic diversification and agro-investment for food security purposes. Therefore, Qatar foreign policy towards the continent is determined by external factors represented in the dynamic of politics at regional level, i.e. Middle East, and domestic factors represented in urgency of diversifying of its economy to provide better opportunities and a better way of life for its citizens.

This paper would contribute significantly in expanding understanding about Qatar foreign policy beyond Middle East region, and it would ultimately contribute in furthering discussions on the growing rivalry between Gulf States in new regional spots, as this paper would be an added value to the scant literature on Gulf-African relations in general, and Qatar-African relations in particular.
Biography
Alieu Manjang is a Gambian Diplomat and PhD candidate in Gulf studies, College of Arts and Science, Qatar University. Before joining diplomatic corps, Mr. Manjang worked in Qatar University as Graduate Teaching and Research Assistant. Mr. Manjang holds double masters: M.A in Gulf Studies, (Qatar University, 2015) and M.A in Public Policy in Islam (Faculty of Islamic Studies, Hamad Bin Khalifa University, Qatar-2012). He obtained his B.A in Journalism and Mass Communication (Al-Azhar University, Egypt 2009). His areas of interest include, foreign policy and international politics of the Gulf States, with specific focus on Gulf-African relations. Education and migration (African migrants) in the Gulf also constitute his areas of interest.