



INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC CONFERENCE

PEACE & STATE

**BUILDING THE FUTURE
OF THE MIDDLE EAST**

MOSCOW, 2 PETROVSKIE LINII, HOTEL BUDAPEST, GOLITSYN HALL
OCTOBER 31, 2018

On October 31, 2018 the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences will host an international academic conference ‘Peace & State – Building the Future of the Middle East’ commemorating the 200th anniversary of its establishment. The event will be organized in partnership with the Center for Security and Development Studies at the School of World Politics of the Lomonosov Moscow State University.

The political transformation of the Middle East is entering a new stage. The period of deconstruction through conflict and existential crisis gives way to the era of reconstruction and a constructive quest for new identity and foundations.

Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Iraq, and other Arab countries face a common challenge – choosing a new model of development which will ensure the optimal balance between the requirements for modern statehood and the imperatives of political stability, between universal values and local cultural traditions, between aspirations of a strengthening civil society and interests of the elites. The Middle Eastern nations give extremely diverse answers to the unique challenges they have been facing lately. External actors – both regional and extra-regional – also play a significant role in these developments. All of them contribute to the non-linear processes of political transformation in one way or another – through direct military interventions, diplomatic initiatives or aid programs. External and domestic factors interact, revealing more and more trade-offs between state formation, state-building, peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction.

The exploration of this problematique requires bringing together scholars of various academic backgrounds, both theorists and practitioners. The goal of this conference is to create a space for a candid dialogue and exchange opinions on these issues.

The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences is one of the world’s leading research centers specializing in studying the area that stretches from North Africa’s western coast to the islands of the Pacific Ocean over a period of time reaching from antiquity to the present day.

The Center for Security and Development Studies at the School of World Politics of the Lomonosov Moscow State University is a center of gravity for the Eurasian segment of the ever-expanding international community of scholars and practitioners eager to understand the whole spectrum of security-development linkages.

CONFERENCE AGENDA

October 31, 2018
Wednesday

9.30–10.30 Registration and Welcome Coffee

10:30–10:45 **OPENING REMARKS**

10:45–12:15 **SESSION 1: MAPPING THE MIDDLE EASTERN STATEHOOD**

- *What is the Middle Eastern state?*
- *To what extent the states of the region match the ‘Westphalian nation-state’ model?*
- *Is post-colonial development model outdated and what is going to replace it?*
- *Will we see new projects of alternative statehood? What will they look like?*
- *What is the role of civil society, non-government actors, traditional elements of social fabric (tribes, clans, ethnic and religious groups) in the state-building processes?*

MODERATOR:

Vasily Kuznetsov

Director, Center for Arab and Islamic Studies,
Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
(Russia)

PARTICIPANTS:

Bahgat Korany,

Director of AUC Forum, Professor of International Relations
and Political Economy, at the American University in Cairo (AUC)
(Egypt)

Nir Rosen,

Syria and Iraq Advisor, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
(United States)

Walid Salem,

Director, Center for Democracy and Community Development
in East Jerusalem
(Palestine)

12:15–12:30 Coffee Break

12:30–14:00 **SESSION 2: POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST:
LOGIC AND DYNAMICS**

- *What is happening to the stateness of conflict-affected countries of the Middle East, such as Syria, Libya and Yemen?*
- *How do formal and legal aspects of stateness correspond to the situation on the ground?*
- *Do parallel potestary systems emerge from below in the shadow of conflict?*

MODERATOR:

Vladimir Bartenev,

Director, Center for Security and Development Studies,
School of World Politics, Lomonosov Moscow State University
(Russia)

PARTICIPANTS:

Abdul Rahman Alageli,

Associate Fellow, Middle East and North Africa Programme,
Chatham House
(Libya)

Konstantin Truevtsev,

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Oriental Studies,
Russian Academy of Sciences
(Russia)

Joost Hiltermann,

Director, Middle East and North Africa Program,
International Crisis Group, Brussels
(Belgium).

14:00–15:00 Lunch Time

15:00–16:30 **SESSION 3: STATE-BUILDING:**

DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL FACTORS

- *Can the external assistance have a positive impact on state-building?*
- *What are the main risks that aid donors and aid recipients face in the Arab World?*
- *What are the most effective risk-mitigation strategies given the current trends in global and regional development?*
- *How to combine state-building and peace-building in the Middle East?*
- *What impact will state-building processes in the Arab World have on the regional and global structure of international relations in the medium and long term?*

MODERATOR:

Maxim Suchkov,

Senior Research Fellow, Associate Professor, MGIMO-University
(Russia)

PARTICIPANTS:

Hrair Balian,

Director, Conflict Resolution Program of the Carter Center
(United States)

Vladimir Bartenev,

Director, Center for Security and Development Studies,
School of World Politics, Lomonosov Moscow State University
(Russia)

Kayhan Barzegar,

Director, Center for Middle East Strategic Studies (CMES) in Tehran
(Iran)

16:30 – 17:00 Coffee Break

17:00 – 18:30 **SESSION 4: THE STATE OF TOMORROW**

- *How to combine ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches to state-building? What institutions do the countries of the region need and how to develop them?*
- *How will the political map of the Middle East change in the next 10–25 years?*
- *Which political, social, environmental challenges will affect the resilience of the Middle Eastern states the most?*
- *Will the new technologies help compensate for the ideological crisis?*
- *What are the opportunities for strategic planning? Is the process of development in the region manageable?*

MODERATOR:

Timur Makhmutov,
Deputy Director of Programs,
Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC)
(Russia)

PARTICIPANTS:

Nader Bakkar,
Co-founder, Al-Nour Party
(Egypt)

John Bell,
Director, Middle East and Mediterranean Programme,
Toledo International Centre for Peace (CITpax) in Madrid
(Canada)

Alain Gresh,
Founder and Publication Director, Orient,
XXI Former Editor-in-Chief of Le Monde Diplomatique
(France)

Vasily Kuznetsov,
Director, Center for Arab and Islamic Studies,
Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences
(Russia)

18:30–18:45 **WRAP-UP**

SPEAKERS AND MODERATORS



Abdul Rahman Alageli

Associate Fellow at the Middle East and North Africa Programme, based in Tripoli, Libya. A. Alageli began working with the stabilization team of the Libyan Prime Minister's Office, the Military Council and the Supreme Security Committee in 2011. He was also a non-resident fellow at the Rafik Hariri Centre for the Middle East at the Atlantic Council from 2015 to 2017.

He went on to be the national security file coordinator in the Office of the Libyan Prime Minister, and was also Rapporteur then Deputy Head of the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Border Security, and a member of the Libyan government's National Security Coordination Team until 2015.

A. Alageli is a founder of the Libyan Youth Forum, one of the largest youth organizations established during 2011, as well as a founding member of the Libyan Experts Forum and the World Economic Forums Global Shapers Hub in Tripoli.

His research interests include Libyan affairs; security sector reform and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration; youth empowerment; structural and economic reform



Nader Bakkar

Egyptian political figure, former youngest elected member of Egypt's Constituent Assembly in 2012. Harvard University graduate with Master's degree in Public Administration in 2016, admitted for a Master's degree in public policy at the University of Oxford, 2019.

Co-founded and successfully led Al Nour Egyptian political party to achieve the second highest votes during the first parliamentary elections after the Egyptian Revolution of 2011. Currently he is Al Nour Party's Deputy Chairman and Chief Strategy Officer in a business solution company.

Elected member, Egyptian Supreme Council for Press, 2013. Weekly columnist in Al-Shorouk Egyptian newspaper and former political commentator on the Al Jazeera TV Channel.

Honored by the European Parliament as a promising young leader and opinion-former, 2016. In a survey conducted by El Shabab magazine in 2012, he was chosen the most influential young figure in Egypt. Awarded the Egyptian government fellowship program for 2015–2016.



Hrair Balian

Director of the Conflict Resolution Program of the Carter Center.

Dr. Balian oversees the program's efforts to monitor conflicts around the world and coordinates the Center's cross-program efforts in the Middle East. He is also an adjunct professor at the Emory University Law School, teaching an advanced international negotiations seminar.

Since 1991, H. Balian has worked in the Balkans, Eastern Europe, the independent states emerging from the former Soviet Union, the Middle East, and Africa, serving in intergovernmental organizations (the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and nongovernmental organizations (International Crisis Group and others). He has worked on elections, human rights, and conflict resolution.

Dr. Balian received his Juris Doctor degree from Golden Gate University in San Francisco. In May 2009, the New England College awarded H. Balian the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, for his "lifetime commitment to the dignity, respect, and self-determination of all peoples" and for his "uncompromising effort to resolve international conflicts."



Vladimir Bartenev

Director of the Center for Security and Development Studies and a Deputy Dean for Research at the School of World Politics, Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Dr. Bartenev graduated from the School of History, MSU and Collège Universitaire Français de Moscou. Fox International Fellow at Yale University (2006–2007). Deputy Editor-in-Chief of 'Moscow University Journal of World Politics'. Empowering Sustainability Fellow at University of California (Irvine). Part-time consultant at the World Bank (2011–2013), editor and the main author of 'International Development

Cooperation: Course of Lectures' – the key intellectual product of the World Bank 'Russia as a Donor Initiative' Program. Since 2014 leads or manages key research projects of the School of World Politics, including 'Dilemmas of Strengthening State Resilience in the Middle East and North Africa in the Context of New Threats to Peace, Security, Global and Regional Stability' in partnership with the Institute for Oriental Studies of the RAS.

Dr. Bartenev conducts research on political economy of international relations, foreign aid, security-development nexus, 'rogue' and 'failed states', political risks analysis.



Kayhan Barzegar

Director of the Center for Middle East Strategic Studies (CMESS) in Tehran. K. Barzegar is also an Associate Professor of International Relations at the Science and Research Branch of the Islamic Azad University.

Dr. Barzegar was a Research Fellow at Harvard Kennedy from 2007 to 2011, and a Postgraduate Research Fellow at the London School of Economics (LSE) from 2002 to 2003.

His work on Iran’s foreign and regional policy, the Iranian nuclear program, and energy security issues has been published widely, including in *Foreign Affairs*, the *Washington Quarterly*, *Middle East Policy* and numerous academic journals.

His latest publications include, «The Iranian Factor in the Emerging Balance of Power in the Middle East», Al Jazeera Center for Studies (September 2018), «Iran in the Middle East New Battle Lines», ECFR (May 2018), «Political Rationality in Iranian Foreign Policy», *Washington Quarterly* (Spring 2017) and the book *Iran’s Foreign Policy in the Middle East after the Arab Spring* (Spring 2015). Dr. Barzegar is Editor-in-Chief of *Discourse*, an Iranian English Quarterly.



John Bell

Director of the Middle East and Mediterranean Programme at the Toledo International Centre for Peace (CITpax) in Madrid, a mediation and Track II organization, and advisor with Geopolitical Advisory Services (UK) on Yemen.

Director and Co-Founder of The Conciliators Guild, an organization dedicated to excellence in the craft of diplomacy, and to highlighting the role of critical underlying motivations in political decision-making. J. Bell was also formerly the Middle East Director for Search for Common Ground.

John Bell has worked for over 25 years on Middle East politics, policy development and mediation. He is also a former United Nations and Canadian diplomat who served as a political officer at Canada’s embassy in Cairo, a member of Canada’s delegation to the Refugee Working Group in the peace process of the 1990s, Political Advisor to the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for southern Lebanon (2001–2001), advisor to the Canadian Government during the Iraq crisis in 2002–2003, and consultant to International Crisis Group on developments in Jerusalem in 2004.

J. Bell is also a founding member of the “Jerusalem Old City Initiative” (University of Windsor), an effort to find creative options for this contentious issue.



Alain Gresh

Founder and Publication Director, *Orient XXI* (France), former Editor-in-Chief of *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

Dr. Gresh was born in Cairo (Egypt) in 1948. He received his Master's Degree in Mathematics in 1971 in Université Paris VII and a Diploma of Arabic in Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales in 1977 PhD in the PLO, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (1983).

Editor of *Le Monde diplomatique* (1995–2005). Deputy Director of *Le Monde diplomatique* from 2008 to 2013.

His books and articles have been translated into English, Farsi, German, Arabic, Dutch, Japanese, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.



Joost Hiltermann

Program Director on Middle East & North Africa at the International Crisis Group, an independent NGO dedicated to preventing deadly conflict, for which he has worked since 2002. Before that, he was an Executive Director of the Arms Division of Human Rights Watch (1994–2002), and database and research coordinator at the Palestinian human rights organisation 'Al-Haq' in Ramallah (1985–1990).

Mr. Hiltermann holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of California, Santa Cruz and is author of *A Poisonous Affair: America, Iraq, and the Gassing of Halabja* (Cambridge, 2007), and *Behind the Intifada: Labor and Women's Movements in the Occupied Territories* (Princeton, 1991).

Dr. Hiltermann has been a frequent contributor to *The New York Review of Books*, *The London Review of Books*, *The New York Times*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Foreign Policy*, *The Atlantic*, *Middle East Report*, and other publications.



Bahgat Korany

Bahgat Korany is the Director of AUC Forum and also a professor of international relations and political economy at The American University in Cairo (AUC). Dr. Korany is an honorary professor at the University of Montreal and, since 1994, has been an elected member of Canada's Royal Society. He is the first political scientist not born in Canada to be elected to that position. He has also been a visiting professor at various universities, from Sciences Po (Paris) and Oxford to Harvard and Algiers.

In addition to media activity and public talks, at places including the British Parliament (January 2013) and European Parliament (April 2017), Dr. Korany has published more than 100 book chapters/articles in specialized periodicals from *Revue Francaise de Sciences Politiques* to *World Politics*, some of which have been translated into Spanish, Italian, Chinese and Japanese.

Dr. Korany has also published twelve books in English, or French. His first book *Social Change, Charisma and International Behavior*, was awarded the Hauchman Prize in Switzerland. His 2010 book, *The Changing Middle East*, has been noted by CNN in 2011 as indicating the "Arab Spring" a year before it happened. He was or is on the editorial board of such periodicals as the *European Journal of International Relations*, *International Studies Quarterly*, *International Political Science Review*, *El-Siassa El-Dawliyya*, *Mediterranean Politics*, and *Oxford Encyclopedia of Political Science*. He was also lead author of the 10th anniversary special volume of the UNDP's *Arab Human Development Report* during 2010 to 2013. In 2014, he was voted by the International Studies Association for the award, Distinguished Global South Scholar, for his life achievements. He was the first to receive it from the Arab world and succeeded the dean of African studies the late Ali Mazrui.



Vasily Kuznetsov

Ph.D. in History, Director of the Center for Arab and Islamic Studies of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Associate Professor at the Chair of Regional Issues of World Politics and Director of the Centre for Political Systems and Cultures at the School of World Politics at the Lomonosov Moscow State University.

Senior Political Advisor to the Russian Contact Group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the State Duma of the Russian Federation on the intra-Libyan settlement.

Dr. Kuznetsov is the author of numerous works on history and contemporary international relations in the Middle East, Russian policy in the Middle East, contemporary history of Tunisia, role of religion and ideology in political dynamics in the Arab countries, causes and consequences of the ‘Arab Revival’.

Research interests of V. Kuznetsov include medieval Arab and Muslim historiography, political power in classic Arab and Muslim social thought and historiography, medieval history of the Maghreb countries, modern political processes in the Arab World, political transformation of the Arab countries during the ‘Arab Spring’, political evolution of Tunisia, regional development of the Maghreb.



Timur Makhmutov

Ph.D. in Political Science, Deputy Director of Programs, Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC).

Graduated from MGIMO-University, School of Political Science. Defended thesis on political behavior analyzed through the marginalization conception. His research interests include public and expert diplomacy, soft power, impact of socio-economic processes on international cooperation, Russia and the East, Russia’s foreign policy on post-Soviet space. Author of more than 40 publications including two books (“Marginality in Social Transformations” (2003), and “Elections as a Political Census” (2007) published in Russia).

In 2007–2011 worked at MGIMO-University. Conducted several courses related to political management and business communications at Political Theory Department. In 2011 Dr. Makhmutov took a position of Deputy Director of Programs at RIAC. Among many other duties he supervises RIAC program on Security System in the Middle East. In 2017 he co-authored a paper “Proposals on Building a Regional Security System in West Asia and North Africa.” Dr. Makhmutov has been a participant and speaker at a number of international conferences and workshops, Istanbul Security Conference (2018), Abu Dhabi Strategic Debate (2017), Raisina Dialogue (Delhi, 2016), Franco-German discussion group round-table “Face à la crise syrienne” (German Institute on Foreign policy (DGAP), Berlin, 2016), Belgrade Security Forum (2015).



Nir Rosen

Special Adviser for Syria and Iraq in the Middle East and North Africa team at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD).

N. Rosen has been writing and consulting on humanitarian and political issues in the Middle East since 2003. Between 2003 and 2011, he spent most of his time in Iraq, and since 2011, he has spent most of his time in Syria. He has also worked in Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, Congo, Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, Yemen, Turkey, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the former Yugoslavia, Mexico and elsewhere.

N. Rosen has authored two books: *In the Belly of the Green Bird: The Triumph of the Martyrs in Iraq* (2006); *Aftermath: Following the Bloodshed of America's Wars in the Muslim World* (2010). He is based between Beirut, Damascus and Baghdad.



Walid Salem

Lecturer on Democracy, Human Rights and Conflict Resolution at Al Quds University for the past six years.

Author of thirty books and tens of papers on the issues of democracy, international relations, modernity in Palestine, religious movements, history, human security and Peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

Columnist for forty years, and Director of the Center for Democracy and Community Development in East Jerusalem. Trainer of more than thirty thousand people on Democracy and other issues.

Currently a PhD candidate on international relations/Near East University in Northern Cyprus, expected to finish by the end of this year.



Maxim Suchkov

Senior Research Fellow, Associate Professor at the MGIMO-University.

Dr. Suchkov is also Editor of Al-Monitor's Russia-Mideast coverage and a non-resident expert of the Russian International Affairs Council and at the Valdai International Discussion Club.

Formerly Dr. Suchkov was a Fulbright Visiting Fellow at Georgetown University (2010–2011) and New York University (2015).



Konstantin Truevtsev

Ph.D. (Philosophy), Senior Research Fellow of the Center for Arab and Islamic Studies at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Associate Professor at the Chair of Regional Issues of World Politics at the School of World Politics, Lomonosov Moscow State University.

For several years worked at the Novosti Press Agency, Institute of Social Sciences of Communist Party in Moscow, Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, National Research University 'Higher School of Economics'. Director of the Centre on Human Rights (1993–1999).

His research interests include political system and electoral processes in Russia, political systems and processes in the Middle Eastern countries, international terrorism. Dr. Truevtsev is the author of two books and more than 100 articles in peer-reviewed journals.