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ARAB CENTER FOR RESEARCH & POLICY STUDIES

DOHA REPORT

Second ACRPS Annual Conference on the Social Sciences and Humanities

The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies | May 2013

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The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies is an independent research institute and think tank for the study of history and social sciences, with particular emphasis on the applied social sciences.

The Center's paramount concern is the advancement of Arab societies and states, their cooperation with one another and issues concerning the Arab nation in general. To that end, it seeks to examine and diagnose the situation in the Arab world - states and communities- to analyze social, economic and cultural policies and to provide political analysis, from an Arab perspective.

The Center publishes in both Arabic and English in order to make its work accessible to both Arab and non-Arab researchers.

Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies

PO Box 10277

Street No. 826, Zone 66

Doha, Qatar

Tel.: +974 44199777 | Fax: +974 44831651

www.dohainstitute.org

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Introduction

The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS) held its second annual conference on the Social Sciences and the Humanities on March 30 and 31, 2013, in Doha. This year the conference focused on two themes, "The Dialectics of Social Integration and Nation Building in the Arab countries" and "Current Definitions of Justice in the Arab World". The opening ceremony included speeches from ACRPS Director Dr. Azmi Bishara, president of Qatar's Hamad Bin Khalifa University Dr. Sheikh Abdullah Bin Ali al-Thani, Moroccan scholar Dr. Kamal Abdullatif, and Egyptian legal scholar Tareq al-Bishry.

A Call for Cooperation between Arab Research Institutes

In his address, Sheikh Abdullah praised the pioneering role played by the ACRPS, which has rapidly distinguished itself as a leading institution for academic scholarship and strategic affairs. Sheikh Abdullah stressed Hamad Bin Khalifa University's dedication to furthering cooperation with ACRPS, as well as with other Arab research centers in the region. He also commended the Center's publications and the rich information being provided by the ACRPS to its broad Arab readership.

The Arab Prize in the Social Sciences and Humanities

Dr. Kamal Abdullatif, member of the nominating committee for the second Arab Prize in the Social Sciences and Humanities, presented a report with details on the prize. Out of the 141 nominations received by the nominating committee 80 papers were submitted for the theme "social integration and nation building" and 61 addressed the theme "current definitions of justice in the Arab world". Of the countries participating, Egypt provided the highest number of nominations, with 32 papers nominated.

The prize shortlist included 19 candidates from different Arab countries: five from Morocco; three from Algeria, three from Egypt, three from Palestine; two from Tunisia, two from Mauritania; one from Kuwait; and one from Yemen. The prizes addressed two categories of researchers—established researchers and promising young researchers.

Despite the fact that there were shortlisted candidates from both categories, Dr. Abdullatif explained that, regrettably, the committee had arrived at the decision to withhold the prize because none of the submissions, including those that had made it to

the shortlist, satisfied all of the criteria set out in the guidelines for the selection of a winning nomination. In closing, Abdullatif announced next year's themes: "Arab economic development" and "contemporary history".

Azmi Bishara: Identity Politics and the Formation of States

In his opening address, Dr. Bishara explained the rationale behind the choice of the two themes for the conference. According to Bishara, the opportunity is now ripe for both Arab civilization and Arab scholars to contribute to the universal understanding of justice. He noted:

> The concept of justice has gradually developed throughout history. In its first guise, as in the code of Hamurabi, 'justice' was defined as akin to 'reciprocity'; that is, justice as reciprocal treatment. Later on, during the 19th century, equality became a part of the wider concept of justice, but this was an ideological development, not one born out of the social sciences. Equality was a standpoint rather than a theory, as can clearly be seen in the ideologies that originated during the French Revolution. The notion of liberty was added to the definition of justice in a later period. In my opinion, if we as Arabs are to make a contribution to the social sciences during this era, we must take our prevailing Arab reality into account. In the end, universalist contributions to the social sciences are, after all, local contributions made by dominant cultures; these are universal by virtue of being local.

He added that nothing is more pressing than the failure of social integration in the Arab world and that achieving justice will not be possible without first achieving social integration at the level of culture, economy, identity and citizenship. He continued:

> If some people give John Rawls the credit for the incorporation of the notion of liberty into the concept of justice—despite the fact that the two words are not etymologically related—will it then fall on us to incorporate 'social integration' and 'identity' into the concept of justice? This may prove to be the universalist contribution of Arab civilization during this time of struggle and revolution.

Dr. Bishara discussed the way equality was incorporated into the concept of justice as social equality. In this sense, social equality implied the expropriation of privately held property and the redistribution of social wealth according to need or eligibility. It was, according to Bishara, an innovation introduced by various socialist ideologues in the 19th century. He also referred to a theoretical division that preceded these ideologies—the

division between the notion of utilitarianism and that of freedom—pitting Jeremy Bentham against Emmanuel Kant. The question posed by this long debate was whether it was possible to establish ethics, including justice as an ethical stance on happiness, or whether these ethics, rather than being based on happiness, should be based on what Kant called duty-based ethics, by which he meant freedom.

According to Bishara, the *Mutazila*[1], an 8th century Muslim religious movement, foreshadowed the idea that justice was based on freedom. In Bishara's view, the *Mutazila* would not make a distinction between justice and injustice without the provision of freedom first. In fact, from their point of view, no ethical accountability is possible without the notion of freedom. For this reason, this theological school came to be known by the fuller title "upholders of justice and monotheism" (*ahl al adl wa al tawhid*). Echoing ideological discussions prevalent among various political currents in which political Islam has been pigeonholed into a specific political bracket, Bishara used the above example to illustrate how partisan conflicts between various political factions has led to the neglect of some of the main topics discussed by the various schools of thought within Islam, as well as unjustified ideological stances.

Ultimately, the contemporary framework in which justice could be defined, contended Bishara, is within the nation-state. Following this, he questioned whether it was possible to form a state in which the standard for justice is linked to the state as a main point of reference rather than being relative to identity groups.

> If the referential framework in which justice can be defined is the nation-state, and the relationship between a nation-state and the people is called 'citizenship', then citizenship ought to be the reference point for justice. Situations in which there are multiple 'justices' within a state (each of which applies to those who are deemed equal within a specific social group) lead to the establishment of multiple political entities, and not a unified one. 'Coexistence', meanwhile, is a way of avoiding the main issue. 'Coexistence' suggests a calming of a latent war that may, at any moment, turn into a civil war. Justice is not based on 'coexistence', but

[1] In Islam, the term applies primarily to members of a theological school that flourished in Basra and Baghdad (today's Iraq) from the 8th to the 10th century. The Mutazilah were the first Muslims to systematically employ the categories and methods of Hellenistic philosophy to derive their dogma. The tenets of their faith included belief in the oneness of God (*tawhid*), advocation of human free will (the ability to choose between good and evil), and the fundamental belief in God's fairness (i.e., God will punish only those deserving of punishment).

> emerges within one referential framework known as the nation-state and cannot arise from a pluralistic coexistence. While it is possible to formulate models of justice which take sub-national identities into account, such a formulation must also be based on and include liberty as part of the concept of justice. In my view, identity can be defined as a right within the modern understanding of justice, provided that it is based on liberty—the idea being that 'I have a right to an identity', a right which is guaranteed by citizenship. Yet if we turn this the other way around, and suggest that one gains citizenship rights by virtue of being a member of an identity group, and if liberty is derived from identity—in the sense that one becomes free within the confines of a sectarian structure that protects his or her liberty—we will have undone the entire history on which the evolution of the term justice was founded. This will pave the way toward a multiplicity of entities instead of a unified entity.

Bishara continued:

> I am not against the development of the concept of sub-national identity entities by politicians, sociologists, or other scholars, but such a concept must be rooted in the twin principles of citizenship and liberty, and not the other way around. Citizenship and liberty should not be based on identity affiliations; in other words, these identity affiliations are voluntary identities, giving an individual the right to situate him or herself within a specific sectarian framework, and the freedom to leave it. A second caveat is that these entities be premised on equality between citizens; however, if the departure point is sub-national identity affiliations, justice in its contemporary sense will not be established, and we will end up writing a history all of our own, which I fear may lead to civil wars.

The Repercussions of the Formation of Arab Nation-States

The opening ceremony was brought to a close with an address by Egyptian legal scholar Tareq al-Bishry, who spoke on the dynamics of the formation of political groups. He started his address by noting the diversity of standards used to distinguish between various political groups is not exclusionary but universal.

> The factors that govern the formation of a political group are usually societal. Within such a group, all individuals are included through kinship ties, and are further linked to others through a common language and a shared doctrine. It is through a reading of historical events, and the relations between different population groups, that individual factors are

given priority over other considerations as the binding factor, even though each of them could provide the bases for belonging.

Al-Bishry emphasized the importance of both examining all of the various spheres of belonging and investigating the ways in which they interrelate. Speaking on the possibilities for greater inter-Arab integration, al-Bishry presented four proposals that could help achieve integration based on examples from the European Union.

Opening Lectures

Prior to the opening ceremony, Ahmad Baalbaki and Fahmi Gedaan delivered their plenary papers addressing the conference's themes.

Researcher Ahmad Baalbaki opened with his paper, "On Liberalism in Lebanon: Promoting the Integration of Individuals Within the Confines of their Confessional Group," drawing a distinction between the "social integration," such as the one imposed by the state on emigrants to European countries, where they succumb to the prevalent values of their host societies, and the "social integration" typically promoted among immigrant groups in Anglo-Saxon countries. In this latter form, legislation and shared values ensure the openness of the host society toward the cultural and social specificities of migrants residing in their countries.

Baalbaki provided a case study of Lebanon, noting its inherent obstacles to social integration. Most prominent of these is the waning role of worker trade unions and professional syndicates in assuming its organizational and advocacy role inspired by the leftist experiences. Such associations failed, said Baalbaki, to persuade the social strata to give precedence to professional and social considerations over confessionalism in terms of identity composition. He described how, because of a confessional educational system that makes it inaccessible to members of other confessional groups, Lebanese confessional groups exhibit cultural and educational differences in integrating individuals within their group. Baalbaki stressed that the differences and disparities in economic and social integration between regions and sectors negatively impacts the status of workers and the competence of syndicates. Such disparities, he pointed out, have ultimately led to a disintegration of the trades' union movement as a whole. In closing, he linked the decline in political participation and labor rights to the obstacles Lebanese society has faced while attempting to achieve integration.

The second plenary lecture, addressing the second theme, Kuwait University Professor Fahmi Gedaan discussed his paper, "Justice within the Limits of an Arab Deontology". Gedaan gave a historical reading of justice, and analyzed its theoretical evolution, making reference to both Islamic and Enlightenment theories on justice. While not denying the importance of Western thinking regarding justice, Gedaan also said it was wrong to project a Western scholastic tradition onto an Arab reality, and that scholarship on the notion of justice produced by a number of Western schools of thought was not limited to the West but belonged to a common human tradition. He concluded with a list of fundamental conditions necessary for the achievement of justice, including the importance of work and prosperity and integrated economic development; he also claimed that it was possible for a universal democracy to be included as a requirement for justice, and to play a significant role in achieving it.

Challenges of Social Integration and Questions of Minorities in the Arab World

Asmaa al-Attiyah, from Qatar University, chaired the first session on social integration, which focused on social research in Arab societies. Antoine Massara, who discussed "The Impact of the Human Factor on Social Integration and the Effectiveness of Social Research," was the first presenter. He posed two central questions: a) to what extent are the "human sciences" truly "human"? and b) What is to be done to ensure that the social and human sciences become more human, and study the reality on the ground? Massara pointed to a number of factors he believes negatively impact the human component of the humanities. Specifically, he pointed to a prevailing academic trend—the excessive confidence in the exactness and effectiveness of the natural sciences—and the move to frame even the human sciences within a quantitative methodology, in addition to barriers, such as the bureaucracy surrounding research activity, the decline in the teaching of humanities in pre-tertiary education, and the increase of subjects in the natural sciences. Their combined effect, said Massara, is that the humanities have lost their humanity.

The second lecture was delivered by Bahrain University lecturer Baqer al-Najjar, whose paper "The Arab States between Failures of State: The Building of and Obstacles to Integration" describes the formation of Arab nation-states since World War II, and examines the paths that allowed for the rise of political elites and the eventual disintegration of their sources of legitimacy. The weakness and disintegration of Arab

states' sources of legitimacy, according to al-Najjar, drove them to fortify their hegemonic control over society instead of practicing good governance. Additionally, the failure to construct modern nation-states was evidenced not only in the tyranny of the state and the fragility of its legitimacy, but also in the exclusionary practices they put into play. Accordingly, any genuine transformation toward democracy entailed two main paths—the equality of civil and political rights enjoyed by all citizens and a path that is concomitant with the development of knowledge.

Ali Abdul Rauf, the third speaker on this panel, presented a paper titled "Social Integration between the Deadlock of Identity and the Trap of Globalization," in which he focused on three major issues that wield unprecedented influence on the pace of life in all Arab cities over the past decade, particularly urban and architectural development in Gulf states. The complex, dynamic relationship between citizenship, identity, and globalization is impossible to disentangle; these relationships also drive decisions on development, advancement, and modernization. His presentation went on to analyze the main transformations that have impacted cities in the Gulf states over the past 10 years.

Walid Abdulhay presented the theme's final paper, "A Model for the Measurement of Secessionist Tendencies among Minorities in the Arab World," in which he puts forth a model to measure the extent of secessionist tendencies among Arab minorities and define which factors are most influential. In advancing his idea, he tries to measure the correlation coefficient between variables, and seeks to bridge the gap between empirical and non-empirical research in Arab countries, stressing the need for all research to be based on quantitative indicators. Underlying his choice of topic was the understanding that globalization drives international financial and economic integration while simultaneously causing socio-political fragmentation. Furthermore, social aspects, particularly those related to religion, are those most liable to fragmentation.

Models of Social Integration in the Arab Maghreb

The second panel focused on social integration in the Arab Maghreb, and was chaired by Abdul Rahim Benhadda. Speaking on the panel were Abdulhamid Haniyeh, Imhammad Maleki, and Mohammed Hamam.

Haniyeh's paper, "The Building of a Territorial State in Tunisia and Morocco and its Mechanisms of Assimilation during the Modern Period (17th-19th centuries)," focuses on the study of the institution of the pledge of alliance (Arabic: *bayaa*) as an instrument for

the construction of social and political structures in Tunisia and Morocco. Analyzing the practices associated with *bayaa* in both countries, Haniyeh seeks to provide an analysis of territorial, hierarchical states in Morocco and Tunisia. He also illuminates the role cities and other local formations played in ensuring the continuation of *bayaa* in the Arab Maghreb, arguing that Tunisia and Morocco provided highly centralized political examples, though they have clear differences. In Tunisia, structures of power were founded on notable urban elites, centered mainly in the capital, while in Morocco allegiance was based on the selection of a sultan who represented a symbol of unity and continuation.

Mohammed Maleki presented the second paper, "Social Integration and the Building of Citizenship-based Societies in the Arab Maghreb," in which he stresses the failure of states in the Arab Maghreb to accomplish the aims of social integration. He predicts that efforts at social integration are likely to increase should the changes under way in Arab countries prove successful.

Concluding this session, Mohammed Hamam presented his paper, "Moroccan Art as a Catalyst for Social Integration: A Sociological Approach to Nass El Ghiwane's Lyrics". Relying on a number of analytical tools from the sociology of art, and its modern form of formative structuralism, Hamam presented a study of the lyrical, rhythmic, and melodic variety found in Nass El Ghiwane's songs.

Justice at the Heart of the Arab Revolutions

The conference's second theme addressed the various definitions of justice in the Arab world. Following a background discussion on its theoretical concepts by Dr. Ibrahim Issawi, researcher Said Ben Said al-Alawi presented his paper titled, "Justice First: From an Awareness of Change to a Change in Awareness". Al-Alawi used the Arab uprisings as the starting point for his discussion of justice, and remarked on the youthful character of these rebellions, which reflects the fact that youth compose 60% of the Arab population. Pointedly, the speaker preferred the term "Arab uprisings" (Arabic: *intifadat*, sing: *intifada*) to the widely used "Arab Spring," which was linked to the European Spring.

He went on to classify the protestors' demands and slogans into two distinct groups: a call for practical action, enunciated by the slogan "Leave" (Arabic: *irhal*) and a rejection of injustice and tyranny. Noting that some chants and slogans were no longer used in Tahrir Square, Al-Alawi states that even if they did not relate to Arab nationalism, there

was evidence of a deep-rooted awareness of a common Arabism. Likewise, there was no suggestion of a class or anti-imperialist struggle in the Arab uprisings, the presence of quasi-Marxist slogans notwithstanding. What the uprisings showed, however, was an affirmation of the principle of justice and a rejection of an economy based on corruption. Political Islam, he continued, was also absent from the protests. The notorious chant amidst political Islamists, "Islam is the answer," was remarkably absent from the protests. According to Al-Alawi, there were other slogans that posited Islam as a natural part of life.

Following Al-Alawi's presentation, Murad Dayyuni presented "The Link between Economic Freedom and Social Equality in the Theory of Justice". Dayyuni contended that "sustainable liberalism" entailed a true sense of freedom, represented by the guarantee of equal opportunities and the unlocking of human potential. The model put forward by sustainable liberalism, he argued, ensures that personal incentives to create wealth are preserved; for Dayyuni, there can be no liberty and equality within a comprehensive theory of justice without the idea of fraternity as a long-term strategy toward coexistence. Echoing the French Revolution, Dayyuni concludes that the defining model of governance to emerge after the Arab Spring would rest on the three foundations: liberty, equality, and fraternity. It would also include an expansion of a knowledge-based economy and the realization of the concept of "fraternity" in an economic format.

Liberty as a Precondition to Justice

The second panel focusing on definitions of justice was chaired by Antoine Seif, and provided an opportunity to discuss the theoretical background and concepts of justice. Discussing his paper "The Dialectic of Justice and Freedom in Light of the Arab Revolutions," Mohammad Haddad used the Arab revolutions as an example to provide evidence that there could be no justice without freedom. Unlike the French and Iranian revolutions, the Arab revolutions were framed by the notion of justice and human rights. In Haddad's view, the Arab revolutions did not represent the classical definition of a revolution; instead, the Arab revolutions were a transitional move toward a change in the nature of the systems of government. He elaborated that the uniqueness of the Arab context was that tyranny had become a matter of course and entrenched as a tradition. For Haddad, contemporary Arab history was marked by the fact that there was only a limited awareness of what constitutes tyranny and that with the passage of time, tyranny had become an accepted norm.

Abdulaziz Labib followed Haddad with his paper "The Ambiguities of Justice in Exceptional Cases" in which he makes a distinction between what is generally accepted as justice, and what is justice in exceptional cases. Despite the widespread claim of the existence of a universal definition of justice, the affront to justice presented by exceptional cases makes this theory questionable. The speaker specifically referred to Abu Ghraib in Iraq, which challenged the norm of universal justice, displaying a form of "victor's justice". Another example cited was the case of Palestine, in which "universal justice" came to be the source of injustice.

The third speaker, Najma Habib, discussed "Justice, Socialism, and the Concept of Equality in Contemporary Arab Writing," focusing on literary writing and contemporary Arabic novels. Najma Habib claimed that Naguib Mahfouz's *The Thief and the Dogs* deals with the notion of justice, and encapsulates a reflection of Arab society's perception of judicial and social conditions. These, according to the speaker, remain tied to the extended family, the clan or tribe, and, in some cases, to political and religious ideology. Habib went on to examine *Love of Exile* by Bahaa Taher, in which the idea of injustice is philosophically examined, as well as the novels of writer Sahar Khalifa, whose fiction focuses on women's rights and gender equality seen through the prism of political and national developments within Palestinian society. Habib also presented a discussion of the secularist and Marxist vision of justice as reflected in Arabic novels such as *The Red Rebel* by Ali Ahmad Bakathir, a historical novel of the Qarmatian Revolution in which the author tackles the issue of absolute justice that the people abandoned in favor of being affiliated with the Islamic Caliphate. Habib concluded her discussion of contemporary Arabic literature by lauding Hanna Mina's *Snow Comes from the Window* for its direct, clear, and utilitarian approach, and called for the cooperation between intellectuals and the masses in the formation of society.

Social Integration in Egypt

On the second day of the conference, the panel discussion, chaired by Dr. Thanaa Abdullah, started with a focus on social integration in Egypt. Ali Chalabi delivered the first paper, discussing "Social Integration and Active Citizenship: Egypt in the Wake of the January 25 Revolution". According to Chalabi, suffering born of social exclusion, which manifested in a numbers of patterns that also entailed gender discrimination, reached its apex just prior to the January 25 revolt.

That Egypt was at the edge of crisis prior to the revolution, he said, was clearly visible though the violation of human rights treaties, the rule of law, and clear infractions of the principle of citizenship, in addition to the political, social, and economic rights granted by virtue of that citizenship. In closing, Chalabi claimed that Egyptian society was at a turning point, one in which it was forced to not only find a course of action to take in the wake of the January 25 revolution, but also the means to bolster a type of social integration that is founded on citizenship rights.

May Mujib, the second presenter, took the floor to discuss her paper "Social Integration of Copts in Revolutionary Egypt," focusing on the main obstacles hindering the political and social integration of the Copts following Egypt's revolution. These include the rise of political Islamists, the growth of sectarian incidents and the implications they suggest, the death of the Coptic pope, and the Islamists' victory in the elections. Mujib also discussed the Copt's relationship with the state and the institutional Coptic Orthodox Church in Egypt, and its stance toward the revolution. She concluded by stating that the integration of Copts can only occur within the framework of a democratic, stable state. Such a state must be founded on the principle of respect of and faith in the institutions of justice, a respect for all citizens, and the activation of civil society in a way that allows individuals to take part in society, putting an end to the extreme marginalization felt by many Egyptians.

The final presentation was given by Hassan Obeid, and focused on "The Role of Islamist Movements in the Process of Social Integration in Egypt 2010-2012". Obeid highlighted the role of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Salafist Dawa group at the outset of Egypt's January 2011 revolution. Relying on a strict academic methodology, he discussed the visions of each of these two broad Islamic groups toward cultural pluralism and the identity groups within Egypt, especially in terms of political party, gender, and sectarian diversity. According to Obeid, the rise of Islamist movements within the Egyptian public sphere during the revolution, and their arrival to the elite power structure, compelled them to develop their political rhetoric and their religious ideology to accommodate other sub-cultures within a modern, civil state.

The Arab Levant and Obstacles to Integration

The fourth panel on social integration focused on the Arab Levant, and was chaired by Darim al-Bassam. ACRPS Researcher Nerouz Satik was the first speaker, presenting a paper titled "Sectarianism in the Syrian Revolution: Paths and Patterns" in which he

explains how sectarianism is not inherent to the Syrian revolution, but is a ramification of it, which can be explained through an examination of the societal, economic, and political factors, and not by religious or cultural considerations. This remained true, he said, regardless of attempts by certain sectarian forces to portray the revolution as an "us or them" battle of religious sects.

According to Satik, the disparity in living standards is one of the most important factors allowing sub-national groupings and traditional loyalties—such as those bound by tribe, ethnicity, and sectarianism—to thrive. The responsibility to combat political sectarianism rests on the shoulders of Syria's political opposition, and needs to be done in line with principles of democracy, social justice, and national security.

Jordanian Abdulaziz Khazaaleh presented "The Weakness of the State and Policies of Social Disintegration in Jordan," and began his discussion by posing a number of vital questions, mainly: does the Jordanian state meet the definition of a legally-based political entity, or has it only succeeded in fostering traditionalist and sectorial loyalties? How has that state been able to coexist alongside the tribe and other kinship-based formations? Which policies did the state resort to in arriving at such coexistence and guaranteeing its continuity? According to Khazaaleh, there is an inherent contradiction between the Jordanian state and social integration, noting how, in Jordan, the endurance of the state takes precedence over social integration, thereby undermining the unity of Jordanian society.

Mustafa Muhannad presented a paper titled "Electoral Systems and their Impact on Social and Political Integration: The Cases of Egypt and Tunisia" in which he discusses how the electoral systems in countries going through a democratic transition play a role in both social and political integration in Egypt's and Tunisia's populations. Muhannad concluded that any successful electoral system would have to take into account the historical context in which it was born.

Social Integration and State-Building

Chaired by Dr. Abdullah al-Kindi, the final panel focused on state and social integration in Yemen and Mauritania. Adel Sharjabi presented his paper on "State-Building in Yemen: Unifying the Elite and Dismantling the Nation"; in his paper, he examines the efforts made toward state-building in Yemen, and analyzes the causes that led to the national disintegration, such as the emergence of the Houthi movement and Southern separatism. Underlying his analysis was the belief that the democratic transition in place

in Yemen since 1990 was implemented by an elite who never genuinely believed in democracy. As a result, they worked to create a state completely at odds with the demands of a liberal democracy. Instead of building a state in which there was equality between citizens, these elite went on to create a rentier state, and crippled those institutions tasked with effecting peaceful transitions of power—the very same institutions responsible for social integration. The regime did not seek to alleviate social integration when the first signs of it appeared; on the contrary, it denied the reality of disintegration, thereby turning demands for reform into demands for a disengagement from the state.

Next, Hamahu Allah Ould al-Salim presented his paper titled "The Crisis of the Nation-State and its Impact on Integration and Citizenship: The Case of Mauritania," which traces the roots of the crisis the country faces in building the nation-state in Mauritania. According to Ould al-Salim, the nation-state in Mauritania was mainly a French creation, beginning with the drawing of its borders and its administration, until the decision to grant independence to the West African country. The formation of the Mauritanian state imposed obedience on its subjects, bringing an end to political and parliamentary pluralism, and liquidated pockets of resistance and forces opposed to such conciliations. This crisis gave rise to a number of prominent hallmarks of crisis, including a fractured identity, divisions within a historical cultural group, corruption, tyranny, and terrorism. Ould al-Salim proposed that authority be returned to civilians through free and fair elections that are supervised by a transitional government on which all parties agree. He also demanded an end to the military's political role.

Final speaker Hani al-Mughalass delivered a presentation titled "The State and Social Integration in Yemen: Opportunities and Challenges" during which he explained that, as a result of the country's deep-rooted tribalism, and its impacts on social and economic structures, Yemen provides a textbook case for the difficulties facing social integration and the modern nation-state. Al-Mughallas pointed to two incidents in which Yemeni society had shown a greater receptivity to the idea of social integration, both of which failed to achieve equitable citizenship. The first of these was the accomplishment of national unity (1990), and the second, the youth-led revolution of February 2011. The risk, said al-Mughallas, was that the transitional government was born out of the former regime, which meant that the transitional authorities would now be reduced to managing crises within the ruling elites and conciliating between them. There is a real danger, he said, that the results of months of popular protest and outcry would be lost.

"Justice" versus "Transitional Justice"

The justice panel of the conference held its first session on the second day, which focused on the question of transitional justice, and was chaired by Dr. Farida Bannani. The first speaker, Kamal Abdullatif, discussed "Transitional Justice and Political Transformations in Morocco," an attempt to study the experience of Morocco's Equity and Reconciliation Committee. Abdullatif spoke of the era of political repression in Morocco following independence, which led King Hassan II to establish a consultative body on human rights, in addition to an independent "Commission on Equity and Reconciliation," resulting in a rapprochement between the government and the opposition that welcomed the initiative. The rapprochement paved the way for the reconciliation, and, thus, democratic and political action resumed its important role agreed upon by the various political actors. In light of the above, Abdullatif concluded that plans for political reform in Morocco were not the result of a revolution, or a dramatic and surprising turn of events within the ruling regime, but the result of positive interaction between political players in the country. Within this setting, the state was working alongside political elites to arrange for a transition of power. He ended his presentation with a discussion of the Equity and Reconciliation Commission's results in solving the situation, as well as their recommendations, including the enhancement of democratic practices to end violations of human rights, ensure separation of powers, and emphasize the importance of including a clear text on liberties and basic rights in the constitution.

The second speaker, Abdulhay Muden, discussed his paper "Transitional Justice and Authoritarianism in Morocco". Muden explores worldwide waves of democratization in the last century before focusing on Morocco. While the ruling regime in Morocco is defined by authoritarianism, it is capable of adapting to changes. It was this adaptability, according to Muden, that prevented Morocco from being affected by the spread of the Arab revolutions. Some of the regime's reforms included changes that affect the Amazigh (Berber) population, women's rights, and a general modernization of the legal system. Moving toward a discussion of "transitional justice," he went on to pose the question: how does the regime deal with crimes it has itself committed? Muden believes that the Moroccan regime simply ignores the crimes for which it is responsible, allowing the guilty individuals to escape punishment. In essence, justice, in the sense of punishment, has not and will not be accomplished for those crimes committed by the state, which gives rise to the idea of "transitional" or "restorative"

justice. While establishing reconciliation or transitional justice would not give rise to democracy, the case of Morocco proves how undertaking such measures would give the state the maneuvering room needed to make political reforms, which in turn would provide greater political legitimacy. Such measures, said Muden, also limited the ability of the state to use violence.

Traditional Justice

Dr. Hamad Abdulrahman Hassan chaired the fourth panel on justice in the Arab world today, focusing on "traditional justice". Mohammed Jabroun was the first panelist in the session, and discussed his paper on "Justice in Traditional Political Thought". He noted how frequently the notion of justice is being questioned in all countries going through democratic transition. This necessitates, he said, the reinvigoration of traditional concepts of justice and the bridging between these and modernist concepts of justice that satisfy contemporary needs. Jabroun gave a brief overview of Islamic concepts of justice, focusing on three groups: clerics, Islamic scholars—particularly the Muatazila, and other Islamic philosophers. He closed his discussion with a focus on Arab religious reformers, such as Mohammed Abdo, and their attempts to revive concepts of justice.

Ibrahim Butashish delivered the second and final presentation in the fourth session, with a paper titled "The Discourse of Justice in the Traditional Literature on Governance". Butashish asks a number of questions related to traditional Arabic texts on governance (*Adaab Sultania*), specifically questioning whether there is a place for human rights in this type of literature. According to Butashish, the concept of justice is only loosely and ambiguously defined in such texts, possibly because their authors wanted to be able to justify the tyranny of their rulers. In the end, justice itself was only included in response to a request from the ruler under whom the authors worked. Butashish noted that searching for a theoretical definition of "justice" in the *Adaab Sultania* literature would prove futile: these texts were works that justified tyranny and found ways of condemning those who rebel against tyranny. The end result was the limiting of individuals' freedom to criticize.

Manifestations of and Elaborations on Justice

Dr. Hanaa Jawhari chaired the final panel relating to definitions of justice currently in use in the Arab world. Mohsen Bouazizi presented the first paper, "Justice through the Eyes of Prisoners: A Study into Social Representations," in which he divides prisoners

into three categories: detainees who learn from their experience and are therefore rescued, repeat offenders, who have lost sensitivity to the rule of law, and those condemned to death.

Dr. Bassem Serhan was the final speaker to address this theme, and focused on "Inequality as a Form of Injustice in the Context of Arab Development". Serhan focused on case studies from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Iraq to elaborate on social justice as seen through human development. His main conclusion was that the majority of citizens from Arab states, the poor in particular, did not benefit from their country's economic advancements. He concluded by adding that neoliberal restructuring policies left little room for any conceptualization of development that is unrelated to success in a free market economy.