



المركز العربي للأبحاث ودراسة السياسات
Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies

The Strategic Studies Unit Fourth Annual Conference

Security and Strategic Studies

The State of the Field

18-20 February 2023

[About the Conference](#) | [Timetable](#) | [Participants](#) | [Abstracts](#) | [Moderators](#)



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About the Conference

Introduction

The Strategic Studies Unit (SSU) of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS) is holding its fourth annual conference titled "Security and Strategic Studies: The State of the Field" on 18-20 February 2023. In eight panels and two lectures over three days, the conference participants – both leading scholars and expert practitioners – will examine the state of the major debates, issue areas, latest research, and policy impacts within the different subfields of Security and Strategic Studies. This involves mapping the field of Security Studies, broadly and critically defined; the subfields of Energy, Environmental, and Human Security; War, Warfare and Defence Studies; Terrorism and Insurgency Studies; Civil-Military Relations; Intelligence Studies; and International Security Studies. Other topics to be discussed by the participants include the innovative use of wargaming and interactive simulations as an educational tool in Security and Defence Studies, and their pedagogical implications.

The conference will also reflect on the contributions of the ACRPS and the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI) to the field of Security and Strategic Studies, constituting a solid foundation for the Doha School of Critical Security and Strategic Studies with its research, teaching, and applied dimensions. The sections below outline the thematic pillars as well as the major subfields with which the conference panels engage.

Security and Strategic Studies: A Doha Contribution

Since 2018, the Strategic Studies Unit of the ACRPS has regularly provided a national and international platform for scholars, practitioners, and officials to convene, discuss, and publish about critical issues in Security and Strategic Studies. This platform has included a series of conferences, symposiums, and lectures, as well as scholarly and policy-relevant research in the form of peer-reviewed Strategic Papers, Strategic Analyses, and books published in both Arabic and English by the ACRPS or university presses.

In September 2019, the DI launched the first programme of its kind in the State of Qatar and the Arab World: the Master's Programme in Critical Security Studies (MCSS). The programme was designed to generate a new generation of qualified scholars, professional leaders, and practitioners in the general field of Security Studies in Qatar, across the region, and beyond. The MCSS covers both classical (hard) security issues (e.g., warfare studies, civil-military relations, terrorism studies, and regional security) and new (soft) security issues and agendas (such as environmental security, human security, cybersecurity, and energy security), from a critical perspective, as the name indicates. In 2022, the DI launched a doctoral programme with a Critical Security Studies specialisation to further develop its graduate studies in the field.

To enhance applied and policy-related graduate education in Security Studies, the DI will be launching an Executive Master's Program in Critical Security Studies (EMCSS) in 2023. Like the MCSS in 2019, the EMCSS will be the first programme of its kind in Qatar and the region, seeking to produce qualified professional executives and practitioners in the general field of Security Studies.

Doha's contributions to the field of Security and Strategic Studies are high impact in terms of research and policy, coming in response to high demand for graduate education in the field. Collectively, the aforementioned initiatives continue to meet the educational and professional needs of specialised graduate students, as well as the security and defence community in the region and beyond. The fourth annual conference of the SSU will discuss the current state of this highly impactful field of study that continues to gain traction. The opening and first panels address some of the key issue areas of Doha's contribution to the field.

Security Studies: Major Subfields

1. Energy, Environmental and Human Security

Global environmental changes have had a negative impact on Human Security (HS). Millions suffer from poverty, hunger, disease, loss of shelter, and even fatalities as a result. Environmental pressures impact four dimensions: food security; water security; energy; and health security (which includes the proactive and reactive prevention of acute diseases). These dimensions are part of the definition of human security according to the UN Human Development Report (1994)⁽¹⁾ and they underscore the importance of taking security debates beyond the framework of the nation-state. Moreover, global environmental changes have been linked to human security crises in the Arab region and beyond. For example, parts of the region have suffered from moderate to severe food insecurity due to extreme weather changes, low rainfall, droughts, and higher-than-usual evaporation rates. This has led to the loss of agricultural land and decline in yields and livestock.

In terms of war causation, the Darfur War of 2003 was arguably the first war in the world triggered by climatic causes.⁽²⁾ Scholars have argued that the uprising in Syria and the civil war that followed were indirectly caused by severe drought during the years leading up to the 2011 outbreak of the uprisings.⁽³⁾ Yemen has also suffered from severe water and energy poverty, leading to multi-layered security crises and a complex civil war.⁽⁴⁾ In addition, the Arab countries that share the four river basins (Nile, Jordan, Tigris, and Euphrates) face conflicts with their neighbours over water resources, which also impacts their food and energy security. In general, environmental changes and their impact on human security pose major challenges to regional and global security. The second and following panels will all discuss and analyse these challenges to environmental, human, and energy security.

1 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report: New Dimensions of Human Security* (New York: 1994).

2 Jeffrey Mazo, *Climate Conflict: How Global Warming Threatens Security and What to do about it* (London: International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2010); Harald Welzer, *Climate Wars: What People Will be Killed for in the 21st Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012).

3 Jan Selby et al., "Climate Change and the Syrian Civil War Revisited," *Political Geography*, vol. 60 (2017), pp. 232–244.

4 Daniel Varisco, "Pumping Yemen Dry: A History of Yemen's Water Crisis," *Human Ecology*, vol. 47, no. 3 (2019), pp. 317–329; Aaron Edwards, "Yemen: Civil War and Humanitarian Catastrophe," *Political Insight*, vol. 10, no.2 (2019), pp. 14–16. On Yemen and other cases, see the proceedings of the Strategic Studies Unit third conference titled "Protracted Arab Civil Wars: Causes and Challenges": "Protracted Arab Civil Wars 2021: Causes and Challenges," *Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies* (11-12 September 2021), accessed on 21/1/2023, at: <https://bit.ly/3WsXF0p>

2. War Studies: Defence, Insurgency and Terrorism

The third and fourth panels of the conference will discuss various types of warfare and defence studies, including conventional warfare, insurgency, and terrorism, as well as complex transformations of nonstate actors and state defence strategies.⁽⁵⁾ While both panels will map the study of violence in general, the third panel will analyse major developments in terms of the capacities of state armies, military reorganisations and reforms, weapon systems upgrades, proxy warfare and its impacts, and the roles of volunteers in Ukraine, in addition to discussions of military effectiveness and the changing character of war in the 20th and 21st centuries.

The fourth panel will revisit the contributions of both classical and critical terrorism studies and their explanatory value toward the phenomenon of terrorism. Additionally, the panel will review the role of the Taliban formerly as insurgents and their new role as counterinsurgents against the so-called "Islamic State – Khorasan Province" (ISKP). Finally, the panel discusses the major issue of state-sponsored insurgencies and the impact in Ukraine and the Middle East, given the proliferation of proxy wars and their colossal human and economic costs.

3. Civil-Military Relations

As a subfield of security studies, Civil-Military Relations (CMR) will be the topic of the fifth panel. The study of CMR has undergone two major changes over the past two decades. First, there has been a "turn" in the research agenda to a focus on ideational variables such as identity, norms, learning, and socialisation, and their explanatory value in analysing the military's behaviours and attitudes toward civilian political institutions.⁽⁶⁾ This shift is reflected in the growing interest in new topics such as gender, military psychology, military political economy, military political culture, military mass communication, security sector reform or management, and organisational analysis of armies. This is in addition to focusing on civil-military "entanglements" rather than civil-military "relations"⁽⁷⁾ and on civil-military cooperation in hybrid wars.⁽⁸⁾ Second, the role of military organizations in democratic countries is under critical scrutiny in light of the rise of populism and far-right rhetoric, which have widened the Civil-Military Gap (CMG) in established democratic countries. Hence, there is a need to revisit the traditional framework, as well as its caveats and explanatory

5 Omar Ashour, *How ISIS Fights: Military Tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021); Stathis Kalyvas & Laia Balcells, "The International System and Technologies of Rebellion," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 104, no. 3 (August 2010), pp. 415-429; Seth Jones, *Waging Insurgent Warfare: Lessons from the Vietcong to the Islamic State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

6 Risa A. Brooks, "Integrating the Civil–Military Relations Subfield," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 22 (2019), pp.1-20; Florina Cristiana Matei, "A New Conceptualization of Civil–military Relations," in: Thomas C. Bruneau & Florina Cristiana Matei (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Civil–military Relations* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 26-38.

7 Birgitte Refslund Sørensen & Eyal Ben-Ari, "Rethinking Civil–Military Connections: From Relations to Entanglements," in: Birgitte Refslund Sørensen & Eyal Ben-Ari (eds.), *Civil–Military Entanglements: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019), pp. 1-20.

8 Eugenio Cusumano & Marian Corbe (eds.), *A Civil-Military Response to Hybrid Threats* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

limitations. An important revision is to expand the traditional agenda beyond a focus on the "democratic control" of the armed forces to the broader problem of democratic governance of the defence and security sector.⁽⁹⁾

Participants in the fifth panel will examine some of these new CMR issue-areas and revisit older ones. These include the Arab CMR experiences;⁽¹⁰⁾ military coups that have occurred in the Middle East, South America, East Asia, and Africa; and the Russian wars on Ukraine (2014-present), which have also prompted research on the impacts of CMR on military cohesion, combat effectiveness, and counterinsurgency outcomes.

4. Intelligence Studies

The sixth panel focuses on the study of intelligence. It discusses the literature on the roles and impacts of intelligence institutions including the *mukhabarat*, a keystone of the political structure of many Arab states. The panel reviews the state of intelligence studies, including the effect the Russian war on Ukraine has had thereon. The panel proceeds to address the case of the Egyptian intelligence service and its history, as well as gaps in the literature when it comes to Arab intelligence services. Although many studies of Arab states often refer to the intelligence services, these institutions remain understudied. There have been very few systematic attempts to understand their developments and roles. In some of the literature, Arab states are depicted either as victims of Western covert activity or as perpetrators of state-sponsored terrorism. These approaches do not provide a comprehensive analytical account of the evolution and roles of Arab intelligence institutions. Therefore, particularly given the centrality of intelligence security apparatuses to the stability and future of Arab regimes, there is a pressing need to study intelligence in the Arab world.

5. International Security

The seventh panel will look at various aspects of International Security Studies. These include human security and its impact(s) on international security (and vice versa); nuclear deterrence and unconventional weapons in Ukraine and Syria and their impacts on both regional and international security; the rise of China as a regional and global military power; and the impact of foreign military aid on both regional and international security as demonstrated by the developments in Ukraine and the Middle East.

This panel will also discuss and analyse great power competition and regional rivalries, as well as the impacts of local politics, power-dynamics within states, and parochial interests of sitting governments. Given the importance of international security architectures in the shaping of regional order and thus security relations, the panel experts engage such architectures in their discussions. Overall, the analyses of regional security unpack patterns in region-level alliances that offer a complementary perspective to studying collective action. Further, the panel will give due attention

⁹ Thomas C. Bruneau & Aurel Croissant (eds.), *Civil-Military Relations: Control and Effectiveness Across Regimes* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2019); Andrew Cottey, Timothy Edmunds & Anthony Forster, "The Second Generation Problematic: Rethinking Democracy and Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces and Society*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2002), pp. 31-56.

¹⁰ The recent setbacks in Algeria, Sudan, and Tunisia have shown further challenges to democratic control of the armed forces in the Arab cases, both in terms of theoretical explanation and practical/applied policies.

to the implications of human and domestic security dynamics at the regional and international levels, including alliance formation and regional sympathies.

Conference Outcomes

Following the conference, selected papers may be published as strategic papers by the ACRPS Strategic Studies Unit, or as book chapters in a peer-reviewed edited volume in Arabic and/or English. The series of strategic papers and the edited book will engage with the abovementioned subfields and their impact on the state of the field of Security and Strategic Studies, while the edited volume will constitute a reference outlining the state of the field of Security and Strategic Studies and its future agendas.

Timetable

Day 1: Saturday, 18 February 2023

8:30-9:30	Registration
9:30-9:45	Opening Remarks Abdelwahab al-Affendi
9:45-11:15	Keynote Panel Bahgat Korany: Security Studies and Arab Multi-Layered Security Threats: Toward CSS 2 Jeroen Gunning: Critical Security Studies and Decolonization Omar Ashour: Security and Strategic Studies: Doha's Contribution
11:15-11:30	Coffee Break
11:30-13:00	Panel One Security Studies: Mapping a Rising Field Chair: Haidar Saeed Sidahmed Goudjili: From Traditional to Critical: The Evolution of Security Studies Field Muhanad Seloom: Intelligence Studies in the Arab World: State of the Field Imad Mansour: Common Grounds in Studies on Regional Orders and Regional Rivalries
13:00-14:00	Lunch Break
14:00-15:30	Panel Two Energy, Environmental and Human Security Chair: Hamid Ali Gawdat Bahgat: Gulf States and Energy Transition Abdulkarim Ekzayez: Health Security in the Arab World: Conceptual Framing, Practical Applications, and Future Agenda Bill Wieninger: Energy Security, Complexity, and an Insecure World

Day 2: Sunday, 19 February 2023

<p>9:00-10:00</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Lecture</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Bassel Salloukh</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Rex Brynen: Wargaming as a Methodological Tool in Security Studies for Analysis and Education</p>
<p>10:00-10:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>
<p>10:15-12:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Panel Three War, Warfare and Defence Studies</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Mohamad Hamas Elmasry</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Stathis Kalyvas: The Logic of Substitution in Political Violence</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Jacek Bartosiak: Military Transformations and the Future of Strategy: Lessons from Ukraine</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Maria Zolkina: Public Resilience as a Factor of National Security in the Times of War: The Case of Ukraine in 2014-2022</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Petro Burkovskyi: Ukrainian Volunteer Military Units: From Underdogs to Masters of Modern Warfare</p>
<p>12:15-13:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Lunch Break</p>
<p>13:15-15:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Panel Four Terrorism and Insurgency Studies</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Marwa Farag</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Aaron Y. Zelin: From Terrorism and Insurgency to CT and COIN: The Taliban's Fight Against the Islamic State's Khurasan Province</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Charlotte Heath-Kelly: The Case for Critical Terrorism Studies: Revisited</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Kumar Ramakrishna: The Case against Critical Terrorism Studies: Revisited</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Marzena Zakowska: Hybrid Warfare and State-Sponsored Insurgencies: The Case of Eastern Ukraine</p>
<p>15:15-15:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>

<p>15:30-17:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Panel Five Civil-Military Relations</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Brahim Saidy</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Abdel-Fattah Mady: The State of the Subfield of Civil-Military Relations</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Risa Brooks: Understanding Variation in Civil-Military Relations in the Arab World</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Iilir Kalemaj: Serbian-Albanian Civil and Military Relations as Precursors to Solve the Western Balkan Conundrum</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Malath Alagha: The Democratisation of Civil-Military Relations and its Impact on the Development of the Defence Industry in Turkey (2002-2022)</p>
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Day 3: Monday, 20 February 2023

<p>10:00-11:00</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Lecture</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Aicha Elbasri</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Anthony King: Warfare in the 21st Century: Urban Battles in Ukraine</p>
<p>11:00-11:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Coffee Break</p>
<p>11:15-13:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Panel Six Intelligence Studies</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Ayat Hamdan</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Peter Jackson: The Past, Present and Future of Intelligence Studies</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Owen Sirrs: Intelligence Studies in the Arab World: The Case of the Egyptian General Intelligence Directorate</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Gordon Akrap: Intelligence and Hybrid Threats: Interdependence and Intertwining</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Ghazi al-Assaf: Economic and Financial Intelligence: The Role of Early Warning Systems in Predicting the Financial Crises</p>
<p>13:15-14:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Lunch Break</p>
<p>14:15-16:15</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Panel Seven International Security</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Chair: Beverly Milton-Edwards</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Hamish de Bretton-Gordon: A Nuclear Moment</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Tomasz Smura: Modernisation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army: An Impact on the International Security</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Tony Lawrence: Military Assistance and War Outcomes: Russia's War in Ukraine</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mahjoob Zweiri: Iran and New Regional Security Dynamics</p>
<p>16:15-16:45</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Concluding Remarks</p>

Participants

Abstracts



Abdelwahab Al-Affendi

President of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI). He previously served as Dean of the School of Social Sciences and Humanities (2017-2020) and Head of the Politics and International Relations Program (2015-2017) at the DI. He acquired his PhD in Political Science (1989) from the University of Reading, UK, and is the founding coordinator of the Democracy and Islam Program at the University of Westminster, UK (1998-2015). He has also worked as a pilot, London-based Sudanese diplomat, journalist, and magazine editor in the UK. He is the author of *Who Needs an Islamic State?* (1991); *About Muhammad: The Other Western Perspective on the Prophet of Islam* (Trans-Atlantic Publications, 2010); *Genocidal Nightmares: Narratives of Insecurity and the Logic of Mass Atrocities* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2014), and the co-editor of *After the Arab Revolutions: Decentering Democratic Transition Theory* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021).

Opening Remarks



Malath Alagha

Specialist in great power foreign policy on the Middle East. He obtained his PhD in International Relations from the University of Exeter, UK. He currently works at Joaan bin Jassem Academy for Defence Studies. His research interests focus on the study of the economy's impact on the production of international relations between great powers and on regional and international security, the war of ports in the Gulf, the political economy of Turkish defence industry, and the effect of China's rise on regional and international security. His most recent publications include a chapter titled "Internationalizing the Palestinian Cause after World War I: Framing and Analysing International Diplomacy (1919-2012) in *The Impact of World War I on Palestine: A Hundred Year Legacy* (Aljazeera Centre for Studies, 2016) and the book *Palestine in EU and Russian Foreign Policy: Statehood and the Peace Process* (Routledge, 2017).

The Democratisation of Civil-Military Relations and its Impact on the Development of the Defense Industry in Turkey (2002-2022)

The rapid development of the Turkish defence industry with added military value has renewed the debate on civilian control over the military establishment and the determinants of civil-military relations from the perspective of democratization, as an independent factor affecting the professionalism of the military establishment. The problem of civil-military relations in Turkey is based on a long legacy of military domination of civilian institutions, two direct military coups in 1960 and 1980 and two indirect coups in 1971 and 1997, and a form of military control over civilian authority facilitated by constitutional provisions and executive mechanisms until the rise of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) to power in 2002. The study proposes that the democratization of civil-military relations in Turkey during AKP rule by subjecting the military establishment to elected civilian authority served to strengthen the military's professionalism and to develop the associated defence industry. It investigates this hypothesis by answering a key question: to what extent did the democratization of civil-military relations contribute to the evolution of the Turkish defence industry? The paper also provides a theoretical framework of the division of responsibility between civilian authority and the military establishment in this industry's development.



Gordan Akrap

Assistant Professor of Information Sciences at the University of Zagreb. He is editor-in-chief of the journal *National Security and the Future*, founder and president of the Hybrid Warfare Research Institute, and main organizer of the Zagreb Security Forum. He received his PhD in Information and Communication Sciences from the University of Zagreb (2011) with a dissertation titled "Informational Strategies and Operations in Public Knowledge Shaping". He had an active role in Croatia's Homeland War for Independence. During his career in Croatia's diplomatic and intelligence structures, he completed a number of professional courses, including the Diplomatic Academy. His research interests include national and regional security, intelligence, and the history of the Homeland War and has published a number of books, journal articles, and conference proceedings.

Intelligence and Hybrid Threats: Interdependence and Intertwining

What is the relationship between intelligence, hybrid threats, and intelligence and security studies? Is there a connection between them, and what is its nature? Are they intertwined and interdependent; are they an example of a parallel set of events; or are they loosely connected by stochastic events and processes? If we reduce hybrid threats to what they really are, with regard to the ultimate goal they strive for – to influence the state's operations – then we can find answers to the previous questions, offering new knowledge in the critical interdisciplinary field of intelligence and security studies. Namely, it is necessary to take into account the scientific considerations of intelligence hybridity: the ability to use intelligence through different vectors of hybrid attacks against a designated target audience. We need to make a clear distinction between this term and the term "hybrid intelligence", which is a combination between Artificial Intelligence and human intelligence. In this paper, we will show the strong connection and dependency between the successful planning and implementation of hybrid threats and the use of intelligence as a product of the activities of intelligence community.



Omar Ashour

Professor of Security and Military Studies and the Founding Chair of the Critical Security Studies Programme at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He is the Director of the Strategic Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. He was a tenured faculty member at the University of Exeter (UK) for ten years (2008-2018) and lectured at McGill University (Canada) for two years (2006-2008). He previously served as a senior consultant for the United Nations on counterterrorism, security sector reform, and de-radicalization issues and as a research fellow at Chatham House (UK) and the Brookings Institution (US). He specialises in small state defence; military adaptations, innovations, and transformations by state and nonstate actors; asymmetric, conventional, irregular and hybrid warfare; combat and military effectiveness; weapon systems analysis; counterinsurgency and counterterrorism; radicalization and collective de-radicalization; and transformations from violence to non-violence. He is the author of *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements* (Routledge, 2009) and *How ISIS Fights: Military Tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021) and the editor of *Bullets to Ballots: Collective De-Radicalisation of Armed Movements* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021). His current research project is titled *Hybrid Defence for Smaller States: Assessing the Combat Effectiveness of Ukraine's Armed Forces*.

Security and Strategic Studies: A Doha Contribution

Since 2018, the Strategic Studies Unit (SSU) of the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS) has regularly provided a national and international platform for scholars, practitioners, and officials to convene, discuss, and publish about critical issues in security and strategic studies. These initiatives have included conferences and events, as well as peer-reviewed publications in Arabic and English. In September 2019, the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (DI) launched the first programme of its kind in the State of Qatar and the Arab World: Critical Security Studies (MCSS). The master's programme was designed to educate a new generation of qualified scholars, professional leaders, and practitioners in the general field of security studies in Qatar, across the region and beyond. The MCSS covers both classical security subfields (such as warfare and defence studies, civil-military relations, terrorism and insurgency, and regional security) and new subfields (such as environmental security, human security, cyber security, and energy security) from a critical perspective. Last year, the DI launched a doctoral programme with a Critical Security Studies specialization to further develop graduate studies in the field. To enhance applied and policy-related graduate education in security studies, the DI will be launching an Executive Master's Program in Critical Security Studies (EMCSS) in 2023. Like the MCSS in 2019, the EMCSS will be the first executive critical security studies programme in Qatar and the region. Doha's contributions to the field of security and strategic studies are high impact in terms of research and policy and have come in response to high demand for graduate education in the field. Collectively, these contributions continue to meet the educational and professional needs of specialized graduate students as well as the security and defence community in the region and beyond, thus constituting a solid foundation for the Doha School of critical security and strategic studies with its research, teaching and applied dimensions.



Ghazi Al-Assaf

Associate Professor of Defence Economics and Assistant Dean for Scientific Research Affairs at Joaan Bin Jassim Academy for Defence Studies, Qatar. He received his PhD in Economics from Swansea University, UK. He was Associate Professor of Economics at the University of Jordan and a Directing Staff member at the Royal Jordanian National Defence College. His teaching and research interests focus on macroeconomics, applied econometrics and economics of defence. He has also been involved in various consulting projects at the international level, including the World Bank, UNDP, ESCWA, EU, and the Economic Research Forum. Domestically, he has been involved in the Social and Economic Council, National Centre for Human Resources Development, and the Queen Rania Foundation. His research interests in applied economics relate especially to macroeconomics, economic development, international remittances, and financial and labour economics. His articles have appeared in *Applied Economics Quarterly*, *International Journal of Social Economics*, *Jordan Journal of Economics Sciences*, among others.

Economic and Financial Intelligence: The Role of Early Warning Systems in Predicting the Financial Crises

This research will discuss the concepts of economic and financial intelligence and their development in economic and intelligence studies, offering a practical application of the importance of economic intelligence processes in decision making at the macroeconomic level, through early warning system models based on economic and financial data. It provides a deeper understanding of the importance of developing economic intelligence, especially for developing economies. The research also discusses a number of indicators in an early warning system used to explain a country's potential currency crisis.



Gawdat Bahgat

Professor of National Security at the Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies at the National Defence University, Washington DC. His areas of expertise include energy security, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, counterterrorism, the Arab Israeli conflict, North Africa, and American foreign policy in the Middle East. He is the author of 12 books and more than 200 scholarly articles, including *Defending Iran: From Revolutionary Guards to Ballistic Missiles* (Cambridge University Press, 2021); *Security and Bilateral Issues between Iran and Its Arab Neighbors* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); *Alternative Energy in the Middle East* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); and *Energy Security: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Wiley, 2011).

Gulf States and Energy Transition

In the last two decades, there has been a growing consensus on climate change. An increasingly large number of people believe that a major reason for global warming is the burning of fossil fuels (e.g., coal, oil, and natural gas). The solution, the argument goes, is to switch to clean/green energy (e.g., solar, wind, and nuclear). This study examines energy transition in major oil and gas producing countries in the Middle East, arguing that there is a need to balance between the climate crisis and meeting global energy needs. Green energy is good for the environment, but it is not yet ready to replace fossil fuels. The diversification of energy sources is necessary to ensure regional and global energy security and economic prosperity.



Jacek Bartosiak

CEO and Founder of Strategy & Future, a think tank based in Warsaw, Poland. He is also a Senior Fellow at the Potomac Foundation in Washington, DC; Director of the Wargaming & Simulations Program at the Casimir Pulaski Foundation in Warsaw; and Senior Fellow at the New Generation Warfare Centre in Washington DC. He is a graduate of the Faculty of Law and Public Administration at Warsaw University, an attorney specializing in corporate, business, and financial law, and Managing Partner of a Warsaw-based law office since 2004. He has served as CEO (2018–2019) of the Solidarity Transport Hub, the largest infrastructure project in Poland's history, and an advisor to the government plenipotentiary for the Solidarity Transport Hub (2017–2018). He is the author of: *Pacific and Eurasia: On War* (2016); *Poland and The Intermarium Between the Continental and the Sea Powers* (2018); *Space War and Transformation of World Geopolitics* (2021); and *New Model Army for Poland* (2022).

Military Transformations and the Future of Strategy: Lessons from Ukraine

This paper offers a net assessment of the Russian grand strategy towards Europe and Poland's grand strategy, including the latter's new military strategy for the Intermarium that is now emerging in the context of the war in Ukraine and the lessons being learned there. It also discusses the management of Poland's escalating competition with Russia in both pre-kinetic and kinetic phases, up to and including NATO Article 5 scenarios, proactive stances, offensive actions, space situational awareness (SSA) capabilities, long range strikes, and a broad approach to the battle of modern scouting that includes outer space components. The paper further details a plan for manoeuvre warfare (i.e., conventional war in Poland's defence) that includes an active, defence-derived reconnaissance-strike complex, naval and air components, postures, manning, readiness, and novel tactical propositions. It also addresses experimental and innovative units that employ novel methods or technologies, based on interviews with personnel engaged in war and planning and a terrain study of Poland and the Intermarium. The study's conclusions indicate the need for a New Model Army in Poland.



Hamish de Bretton-Gordon

Visiting Fellow at Magdalene College, University of Cambridge (UK). He is an expert in chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons, and a commissioned reserve officer in the Army's Staff Corps as senior CBRN advisor and mentor to the UK Ministry of Defence. He is also currently advising the Ukrainian government on CBRN defence. He served for 23 years in the British Army in a number of positions, including as Commanding Officer of the UK CBRN Regiment and NATO's Rapid Reaction CBRN Battalion. He has worked in Syria during the current conflict setting up the CBRN Task Force and advising medical charities, the White Helmets, and the Idlib Health Directorate on treating the victims of chemical weapons attacks and collation of evidence. He frequently appears on global news channels to provide expert commentary and writes for UK, US, and Middle East newspapers and journals. His memoir *Chemical Warrior: Syria, Salisbury and Saving Lives at War* was published by Headline Book Publishing (2020).

A Nuclear Moment

Russia's Defence Minister, General Shoigu, says Russia is to pay "special attention" to the construction of new bases and infrastructure for nuclear weapons. "When preparing the list of major construction facilities for 2023, special attention will be paid to construction in the interests of the strategic nuclear forces", quoted by the RIA news agency. At the same time, Russia has pulled out of the New START nuclear talks in Cairo. The New START Treaty, which came into force in 2011, caps the number of strategic nuclear warheads that the United States and Russia can deploy, and the deployment of land- and submarine-based missiles and bombers to deliver them. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Conference happened for the first time in a number of years last summer, as the threat of a nuclear attack or accident has never been higher. UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres has warned of the threat of a nuclear attack, stating that "humanity is just one misunderstanding, one miscalculation away from nuclear annihilation". Similarly, former UK National Security Advisor Sir Stephen Lovegrove has expressed that Britain had "clear concerns" that Beijing was expanding and modernizing its nuclear arsenal, adding that China's "disdain" for arms control agreements was a "daunting prospect". All this is against the backdrop of President Putin threatening NATO and Ukraine with nuclear weapons and "dirty" bombs; the Chinese increasing their nuclear stockpile by a threefold factor; Iran claiming to be nuclear weapons-capable; and North Korea working hard to get there. Russia is using the largest nuclear power station in Europe, Zaporizhzhia, as a base to launch missiles around Ukraine: reckless in the extreme and portending another globally significant nuclear accident. At this time of nuclear proliferation and heightened threat, it is crucial that all the checks and balances be in place to ensure that mistakes or miscalculations do not trigger armageddon, and NATO must work directly with Russia and China to ensure this.



Risa Brooks

Allis Chalmers Professor of Political Science at Marquette University in Wisconsin, US. She studies civil-military relations comparatively, with a special interest in the Arab world. She is the author of numerous works on civil-military relations in the region, including her Adelphi paper, "Political-Military Relations and the Stability of Arab Regimes" (1998).

Understanding Variation in Civil-Military Relations in the Arab World

This paper will examine key patterns and characteristics of civil-military relations in Arab states, focusing in particular on how the different institutional forms of the military affect its relationship to the political leadership. It will highlight several important axes of variation, related to the professionalization of militaries, their corporate structure, relationship to other components of the state's security services, and missions. Examples from across the Arab world will be included, with a special focus on differences in Tunisian and Egyptian civil-military relations. Implications for regime durability and stability will be a central focus.



Rex Brynen

Professor of Political Science at McGill University, Canada. In addition, he is senior editor of the war simulation website *PAXsims*. He has worked as a consultant on wargaming or serious game design to the Canadian Department of National Defence, Global Affairs Canada, the Public Health Agency of Canada, the US State Department, the UK Ministry of Defence, NATO, the Atlantic Council, Chatham House, the READY Initiative, and the World Health Organization; on conflict-related humanitarian and development issues to various governments, UN agencies, and the World Bank; and on intelligence assessment to the Privy Council (Canadian cabinet) Office. He is (co)author and editor of a dozen books on various aspects of Middle East politics and security, including *Beyond the Arab Spring: Authoritarianism and Democratization in the Arab World*.

Wargaming as a Methodological Tool in Security Studies for Analysis and Education

Wargaming and other serious games can be a valuable tool for better understanding a broad array of strategic challenges. This presentation will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of strategic gaming as a methodology, highlighting basic approaches and considerations and identifying additional resources for security studies scholars and practitioners.



Petro Burkovskyi

Executive Director at the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation. He received a master's degree in Political Science from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (2004), and he is an alumnus of the George C. Marshall European Centre for Security Studies (2007). He completed a defence management course at the UK Defence Academy of Cranfield University (2015). Between 2006 and 2020, he worked in the National Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of Ukraine. His areas of expertise include history, sociology, and international and security studies.

Ukrainian Volunteer Military Units: From Underdogs to Masters of Modern Warfare

From the first days of the war, members of nationalist organisations volunteered en masse to join the regular Ukrainian Armed Forces, National Guards of Ukraine, or Territorial Defence Forces. They established underground resistance cells in the occupied territories, in close cooperation with the Special Operation Forces and Chief Military Intelligence Service (GUR). The contribution of the volunteer nationalist units was critical for initial success in the battles for Kyiv and Kharkiv, slowing down Russian advances in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and for the successful September 2022 offensives in the Kharkiv and Kherson regions. High discipline and innovative tactics, learned in many cases from modern western militaries, helped nationalist units win the respect and trust of high level political and military leaders, including President Zelenskyy, Commander-in-Chief Gen. Valerii Zaluzhnyy, and Director of Military Intelligence MG Kyrylo Budanov. It is highly likely that they will play a key role in the forthcoming Ukrainian offensive in 2023, and that their ethos will become an integral part of the Ukrainian military and security services for decades to come.



Abdulkarim Ekzayez

Acclaimed Syrian medical doctor and epidemiologist, currently completing his PhD at King's College London. He obtained his MD from Aleppo University and his MSc from the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. He is leading a large NIHR-funded project called Research for Health System Strengthening in Northern Syria (R4HSSS). He is also involved in various research projects and initiatives with academic and policy institutes including LSHTM, AUB, Chatham House, and others. In 2013, Ekzayez was training to be a neurosurgeon when his residency was interrupted by the Syrian war. He subsequently joined Save the Children in north-western Syria, where he led the health response until 2017. During this time, he was part of the effort to rebuild the health system in opposition-controlled areas using a bottom-up approach. In addition, he was heavily involved in the polio outbreak response in the Middle East between 2014 and 2016. His research focuses on strengthening health systems, health security, the public health impacts of conflict, and building health research capacity in conflict settings.

Health Security in the Arab World: Conceptual Framing, Practical Applications, and Future Agenda

This article explores the concept of health security and its application in the Arab world. Health security is a concept that emerged in the 1990s and evolved through international agendas led by actors such as the UNDP and WHO. The emerging public health threats of the last decade, such as Ebola, MERS, and COVID, pushed national and international health systems and entities to focus more on health security. This involves planning for and responding to health emergencies, strengthening national health systems, improving access to health care, and addressing global health inequities. Health security encompasses different threats such as pandemics, emerging infectious diseases, antimicrobial resistance, chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear threats, and health in armed conflicts. Access to healthcare in the Arab world is significantly compromised due to armed conflicts and violence in the region, as well as pandemics, outbreaks of infectious diseases, and a lack of national agendas on health security. To address these issues, it is essential that governments in the region take steps to strengthen their healthcare systems, provide adequate resources, and promote public health education and awareness.



Sidahmed Goudjili

Assistant Professor in the Critical Security Studies Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He obtained his PhD in International Relations from the University of Algiers III. His research focuses on critical security studies, international relations theory, and state theories. He has written three books: *Conflict over the Interpretation of War and Peace: Studies on Scientific Investigation in International Relations* (2019); *Critical Security Studies: New Approaches to Re-define Security* (2014); and *The Evolution of Security Studies and the Dilemma of Application in The Arab World* (2012). His articles have appeared in numerous peer-reviewed journals.

From Traditional to Critical: The Evolution of Security Studies Field

This study reviews the state of the security studies field over the past seven decades. It addresses the beginning of strategic studies (first wave) in the early 1950s, the subsequent shift to security studies (second wave) in the early 1960s, then the transition to critical security studies in the 1990s and early 2000s. By examining these three historical periods, the paper will focus on how security scholars (and the academy in general) have responded to ongoing changes in the security environment, new ways of thinking to keep pace with these developments, and the outcomes and impact of these interactions for establishing security at all levels (i.e., individual, society, state, and environmental security). The main objective of the study is to critically examine some of the field's common ideas and practices, including their political and cultural-ideological connections, and to propose ways to move beyond them by developing more critical, pluralist security studies.



Jeroen Gunning

Professor of Middle Eastern Politics at the Department of Political Economy, King's College London. He is Visiting Professor at Aarhus University's Department of Political Science and the LSE's Middle East Centre. His research focuses on critical terrorism studies, as well as political contestation in the Middle East (with a specific focus on the interplay between social movements, religion, electoral politics, violence, and structural change). He has been co-developing a spatialized framework for understanding everyday security practices in Beirut's Southern Suburbs. He is co-director of the research project "TOI: Bringing in the Other Islamists – Comparing Arab Shia and Sunni Islamism(s) in a Sectarianised Middle East".

Critical Security Studies and Decolonization

Three decades after its emergence, Critical Security Studies (CSS) has much to celebrate. But one of the challenges it faces is that of decolonization. The field of Security Studies has historically been deeply entrenched in Western-centric knowledge production and power structures. CSS has critiqued both this Western-centricity and security studies' role in sustaining Western hegemony, and it has begun to broaden thought traditions and sites for theorization to the Global South while bringing colonial and racialized legacies and structures into sharper focus. Scholars working on/from the Middle East (itself a Western-centric term) have played an important role in this. However, large parts of CSS remain too uncritically embedded within a (white, male, elite) "Western epistemic canon" (Grosfoguel 2011), affecting concepts, theories, and methods, or too focused on Western elites, institutions, and security concerns. And while CSS has begun to draw on other thought traditions, it tends to prioritize scholarly/philosophical elite knowledge over everyday vernacular practical knowledge of ordinary people experiencing and navigating the intersecting insecurities resulting from "modernity/coloniality" (Mignolo & Walsh 2018; Tuhiwai Smith 2021). This speech will look at CSS's accomplishments and challenges through the lens of decolonization. What can CSS learn from the "decolonial project", understood as the ensemble of global, pluriversal attempts at breaking out of the colonial matrix of power and working towards decoloniality (Mignolo and Walsh 2018)? And what developments within CSS are promising sites for furthering decolonialization?



Charlotte Heath-Kelly

Professor of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick, UK. She is currently Principal Investigator on a European Research Council Starting Grant project (2020-2025) which explores the proliferation of P/CVE programs in Europe and the merging of health and welfare logics within national security programs. She has published more than twenty academic papers, as well as two monographs, on themes relating to political violence, including *Death and Security: Memory and Mortality at the Bombsite* (Manchester University Press, 2017) and *Politics of Violence: Militancy, International Politics, Killing in the Name* (Routledge, 2013).

The Case for Critical Terrorism Studies: Revisited

Critical terrorism studies (CTS) is best known for its analyses of the early War on Terror including deconstructing the discourse of "religious terrorism" used by the Bush and Blair governments, and for warning that the new global counterterrorism paradigm (the GWOT) would lead to prolonged military invasions as well as weakening civil liberties and rights in domestic policies. This presentation updates CTS for the post-ISIS era, identifying what it means to take a "critical" approach to international security as well as taking stock of recent contributions made by researchers in the field. These include explorations of Preventing Violent Extremism programs at international and national levels (including the problems posed to liberal commitments to free speech, accountable public policy, and non-discrimination), and the expansion of the CTS research field to non-Western case studies, including cases where the labelling of political opponents as terrorists or extremists is not a new phenomenon. Finally, the future prospects of CTS will be assessed, now that geopolitics has returned firmly to the global stage (with Russia's invasion of Ukraine).



Peter Jackson

Chair in Global Security at the University of Glasgow and Executive Director of the Scottish Council on Global Affairs. He was editor of *Intelligence and National Security* (the world's leading journal in the field of intelligence studies) for twelve years. He has taught at the universities of Cambridge, Yale, Aberystwyth, and Strathclyde and been visiting professor at the Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne) and the Institut d'études politiques, Paris. His areas of specialization include the international history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the use of history in the formulation of foreign and defence policy, and the role of intelligence in policymaking from both historical and contemporary perspectives.

The Past, Present, and Future of Intelligence Studies

The paper will assess the current situation in the inter-disciplinary field of intelligence studies. It will first consider the origins and early history of the study of intelligence. The field emerged as a joint enterprise between historians of international relations, on the one hand, and scholars working in the fields of strategic studies and international politics (though not especially international relations theory) on the other. The problem of intelligence analysis and its interface with foreign and strategic policy (including the question of politicization) was at the centre of both historical and political science approaches through to the end of the 1990s. Questions of counter-intelligence (not least related to the "Cambridge Spies"), intelligence cooperation, and accountability were addressed by scholars but were rarely considered in the mainstream of the study of intelligence. From the beginning, however, former practitioners participated actively in both scholarly debates as well as publications in the field. The attacks on US soil on 11 September 2001 proved to be a watershed; questions of counterterrorism moved to the forefront of security and intelligence studies, and scholars devoted much greater attention to inter-agency cooperation, intelligence reform, a role for police intelligence, and cooperation between national police agencies. This work also prompted scholarly interest in the legal and ethical dilemmas posed by a global, transnational effort to combat organized terrorism. The welcome consequence of these trends has been a dramatic expansion of the field and a host of new and exciting approaches to the study of intelligence. Another, less welcome, consequence has been the relative (with a few important exceptions) neglect of analysis and its relationship to policy.



Ilir Kalemaj

Vice Rector and Chair of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of New York Tirana, Albania. He obtained his PhD in Political Science, with a specialization in International Relations, at Central European University. At UNYT, he has regularly taught courses such as Topics in Security Studies and War and Peace. He has published several books and more than fifty scientific research papers in international journals and conference proceedings, as well as book chapters. Furthermore, he is a distinguished analyst of regional and international security, focusing particularly on comparative security dynamics and the impacts on Albania.

Serbian-Albanian Civil and Military Relations as Precursors to Solve the Western Balkan Conundrum

This paper analyses the post-1990s dynamic of civil-military relations between Serbia and Albania, as well as the broader Serbian and Albanian ethnic element in the Western Balkans, including Kosovo. Though Albania and Serbia do not share a border, they are two of the central pillars for maintaining security in the region. Kosovo meanwhile shares a border and disputes about it with Serbia, as well as an ongoing, fractured civil-military relationship. Albanians and Serbs are two of the most numerous populations in the region and have sizeable minorities in adjacent countries, while being considered vital for the overall security of Western Balkans. Serbia under Milosević's rule engaged in an irredentist project to create "Greater Serbia" after the inevitable dismemberment of Yugoslavia, and irregular militias such as Arkan's Tigers were heavily involved by state security to wreak havoc among civilian populations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also, paramilitaries in Kosovo along with the regular Serbian army carried out ethnic cleansing of the civilian population. The Kosovar Albanian KLA was formed with the aim of resistance to Milosević's policies that had revoked Kosovo's autonomy and forced its elected civilian authorities into illegality. Both Arkan's Tigers and the KLA were later reintegrated into the regular armies of the respective countries as militias. Both played a pivotal role in the events that ultimately led to Kosovo's Declaration of Independence. At present, while both countries are on their way to join the EU, with Serbia being a step ahead, Albania is part of the NATO alliance, while Serbia is not. At present, Kosovo is neither a candidate country for EU membership, nor for NATO, chiefly due to Serbian opposition. Yet, Kosovo's territorial integrity is protected by NATO KFOR troops. On the other hand, Serbia's current military expenditures are more than those of the five other countries of the Western Balkans combined, and it has recently bought offensive weaponry, raising concerns for ongoing security challenges in the region. On the plus side, both Serbia and Albania are founding members of the Open Balkan initiative, together with Northern Macedonia, which has greatly improved relations between the two countries; however, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro have refused to participate. Overall, this paper argues that the security situation has improved, but greater effort to push these relations into another dimension are welcome.



Stathis Kalyvas

Gladstone Professor of Government and fellow of All Souls College at Oxford, UK. Until 2018, he was the Arnold Wolfers Professor of Political Science at Yale University, US, where he founded and directed the Program on Order, Conflict, and Violence and co-directed the Hellenic Studies Program. His current research focuses on global trends in political violence and conflict. He has published over fifty scholarly articles in five languages, as well as several books and edited volumes in Greek. He is the author of *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (1996); *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (2006); *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know* (2015); the co-editor of *Order, Conflict, and Violence* (2008); and *the Oxford Handbook on Terrorism* (2019).

The Logic of Substitution in Political Violence

This paper draws from my current research on reconceptualizing the full spectrum of political violence, which has identified ten fundamental macro-categories of political violence. It examines one (out of four) logics that link these categories with each other. Viewed from a methodological perspective, substitution is perhaps the most critical logic of connection as it is associated with a severe estimation bias issue, namely selection bias. I describe and illustrate it.



Anthony King

Chair of War Studies at the University of Warwick, UK. He currently holds a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship and is researching into the effects of disruptive technologies and urban operations. He is planning to write a book on this topic in 2024. He has advised and mentored the British Army and Royal Marines since 2004, which has included several high-profile reports. In 2019, he finished a trilogy on military transformation in the 21st century: *The Transformation of Europe's Armed Forces* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), *The Combat Soldier* (Oxford University Press, 2013) and *Command* (Cambridge University Press, 2019). His latest book, *Urban Warfare in the Twenty-First Century*, was published by Polity Press in July 2021.

Warfare in the 21st Century: Urban Battles in Ukraine

The rise of urban insurgency has been widely recognized in the last three decades. Urban conflict and warfare is by no means limited to civil conflicts, however. On the contrary, during the Ukraine War, the most intense and significant battles have taken place in and around towns and cities: Kyiv, Mariupol, Kherson, and Severodonetsk. There seems to be no relief from the primacy of urban, siege warfare as the conflict approaches its first year. This lecture examines why Ukrainian and Russian forces have converged on urban areas and analyses the distinctive anatomy of the battles they have fought there.



Bahgat Korany

Professor of International Relations and Political Economy at the American University in Cairo and Founding Director of the AUC Forum (2006-2020). He is also an Honorary Professor at the University of Montreal, an elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and a co-founder and first Director of the Inter-University Consortium of Middle Eastern Studies (Canada). He is or has been 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 Research 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 selected by the International Studies Association to receive the Distinguished Global South Scholar award 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. He has authored more than 145 conference papers, around 55 journal articles, 12 books, and contributed chapters to more than 30 other books. He is the (co)author or (co)editor of *Social Change, Charisma and International Behaviour: Toward A Theory Of Foreign Policy-Making in The Third World* (Springer, 1976); *How Foreign Policy Decisions Are Made In The Third World: A Comparative Analysis* (Westview Press, 1986); *The Foreign Policies of Arab States: The Challenge of Globalization* (American University in Cairo Press, 2008); *The Changing Middle East: A New Look at Regional Dynamics* (American University in Cairo Press, 2010); and *Arab Spring in Egypt: Revolution and Beyond* (American University in Cairo Press, 2012).

Security Studies and Arab Multi-Layered Security Threats: Toward CSS 2

Despite sub-regional variations, the Arab world is largely conflict-ridden and has to cope with diverse threats. If most security analyses still (over-)focus on a traditional, militarized concept of "national security", it was more than 30 years ago that we tried to attract attention to "the many faces of national security in the Arab World" in a book of the same title. At that time, the counter-concept of non-military threats or "human security" was not current, nor had it been applied to the Arab region. The present inaugural lecture aims to unearth this evolution, critically assess the alternative paradigm, and look ahead. In this discussion of the Arab (in)security complex, the cardinal concept of human security is linked to the rise of critical security studies (CSS) and wider debates on conceptualization in international relations. Pushing for "context-boundedness" as a basic epistemological principle and basing itself on the Arab region, this lecture ends with some suggestions on where we could and should be heading in the present hybrid global system, plagued by the return of inter-state war in Europe and the growth of recent security threats such as cyber warfare.



Tony Lawrence

Head of the Defence Policy and Strategy Programme at the International Centre for Defence and Security, Tallinn, Estonia. Before moving to Estonia in 2004, he was a civil servant in the UK Ministry of Defence for 18 years. He has also served as an assistant professor at the Baltic Defence College. His own research focuses on various aspects of defence and deterrence in the Baltic region, including the defence policies of the Baltic states and other regional actors, defence cooperation, the role of NATO and the EU, military components of deterrence and defence, and the progress and impact of Russia's war in Ukraine.

Military Assistance and War Outcomes: Russia's War in Ukraine

When Russia launched its full-scale attack against Ukraine in February 2022, NATO and EU member states made clear that they would not intervene militarily. However, they have assisted Ukraine, including by providing large volumes of weapons and military equipment which have shaped the war, sometimes substantially. Russia has also received international military assistance, albeit in much smaller quantities, but which too has had an impact on the war's progress. This paper considers the scale and type of military assistance Ukraine and Russia have received from foreign sources, how this has changed as the war has proceeded, the mechanisms established to provide assistance, and the impact of this assistance on the conduct and outcomes of the war. It also uses the war as a case study to examine the considerations and dilemmas facing nations that elect to provide military assistance to others.



Abdel-Fattah Mady

Head of the Unit of State and Political Systems Studies at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS) and Editor-in-Chief of *Hikama* (Governance): a Peer-Reviewed Journal of Public Administration and Public Policy. He obtained his PhD in Political Science from Claremont Graduate University, US (2005). He previously worked as Associate Professor of Political Science at Alexandria University in Egypt; a visiting fellow at the Wilson Center in Washington, DC; a visiting professor at Denver University; an expert at the UNDP; and a research manager at Cordoba Peace Institute in Geneva. His research focuses on regime transition and democratization, civil-military relations, Islamist movements, civil education, human rights, and academic freedoms. His latest publications include *Pitfalls in Tahrir Square: Why the Egyptian Revolution Stumbled* (ACRPS, 2020) and *Democracy and Guns: Civil Military Relations and Reforming the Armed Forces* (ACRPS, 2021).

The State of the Subfield of Civil-Military Relations

This paper is concerned with the most important theoretical contributions to the field of civil-military relations, from the reasons for military interference in politics and the phenomena of military coups, to the modes and performance of military governments, to the departure (or removal) of the military from power and the establishment of civilian control of the armed forces. The study comes to several conclusions. First, researchers do not agree on a general theory of civil-military relations, nor on key related concepts, in addition to methodological shortcomings stemming from the extrapolation of the outcomes of research from one cultural context onto others and a dearth of information on defence and security. Second, scholars have not made these theoretical contributions in order to guide practice; rather, they have evolved alongside civil-military relations and political systems in the real world. This development is in turn linked to other factors, such as the advancement and complexity of weaponry; the broadening roles of armies; power politics at the international level; and increasingly complicated modes of production and wealth distribution within societies and across the world, and their repercussions for political power relations. Finally, the War on Terror has taken on the utmost importance in that it is used as a bogeyman by which to restrict freedoms and expand the roles of military and security institutions, strengthen the relations of Great Powers with authoritarian regimes, and bolster the latter's military and intelligence institutions at the expense of human rights, democracy, and the principle of civilian oversight of the armed forces.



Imad Mansour

Assistant Professor at the Critical Security Studies Program at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He previously worked at McGill University in Canada, Qatar University, and Sciences Po Paris (Menton). He was also a Non-Resident Scholar at the Middle East Institute (Washington, DC). His research expertise encompasses critical security studies, foreign policy analysis, strategic rivalries, regional orders, non-state actors, and the social roots of politics, especially through narrative analysis. He is the author of *Statecraft in the Middle East: Foreign Policy, Domestic Politics and Security* (I. B. Tauris, 2016), and co-editor of *Shocks and Rivalries in the Middle East and North Africa* (Georgetown University Press, 2020). His articles have appeared in *Siyasat Arabiya*, *The Journal of North African Studies*, *Middle East Journal*, *The China Quarterly*, *International Studies Perspectives*, *MERIP*, *Middle East Policy*, and *International Journal*, among others.

Common Grounds in Studies on Regional Orders and Regional Rivalries

The study of regional security has an established agenda anchored solidly in the robust study of regional orders. Within this study, understandings of what constitutes security and who referents of security are (and should be) draw on multidisciplinary inclinations. This paper will showcase how the study of regional orders and hence regional security have progressed, through highlighting how regions have been conceptualized, what actors dominate analytical attention, and how explanations of order-producing forces are organized. Among the various explanations, this paper dedicates attention to rivalry analysis, especially regional rivalries among non-major powers as a growing field of research. It explains how schools of rivalry offer compelling propositions on how regions change (or do not change) orders. The paper concludes by demonstrating why rivalry offers a pertinent explanation to the shape of the regional order in the Middle East and North Africa, since this order has been trapped in a state of conflict since early in the 20th century.



Kumar Ramakrishna

Professor of National Security Studies, Provost's Chair in National Security Studies, and Dean of the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. His book *Radical Pathways: Understanding Muslim Radicalisation in Indonesia* (Praeger, 2009) was featured as one of the top 150 books on terrorism and counterterrorism in the respected journal *Perspectives on Terrorism*, which identified him as "one of Southeast Asia's leading counterterrorism experts". His latest book is *Extremist Islam: Recognition and Response in Southeast Asia* (Oxford University Press, 2022).

The Case against Critical Terrorism Studies: Revisited

This presentation makes the case that critical terrorism studies (CTS) has yet to fully make a distinctly contribution to the field of terrorism studies in general. The presentation argues the case as follows. First, the CTS construct of mainstream terrorism studies is artificial given the diverse and protean nature of the latter, whether one is discussing what terrorism is, what its causes are, or what should be done in response to it. Second, it is not clear that what CTS claims to offer, as an alternative set of conceptual lenses to understand the phenomenon of terrorism, is altogether that different from the analyses that terrorism studies has been providing down the decades. In fact, there appears to be considerable overlap between CTS and mainstream terrorism studies in many ways. Third, CTS's suggestions that many terrorism studies scholars are unable to produce objective scholarship because of their supposedly overly close ties to national security and counter-terrorism agencies are in many ways not reflective of reality on the ground. Fourth and finally, CTS potentially suffers from the basic problem facing wider critical theoretical approaches: that of blurred boundaries between purely academic study and ideological – and at times even political – activism.



Muhanad Seloom

Assistant Professor of Security Studies at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies and an Honorary Research Fellow at the University of Exeter, UK. He teaches and researches intelligence studies with particular focus on the Arab World. His PhD dissertation, at the University of Exeter, studied the effectiveness of the Turkish government's security policies towards the PKK and Turkey's Kurdish community. He also holds a master's degree in Criminology and Criminal Justice from Bangor University, UK. He is currently working on a research project, "Iraqi Intelligence Services: 100 Years of Covert Action", to examine how Iraq's intelligence community has adapted to shifting national security threats since its inception more than 100 years ago.

Intelligence Studies in the Arab World: State of the Field

Intelligence services, or *mukhabarat*, are a keystone of the political structure of many Arab states. Historically, Arab intelligence services have mainly been responsible for "coup-proofing" and counterterrorism; a mission that requires the collection and analysis of intelligence on the intentions and capabilities of potential adversaries (Quinlivan, 1999). In addition to their role in protecting national security, Arab intelligence services have played a significant role in foreign affairs. There are many examples including the "secret" Iran-Saudi intelligence services meetings in Baghdad to arbitrate regional security arrangements; the role of Syrian and Jordanian intelligence services in restoring diplomatic relations; the foreign policy role of Moroccan-European intelligence services; and Egyptian intelligence services' relationship with Palestinian political and armed actors as a foreign policy tool, to list but a few recent examples. Notwithstanding the importance of Arab intelligence services for domestic security and foreign affairs, they remain understudied. Due to the secretive nature of national intelligence services, it is inherently hard to gain access to the intelligence community; this is especially so when it comes to the Arab World. Although studies of Arab states often refer to the intelligence services, there have been few systematic attempts to understand their development and role. In the relevant literature, Arab states are depicted either as victims of Western covert action or as perpetrators of state-sponsored terrorism. These approaches do not give comprehensive accounts of the evolution and roles of intelligence services. Therefore, the need to study intelligence in the Arab world is especially pressing given the centrality of the security apparatus to Arab regimes' stability.



Owen Sirrs

Adjunct Professor of Security Studies at the University of Montana's Defense Critical Language and Culture Program, where he teaches the politics and history of the Middle East. He is the author of several books on intelligence, including *The Egyptian Intelligence Service* (Routledge, 2010), *Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate* (Routledge, 2016), and *Iran's Qods Force: Proxy Wars, Terrorism, and the War on America* (Naval Institute Press, 2022), as well as peer-reviewed articles on the national intelligence services of Angola, Mozambique, and Afghanistan.

Intelligence Studies in the Arab World: The Case of the Egyptian General Intelligence Directorate

Intelligence has often been called the "missing dimension" of diplomatic history because so many studies either downplay or ignore it altogether. This problem is further magnified when we consider the current state of intelligence studies in Africa and the Middle East. In the case of the Arab world in particular, there is a surprising paucity of references to intelligence collection and especially analysis even though many scholars would readily concede that the role of the *mukhabarat* in virtually every Arab state is simply too significant to ignore. Fortunately, cases exist where the barriers of official secrecy do not impede substantive scholarship. For example, when it comes to the Egyptian General Intelligence Directorate, scholars with a reading knowledge of Arabic, English, French, Russian, or German can tap into a deep pool of memoirs by intelligence operatives and diplomats, not to mention largely untapped national archives in the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Germany (to name a few). We are still at the dawn of Middle East intelligence studies and much remains to be done; however, it can be safely argued that future analyses on Arab national security and history will be incomplete if they fail to examine national intelligence communities.



Tomasz Smura

Director of Research Office at the Casimir Pulaski Foundation and a member of the CPF Board. He is a graduate of the Institute of International Relations at the University of Warsaw. He previously studied at the University of Nottingham as well. His doctoral dissertation concerned the development of the power balance system in East Asia, and his research interests include US foreign policy, East Asia, and international security. He received a scholarship from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Taiwan, has worked as a Director of the Office of Strategy and International Cooperation at a strategic state-owned company, and has taken analytical internships at, amongst others, the Department of Strategy and Planning, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Polish Institute for International Affairs.

Modernization of the Chinese People's Liberation Army: An Impact on International Security

In October 2020, the Fifth Plenum of the 19th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party announced the acceleration of the process of reform and modernization for the People's Liberation Army to become a modern armed force by the centennial of its establishment in 2027. This comes in addition to modernization goals already set for the Chinese armed forces in recent years. The development of the PLA is part of the PRC's broader political goals, as expressed in the slogans of "the great renaissance of the Chinese nation" and making China a "flourishing socialist superpower" which seem to reflect China's aspirations to become the world's largest power by the mid-21st century. Thus, in addition to its current modernization priorities (i.e., by participation in a potential conflict in the Taiwan Strait), China is also developing its global power projection capabilities. Simultaneously, the modernization of the PLA is a concern for China's neighbours, especially those involved in territorial disputes with Beijing. Moreover, in this context, the United States, which is traditionally interested in stability in the Indo-Pacific region, continues its military prioritization of this strategic direction. In the years to come, a kind of more direct balancing coalition to contain China may appear in the region.



Bill Wieninger

Member of the Faculty of the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (DKI APCSS) since November 2008. Previously, he has taught political science and security-related issues at various universities and institutions. He earned his doctorate in Philosophy at McGill University in Montreal, Quebec in 2004. He is an avid soccer player, reader, motorcyclist, and world traveller. He has wide-ranging academic interests and maintains specialization in myriad subjects including energy security; weapons of mass destruction issues; deterrence and missile defence; civil-military relations and security sector development; Indonesian politics; geopolitics; women, peace, and security; and, most recently, cyber security.

Energy Security, Complexity, and an Insecure World

Energy is the bedrock of all societies or economies, but it is an amazingly complex system which is often misunderstood and prone to unproductive emphasis on the short-term crisis of the moment – whether it be a threat to the Strait of Hormuz, a nuclear accident, or the problems of CO2 emissions from fossil fuels. It is more productive to consider energy security in the context of a surprisingly resilient system of supplies and suppliers (public and private), delivery systems, and consumers that has responded somewhat predictably to supply-demand signals. Security practitioners need to understand how myriad forces impact these supply-demand signals and in turn energy security for their countries and the globe.



Marzena Żakowska

Associate Professor and Lecturer at the Faculty of National Security and Director of Global Affairs and Diplomacy Studies at the War Studies University in Warsaw, Poland and Chair of the War Studies Working Group at the International Society of Military Sciences. She holds a PhD in Security Science from the National Defence University in Warsaw. Her professional associations include the Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding and the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, DC. She is also a Research Fellow at the Royal Military College of Canada and at the US Army War College. As an editor and author, she has published books and articles on armed conflicts, hybrid threats, social security issues, and strategic games.

Hybrid Warfare and State-Sponsored Insurgencies: The Case of Eastern Ukraine

This article examines state-sponsored insurgencies as one of the measures used in hybrid warfare. The ongoing war in Ukraine has shown how Russia used this tool effectively, particularly in the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, to undermine the sovereignty of Ukraine. The research focuses on analysing the spectrum of Russia's actions and implementation of sources of support for the pro-Russian separatist group in Eastern Ukraine. The findings will be utilized as the framework for starting a debate on organizing state-sponsored insurgencies as a mechanism for executing national interests.



Aaron Y. Zelin

Richard Borow Fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Visiting Research Scholar in the Department of Politics at Brandeis University, and Founder of *Jihadology.net*. His research focuses on Sunni Arab jihadi groups in North Africa and Syria as well as the trend of foreign fighting, online jihadism, and jihadi governance. He has conducted field research in Tunisia, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, and Israel. He is currently working on his third book for Cambridge University Press titled *Heartland of the Believers: A History of Syrian Jihadism*. He is author of *Your Sons Are at Your Service: Tunisia's Missionaries of Jihad* (Columbia University Press, 2020) and *The Age of Political Jihadism: A Study of Hayat Tahrir al-Sham* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2022).

From Terrorism and Insurgency to CT and COIN: The Taliban's Fight Against the Islamic State's Khurasan Province

A new trend in the field of security studies which is worth exploring and establishing a broader agenda for is that of groups that had previously been involved in terrorist and insurgent tactics taking over a country or a certain segment of territory, then subsequently having to take the opposite approach once in power: conducting counterterrorism and counterinsurgency. This has very little historical precedent, though there are some cases. Yet increasingly it is happening in different parts of the Muslim world, in particular in Afghanistan with the Taliban and northwest Syria with Hayat Tahrir al-Sham. It is also plausible this could play out soon in Mali with Jama'at Nusrat al-Islam wa-l-Muslimin if they take Bamako as well. Therefore, this paper seeks to tease out the case of the Taliban in particular, as the one with the most international legitimacy, by exploring the contours of its fight against the Islamic State's Wilayat Khurasan (Khurasan Province). This way it will shed light on an inchoate, but worthy area of research in the security studies space that will likely become more and more relevant in the years to come.



Maria Zolkina

David Davies of Llandinam Research Fellow (DINAM) (2022-2023) in the Department of International Relations at London School of Economics and Political Science. Her research interests focus on the fields of regional security, reintegration policies in occupied territories, and wartime diplomacy. Since 2014 she has been producing expertise on the political component of Russo-Ukrainian war, especially regarding the Donbas region, and has analysed the socio-political implications of the conflict both at the national and international levels. She has been working as Head of Regional Security and War Studies at the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation (DIF), one of the most authoritative Ukrainian think tanks, and is co-founder of the Kalmius Group. She has authored a number of policy papers and publications that appeared in prominent Ukrainian and international mass media. She also served as an external consultant to the Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine (testing the strategy of informational reintegration of Donbas), and to the Governmental Office for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of Ukraine.

Public Resilience as a Factor of National Security in the Times of War: The Case of Ukraine in 2014-2022

After large scale invasion of Ukraine by Russia in 2022, Ukrainian society demonstrated high level of both domestic consolidation and resilience. This article explains how resilience to Russian aggression was evolving in the field of public opinion starting from 2014 and how it was shaping (un)acceptability of concessions on the side of Ukraine regarding territorial integrity and Ukraine's political sovereignty. Considering long-term trends in public attitudes towards war-related issues and "price of the peace", public resilience became by 2022 a matter of national security, playing significant role for resilience of the state. Additionally, the factor of domestic resilience continues to serve as a back for diplomatic and defence tactics of Ukraine in 2022 and further. In this way domestic readiness of Ukrainians to behave in a certain way during wartime has become an integral part of national security model now, which cannot be neglected while planning post-war security model for Ukraine.



Mahjoob Zweiri

Director of the Gulf Studies Center and Professor of Contemporary History and Politics of the Middle East at Qatar University, where he was Head of the Humanities Department (2011-2016). Before joining Qatar University in 2010, Zweiri was a senior researcher on Middle East politics and Iran for the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan. From March 2003 to December 2006, he was a research fellow and Director of the Centre for Iranian Studies at the Institute for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at Durham University. Zweiri has more than 80 publications in the areas of Iran and contemporary Middle East history and politics.

Iran and New Regional Security Dynamics

The first two decades of the 21st century have brought an array of new security challenges to the Islamic Republic of Iran, related to a corresponding array of developments that appear to have lasting impacts. The first development was the expansion of sectarian discourse in the region after the 2003 occupation of Iraq, by which Iran was reclassified as a confessional-sectarian state and lost the support of a broad section of Arab and non-Arab public opinion. The second development, which presents a security challenge for Iran, came through the events of the Arab Spring. Iran placed its interests in supporting despotism and the unpopular status quo (in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and Lebanon) at the expense of its old ideological discourse calling for the defence of the oppressed and the principles that were long a source of soft power, causing it to lose another base of Arab popular support. The third development relates to the nuclear programme, whereby disturbances that shook the region due to the first two developments, as well as the consequences of sanctions, led Iran to demonstrate a degree of flexibility that amounted to the nuclear deal in the summer of 2015 through which it sought a return to the international community and the gradual lifting of sanctions – contrary to what would transpire during the Trump administration (2017-2021) and Washington's withdrawal from the deal. This paper offers an analysis of the impacts of these developments on the Middle East region, and whether those changes gave Iran more opportunities or resulted in new challenges as reflected in the growing gap between Iranian society and the political regime and in Iran's geographical expansion, which began to drain its resources already in decline under mounting economic pressures. It also assesses the extent of the impact of Iran-allied sub-state actors and whether their role served to alleviate or exacerbate Iran's security burdens.

Moderators

Hamid Ali

Associate Professor and Dean of the School of Public Administration and Development Economics at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He obtained his PhD in Economics and Public Policy from the University of Texas-Austin in 2004 and was a researcher for the US Government Accountability Office (GAO), where he was a major contributor to various reports for US congressional committees. His primary research interests focus on peace economics, economic inequality, defence spending, natural resources, and conflict. He is co-author or editor of a number of books, including *Natural Resources, Inequality and Conflict* (2021); *Institutional Reforms, Governance, and Services Delivery in the Global South* (2021); *Defense Spending, Natural Resources, and Conflict* (2017); and *Darfur Political Economy: A Quest for Development* (2014).

Aicha Elbasri

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. She is a former UN official and has held various media and communications positions in the Department of Public Information in New York, the United Nations Development Programme in Sudan, and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. She was the spokesperson for the African Union-United Nations Mission in Darfur and a regional advisor in the UN Population Fund in Cairo. She received her PhD in French Literature from Savoy Mont Blanc University in France. She has published numerous peer-reviewed articles in addition to a book titled *L'Imaginaire Carcéral de Jean Genet* (Editions L'Harmattan, 1999).

Marwa Farag

Associate Professor in the School of Public Administration and Development Economics at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. She held the position of Associate Professor in the School of Public Health at the University of Saskatchewan, Canada. She previously worked as a Senior Research Associate at the Schneider Institutes for Health Policy in the Institute for Global Health and Development at Brandeis University. Her international field experience includes working in Iraq on health financing and resource allocation issues and in Egypt on health sector reform. She received her PhD in Health Policy from the Heller School for Social Policy and Management at Brandeis University, US. Her primary research areas are health policy, health financing, health economics, and health program planning and evaluation.

Ayat Hamadan

Researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and Editor-in-Chief of the historical studies journal *Ostour*. She received a PhD from the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at the University of Exeter, where she worked as a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Political Science. She was also awarded a Visiting Researcher fellowship at the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, UK.

Mohamad Hamas Elmasry

Associate Professor and Chair of the Media Studies Programme at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. His research on Arab media systems, news coverage of race, and the media and terrorism has appeared in reputable refereed publications, including *Journalism*, *Journalism Practice*, *Journalism Studies*, *International Communication Gazette*, and *the International Journal of Communication*. He has written political and media analyses for *Al-Jazeera English*, *the Middle East Eye*, *The New Arab*, *Open Democracy*, *Muftah*, and *Jadaliyya*, and appeared on *Al-Jazeera*, *CNN*, *BBC World News*, *BBC World Service Radio*, *TRT World*, *Huff Post Live*, and other networks.

Beverly Milton-Edwards

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Haider Saeed

Head of the Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Studies Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, and editor-in-chief of the *Siyasat Arabiya* journal. He acquired his PhD from Baghdad's Al-Mustansiriyah University (2001). He writes on intellectual history, critical theory, and politics. He contributed to the "National Report on Human Development in Iraq" in 2009 and 2014. He is the author of *The Politics of the Symbol: On the End of National Culture of Iraq* (2009) and *Literature and the Representation of the World* (2002), and the editor of *The Arab Shiites: Identity and Citizenship* (ACRPS, 2019).

Brahim Saïdy

Dean of Graduate Studies and Scientific Research and Professor of Diplomacy and Defense Studies at Joaan Bin Jassim Academy for Defence Studies, Qatar. He obtained his PhD in International Relations from the University of Québec in Montréal (2009). He has been an adjunct professor at Qatar University, University of Ottawa, Laval University, University of Québec, and University of Sherbrooke. His research interests focus on international security institutions with a focus on NATO, civil-military relations in the Arab World, contemporary security, and post-conflict reconstruction. He has published several articles and two books on these topics.

Bassel F. Salloukh

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