

17-18-19 November 2014, Palau de Pedralbes, **Barcelona**

## **ARAB TRANSITIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE:**

Building Democracies in Light of International Experiences

### **FOREWORD**

This conference will discuss the conditions that lay behind the success of regime change and democratization processes. It will bring together past experiences in countries that have overcome authoritarianism and compare them to the challenges that Arab countries are experiencing today. The seminar will engage in comparative analysis in order to capitalize on lessons learned, particularly focusing on the political changes that have occurred since the mid-1970s. As a starting point, the conference will take into account that there is no clear “transition paradigm” and that what was pertinent in one case might prove a failure in another, even in countries from the same region and with similar background conditions.

The aim of the conference will also be to explore how factors and actors regarded as important in the democratization literature help to explain the outcomes of particular transition processes, not by looking at all factors but focusing instead on the ones that are relevant for the Arab world. A close inspection of previous transitions will enable the participants to draw conclusions on the effects of such factors on democratization and how to meet the challenges posed by current events in Arab countries. The conclusions of this conference will also be useful for external actors whose foreign policies and aid programmes intend to encourage and assist the current democratization processes.

## MONDAY, 17<sup>th</sup> November 2014

10.00	<b>Registration</b>
10.30-11.00	<p><b>Welcome remarks</b></p> <p><b>Senén Florensa</b>, Executive President, European Institute of the Mediterranean, Spain</p> <p><b>Marwan Kabalan</b>, Associate Researcher and Policy Analysis Unit Coordinator, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar</p>
11.00-13.00	<p><b>Panel 1: The Making of New Constitutions: Overcoming Fault Lines</b></p> <p>Past experiences illustrate that putting in place a new constitution, or amending an existing one, is an important step to lay the foundations for democratic governance and enshrine the protection of civil liberties and human rights. However, the constitution-making process can also produce the counter-effect of deepening the fault lines within societies and institutions. This panel will analyze the processes of constitutional reform as a way to define the contours of the new state, the scope of territorial integrity, the identity of the state and its society, the place of religion in the public sphere, civil-military relations and the administration and governance system.</p> <p><b>Chair and presenter: Charles Powell</b>, Director, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain. The Spanish transition and how to implement a consensual approach to regime change.</p> <p><b>Case studies:</b></p> <p><b>Nathalie Bernard-Maugiron</b>, Senior Researcher, Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD), France. Constituent Processes and the Role of State Powers in the Transitions in North Africa.</p> <p><b>Driss Lagrini</b>, Professor, Cadi Ayyad University, Morocco. The process of gradual constitutional reform in Morocco.</p> <p><b>Patrycja Sasnal</b>, Head of the Middle East and North Africa Project, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), Poland. The role of religion and the Polish transition.</p> <p><b>Taïeb Zahar</b>, Editor-in-Chief of <i>Réalités</i>, Tunisia. Party politics and constitution building: the case of Tunisia.</p> <p>Debate among participants and the audience</p>

13.00-15.00

Lunch

15.00-17.00

## Panel 2: Party Politics, Electoral Processes and Political Institutional Change

The panel will explore how ideologies shift after regime change and how political inclusion can be guaranteed in transition experiences – including through the process of elite change within the structure of political parties and institutions. Discussions will also tackle the legislative framework in order to analyze how legal reform has promoted inclusiveness and the participation of all sectors of society and why past experiences are relevant for the inclusion of religious communities, youth and women within the new political systems.

**Chair and presenter: Pol Morillas**, Head of the Euro-Mediterranean Policies Department, European Institute of the Mediterranean, Spain

### Case studies:

**Haizam Amirah Fernández**, Senior Researcher, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain. Processes of political change after the Arab revolutions.

**Marwa Fikry**, Assistant Professor, Cairo University, Egypt. A comparative study of political transition: Libya and Egypt.

**Mehdi Mabrouk**, Professor of Sociology, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Tunisia. Developing electoral processes in Tunisia post-Arab Spring.

**Narcís Serra**, Former Vice-President and Minister of Defence of the Spanish Government and President of the Barcelona Institute of International Affairs (IBEI), Spain. The dynamics of change and civilian-military relations in the Spanish transition.

Debate among participants and the audience

20.00

Dinner at the Palau de la Música Catalana

**TUESDAY, 18<sup>th</sup> November 2014**

**9.30-11.30**

**Panel 3: Accounting for Past Injustices and Promoting Human Rights**

The way in which a post-authoritarian government handles accountability tends to reflect the character of a democratic transition. While some countries reached a consensual decision to abstain from opening up the past, others denied accountability as a way of not destabilizing the transition to democracy by exposing past crimes. On the other hand, transitional justice – referring to a set of judicial and non-judicial measures aimed at redressing the legacies of massive human rights abuses – has been a constant demand in several countries and has contributed to increasing the civic trust of society in the new political regimes. This panel will explore how transitional justice can strengthen democratic institutions, which mechanisms should be implemented, and how its proper sequencing and timing can support a process of democratic transition.

**Chair and presenter: Marwan Kabalan**, Associate Researcher and Policy Analysis Unit Coordinator, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar

**Case studies:**

**Paloma Aguilar**, Professor, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain. Past injustices and transitional justice in Spain. Some comparisons with Latin American experiences.

**Zoheir Hamedi**, Researcher, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar. The law of exclusion: A case study from Libya.

**Iavor Rangelov**, Global Security Research Fellow, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom. Reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia? Critical insights from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

**Cale Salih**, Project Manager, Institute for Integrated Transitions, Spain. Kurds in transition: the cases of Iraq, Syria and Turkey.

Debate among participants and the audience

**11.30-12.00**

**Coffee Break**

12.00-14.00

**Panel 4: Addressing Socio-Economic Inequalities**

Addressing “street demands” and promoting their integration into “formal politics” is a challenge faced by all post-revolutionary governments. Particularly, addressing inequalities between social classes and territories is paramount to stabilizing the transition processes, delivering on the expectations generated by the revolutions and re-establishing trust in politics through transparency, accountability and multi-level democracy. Further, it is imperative to engage with existing social groups, such as trade unions, NGOs and community-based organizations, in order to include their experience and perspective in the policy-making.

**Chair and presenter: Senén Florensa**, Executive President, European Institute of the Mediterranean, Spain

**Case studies:**

**Caryn Abrahams**, Senior Researcher, Gauteng City-Region Observatory, South Africa. South African democratic transition, non-racialism and social cohesion.

**Larbi Jaidi**, Professor, Université Mohamed V Rabat, Morocco. Civil society and its role in transforming the social and economic Moroccan landscape.

**Ali Koç**, Professor, Economic Research Center on Mediterranean Countries, Akdeniz University, Turkey. Protests and socio-economic concerns in Turkey.

Debate among participants and the audience

14.00-15.00

**Lunch**

15.00-17.30

**Panel 5: Political Rivalries and Politics of Identities in the Transition to Democracy**

Rivalries between different communities have often emerged as an important threat to stability in post-revolutionary periods. There is a threat of polarization, including ethnic and religious divides but also clashes between different ideological and political groups. Acute divisions in the political sphere can permeate the ordinary life of citizens, risking the derailment of transition processes. It is important to establish a process whereby the old regime is dismantled without the vilification of those that had been forced to be a part of it.

**Chair and presenter: Ahmet Evin**, Professor, Sabanci University, Turkey

**Case studies:**

**Geoffrey P. Macdonald**, Assistant Professor, Grinnell College, United States. The inclusion of religious diversity in the political system of Indonesia.

**Tyler Rauert**, Associate Professor, Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies, United States. Non-state political violence in a democratic transition framework.

**Haider Saeed**, Scholar, Iraqi Center for Strategic Studies, Jordan. Identity politics and the nation-state in a non-western world: A theoretical attempt with references to the political transition in Iraq.

**Adel Sharjabii**, Professor, Sana'a University, Yemen. Social forces and their effect on democratic transition in Yemen.

**Radwan Ziadeh**, Executive Director, Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies, United States. The religious factor in Syria.

Debate among participants and the audience

19.00

**Cultural visit and dinner**

**WEDNESDAY, 19<sup>th</sup> November 2014**

9.00-11.30

**Panel 6: Responding to the External Environment**

This panel will discuss the extent to which external dynamics influence regime change and the role of regional and external powers, such as Turkey, Iran, the Gulf States, the United States or the European Union, in either promoting or hindering the transition and democratization processes in the region. Previous transition processes in Southern and Eastern Europe demonstrate how regional integration provided incentives for political and economic reform and channels for specific support. Even in Turkey, the desire to qualify for membership to the EU has contributed significantly to political reform and democratization. This panel will also focus on the current policies of democratization support and on how existing paradigms of democracy promotion have contributed to the transition processes of the Arab world.

**Chair and presenter: Bichara Khader**, Professor, Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

**Case studies:**

**Marwan Kabalan**, Associate Researcher and Policy Analysis Unit Coordinator, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar. Responding to the external environment in Syria.

**Stefan Lehne**, Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Europe, Belgium. The European Union as a driver of political reform: the case of Eastern Europe.

**Iván Martín**, Senior Research Fellow, Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB), Spain. The EU and socio-economic support for the transitions in North Africa.

**Marina Ottaway**, Senior Scholar, Woodrow Wilson Center, United States. The United States and the Egyptian revolution.

**Suhaim Al-Thani**, Assistant Researcher, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar. The Gulf countries and their influence on Arab transitions.

Debate among participants and the audience

11.30-12.00

**Closing remarks**

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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**Paloma Aguilar**, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Spain  
 Paloma Aguilar is also an Associate of the London School of Economics, IDEAS, Southern Europe International Affairs Programme. Previously, she has been Tinker Professor at the University of Wisconsin (Madison, USA), Visiting Professor in Princeton University (New Jersey, USA) and teacher in the Instituto Universitario Gutiérrez Mellado (Madrid, Spain). Paloma Aguilar holds a PhD in Political Science and Sociology from the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED, Spain) and a PhD from the Center for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences of Juan March Institute. Her research focuses on the memory of the Spanish civil war and its impact on transition, transitional justice measures in the processes of political change in Spain, Chile and Argentina, and political violence in the democratisation process.

**Caryn Abrahams**, Senior Researcher, Gauteng City-Region Observatory, Pretoria, South Africa

Before joining the GCRO, Caryn Abrahams was the Research Manager at the Ahmed Kathrada Foundation, where she gained expertise in research on the South African democratic transition, non-racialism and social cohesion. She teaches a module on a Masters course in Development Studies at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University. Previously, she taught qualitative research methods, rural and development geography at Wits University. She holds a PhD in Social and Political Science from the University of Edinburgh (UK) and an MA in Human Geography from Wits University. Caryn completed a post-doctoral research fellowship in Development Studies at the University of South Africa in 2012.

**Suhaim Al-Thani**, Assistant Researcher, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar

Suhaim Al-Thani is a researcher with a background in political science and international relations. He is specifically interested in the role of the United States in the Middle East and the international relations of the Gulf States. At the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, he is a member of *Siyasat Arabia*, a bi-monthly journal devoted to political analysis and strategic studies in the Arab world, and a contributor to the ACRPS Policy Analysis Unit. He holds an MSc in Politics and International Relations from Royal Holloway, University of London.

**Nathalie Bernard-Maugiron**, Senior Researcher, Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD), France

Nathalie Bernard-Maugiron is also Co-Director of the Institut d'Études de l'islam et des Sociétés du Monde Musulman (ISMM) at the Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. Prior to that, she lectured at the Faculty of Political Sciences of the American University in Cairo and University of Cairo. She holds a PhD in Public Law from the Law Faculty of the Université de Paris X. As a lawyer and specialist in constitutional law, her research focuses on the judicial system in Egypt and in the Arab world, family law, and process of democratic transition in the Arab world.

**Ahmet Evin**, Professor, Sabanci University, Turkey

Ahmet Evin is Senior Scholar at the Istanbul Policy Center and Jean Monnet Chair at Sabanci University. Before his appointment at Sabanci University, Ahmet Evin taught at New York University, Harvard University, Hacettepe University (Ankara), University of Pennsylvania (where he also served as director of the Middle East Center), University of Hamburg, and Bilkent University in Ankara (where he headed the Department of Political Science). Together with the European University Institute, Ahmet Evin has established the Schuman Center for Advanced Studies and EU-Turkish Observatory. He has also run several joint programmes of professional training and policy research with academic institutions and non-governmental organizations. Ahmet Evin received his PhD in Middle East Studies and Cultural History from Columbia University.

**Haizam Amirah Fernández**, Senior Analyst, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain

Haizam Amirah Fernández is also Associate Professor at the Instituto de Empresa. He has lectured at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Georgetown University, Saint Louis University, Universidad San Pablo-CEU, and Universitat de Barcelona. Haizam Amirah Fernández holds an MA in Arab Studies on a Fulbright scholarship from Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies. Haizam Amirah Fernández completed his studies at the Université Libre de Bruxelles and at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He specializes in international relations, political Islam, and transitions to democracy in the Arab world.

**Marwa Fikry**, Assistant Professor, Cairo University, Egypt

Marwa Fikry Abdel Samei is a former EUME fellow at the Forum Transregionale Studien, Berlin, Germany. She completed her PhD at the Northeastern University on public diplomacy in the age of regional media. Her research focuses on modern and contemporary Middle Eastern politics, Islamists and democratization in the Arab World, Arab media, theory of international relations, and international relations in the Middle East. She has published many studies in English and Arabic on topics related to the media, the making of the 2011 Egyptian revolution, Qatar's soft power, and the rise of Islamists in Egypt. She is also a frequent contributor to openDemocracy.net. Her forthcoming study deals with the discourse and strategies of media in manufacturing the 2013 coup in Egypt.

**Senén Florensa**, Executive President, European Institute of the Mediterranean, Spain

Diplomat and ambassador, Senén Florensa holds a Degree in Economic Science and in Law from the University of Barcelona. He studied for his doctorate in Economics at the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne; as a Fulbright scholarship holder at New York University, PhD Program, and at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, where he presented his doctoral thesis in 1979. Senén Florensa also holds a Diploma in International Studies from the Diplomatic School of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. Senén Florensa has also been Director of Studies at the Diplomatic School of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and Professor of International Economics and Development at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

**Zoheir Hamed**, Researcher, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar

Zoheir Hamed is currently completing a "Strategic Foresight Study for the Transition of the Energy System of the GCC Countries Towards a Sustainable, Diversified and Efficient Energy System up to 2050" at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. The study focuses on two themes: firstly, the diversification of the energy sources of the GCC countries and, secondly, the improvement of energy efficiency of the region. Hamed holds a professional energy background and has worked for the Algerian National Oil Company,

SONATRACH, in the Planning, Strategy and Economics Department and with the British Embassy in Algiers as an energy and climate change consultant. He graduated with a BA in Political Science and Economics from the American University in Cairo and an MA in International Relations from Nantes University. He has recently completed a PhD in Economics at Durham University (UK).

**Larabi Jaidi**, Professor, Université Mohamed V Rabat, Morocco

Larbi Jaidi is Director of the Masters in Territorial Development at Mohammed V University and General Director of the Centre de Recherche en Économie Appliquée et Développement Humain (CREADH). He is also a member of the Executive Committee of the Abderrahim Bouabid Foundation and a founder of the Groupement d'Etudes et Recherches sur la Méditerranée (GERM) as well as the Centre Marocain de Conjoncture (CMC). In 2013, he led the Maghreb Youth Forum on the youth participation in local politics within the framework of the Programme DAWRAK (Citizens for Dialogue) of the Anna Lindh Foundation. He is the author of many publications on employment, poverty, gender and Euro-Mediterranean relations.

**Marwan Kabalan**, Associate Research and Policy Analysis Unit Coordinator, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Qatar

Marwan Kabalan is a Syrian academic and writer. Until November 2012, he was Dean of the Faculty of International Relations and Diplomacy at the Kalamoon University in Damascus, Syria. Kabalan worked on International Political Theory at the University of Manchester (UK) and at the Faculty of Political Sciences, Damascus University. He was a member of the Board of Directors at the Damascus University Center for Strategic Studies and Research and is the author of several books and numerous articles on Syria and the Middle East. Kabalan holds a PhD in International Relations from Manchester University. He is an expert on foreign policy and a regular contributor to several Arab and English newspapers.

**Bichara Khader**, Professor, Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

Bichara Khader is Professor at the Faculty of Economic, Social and Political Sciences of Louvain University (Belgium) and Director of the Arab Study Research Centre (CERMAC) in Belgium. He has been a member of the

Group of High Experts on the PESC (European Commission 1998-2000) and a member of the Groupe des Sages for cultural Euro-Mediterranean dialogue (European presidency 2003-2004). He holds a PhD in Political, Economic and Social Studies from Louvain University (Belgium) and an MA in International Relations from Johns Hopkins University Bologna Centre. Bichara Khader has written extensively on the Mediterranean, Middle East and Euro-Mediterranean relations.

**Ali Koç**, Professor, Economic Research Center on Mediterranean Countries, Akdeniz University, Turkey

Ali Koç has been Professor at the Akdeniz University's Economic Research Center on Mediterranean Countries since 2003. Prior to that, he was successively Assistant Researcher, Assistant Professor and Associated Professor at the Cukurova University (Adana). He has also been Associated Professor in Atılım University (Ankara) and Ba kent University (Ankara) and Visiting Research Associate in the Economics Department of the Iowa State University. He has led various programmes on Food Policies for the Turkish Government and for the Food and Agricultural Organization. Koç gained his PhD on Agricultural Economy from the Cukurova University (Adana).

**Driss Lagrini**, Professor, Cadi Ayyad University, Morocco

Driss Lagrini is Professor of International Relations and Political Life at the Cadi Ayyad University in Marrakech, where he is the Director of the Research Group on Crisis Management. Lagrini is also President of the Al Manara Forum on Development Research and Collaborating Professor with the Arab Academy in Denmark and its representative in Morocco. Lagrini holds a PhD in International Relations from the Mohammed V University (Rabat, Morocco). He has published more than fifty study and research papers related to law and relations, international and Arab affairs and political science in a number of Arab magazines specialized in Morocco and various Arab States. He is also the author of two books: *The International Macro-Implications of the Events of September 11* and *Managing Crises in a Changing World: Concepts, Foundations, Means and Challenges*. In 2010, he was awarded a Transitional Justice Award from the Center of Interplanetary Tunisia.

**Stefan Lehne**, Visiting Scholar, Carnegie Europe, Belgium

Stefan Lehne is Visiting Scholar at Carnegie Europe in Brussels, where he researches the post-Lisbon Treaty development of the European Union's foreign policy with a specific focus on relations between the EU and member states. His career included positions as Director General for Political Affairs at the Austrian Ministry for European and International Affairs and Director for the Balkans, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia in the General Secretariat of the Council of the European Union. He was also Head of the Task Force for Western Balkans and Central Europe. He held a number of other appointments in the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was a researcher at the Austrian Institute for International Politics. Lehne holds an MA in International Relations from the Fletcher School on Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and a J.D. from the University of Vienna.

**Mehdi Mabrouk**, Professor of Sociology, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Tunisia

Mehdi Mabrouk is a Tunisian academic and politician. From 2011-2014, he served as the Minister of Culture in the Hamadi Jebali government. Prior to that, he was a member of the Research Unit on Migration, under the Centre for Studies and Economic and Social Research, where he directed several studies, in particular, for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross. He was also lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Tunis University, where he lectured on illegal immigration and youth issues. He holds an MA in Sociology and a PhD in the same field from Tunis University.

**Geoffrey P. Macdonald**, Assistant Professor, Grinnell College, United States

Geoffrey P. Macdonald is Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Grinnell College, where he teaches international and comparative politics. His research examines the intersection of ethnic conflict, peace-building, elections, and institutional design. His work has been supported by a Fulbright Scholarship and IFES Democracy Studies Fellowship. He has conducted fieldwork in India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, South Africa, Malawi, and the West Bank. In addition, he has served as a consultant on issues of conflict management and democratic design for the United States Institute of Peace and the International Republican Institute. He holds an MA and a PhD from the University of Denver's Josef Korbel School of International Studies.



**Pol Morillas**, Head of the Euro-Mediterranean Policies Department, European Institute of the Mediterranean, Spain

Pol Morillas focuses on European policies aimed at the Mediterranean, the coordination of the EuroMeSCo network and the management of several research projects. Previously, Pol Morillas was Coordinator at the Political and Security Committee of the EU, Adviser on External Action at the European Parliament and Analyst at the Cabinet of the President of the CIDOB Foundation. Pol Morillas holds an MSc in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is an associate lecturer at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and ESADE. Pol Morillas is also a member of the Observatory of European Foreign Policy at the UAB and contributes to the Master in International Relations of the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI). He has written extensively on EU Foreign Policy towards the Mediterranean, institutional developments of EU Foreign Policy and Human Security.

**Marina Ottaway**, Senior Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center, United States  
Marina Ottaway is a long-time analyst of political transformations in Africa, the Balkans, and the Middle East. Ottaway joined the Wilson Center after 14 years at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, during which she played a central role in launching the Middle East Program. Prior to that, she taught at Georgetown University, the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, the American University in Cairo, the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa, the University of Zambia, and Addis Ababa University. Ottaway received her PhD from Columbia University. Her most recent publications include *Getting to Pluralism*, co-authored with Amr Hamzawy, and *Yemen on the Brink*, co-edited with Christopher Boucek.

**Charles Powell**, Director, Elcano Royal Institute, Spain

Diplomat and politician, Charles Powell was appointed Director of the Elcano Royal Institute in 2012. From 1997-2000, he was Deputy Director of the European Studies Programme of the Ortega y Gasset University Institute, and was later appointed Deputy Director of the Ortega y Gasset Foundation's Spanish Centre for International Relations (CERI). In 2001, he joined the Elcano Royal Institute as Senior Analyst for Europe, and in 2004 he was appointed Deputy Director for Research and Analysis. Since 2002, he has also been

Professor in Contemporary History at the CEU San Pablo University (Madrid). He was also Lecturer in History at Corpus Christi College (Oxford), the J. A. Pye Research Fellow at University College, Oxford, and Junior Research Fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford, where he is currently a Member of the Senior Common Room. Charles Powell holds a PhD from Oxford University.

**Iavor Rangelov**, Global Security Research Fellow, London School of Economics and Political Science, United Kingdom

Iavor Rangelov is also Co-Chair of the London Transitional Justice Network. He is a fellow of the Research and Training Programme European Foreign and Security Policy Studies (EFSPS), which supported his post-doctoral research and his visiting fellowships at the European Policy Centre (Brussels), EU Institute for Security Studies (Paris), Barcelona Institute of International Affairs (IBEI, Barcelona), and T.M.C. Asser Instituut (The Hague). His current research focuses on the relationship between justice and security, as part of the ERC-funded Research Programme Security in Transition.

**Tyler Rauert**, Associate Professor, Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies, United States

Tyler Rauert joined the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies in 2005. He focuses on the study of political violence, just war theory, the law of armed conflict, human rights, transnational organized crime, and security in the Middle East and South Asia. Prior to joining the NESAC Center, Rauert was a consultant on the use of force in international law to the Potomac Institute for Policy Studies. Rauert also served as the Research Coordinator for the International Center for Terrorism Studies. Following a National Security Fellowship in the US Senate, he was named Director of the Regional Network of Strategic Studies Centers (RNSSC) in September 2011. He is a member of the American Society of International Law, the American Bar Association, and the District of Columbia Bar. Tyler Rauert holds an MA in International Affairs and a JD from American University.

**Haider Saeed**, Scholar, Iraqi Center for Strategic Studies, Jordan

Haider Saeed is Researcher at the Iraqi Strategic Studies Institute, an independent studies centre in Jordan. Saeed served on the Board of Directors of Iraqiyat: Iraqi Women's Studies Center, established in 2005. He contributed

to the Report of Human Development in Iraq and he was Programme Director of the Report of Social Sciences Situation in Iraq, assumed by the Iraqi Center for Strategic Studies Institute. He also served as a consultant to the Foundation for the Future in Amman (Jordan). Saeed obtained his PhD in Linguistics from al-Mustansiriya University in Baghdad.

**Cale Salih**, Project Manager, Institute for Integrated Transitions, Spain

Before joining the Institute for Integrated Transitions, Cale Salih was a Middle East and North Africa Fellow for the International Crisis Group for two years, based in Beirut and Cairo, where she worked on Lebanon and Syria reports. She has also worked as the Video Editor at Al-Monitor, an online newspaper covering the Middle East, as the Senior Syria Analyst at Integrity Research & Consultancy based in Beirut, and as an Editorial Fellow at The Atlantic. Cale Salih is a Masters of Studies in International Human Rights Law candidate at the University of Oxford. Cale has written op-eds and reported pieces on Kurdish politics in Iraq, Syria and Turkey for various publications, including *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, *TIME*, *BBC*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *NBC News*.

**Patrycja Sasnal**, Head of MENA Project, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Poland Patrycja Sasnal was a 2010 Fulbright Scholar at Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University in Washington, DC. Previously, she was Associate Professor at the America University in Beirut and Visiting Student at Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris III. She has also lectured at Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland, where she holds an MA in International Relations and an MA in Arabic Language and Culture and a PhD in Political Science. She has written extensively on US and EU policies in the Middle East, the challenges of transition in the Arab world, the Arab-Israeli conflict, modern Arab thought, and Turkey's new role in the Middle East.

**Narcís Serra**, Former Vice-President and Minister of Defence of the Spanish Government and President of the Barcelona Institute of International Affairs (IBEI), Spain

Economist and Spanish politician, Narcís Serra has been Barcelona Institute

of International Affairs (IBEI) Chairman since the institute's creation in 2004. From 1979-1982, he was Mayor of Barcelona. In 1982, he was appointed Minister of Defence and in 1991 he became Deputy Prime Minister. Narcís Serra has a Degree in Economics from the University of Barcelona, where he was Assistant Lecturer on the faculty. Between 1970 and 1972 he studied Monetary Economy as Research Fellow at the London School of Economics. In 1973, he received his PhD in Economics at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and three years later he gained his position as Lecturer in Economic Theory, first at the University of Seville and then at UAB. His main lines of interest are the development of foreign policy, relations between the armed forces and society and the mechanisms of global governance, especially in the field of security.

**Adel Sharjabii**, Professor, Sana'a University, Yemen

Adel Sharjabii is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Yemeni Observatory of Human Rights and founding member of the Arab Network for Democracy Studies. He is Director General of Social Defence at the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour, Member of the Technical Committee for Human Rights, Member of the Technical Committee to combat child trafficking, Member of the Technical Committee for the project "Strengthening juvenile justice", member of the National Network for Child Protection. Sharjabii is also President of the Foundation "Together for Development and Human Rights". He holds a Diploma in Business from the National Institute of Administrative Sciences in Sana'a, a Bachelor of Law (Sharia law) from Sanaa University and an MA in Law and Political Sciences from the Lebanese University.

**Taïeb Zahar**, Director of *Réalités*, Tunisia

Taïeb Zahar is a founder and director of the weekly Tunisian news magazine *Réalités*. He is also President of the Association of Directors of Tunisian newspapers. Doctor of Pharmacy, between 1983-1989 he was the Secretary General of the Board of College of Pharmacists. He is also a founder and former director of a weekly magazine *Akhbar El Jomhouria*. Since 1989, he has been President of the Group Maghreb Médias, which edits the weekly magazine *Réalités*, monthly *Réalités Economie* and *Femmes et Réalités* and bi-monthly magazine *HAKAEIK*.

**Radwan Ziadeh**, Executive Director, Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies, United States

Radwan Ziadeh is also Visiting Scholar at Lehigh University and Fellow at the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU) in Washington, DC. He was most recently Visiting Scholar at Dubai Initiative at Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, Visiting Scholar at the Institute for Middle East Studies (IMES) at Elliot School of International Affairs at George Washington University and Visiting Scholar at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies (CCAS) at Georgetown University. He is also the founder and Director of the Damascus Center for Human Rights Studies in Syria. In 2009, he was awarded the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) Academic Freedom Award in Boston; and in 2010 he was awarded the Democracy Courage Tributes Award on behalf of the Human Rights Movement in Syria by the World Movement for Democracy in Jakarta-Indonesia.