TOWARDS A NEW SECURITY ARCHITECTURE FOR THE MENA REGION
18 - 19 March 2017 / Istanbul
Towards A New Security Architecture For The MENA Region

18 - 19 March 2017 - Istanbul

#SharqEvents

www.sharqforum.org
Towards A New Security Architecture For The MENA Region
18-19 March - Istanbul, Turkey

Conference Description
The collapse of regional order has made the security failures of the Sharq region ever more apparent. State failures, violent extremism, the emergence of militia groups as regional forces, chemical warfare, and the arms race are among the many security problems that call for the development of a new security architecture for the MENA region.

The phenomenon of the failed state as witnessed in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Libya has triggered the rise of violent extremism and militia forces as new regional security apparatuses. The legitimacy concerns surrounding non-state actors, given their terrorist actions across the region, make determining legitimate actors within the new security architecture even harder. The longstanding crises the region has been suffering seem to have created support for autocratic regimes; whether foreign powers have favored these regimes is also an issue that ought to be discussed. In efforts to map the road ahead for establishing a new security architecture, the role of international powers is of paramount importance, especially in terms of economic and political cooperation. Additionally, regional leadership is needed in consolidating counter-terrorism efforts without resorting to proxies in order to end sectarian divisions during the framing of this new structure.

The region has witnessed change in the nature of security apparatuses and the nature of conflicts. Energy resources, nuclear efforts, technological developments, and even social media have become
sources of conflict, while the emergence of new types of warfare and forms of militarization also increase the levels of threat. In order to determine what a well-functioning new security architecture would look like, understanding the nature of potential conflicts is a must. Yet, amid this surge of conflict, neither should the issue of human rights and its importance in the new security architecture be overlooked. Peoples of the region have deeply suffered from the use of chemical weapons and asymmetrical force and continue to be exposed to surveillance that overrides the right to privacy. To find solutions to these rights breaches, the integration of human rights into this structure through international and regional conventions should be discussed. The new security architecture also needs to lay the grounds for law enforcement to uphold human rights and citizenship rights in the region. The role of regional and international multilateral organizations is another point for debate. The new structure needs to assess the role that global institutions such as the UN, UN-related bodies, NATO, OSCE and regional institutions including the Arab League, the OIC and the GCC should play in the region.

This conference, organized by the Al Shaq Forum and Afro Middle East Center (AMEC) partnership, will bring together experts, policymakers, and current and former officials, as well as representatives of international agencies, to share new perspectives and provide new insights on the aforementioned security issues in order to propose the framework for a new security architecture in the MENA region.
### Round Table 1: The Role of Regional Powers, Institutions and Actors in the New Security Architecture for the MENA

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Defining the Context: The New Security Architecture</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>I. Session: 10:00 - 12:30</td>
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<td>B) Regional Powers and Actors</td>
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<td>Lunch: 12:30 - 14:00</td>
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<td>C) Non-State Armed Groups &amp; Proxy Wars</td>
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<td>II. Session: 14:00 - 15:30</td>
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<td>D) The Arms Race and Defense Industries</td>
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<td>III. Session: 16:00 - 17:30</td>
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<td>G) Regional Security Forum</td>
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**Chair:** Galip Dalay, Research Director, Al Sharq Forum  
**Rapporteur:** Omer Aslan, Associate Fellow at Al Sharq Forum

### Round Table 2: The Role of International Powers and Institutions in the New Security Structure

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<td>B) The Role of International Powers</td>
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<td>F) Regional Security Forum</td>
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**Chair:** Na'eem Jeenah, Executive Director, Afro-Middle East Centre  
**Rapporteur:** Yury Barmin, Fellow with RIAC, Moscow

**Conference Dinner For Round Table Participant 19:00**  
Fatih Room, 9th Floor Main Hilton Building
# Sunday - Conference Programme 19 March 2017

## Conference Registration - 08:30 - 09:30

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<th>Opening Ceremony</th>
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<tr>
<td>Galip Dalay, Research Director, Al Sharq Forum</td>
<td>Convention Center Lower Floor Room 1</td>
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<td>Na'eem Jeenah, Executive Director, Afro-Middle East Centre</td>
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## Plenary 1 – Session 1
The collapsing regional order and the need for a new security architecture for the MENA region

**Moderator:**
Galip Dalay, Research Director, Al Sharq Forum

**Speakers:**
- Wadah Khanfar, President of Al Sharq Forum
- Seyed Mohammad Kazem Sajjadpour, Deputy Foreign Minister, in charge of Research and Education, Iran
- Taha Ozhan, Member of Turkish Parliament and chairman of Foreign Affairs Commission
- Falah Mustafa Bakir, Head of the Department of Foreign Relations for the Kurdistan Regional Government.
- Paolo Magri, Executive Vice President and Director of the Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI)
- Richard Atwood, Director of the New York office of International Crisis Group

## Coffee Break - 11:45 - 12:00

## Parallel Session 1
Determining the actors of the new security architecture

**Moderator:**
David Jalilvand, Researcher, the Middle East and North Africa Department of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Berlin

**Speakers:**
- Walter Posch, Institute for Peace Support and Conflict Management, National Defence Academy, Vienna
- Ranj Alaaldin, Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Doha Center
- Mohammad Marandi, Professor of English Literature and Orientalism at the University of Tehran
- Ammar Kahf, Co-Founder and Executive Director of Omran for Strategic Studies
- Haldun Yalcinkaya, TOBB University
- Resul Serdar Atas, Program Director, TRT World

## 12:00 - 13:30
Convention Center Lower Floor Room 1
## Parallel Session 2

**The role of regional and international multilateral organizations in the new security architecture**

**Moderator:**
David Hearst, Editor-in-Chief of the Middle East Eye

**Speakers:**
- **John Bell**, Director of the Middle East & Mediterranean Programme at the Toledo International Centre for Peace
- **Soli Ozel**, Kadir Has University
- **Jamal Abdullah**, Academic Visitor at the Middle East Centre, Oxford University
- **Mohammad Dangor**, Advisor to South Africa's Minister of International Relations & Former South African Ambassador to the State of Libya, The Republic of Syria and The Republic of Lebanon
- **Yury Barmin**, Fellow with RIAC, Moscow
- **Patrick Milton**, Postdoctoral Fellow at Freie Universität Berlin

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<td>12:00 - 13:30</td>
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<td>Lunch</td>
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## Parallel Session 3

**The changing nature of conflicts in the region**

**Moderator:**
Imran Garda, TRT World

**Speakers:**
- **Fatma Ceren Yazgan**, Deputy Director General for Security and Intelligence at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- **Omar Ashour**, Senior Lecturer in Security-Military Studies and Middle East Politics at the University of Exeter
- **Adnan Tabatabai**, Co-founder and CEO of the Germany-based think tank CARPO - Center for Applied Research in Partnership with the Orient.
- **Ezzeddine Abdelmoula**, Manager of Research at Al Jazeera Centre for Studies
- **Saban Kardas**, President of ORSAM

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<td>15:00 - 16:30</td>
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<td>Parallel Session 4</td>
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<td>Human rights and the new security architecture</td>
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<td>Zeynep Coskun Koc, Research Fellow at Al Sharq Forum</td>
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<td><strong>Speakers:</strong></td>
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<td>Amr Darrag, Chairman of “The Egyptian Institute for Political and Strategic Studies&quot;</td>
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<td>Yaser Tabbara, Senior Researcher at OMRAN</td>
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<td>Monica Marks, Visiting Fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations</td>
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<td>Fuat Keyman, Director of Istanbul Policy Center and Professor at Sabanci University</td>
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<td>Sami Atroushi, Researcher at University of Duhok</td>
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<td>Yilmaz Ensaroglu, Chief Advisor to the Turkish Prime Ministry</td>
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<td>Coffee Break - 16:30 - 16:45</td>
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<td>Final Session – Plenary Session 2</td>
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<td>Mapping the new security architecture: the road ahead</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kayhan Bazergar, Director of the Institute for Middle East Strategic Studies in Tehran, Iran</td>
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<td>Nihat Ali Özcan, TEPAV</td>
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<td>Said Ferjani, Advisor to the head of the Ennahdha Central Committee</td>
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<td>Tarik M. Yousef, Director of Brookings Institution, Doha, &amp; Senior Fellow in the Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institution</td>
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<td>Vasily Kuznetsov, Head of the Center for Arab and Islamic Studies at the Oriental Institute, Moscow</td>
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<td>Ibrahim Turhan, Member of Turkish Parliament &amp; Former Chairman and CEO of the Istanbul Stock Exchange</td>
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18 March 2017

*Some key questions included below*

**Round Table 1: The Role of Regional Powers, Institutions and Actors in the New Security Architecture for the MENA**

**A) Defining the Context: The New Security Architecture**

1- What should be the basic characteristics of a new security architecture?
2- What will be the main challenges that regional actors will need to overcome in establishing a new security architecture?
3- How can regional actors find common ground for establishing a new security architecture?
4- How sustainable can a new security architecture be?

**B) Regional Powers and Actors**

1- How desirable is a single security organization for the MENA region?
2- Which countries and/or actors of the region are the best candidates to form a nucleus of such a structure?
3- What are the immediate steps that needs to be taken in the diplomatic and bureaucratic spheres for the foundation of such an organization?
4- What are the other key areas of cooperation apart from security cooperation under the proposed new structure?
5- How can ideological, sectarian and ethnic divides etc. be controlled and managed under the new organization?
6- How should question of minorities and majorities be settled under the new security organization?
7- How can the new structure prevent state terrorism, war crimes and human rights abuses?

**C) Non-State Armed Groups & Proxy Wars**

1- How should the presence of non-state militia actors in the region be addressed?
2- What are the problems associated with efforts to legalize militia groups?
3- What should be the balance between the integration and elimination of militias and other non-state actors in the new security architecture?
4- How should the new structure address the question of identity-based militia groups?
5- Can the use of non-state actors as foreign policy tools and agents of proxy wars be controlled and curbed in the new security structure?

D) The Arms Race and Defense Industries
1- What are the strengths and weaknesses of the defense industries of the region?
2- What changes have been seen in the characteristics of regional arms procurement?
3- What importance do missile defense systems hold in the regional defense system under the new security architecture?
4- How sustainable is preserving security with conventional arms transfers?
5- What is the nature and scope of the relationship between arms suppliers and recipients in the region?
6- What do the intercontinental defense systems (e.g., NATO missile defense) mean for regional defense in the new security architecture?
7- What are the impacts of the international dependency on the defense industries of the region? How can a new architecture empower a regional defense industry tailored for regional peace and security?

1- What are the changing characteristics of war? (e.g. asymmetric and urban warfare)
2- What ethical qualms do states and non-state actors face in the region? (e.g. the use of chemical agents, forceful displacement policies, other war crimes)
3- What is the impact of the use of unmanned devices (e.g. UAVs and drones) on the region?
4- How can the new security structure create surveillance satellite cooperation for regional security?
5- What is the role of social media in terrorist recruitment and the dissemination of the fear caused by terror? What are the ways to prevent this from happening?

F) Regional Institutions
1- What can regional multilateral organizations (the Arab League, the OIC, the Maghreb Union, and the GCC etc.) offer the new security structure?
2- What institutions can bring ethics, morality and human rights into the founding of the new security structure?

G) Regional Security Forum
1- What should a “Regional Security Forum” for regular high-level meetings look like?
2- What level of participation from regional powers, institutions and actors is necessary? What subject should be on the agenda? Which topics should be discussed first in order to kick start regional security cooperation? At what stage should common military action and peacekeeping forces come into play?
Round Table 2: The Role of International Powers and Institutions in the New Security Structure

A) Defining the Context: The New Security Architecture
1- What should be the basic characteristics of a new security architecture?
2- What will be the main challenges that regional actors will need to overcome in establishing a new security architecture?
3- How can regional actors find common ground for establishing a new security architecture?
4- How sustainable can a new security architecture be?

B) The Role of International Powers
1- What is the current role/status of the military presence of non-regional actors (the U.S., Russia, China etc.) in the region?
2- What role does the U.S. have in developing regional security frameworks and establishing a new security architecture?
3- What does the re-emergence of the Russian presence in the region signify and what does it mean for the new security architecture?
4- What is/will be the role of new international powers like China in the new security architecture? Can their lack of old friends or foes in the region be a fresh opportunity for the region?
5- Does the presence of external militaries have a destructive or constructive role?
6- How can this new security framework provide a platform for communication between international powers and create coordination with regional actors?
7- How can a new security architecture create control mechanisms for direct military involvement in the region?
8- What should be the role of international powers in the counter-terrorism efforts?
C) The Role of International Institutions
1- Can NATO or OSCE contribute to a framework for regional security cooperation?
2- Is it viable to connect an economic framework with security like the OSCE and the EU?
3- Can the ECHR, the ICC, the ICJ and human rights conventions (e.g. the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Geneva War Convention) provide a legal framework for human rights enforcement and criminalization? If so, in what ways they can help and cooperate with the new structure?
4- How can UN-related bodies and other multilateral institutions work towards the non-proliferation of weapons of mass-destruction (WMDs: nuclear, chemical and biological weapons) in the region?
5- How can the new structure work with the UN in terms of peacekeeping and peace-building missions in the region?

D) The Arms Race and Defense Industries
1- How do arms transfers to the region affect the nature of conflicts in MENA?
2- How does the selective arms trade (which aims to give military edge to certain countries over others) affect security dynamics in the region?
3- Is it possible to regulate the arms trade and arms transfers in the region under a new security structure? What would be necessary preconditions for this?
4- What is the role of foreign military aid (e.g. U.S. military aid to Israel and Egypt or Russian military aid to Syria) in influencing current military/security dynamics and conflicts in the region?
5- What is the role of foreign actors in nuclear and chemical weapon proliferation in the region?
E) The Changing Nature of Conflict under the New Security Structure

1- What are the spillover effects of ongoing conflicts for international powers? (e.g. radicalization, militarization, etc.)
2- What are the moral responsibilities of the international powers for incidents occurring in the region? (e.g. the use of chemical agents, forceful displacement policies, or other war crimes)
3- Who are the major suppliers of high-tech weaponry in the region? How should this be reduced or better handled?
4- What are the role of international institutions in preventing the illicit arms trade?

F) Regional Security Forum

1- What should a “Regional Security Forum” for regular high-level meetings look like?
2- What level of participation from international powers and institutions is necessary? What subject should be on the agenda? Which topic should be initial subjects to start regional security cooperation? In what stages common military action and peacekeeping forces can come into play?
Plenary 1 – Session 1
The collapsing regional order and the need for a new security architecture for the MENA region
- The failed state phenomenon, terrorism and the emergence of militia forces as the new security and military apparatus in the region
- Dictatorship vs. democracy: Are the long-standing crises in the region creating the backing for autocratic regimes?
- The role of foreign interventions and foreign involvement in the collapsing security order in the region: direct military operations and indirect involvement (e.g. political, financial and military aid)
- What is the role of military alliances and aid in fueling current military conflicts and security dilemmas in the region?
- What should be the pillars of the new security architecture?: Economic, military and/or political cooperation?

Parallel Session 1
Determining the actors of the new security architecture
- Who are the legitimate state actors?: Questions of the legitimate use of force and state terrorism in defining actors within the new security architecture
- Defining legitimate non-state actors:
  a) The problems associated with the legalization of non-state militia groups
  b) The unlawful characteristics of militias as barriers for legitimization: terrorist acts committed by militia groups across the region
  c) What should be the balance between the integration and elimination of militia groups vis a vis the new security architecture?
- Defining stateless actors: long-term stateless actors as governing bodies.
Parallel Session 2
The role of regional and international multilateral organizations in the new security architecture

■ What can the Arab League, the OIC, the Maghreb Union, the GCC and the African Union offer to new security architecture in the region?
■ What can the UN and other related bodies offer to new security architecture?
■ Can NATO, OSCE or the EU provide frameworks for the new architecture?
■ Can multilateral organizations help prevent the use of armed groups as proxy war and foreign policy tools in the region?

Parallel Session 3
The changing nature of conflicts in the region

■ What are the changing characteristics of war and militarization in the region:
  - The impact of the demand for a particular type of military equipment and training due to the increasing threat of civil wars, coups and internal conflicts
  - Porous borders and cross-border military entities
  - Energy resources as war targets and sources of war funding
■ Nuclear military capacity in the region: how to ensure nuclear non-proliferation within the new security architecture
■ How illicit arms trade interests in the region affect current crises and how to bring rules and standards to the arms trade in the region
■ The role of social media in recruitment for terrorism and disseminating the fear of terrorism
■ The impact of the use of unmanned devices (drones, UAVs, etc.) in the region
Parallel Session 4
Human rights and the new security architecture

- The tragedy of chemical warfare: preventing the use of chemical weapons in regional conflicts
- How can we integrate human rights into the new security structure?: (The role of international conventions and the need for drafting regional conventions)
- What can be the mechanisms to enforce human rights in the new security architecture?
- How to determine the moral and ethical pillars of the new security architecture in the region?
- Where is the line between lawful surveillance and the invasion of the right to privacy?

Final Session – Plenary Session 2
Mapping the new security architecture: the road ahead

- Which states, actors and organizations should/could be at the nucleus of the new architecture?
- How essential are economic and political cooperation as complementary efforts towards the new security architecture?
- What role can international powers take in the new architecture?
- What are the ways to end the sectarian divide under this new security framework?
- How can we prevent the use of non-state actors as proxy war and foreign policy tools?
- How can we create effective counter-terrorism efforts within the new security architecture?: Consolidating counter-terrorism efforts under regional leadership
Featured Past Al Sharq Events

U.S.-Turkey Relations: Beyond Suspicion?

15 February 2017 - Washington D.C., The United States

Event Description
This conference which was organised by the German Marschall Fund of the United States (GMF) and the Al Sharq Forum partnership brought senior figures of policy-making and international decision-making organisations together with journalists and experts to discuss the latest state of affairs in US-Turkey relations. In the conference that was held in the GMF headquarters in Washington DC, distinguished speakers discussed the challenges that bilateral relations confronted and the responses that will likely take place on the road ahead of two countries together with the possible ways of cooperation in the turbulent MENA region suffering from the long-standing crises.
Europe and its Neighbourhood – Conflict Prevention and Crisis Management in the 21st Century

14 November 2016 - London, UK

Event Description
The second annual conference on Europe’s Changing Neighbourhood was organised in partnership with Chatham House and International Crisis Group. Speakers from international and regional decision-making organizations together with journalists and experts, touched upon the issues such as the challenges that Europe is facing today after the rising humanitarian burden of the Syrian Crisis, the surge of violent extremism and rising populism within the continent. They also discussed other emerging global and regional fault lines including the role that the UN’s new Secretary-General has to play in solving conflicts in MENA, rise of Russian influence over the continent’s neighborhood and the turbulence of Turkey-EU relations centering the implications of refugee crisis and the failed coup attempt on July 15.
Envisioning a Post-Crisis Regional Order in the Sharq Region

8-9 October 2016 – Istanbul

Event Description
Bringing together more than 400 participants, over 60 experts, academics, policy-makers, current and former officials, as well as journalists, the conference hosted discussions covering issues on an extensive scale. Speakers and attendees tried to find exit ways to break the vicious circle of regional crisis to reach to a post-crisis phase. The crisis of the modern state in the Middle East originating from the post-World War I authoritarian rules in the region, the phenomenon of failed states, the competing visions of Pan Arabism, Pan Islamism, national identities, sectarian agendas and questions of minorities and majorities in the region were discussed. The role of regional powers and institutions along with global powers and organizations in reshaping the MENA, the need for addressing the socio-economic discontentment in the region was also debated while new visions for the future of the region were sought in discussion to build an efficient regional order, capable of achieving political stability, economic integration and regional cooperation.
**Event Description**

A century ago, a secret agreement between France and Britain carved the Middle East into spheres of influence supervised by the two superpowers. The Sykes-Picot agreement hastily divided the territory of the former Ottoman empire into a map that did not correspond to the ethnic, tribal or sectarian distinctions on the ground. The joint event organized by Al Sharq Forum and Foreign Affairs looked back at the legacy of the treaty that defined and divided the Middle East. The event will brought together experts from the public and private sectors to examine the profound consequences of Sykes-Picot today, as well as the contemporary policy recommendations to address its consequences.
Event Description
Al Sharq Forum in cooperation with The Afro-Middle East Centre (AMEC) are holding a conference in Istanbul – Turkey. The conference aimed at discussing the issue of Extremism in the MENA region and the dynamics as to how to approach and what are the future threats in this phenomenon. During the two-day events five panels were presented and experts and analysts from different area fields were presenting insight to the issue and formulating strategic approaches towards the extremism threat in the MENA region.

Panel 1: History and Context of IS
Panel 2: Ideological Foundations
Panel 3: (Re)Conceptualizing the Islamic State group
Panel 4: Governance and Membership and/in the ‘Islamic State’
Panel 5: Forecasting IS and Experiences in Countering Extremism
“What are the implications of regional developments and turmoil on the Palestinian issue?”

14 March 2016 – Genève, Switzerland

Event Description
The workshop was based upon the question of: “What are the implications of regional developments and turmoil on the Palestinian issue?”. During the conference three sessions were conducted and experts from different regions discussed the Palestinian issue. Different aspects of the Palestinian question were put forward and the challenges and threats and the future of the region were examined as well.
Turkey, Kurds and a new Region

15 May 2015 – Rome

Event Description

In the Middle East, the territorial integrity and indeed the very existence of nation states like Syria and Iraq are called into question. The region witnesses the rise of powerful non-state actors, radical groups like the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) on the one hand side and different fractions of the Kurdish national movement on the other. Turkey, for its part, is key to the future development of Kurdish movements in the region, both due to the government’s negotiations with the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) and due to Ankara’s close relationship with the Kurdish Regional Government (KRG) in Iraq. To discuss Turkey’s policy towards the Kurds and the region and to assess the future dynamics of Kurdish movements in Turkey, Iraq and Syria, the Istituto Affari Internazionali and the Al-Sharq Forum jointly organized a conference in Rome on 15 May 2015, with the support of Stiftung Mercator and the Istanbul Policy Center in the context of the Global Turkey in Europe project.
Notes
Speakers & Moderators

#SharqEvents
Wadah Khanfar

Wadah Khanfar is the President of the Al Sharq Forum and former Director-General of the Al Jazeera Network. He is a board member of the International Crisis Group and Global Editors Network (GEN). Khanfar has been named as one of Foreign Policy’s as well as one of Fast 2011 global thinkers of 100 Top Company’s ‘Most Creative People in Business’ of the year.

Richard Atwood

Richard Atwood is the director for the New York based International Crisis Group, a non-governmental conflict prevention organisation. He advises Crisis Group’s president on policy in Africa and the Middle East; represents the organisation at the United Nations; and leads its cross-cutting work on al-Qaida and ISIS. Before Crisis Group, he worked across the Middle East, Africa and South Asia for about fifteen years under different local and international organizations.

Frederic Wehrey

Frederic Wehrey is a senior fellow in the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He specializes in security affairs, civil-military relations, and identity politics, with a focus on North Africa and the Gulf. He holds a doctorate in International Relations from Oxford University. He studied Arabic at Cairo University, the University of Jordan, and the Yemen Language Center in Sana’a.
Fatma Ceren Yazgan

Fatma Ceren Yazgan, currently holds the position of Deputy Director for Security and Intelligence Affairs in Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey. She worked at bilateral political desks (EFTA countries; Americas) and Directorate for Security and Intelligence. She has BA in Political Science and International Relations from Boğaziçi University, Turkey, and Mlitt. in Terrorism Studies from University of St. Andrews, Scotland.

Amr Darrag

Amr Darrag is currently Chairman of “The Egyptian Institute for Political and Strategic Studies” a think tank based in Istanbul, Turkey. He also served as Egypt’s Minister of Planning and International Cooperation during Mohammed Morsi’s presidency before the military coup in 2013. He was originally a Civil Engineering Professor at Cairo University and he got his Ph.D. from Purdue University, USA in 1987.

Galip Dalay

Galip Dalay is the Research Director at the Al Sharq Forum and the senior associate fellow on Turkey and Kurdish Affairs at the Al Jazeera Center for Studies. He previously worked as a visiting fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin and as a political researcher at SETA Foundation in Ankara.
Paolo Magri

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