

Bulletin

Centre for Arab & Islamic Studies (The Middle East & Central Asia)

CAIS ADVISORY BOARD MEETING 2018



Prof. James Piscatori, Prof. Catherine Waldby; Prof. Brian Schmidt, Prof. The Hon. Gareth Evans, Mr Tom Harley, Prof. Geoffrey Wiseman, and Prof. Amin Saikal.

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* The views expressed in articles are those of the authors, not necesarily those of CAIS

The CAIS Advisory Board, under the chairmanship of the ANU Vice-Chancellor Professor Brian Schmidt, and in the presence of the ANU Chancellor, Professor the Honourable Gareth Evans, had its annual meeting on 27 November 2018. Other attendees were: Professor Catherine Waldby; Professor Geoffrey Wiseman (representing the Dean of CAP, Professor Michael Wesley); A/Professor Royston Gustavson (representing the Dean of CASS, Professor Raelene Frances); Mr Tom Harley (Dragoman Pty Ltd); Professor James Piscatori; and Professor Amin Saikal.

After the CAIS Director presented his report, the Board reviewed the Centre's research, teaching, public policy and outreach activities, and accepted the 2017 Annual Report. In highlighting the Centre's research and outreach strengths, the Board acknowledged the Centre's extensive program of training courses to public service departments, including the Attorney General's Department, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Department of Prime Minster and Cabinet, and the strong cohort of research scholars.

The VC proposed the establishment of a CAIS Friendship Group, supported by the Board, to be established in the coming months. It also discussed avenues for future development, including online language programs, international research, potential leadership succession over the next few years, and matters of academic freedom. The Board discussed the possibility of micro-crediting courses; the VC agreed to look at this issue especially in relation to the Persian Language. Further, the CAIS Director identified the shortage of physical space in the Centre's building as an important issue, and circulated the plans for an extension for consideration. The Board will reconvene in 2019.



Prof. Saikal with Dr Ismail and CAIS A/Lecturer Stephanie Wright

CAIS staff and guests celebrated the end of the year with a lunch in the courtyard. Prof. Saikal thanked all CAIS and university staff for their work throughout the year. At the same time, he congratulated Dr Raihan Ismail on her recent achievements.

NEWS AND EVENTS

GRANTS

Dr Raihan Ismail has been successful in her bid for a Discovery Early Career Researcher Award (DECRA) Grant. All CAIS staff offer their congratulations to Raihan on her outstanding achievement. CAIS Director, Prof. Amin Saikal made the announcement by saying, 'Warmest congratulations to Raihan for her DECRA. It is a great achievement on the top of her recent award from the Academy of Humanities in Australia. It is wonderful and gratifying to see her accomplishing so much during so little time since her appointment to an A/ lectureship only five years ago. The Centre, College and University should be very proud of her.'

Dr Ismail's project aims to provide a comprehensive examination of the transnational networks of the ultra-orthodox Salafi Sunni Muslim clerics.

AWARDS

Dr Zahra Taheri has been nominated for a 2019 Vice-Chancellor's Award for Teaching Excellence.

APPOINTMENTS

Janja Peric, CAIS Senior Centre Administrator and HDR Student Co-ordinator, has accepted a continuing position.

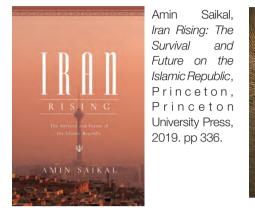
PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL

Prof. Saikal was on OSP from August to January 2019. He was a Visiting Professor at the Royal Danish Defence College in Copenhagen from 3 September to 10 October 2018.

Dr Zahra Taheri spent five weeks at the Ca' Foscari University of Venice. Dr Taheri's residency was funded with a grant for staff mobility for teaching and training in the framework of the 'Erasmus + International Credit Mobility' founded by the European Commission (EACEA), for the summer of 2018. The training included six research discussion meetings with scholars in Ca' Foscari's Persian Studies Program. As well as meetings with undergraduate and postgraduate students, Dr Taheri also taught weekly seminars on 'Gender and Culture in Iran during the last four decades'.

France Meyer and Dr Huda Al-Tamimi have been granted OSP leave for Semester 1 and Semester 2, 2019, respectively.

BOOKS PUBLISHED





Emerging Scholarship on the Middle East and Central Asia: Moving from the Periphery, Katlyn Quenzer; Maria Syed and Elisabeth Yarbakhsh (Eds), Lanham, Maryland: Rowman 8 Littlefield, 2018.

CONFERENCES

'After the rule: A symposium on alternative traditions of law, norms and rules', CAIS and The ANU Centre for Law, Arts and Humanities, 21 September 2018.

'Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East', 22-23 November 2018.

LECTURES AND SEMINARS

'Islamic law and philosophy and their importance for contemporary research in Islamic Studies', Professor Ahmad Atif Ahmad, Professor of Religious Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, 20 September 2018.

'Becoming Arab: Creole Histories and Modern Identity in the Malay World', A/ Professor Sumit Mandal, University of Nottingham, Malaysia, 10 October 2018.

MAJLIS SEMINARS

'Turkey after the 2018 elections', Dr M. Murat Yurtbilir, CAIS, 6 July 2018.

'Red Lights on the Black Sea: The Traffic in Women between Russian and Ottoman Empires', Dr Philippa Hetherington, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, 20 July 2018.

'The Stateless Bedoun in Arab Gulf Society: the case of Kuwait', Dr Susan Kennedy Nour al Deen, Deakin University, 3 August 2018.

'Syrians displaced in Jordan: humanitarian needs and responses', Natalya Wells, The International Committee of the Red Cross, 17 August 2018. 'Transition and Geopolitics in Afghanistan', Dr Nematullah Bizhan, Senior Research Associate at the Blavatnik School of Government, Oxford University, 12 October 2018.

'Some Patterns of Shia Muslim Tithe (Khums) in Iran and Australia', Sam Blanch, 30 November 2018.

'Yemen: Current and Future Challenges', Dr Tristan Dunning, University of Queensland, 14 December 2018.

POSTGRADUATE SEMINARS

'Re-conceptualising Comparative Advantage and Food Sovereignty: An Unconventional Approach towards Global Food Security', Abdulnasser Alshaali, 19 October 2018.

'Constructing the Soviet past and Nation-Building in Kazakhstan', Berikbol Dukeyev, 26 October 2018.

'Islamic Militancy in Central Asia: The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan as a Local and Global Social Movement', Azima Akhmatova, 18 December 2018.

CAIS EVENTS

Online Information Session/Webinar, CASS, 12 September 2018.

Careers night, CAIS, 26 September 2018.

Honours and Masters Advanced Research Programs Advisory Session, CAIS, 9 October 2018.

Languages end-of-year lunch, 9 November 2018.

RAIHAN ISMAIL RECEIVES AWARD & HONOURS

Dr Raihan Ismail was awarded the Max Crawford Medal for 2018 by the Australian Academy of Humanities (AAH). The award is Australia's most prestigious award for early-career researchers in the humanities. The Medal was established through a bequest made to the Academy by the late Professor R. M. Crawford, and is awarded to an Australia-based, early-career scholar whose research and publications make an exceptional contribution to the understanding of the humanities by the public. Dr Ismail was a joint recipient of the medal - receiving it with Dr Ana Tanasoca of the University of Canberra.

At the time, CAIS Director, Professor Amin Saikal, remarked: 'This award is more than well-deserved. Dr Ismail has received this recognition as a very high achiever in research, teaching and outreach. This is the first time since 1997 that an ANU academic has been awarded this prestigious medal. Our warmest congratulations to her.'

Dr Ismail was appointed to CAIS in 2014. Her research interests include Islamic theology and Arab culture, Sunni-Shia relations, women in Islam, Political Islam, and Middle East politics. She has co-convened the

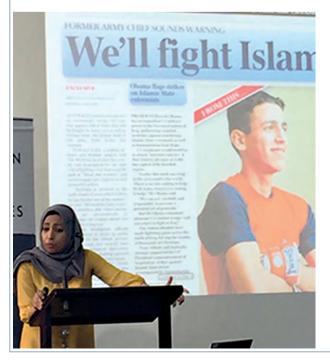


Academy President Prof. Joy Damousi presented the co-recipients of the 2018 Max Crawford Medal Dr Raihan Ismail and Dr Ana Tanasoca with their medals and certificates.

Political Islam seminar series since 2015 for various government departments and agencies, including the Attorney General's Department and the Department of Defence. Dr Ismail is also a regular commentator in Australian and international media on Islam and Middle East culture and politics including appearing as a panellist on the ABC Q&A program in 2016. She is the author of *Saudi Clerics and Shia Islam*, published by Oxford University Press in 2016 and is currently working on a book project on the transnational networks of Salafi Clerics in Egypt, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

In announcing the award the AHA noted: 'this year's recipients are both scholars whose cross-disciplinary approach to their research has resulted in work of distinct originality and excellence, and whose projects are notable for their public accessibility and national significance'.

Dr Ismail was also invited by the AAH to deliver the 8th Hancock Lecture on 16 November at State Library of NSW. The Hancock



Lecture series invites young Australian scholars of excellence to talk about their work with a broader audience. The lecture series is made possible through a bequest from the estate of Sir (William) Keith Hancock. The public lecture was part of the 49th Symposium of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. The Symposium was entitled: 'Clash of Civilisations? Where are we now?'.

Dr Ismail spoke on the topic 'Hybrid Civilisations or Clash of Civilisations?: Re-visiting the Muslim Other' (pictured left). She opened her lecture by noting the clash of civilisations thesis, introduced by Samuel Huntington in the early 1990s, is still debated, and at times propagated, by analysts and policy-makers. Islam has been at the forefront of the debate throughout the entirety of this period and especially following the September 11 attacks. The rise of ISIS gave the thesis even more space in an increasingly divisive political climate.

Dr Ismail argued the clash-of-civilisations thesis undermines multiculturalism and the social fabric of modern societies. It espouses divisions, ignoring the hybrid nature of civilisations and how different civilisations learn and absorb from each other. Those who promote the thesis and the collective superiority of western civilisation strip humanity from the so-called separate, violent and inferior other. Her lecture attempted to deconstruct the clash of civilisations thesis by analysing Islam and the West in a fragmented and polarised environment.

AUSTRALIA IRAN DIALOGUE 2018



Back row: Mr Tom Harley, HE Mr Abdolhossein Vahaji, Prof. The Hon. Gareth Evans, HE Dr Mohammad Kazem Sajjadpour, Prof. Amin Saikal, HE Mr Mohamad Farazmand, Prof. James Piscatori, Mr Saeid Khatibzadeh, Dr Mousalreza Vahidi; Front row: Ms Martine Letts, Ms Maria Vamvakinou, MP, A/Prof. Homeira Moshirzadeh.

The 2018-round of the Australia-Iran Dialogue, between The Australian National University (ANU) and the Institute for Political and International Studies (IPIS), was held on 8-9 July 2018 at ANU House in Melbourne. The ANU delegation was led by Prof. the Hon. Gareth Evans, ANU Chancellor and Australian Foreign Minister (1988 – 1996), and Prof. Amin Saikal, Director of CAIS, ANU. The Iranian delegation was led by HE Dr Mohammad Kazem Sajjadpour, President and Director of IPIS and Deputy Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Other members of the delegation consisted of The Honourable Ms Sussan Ley, MP, Member for Farrer; Ms Maria Vamvakinou, MP, Member for Calwell; Mr Tom Harley, Managing Director of Dragoman Pty Ltd; Ms Martine Letts, CEO for the Committee for Melbourne; Professor James Piscatori, Deputy Director CAIS, ANU; and Ms Rachel Larobina, secretary for

the Australian delegation. Other members of the Iranian delegation were HE Mr Mohamad Farazmand, former Iranian Ambassador to Bahrain and Director General on East Asia at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; HE Mr Abdolhossein Vahaji, Iranian Ambassador to Australia (2014-2018); Mr Saeid Khatibzadeh, Senior Advisor to the President of IPIS; Associate Professor Homeira Moshirzadeh, Department of International Relations, University of Tehran; and Dr Mousalreza Vahidi, Counsellor at the Iranian Ambassador in Australia (2014-2018).

The Dialogue was opened on 8 July with remarks by Professors Evans and Saikal and Dr Sajjadpour, and was followed by a dinner hosted by Professor Evans. On 9 July, formal discussions commenced and were arranged into four panels: 'International Developments', 'Indo-Pacific and Middle East Relations', 'Political and Economic Cooperation' and 'Cultural and Educational Ties'. Delegates gained a greater understanding of Iran's role as a pivotal actor in the highly complex regional and international settings. The talks raised a number of recommendations, relating specifically to education, tourism and cultural matters, and will be assessed through 2019. Both sides agreed to continue the Dialogue as a valuable means to foster mutual understanding on various issues, and to enhance wider educational, cultural and social relations between the two parties.

The ANU delegation expresses thanks to HE Mr Ian Biggs, Australian Ambassador to Iran, as well as Dr Vahidi and Mr Jieh-Yung Lo, Executive Officer to Professor Evans, for their assistance throughout the event. It was decided that the next round of the Dialogue would be in Tehran, in late-2019, and would have a specific focus on global and bilateral matters.

PERSIAN SHORT COURSES

CAIS has offered two rounds of the Persian Short course this year. Elementary Persian I, taught by Dr Negar Davari Ardakani, was offered in Summer and Winter sessions.

The Elementary Persian course aims at developing students' abilities to read and write Modern Standard Persian and acquire basic oral skills to interact in limited aspects of everyday life situations. Emphasis is on mastering the Persian alphabet, its sound system and its pronunciation. The course covers the Persian script and basic grammar rules. It is designed to develop the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. On completion of the course students acquire the ability to read and understand a range of simple Persian sentences



Dr Negar Davari Ardakani (pictured Left) with students from the Persian Winter short course

within a vocabulary range of 100-150 of the most commonly used words; the ability to speak at a basic level in Persian and elementary knowledge of some cultural practices and traditions. Dr Davari hopes to run a Persian Elementary II course in 2019.

PM PLAYS WITH MIDDLE EAST FIRE

by Amin Saikal

Prime Minister Scott Morrison is considerina shiftina the Australian embassv from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and backing away from supporting the multilateral nuclear agreement with Iran. A decision to the effect would constitute a major shift in Australia's Middle East policy, with wider implications.

The former prime minister Malcolm Turnbull pursued a strong pro-Israeli policy attitude, but his nuanced and internationally savvy Minister

for Foreign Affairs Julie Bishop found it was not in Australia's interest to follow US President Donald Trump in recognising Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

Similarly, while Turnbull may have had misgivings about the Iranian regime's theocratic dispositions and expanding regional influence, Bishop was willing to give Tehran the benefit of the doubt. She stood fast in maintaining Australia's diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level with Iran which have been uninterrupted since the Iranian revolution of 1978/79 that toppled the Shah's pro-Western monarchy.

Following the July 2015 signing of the multilateral nuclear agreement (known as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action). which curbed Iranian nuclear ambitions for military purposes in return for the lifting of US and US-led sanctions. Bishop visited Tehran. She was the first Australian foreign minister and for that matter one of the few high ranking Western politicians to do so. She regarded political engagement rather than confrontation as a more appropriate means of dealing with Iran, as did President Barack Obama's administration.

If Prime Minister Morrison departs from Australia's stance on these issues, it would be a mistake. A policy change might be attractive for ideological and electoral reasons, especially in the light of the Wentworth by-election, given the strong cohort of Jewish voters in the electorate, but it will do nothing to advance the cause of a peaceful settlement of the long-running Israeli-Palestinian conflict or stability in the Middle Fast

A policy reversal could bring several short-term and long-term consequences. First of all, it would align Australia's Middle East policy with that of President Trump. It is now clear that President Trump is doing everything possible to destroy or reshape the international order into his own image. This has been evident in a series of his policy actions, of which two are relevant.

One is lending unprecedented US support for Israel under Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who has shown a steely determination not to end Israel's occupation of the Palestinian lands on the basis of the principle of 'land for peace', which underlined the internationally backed Oslo peace process and its successor 'two-state solution'.

Another is Trump's withdrawal from The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) to punish Iran as the source of allegedly all 'evils' in the Middle East. He has vowed to strangle Iran economically, despite Tehran having fully abided by the terms of the agreement and all other signatories to the deal (Britain, France, Germany. Russia and China) as well as the International Atomic Energy Agency having backed Tehran. For the first time in years, it is now the United States and Israel rather than Iran that are more isolated in the international community.

In the face of this, Australia has always argued for a rules-based international system, global stability and security. Regarding the Middle East, in spite of its increasingly pro-Israeli stance at the cost of overlooking the plight of the Palestinian people under occupation, Australia

under international law and emboldening the extremists from both sides of the conflict to do more harm to one another. It would also play into the hands of radical violent groups such as Islamic State and al-Qaeda and undermine Australia's fight against terrorism

In the same vein, an Australian dissension from JCPOA would tarnish Australia's reputation state promoting as а multilateralism as a viable foundation for a stable global setting. It would not only destroy Australia's policy of constructive engagement with Iran, but also isolate Australia from its main European democratic counterparts, which have vowed to maintain the JCPOA as necessary to preventing Iran from moving down the path of a military nuclear program and to diminishing international security concerns.

Let us not forget that today the Palestinian cause and JCPOA have a majority public support worldwide. A decision on the part of the Morrison government to punch more holes in Australia's Middle East policy for domestic political gains is unlikely to serve Australia's national interests. It would be well advised to engage in the kind of policy actions that could contribute to stabilising the Middle East and enhancing the reputation of Australia as a constructive middle power in world affairs.

This article was first published in The Sydney Morning Herald. Professor Amin Saikal is author of the forthcoming book 'Iran Rising: The Survival and Future of the Islamic Republic'.

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCOPA) on 14 July 2015 in Vienna



has formally stood for а resolution of the Palestinian issue based on a negotiated settlement that could usher in an independent and secure Palestinian state along the 1967 borders with Israel, with East Jerusalem as its capital.

If Australia moved away

from this position, it

would be enforcing the illegal Israeli occupation

5

REGIONAL ENERGY INTEGRATION IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE 'PEACE DIVIDEND': ARE THE LIGHTS BACK ON?

Almost a decade ago, I and my colleagues Gregory Gleason and Yuri Bosin published an analysis of the potential contribution of regional energy networks to the reconstruction of war-torn Afghanistan.¹ The premise of our argument was that if the political situation were stabilised in the country to the point where energy infrastructure could not be easilv compromised by acts of terrorism, the potential was in place for the construction of a massive regional energy network. This complex web of power lines and pipelines could dramatically spur economic development across the entire breadth of Central and South Asia. Indeed, the US Department of State in the mid-2000s was promoting the so-called REMAP project as a matter of official policy. REMAP was designed to comprehensively integrate the energy networks across Central and South Asia. Eventually some elements of the program appeared in the form of the CASA-1000 transmission line and other smaller scale projects.

The basis of the REMAP program lay in the complementary energy regimes found in Central and South Asia. Both Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan hold enormous capacity for hydroelectric power generation. A series of hydroelectric dams on the upper reaches of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya's drainage basins, supplemented by coal-generated electricity at Ekibastuz in Kazakhstan could produce a large surplus of electricity that might then be transmitted southward to burgeoning markets in South Asia, especially during the summer months, when demand drops in Central Asia (CA) but rises in South Asia. Not only would South Asia receive badly-needed energy, but the former Soviet states and Afghanistan in CA would earn revenue from both the sale of the power as well as, in the case of Afghanistan, transit fees. Of course, although electrical demand in Afghanistan is relatively low, a portion of the power would flow into the Afghan grid as well, helping both reconstruction efforts and standards of living. Most importantly, linking the entire region into a unified energy market, including the nuclear-armed adversaries of Pakistan and India, would deliver a 'peace dividend' by reducing the chance of participant countries to engage in conflict, a hypothetical twist on Cobdenism and Friedman's 'Golden Arches' peace theory.

by Reuel R. Hanks

The development of energy infrastructure was prioritised by the Bush administration, but the policy ossified during the Obama presidency, due to a general diminution of enthusiasm in Washington for involvement in the region in both the military and economic spheres. Two seemingly insurmountable hurdles emerged that threatened to derail a regional security strategy based on the harmonisation of energy regimes between Central and South Asia. The first was the continued volatile relations between CA's upstream (Taiikistan and Kyrgyzstan) and downstream (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan) states. The second obstacle was continued instability in Afghanistan, engendered by the failure of American and NATO policy to effectively eradicate the Taliban and affiliated groups, thereby stabilising the country.

The demise of Uzbekistan's long-serving dictator, Islom Karimov, may have upended the status quo regarding regional integration in the energy sector, and possibly more broadly. Karimov's successor. Shavkat Mirzoyayev, has reformulated the country's foreign relations since assuming the presidency in late 2016. First, he has repaired relations with both of his upstream neighbours, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Secondly, he has taken the unprecedented step of opening negotiations with the Taliban, a swing in policy unimaginable while Karimov held power. Both of these developments augur well for the resurrection of plans to integrate the power generation and distribution systems of the entire region.

For almost two decades the Karimov regime maintained an antagonistic relationship with both Bishkek and Dushanbe over plans each country had to develop its hydroelectric capacity by building dams in the drainage basins of the Amu Darva and Syr Darya rivers. The personal animus shared between Karimov and President Emomali Rahmon of Tajikistan was well known, but the most sensitive point in the foreign policy between the two states was Rahmon's unwavering commitment to construct the massive Rogun dam, a project the Karimov government viewed as an existential threat to Uzbekistan's economy. In an abrupt reversal of course, Mirzoyayev announced while on a visit to Tajikistan in March of this year that not only would Tashkent drop its opposition to the Rogun project, but that it was even willing to participate in the effort under the appropriate circumstances. Six months earlier in September of 2017, Mirzoyayev had made similar overtures while in Bishkek, suggesting that Uzbek investment might be available to assist Kyrgyzstan in completing stalled Kambarata-1 hydroelectric its project. Such pronouncements reflected a complete about-face from the position of his predecessor. Islom Karimov had once threatened to bomb hydroelectric projects in Kyrayzstan, and in 2012 had warned of possible armed conflict in CA over dam construction and the allocation of the region's water.

In addition to patching up relations with former Soviet republics in CA, Mirzoyayev has dramatically shifted the official stance toward the Taliban. In the mid-1990s the Taliban leadership had publicly laid claim to the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara, initiating two decades of hostility with Tashkent. It was widely known that Uzbekistan was providing assistance to the Northern Alliance in the late 1990s. and Tashkent made little secret that it viewed the Taliban as a serious security threat to the whole of CA. The Taliban's open support of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) in the early 2000s confirmed to the Karimov administration that the Taliban was the region's bete noire. Uzbekistan subsequently played a key role in the campaign against the Taliban and al-Qaida in Afghanistan by providing NATO access to a former Soviet military base located at Khanabad, near Termez. In October of 2001, the Taliban leadership declared a jihad against the Uzbek regime for its support of the US-led coalition in the aftermath of the terror attacks of September 11, 2001. For his part, Karimov continued to allow coalition forces to utilise the base at Khanabad until 2005, when the Taliban had been largely eliminated as a military threat to its neighbours.

Six months before his death Islom Karimov had publicly supported regional talks with the Taliban, but the Uzbek government had not offered to play any significant role in pursuing this venture, instead suggesting that Russia should take the lead. President Mirzoyayev has adopted a much stronger proactive strategy in contrast to his predecessor. In August 2018, the Uzbek government hosted representatives of the Taliban in Tashkent for negotiations that focused, among other things, on the security of power line and gas pipeline projects in Afghanistan. Uzbekistan is an important stakeholder in several bilateral development projects with Afghanistan, and has recently indicated a willingness to broaden its role, even offering to partner with the controversial TAPI gas pipeline that would carry gas from Turkmenistan to Pakistan and India.

Mirzoyayev's overtures hold more significance than simply improving his country's relations with long-standing adversaries and rivals. Because of its geographic position, large economy and population, and powerful regional military Uzbekistan is the keystone to any regional economic integration, both within CA and between that region and the markets lying to the south. Over the past year, Mirzoyayev has transformed CA's political and economic calculus by repositioning Uzbekistan as a regional leader. Unlike Islom Karimov, who sought the mantle of regional leadership via intimidation, paranoia and conflict with neighbouring states, President Mirzoyayev appears bent on building ties and exploiting the economic opportunities the region offers. This revamped approach may not only facilitate regional integration, it is vital if CA is indeed destined to sit astride new 'belts', 'roads' or other connective tissues between East and West.

For twenty-five years observers of CA have waited for a serious and comprehensive effort by the local leaders to address the myriad problems the region faces. While it would be premature and naive at this juncture to accept the fundamental changes in Uzbekistan's foreign policy under Mirzoyayev as heralding a new era of cooperation and integration, there are signs that the realisation of the 'peace dividend' could potentially be within reach. Of course, many substantial obstacles must yet be overcome. Beyond the Asian Development Bank and other lending agencies, can other sources of capital be secured to finance such a massive and risky venture as the wholesale energy integration of Central and South Asia? Can the Taliban be trusted to honour and comply with any agreements they enter into? Will other sources of instability in Afghanistan be contained? Sceptics will point out that these questions cannot be answered at present with any accuracy. This is fair criticism but it also bears pointing out that as recently as a vear ago, few would have even considered posing such questions. At the very least, Uzbekistan's new leader should be given credit for starting the discussion.

1. Gregory Gleason, Reuel R. Hanks, and Yuri Bosin. 'Afghanistan Reconstruction in Regional Perspective', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 28, No. 3, September 2009, pp. 375-387.

Reuel R. Hanks is Professor of Geography at Oklahoma State University



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OIL AND SOCIETAL QUIESCENCE: RETHINKING CAUSAL MECHANISMS IN RENTIER STATE THEORY

In 2011, as the Arab Spring spread across the Middle East, the absence of revolution in the Arab states of the Gulf was treated as vindication of the idea that an oil or gas-rich government could 'buy' political loyalty by transferring vast sums of (rent-derived) material wealth to citizens. Immortalized in rentier state theory (RST), this common wisdom has spread into public and media coverage of the region, spurring claims that in 2011 Saudi Arabia, "a fresh infusion of money has so far bought order".1 The 'cooptation mechanism' has thus become pervasive as an explanation for politics in petroleum-rich states, especially in the archetypal rentier states of the Gulf. Even academic research has occasionally relied on simplistic characterizations of the relationship between oil and societal quiescence - see Huntington's claim that "the lower the level of taxation, the less reason for the public to demand representation" when explaining the failure of democratization in oil states,² or Thomas Friedman's first law of petro-politics, by which "price of oil and the pace of freedom always move in opposite directions".3

In reality, as many have already noted, the link between rents, rent distributions, and cooptation is not nearly so settled.4 This relationship is an important one to get right: without connecting oil and societal quiescence, it is difficult to identify the impact of oil on democratization or civil conflict, both of normative as well as theoretical importance to academic researchers and policy-makers. That is, we must first understand how rents impact political mobilization (or lack thereof), before we can understand whether this will lead to violent conflict or regime change (and even then, as Michael Ross notes, regime change may not result in democratization).⁵ Further, given the often contradictory findings of research on rents and political outcomes, a reassessment of causal mechanisms is important; this is something that the related literature on natural resources and civil war is already doing.6

In part, as Michael Herb has previously argued, the ambiguous political outcomes of rentierism are due to complex causality, which in turn complicates the search for law-like relationships between rents and political outcomes.⁷ He calls for the study of contextualised causal mechanisms

by Jessie Moritz

through careful analysis of case studies. a suggestion reinforced here. However, even within case study research, political economy research in the archetypal rentier states of the Gulf has been heavily focused on top-down, state-centric processes of de-mobilization, pointing to the relative absence of street demonstrations or civil society associations as evidence of the state's success. RST is not alone in this regard: neo-patrimonialism and clientelism (often used alongside RST to characterize the Gulf political economy environment) offer compelling explanations for how the state coopts society, but struggle to account for the emergence of societal movements challenging state authority, especially among groups that the state has focused on coopting. That is, we have been focused too much on how the state has attempted to produce societal guiescence, rather than how and why members of society have chosen to promote, accept, or resist those attempts.

In part, this is a call to move away from national or cross-national levels of analyses, and towards sub-national or meso- (group) and micro- (individual) level studies - in essence, to re-evaluate the micro-foundations of the rentier state. Nationally-representative surveys too, though these are difficult to conduct in authoritarian contexts, may shed light on drivers of societal quiescence or citizen mobilization: one example is Justin Gengler's 2009 study of Bahraini citizens, which found that material satisfaction explained Sunni. but not necessarily Shia political activism.8 Jim Krane's study of GCC citizen versus expert perceptions of rentier entitlements. too, found that experts (including senior ministry officials in all six GCC states) overestimated citizen opposition to subsidy reform, suggesting that the state may have more room to manoeuvre on economic issues than they realise.9 These and similar attempts to reassess the rent-societal quiescence relationship, not only from the position of the state, but also from the perspective of citizens, are critical. If, for example, rent distributions increased at the national level and protests faltered, this suggests a correlation between rents and societal quiescence. However, is a causal relationship convincing based on data from the protesters themselves? Ironically,

even Giacomo Luciani, one of the earliest architects of RST, specifically warned against promulgating theories of a 'rentier state' in 1987, arguing that in doing so there was "a distinct danger of exaggerating the argument and overlooking the fact that oil...is not the only significant dimension".¹⁰

Simultaneously, a better balance between society-centric and state-centric analyses would help to illustrate the dynamic impact of rentierism. As rent distributions fluctuate, especially as the state attempts to curtail burdensome and unsustainable expenditures without exciting popular opposition, how do these changes impact citizen attitudes towards the state? Paving greater attention to societal activism at the sub-national level can highlight how citizens move between political quiescence, active opposition, and even active support of the state, as well as how they shift between different forms of political action - from street protests, to popular petitions, to expressions of reform desires on social and traditional media - in response to regime governance strategies. In doing so, we can more effectively analyse the absence of political mobilization, especially where the state has employed an innovative regime survival strategy, predicated not only on rent distributions but also on the use of social engineering, state-sponsored feminism, or coalition-shuffling, among other tactics.

Micro-level studies, of course, must be supported by data collected at the mesoand national level before patterns of political mobilization can be generalized. Nonetheless, they do offer an opportunity to identify a potential 'universe' of causal mechanisms relevant to societal quiescence in oil and gas-rich states, which, as Herb notes, may offer a productive way forward for a literature dealing with causal complexity.¹¹ It may improve our understanding of cooptation generally, too: after all, the cooptive capacity of rentier states differs largely in scale, rather than nature, to that of non-rentier states. Moreover, returning to careful analysis of causal mechanisms, alongside a better balance between state-centric and society-centric explanations for political mobilization, may help to generate new understandings of rents and societal quiescence, including those that can more effective incorporate non-material as well as material explanations for political mobilization. These findings, most importantly, may help RST to remain relevant as an explanation of a particular type of social contract, with both theoretical and normative implications for oil and gas-rich states.

(Endnotes)

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2. S. Huntington, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) 65.

3. Thomas L. Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," Foreign Affairs (October 16, 2009) https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/16/the-firstlaw-of-petropolitics/.

4. See for example Jocelyn Sage Mitchell and Justin Gengler, "What Money Can't Buy: Wealth,

Inequality, and Economic Satisfaction in the Rentier State," Political Research Quarterly (2018) 1-15.

5. Michael Ross, "Does Taxation Lead to Representation?" British Journal of Political Science 23 (2004) 229-249.

6. Matthias Basedau, Annegret Mähler, and Miriam Shabafrouz, "Drilling Deeper: A Systematic, Context-Sensitive Investigation of Causal Mechanisms in the Oil-Conflict Link," Journal of Development Studies 50:1 (2014) 51-63.

7. Michael Herb, "Ontology and Methodology in the Study of the Resource Curse," London School of Economics Kuwait Programme Paper Series 43 (June 2017) 1-25.

8. Justin Gengler, Group Conflict and Political Mobilization in Bahrain and the Arab Gulf: Rethinking the Rentier State (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015).

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10. Giacomo Luciani, "Allocation vs. Production States: A Theoretical Framework," in The Rentier State, edited by Hazem Beblawi and Giacomo Luciani (London: Croom Helm, 1987) 67.

11 Herb, "Ontology and Methodology".

This article is an abridged version of a publication that was produced for and will shortly be released by the Project on Middle East Political Science at George Washington University. The full article will be available at https://pomeps.org/. Jessie was also interviewed about her research on the POMEPS Conversations podcast series – see https://pomeps.org/2018/11/07/oil-and-societal-quiescence-a-conversation-with-jessie-moritz/.



INTERDISCIPLINARY SYMPOSIUM ON RULES AND INTERPRETATION IN ISLAM AND BEYOND

by Sam Blanch

On 21-22 September 2018, CAIS and the Centre for Law, Arts and Humanities, co-convened a symposium on alternative traditions of law, norms and rules. *After the rule: interpretation in comparative and cross-cultural perspective* was formulated as a symposium with a specific theoretical purpose, but which would approach this purpose through a comparative and empirical lens.



Professor Ahmad Atif Ahmad

The West is currently witnessing a widespread sense of disillusionment with the late-modern bureaucratic state, and a sense of law's inability to deal with social problems raised by the presence of overlapping and sometimes competing ethnic and interest groups. And yet in both the common law and Islamic traditions, for example, there are practices and methods for dealing with difference that have fallen into disuse or which are disjunctive within the current system of law and interpretation.

It was into this sense of theoretical and practical insufficiency, that CAIS co-convened a symposium intended to explore alternative traditions of law, norms and interpretation. By considering

alternative traditions comparatively and critically, this would enable us to theorise about what might be after or beyond the rule. CAIS worked with the ANU College of Law's Centre for Law, Arts and Humanities to create a pioneering opportunity for intellectual crossfertilisation between



Prof. Des Manderson, Dr Jessie Moritz and Dr Valentino Cattelan

Islamic Studies, law and other disciplines.

The symposium was a rare chance for extended and purposive intellectual collaboration between CAIS, the Centre for Law, Arts and the Humanities from the ANU College of Law, other areas of the university, as well as visiting scholars from the United States and Europe. This leveraged and CAIS's specialisation in showcased interdisciplinary work; as an area studies unit, the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies' core work is interdisciplinary. But the symposium was a chance to augment this natural specialisation through a more focussed consideration of issues raised by critical legal theory, feminist approaches to law, indigenous history, and anthropology.

Symposium highlights included a keynote by Professor Ahmad Atif Ahmad from the University of California in Santa Barbara.

CAIS graduate students also benefited from a roundtable discussion with Professor Ahmad on the sidelines of the symposium. Assistant Professor Omar Farahat from McGill University presented on the role of collective deliberation in classical Sharia interpretation given a different philosophy of the revealed text itself. Dr Valentino Cattelan from the Käte Hamburger Centre for Advanced Study in the Humanities 'Law as Culture' in Bonn (Germany) argued that contemporary Islamic finance is evidence of a shift from law viewed as thoroughly embedded in culture to law viewed as a generic regime of certifications.

In the event, symposium attendees witnessed a diverse set of papers over the two days of the symposium. Particularly through careful communication prior to the symposium and a final plenary session, symposium participants were also able to point to a number of paths for future research and to begin to draw some synthetic conclusions about what might come after the rule. In an age of increased specialisation and structural disciplinarity within the university, this is a reminder of the benefits and indeed the intellectual necessity of collaboration across and beyond the university.



Dr Honni van Rijswijk (UTS) & Dr Miranda Johnson (USyd)



Tom White (U of Otago); Luis Gomez Romero (U of Wollongong) Julian Murphy (Columbia U); Joshua Neoh (ANU); & Mahmoud Pargoo (ACU);

THREE LANGUAGES - THREE CULTURES: NARRATIVES FROM THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE



CAIS language academics convened the conference, 'Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East', on 22-23 November 2018. The conference was opened by CAIS Director, Professor Amin Saikal, who welcomed both the speakers and attendees and thanked the conference committee for their hard work in bringing together an interesting and diverse group of speakers to present their research at the conference which looked both promising and vibrant. Prof. Saikal noted that the ANU has one of the largest Arabic programs of any university in Australia and is the only university to teach either Persian or Turkish.

CAIS employs five academic staff to teach the three languages: Dr Huda Al-Tamimi, France Meyer and Leila Kouatly teach Arabic; Dr Zahra Taheri and Dr Negar Davari Ardakani teach Persian and Dr M. Murat Yurtbilir teaches Turkish.

The conference welcomed academics of all related subject areas, scholars, students, professionals and members of the public with an interest in the

Prof. Saikal introducing Dr Carboni before his lecture

three Middle Eastern languages: Arabic, Persian and Turkish as well as their respective cultures. The conference convenors sought to provide insight into the shifting identities of the Middle East, through the lenses of these three widely spoken languages and influential cultures.

The conference incorporated four renowned keynote speakers: Dr Stefano Carboni, Adjunct Professor, UWA School of Design, The University of Western Australia; Associate Professor Hakeem Kasem, Convenor of Arabic Language and Culture Studies, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Deakin University; Dr Ali Mozaffari, ARC-DECRA Research Fellow, Alfred Deakin Institute, Faculty of Arts and Education, Deakin University; and Dr Banu Senay, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Macquarie University, Sydney.

In his lecture, 'Venice and its Artistic Relationship with the Islamic World: A tale of many languages and cultures', Dr Carboni explained how no other city or European power from the Medieval and Renaissance periods can claim the complex and mutual closeness to the Arab and Turkish world that Venice enjoyed for many centuries. He explained how the Republic's pragmatic approach to the relationship with its trading partners in the Near



Dr Carboni during his lecture

and Middle East, the establishment of Venetian mercantile communities protected by the presence of officially recognised consuls and a no-nonsense attitude in religious matters inevitably favoured a better and deeper understanding of each other's way of life with the consequent development of cultural and artistic ties and cross-influences. The wealthy Venetian merchants who shuttled between their city and the important centres of Alexandria, Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, Trebizond and Tabriz and spent extended periods in these outposts also began to appreciate the local culture, speak its languages and understand and respect Islamic customs. He said this can



The audience greatly enjoyed the Dr Carboni's beautifully illustrated opening lecture

and respect Islamic customs. He said this can be rightfully described as the true 'Orientalist' phase in Venetian artistic production, whereby this term does not have the same colonial or westernised connotation that distinguishes its 18th- and 19th-century modes because it is based on a better understanding of, and synergy with, a culture that is seen as the 'other' but not in confrontational or derisive terms.

Dr Ali Mozaffari, presented his research on cultural heritage in Iran, suggesting there has been a close relationship between abrupt historical change and the making of national heritage. He said as volatility challenges

THREE LANGUAGES - THREE CULTURES: NARRATIVES FROM THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE

people's relationship to their pasts and their identities, it results in the mobilisation of cultural heritage in different and contradictory ways.

A/Prof. Hakeem Kasem illustrated his project, which aims to increase Arabic language proficiency and cultural understanding of Australian university students by developing a globally shareable and sustainable 3D immersive real-time educational virtual world environment.

Dr Banu Senay presented a paper based on extensive fieldwork in Istanbul, and the chequered social life of Sufi music as a case study. She explored complex interactions between Islam, nationalism, and cultural politics in modern Turkey.

Bahar Davary, Associate Professor of Theology and Religious Studies, University of San Diego, reflected on the poetry of the best-selling contemporary Iranian poet, Sohrab Sepehri (1928-1980). She illustrated Sepehri's mindfulness of nature and attention to his divine-human-animalplant-mineral connectedness.

> Luluh Alfurayh & Dr Melanie Burns. from University, presented some preliminary findings their research on the changing



Dr Ali Mozaffari & A/Prof. Bahar Davarv

gender roles among female Saudi study abroad students in Australia

from

Dr Michael King presented two papers: one on 'The Hidden Wisdom of Ibn-e-Sina' and the second, with Dr Negar Bavari, on 'The Culture of Love in Hafiz Poetry'.

Dr Aydogan Kars, Monash University, gave a paper examining the detail of the enduring impact of Sufism in Muslim theologies, and the continuities and differences within the genre of commentary on divine names in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish.

A/Prof. Adrian Jones, La Trobe University, looked at the cultural understanding of gift-giving in an Osmanlıca-Russian-Tatar-Romanian case study centred on the 'gift/bribe' paid, after the Battle of the Prut, to the Ottoman Grand Vizier (Sadriazam) Baltaci Mehmed Pasa in 1711.

Scott Patton, PhD Candidate, The University of Melbourne gave a paper on the intersections of identity between Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic and Persian. He argued the uneven experience of these intersections has led to a fractured concept of what it means to be Kurdish in contemporary society.

Tamas Dudlak, Corvinus University of Budapest, outlined the recent political challenges in Turkey: electoral uncertainties in 2015, a coup attempt in 2016, a vote on constitutional amendment aiming to extend presidential power in 2017 and the constant threats of organisations such as ISIS, PYD and PKK. He argued they have led to the resecuritisation of the 'Kurdish problem' with the government starting to frame the issue of 'terrorism' and the Kurdish question as one.

ANU doctoral candidate, Charbel El-Khaissi presented his research on the phonetic analysis of native and non-native Arabic speakers.

Dr Majdi Faleh, a Fulbright architect, outlined his research on the city in pre-modern and modern Arabic literature. He analysed how in the

wake of globalization, Gulf countries have seen great tensions between local heritage and recent architectural developments that shaped cities like Dubai.

A/Prof. Hakeem Kasem

Khoirin Nikmah teaches at the Arabic Education Program, Universitas Negeri Malang and the Linguistics Program, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia. She presented her research on Arabic as a foreign language and linguistics across culture.

In her paper, Dr Zahra Taheri explained how in the first decade after the Iranian Revolution there was a period when women were on the defensive and the



Turkish panel: Aydogan Kars, Tamas Dudlak, Scott Patton, Adrian Jones, Murat Yurtbilir and Banu Senay

THREE LANGUAGES - THREE CULTURES: NARRATIVES FROM THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE

state on the offensive. In the second decade, women actively participated in all aspects of the film, music and literature industries, thus creating a feminist voice through the arts.

Elham Naeej, PhD candidate, UNSW, gave a paper entitled 'Gender Violence in Contemporary Iranian Romance Novels'. She noted the importance of understanding the structural, cultural and ideological inequalities that perpetuate violence against women in a literary genre that is predominantly written and read by women.

Dr Heydar Shadi, research fellow, Sankt Georgen Graduate School of Philosophy and Theology, Frankfurt, examined the loss of regional inclusive identities in the modern Middle East as imported ethnic-nationalist narratives replaced the local trans-ethnic narratives. He described one such lost narrative as 'Noah's Three Sons'



Lecturers in the CAIS Persian program: Dr Zahra Taheri and Dr Negar Davari

in which Arabs, Turks, and Persians were regarded as members of one family.

Dr Hamish McGregor, CAIS HDR graduate, analysed reformism and political discourse in Iran and the legacy of President Seyed Mohammad Khatami. He claimed Khatami's two terms in office unleashed a range of political, social, and cultural changes which pulled the Islamic Republic in new and unexpected directions.

Parisa Nakhaei a PhD candidate, Business School, UNSW Canberra, presented her research, conducted with Dr Nelia Hyndman-Rizk, on the barriers to female participation in both the formal and informal employment sectors in Iran.

Grant Kynaston has studied both law and languages at the University of Sydney. He presented his current work which analyses the use of Arabic in UN Conventions. He has explored the difficulties of applying Arabic, a language defined by its own, unique sociocultural context, in a legal setting where terminology and rhetoric are intrinsically Western.

Zakaryia Almahasees, PhD candidate, University of Western Australia, discussed his work on English-Arabic machine translation of UN Documents from English into Arabic.

Mona Al Bluwi, PhD candidate, ANU, introduced her research investigating the speech perception and production of Arabic guttural sounds by Australian second language learners.

Dr Terhi Nurmikko-Fuller, Lecturer, Centre for Digital Humanities Research, ANU, presented her research on publishing Sumerian literary narratives in machine-readable formats, highlighted the reoccurring motifs of literary narratives from the Middle East, many of which have



Leila Kouatly and France Meyer

an element of universal recognisability about them.

Leila Kouatly and France Meyer, Lecturers in the Arabic program, CAIS, demonstrated how they developed and taught the Introductory Arabic Online program over a four year period.

Mahmoud Pargoo, PhD candidate, Institute for Social Justice, Australian Catholic University, explained how Iran's new Islamic secularity required a new language to make it acceptable. He demonstrated how certain words were removed from the official jargon; others were invented or reintroduced, and basic conceptual metaphors behind linguistic expressions were changed or replaced.

Muhammed Ourang, a PhD candidate in Linguistics, UNSW, demonstrated his research proposal for an organised syllabus to teach a selected set of

grammatical tenses to Persian learners at intermediate to advanced level.

Dr Negar Davari Ardakani presented a paper written by herself and Parsa Bamshadi, Shadi Ansarian and Assistant Professor Fatemeh Bahrami. The paper was a study of Persian kinship terms and initial results of the research show that these semantic molecules accompanied by semantic primes can successfully describe diverse kin terms in Persian from an indigenous perspective intelligible for both Persian and non-Persian speakers.

Using a study of text and paintings of Futūh al-Haramayn, Leila Alhagh, PhD candidate, SHAPS – GCCMC, presented an investigation into historical, emotional, social and cultural narratives from 15th -16th centuries Iran as reflected in a Persian manuscript.

<u>الالمومش</u> OXFORD MAQAM



Showcasing traditional Arabic culture through music

Oxford Maqam is a troupe of vocalists and musicians renowned for their expertise in Egyptian music of the 19th & 20th centuries. Their concerts offer a rare opportunity to experience live renditions of a music steeped in Arab heritage.

The ANU Centre for Arab & Islamic Studies

This concert is free and open to the public Register cais.cass.anu.edu.au/events

ANU Concert

ANU Llewelyn Hall, Tuesday 26 March 2019, 7-9pm

Sydney Concert

Great Hall, University of Sydney, Friday 29 March 2019, 7-9pm

Showcasing Traditional Arabic Culture Through Music has received grant funding from the Council for Australian-Arab Relations of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade; and The ANU Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies; The ANU College of Arts and Social Sciences, The ANU Research School of Social Sciences, and the ANU Humanities Research Centre.









ISLAMIC LAW & PHILOSOPHY & THEIR IMPORTANCE FOR CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH IN ISLAMIC STUDIES

CAIS staff and students were privileged to have Professor Ahmad Atif Ahmad give an informal discussion on 20 September 2018.

Ahmad studied at Harvard and is a professor of religious studies at the University of California in Santa Barbara (UCSB). He is the author of 'Islamic Law: Cases, Authorities, and Worldview, Bloomsbury, 2017), 'The Fatigue of the Sharia' (Palgrave, 2012),

and 'Structural Interrelations of Theory and Practice in Islamic Law' (Brill, 2006)



CAIS research scholar, Sam Blanch, Prof. Ahmad and CAIS Deputy Director, Prof. James Piscatori

and Practice in Islamic Law' (Brill, 2006). He teaches courses on Islamic legal reasoning in medieval Islam and early modern Egypt.

Professor Ahmad was at ANU to take part in the After the rule: A symposium on alternative traditions of law, norms and rules which was convened by the Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, in collaboration with the Centre for Law, Arts and the Humanities, ANU.

Prof. Ahmad opened his talk by saying the focus of his research was on medieval Islamic law and modern Egyptian law. He said law and religion in the Islamic tradition are hard to separate. He said working in religious studies has given him exposure to an array of views on the intersections among law, philosophy, and social knowledge. Prof. Ahmad went on to discuss the diverse manifestations of the Sharia in today's life. These include situations where individuals make life and death and other ethical decisions in areas where national laws are silent or accommodating of the Sharia as a religious (personal) law, cases where national laws (in Pakistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Indonesia, etc.) build on modified versions of medieval legal doctrines that were developed the previous century, and cases of transnational laws, such as Islamic finance and cyber jurisprudence--or fatwa-case laws that create, for the first time in Islamic history, global communities with no shared local custom or social standards.

ROUNDTABLE: BECOMING ARAB



Prof. Mandal presenting his research to an audience from across ANU

Professor Sumit Mandal, an historian at the University of Nottingham Malaysia, led a seminar at CAIS on 10 October 2018. Sumit Mandal is working on transregional histories of the Malay world and is currently doing research on Muslim shrines in selected locations in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and South Africa. Professor Mandal presented material from his book: *Becoming Arab: Creole Histories and Modern Identity in the Malay World* (Cambridge, 2018). The session was well attended and the audience received a wonderfully illustrated lecture on the complex relationships between ethnic groups in Malaysia.

Prof. Mandal's study centres on the Hadramis, a people of a governorate of Yemen who have migrated extensively to the ends of the Indian Ocean over the last five hundred years. By considering Arabs in the Malay world under European rule, Prof. Mandal explored how a long history of inter-Asian

interaction was altered by nineteenth-century racial categorisation and control. He explained how his book traces the transformation of Arabs from familiar and multi-faceted creole personages of Malay courts into alienated figures defined by economic and political function. He said the racialisation constrained but did not eliminate the fluid character of Arabness. Creole Arabs responded to the constraints by initiating transregional links with the Ottoman Empire and establishing modern social organisations, schools, and media. Prof. Mandal illustrated the contestations between organisations respectively based on Prophetic descent and egalitarianism, advancing empowering but conflicting representations of a modern Arab and Islamic identity.

Prof. Mandal said his book focused not only on the exclusionary politics of race but on gaining a better understanding of its costs by delving into race categories and the quality and intensity of the exclusion they produce. 'Becoming Arab' unsettles finite understandings of race and identity by demonstrating not only the incremental development of a modern identity, but the contested state of its birth.

STUDENT NEWS

NEW RESEARCH SCHOLARS AT CAIS

CAIS has welcomed two research scholars in second semester 2018:



Christine Lorna Akello joined CAIS in August. She is studying the topic 'Factors that affect the successful participation of women on UAE boards'. Christine has a Master of Strategic Affairs, from ANU, and a Master of Public Administration (Policy / Strategy) from the University of Canberra.

Abdulla Al-Etaibi arrived at CAIS in December. His research topic is 'The effect of ruling tribes on foreign policy practice in the Gulf during the pre-statehood and contemporary era'. Abdulla has a BA International Affairs from Qatar University (QU) and MSc in International Public Policy from University College London (UCL).



Christine Akello

Abdulla Al-Etaibi

Jon Norling is conducting fieldwork in the United States on his research topic: 'Post-2003 transformation of Iraq and the consequences for the regional geo-politics'.

GRADUATIONS - HIGHER DEGREES BY RESEARCH (HDR)

FIELDWORK

Dr Sebastian Klich was awarded his Doctor of Philosophy degree at the December graduation ceremony. His dissertation was entitled: 'Normative Standing: De Facto State Identity and International Legitimation.' On fieldwork in 2015, Sebastian travelled to the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (KRI), Nagorno-Karabakh and Somaliland. During his time in the KRI, Sebastian interviewed the Head of the Foreign Relations Department, Minister Falah Mustafa Bakir (pictured right).

MASTER OF MIDDLE EAST AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES (MMECAS)

Graduating with a MMECAS were Renae Conley, John Donohoe and Evangelos



Nicolaidis.

Roman Darius was awarded a MMECAS (Advanced) degree. His thesis topic was 'Socio-Economic Coalitions and Democratisation: A study of Turkey from the Late Ottoman Era to the Republic'.

MASTER OF ISLAM IN THE MODERN WORLD (MIMW)

Graduating with a MIMW (Advanced) was Hasnan Bachtiar. Hasnan completed his MIMW (Advanced) with a thesis entitled: 'D \bar{a} r al-'Ahd wa al-Shah \bar{a} dah: Muhammadiyah's Contemporary litihād of Siyar and Pancasila'. Hasnan will be one of the last students to graduate with a MIMW, as the program has been discontinued.



Renae Conley with Zahra Taheri

Hasnan Bachtiar & Evangelos Nicolaidis

BACHELOR OF MIDDLE EASTERN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES (HONOURS)

CAIS recently introduced an Honours year of study to its programs. In 2018, CAIS is celebrating with its first round of graduates. Two students graduated with First Class Honours in Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies. Miguel Galsim was awarded a Bachelor of Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies (Honours). His Honours thesis was entitled 'Syncretic Formations and Legitimising Power: Islamic-Nationalism in the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Hamas'.

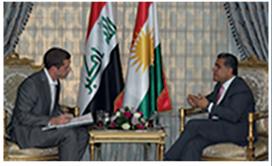
Alastair Watt completed a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) program with a MECAS thesis on 'China, Belt and Road Initiative in Central Asia: Drivers and Motivating Factors'.

BACHELOR OF MIDDLE EASTERN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Graduating with a Bachelor of Middle Eastern and Central Asian Studies were Joel Baker (with a Bachelor of International Relations), Sarah Barrie (with a Bachelor of Laws -Hons) and Frederick Hanlin (with a Bachelor of Languages).



Miguel Galsim



RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

AMIN SAIKAL

BOOK

Iran Rising: The Survival and Future on the Islamic Republic, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2019. pp 336

FEATURE ARTICLES

'Trump's assertiveness vs Rouhani's resistance', *ANU Media*, 16 August 2018

'The United States has served the Middle East on a silver platter for Iran', Interview with Af Ulla Poulsen, *Kristeligt Dagblad Newspaper*, Copenhagen, 1 October 2018.

'The Afghan conflict and prospects for a political settlement', *Kristeligt Dagblad Newspaper*, Copenhagen, 10 October 2018.

'PM plays with Middle East fire', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 17 October 2018.

'America's Senseless Iran Sanctions', *Project Syndicate*, 20 November 2018.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Panelist: 'Seizing the opportunity for peace', *ANU Crawford Leadership Forum: Global Realities Domestic Choices*, 26 June 2018.

'Opening Address' & 'Afghanistan and the Levant', Australia-Iran Dialogue, CAIS & The Institute for Political and International Studies, Tehran, ANU House, Melbourne, 8-10 July 2018.

'The US, China and Russia: Agenda in Syria and Peace in the Middle East', Sydney Institute for Public and International Affairs, Parliament of NSW, 10 August 2018.

'The Future of Geopolitics in the Middle East: Trump vs Rouhani', Danish Society for War Studies and the Danish Foreign Policy Society, The Royal Danish Defence College, Copenhagen, 13 September 2018.

'Can the Moscow-Tehran-Hezbollah Axis bring Peace to Syria?', Institute for the Military History and War Theory & College Language School, The Royal Danish Defence College, Copenhagen, 20 September 2018.

'Resolving sectarian conflict in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies: some personal reflections', University of Southern Denmark, 25 September 2018.

'How Islamic has the 'Islamic State' been? Roundtable, The Royal Danish Defence College, Copenhagen, 27 September 2018. Co-Convenor, Political Islam Seminars, Attorney Generals Department, CAIS, 27-29 November 2018.

OUTSIDE STUDIES PROGRAM

Visiting Professor, Royal Danish Defence College, Copenhagen, 3 September – 10 October 2018.

INTERVIEWS

Numerous media interviews for national and international television and radio networks.

JAMES PISCATORI

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'International Developments – Perspectives on the Future: An ANU view', Australia-Iran Dialogue, CAIS & The Institute for Political and International Studies, Tehran, ANU House, Melbourne, 8-10 July 2018.

'Explaining the crisis in Syria', ANU Open Day, 25 August 2018.

'Why study the Middle East and Central Asia?' CASS Online Information Session, 12 September 2018.

Political Islam Seminars, Attorney Generals Department, CAIS, 27-29 November 2018.

KIRILL NOURZHANOV FEATURE ARTICLES

'Don't let obsession with Putin's 'evil' plans overshadow World Cup', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 June 2018. [smh. com.au/sport/don-t-let-obsession-withputin-s-evil-plans-overshadow-world-cup-20180615-p4zlo2.html]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Is Putin's Russia a great strategic foe?' *The Centre for Independent Studies*, 18 July 2018.

Political Islam Seminars, Attorney Generals Department, CAIS, 27-29 November 2018.

'Cartographies of Imagination: Mapping out Central Asia's place in the world', *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Big Issues in Central Asia,* The ANU Humanities Research Centre Workshop, 17 December 2018.

MEDIA

'Russia seizes three Ukrainian vessels in Black Sea', *The World Today*, 26 November 2018.

ZAHRA TAHERI

BOOK

Hozur-e peyda va penhan-e zan dar mutun-e sufiyyeh (The Absence and Presence of Women in Persian Sufi Texts), published by Nashr-e Sales, Tehran, Iran, Third Edition, 2018.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Iran Update', ANU Learning Community, 9 October 2018.

Co-convenor, *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

'The Language of Art: Women in Post-Revolutionary Iran', *Three Languages* - *Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference,* CAIS, 23 November 2018.

HUDA AL-TAMIMI JOURNAL ARTICLES

'Effects of Iraq's Parliamentary Gender Quota on Women's Political Mobilization and Legitimacy Post-2003', *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, Vol 11, No 4, December 2018.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

ANU Open Day, 25 August 2018.

International Conference on Innovations in Learning for the Future: Digital Transformation in Education, Istanbul University Congress and Cultural Center, Istanbul, 11-14 September 2018.

CASS Postgraduate Information Evening, 15 November 2018.

Co-convenor, *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

RAIHAN ISMAIL

FEATURE ARTICLE

'The power of Saudi Arabia's clerics and the struggle for religious authority', ABC Religion and Ethics, 31 October 2018. [abc.net.au/ religion/power-of-saudi-clerics/10451284]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Muslim Civilisation', Dept. of Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra, 13 June 2018.

ANU Tomorrow Lecture series, PARSA, ANU, 19 July 2018.

'Salafism and Saudi Arabia', Dept. of Home Affairs, Canberra, 31 July 2018.

'The Middle East: Trends, Challenges and Prospects', Charles Sturt University, Canberra, 21 August 2018

'The Middle East: Beyond the Headlines', ANU Open Day, 25 August 2018.

'Yemen: The forgotten War', Fenner Hall, ANU, 28 September 2018.

RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

'Women in Politics and International Relations Breakfast', ANU International Relations Students' Society, 16 October 2018.

'Transnational Networks of Salafi 'Ulama: Contestation and Cooperation', *Trump and the Middle East, Bi-annual Conference, Middle East Studies Forum*, Deakin University, Burwood, 29 - 31 October 2018.

'Transnational Networks of Salafi Clerics', MESA Conference, presented by Dr Jessie Moritz, 15 November 2018.

'Hybrid civilisations or Clash of civilisations?: Re-visiting the Muslim Other', *The Australian Academy of the Humanities, The 8th Hancock Lecture*, State Library of NSW, Sydney, 16 November 2018.

Co-Convenor, Political Islam Seminars, Attorney Generals Department, 27-29 November 2018.

MEDIA

Multiple interviews on Saudi Arabia and the Yemen crisis with ABC radio and Voice of America (June- October).

NEGAR DAVARI ARDAKANI

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Co-convenor, *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

(with Fatemeh Bahrami), 'Persian Kinship Terms: From sociocultural and cognitive points of view', *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

(with Parsa Bamshadi, Shadi Ansarian), 'Kin Terms in Persian: A Natural Semantic Metalanguage Approach', *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

(with Dr Michael King), 'The Culture of Love in Hafiz Poetry: A comparison of the Persian poetry and its English translation', *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference,* CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

PRESENTATIONS AND OUTREACH

A five-week short course in Elementary Persian, October- December 2018.

JESSIE MORITZ

JOURNAL ARTICLES

'Reformers and the Rentier State: Reevaluating the Cooptation Mechanism in Rentier State Theory', *Journal of Arabian* Studies 8.S1, 2018, pp. 1–19.

FEATURE ARTICLES

'Gulf Crisis Update: Escalating Tensions', *Australian Institute for International Affairs*, 1 February 2018. [http://www. internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/ gulf-crisis/]

'Oman can manage domestic political dissent for now,' *Oxford Analytica*, 26 March 2018. [dailybrief.oxan.com/Analysis/ DB230667/Oman-can-manage-domesticpolitical-dissent-for-now]

'Oil and Societal Quiescence: A Conversation with Jessie Moritz,' *POMEPS Middle East Politics Podcast*, 11 November 2018. [https://pomeps.org/2018/11/07/oil-andsocietal-quiescence-a-conversation-withjessie-moritz/]

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Vision and Implementation: The Political Economy of Development in the GCC', Department of Near Eastern Studies, Princeton University, 10 April 2018.

'Between Vision and Implementation: Challenges and Prospects for Long-term Sustainable Development in the GCC,' *Rahmania Annual Seminar, The Abdulrahman Al Sudairy Foundation and Transregional Institute at Princeton University*, Valetta, Malta, 5-7 May 2018.

'Who drives reform? Elite networks, external consultants, and the development of Saudi Arabia's Vision 2030', *World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies, Seville,* 18 July 2018.

'Arab Spring offers a unique opportunity to understand state-society relations in typically hard-to-access and opaque states', *World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies*, Seville, 20 July 2018.

"Why study the Middle East and Central Asia?" *CASS Online Information Session*, 12 September 2018.

'Iran Update', *ANU Learning Community*, 9 October 2018.

⁽Oil and Societal Quiescence: Rethinking Causal Mechanisms in Rentier State Theory,' *Project on Middle East Political Science Workshop*, George Washington University, Washington USA, 27-28 September 2018.

'Migrant Labour in Extreme Rentier States: Balancing Economic Imperatives, Domestic Demography, and International Pressure', *MESA's 52nd Annual Meeting*, San Antonio, 15 November 2018.

FRANCE MEYER

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

(with Leila Kouatly) 'Developing and Teaching Arabic Online: Challenges and lessons learned', 'Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference', CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

PRESENTATIONS AND OUTREACH

Co-convenor, ANU Language Teaching Forum, 2018.

Co-convenor, *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

M. MURAT YURTBILIR FEATURE ARTICLES

'Your guide to Sunday's Turkish elections, and what they mean for Greece', *Neo Cosmos*, 22 June 2018.[neoskosmos.com/ en/117540/your-guide-to-sundays-turkishelections-and-what-they-mean-for-greece/]

'The Future of Turkish Politics After the Elections, Australian Institute of International Affairs', 5 July 2018. [internationalaffairs.org. au/australianoutlook/the-future-of-turkish-politics-after-the-elections/]

'Turkey's declining economic situation', 2SER - The Wire, 14 Aug 2018. [https://2ser. com/episodes/the-wire-600pm-13thaug-2018/]

'Turkey, the US, and an evangelical pastor, ABC Radio National - Religion and Ethics Report', 15 August 2018. [abc.net.au/radionational/programs/ religionandethicsreport/the-pastor-atthe-centre-of-the-turkish-diplomaticrow/10123102]

'Saksa ja Turkki yrittävät lämmitellä kylmenneitä välejään – Erdogan matkustaa tapaamaan Merkeliä (Germany and Turkey are trying to warm their chills - Erdogan travels to meet Merkel)', *I/tasanomat,* 26 September 2018.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Co-convenor, *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018. Political Islam Seminars, Attorney Generals Department, CAIS, 27-29 November 2018.

LEILA KOUATLY LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

(with France Meyer) 'Developing and Teaching Arabic Online: Challenges and

RESEARCH, PUBLICATIONS, OUTREACH ACTIVITIES

lessons learned', 'Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference', CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

PRESENTATIONS AND OUTREACH

Co-convenor, *Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference*, CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

STEPHANIE WRIGHT

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Political Islam Seminars, Attorney Generals Department, CAIS, 27-29 November 2018.

AZIMA AKHMATOVA

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Transnational Islamist movements as a threat to security of Uzbekistan', *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Big Issues in Central Asia,* The ANU Humanities Research Centre Workshop, 17 December 2018.

SAM BLANCH

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Co-convenor: After the rule: interpretation in comparative and cross-cultural perspective symposium, CAIS and the Centre for Law, Arts and Humanities, ANU, 21-22 September 2018.

'Some Patterns of Shia Muslim Tithe (Khums) in Iran and Australia', Sam Blanch, 30 November 2018.

DAMIAN DOYLE BOOK CHAPTER

'Pulling and Gouging: The Sadrist Line's Adaptable and Evolving Repertoire of Contention', Conduit, Dara, Akbarzadeh, Shahram (Eds.) *New Opposition in the Middle East*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2018, pp. 41-69.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

(with Dr Tristan Dunning) 'Recognising Fragmented Authority: Towards a post-Westphalian Security Order in Iraq', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, Routledge, Vol. 29, 2018, pp. 537-559.

BERIKBOL DUKEYEV

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'The Soviet past in the post-1991 nation-building of Kazakhstan', *Interdisciplinary Approaches to big issues in Central Asia,* The Humanities Research Centre Workshop, ANU, 17 December 2018.

VICTORIA GUO

FEATURE ARTICLES

(with Giray Fidan), 'China's Belt and Road Initiative and Turkey's Middle Corridor: "Win-Win Cooperation"'?, *Middle East Institute*, 26 June 2018.

BETH HARRIS

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Starry eyed wanderers or condescending voyeurs? Foreign travellers through Central Asia', *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Big Issues in Central Asia,* The ANU Humanities Research Centre Workshop, 17 December 2018.

ANAS IQTAIT FEATURE ARTICLES

'The Taming of the Palestinian Authority', *Foreign Policy,* 2 October 2018.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'The Fiscal Dimensions of the Palestinian Authority's Foreign Policy response to Trump's Jerusalem Decision', *Trump and the Middle East, Bi-annual Conference, Middle East Studies Forum*, Deakin University, Burwood, 29 - 31 October 2018.

Political Islam Seminars, Attorney Generals Department, CAIS, 27-29 November 2018.

FIROUZEH KHOSHNOUDIPARAST

FEATURE ARTICLES

'The one Iran deal the US should keep', *The Lowy Interpreter,* 26 October 2018. [lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/one-irandeal-us-should-keep]

JON NORLING

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

Co-convenor, 'Three Languages - Three Cultures: Narratives from the Middle East Conference' CAIS, 22-23 November 2018.

PAULINA PIJACKA

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'The European Union's Strategy for Central Asia 2.0', *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Big Issues in Central Asia,* The ANU Humanities Research Centre Workshop, 17 December 2018.

IAN PARMETER

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'Russia in Central Asia: Receding or resurgent?' Interdisciplinary Approaches

to Big Issues in Central Asia, The ANU Humanities Research Centre Workshop, 17 December 2018.

KATLYN QUENZER

EDITED BOOK

Emerging Scholarship on the Middle East and Central Asia: Moving from the periphery, Katlyn Quenzer; Maria Syed and Elisabeth Yarbakhsh (Eds), Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

DIRK VAN DER KLEY FEATURE ARTICLES

'Chinese Companies' Central Asian Survival Strategy', *The Diplomat*, 14 June 2018. [qoshe.com/the-diplomat/ dirk-van-der-kley/chinese-companies-central-asian-survival-strate/2832049]

'Come Dance with Xi: Who Can Resist the Belt and Road's Embrace?', The Little Red Podcast, Louisa Lim, (Centre for Advancing Journalism at Melbourne University), Dr Graeme Smith, (Research Fellow, Department of Pacific Affairs, Coral Bell), 11 July 2018.

LECTURES, SEMINARS & CONFERENCES

'More Investment, Less Lending: China's New Economic Strategy in Central Asia', *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Big Issues in Central Asia,* The Humanities Research Centre Workshop, ANU, 17 December 2018.

ELISABETH YARBAKHSH

EDITED BOOK

Emerging Scholarship on the Middle East and Central Asia: Moving from the periphery, Katlyn Quenzer; Maria Syed and Elisabeth Yarbakhsh (Eds), Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

BOOK CHAPTER

'Iranian Nationalism from its (Afghan) Margins', *Emerging Scholarship on the Middle East and Central Asia: Moving from the periphery*, Katlyn Quenzer; Maria Syed and Elisabeth Yarbakhsh (Eds), Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018, pp 51-70.

JOURNAL ARTICLE

'Call', *Anthropology and Humanism*, Volume 43, Issue 1, June 2018, pp 159-164.

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