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Reconceptualising of Security: Stages and Goals

Fourth AFES-PRESS Workshop on Reconceptualising Security:

"Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks"

First World International Studies Conference (WISC)

Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey, 24- 27 August 2005

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1. Basic Questions:

- **What do we mean with „Security"?**
- **What has changed since 1989 and 2001?**
- **Did the global change trigger a „Reconceptualisation of Security"?**
- **What are the new dangers to „Security": Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities, Risks?**
- **Did the change of definition and perceptions trigger a change in the definition of „security interests and institutions"?**

1.1. What do we mean with „Security"?

➢ Security (Lat.: 'securus', 'securitas', 'se cura'; It.: 'sicurezza'; Fr.: 'sécurité'; Sp.: 'seguridad'; P.: 'segurança'; G.: 'Sicherheit')

➢ philosophical and psychological state of mind,

➢ subjective feeling of freedom from sorrow.

➢ Political concept of 'Pax Romana': stability in era of Augustus.

➢ Western thinking 'security' synonymous: 'certitudo' ('certainty')

➢ Since Augustus, and Middle Ages, 'securitas' was linked with 'pax' & 'libertas' that was associated with 'quieteness'.

➢ 19th century, 'state' is key security institution governed by law.

➢ 20th century, security also associated with preventing internal & external dangers; police & courts (*internal: justice & home affairs*) & political, economic, military measures (*external: security & defence*).

➢ a general 'societal idea of value', a universally employed 'normative concept', different meanings in affirmative manner.

➢ political value, is related to individual or societal value systems

1.2. Objective, Subjective, Intersubjective Security

- Wolfers (1962) pointed to two sides of the security concept: "Security, in an *objective* sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a *subjective* sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked".

- From a constructivist approach in international relations 'security' is the outcome of a process of social & political interaction where social values & norms, collective identities % cultural traditions are essential. Security: *intersubjective* or "what actors make of it".

- Copenhagen school security as a "speech act", "where a securitising actor designates a threat to a specified reference object and declares an existential threat implying a right to use extraordinary means to fend it off".

- Such a process of "securitisation" is successful when the construction of an "existential threat" by a policy maker is socially accepted and where "survival"' against existential threats is crucial.

1.3. Security Perception: Worldviews and Mind-sets

- Perceptions of security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, risks depend on worldviews of analyst & mind-set of policy-maker.

- Mind-set (Ken Booth): have often distorted perception of new challenges: include ethnocentrism, realism, ideological funda-mentalism, strategic reductionism

- Booth: Mind-sets freeze international relations into crude ima-ges, portray its processes as mechanistic responses of power and characterise other nations as stereotypes.

- Old Cold War mind-sets have survived global turn of 1989/1990

- 3 worldviews are distinguished by the English school:

  ❖ *Hobbesian* pessimism (realism)

  ❖ *Kantian* op-ti-mism (idealism) where *international law* and *human rights* are crucial; and

  ❖ *Grotian* pragma-tism where *cooperation* is vital

1.4. English School: Hobbes, Grotius & Kant

Hobbes (1588-1679)   Grotius (1583-1645)   Kant (1724-1804)

Security perceptions depend on worldviews or traditions

❖ **Hobbessian pessimist:** *power* **is the key category (narrow concept)**

❖ **Grotian pragmatist:** *cooperation* **is vital** (**wide security concept**)

❖ **Kantian optimist:** *international law* **and** *human rights* **are crucial**

1.5. Questions for any Security Concept

- From a minimalist security definition: "low probability of damage to acquired values", Baldwin (1997) raised seven questions to be addressed by each security concept:
    - Security for whom? Security for which values?
    - How much security? From what threats? By what means?
    - At what cost? In what time?
- Møller (2003) argued that Wolfer's definition ignores:
    - Whose values might be threatened? Which are these values?
    - Who might threaten them? By which means? Whose fears should count?
    - How might one distinguish between sincere fears and faked ones?
- Hintermeier (2006) has focused on 4 conceptual questions of:
    - Security for whom and what?
    - Security for which values?
    - Security from whom or what?
    - Security by what means and strategies?

1.6. Concepts of security in relation with peace, environment and development

- **Pillars & linkage concepts within the quartet**

IR research programs	Conceptual Quartet	Conceptual Linkages
▪Peace Research ▪Security Studies ▪Development Studies ▪Environment Studies 4 conceptual pillars ▪ I: *Security dilemma* ▪ II:*Survival dilemma* ▪ III: *Sust. developm.* ▪ IV: *Sustain. peace*	**Peace** **Security** •*I: Security dilemma* II IV **Development Environment** *III: Sustainable development*	•**Policy use of concepts & Theoretical debates on six dyadic linkages** •L1: **Peace & security** •**L 2: Peace & development** •**L 3: Peace & environment** •**L 4: Devel. & security** •**L 5: Devel. & environment** •**L 6: Security & environm.** **[six chapters reviewing & assessing the debates]**

1.7. Security vs. Survival dilemma?

Security dilemma

- A security dilemma exists "where the policy pursued by a **state** to achieve security proves to be an unsatisfactory one" and states were confronted "with a choice between two equal and undesirable alternatives".
- Collins (`95): 5 def. of this dilemma
  - ➢ decrease in the security of others;
  - ➢ decrease in the security of all;
  - ➢ uncertainty of intention;
  - ➢ no appropriate policies;
  - ➢ required insecurity.
- The first four relate to one another & form a coherent explanation of a traditional security dilemma.

Survival dilemma

- What is the *dilemma* about & what are choices for whom?
- Whose *survival* is at stake: humankind, state, own ethnic group, family or individual?
- What is the *referent* of such a "survival dilemma": international anarchy, nation state, society, the own ethnic or religious group, clan, village, family or the individual?
- What are the *reasons* that necessitate a choice between leaving the home or *fighting* (decline, disintegration)?
- Is this Surv. D. socially or environmentally driven or both?

2. Reconceptualising of Security: Stages and Goals: Contents

Human, Environmental Security and Peace (HESP)

- **Contextual Change & Conceptual Change?**
- Stage 1: Canterbury, 2001: **Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflict** (NATO)
- Stage 2: Montreal, Sopron & The Hague, 2004: **Reconceptualising Security** (Sponsors: European Commission: GMOSS, NATO, Dutch Science Found.)
- Stage 3: Istanbul (WISC) & Bonn (IHDP), 2005: **Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities, Risks** (Sponsor: NATO, UNU-EHS)
- Stage 4: Chicago, ISA; SGIR, 2007-2008: **Redefining Security: Interests and Institutions**

2.1. Global Contextual Change & Scientific Conceptual Change?

- Global Contextual Change: 9 November 1989 or 11 September 2001: Berlin or New York?

- Fall of the Berlin Wall: End of the bipolar competition of social systems and alliances

- 11 September 2001, 11 March 2003, 7 July 2005: New York – Madrid – London: The new invisible threat by non-state actors

- Global Environmental Change: A New Security Danger: Humankind as cause and victim

- Scientific Changes: Constructivist Approaches and Global Risk Society

2.2. Global Contextual Change:
9 November 1989 or 11 September 2001:

- **End of the Cold War?**

- **New threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks?**

Berlin

New York

- **Reunification of Germany**
- **Enlargement of the EU**

2.3.Fall of the Berlin Wall: Change of Global Order?

- **End of the Cold War**
  - ➤ **End of the Soviet threat**
  - ➤ **End of bipolarity: global competition of two rival socio-political systems**
  - ➤ **End of nucler deterence and doctrine of mutual assured destruction (MAD)**
  - ➤ **Implosion of the USSSR**
  - ➤ **Dissolution of Warsaw Pact**
  - ➤ **Unipolar world**
  - ➤ **Collective Security**

- **Unresolved Conflicts**
  - ➤ **Unresolv. Middle East Conflict**
  - ➤ **No „peace dividend**

- **Reunification of Europe**
  - ✓ **Deepening: common currency**
  - ✓ **Widening: EU enlargement**
  - ✓ **New peace order in Europe**

- **No New Global Order**
  - ▪ **No International Peace Order**
  - ▪ **No Lasting Peace Dividend**

- **Emergence of New Wars**
  - ▪ **Resource conflicts on oil: 1990-91**
  - ▪ **Dissolution of multi-ethnic coun-tries: USSR & Yugoslavia**
  - ▪ **War Lords & Failed States**
  - ▪ **Ethno-religious Civil Wars**
  - ▪ **Genocide in Bosnia-Hercegovina Ruanda/Sudan**

2.4. Fall of the Berlin Wall: New International Security Agenda

- Abdus Sabur (Bangladesh): "the end of the Cold War and the accompanying structural changes introduced a revolutionary change in security thinking" that resulted both in a dramatic decline in traditional security threats and to a series of intra-state conflicts, large-scale atrocities and genocide.
- The new security agenda included:
  - intra-state conflict, ethnicreligious violence,
  - landmines, terrorism, democracy, human rights, gender, crime,
  - poverty, hunger, deprivation, inequality, diseases and health hazards,
  - human development, economic security, markets, water,
  - energy, migration, environmental degradation and so on.
- For de Soysa (2006): "organised armed violence is declining rapidly since the end of the Cold War", & "globalisation promises security and development". "natural resource abundance, not its scarcity, hampers both good policymaking and civil peace required for ensuring long-term development & human security.
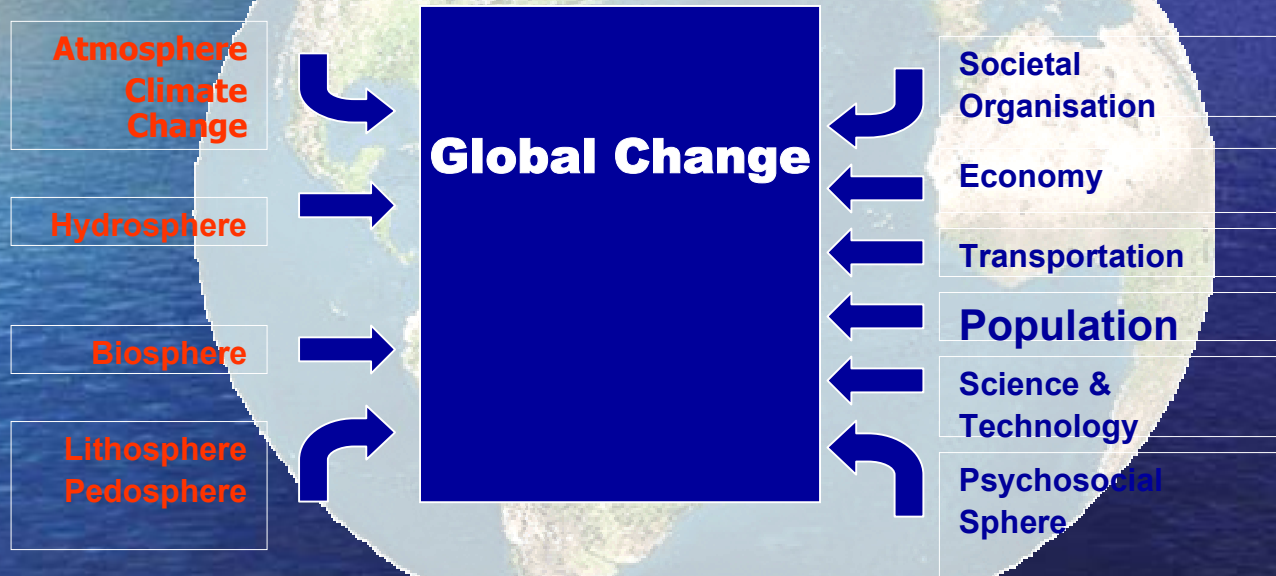
2.5. New York 11 September 2001, Madrid 11.3.2003, London 7.7.2005

- **New threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, & risks?**
- **US Nat. Security Stat. (02):**
  - **Terrorism**
  - **Weapons of mass destruction**
  - **Unilateral measures/strategy**
- **EU Solana Strategy(2003)**
- **High-level Panel for UNO-SG, K. Annan (Dec. 2004)**
  - **Poverty,environm. degradat.**
  - **Intra-state, internat. Conflict**
  - **Weapons of mass destruction**
  - **Terrorism, organised crime**
- **Report by K. Annan (2005)**

- **Rising military armaments**
- no change in post-Cold War order,
- non-state actors exploit 'vulnera-bility' of developed countries with non-military means.
- Temporary reduction of military capabilities (1900 to 1996).
- Since 1999, rising global military expendit., in 2004: 1 trillion $US, 47% were spent by the U.S.,
- In 2004, global military expendit. 6% below the peak (1985-1987).
- World military expenditure $US 162 per person or 2.6% of global GNP. The average annual increase from 1994-2004 was 2.4 %, and over the years 2002-2004 was 6%

2.6. Global Environmental Change (GEC): Environment & Security Linkages

Ecosphere

Antrophosphere

Atmosphere Climate Change

Hydrosphere

Biosphere

Lithosphere Pedosphere

Global Change

Societal Organisation

Economy

Transportation

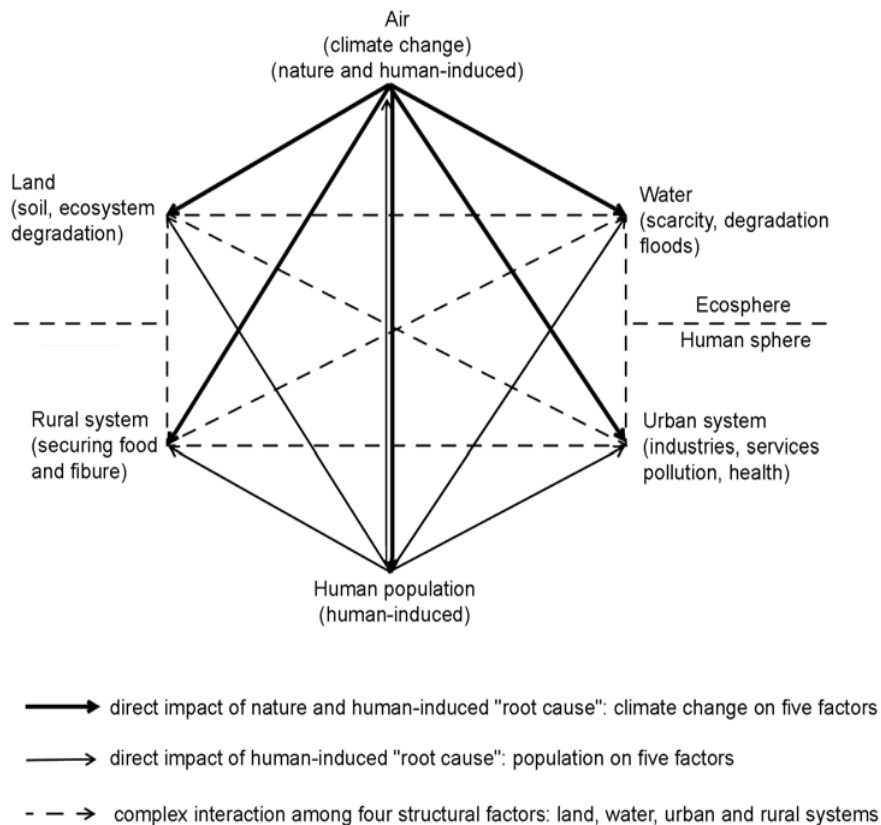**Population**

Science & Technology

Psychosocial Sphere

GEC poses a threat, challenge, vulnerabilities and risks for human security and survival.

2.7. Global Environmental Change (GEC) Research

❖ **Since 1970s, 1980s GEC focused on human-induced perturbations in environment encompassing many globally significant issues on natural & human-induced changes in environment, & socio-econ. drivers**

➢ **IGBP or International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme;**

➢ **IHDP or International Human Dimensions Programme;**

➢ **World Climate Research Program (WCRP), DIVERSITAS**

❖ **IHDP: contribution & adaptation of societies to changes, social, cult., econ., ethical, spiritual issues, our role & responsibility for the environ.**

❖ **GEC deals with changes in nature & society that affect humankind as a whole and human beings both a cause and victim, however those who have caused it and are most vulnerable to are often not identical.**

❖ **GEC affects & combines ecosphere & anthroposphere.**

Ecosphere: *atmosphere* (climate system), *hydrosphere* (water), *litho-sphere* (earth crust, fossil fuels), *pedosphere* (soil), *biosphere* (life).
Anthroposphere: populations, social organisations, knowledge, culture, economy & transport

2.8. Global Environmental Change
Security Danger: Humankind as Cause and Victim

Diagram labels:
Air (climate change) (nature and human-induced)
Land (soil, ecosystem degradation)
Water (scarcity, degradation floods)
Ecosphere
Human sphere
Rural system (securing food and fibure)
Urban system (industries, services pollution, health)
Human population (human-induced)

→ direct impact of nature and human-induced "root cause": climate change on five factors
→ direct impact of human-induced "root cause": population on five factors
- - → complex interaction among four structural factors: land, water, urban and rural systems

Ecosphere:
- **Air: Climate Change**
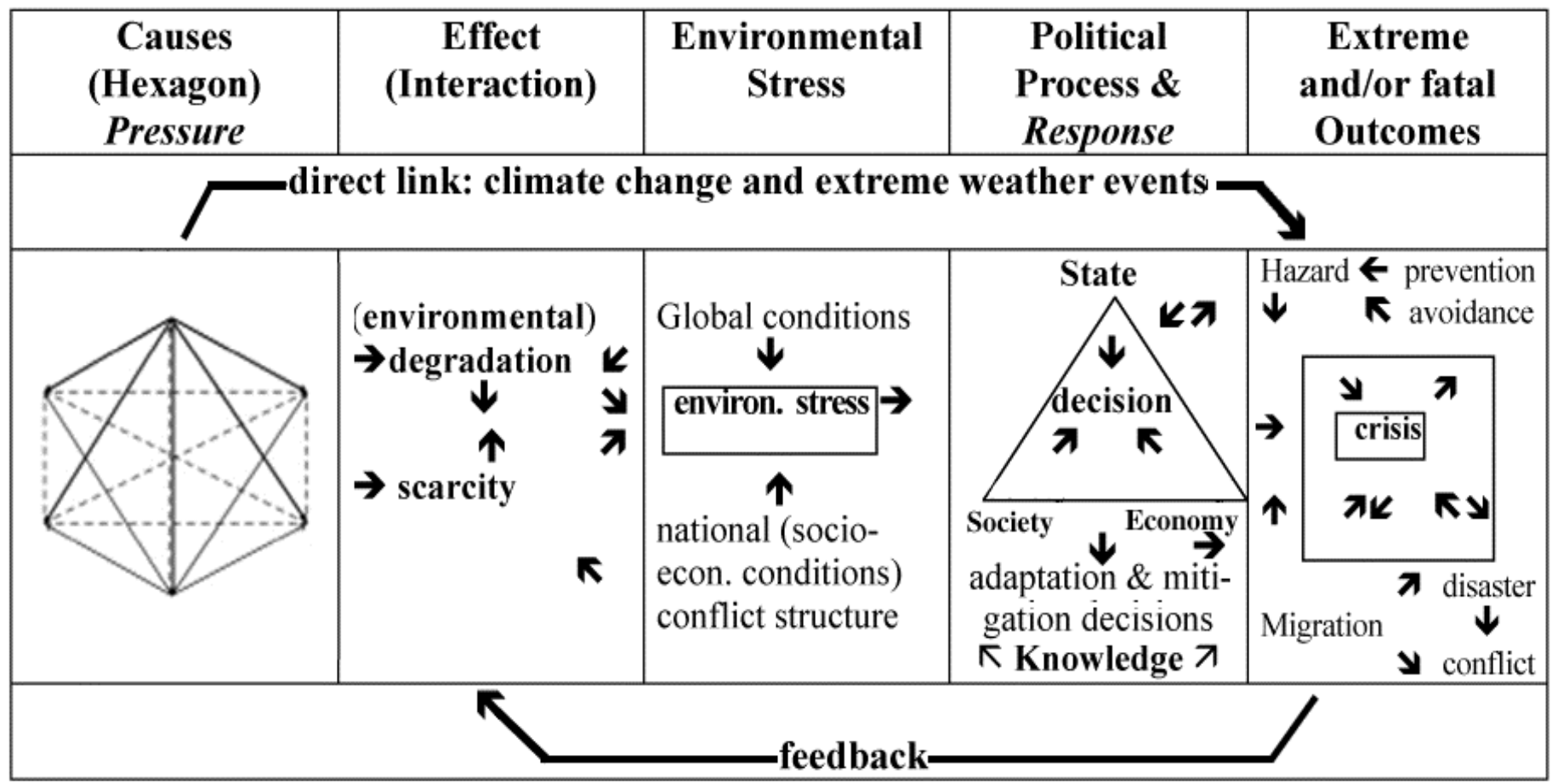- **Soil: Degradation, Desertification**
- **Water: degradat./scarcity**

Anthroposphere:
- **Population growth/decline**
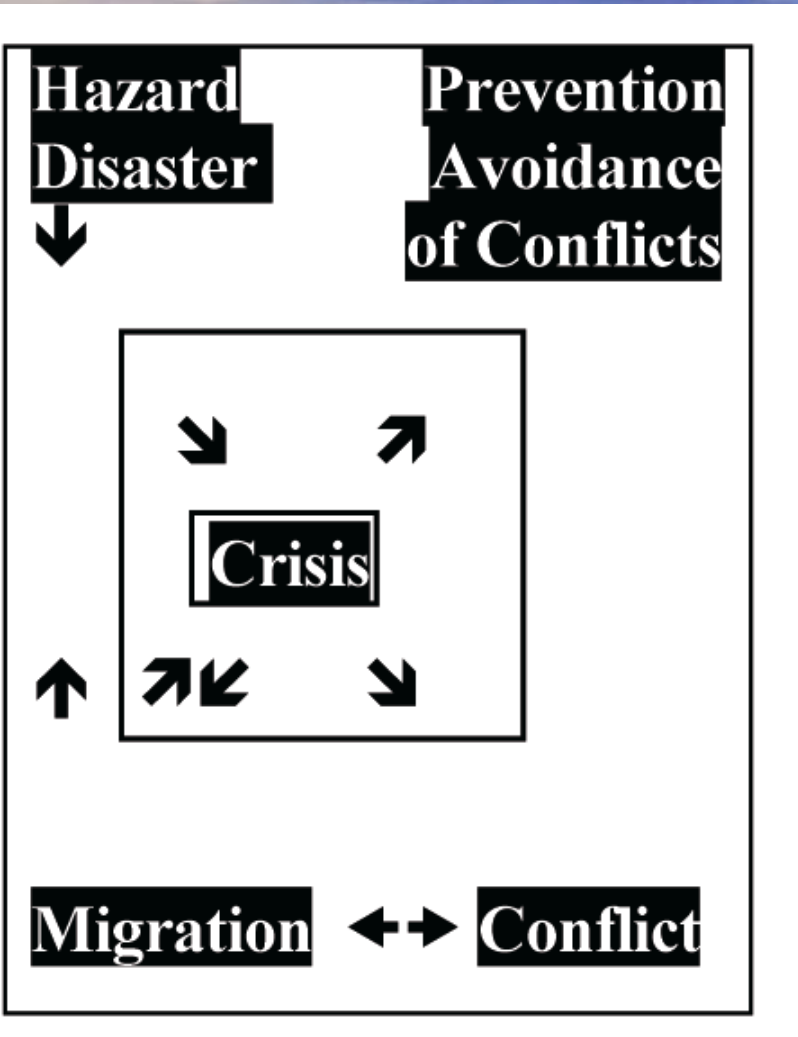- **Rural system: agriculture**
- **Urban system: pollution etc.**

Mode of Interaction
- **Linear**
- **Exponential**
- **Chaotic, abrupt**

Causes (Hexagon) *Pressure*	Effect (Interaction)	Environmental Stress	Political Process & *Response*	Extreme and/or fatal Outcomes

Climate change➡extreme weather events➡hydrometeo-rological hazard ➡ human disaster: security concern

2.10. Extreme Outcomes: Linking Natural Disasters with Societal Consequences: Posing a „Survival Dilemma"

Hazard Disaster — Prevention Avoidance of Conflicts → Crisis → Migration ↔ Conflict

GEC & environm. stress result in hazards, migration, conflicts

Affect: individual & humankind

Pose a „survival dilemma" for highly vulnerable humans:

- **To stay at home, starve & die**
- **To move & clash over water & food**

Vulnerable: women & children

Abrupt climate change may pose a „survival dilemma" for affected regions (North Atl.)

Need for coping strategies to reduce societal & environ-mental vulnerability.

2.12. Scientific Changes & Innovations

- **Constructivist Approaches**
- **The reconceptualising of security is also a result of developments in the social sciences with the emergence of con-structivist approaches**
- **(ideas matter, reality and knowledge are socially construc-ted)**
- **and 'reflexive modernity' in sociology (Beck; Giddens).**
- **However, these shifts may not qualify as a 'scientific revolution' (Kuhn 1962)**

- **Global Risk Society**
- **The combination of the impact of the change of international order on the object of security analysis, and of the new theoretical approaches in the social sciences have amalgamated in new concepts and theoretical approaches on security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks that has resulted in a new scientific diversity.**

2.13. Political Contextual Change: Cause for Reconceptualisation of Security

	Cold War (1947-89)	Post Cold War (1990-)
Concept	Narrow	Wide (Europe, EU)
		Narrow (USA, MENA)
Dimensions	military, political	+ economic, societal,
Referent	nation state, alliance	+ global env. change
Threat (from)	Soviet(West), imperialist (East)	individual to global
Challenge	manifold: 5 dimensions	USA: WMD, terrorism
Vulnerability	weapons systems,cities, ICBMs, infrastructure	EU: wider spectrum, climate change
Risk	military, ideological	5 dimensions of sec.

2.14. Widening, Deepening and Sectorialisation of Security

Since 1990 we have observed 3 changes of the Security Concept in Science & Practice

- **Widening:** Extended security concepts, e.g. in the German Defence White Paper (1994), from military & political dimension to econ., societal, environmental

- **Deepening:** Shift in the referent from the state (national security) to the individual (human security)

- **Sectorialisation:** many international organisations use security: energy security (IEA), health security (WHO), food security (FAO, WFP), water security (UNEP, UNU), livelihood security (OECD) etc.

2.15. Widening of Security Concepts: Towards Environmental Security

4 trends in reconceptualisation of security since 1990:
- **Widening** (dimensions, sectors), **Deepening** (levels, actors)
- **Sectoriaisation** (energy, food, health), **Shrinking** (WMD, terrorists)

Dimensions & Levels of a Wide Security Concept

Security dimension ⇒ ⇓ Level of interaction	Mili-tary	Politi-cal	Economic	Environ-mental ⇓	Societal
Human individual ⇒			Food/health	**Cause & Victim**	Food/health
Societal/Community				⬇⬆	
National	**Shrinking**		**Energy se.**	⬇⬆	
Internat./Regional				⬇⬆	
Global/Planetary ⇒				**GEC**	

2.16. Environmental & Human Security

Expanded Security Concepts (Møller, '03; Oswald '01)

Label	Reference object	Value at risk	Source(s) of threat
National security	The State	Territ. integrity	State,substate actors
Societal security	Societal groups	Nation. identity	Nations, migrants
Human security	Individ., mankind	Survival	Nature, state, global.
Environmental sec.	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humankind
Gender security	Gender relations, indigenous people, minorities	Equality, identity, solidarity	Patriarchy, totalitarian institutions (governm., churches,elites) intoler.

Human security: Referent: individuals and humankind. [**Human Security Network**]

❖Values at risk: survival of human beings and their quality of life.

❖Major source of threat: nature (global environmental change), globalisation, nation state with its ability to cope with this dual challenge.
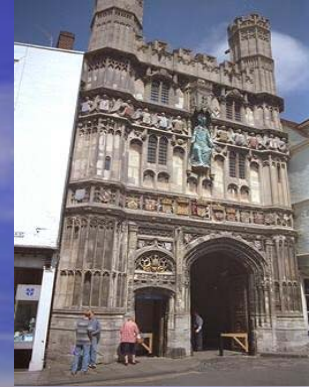
Environmental Security: Referent: Ecosystem; Value at risk is sustainability.

❖ Major challenges: global environmental change & humankind,

❖ Focus: Interactions between ecosystem & humankind, impact of global environmental change on environmental degradation, of increasing demand on environmental scarcity & environmental stress. [No Environment Security Network of States, & IGOs & NGOs]

2.17. Research and Policy Questions

- **What do we mean with security globally?**
- **How has security been reconceptualised since 1989 and 2001? [Canterbury books]**
- ➢ **What do we mean with the four security dangers: threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks in different disciplines?**
- ➢ **What are the new security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks in five dimensions, for state and humankind?**
- ❖**How have security interests been redefined and institutions responded? [2007?]**

3. Canterbury, 2001: Con-ceptualising Security and Environmental Conflict

Hans Günter Brauch
P. H. Liotta
Antonio Marquina
Paul F. Rogers
Mohammad El-Sayed Selim
Editors

Security and Environment in the Mediterranean

Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts

Springer

- **Focus: Mediterranean**
  - Environmental security res.
  - Conceptualising security in Europe, Maghreb/mashrik, Israel & Turkey: narrow conc.
  - Environemntal Conflict
  - 6 factors of Survival Hexagon
  - Natural disasters & prevention
- **First Book in the Springer Hexagon Series on HESP**

4. Montreal, Sopron, The Hague, 2004: Reconceptualising Security

The Hague, Peace Palace, Sep. 2004

Editorial meeting, 11.9.2004

H.G. Brauch, J. Grin, C. Mesjasz, P. Dunay, N. Behera, B. Chourou, U. Oswald, P. H. Liotta, P. Kameri-Mbote (Eds.): Globalisation and Environ-mental Challenges: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century (Berlin –New York : Springer-Verlag, October 2006)

H.G. Brauch, J. Grin, C. Mesjasz, H. Krummenacher, N. Behera, B. Chourou, U. Oswald, P. H. Liotta, P. Kameri-Mbote (Eds.): Facing Global Environmental Change: Environ-mental, Human, Energy, Food, Health and Water Security Concepts (Berlin – New York : Springer-Verlag, March 2007)

5. Istanbul & Bonn, 2005: Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities, Risks

Fourth AFES-PRESS Workshop

Fifth AFES-PRESS Workshop

- **WISC, 24.-27.8.2005**
- **IHDP, 9. - 13.10.2005**
- **Planned next book:**

Hans Günter Brauch, Czeslaw Mesjasz, John Grin, Ursula Oswald Spring, Peter Liotta, Yasemin Biro, Bassam Hayek, Bechir Chourou, Jörn Birk-mann (Eds.): *Coping with Global Change, Disasters and Security - Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabili-ties and Risks* (Berlin – New York: Springer, 2007).

6. Future: Chicago, ISA; SGIR, 2007-2008: Redefining Security: Interests & Institutions

- **Possible future topics of volumes**
  - Early warning of hazards and conflicts
  - Redefining security interests
  - Role of security institutions
  - Environmental conflict prevention and peacemaking
  - Renewable energy: means of environmental security
- **Possible future workshops**
  - March 2006: fourth World Water Forum in Mexico
  - March 2006: third Early Warning Conference in Bonn
  - July 2006: 21st IPRA General Conference, Calagary
  - March 2007: ISA in Chicago: 1-3 panels
  - Sept. 2007: SGIR in Turin, Italy: 10 panels??

7. Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security & Peace (HESP)

- **Vol. 1: Hans Günter Brauch; P.H. Liotta, Antonio Marquina, Paul Rogers, Mohamed El-Sayed Selim (Eds.):** *Security and Environment in the Mediterranean - Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflict*; (Berlin - Heidelberg - New York: Springer 2003).

- **Vol. 2: Hillel Shuvall, Hassan Dweik (Eds.):** *Water Conflict in the Middle East* (Berlin - Heidelberg - New York: Springer Verlag, Summer 2006).

- **Vol. 3: Hans Günter Brauch, John Grin, Czeslaw Mesjasz, Pal Dunay, Navnita Chadha Behera, Béchir Chourou, Ursula Oswald Spring, P. H. Liotta, Patricia Kameri-Mbote (Eds.):** *Globalisation and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century* (Berlin –New York: Springer, October 2006)

- **Vol. 4: Hans Günter Brauch, John Grin, Czeslaw Mesjasz, Heinz Krumme-nacher, Navnita Chadha Behera, Béchir Chourou, Ursula Oswald Spring, P. H. Liotta, Patricia Kameri-Mbote (Eds.):** *Facing Global Environmental Change: Environmental, Human, Energy, Food, Health and Water Security Concepts* (Berlin –New York: Springer, March 2007)

- **Vol. 5: Hans Günter Brauch, Czeslaw Mesjasz, John Grin, Ursula Oswald, Peter Liotta, Yasemin Biro, Bassam Hayek, Bechir Chourou, Jörn Birkmann (Eds.):** *Coping Global Change, Dsasters and Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks,* October 2007).

8. AFES-PRESS Bookaid Project in 2004: 250 copies to 110 countries

The book aid project was made possible by grants by:

- Berghof Foundation for Conflict Research, Germany (120 bks)
- Public Diplomacy Division of NATO (117 books)
- Sparkasse Neckartal-Odenwald, Mosbach, Germany (11 bks)
- Peter Dornier Foundation, Friedrichshafen, Germany (5 bks)
- Dr. H. G. Brauch, AFES-PRESS, Mosbach, Germany (19 books)
- Dr. G. Hoogensen, University Tromsoe, Norway (1 book)
- Mr. D. Hartmann, Berlin, Germany (1 book)

The books were only sent to libraries & not to individuals

to guarantee a maximum access to readers around the world especially in countries that could hardly afford such a major reference book.

All resources have been exhausted, new donations are welcome. Books will be sent only to publicly accessible libraries and not to individual scholars and dignities.

For a list of recipient libraries

<http://www.afes-press-books.de/html/book_aid_project.htm>

9. Reports for UNU-EHS

UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

InterSecTions. Interdisciplinary Security Connections

- **1/2005: Paul L. G. Vlek:** Nothing Begets Nothing. The Creeping Disaster of Land Degradation, **Jan. 2005**

➤ **2/ 2005: Hans Günter Brauch:** Environment and Hu-man Security. Towards Freedom from Hazard Impacts**. April 2005.**

- **3/2005: 3/2005: Andreas Rechkemmer:** Global Governance and UN Reform – Challenges and Opportunities for Environment and Human Security, **Sept. 2005**

Sources

➤ **1/2005: Hans Günter Brauch:** Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks in Environmental and Human Security, **August 2005**

- **Order free copies at:** Ilona Roberts at: <u>roberts@ehs.unu.edu</u>
- **Download at: http://www.ehs.unu.edu/#**

10. Structure of the Istanbul workshop

Panel 1: Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerability and Risks: Perspectives from Europe and Latin America

Panel 2: Military and Political Security Threats in the Euro-Mediterranean Region

Panel 3: Climate Change as Environmental and Human Security Challenges and Vulnerabilities

Panel 4: Mapping Environmental Security Challenges

Panel 5: Social Science Concepts of Security Vulnerability and Risks

Panel 6: Environmental and Water Security Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks in the Middle East and North African Region

Panel 7: Environmental Security Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks in the Near and Middle East

Panel 8: Military, Political and Economic Security Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks in the Near and Middle East and in China

Panel 9: Water Security Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks

Panel 10: From Conflict to Environmental Peacemaking in the Middle East: A Roundtable