

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE



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NON-STATE ACTORS AND THE SECURITY OF THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN AREA REGION



Jean Monnet Network • Erasmus+ Programme

POWERS

PEACE, WAR AND THE WORLD IN EUROPEAN SECURITY CHALLENGES

WEDNESDAY, 30TH JANUARY 2019

Mohammad Ali Bdheir Auditorium
Presidency Building University of Jordan,
Amman - Jordan



**Center for Strategic Studies (CSS)
University of Jordan**



مركز الدراسات
الاستراتيجية
CENTER FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES



CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

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OPENING AND WELCOME REMARKS



Prof. Dr. Musa Shteivi

*Director of the Center for Strategic Studies
(CSS) – University Of Jordan*

Academic Coordinator of the Powers Network

Your Excellencies

Prof. Abdulkarim Al-Qudah, President of the University, sponsor of the conference

Dr. Alla Akulshina, POWERS Network Coordinator

Dear participants and guests

I am pleased to welcome and thank all of you, for attending and participating in this Conference that is organized by the Center for Strategic Studies. I would also like to thank Dr. Abdulkarim Al-Qudah, President of the University, for his patronage of this conference. Who is always keen to participate in our various scientific and research activities. I am also pleased to welcome our colleagues and fellow professors, members of the Powers network. And I extend my sincere thanks and appreciation to His Excellency Mr. Abdul-Ella Al-Khatib for honoring us today by delivering the keynote speech at this conference and for his continued support for the Center and its activities. We would like to thank our dear guests for attending and participating in this conference.

Dear participants,

The region and the world have witnessed the emergence of extremist and violent transnational organizations that have played a major role in fueling conflicts within many countries in the Middle East and the world. In addition to the human losses resulting from these conflicts, these movements have contributed to the creation of numerous security, political and humanitarian challenges, and have extended their influence to regional and European countries that share our region, neighbor and sea, past and common future, and became targets of these organizations' activities, threatening the security and social peace of these countries.

Jordan has never been immune from the continued targeting of these organizations to its security and stability. But it remained stubborn to these organizations and maintained its security and stability, thanks to the wise leadership of King Abdullah II, and his insight into the nature of these organizations and the danger they pose, and thanks to the great efforts of our armed forces and the security services. In addition to the unity of Jordanians and their knowledge about their leadership and security services.

It is no secret that the crisis of forced asylum in the region, especially the Syrian crisis, has increased the challenges and humanitarian and security burdens, not only on Jordan and the region, but also on European countries, which face unconventional and unprecedented security challenges.

The security challenges facing the Euro-Mediterranean region confirm that the issue of security and stability has become a collective problem that cannot be addressed individually, as this was one of the incentives that led to the organization of this conference today.

The conference is organized as a part of the Powers Network (Peace, War and the World in European Security Challenges) (Jean Monnet Network), supported by Erasmus and the European Union, with nine universities from the world: Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Turkey, In addition to Jordan. The conference will discuss several issues related to security threats to the Euro-Mediterranean region and cross-border security cooperation, in the area of forced migration and others, so that the dialogue can be constructive, fruitful and systematic, through which common and consensus visions can be reached. Pluralism, exchange of advice and expertise stimulate debate and make results more accurate and correct. It is our great hope that we will hear from fellow participants' valuable insights and new information on the themes of this conference.

Your Excellencies, Dear Participants

Thank you for your presence and participation. I cherish your good efforts, which we hope will have a positive impact on the enhancement of human security, the alleviation of human suffering and the strengthening of cooperation in the prevention of the dangers of wars and migrations and loss of security, so that everyone can be assured of security and share their human responsibilities. The issue of security is a common issue that is not limited to one State alone, but one that needs to be shared and shared by all.

I extend my deepest appreciation and thanks to all of you, and to all who contributed to the output of this conference: support, preparation and participation. Dear guests, I welcome you to Jordan, the homeland of love, security and stability under the leadership of His Majesty King Abdullah II. I take this opportunity to congratulate His Majesty on the occasion of his 57th birthday, wishing him good health and happiness.

Prof. Dr. Musa Shteivi

Director, Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) - University of Jordan

January 30 2019



Dr. Alla Akulshina

*Head of the International Office, Voronezh
State University*

*Member of Board of the Association of
European Studies in Russia*

Coordinator of the POWERS Network

I represent Erasmus+ research project funded by the European Union Jean under Monnet Actions - Network Peace, War and the World in European Security challenges.

The Network is designed to investigate European security challenges which has thus become a term of great currency and concern. European security is in trouble. European security challenges have become that very well that tolls for us, for you in each region, each country, and each community.

After the end of the Cold War, the Euro-Atlantic countries failed to create a regional security system that would include Russia. This failure lies at the heart of Europe's current security problem. This conflict is systemic and can be defined as the Hybrid War.

Both Europe and Russia in the twenty-first century find themselves in the midst of interlocking crises. There is a synergy of a new wave of militarisation and nuclearisation, and the erosion of the principles of collective security and international rule of law.

The complete lack of trust in the relationship is the most serious security issue. It can be explained in terms of a mismatch between policies and tools for managing problems and the everyday reality. How to move to New Equilibrium? In today's complex world previous solutions do not work and without doubt, contemporary security challenges need new approaches, methods and toolkits. One of the important goal for Western countries and Russia is to cooperate where their interests overlap.

I represent an academic field. Research and education is the most advanced and the least controversial area in EU-Russia relations. We have no outstanding or vexing problems to solve in the area of research cooperation, but only a positive agenda to move forward.

I am very glad to participate in joint project with the leading institutions based in regions considered as key international actors (the EU, Middle East, Turkey, and Russia).

I am glad to welcome representatives of the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) - University of Jordan (Jordan), Dokuz Eylul University (Turkey), University of Goettingen (Germany), Institute of Political Studies of Bordeaux (France), Kore University of Enna (Italy) and Russian colleagues from Krasnodar, Perm and Voronezh.

I hope our joint efforts will contribute to overcoming difficulties and contradictions in international security perception by our regions.

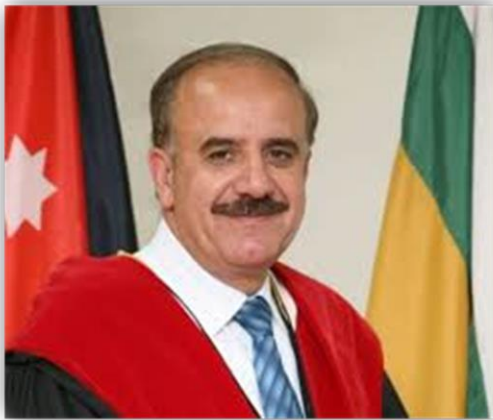
The strategic aim of our project is to provide multilateral approach to responses to European security challenges and to develop common vision of security threats. It cannot but agree that urgency of the present moment is to give responses to actual menaces in security. However, to manage them we have to come to common vision what poses threat and how they are understood by different international actors. These aims cannot be reached by a single institution but only within the fruitful and enriching atmosphere of a network.

Our Network has a challenging research agenda in four emerging themes: Europe and the World: Conflict Studies; Religion and Socio-Cultural Challenges; Regional strategies in International Security; Human Rights in time of conflicts.

Our three-year-long-agenda contains four scientific conferences, seven targeted research workshops, two summer schools, series of guest lectures, and a long list of scientific publications.

This conference in University of Jordan is the first event of our Network and promises to give our collaborative work a successful start. I believe it is very right that we start to discuss European security in a country which is among key international actors in the Middle East. I hope that our discussions today will be fruitful! Thank you!

**UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF JORDAN PROF. DR.
ABDEL-KARIM AL-QUDAH**



Prof. Dr. Abdel-Karim Al-Qudah
President of the University of Jordan

*Your Excellencies,
Honorable Vice-Presidents of the University
Dr. Alla Akulshina, POWERS Network Coordinator
Director of the Center for Strategic Studies
Distinguished guests
Dear Colleagues
Peace, mercy and blessings of God be upon you,*

At the beginning of this morning, I am pleased to welcome you at the University of Jordan - the home of expertise and the torch of knowledge.

You share the noble goals of the University and its supreme goal in promoting human security, building a better future for it, and avoiding dangers. You wanted your conference's title to highlight an important issue such as security in the Euro-Mediterranean region, Policies, cross-border security cooperation and others. Security, is the focus of our attention in Jordan, under the leadership of His Majesty King Abdullah II Ibn Al Hussein, who says: "Today we stand strong in our unity in an environment filled with sectarian and ethnic conflicts and above all with terrorism. Jordan enjoys the achievements of security and safety, the basis of life, and there is no compromise in it. "

We, in Jordan enjoy security in an inflamed environment surrounded by dangers from all sides. What we need – as academic institutions, political and strategic research centers - is to be fully aware of these events. To be able to deal with them with a clear vision, not limited to immediate reaction, or intense emotions, but to a broad understanding of these events and its

nature and developments in all its dimensions. And to be able to determine our path, and bare our national, humanitarian and global responsibilities in the face of crises and challenges.

The multiplicity of the participating parties today, and the diversity of their competencies and experiences are proof that the issue of security is a common and inclusive issue, which is indivisible for all to cooperate in order to provide the enjoyment of security.

Countries throughout history have not succeeded in establishing collective security, as dreamers of peace, thinkers and policy-makers dream of. Collective security is the opposite of wars and domination. Collective security strategy is the path to achieving peace and deterring the aggressor, no matter how powerful it is, and it is a mean of living in peace, dignity and respect, away from armed violence.

In your event today, we see efforts in the right place, in dealing with the security issue, which is based on an integrated vision of shared responsibility and close cooperation.

It is the organized scientific efforts that look at the problem causes and show its risks and put realistic solutions to it. Your conference today is a window in which you will explore how best to achieve security and stability on the regional and international levels. And it contributes to the strengthening of the collective security strategy among States, which represents the positive engine of the patterns of relations between them.

I am confident that today we will have valuable papers that deal with key and crucial issues, depending on the depth and richness of the researchers' experiences, who have the methodology of analysis and conclusion. We look forward to the day when collective security is achieved on the ground by peaceful cooperation between war-weary States that are afflicted with devastation.

Dear participants, I would like to welcome all of you. And I would like to express my thanks and appreciation to the Center for Strategic Studies for organizing the conference and to all those who contributed to the preparation of the conference.

Peace, mercy and blessings of God.

*Prof. Dr. Abdul Karim Al Qudah
President, University of Jordan
January 30 2019*

TRANSNATIONAL SECURITY COOPERATION AND POLICIES IN THE EURO- MEDITERRANEAN REGION

SESSION ONE



CHAIR

Prof. Dr. Musa Shteivi

*Director of the Center for Strategic
Studies (CSS) – University Of Jordan*

*Academic Coordinator of the Powers
Network*

Prof. Dr. Musa Shteivi obtained his PhD degree in Sociology from the University of Cincinnati. He is currently the Director of the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at the University of Jordan. He has over 20 years of experience as a Professor at the University of Jordan, having taught in sociology, the Human Rights, Development and Gender Studies programs. Furthermore, his curriculum includes experience as advisor and consultant for government bodies, the World Bank, UN and other international organizations and research institutions. His participation as team leader also played a key role on many national and regional projects, including the Human Development Report for Jordan and the Social Violence Report in Jordan, and the Jordan Scenarios 2030. His expertise lies in conceptualizing and carrying out empirical research projects, Policy and strategic analysis. He has published more than 50 papers and dozens of research projects and books in the fields of development, social policies, poverty, unemployment, gender, social classes, security, civil society and political parties, Syrian refugees, and youth. Moreover, he received the Jordanian State Encouragement Award for his research in the field of Women's Studies. He co-authored the book Sociology of Extremism and Terrorism in Jordan with Mohammad Abu Rumman (Center for Strategic Studies CSS – University of Jordan, 2018) and Jordan : Emerging Threats to the Kingdom National Security Mohammad Abu Rumman and Jesse Marks (ISPI, 2018).

POST-"ISIS" AND ITS IMPACT ON THE MEDITERRANEAN AND THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF EUROPE



Gen. Jamal Madain

*Senior Advisor of the National Center for
Security and Crises Management (NCSCM),
Jordan*

Strong evidence suggests that "ISIS" is at the edge of military defeat in Syria and that gradual change in the form and content of the terrorist threat is occurring. In details, early transit of terrorist activities from the Syrian and Iraqi arenas into new, more suitable areas seem to appear. Despite the fact that "ISIS" is being decisively defeated on the ground it still far from being uprooted. There are strong evidences of ISIS fragmentation the most important of which is the emerging of new groups with the same ideology and approach. In parallel, Al-Qaeda is currently focusing on attracting and re-recruiting dissidents from ISIS still rejecting the idea of controlling geographical areas. The strategical significance is then it is most likely that ISIS will transit to North Africa (Islamic Maghreb), Sahra and Alsahel as an alternative region and, consequently, with the risk to take advantage of using migrants and refugees as cover for their movements among countries, including southern European states. In the light of these potential transformations three scenarios might then occur. The first one is the shrinkage of ISIS is more likely, with shifting from the stage of military engagement to the stage of terrorist operations, with the result of transferring its main activities to North Africa and other nearby regions. Secondly, Al-Qaeda might recover and gain power with new recruits, and become capable of inheriting all jihadi groups, with the transfer of its main activities to North Africa and other regions. The third scenario is that both Al-Qaeda and ISIS would transfer their activities to North Africa, Asia and elsewhere, maintaining minimum activities enough to sustain security headaches for the Middle East. Southern Europe might be impacted by possible terrorist infiltration through the Mediterranean by exploiting movements of illegal immigrants and refugees from North and Central Africa. It can be concluded that the collapse of ISIS has created a terrorist displacement with potential to carry out sophisticated attacks all over the world with focus on Europe. As a result, there is a strong need to develop and strengthen coordination mechanisms among the countries of the region with regard to the activity of terrorist groups. Furthermore, joint efforts are required to launch a robust strategy that involves treatment and rehabilitation of those who have been radicalized with aim of re-educating

and integrating them in their societies together with development and strengthening of border security systems, as the security of states start from their borders.

BIOGRAPHY

Former Director of Military Intelligence and Senior Analyst at Middle East Media and Policy Studies Institute, The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan Major General (ret.) Jamal Madain has been a Chief of Research in (MEMEPSI), specializing in military and security affairs of the MENA region. Gen. Jamal Madain completed a thirty-four-year career at the Jordanian Armed Forces – JAF / Directorate of Military Intelligence, Head of the Operational Department, Head of the Analysis Department before assigned as a director of military intelligence.

THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN SPACE AS A REGION: INSTITUTIONAL AGENDAS, TRANS-BORDER INTERACTIONS AND DEFRAGMENTATION



Prof. Daniel Bach

*CNRS Director of research Emeritus
Emile Durkheim Centre, Science Po Bordeaux,
France*

The renaissance of regionalism in the 1990s has drawn attention to issues and processes that were previously ignored or deemed of marginal significance. Most importantly perhaps, fresh attention paid to the issues of regional order/disorder also requires acknowledging the diversity of the "languages and grammar" of regionalism. Focusing on the world of regionalisms, the paper also provides valuable tools for research into the political economy of regional institutions and processes that are at stake in the euro-med region/space.

The intellectual legacy of the revival of regionalism in the 1990s resides in its contribution to the dissemination of the analytical distinction between regionalism and integration. The notion of regionalism accounts for ideas or ideologies, programs, policies and goals that seek to transform an identified social space into a regional project. Since regionalism postulates the implementation of a program and the definition of a strategy, it is often associated with institution-building or the conclusion of formal agreements. Regionalism can also relate to the production, invention or re-invention of transnational identities, a process concomitant with the delineation of mental maps and boundaries. By contrast, regionalization focuses on the build-up of interactions which may or may not relate to an explicitly asserted or acknowledged regionalist project. Regionalization is a more encompassing notion than regionalism since it considers processes and configurations within which states are frequently not the key players. This means that regionalization may correlate with the implementation of regionalist strategies and translate into processes of cross-border integration. Regionalization can grow irrespective of state policies, and even at times, in opposition to their stated purpose. In the Middle East, as in Africa, the diasporic networks associated with trade or labour migration do not carry any particular ambition to build regional integration. At the same time, the aggregation of individual strategies stimulates cross-border and transregional integration processes, through the development

of markets located in the borderlands that may contribute to the emergence of global hubs and nodes. In such cases, regionalization is entangled with state policies and corporate strategies that thrive from the instrumentalization of opportunities created by fiscal, tariff or normative incentives, as much as from the porosity of frontiers.

BIOGRAPHY

Daniel C. Bach is Director of Research Emeritus of the CNRS (National Centre for Scientific Research) at the Emile Durkheim Centre, University of Bordeaux. He holds the Diplôme d'Habilitation à Diriger des Recherches (Bordeaux I University), a D.Phil from Oxford University, a MA from Panthéon-Sorbonne University, and a BA from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Grenoble University. He has taught at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ife-Ife (Nigeria), the University of Montréal, ISCTE in Lisbon, the University of Coimbra, Boston University, Ritsumeikan University, the University of Kobe, and the LUISS Guido Carli, Rome. A former Director of Centre d'Etude d'Afrique noire of Bordeaux, he was a Deakin Fellow at St Antony's College (Oxford University), a Fulbright scholar (Boston University) and a Fellow of the Indian Council for Social Studies Research (Jawaharlal Nehru University). He is currently an Adjunct Professor at University of Lisbon and HEC, Paris and Benguerir. He has published on Nigerian federalism, the foreign policies of Nigeria and South Africa, neopatrimonialism and the developmental state, regional organisations and regionalisation processes in Africa as well as on Africa in international relations. His latest book on Regionalism in Africa. Genealogies, Institutions and Trans-state networks is now available as a paperback (<https://www.routledge.com/Regionalism-in-Africa-Genealogies-institutions-and-trans-state-networks/Bach/p/book/9781138091054>). Daniel Bach is also the series editor of the Routledge Studies in African Politics and international relations. For full list of publications see also: <http://sciencespobordeaux.academia.edu/DanielBach>

SISTER CITIES AS ACTORS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: EU-RUSSIA



Prof. Elena Morozova

*Professor of Department of Public Policy and
Public Administration*

Kuban State University, Krasnodar, Russia

International relations come into conflict with the all-around communication gap and lack of trust. Evidently, that traditional diplomacy is unable to solve such problems without the involvement of the professionals who speak the same language and share stable immunity to political commitment. Lately, the research of non-formal channels and private actors in foreign policy has become widespread in academic circles. Important actors of public diplomacy are twin cities. The two cities in the history of sister city movement to establish their friendly relations as far back as 1944 were Stalingrad in the Soviet Union and Coventry in England.

In Europe, the two alternatives to the development of friendly ties have taken shape. One of them is the United Municipal Councils of Europe based on the idea of cooperation among people who share common values. The other is the United Towns Organization (UTO) which incorporates people who oppose themselves to the other groups. In Krasnodar region, out of 45 twin-cities, 39 are from Europe, 9 are from Asia and 5 cities are from the USA. The most fruitful cooperation has been developing between Krasnodar and Karlsruhe - a sister-city from Germany. The author analyzes the reasons why cities do become friends, investigates main problems in the development of sister-cities' movement and traces the modern trends in the movement including the construction of twin cities networks.

BIOGRAPHY

Elena Morozova graduated from the Kuban State University in 1980. She defended the candidate dissertation in History in 1987 and doctoral dissertation in philosophy of politics and law in 1989. She has 19 years of experience in scientific grants activity, including 8 international grant projects in different roles (coordinator in 3 international projects). During 11 years (2004-2015) she has been working as the head of the chair of public policy and public

administration at Kuban State University. Teaching in the field of comparative politics and government, including 6 years of teaching as a fellow professor at Clark University (Astrakhan branch), USA.

A DISCUSSION IN THE SHADOW OF EAST-GHOUTA



Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Martin Tamcke

*Chair of Department of Theology, Institute for
Ecumenics & Oriental Christianity
University of Goettingen, Germany*

On 26 February 2018 Ignatius Aphrem II, Patriarch of the Syrian Orthodox Church, penned an open letter to the general secretary of the World Council of Churches, Rev. Dr. Tveit. He had made similar comments on the matters before and with his letter, he took it to the public. He dives right into the subject. “We are deeply appalled by your statement on Syria, issued on February 26, 2018. You mention 550 victims killed in Eastern Ghouta including more than 130 children. However, you neglect to mention hundreds of civilians including many children killed by the mortars and missiles coming from Eastern Ghouta”. His intention is clear: he wants the protest held by the World Council of Churches against the violent approach of the government troops, which led to numerous deaths among civilians and children in Eastern Ghouta, to at least be questioned. The Patriarch wants to raise public awareness for something he has been criticising before and continued to criticise after writing this letter: the Council's bias. “As a Council of Churches representing its members including those of us who live in Syria, your statement should have been apolitical, more pastoral and reflecting the position of the great majority of Christians in Syria. Such an unbalanced statement will be used as a political tool serving a political vision of Syria's future which does not necessarily express the views of the majority of the Syrian people including Christians”. The way, WCC is acting, proves, so the Patriarch, that the WCC exclude the churches of Syria. The paper reported the situation of Christians in Eastern-Ghouta as well as in Dasmascus during the fights, how the parishes in Eastern-Ghouta disappeared and the Christian quarters in Damascus came under attack and looks for a balance between the contrahents in the controversy.

BIOGRAPHY

Martin Tamcke is the Director of the Department of of Ecumenical Theology and Oriental Church and Mission History, Director of Studies both in the international “Intercultural Theology” M.A. programme and in the Erasmus-Mundus “Euroculture” M.A. programme. Both programmes of study were co-founded by him. He is Assistant Director of the Centre for the Study of the Cultures of Europe and the Mediterranean in Antiquity, Editor in Chief of Studies in Euroculture and Erasmus Departmental coordinator at Faculty of Theology at UGOE. The focus of his research lies on the Christian cultures of the Near and Middle East with special emphasis on interreligious coexistence and oriental-occidental relations. He serves as Visiting Professor at universities in North America, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East. He is member of several academic societies and is appointed to different functions for the Evangelical Church of Germany (Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland). Prof. Tamcke is connected in a well developed network of international and inter-confessional contacts to leading personalities in religion, politics, and culture.

UNKNOWN THREATS AND RISKS FOR THE SECURITY IN RUSSIA, EUROPE, AND MENA COUNTRIES

SESSION TWO



CHAIR

Prof. Paolo Bargiacchi

*Full Professor of International Law, Faculty of
Law and Economics*

Kore University of Enna, Italy

Professor Paolo Bargiacchi (born in Rome, 1971) is Professor of International Law at the Faculty of Economics and Law of Kore University of Enna, Italy. He teaches International Law, EU Law, International Law of Armed Conflicts, and Human Rights Law. On subjects of International Law and EU Law, he has written numerous articles, three books, a Treatise on International Law (co-authored with Professor Augusto Sinagra) and a Treatise on EU Law. The third Italian edition of the Treatise on International Law is forthcoming while the first Spanish edition was published in Argentina in 2013. His current research subjects are: migration and refugees law; international criminal law; human rights and security; human security, responsibility to protect and the EU Global Strategy; the reform of the UN Security Council; the global war on terrorism. Member of several Board of Editors and Board of Professors in PhD Programmes. He teaches, inter alia, in post-graduate master courses and specialization programmes at the Italian Society for International Organization (SIOI, Rome), the Scuola di Perfezionamento per le Forze di Polizia of the Italian Ministry of Home Affairs and the International School of Advanced Studies to Prevent and Combat Organized Crime. He is the Academic Coordinator for the Kore University Unit within the POWERS Jean Monnet Network.

EU'S RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGE OF RETURNING FOREIGN FIGHTERS



Prof. Müge Aknur

*Associate Professor at the Department of
International Relations*

Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey



Prof. Gul Kurtoglu Eskisar

*Professor at the Department of International
Relations*

Dokuz Eylul University, Turkey

Since the beginning of Syrian conflict in 2011, approximately five thousand EU nationals have travelled into war zones in Iraq and Syria as Foreign Fighters (FFs) to join terrorist groups, such as ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). As some FFs were formerly involved in radical and/or terrorist activities, such as Brussels attacks in 2014 and 2016, Paris attacks in 2015 and Manchester bombings in 2017, EU regards them as a significant security threat. Therefore, EU has taken some general security precautions to date. They include prevention of radicalization; detection of suspicious travel; investigation, prosecution and cooperation with third countries by adopting legal instruments; use of EU police and justice cooperation

and training capabilities to foster EU-wide expertise. While helpful, these general precautions adopted by the EU have not generated a homogeneous and seamless set of national policies for FFs in member states. A key factor behind this outcome is that each member state remains responsible for its own national security. As a result, differences in perceptions and the level of exposure to FF imposed threats among member states lead to discrepancies in the criminal prosecution of foreign fighters. Therefore, it seems unlikely that member states would reach a consensus on the security implications of FFs returning to EU in the foreseeable future.

BIOGRAPHIES

Müge Aknur is an Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations, Dokuz Eylül University, İzmir, Turkey. She received her MA in International Relations from Elliott School of International Affairs of George Washington University, and her PhD in Political Science from McGill University. Her research interests include democracy, democratization, democratic consolidation, civil-military relations, and Turkish foreign policy as well as Middle East politics and EU-Middle East relations. Her publications include works on political liberalization in the Middle East, democratic consolidation in Turkey, democratic promotion of the EU, Turkish foreign policy, civil-military relations in Turkey. She is the editor of Democratic Consolidation in Turkey (Boca Raton, FL: Universal Publishers, 2012).

Gul Kurtoglu Eskisar is Professor of International Relations at Dokuz Eylul University since 2015 and currently Coordinator for Dokuz Eylul University, Network project Peace, War and the World in European Security Challenges (POWERS) (2018-2021). Currently, she is also MC Substitute, “CA17119 - EU Foreign Policy Facing New Realities: Perceptions, Contestation, Communication and Relations, <https://www.cost.eu/actions/CA17119#tabs|Name:overview> (2018-2022) and Partner, UNESCO Chair on International Migration (2016-2020). Furthermore, she was Chair, Department of International Relations (2015-2018), Member of Dokuz Eylul University Research and Publication Ethics Committee for Social Sciences (2017-2018). In the past decade, she was also Member, Committee on Faculty Identity and Institutional Core Values (2013-2018) and Erasmus Coordinator for Department of International Relations (2010-2012).

CONCEPTUALIZING NEW STABILITY PERSPECTIVE IN POST-ARAB SPRING ERA



Dr. Walid Abudalbouh

*Head of the Department of International
Relations and Regional Studies,
University of Jordan, Jordan*

This work examines the development of the EU's security concerns emanating from Southern Mediterranean states particularly since the end of the Cold War until recent days. The multifaceted and mounting nature of security challenges triggered from the south makes EU's decision-makers more and more frustrated to meet up these challenges – considering that the nature of these threats are of cultural and social ones through which it is so difficult to be detected and counted alike. “Stability” as such – with its vague and “intentionally undefined” nature - is seemingly deemed an effective elastic instrument within its foreign policy perspective towards its Southern flank to counterbalance mounting security challenges facing Europe. In it, it attempted to cast a comparative analysis of how the EU's perspective of stability as a foreign policy objective changed in accordance with changes took place during the Arab Spring period. As the work conducted an overall comparative analysis – before and after Arab Spring - of the actual and implemented foreign policy of the EU on grounds apart its rhetoric official declarations and statements, it reaches to some conclusions provided the deficiencies and inconsistencies of the EU foreign policy. The analysis of the distribution of the EU's financial assistance was an important component in this study to attain such outcomes.

BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Walid Abudalbouh is currently Associate Professor at the Faculty of Prince Al Hussein Bin Abdullah II for International Studies, University of Jordan. Dr. Abudalbouh earned his BA degree in Mathematics at the Citadel, the Military College of South Carolina in 1992 and continued his higher studies in International Political Economy (MA) and Politics and International Studies (PhD) in 1998 and 2005 respectively. Previously, he was the desk officer in charge of World Bank and European Union affairs at the Jordanian Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation. He published several papers and conducted a number of fieldwork projects and activities on issues related to conflict resolution, security studies and democracy and human rights. Dr. Abudalbouh is the founder and President of the Ta'adud Political and Cultural Forum since 2014. Also, he is the founder and President of Peace and Security Centre for Research and Studies since 2015.

RELIGION AS FACTOR IN GERMAN NEWS REPORTS ON THE CONFLICT IN SYRIA



Dr. Lars Klein

*Senior Lecturer for EMJMD Euroculture –
Society, Politics and Culture in a Global
Context*

*Georg-August-Universität Göttingen,
Germany*

The overall approach of the paper is informed by an interest in the push/pull factors of migration and reception of migrants in Germany from 2015 onwards. The more immediate research interest is in how the situation in Syria was constructed in German media. Having a better idea of how that framing of the crisis was done, we might be able to see how that framing correlates or not with how migrants and the so-called “migration crisis” were depicted. It was here that some right-wing/populist groups, in particular, spread the fear of a rise of radical Muslim groups in the wake of the crisis in the Levant. Did the reporting suggest that there was the reason to fear a rise of Muslim groups beyond the actual conflict? In order to look into that, three German newspapers were analysed.

The paper gives a general idea of the research that was started and sketches first results, but has its clear limitations are stated in the presentation. Findings are thus preliminary.

BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Lars Klein is Senior Lecturer of Euroculture at Georg-August-University Göttingen, Germany. He holds a MA in North American Studies and Philosophy from FU Berlin and a PhD in Modern and Contemporary History from UGOE. He is Cluster Coordinator Social Sciences, Economics and Law of the U4 Network and founding member of the Center for Global Migration Studies at UGOE. Prior positions include research associate of the project “The History of War Reporting in the 20th Century”, TU Braunschweig, Germany.

SOCIAL MEDIA ON SYRIAN CRISIS (RUSSIAN-LANGUAGE SEGMENT OF FACEBOOK)



Prof. Liubov Fadeeva

Professor of Political Science Department

Perm State University, Russia

The purpose of the paper is the analysis of the Russian-language segment of Facebook regarding the Syrian crisis. Mass media in contemporary Russia became more homogenous in respect of foreign policy of the state. Social media still be the space of different and sometimes antagonistic views. Facebook audience is mostly (67%) 24-44 years old, with higher education, living in big cities. The methodology of social media analysis now is in the process. Researchers of some Moscow, Kuban and Perm State Universities work to promote it. There are two dimensions of analysis: 1. Groups devoted to Syria crisis; 2. The main topics in Facebook regarding Syrian events. Several groups (Souria Today; Syria.War) install critical content regarding politics of Russia and the USA in Syria. Pro-Russian and patriotic content of the group "Syria will win" was not renovated since 2017. The main topic is the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Syria. The first declaration of President Putin at the 11th of December 2017 on the topic made both positive remarks: victory, success; and very critical: a shame, failure, unnecessary sacrifices. The second declaration on the withdrawal of troops stimulated a wave of jokes and cartoons. The most popular theme is Syria as a victim of a new cold war. Both Russian and American (Israeli, Turkish) politicians are responsible for the crisis in Syria. In the context of domestic politics (pension reform) the interference into Syrian case is estimated as a burden for economy, social policy, a decline of the rating of Putin.

BIOGRAPHY

Liubov Fadeeva has graduated from Perm State University, History Department in 1981, Diploma with Honour. Previously Lecturer in Modern History 1982-1998 and Political Science since 1998. She defended her candidate thesis in 1988 and Doctorate thesis in 1996 and became a Full Professor of Politics in 1998. Since the 1st of September 1998 until the 31st of August 2018

she was Chair of the Political Science Department. She is currently Director of the Information Centre of European Union at Perm State University. Her academic area are European identity, Identity Policy, public intellectuals, universities and currently teaches Comparative Politics, European Union Policy and Governance, European Studies: Politics, Polity, Culture. Furthermore, she experienced leadership of numerous projects, such as:

- 2015-2017 Jean Monnet Programme. Module. European Studies: Politics, Polity, Culture.
- 2011-2012 Jean Monnet Programme. Action. Multiple Identities in EU: Institutional Challenge or Policy Resource? 201701-LLP-2011-RU-AJM-IC
- 2012-2013 FP7 - ERANET.RUS. Social Media as Catalyzer for Cross-National Learning (SOMECAT) № 12-23-19002
- 2010-2012 Struggle for identity and new institutes of communications, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
- 2007-2008, Political communities in political and scientific prospects, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

Her recent publications include:

- (in co-authorship). Identity. Personality. Society. Politics. Ed. by I.S.Semenenko. Moscow, 2017. 992 p.
- Fadeeva L.A. Who we are? Intelligentsia in the Struggle for Identity. Moscow: Novyi Chronograph. 2012. 310 p. (in Rus.)
- Fadeeva L. (2017) A Modern University: The Conflict of Values and Models, in: Martin Tamcke (Ed.), Europäische Interaktionsfelder: Erkundungen zu deutsch-russischen Beziehungen, Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, 51-66.

FORCED MIGRATION IMPACT ON EURO-MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY

SESSION THREE



CHAIR

Dr. Francesca Ruisi

*Full time Researcher at the Center for
Strategic Studies (CSS) University of Jordan,
Jordan*

Dr. Francesca Ruisi is Researcher at the CSS since 2015. She was Visiting Scholar at London South Bank University (LSBU) and invited granted Visiting Postdoc at the Department of Sociology of the University of Jordan within the Hermes Erasmus Mundus. She was Assistant Coordinator within the Euro - Mediterranean Political Research and Dialogue for Inclusive Policymaking Processes and Dissemination through Network Participation (EuroMesco ENI project) action supported by the EuroMesco, IEMed, European Union, and coordinated by the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at the University of Jordan by co-authoring the Joint Policy Study Migrants and Refugees: impact and future policies. Case-studies of Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and Greece (IEMed 2016). She is also Assistant Co-Investigator for GCRF South-South Migration, Inequality and Development Hub funded through UKRI's Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) and led by Coventry University's Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations (CTPSR) and for FOCUS Forced Displacement Of Refugees And Host-Community Solidarity Horizon 2020 Migration-08-2018 in Partnership With Danish Red Cross (PI), Furthermore, she is Assistant Co-Investigator for Civil society and the global refugee regime: Understanding and enhancing impact through the implementation of global refugee policy. LERRN: the Local Engagement Refugee Research Network granted by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and led by Carleton University.

NON-STATE ACTORS AND ILLEGAL MIGRATION: A NEW EUROPEAN APPROACH TO SECURITY POLICIES



Prof. Paolo Bargiacchi

*Full Professor of International Law, Faculty of
Law and Economics*

Kore University of Enna, Italy

The impact of NSAs such as OAGs, OCGs and terrorist groups on the MENA region is twofold. They fuel instability, crime, violence, and armed conflicts in the region and turn into push factors, if not means or vehicle, for illegal migration towards Europe where it is often perceived, right or wrong, as a serious threat to security. The EU response to migration is, therefore, evolving as well as the related security policies. Following decades of strong and wide protection of human rights in any situation, European States are seeking for a new and different balance between human rights and security. It seems as if States are nowadays ready to trade some political idealism and legal functionalism in the field of migration and human rights for more political pragmatism and legal formalism in the field of security. Some clues are emblematic of this new culture of security marked by some US-style features such as a more limited judicial review and a formalistic interpretation and application of the law. Even if, for the time being, Europe has substantially stayed true to a high standard of human rights protection, the quest for more security by Governments might set them on a collision course with supranational Courts and their functionalist approach to human rights protection.

BIOGRAPHY

Professor Paolo Bargiacchi (born in Rome, 1971) is Professor of International Law at the Faculty of Economics and Law of Kore University of Enna, Italy. He teaches International Law, EU Law, International Law of Armed Conflicts, and Human Rights Law. On subjects of International Law and EU Law, he has written numerous articles, three books, a Treatise on International Law (co-authored with Professor Augusto Sinagra) and a Treatise on EU Law. The third Italian edition of the Treatise on International Law is forthcoming while the first Spanish edition was published in Argentina in 2013. His current research subjects are: migration and refugees law; international criminal law; human rights and security; human

security, responsibility to protect and the EU Global Strategy; the reform of the UN Security Council; the global war on terrorism. Member of several Board of Editors and Board of Professors in PhD Programmes. He teaches, inter alia, in post-graduate master courses and specialization programmes at the Italian Society for International Organization (SIOI, Rome), the Scuola di Perfezionamento per le Forze di Polizia of the Italian Ministry of Home Affairs and the International School of Advanced Studies to Prevent and Combat Organized Crime. He is the Academic Coordinator for the Kore University Unit within the POWERS Jean Monnet Network.

SOCIAL MEDIA VKONTAKTE.RU ON SYRIAN CRISIS



Dr. Dmitriy Plotnikov

*Associate Professor - Political Science
Department*

Perm State University, Russia

Social network "Vkontakte" is the most popular in Russia. At the beginning of 2019 the social network was used by 97 million people per month. The paper is focused on the analysis of the most numerous groups which are devoted to Syria within this social network platform. «ANNA-News» group talks about military conflicts in the world. ANNA translates as Abkhazian Network News Agency. Social group ANNA-News focuses on the description of military events. The group uses news from the Syrian State News Agency. «Syria| Military reports» group translates information from the «Russian news Agency Federal News Agency». «War in Syria» has a twitter page. The group emphasizes on diplomatic and military events. «Igila.info – News» content is devoted to events in Syria and Afghanistan. «Russian Army. Syria» group often broadcasts news from the site. This site's content is presented of political and energy policy news. The most numerous social groups on Syria in VK have pro-government character. These groups often reprint official media news. Many groups describe not only the events in Syria, but also Ukraine and other hot spots of the planet. The content of the groups is anti-American and anti-Israeli. Russia is perceived there as a global player and a great power. Russia's actions in Syria against terrorists are compared with the actions of the USSR against Nazi Germany. There are some groups oppositional to the foreign policy of Russia in Syria by different reasons. Vkontakte is then still the place where the critical points of view are available.

BIOGRAPHY

He has graduated from Perm State University, History Department in 2007, Diploma with Honour. Since 2008 he joined the Political Science Department at Perm State University. In 2010, he defended his PhD thesis on "Nationalist parties and movements as actors in the political process of Russia and Ukraine" with the supervisor of Professor Fadeeva L. A. His research interests are connected with the historical policy of the post-Soviet and former socialist countries in the context of foreign policy, political identity construction. He currently teaches the courses Inter-state relations of the post-Soviet countries, Modern Russian politics and others. His recent publications include:

- *"Soft power" of the policy of China, Turkey, Iran, Russia and the United States in Central Asia/ Ars Administrandi, 2016. (1 issue) pp. 160-180*
- *Potentials of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in the context of the desire for regional leadership/ Journal of Kazakhstan in Global Processes. 2016. Issue 1, p. 14-28.*
- *The change in the "memory policy" in Russia's allies in the post-Soviet space after 2014 (on the example of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia and Tajikistan)// Bulletin of Political Science. №1. 2018*
- *European factor in Russian-Ukrainian relations/Ars Administrand (4th issue) pp. 75-83 2013*
- *The problematic European identity of Moldova/ Sovremennaya Evropa. 2017. N6. (In co-authorship).*

THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN CREATING A SAFE ENVIRONMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF MASS MIGRATION



Dr. Irina Rayushkina

*Deputy Director of Department of
International Affairs, Kuban State University,
Krasnodar, Russia*

The report is devoted to the problems of adaptation of foreign citizens in Russia with special attention to educational migration; it analyzes the conditions of adaptation and integration of international students in a foreign language culture and offers certain approaches to and ways of developing a safe educational environment on the example of Kuban state University (Krasnodar). Key words of this contribution are working migration, multiculturalism, interculturalism, educational migration, adaptation in foreign cultural environment, safe environment for education, interethnic conflicts, individual approach, dialogue of cultures.

BIOGRAPHY

Irina Rayushkina is currently Deputy Director of International Affairs Department, Institutional Coordinator of Erasmus+ Programme at Kuban State University, Krasnodar and Associate Professor at the Department of Applied Linguistics (Faculty of Modern Languages), Kuban State University. From 1995 to 2010 she was Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor at the English Philology Department (Faculty of Modern Languages), Kuban State University, Krasnodar. Moreover, from 1995 to 2002 she was Head of International Academic Programmes Center at Kuban State University, Krasnodar. Selected publications include:

- *Kuban State University: Projects and Perspectives // Higher Education Abroad. Issue 3. London, 1995.*
- *The Translation Process as a Multistage Interpretation in the Aspect of Linguistic Pragmatics / Theoretical and Applied Semantics of Linguistic Units. Collected Articles of Scholars. Kuban State University, 2003.*

- *Interaction of Languages in the Process of Translation as a Factor of Intercultural Communication/ Selected Articles of Scholars-Participants of the 10th International Conference. Russia and West: The Dialogue of Cultures. Moscow State University. Moscow, 2004.*
- *The definition of cultural, ethnic and national identity of Korean and Russian peoples // The second international conference: "Russia and the Republic of Korea: mutual interest". Book of articles, issue 2, Daegu, Republic of Korea, 2015.*
- *To the problem of national identity (linguistic-cultural aspect) / Interdisciplinary aspects of linguistic research. Collection of scientific works. Issue 9. Krasnodar, 2016.*
- *Internationalization of the University: problems and challenges. Report at the XIV conference of partner cities of Russia and Germany, June 28-30, 2017, Krasnodar.*

Honors and awards include the Diploma of Russian Ministry of Education and Science "For Long-term high-quality work" Moscow, 2004 and the Honorary Diploma of Kuban State University Authority "For outstanding contribution to International affairs activities at Kuban State University" Krasnodar, 2000.

NON-STATE ACTORS AND TARGETING THE REFUGEES COMMUNITIES



Dr. Rakiz Al-Zareer

*Researcher (CSS) the University of Jordan,
Jordan*

This contribution attains several dimensions concerning the role of Non-State actors in targeting the refugees communities in the host country. Firstly, it should be said that migrants and refugees are of great interest to violent organizations and are exploited to reach deep into European, Middle Eastern and American societies to carry out operations against these communities and nations. Consequently, refugee and immigrant communities constitute a fertile environment for organizations because of the living and psychological conditions experienced by the members of these communities, especially young people.

The most important strategies of transnational organizations are the expansion of their organizational networks. In this sense, the objectives of the various organizations include all countries that fight terrorism. Then, the most important areas currently targeted are those in Middle East and Western countries, and the United States.

The recruitment of dormant elements or cells to organizations in European countries or in Jordan and the Middle East takes consists in two forms of action. The first method is based on direct recruitment through instructions for people to apply for immigration. The second method consists of recruitment of elements or cells within the communities of immigrants and refugees who migrated and settled in Western societies and targeted countries.

As a result, it is then evident how Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Turkey are the main countries in the refugee-hosting region and, consequently, elements in the refugee communities have been recruited or recruited to organize Al-Qaeda and some of them have carried out attacks on the Jordanian border. In parallel, the external working body in Da'ash is concerned with targeting European and Middle Eastern countries, refugees and migrants, and other countries such as Tunisia, Indonesia and Somalia.

Potential security policies should then focus on the refugees in Jordan for recruitment and assess the shift from defense to attack and intelligence follow-up of refugee and immigrant

communities to follow-up recruitment by organizations. In this sense, international partnership and exchange of information is needed for intellectual awareness to confront extremism and ostracism. Furthermore, developing the technical capabilities of cybersecurity to monitor the spread of networks of organizations, especially in refugee and migrant communities from countries where violent organizations are active is due.

BIOGRAPHY

Dr. Rakez Al-Zareer is Researcher and specialist on political, strategic, security, military and refugees studies at the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS), University of Jordan.

He took his PhD in Business Administration from International Islamic University of Science Amman, Jordan in 2014, his MSc in Finance Management from University of Arab Academy for Banking sciences, Amman, Jordan (2007-2009) and BSc in Accounting/Law at the United Emirates University, Abu Dhabi (1979-1983).

He previously worked with the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation (AECID) concerning refugees Post Conflicts in Syria and the future of peace and conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa.

Furthermore, he is Lecturer at the University of Jordan of Humanitarian and Civilization and Lecturer Harvard Program for “Applied Programs of Middle East and North Africa issues” in Jordan (2017–2018).

Member of the Board of Trustees of Ajloun International University in Jordan (2017- present). Lecturer at the UNRWA University, Amman focusing on human rights, national education and global issues of Middle Eastern contemporary and developments in the Arab world and the development work civil society organizations (2010–2013).

Further roles include Lecturer and Supervisor at the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy, Amman and Trainer for special courses at the School of Military Intelligence of Jordan for management of intelligence institutions, intelligence and strategic analysis, counter-extremism and terrorism and training of intelligence at all levels (2009–2018) and Trainer in the United States, France, and Australian concerning counter-extremism and terrorism (1990–2006).

His more recent publication is Al Zareer, R. Al Taleb, G. (2017). E-Management and E-Marketing for the Business Organization - text book Al Yazori Publishers, Amman Jordan.