



Sciences Po
Bordeaux



Co-funded by the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union



PEACE, WAR AND THE WORLD IN EUROPEAN SECURITY CHALLENGES

Workshop POWERS – Sciences Po Bordeaux

28-29 November 2019

Erasmus + Jean Monnet Programme

Eberhard Kienle (CNRS & CERI Paris) *State Disintegration in the Middle East (or: in the MENA area): A Security Challenge ?'*

Following the large-scale protests in 2011 central governments in several states in the Middle East and North Africa have basically disappeared or lost control over large parts of the states they claim to govern. Syria, Libya and Yemen have largely but not necessarily entirely and definitely disintegrated into nominal or residual states that enjoy formal international recognition without being able to put claim to the famous Weberian monopoly of physical coercion. In each of them a variety of powers and indeed political regimes are competing for influence in ever changing constellations and considerably limit or alter statehood. The current condition of these states reflects that of Iraq since the 2003 occupation and that of Lebanon during the 1975-89 civil war, thus contradicting the claim that it was the Arab spring that had produced 'chaos' in these states. Rather their disintegration has been the result of decades of authoritarian rule that failed to effectively consolidate and legitimate them in the eyes of their inhabitants. In other words, alleged 'state failure' is the failure of authoritarian regimes to build viable and sustainable states under, admittedly, difficult conditions shaped by the legacy of historical imperialism and international conflicts in its aftermath.

In Europe and North America the disintegration of the states concerned has largely been seen as a security challenge in terms of uncontrolled mass migration and the recourse to politically motivated violence by clandestine actors generally termed terrorism. While there is no doubt that state disintegration has created favourable conditions for such actors, their motives and aims exist independently of state disintegration. The return to authoritarian rule would ultimately strengthen rather than weaken them. Mass migration may but need not be framed primarily as a security challenge for receiving countries; however, it is also a source of major insecurity for the migrants themselves and moreover frequently reflects various forms of insecurity or lack of safety in their countries of origin. Again authoritarian rule would strengthen rather than alleviate such insecurity. Security challenges, perceived or real, related to state disintegration in the Middle East, North

Africa and elsewhere would only disappear with the emergence, probably slow, of equitable and inclusive political regimes

Alessandra Russo (Free university of Brussels & CED, Sciences Po Bordeaux), **Chiara Loschi** (University of Vienna) *Reforming and deforming state templates at EU borders. Insights from EU crisis management in Libya and Ukraine*

The paper intends to offer a bottom-up analysis of EU crisis response interventions in its Southern and Eastern neighborhoods, especially focussing on the cases of Libya and Ukraine. Relying on collaborative research materials resulting from extensive fieldwork activities, we will compare and contrast EU models and strategies of border management and security sector reform in the two conflict-affected countries. In Libya, stabilization measures have been introduced in a context where processes of state-building have been sidelined over migration governance and securitization; in Ukraine instead EU assistance in the field of state-building represents a focal dimension, yet in a context where state officials and representatives are in the process of reshaping their relation of trust vis-à-vis local constituencies and the public, and the resilience of state institutions is endangered by separatism and novel forms of extremism and political violence. EU actions in Libya and Ukraine will be examined in consideration of a new balance between EU's waning "transformative" agenda and its emerging stabilization endeavors, which have been prioritized by both the revised European Neighborhood Policy and the new European Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy.

Inga Brandell (Södertörns högskola) *From banners to state frontiers. Political order and (in)security in the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean*

(en attente)

Aliaksei Kazharski (Charles University) and **Monika Kubová** (à compléter) *Post-Soviet Russia in Search of Ontological Security*

The paper explores Russia's quest for ontological security in the context of the post-Cold War order in Europe. It analyzes how Russia's identity needs, constructed around the idea of the great power, have become increasingly incompatible with the order established after the collapse of the Soviet Union, thus constraining its scope of actions. The tension between the identity needs of Russia and the institutionalized order constructed around the incompatible ideas and institutions of the West results in ontological security-seeking behavior that attempts to challenge the order and mold it according to a particular vision of the Self.

Simone Tholens (Cardiff University) : *Security Cooperation across the Mediterranean: Effects on conceptions and practices of regionalism*

Security Cooperation and Security Assistance are ever popular tools in the European toolbox vis-à-vis countries along the southern and eastern rim of the Mediterranean. Whether with the aim to stem migration, counter organised crime, tackle instability, or prevent regionalisation of cross-border threats, Maghreb and Middle Eastern states are increasingly

on the receiving end of European external security budgets. This paper surveys the last 8 years of Security Cooperation across the Mediterranean, before analysing the extent to which such Security Assistance schemes have impacted on conceptions and practices of regionalism. Specifically, it will look at security governance processes in the Tunisia/Libya nexus, and in the Lebanon/Syria nexus, in order to disentangle cross-regional dynamics that follow from external security arrangements

Gilles Bertrand (Centre Emile Durkheim, Sciences Po Bordeaux) *De-securitizing Peace-Processes: The Cyprus and Israeli-Palestinian Cases*

Securitization is a well-known phenomenon for IR scholars. Thousands of books, chapters of books and articles have been published on the topic since the beginning of the 1990s. Since 9/11, States' and many international organizations' decisionmakers have made security their top priority, neglecting other top problems faced by Earth and Humankind (climate change, biodiversity extinction, etc.). "Security" in a broader and vague sense has been emphasized in numerous different areas of concern, sometimes to avoid solving a problem in depth and to give just the impression that it is managed: Migrations, energy supply, even water supply or unemployment... Of course, in conflict-management, conflict-resolution and peace-building, the question of security seems a top one: Post-conflict security arrangements, withdrawal of foreign armed forces, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), Security Sector reform (SSR) are, of course, key-points of a peace negotiation and of a peace process. Nevertheless, security is so important – or said to be so important – than it has been instrumental for reluctant-to-peace, if not peace-spoiler, decisionmakers. In the MENA region, there are at least two cases illustrating of such situation: Cyprus and Israel-Palestine. In these two cases, the emphasis on security has damaged the peace-process, giving to peace-spoilers the power to disturb the process, to block or even to terminate it, because of the violent actions they conducted, violent responses to violent action, or even just by maintaining a sense of insecurity. The aim of this communication is not only to analyze this type of political strategy, but also to explain how other actors succeed – or fail – to bypass security trying to find other common ground of discussion (to avoid the security dilemma) and solutions.

Anna Valvo (University of Enna, Unikore) : *European network security strategy: the network information security (NIS) directive*

Cyber space represents "the new dimension" (the fifth dimension) made of everything, both of benefits and vulnerability". Given the pervasiveness of this domain, which crosses and overlaps with all the others, it is necessary to rethink the generality of national defense concepts. The cyber threat is "concrete, real, persistent and constantly evolving", while "increasingly digitalised military means represent a potential vulnerability".

The Directive (EU) 2016/1148, so-called NIS (Network Information Security) Directive, is aimed at defining the necessary measures to achieve a high level of security of networks and information systems. The directive applies to Essential Service Operators (OSE) and Digital Service Providers (FSD).

Damien Simonneau (Université Saint Louis, Brussels) *The Wall of Europe. Understanding contemporary European border militarization with securitization theory and public policy analysis*

This communication argues that understanding the contemporary phenomenon of militarizing European borderlands (in the Mediterranean, in its Eastern shores and also at internal borders) necessitates to distinguish three operations at both national and European levels: 1) the problematization of mobility according to national political issues ; 2) the securitization of mobility linked to the development of transnational border enforcement cooperation under the frame of a permanent "crisis" ; 3) the diffusion of militarization narratives especially inside the party systems and in the media. The communication will illustrate this analysis using a theoretical framework combining securitization theory and sociology of public problems, and choosing some case studies (Hungary, Greece, Italy).

Rémi Castets (University Bordeaux-Montaigne) *BRI and Chinese strategy along the shores of Europe*

With more than 600 billion euros, Sino-European trade relationship still ranks first in the world. Most of this trade uses sea shipping routes and the access to shorter searoutes linking China to Southern Europe shores would allow China to turn a part of this trade more cost efficient. For these reasons, the Northern shores of the Mediterranean sea have been identified as one of the culminating points of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Chinese operators are so on gradually reorienting Sino-European maritime trade to the Northern shores of the Mediterranean in order to reduce shipping delays and costs, allowing ports in Southern Europe to gain market share from giant ports of Northern Europe.

However, while economic competition with Chinese companies in Europe and abroad is increasing, while China is delaying the implementation of measures for a fairer trade and while China is promoting a sociopolitical model contesting the universality of the liberal democratic model, the relationship between the EU and China is entering a new phase. Europe has become a major destination of Chinese investments after 2008 crisis especially through mergers and acquisitions. However, EU is modifying its strategy with China. It still consider China as partner but it considers it now as an economic rival. In the same time, the EU faces an important trade deficit with China and it doesn't want to become too dependent on a rising power bearing values and interests who seem to be in various fields antagonistic with its own ones.

China fears its relation with Brussels could become less favorable to its strategies and interests. However, the continent is increasingly divided by internal divisions especially between liberal and populist governments. In the same time, some of Southern Europe and PECO countries consider fears from Brussels over exaggerated or contrary to their national interest. Capitalizing those divergences, China develops a complex strategy with the Northern shore of the Mediterranean but also with neighboring PECO countries in order to intent to deactivate the frilosity of countries following the tougher line promoted by the French-German axis.

Paolo Bargiacchi (University of Enna, Unikore) '*The European way to human security*'

Human security is the cornerstone of the responsibility to protect doctrine elaborated by the ICISS in its 2001 Report and declared at the 2005 World Summit. Yet, looking at the EU practice in its neighborhood and to policy statements in the 2016 EU Global Strategy, one should start asking whether a single concept of human security actually exists and/or what

the EU is really promoting in the wider world. We contend that there are two different interpretations of the apparently same concept of human security: the first envisaged by the international community and the second by the EU according to which human security is decoupled by the responsibility to protect and overlaps with the “right to democratic governance”. The main consequence is that the EU interventions in international crisis are more “democratic” than “humanitarian” in scope and purpose, i.e. more aimed at promoting the “European way of life” worldwide than at discharging the responsibility to protect people from the most heinous international crimes. The resulting political and legal framework for EU action is quite different from the R2P approach recognized and implemented by the UN system and it might be at variance with international law. EU stance and actions in the 2011 Libyan and 2013 Ukrainian crisis support these findings.

Alexey Sazantovich, (Associate Professor at the Chair of Public Policy and Government, Kuban State University), *Social Media Visual Communication: Expressing People’s Perception of the Human Security Issues in the Mediterranean and Black Sea Regions*

Abstract: Here the theoretical basis for the Visual turn in European culture and the phenomena of visual culture research are stated as well as empirical data for the particular research item are analyzed. First of all the Visual turn and its aftermath impact in arts and humanities are decided. On the other hand the reasons and preconditions for the new types of communication development and the increasing role of social media in modern world are discussed. After M. Castells the Network Era is stated and the quickly changing role of Internet is considered. It becomes an opening title which states the conditions forcing the progress of new media and communications. Traditional mass media involuntarily share their power with individuals armed by PC’s, laptops, pads, tablets etc. The new subjects of mass communication in their turn determined the new ways and means of communicating such as Facebook, Instagram, Tweeter, Snapchat etc. As a matter of fact it can be regarded as a natural sequence of changes in the world of mass communications powered by technological progress and attempts to facilitate the social interactions. Further the work seeks to extract the role and the peculiarities of visual communications in social media. Finally the conclusions obtained by the theoretical analysis are being applied to the data collected during the several year period in Instagram social network concerning people’s opinion expressions on human security issues.

Lorenzo Gabrielli (GRIIM- University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona and Centre Emile Durkheim, Sciences Po Bordeaux) *The spectacle at the EU borders. Theatralisation of “migration crisis” as an analytical prism of interest and strategies*

In the analysis of (in)securitization it is necessary to take a step forward and to look more in-depth at migratory "crises" and “emergencies" related to flows and borders. In particular, I will approach one of the central mechanisms behind the appearance of these crises and emergencies: the "border spectacle", namely the theatralisation of migratory control in certain parts of the Euro-Mediterranean borders. Analysing the mechanisms of the border spectacle in sensitive zones of EU border allow to interpret the strategies and the interests of the different actors involved, as much on the European side as on the other Mediterranean countries.

Nowadays, borders represent a key scene where control over irregular migration flows is staged, while a complex configuration of other flows is crossing under the track. The discrepancy existing between the high political relevance of some border crossing and their limited quantitative weight gives some insights in this sense. The border spectacle, through the territorialisation of a phenomenon as irregular migration, that is generally not so territorialised, allows to represent “illegality” at the border and often to justify exceptionality practices.

Moreover, a chronology of the migratory crisis related to irregular crossings in the Mediterranean during the last three decades, underlines their structural character and calls into question the hegemonic reactive and security based emergency-focus. The border spectacle permits to avoid an evidence-based debate on informal flows as a structural element, allowing to maintain reactive and restrictive policies and to deepen the securitarian border apparatus, despite their evident failure.

Finally, border spectacle the need of “cooperation” with neighbouring countries. From one hand, this gives to non EU countries a new tool of negotiation in their power relation with Europe; from the other, a deepening of externalisation of migration control fosters a stronger influence of EU and member states to extra-European areas (i.e. North of Africa and the Sahel region).

Zühal Ünalp-Çepel (Dokuz Eylül University) *Overlapping or Clashing Political and Security Interests between Turkey and the EU : the Case of Readmission Deal*

The European Union (EU) has seen Readmission Agreements as one of the important regional strategies to control migration flows to the EU and to secure European territory. Until this time, the EU has signed 17 agreements with the third countries to externalize the migration control. Turkey is one of those states that the EU has initiated regional strategies to find common grounds over the migration control since 2012. While accession negotiations with Turkey have been maintained, the Syrian crisis has led huge migration flows over European countries which were unprepared for the results of it. What the EU found out to generate a solution was to speed up the negotiations with Turkey. The two parties signed a Readmission Deal in 2016. Within the respect of the Deal, Greece and Turkey have been selected as the key states to send irregular migrants back to their countries through Turkey. The Deal has also envisaged free visa dialogue between Turkey and the EU countries. The EU has introduced conditionality for the dialogue and has been asking Turkey to adjust policies according to the 72 criteria determined by the European Commission. Turkey has met most of the criteria, however there are 6 criteria which have not been met yet due to their correlations with Turkey’s security interests.

The paper aims to analyze the historical background and the latest developments concerning Readmission Deal and free visa negotiations between Turkey and the EU through Ministry for Foreign Affairs documents of Turkey and the EU documents (Annual Reports of European Commission on Turkey). As a third eye, the policies of Turkey and the EU will be critically assessed from the perspective of other international governmental and non-governmental actors such as the United Nations, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International by the reports they publish regularly. Through the analyses, it is aimed to discuss and uncover the overlapping and clashing points on political and security policies of the EU and Turkey on migration control; elaborate why both sides preferred to solve the migration crisis through regional and bilateral instruments.

Dr. Irina V. Rayushkina, PhD (Deputy Director of International Affairs Department, Kuban State University) *Internationalization of Higher Education in Russia: challenges of National security*

The article covers the questions of internationalization of the Russian Higher education, with both positive and negative impacts on the national security preservation. The accent is on the threats and risks related to the loss of peculiarities or uniqueness within the Russian national system of Higher Education in general and continued processes of “brain drain” in particular. However, in conclusion, the author does not propose to stop the process of internationalization of Higher Education in Russia, but on the contrary the author calls for the expansion of the internationalization process, involving in it all the aspects of educational, scientific and managerial activities, but it should be based on the national peculiar properties and traditions of the country. Since education is one of the key factors of national security, the relevance of the problem is not in doubt.

The inclusion of the Russian universities into the global educational arena had already appeared at the end of the 20th century. However, in the beginning of the 21st century, both the international competitiveness of the educational services and, especially, Bologna process were necessary for the modernization of the Russian Higher Education and its integration into the global system. The integration of the Russian Higher Education into the European educational market has become the major goal. To have a competitive advantage within the world market of the educational services, to be a part of highly rated educational institutions and to be recognized as one of the world’s leading systems has neglected the role of internationalization as a means of increasing the quality of educational inquiry and scientific research. One of the concerns is unrealistic expectations Russian higher education has put forward – for example, modernization and integration of the national European systems within one market were allotted thirty years in comparison with ten years for the Russian Higher Education. Overcoming by leaps and bounds the path of modernization of Higher Education through internationalization, Russia now faces “the risk of losing the rich and unique national traditions which, although it did not fit into the framework of “European standards”, has been preparing excellent, highly qualified specialists for over a century” [1].

The other problem related to the internationalization of Higher Education system deals with the so called “brain drain”. This process starts during entering the domestic system of higher education. A potential freshman already has choices of institutions of higher educations and a vocation. One of the choices includes a possibility of studying abroad due to various programs of academic mobility even though a freshman doesn’t have necessary foreign linguistic proficiency. However, in case a talented and capable student does have a sufficient foreign language proficiency and while studying overseas is noticed and approached to continue his or her studies and/or be a part of scientific research afterwards abroad under much better financial or otherwise conditions than at home, the choice is obvious.

It is a known fact that for the last two decades’ hundreds of thousands of young and talented specialists possessing high qualifications in the fields of physics, chemistry, biology and medicine have left Russia. Somehow unneeded at home they are highly desirable in the US, EU and China. Naturally, they are attracted by better compensation as well as the labor conditions. The Bologna model that the state adopted to modernize the Russian educational system contributed to the removal of differences between the domestic and European systems of education, thus easing the immigration of the Russian specialists. If before there were fears with the Russian diplomas’ recognition and compatibility with the Russian scientific degrees overseas, now both diplomas and degrees follow the same standard. As a result, employment, studying and scientific research are easier achieved overseas by the Russians than before [1].

These factors have a negative impact on the development of the Russian national economy; and we believe these factors are the threat of the national security of the Russian State as well as any other country.

Emma Empociello (Centre Emile Durkheim, Sciences Po Bordeaux) *Geography of securitization in Hungary: from construction of European mental borders to the negation of asylum rights*

This paper aims to study securitization of immigration in Hungary. It will focus on the empirical verification of the process, from a discursive construction of refugees as a security issue to the decision of implementing security measures – here with the study of legal changes.

After explaining how I operationalized the securitization process, I will focus on the geographical aspect of it, thus using geography as a lens to create and implement securitization. It will show how securitization in Hungary is reshaping the way it sees itself as a border. First, by how the government is constructing the country as an indispensable barrier against migrants coming from the Middle East.

The other main argument the article will address is how the government then uses its geographical position to send back asylum seekers to countries they already went through, using the concept of safe third country.

Gul M. Kurtoglu Eskisar (Dokuz Eylul University) and **Tugcan Durmuslar** (Dokuz Eylul University) *Far Right Parties in Europe and Turkey: A comparison*

Ever since the outbreak of war in Syria, the European far right parties have adopted an increasingly negative tone to accommodate the largest refugee crisis experienced by the EU in decades. While some of these parties are not in power, their stubbornness and insistence in restricting the entry of refugees into their respective countries have contributed to the gradual tightening of policies for immigration and asylum in Europe. This picture complies with the general findings of researchers on the behavior patterns of such parties. (e.g. Mudde 2015)

Meanwhile, Turkey has experienced its own refugee crisis due to the same war, albeit on a much grander scale. A rough estimate of 3.5 million Syrians have sought refuge in Turkey since the outbreak of war in 2011. Yet, the response of the main nationalist, far right political party in the country, namely Nationalist Action Party (Milliyetci Hareket Partisi) to the issue seems to diverge from its European counterparts, which is puzzling. Numerous public surveys undertaken in Turkey to measure the public opinion and sentiments regarding the Syrian refugees reveal that most people consider their stay to be temporary, and that they would eventually depart the country. Parallel to this sentiment, the general stance toward awarding citizenship to the refugees in the long run has remained negative. Notwithstanding these public sentiments, the NAP has not pressed on the governing Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi, AKP) for any significant action that would lead to their departure. Nor has it taken any serious steps to take this issue to the center of discussions in Turkish politics. This essay seeks to explore some of the nuances on this seemingly perplexing contrast. In doing so, it also seeks to point out i) some of the differences between the nationalist politics in Turkey and Europe and ii) the nuances of security perception in Turkish politics. (310 words)