

MGIMO University
School of Government and International Affairs

Dean, The MGIMO School of Government and International Affairs
Syllabus approved
Mikhail Troitskiy
« » 2019

Security in Mediterranean
Undergraduate Course Syllabus

Instructor
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PART 1:
INSTRUCTOR INFORMATION, COURSE DESCRIPTION,
TEACHING METHODS

1.1. General information

- Full course title: Security in Mediterranean
- Type of course: Optional
- Level of course: B.A.
- Year of study: 2nd
- Number of ECTS credits allocated: 2
- Name of lecturer(s) and office hours:
Dr. Maria Shibkova, Senior Lecturer, Department of Roman Languages
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1.2. Course aims

The main aim of this course is to introduce students to the complex setting of the Mediterranean region, «cradle of civilizations», where interact geography, history, cultural diversity, politics, international security, trade, energy security. It will provide foundational knowledge of the key actors and their interests in the region, the main processes and dynamics on the shores of the Mediterranean, the most acute crises and territorial disputes in the area and the national and international efforts in dealing with them. Since the factor of energy resources is very significant here, it will also be covered along with the interrelations between energy security and national security. The course will present a brief overview of the salient features of the Arab uprisings with the emphasis on their impact on the policies of the EU, NATO, UN and regional actors. Issues between the EU countries regarding the approaches to the migration crisis will also be studied. Taking into account Russia's proactive role in the composition of the Syrian crisis, the course will also provide insight into the country's ambitions in the region.

1.3. Learning outcomes

By the end of this course students should be able to:

- identify the key characteristics of the region;
- explain the main sources of insecurity in the Mediterranean;
- assess causes and effects of the policies of the EU and USA on the crises in the region;
- critically interpret the role of each regional power in maintaining security;
- understand historic and contemporary migration processes in the Mediterranean from various perspectives;
- distinguish between a range of existing approaches towards the current refugee crisis;
- relate the national interests of the main actors in the region to their actions.

1.4. Course requirements

Students will be required to attend not less than 90% of classes and be prepared for class discussions. Conscientious reading of the assigned materials is compulsory.

1.5. Grading plan

- Regular attendance and participation – 30%

Students are expected to attend at least 90% of the lectures and participate in class discussions. Since the course is highly informative and integrated, it is indispensable that the students conduct in-depth analysis of the contents of each lecture at home with the help of recommended literature in order to be able to understand the next lecture and get consistently prepared for the tests.

- In-class tests – 30%

During the course students are expected to write two short tests which are supposed to check their knowledge of lectures 1-3 and lectures 4-6.

- Final essay – 40% (at home, 120 minutes).

By the end of the course each student is expected to write a final essay on the chosen topic from the list provided by the lecturer. The work will check if the students have grasped the key actors, concepts, terms, dynamics and cause-effect relations between the events, presented during the whole course.

Students who have gained less than 70% average during the semester are supposed to take an oral exam (zачet) by the end of the course and the highest mark at the exam is D-70%.

**PART 2:
COURSE CONTENT**

2.1. Types of work

Types of work	Academic hours
Total	48
Total for classwork	16
Lectures	16
Seminars	-
Homework	32
Preparation for lectures, written tests	16
Written and oral home assignments	16
Course assessment	Written tests, activity in class, final essay

2.2. Course outline

Section and topic	<i>Full – time course</i>			
	Academic hours taken			
	Lectures	Seminars	Homework	Total hours for topic
1. Introduction to the course. Main security threats in Mediterranean	2	-	4	6
2. Regional conflicts in Mediterranean and Energy security	2	-	4	6
3. Historic EU and NATO strategies in Mediterranean	2	-	4	6
4. Arab uprisings and their consequences for Mediterranean area	2	-	4	6
5. Migration flows within region by land	2	-	4	6
6. Migration policies of EU after Arab spring: humanitarian priority vs security rationale	2	-	4	6

7. EU solidarity challenges after migration crisis	2	-	4	6
8. Russian policy in Mediterranean	2	-	4	6
Total	16	-	32	48

2.3. Course content and readings by topic

Topic 1. Main security threats in Mediterranean

Lecture

Course overview and introduction to the Mediterranean and security studies. Course format. Goals, objectives, requirements, assessment system.

What is Mediterranean and why does it matter? Mediterranean as a geographical and an international-political region. The importance of Mediterranean: geopolitical, economic, military aspects. Concept of security in various spheres. Factors of instability in the region.

Compulsory readings:

1. Attinà F. (2013) Mediterranean Security Revisited. *Democracy and Security*. Vol. 9. No. 1-2. Pp. 120-136.

2. Erpul O. (2018) The Challenges to Middle Eastern International Society: A Study in Disorder. In Stivatchis Y.A. (Ed.) *Conflict and Diplomacy in the Middle East: External Actors and Regional Rivalries*. Bristol. E-International Relations. Chapter 1 (pp. 32-47).

3. Buzan B., Wæver O. (2003) *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge University Press. Part 3, chapter 7, pp. 201-215.

Further readings:

1. Hadjipavlis P. (2015) The geopolitical importance of the Eastern Mediterranean airspace. *Eastern Mediterranean Geopolitical Review*. Vol. 1. Pp. 44-60.

2. D'Aponte T. (2014) A Geopolitical Overview on the Mediterranean Sea. The Approach of the Euro-Med Policy towards the Countries of the Southern Front (from Morocco to Egypt). *Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografia e Statistica*. Vol. Volume 68. No. 2.

3. Buzan B., Wæver O. (2003) *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Cambridge University Press. Part 1, chapters 1,2. Pp. 6-39.

Topic 2. Regional conflicts in Mediterranean and Energy security

Lecture

Cyprus problem, conflict between the Republic of Cyprus and Turkey. Turkish-Israeli-Cyprus node. Discovery of natural gas and the establishment of Israel-RoC cooperation. Turkish drilling activities and further deterioration of relations with neighbours. EU sanctions against Turkey. Discussions about Eastern Mediterranean pipeline.

Compulsory readings:

1. Demiryol T. (2019) Between Security and Prosperity: Turkey and the Prospect of Energy Cooperation in the Eastern Mediterranean. *Turkish Studies*. Vol. 20. No. 3. Pp. 442-464.

2. Stergiou A. (2016) Turkey–Cyprus–Israel Relations and the Cyprus Conflict. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*. Vol. 18. No. 4. Pp. 375-392.

3. Tsakiris T. (2019) The Importance of East Mediterranean Gas for EU Energy Security: The Role of Cyprus, Israel and Egypt. *Cyprus Review*. Vol. 30. No. 1. Pp. 25-50.

Further readings:

1. Di Cuia R. (2017) East Mediterranean: The New Frontier Opens. APPEX Global Conference Paper. London. 19 p.

2. Mazis I. Th., Sotiropoulos I.P. (2016) The Role Of Energy As A Geopolitical Factor For The Consolidation Of Greek-Israeli Relations. *Regional Science Inquiry*. Vol. VIII. No. 2, Special Issue. Pp. 27-44.

3. Prontera A. (2017) The New Politics of Energy Security in the European Union and Beyond. *States, Markets, Institutions*. London, Routledge, pp. 191-231.

4. Khadduri W. (2012) East Mediterranean Gas: Opportunities and Challenges. *Mediterranean Politics*. Vol. 17. No. 1. Pp. 111-117.

Topic 3. EU and NATO Mediterranean strategies in historical perspective

Lecture

EU's effort to strengthen stability in the region: Barcelona process. The Union for the Mediterranean. European Union MEDA program. US foreign policy in Mediterranean. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue. Istanbul Cooperation Initiative.

Compulsory readings:

1. Abbott S.G. (2018) The EU and the Middle East: from the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership to the Union for the Mediterranean. In Stivatchis Y.A. (Ed.) Conflict and Diplomacy in the Middle East: External Actors and Regional Rivalries. Bristol. E-International Relations. Chapter 6 (pp. 79-92).

2. Cristol J. (2018) United States Foreign Policy in the Middle East after the Cold War. In Stivatchis Y.A. (Ed.) Conflict and Diplomacy in the Middle East: External Actors and Regional Rivalries. Bristol. E-International Relations. Chapter 3 (pp. 48-63).

3. Borgomano-Loup L. (2005) NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative: Prospects for Development. NATO Defence College Research Paper no. 21.

4. Dokos Th. (2012) The Evolving Security Environment in the Eastern Mediterranean: is NATO Still a Relevant Actor? Southern European and Black Sea Studies. Vol. 12/ No. 4. Pp. 575-590.

Further readings:

1. Boening A.B. (2007) Mediterranean Regional Security in the 21st Century: Regional Integration Through Development and its Security Impact on Euromed Partnership Members. Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series. Vol. 7. No. 9. May 2007. Pp. 1-17.

2. MacKenzie A., Kaunert Ch., Léonard S. (2013) EU Counterterrorism and the Southern Mediterranean Countries after the Arab Spring: New Potential for Cooperation? Democracy and Security. Vol. 9. No. 1-2. Pp. 137-156.

Topic 4. Arab Uprisings and their impact on Mediterranean Security

Lecture

The premises of the uprisings: various points of view. Main landmarks of the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria. The rise of the Islamic State. Regional actors' response: Arab League, African Union. War against the Islamic state: coalitions, methods, consequences.

Compulsory readings:

1. Ayata B. (2015) Turkish Arab Policy in a Changing Arab World: Rise and Fall of a Regional Actor? Journal of European Integration. Vol. 37. No. 1. Pp. 95-112.

2. Harders C., Jünemann A., Khatib L. (2017) Europe and the Arab World: Neighbours and Uneasy Partners In a Highly Conflictual Context. International Politics. Vol. 54. No. 9. Pp. 434-452.

3. Sadiki L. (2012) Libya's Arab Spring: The Long Road from Revolution to Democracy. International Studies. Vol. 49. No. 2. Pp. 285-314.

4. Tellez J. (2019) The Rise of the Islamic State and Changing Patterns of Cooperation in the Middle East. International Interactions. Vol. 45. No. 3. Pp. 560-575.

Further readings:

1. Moghadam V.M. (2013) What is Democracy? Promises and Perils of the Arab Spring. *Current Sociology*. Vol. 61. No. 4. Pp. 393-408.
2. Akpinar P. (2016) The limits of mediation in the Arab Spring: the case of Syria. *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 37. No. 12. Pp. 2288-2303.
3. Schumacher M.J., Schraeder P.J. (2019) The Evolving Impact of Violent Non-State Actors on North African Foreign Policies during the Arab Spring: Insurgent Groups, Terrorists and Foreign Fighters. *The Journal of North African Studies*. Vol. 24. No. 4. Pp. 682-703.
4. Pinfari M. (2012) A Changing Mediterranean: Regional Organizations and North Africa during the Arab Spring. *The International Spectator*. Vol. 47. No. 1. Pp. 134-150.

Topic 5. Migration Flows within the Region by Land

Lecture

A brief insight into migration processes in the region (migration flows of Palestinian refugees after 1948, Sudanese, Somali, Iraqi refugees in the 1990s-early 2000s). Recent wave after Arab uprisings with particular attention to Syrian crisis. The response of Lebanon to Syrian refugee crisis: policy of non-encampment. The response of Turkey to Syrian refugee crisis: policy of integration. The role of the United Nations in the composition of migration crisis (the UN Refugee Agency, “New York declaration for refugees and migrants” 2016).

Compulsory readings:

1. Makdisi K., Shibli R., Geha C. (2018) et al. Exploring Refugee Movements in the Middle East Regional Context: Responses to the Syrian Crisis in Lebanon and Turkey MENARA Working Papers. No. 28. 23 p.
2. Sahen Z. (2010) Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Migration in the Middle East. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia, International Studies*. 31 p. URL: <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-174?print=pdf>
3. New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (2016). 24 p. URL: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_RES_71_1.pdf.
4. Fargues P., Fandrich Ch. (2012) Migration After the Arab Spring. Migration Policy Centre Research Report. 22 p. URL: <https://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/23504/MPC-RR-2012-09.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Further readings:

1. New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants: Answers to Frequently Asked Questions. URL: <https://www.unhcr.org/584689257.pdf>
2. Ibrahim A. (2014) Population Movements in the Aftermath of the Arab Awakening: The Syrian Refugee Crisis between Regional Factors and State Interest, In GRECH, O. and WOHLFELD, M. (eds.). Migration in the Mediterranean: Human Rights, Security and Development Perspectives. Malta: MEDAC. Pp. 24-39.
3. Abdelfattah D. (2011) Impact of Arab Revolts on Migration. CARIM Analytic and Synthetic Notes 2011/68. 17 p. URL: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/45680242.pdf>

Topic 6. EU Migration Policies after Arab Spring: Humanitarian Priority vs Security Rationale

Lecture

Influx of immigrants in the EU, statistics of asylum applicants, common European Asylum System, actions under resolution 2240 of UN Security Council. Securitization of refugee crisis, refugee deal with Turkey 2016. EU Maritime Security Strategy. Cooperation with NGO in searching and rescuing operations in the Mediterranean Sea. Frontex activity. Counterterrorism measures, anti-terrorist monitoring operations at sea. EU relations with Southern Mediterranean regimes.

Compulsory readings:

1. Perkowski N. (2016) Deaths, Interventions, Humanitarianism and Human Rights in the Mediterranean ‘Migration Crisis’. Mediterranean Politics. Vol. 21. No. 2. Pp. 331-335.
2. Roccu R., Voltolini B. (2018) Security and stability reframed, selective engagement maintained? The EU in the Mediterranean after the Arab uprisings. Mediterranean Politics. Vol. 23. No. 1. Pp. 182-195.
3. Mussi F. (2018) Countering Migrant Smuggling in the Mediterranean Sea under the Mandate of the UN Security Council: What Protection for the Fundamental Rights of Migrants? The International Journal of Human Rights. Vol. 22. No. 4. Pp. 488-502.
4. Şimşek D. (2017) Turkey as a “Safe Third Country”? The Impacts of the EU-Turkey Statement on Syrian Refugees in Turkey. Perceptions. Vol. 22. No. 4. Pp. 161-182.

Further readings:

1. Durac V. (2018) Counterterrorism and Democracy: EU Policy in the Middle East and North Africa after the Uprisings. Mediterranean Politics. Vol. 23. No. 1. Pp. 103-121.
2. De Bono D. (2018) In Defiance of the Reception Logic: The Case for Including NGOs as Human Rights Monitors in the EU’s Policies of First Reception of Irregular

Migrants. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. Vol. 24. No. 3. Pp. 291-295.

3. Styan D. (2016). All at Sea? Maritime Dimensions of Europe's Relations with Africa. *African Studies*. Vo. 8. No. 2. Pp. 112-130.

Topic 7. EU Solidarity Challenges after the Migration Crisis

Lecture

Rise of Eurosceptic political forces in the EU and in national parliaments. Hungary's hard approach towards migrants. Italian new government's policy of reducing the number of refugees arriving by sea. Continuing political tensions within the EU. Dublin Regulation Reform.

Compulsory readings:

1. Voynikov V. (2019) From the Mediterranean to the Baltic: The Problem of Implementing the Principle of Solidarity in the EU Area of Immigration and Asylum. *Baltic Region*. Vol.11. No. 2. Pp. 17-31.

2. Scott J.W. (2018) Hungarian Border Politics as an Anti-Politics of the European Union. *Geopolitics*. Vol. 23. No. 34. Pp. 1-20.

3. Campesi G. (2018) Between Containment, Confinement and Dispersal: the Evolution of the Italian Reception System before and after the 'Refugee Crisis'. *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*. Vol. 23. No. 4. Pp. 490-506.

Further readings:

1. Kazharski A. (2018) The End of 'Central Europe'? The Rise of the Radical Right and the Contestation of Identities in Slovakia and the Visegrad Four. *Geopolitics*. Vol. 23. No. 4. Pp. 754-780.

2. Trauner F. (2016) Asylum Policy: the EU's 'Crises' and the Looming Policy Regime Failure. *Journal of European Integration*. Vol. 38. No. 3. Pp. 311-325.

3. Fabbri S. Zgaga T. (2019) Italy and the European Union: the Discontinuity of the Conte Government, *Contemporary Italian Politics*. Vol. 11. No. 3. Pp. 280-293.

4. Barbulescu R., Beaudonnet L. (2014) Protecting Us, Protecting Europe? Public Concern about Immigration and Declining Support for European Integration in Italy. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*. Vol. 15. No. 2. Pp. 216-237.

Topic 8. Russian Policy in Mediterranean

Lecture

Russia's economic and strategic interests in Mediterranean. Russia's approach towards Arab spring. Link between Mediterranean security and Black sea from Russian perspective. Mediterranean and Black Sea in Maritime doctrine of Russian Federation.

Montreux Convention and its limitations for Russian Black Sea fleet. Russian-Turkish relations during Syrian crisis. Russia-NATO competition in Mediterranean and Black Sea.

Compulsory readings:

1. Kuimova A., Wezeman S. (2018) Russia and Black Sea Security. SIPRI Background Paper. 20 p.
2. Özbay F. (2015) Turkish-Russian Relations in the Shadow of the Syrian Crisis. Journal of Caspian Affairs. Vol. 1. No. 1. Pp. 73 - 91
3. Siddi M. (2019) Russia's Return to Middle Eastern and Mediterranean Geopolitics and Implications for West-Russia relations, in Futter A. (Ed.) Threats to Euro-Atlantic Security: A Collection of Essays from Members of the Young Generation Leaders Network on Euro-Atlantic Security. Palgrave Macmillan.

Further readings:

1. Litsas S.N. (2018) Russian Foreign Policy in the Middle East under Putin: Can Bears Walk in the Desert? In Stivatchis Y.A. (Ed.) Conflict and Diplomacy in the Middle East: External Actors and Regional Rivalries. Bristol. E-International Relations. Chapter 4 (pp. 64-77).
2. Kfir I. (2016) NATO and Putin's Russia: Seeking to Balance Divergence and Convergence. Comparative Strategy. Vol. 35. No. 5. Pp. 447-464.
3. Pieper M. (2019) 'Rising Power' Status and the Evolution of International Order: Conceptualising Russia's Syria Policies. Europe-Asia Studies. Vol. 71. No. 3. Pp. 365-387.

2.4. Final essay topics

1. Take any country discussed during the course and analyze its key national interests in the Mediterranean.
2. Take any conflict discussed during the course and analyze the main obstacles to its composition.
3. Choose the most important, in your opinion, threat to the Mediterranean security and give your argument with proof.

A student can choose any of the three topics for his/her essay.

Technical specifications:

Format. Essays should be submitted in MS Word format.

Length. The length of the essay must be in the range between 8000 and 9000 symbols (spaces included).

Page layout: left-3 cm, right-1.5 cm, top and bottom - 2 cm; font - Times New Roman, 14 pt.

2.5. Exam questions

1. The Mediterranean region: geographical, political, economic, military aspects.
2. Security: the term interpretations.
3. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey relations.
4. Turkish-Israeli-Cyprus node.
5. Natural gas discoveries and their impact on the relations in the region.
6. Barcelona process.
7. EU MEDA program.
8. NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue.
9. Arab uprisings.
10. Islamic State: geography, aims, methods.
11. War against the Islamic state.
12. Migrations after the Arab uprisings.
13. EU migration policy.
14. UN in the composition of the refugee crisis.
15. NGO rescuing operations in the Mediterranean Sea.
16. EU counterterrorism measures, anti-terrorist monitoring operations at sea.
17. The rise of Eurosceptic parties in the context of the refugee crisis.
18. Russia's economic and strategic interests in the Mediterranean
19. Russian-Turkish relations during the Syrian crisis
20. Russia-NATO competition in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

PART 3: FINAL REMARKS

•Plagiarism is considered as a severe violation and as an indication of incompetence in the course. Plagiarism is understood as making of one's text using compilation method for other people's publications, even connected with own phrases and sentences. Collective performance of individual tasks is also unacceptable. Proved plagiarism an F-mark is given regardless of the fulfillment of all other requirements.

•Assignments are to be handled in and sent by e-mail on a due date. Late submissions will translate into the lowering of the grade by 10% of a grade for each day of a delay.

•Students are asked to keep a copy of all work submitted for evaluation.