# Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark in cooperation with

Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies, University of Jordan INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, AMMAN, JORDAN

# Analysing Security Complexes in a Changing Middle East: The Role of Non-Arab State Actors and Non-State Actors

Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies

University of Jordan

19-20April 2015



# Analysing Security Complexes in a Changing Middle East: The Role of Non-Arab State Actors and Non-State Actors

Venue: Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies

Organised by the Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark, and the Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies, University of Jordan.

#### **Organisers**

Faisal al-Rfouh, Dean and Professor, Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies, University of Jordan

Peter Seeberg, Director of Studies and Associate Professor, Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark

Hasan Momani, Vice Dean and Chair of Department of International Relation and Regional Studies, Master of Ceremony, Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies, University of Jordan

Karen Vestergaard Jensen, Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark

Huda Rawabdeh, Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies, University of Jordan

#### Introduction

Four years after the Arab uprisings the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) is in a state of turmoil. In some states political transformations are still unfolding, while in other statesongoing internal conflicts, if not wars, have resulted in reconfigurations of the balance of power and a negatively affected security situation. The critical realities in several states in the region affect the overall political conditions and create unstable security environments locally, in regional subsystems, and in the broader MENA-perspective. The in many ways surprising developments in the Arab states have attracted much academic focus, partly because they demonstrate that the existing order after all was less stable than the dominant narrative of authoritarian resilience had it. At the same time, phenomena such as social movements, the new and the old media, the role of the armies, and so forth, which influenced both the start and the outcome of the uprisings, needed to be thoroughly analysed in order to understand the changing realities of the Arab world.

This conference will take up perspectives, which, with the focus on the Arab states following the revolts in 2011, to some degree have been overlooked in recent research, namely the role of non-Arab state actors and non-state actors in connection with the changing security environment in the region. Iran, Israel and Turkey are significant foreign policy and security actors in the Middle East, and located in geographical proximity to Iraq and Syria they are affected by the ongoing crisis there, at the same time as they in different ways contribute to the highly problematic regional development. Related to, but not necessarily interconnected with, the complex role of the non-Arab states in the region, a number of important non-state actors are also influencing the recent turmoil in MENA. This is the case for well-known actors like Hezbollah and Hamas, but also for organisations, which more recently entered the political scene like Islamic State and Jabhat al-Nusra.

Taking its point of departure in theoretically informed analyses of the recent role of non-Arab state actors and non-state actors, the conference will discuss security aspects of the ongoing crisis in the MENA. The conference will discuss how changes in the MENA-region are appearing in different contexts in the creation of new local, sub-regional, or regional security complexes in which Arab states, non-Arab states,

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and non-state actors enter into new conflicts, alliances, and other political relations with and against each other.

The conference will consist of four interrelated panels. The panels will, from the perspective of non-Arab state actors and non-state actors, discuss theoretical challenges related to the understanding of how ongoing transformation processes in the Middle East have affected existing security complexes, thereby maybe even laying the foundation for changing the existing state system in the Middle East.

The conference is part of the DJUCO-initiative, which as one of its activities develops a university cooperation partnership between Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark, and Prince Al Hussein Bin Abdullah II School of International Studies, University of Jordan.

## **Programme**

# Sunday 19 April 2015

9:30-10:00	Registration, coffee and tea

10:00-10:30	Welcoming Remarks
Dr. Faisal Al-Rfouh, Dean of Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies,	
University of Jordan	
Dr. Peter Seeberg, Director of DJUCO, Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of	
Southern Denmark	

10.30-13:00	Panel 1. Non-Arab State Actors in a Changing Middle East. The Case of Iran
	<b>Chair:</b> Dr. Musa S. ALLozi, Vice President for Humanities Faculties Affairs, University of Jordan
Panel:	Dr. Matteo Legrenzi: The Saudi-Iranian Rivalry: filling contested vacuums in the Middle East
	Dr. Peter Seeberg: Iran in a Changing Middle East. Security Challenges, International Sanctions and the European-Iranian Relations
	Dr. Faisal Al-Rfouh: Mass Media & Arab Spring, University of Jordan
	Dr. Mohammad Al-Mesfer: Qatar perspectives

13:00-14:00	Lunch Break
14:00-16:30	Panel 2. New Security Challenges in the Middle East – Israel, Palestine, and the Syrian Crisis
	Chair: Dr. Amin Mashagbeh
Panel:	Dr. Mohammad Mansour, Assute University, Egypt: Yemen: Sick man of Arabia Intersected Regional Roles
	Dr. Benedetta Berti: All Politics is local: Non-State Armed Groups as Governance Providers
	Dr. Martin Beck: The "Arab Spring:" A Challenge to Israel's Role in the Middle East?

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	Dr. Hasan Momani: The Dilemma of Jordan's Foreign Policy Towards The Syrian Conflict 2011-2014
20:00	Conference Dinner

# Monday 20 April 2015

10:00-12:30	Panel 3. Turkey: New Foreign Policy and Security Challenges in the Levant
	Chair: Dr. Martin Beck
Panel 3	Dr. Ahmad Mousalli, American University of Beirut, Lebanon: Title to be added
	Dr. William Hale: Turkish Politics and Middle East Policy
	Mr. Sedat Onal, Ambassador of Republic of Turkey: Turkish Politics in The Middle East
	Dr. William Park: Regional Turmoil, the Rise of Islamic State, and Turkey's Multiple Kurdish Dilemmas

2:30-13:30
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13:30-16.00	Panel 4. Non-state Actors and Changing Security Complexes in the Middle East Region (maybe split in two sections)  Chair: Dr. Anil Trigunayat
Panel 4	Dr. Manal A. Jamal: Hamas, Changing Security Complexes, and Primacy of the Domestic

16:00-16:15	Coffee Break
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### 16:15-16:45 Concluding Remarks

Dr. Faisal Al-Rfouh, Prince Al Hussein bin Abdullah II School of International Studies, University of Jordan

Dr. Peter Seeberg, Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark