

# seesox

South East European Studies at Oxford

## WORKSHOP ON THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

*Regionalisation, geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics*



16—17 May 2024

St Antony's College, University of Oxford

## Introduction

### The East Mediterranean programme at the University of Oxford

SEESOX aspires to render this programme the world's foremost hub for researching the East Mediterranean region. To achieve this feat, SEESOX will borrow both from the expertise found in the various relevant Centres in the University of Oxford and that already developed in institutions in the East Mediterranean region.

SEESOX's most recent priority lies with establishing the first interdisciplinary research & policy programme to focus on the East Mediterranean region in a world-leading university. Not only does the East Mediterranean form a particular region within the context of South East European Studies, but developments on the ground have resulted in the genesis of the East Mediterranean region as one of strategic importance. Staying true to its mission, SEESOX wishes to master the study of this fascinating region and the intriguing dynamics it presents, which derive from the East Mediterranean lying at the intersection of Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa.

### The Workshop

Academic studies on the Eastern Mediterranean have proliferated, alongside the empirical developments that underpin them, over the past decade. To make sense of the complex landscape in the region, the narratives, counter-narratives, regional frameworks, strategies, and policies of the region's states, the EU, and external actors, the workshop will initiate by conceiving the Eastern Mediterranean as a constructed region that forms a regional security complex. It will then interrogate these assumptions, along with the implications of regionalisation, issues of interest, perceived opportunities, and challenges. The workshop will aim at a comprehensive and coherent mapping of the Eastern Mediterranean. To enable this, we will feature six interrelated sessions, with different themes.

## Programme

### Thursday 16 May

10:15-11:00 Registration and coffee

11:00-11:15 Welcome

11:15-12:45 SESSION 1: ***Understanding the Eastern Mediterranean in the context of regionalism***

The most prevalent definition that best characterises developments in the Eastern Mediterranean from the outset to its present is that of a regional security complex (RSC). How well does the Eastern Mediterranean fit within the definition for a regional security complex, and to what extent does the region conform to the trajectory of regional construction processes that have emerged following the end of the Cold War? What can regionalisation theory and experience tell us about the necessary conditions for the Eastern Mediterranean to survive, develop further, and the likely impediments to the region's existence and further integration?

12:45-14:15 Lunch

14:15-15:45 SESSION 2: ***Great Power competition in the region: Geopolitics and geoeconomics***

The United States have significantly contributed to the (re)invention of the Eastern Mediterranean in what has admittedly been driven by a process to marginalise Russian influence in Europe, by utilising Eastern Mediterranean energy reserves to alleviate Europe's dependency on Russia. In which ways does this competition manifest? How does Russia and China perceive the ongoing regionalisation effort and what is their strategy in dealing with the Eastern Mediterranean?

15:45– 16:15 Coffee break

16:15– 17:45 SESSION 3: ***Energy as the driving force? But which energy?***

Most studies on the region have touched upon the energy aspect as its *raison d'être*. To what extent is energy sufficient to continue driving the Eastern Mediterranean's existence, if not development? How is the region coping with a shifting priority toward renewable forms of energy in the United States and the European Union?

18:00 Drinks reception

20:00 Dinner

## Programme

### Friday 17 May

10:30-11:00 Coffee

11:00-12:30 SESSION 4: ***Cooperation, rivalry and migration in the East Med***

A range of processes concern the Eastern Mediterranean that may exceed the subject of energy, and the region as an RSC. Which are these issues? How can we make sense of them in the broader context of regionalisation? We discuss migration as part of the security complex in the region.

12:30-14:00 Lunch

14:00-15:30 SESSION 5: ***The role of the European Union in the region***

The European Union maintains a keen interest on the Eastern Mediterranean, with several of its member states being located within the confines of the region, while it is financing several of the region's major infrastructural projects. That said, the European Union's strategy toward the region is ambiguous at best, even if existent. What is the European Union's stance toward the Eastern Mediterranean? How can we make sense of it? Which determinants impact its position?

15:30-16:00 Coffee break

16:00-17:30 SESSION 6: ***The impact of the two wars (Ukraine-Gaza) on the region***

16:30- 17:30 **Concluding remarks and ideas for future research**

18:00 Drinks reception

20:30 Dinner

## Participants

### CONVENORS

**Othon Anastasakis** (St Antony's College, Oxford)

**George Hajipavli** (University College, Oxford)

### PARTICIPANTS

**Constantinos Adamides** (University of Nicosia)

**Jens Bastian** (Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin)

**Dimitar Bechev** (Oxford School of Global and Area Studies)

**Emre Caliskan** (Blavatnik School of Governance, Oxford)

## Participants

**Helena Catalán Busquets** (University of Oxford)  
**Alban Dafa** (Oxford School of Global and Area Studies)  
**Galip Dalay** (Robert Bosch Academy, Berlin)  
**Brendan Devlin** (European Commission)  
**Franck Duvell** (Osnabruck University)  
**Evans Fanoulis** (University of Galway)  
**Sara Frumento** (Hertford College, Oxford)  
**Constantinos Filis** (The American College of Greece)  
**Sarah Garding** (US Congressional Research Service)  
**Federica Genovese** (St Antony's College, Oxford)  
**Foteini Kalantzi** (British International Studies Association)  
**Basak Kale** (Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara)  
**Hanna Klar** (SciencesPo Paris)  
**Markos Kyprianou** (Former-European Commissioner; Former Finance/Foreign Minister of Cyprus)  
**Dinos Lefkaritis Jr** (Petrolina, Cyprus)  
**David Madden** (St Antony's College, Oxford)  
**Broderick McDonald** (Kings College London)  
**Tom Miller** (Former US Ambassador to Cyprus, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Greece)  
**Alice Politi** (King's College London)  
**Omar Rifai** (Former Director of WANA; Former General Secretary of the Jordanian Foreign Ministry)  
**Jonathan Scheele** (SEESOX, St Antony's College, Oxford)  
**Manal Shehabi** (Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, Oxford)  
**Brendan Siman** (Egmont - Royal Institute for International Affairs, Belgium)  
**Karolin Tuncel** (Oxford Department of International Development)  
**Zenonas Tziarras** (University of Cyprus)  
**Petros Vamvakas** (Emmanuel College, Boston)  
**Alexandros Zachariades** (London School of Economics)

### WORKSHOPS ADMINISTRATORS

**Julie Adams** (St Antony's College, Oxford)  
**Ladislav Charouz** (St Antony's College, Oxford)  
**Walid El-Baz** (St Antony's College, Oxford)

## Participants' bios

### **Constantinos Adamides**

Dr Constantinos Adamides is the Director of the Diplomatic Academy and the Associate Head of the Department of Politics and Governance at the University of Nicosia in Cyprus. He is also the Director of the Institute of Studies for Politics and Democracy and a visiting professor at the Center for the Study and Practice of Conflict Resolution at the University of Malta. Constantinos frequently works with the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs, as well as the National Guard for training activities pertinent to security-related topics and regional geopolitics, and served in the first Geostrategic Council of the Republic of Cyprus when it was first formed in 2014. He is also a member of the Executive Academic Board of the European Security and Defense College and an alumni resident scholar of the George C. Marshall Center for Security Studies where he researched the development of national security strategies in areas of inactive conflicts. Constantinos holds a PhD in Political Science and International Studies, an MA in Diplomacy and International Relations and an MBA in Finance.

### **Othon Anastasakis**

Dr Othon Anastasakis is the Director of the European Studies Centre and Director of South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX); Senior Research Fellow at St Antony's College; Senior Research Fellow and Tutor at the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies (OSGA); Associate at the Department of Politics and International Relations. He teaches "South East European politics and European integration" for the OSGA and "EU politics" for the Department of Continuing Education, Oxford. He is currently the Principal Investigator of three research projects: Greek Diaspora Project, and Eastern Mediterranean Studies Programme at SEESOX; and OX/BER funded Migration Diplomacy and EU-Turkey Relations.

### **Jens Bastian**

Since July 2022, Jens Bastian has been a Fellow at the Center for Applied Turkey Studies (CATS) of the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin, Germany. His main areas of expertise concern China's expanding capital export to Southeast Europe and Turkey's political economy. From September 2011 to September 2013 Dr Bastian was appointed by the European Commission as a member of the Task Force for Greece in Athens, Greece. His previous professional experience includes working as Lead Economist for the European Agency for Reconstruction, Thessaloniki, Greece, at Alpha Bank in Athens, Greece, as well as various academic positions held at St Antony's College, Oxford, U.K., Nuffield College, Oxford and the London School of Economics, London, U.K.

### **Dimitar Bechev**

Dr Dimitar Bechev is a senior fellow at Carnegie Europe, where he focuses on EU enlargement, the Western Balkans, and Eastern Europe. He is also a lecturer at the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies, University of Oxford. Bechev is the author of *Turkey under Erdogan* (Yale University Press, 2022), *Historical Dictionary of North Macedonia* (Rowman, 2019), and *Rival Power: Russia in Southeast Europe* (Yale UP, 2017) as well as co-editor of *Russia Rising: Putin's Foreign Policy in the Middle East and North Africa* (Bloomsbury, 2021). He has also published numerous academic articles and policy reports. His past positions include lecturer at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and senior policy fellow, head of the Sofia office at the European Council on Foreign Relations. Bechev has held fellowships at the Institute of Human Sciences in Vienna; Harvard's Center for European Studies; and the European Institute, London School of Economics. He contributes frequently to *Foreign Policy*, *Al Jazeera*, *Politico Europe*, and *RFE/RL* and his quotes have appeared in the *FT*, the *Economist*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and other major news outlets.

## Participants' bios

### **Helena Catalán Busquets**

Helena Catalán Busquets is a current student of the MSc Global Governance and Diplomacy at Oxford University. In the past, Helena studied Global Studies at Pompeu Fabra University, in the context of which she conducted an exchange with the University of Chicago. She has taken a keen interest in the Eastern Mediterranean and the broader Middle Eastern region from a diplomatic perspective, and she speaks both French and Arabic, both of which are languages with importance to the region.

### **Alban Dafa**

Alban Dafa is currently pursuing his DPhil in Area Studies (Middle East) at the Oxford School of Global and Area Studies. His research focuses on understanding the Israeli national security threat perceptions stemming from anti-Zionism and their impact on contemporary Jewish identity. Specific strands within his research include Aran-Israeli relations, US-Israeli relations, and Israeli-Diaspora relations. More broadly, he is interested in exploring the challenges to the legitimisation and preservation of state power. Before coming to Oxford, Alban was working in Kosovo on security sector reform and anti-money laundering policies. He has also been consulting on conflict resolution, violent extremism, and countering organised crime. He is a former naval officer, having served in the Albanian navy for eight years, and a graduate of the United States Naval Academy. Whilst serving in the navy, he completed his Master of Arts in Politics and International Relations of the Middle East at the University of Exeter through the Chevening Scholarship Programme of the United Kingdom.

### **Galip Dalay**

Galip Dalay is doctoral researcher at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, Senior Consulting Fellow at Chatham House, and non-resident senior fellow at the Middle East Council on Global Affairs. He was previously Mercator-IPC Senior Fellow at Istanbul Policy Center and at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), and Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow at Robert Bosch Academy in Berlin. Dalay was also a visiting fellow at the Institute for Human Science (IWM) in Vienna as part of its Eurasia in Global Dialogues program, and non-resident fellow at Brookings Doha Center. His work focuses on Turkey, Eastern Mediterranean, Middle Eastern politics, history and politics of Turkey - West and of Turkey - Russia relations. His work has appeared on Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Project Syndicate, CNN, the National Interest, Newsweek, Le Monde, Internationale Politik, DW Opinion, Open Democracy, Al Jazeera, and Middle East Eye.

### **Emre Caliskan**

Dr Emre Caliskan is a Research Fellow in the Global Security Program at the Blavatnik School of Governance, specialising in Contested Cross-border Spaces, Illicit Flows, and Order in the Contemporary World, with a particular focus on the Middle East. He completed his DPhil in International Relations at St Antony's College, University of Oxford. His dissertation investigates the influence of Turkish Islamist movements on Turkey's foreign policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa. Emre's academic interests include transnational political Islam, the geopolitics of the Middle East, and the Islamic power competition in Africa. He holds an MA in Middle East and Mediterranean Studies from King's College, University of London. He is the co-author, along with Simon Waldman, of *The 'New Turkey' and Its Discontents* (Oxford University Press/Hurst, 2017), which critically examines the social, religious, and political polarisation under President Erdogan's AKP and its implications for Turkey's future direction. His career in journalism includes roles at the BBC Turkish Service, Cumhuriyet, and the Turkish public broadcaster TRT, where he served as a foreign correspondent based in Ankara, Damascus, Beijing, and London. He was also the founding Middle East coordinator for the European Youth Press, a

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network of youth media organisations in Europe. Besides his position at the Blavatnik School of Governance, Emre serves as the Director of Needs Map Global, a non-profit organisation and social cooperative aimed at bridging the gap between people in need and those willing to offer support. He is also a Research Fellow at the Foreign Policy Centre.

### **Brendan Devlin**

Brendan Devlin is the Strategy and Foresight Counsellor in the Directorate General for Energy of the European Commission. In 2021, he conceived and delivered the Global Methane Pledge, building out from the EU methane strategy of 2020 (which he co-wrote). He also inserted the first reference to an oil and gas moratorium into the European Union's Arctic Strategy, and will work in 2024 to progress that option. At present, he is the Co-Chair of the OECD working group on fossil fuel phase out, sits on the Board of the UN Climate and Clean Air Coalition and is on the working group of the Task Force on Carbon Pricing in Europe. Between 2007 and 2012, he led the team to connect successfully Caspian energy resources with the European Union. He guided the negotiation and signature of the intergovernmental agreements necessary for the Southern Gas Corridor. His work has encompassed developing the legal doctrines applicable to import pipelines to the EU. Before 2007, he conceived and guided the negotiation, signature (in October 2005) and ratification of the Energy Community Treaty, the first multilateral treaty between the states of South and Central Europe and the European Union (and the only energy Treaty ever signed by the EU as a corporate entity).

### **Franck Duvell**

Franck Duvell is senior researcher at Osnabruck University (UOS), Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (since 2020). Dr Duvell is also a contract senior researcher at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (ICMPD) in Vienna, convener of the Turkey Migration Studies Group, the Ukraine Expert Group at UOS and co-editor of Central and Eastern Migration Review (CEEMR). Previously, he was head of the migration department at the German Centre for Integration and Migration Research, Berlin (2018-2020). From 2013 to 2018, he was associate professor and senior researcher at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford. He has over 25 years of experience in conducting and leading research, analysis and policy advice. He is an expert on international migration and in particular irregular, transit and forced migration, migration governance and international relations in the field of migration.

### **Evans Fanoulis**

Dr Evangelos (Evans) Fanoulis is Lecturer above the Bar in International & Global Politics at the School of Political Science & Sociology, University of Galway (Ireland). He was previously Assistant Professor in International Relations at Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (China), postdoctoral researcher at Metropolitan University Prague (Czechia), Lecturer in Politics at the University of Leicester (UK) and fellow at the Department of Government, University of Essex (UK), where he also did his doctorate. He was an intern at the EU Commission and European External Action Service. His main research interests lie within democracy and populism in Europe, EU foreign policy, and post-structuralist IR theory. He has published a research monograph entitled *The Democratic Quality of European Security and Defence Policy: Between Practices of Governance and Practices of Freedom* with Routledge and has co-edited the Routledge Handbook of Critical European Studies. Other publications of his include articles in journals such as *Review of International Studies*, *European Security*, *Contemporary European Studies*, *European Politics & Society*, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, *Politics and Governance*, *Journal of European Integration*, and *Journal of Common Market Studies* as well as book chapters in edited volumes.

## Participants' bios

### **Constantinos Filis**

Prof. Filis is President of the Foundation of Thracian Art and Tradition, Director of the Institute of International Affairs, Associate Professor at the American College of Greece, Director of the International Olympic Truce Centre and research fellow at the Foreign Policy Planning Centre of the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is a member of the Advisory Council of the Institute of International Relations, Panteion University; the board of directors of the International Olympic Academy; and the Sportsmanship, Ethics and Deontology Committee. He served as Executive Director of the Institute of International Relations, Panteion University, and as Director of Research Programmes at the same institute. He was elected Senior Associate Member (SAM) at St. Antony's College, University of Oxford (2007-2009), and in tandem was a Member of the International Council of the Research Institute for European and American Studies. He was also a researcher at the Center for South East European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX), University of Oxford (2008-2010). He lectures at the Diplomatic Academy, the Naval Academy, the National Defence Academy and the National Security Academy. He has published extensively, including books, papers and studies. Most recently: "The future of history. How the war in Ukraine is changing the global landscape"; "Assertive patriotism. Anatomy of a conversation that never took place"; "Greece in its neighbourhood"; "A Closer Look at Russia and its Influence in the World" and "Refugees, Europe, Insecurity". He is a member of the Greek-Turkish Forum and a corresponding member of the Institute of Energy for South-east Europe (IENE). He is also an energy and geoeconomics advisor for the Hellenic Association of Entrepreneurs.

### **Sara Frumento**

Sara Frumento is a DPhil candidate in Area Studies (South Asia) and Clarendon Scholar at Hertford College, University of Oxford. She has previously completed a BA in European Social and Political Studies at University College London (UCL) and an MPhil in Global and Area Studies at the University of Oxford (St Antony's College). Sara also worked in several think tanks and international organisations, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Her DPhil research project is a Neo-Gramscian interpretation of Sino-Indian competition and small state agency in South Asia.

### **Sarah Garding**

Sarah Garding is an Analyst in European Affairs with the Congressional Research Service, a legislative branch agency that works exclusively for the United States Congress, providing analysis to committees and Members of both the House and the Senate. Her CRS portfolio includes most of southeastern Europe. She holds a Ph.D. in political science from the University of California, Berkeley.

### **Federica Genovese**

Federica Genovese is a Full Professor at the University of Oxford, a member of the Department of Politics and International Relations and a Fellow at St Antony's College, Oxford. She previously held positions at University of Essex and Stanford University. She was an academic visitor at Nuffield College in Oxford, Collegio Carlo Alberto in Turin and LUISS in Rome. She has a PhD from University of Konstanz and degrees from Johns Hopkins SAIS and University of Toronto. Her work focuses on international and comparative political economy, with particular attention to climate politics and policy, globalization, redistribution and the politics of crises especially but not exclusively in Europe. Among other projects, in 2023-27 she leads the Varieties of Climate Vulnerabilities project, funded by a Research Leadership Award from the Leverhulme Trust.

## Participants' bios

### **George Hajipavli**

George Hajipavli is the co-founder of the Eastern Mediterranean programme at Oxford. He has undertaken policy work relevant to the region, through placements in the European Parliament, the British Parliament, the Foreign Ministry of Cyprus, and through independent consultancy work. His academic expertise predominantly lies on the Southeast and Eastern European regions. As such, he has been particularly interested on the role of Russia in the Eastern Mediterranean and how that interacts with American foreign policy objectives. Concurrently, he has expanded his focus to the Eastern Mediterranean, which is a region at the intersection of the European Union, Southeast Europe, and the Middle East.

### **Foteini Kalantzi**

Dr Foteini Kalantzi has a PhD in International Relations (2017) from University of Macedonia, Greece. She conducted part of her PhD research at the Freie Universität Berlin. She has an MA in International Political Economy from Warwick University, a BSc in Economics from University of La Verne, California and a BA in International and European Relations from Panteion University, Athens. She was the A.G. Leventis Researcher at the South East European Studies at the University of Oxford from 2018 to 2023. She is the convenor of International Politics of Migration, Refugees and Diasporas BISA working group. Her research interests include securitisation of migration, European borders, diaspora politics, Greek political affairs, and European integration.

### **Başak Kale**

Başak Kale is an associate professor in the Department of International Relations at Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, where she is also a research fellow and coordinates the Migration Studies Programme. Her research focuses on Turkey-EU relations, EU enlargement, Europeanization, migration, asylum and transatlantic energy security. She has taught and conducted research at other institutions including the University of California, Berkeley, Boğaziçi University and Hitotsubashi University (Tokyo). She was a founding member of IGAM, Turkey's first NGO dedicated to migration and asylum. In the past, Ms Kale worked at the Turkish Ministry for EU Affairs (MEU), advising the Deputy Prime Minister and the National Coordinator for the Convention on the Future of Europe. She has also worked as a consultant for various international organizations including the UNHCR, the Council of Europe, the OSCE and the UN. After pursuing a PhD at METU on the international refugee regime, she received her PhD on how EU law influences the EU enlargement process from the University of Oxford. She holds an MSc in European studies from the London School of Economics and a BSc in political science and public administration from METU.

### **Hanna Klar**

Hanna Klar studies International Energy Transitions at SciencesPo Paris, while she is concurrently a Junior Consultant with Fasse + Bieger. As part of her studies in energy policy at SciencesPo Paris, Hanna Klar is researching geopolitical influences on policy and economic relations in the Eastern Mediterranean. She focuses on interstate relations in the development of gas fields as well as deep-sea cables.

### **Markos Kyprianou**

Markos Kyprianou studied Law at the Law School of the University of Athens. He attended graduate studies at Trinity College, Cambridge University, and was awarded an LLM. He continued his studies at Harvard Law School and was also awarded an LLM. He entered politics at very young age. He has served as Municipal Councillor for the City of Nicosia. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1991 and re-elected in 1996 and in 2001. He has

## Participants' bios

chaired the House Committee on Financial and Budgetary Affairs. He took over as Minister of Finance in 2003. When the Republic of Cyprus joined the EU on 1st May 2004, he was appointed as the first Cypriot EU Commissioner. On November 2004 he was reappointed to the EU Commission. He served as Foreign Minister from March 2008 to August 2011. In February 2014 he was elected as Deputy President of the Democratic Party of Cyprus until 2018. Since then he has returned to the private sector and is practicing Law.

### **Dinos Lefkaritis**

Dinos Lefkaritis Jr is the Head of New Energy Development and E-Mobility Network Development at Petrolina Holdings. Dinos has adopted a leading role in Cyprus' energy sector, being the current President of the Cyprus E-Mobility Association. He holds a Master's Degree in Energy, Trade, and Finance from Bayes Business School and a dual degree in Physics and Economics from Bates College, in the United States. His unique blend of academic excellence and practical expertise is showcased through his innovative work at Petrolina (Holdings) Public Ltd., traditionally a leading Oil & Gas company in the Eastern Mediterranean region, where he leads the transition into advancing sustainable energy solutions.

### **David Madden**

Sir David Madden has extensive experience of working in and with countries and places on the brink of break-up (former Yugoslavia), those seriously divided (Berlin in the 1970s, Cyprus, Bosnia after the war), and those where regional tensions run high. He also served in Moscow in the 1970s. As British High Commissioner in Cyprus 1994-1999, he played a full role in the negotiations on a Cyprus settlement and EU accession. He shuttled regularly between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leaders in support of the UN mission of good offices. As British Ambassador to Greece 1999-2004, he helped the Greek government achieve a break-through against the 17 November terrorist movement after the murder of his Defence Attache, assisted them with planning the security of the 2004 Olympics, supported Team GB's successful participation in those Games, and facilitated the work of the London 2012 bid committee. He was knighted in 2003. In 2004, he was posted as Political Adviser to the EU Peace-Keeping Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He assisted a smooth transition from the previous NATO force, advised the peace-keepers on the complex local political scene, and assisted the central government in drawing up their National Action Plan against Organised Crime and Corruption. David is a published author (completing Dickens' unfinished novel *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* in 2011). David also works for a variety of international animal welfare charities, including as a Trustee of Compassion in World Farming; and as a Patron of Voice for Ethical Research in Oxford.

### **Broderick McDonald**

Broderick McDonald is an Associate Fellow at Kings College London's International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation examining security, conflict, and extremism in the Eastern Mediterranean region. He previously served as a Policy Advisor to the Government of Canada and as a researcher with the All Party Parliamentary Group for Genocide Prevention. Prior to this, he was a Fellow with the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC) and an Associate Fellow of the Global Network on Extremism & Technology (GNET). He currently serves on the Global Internet Forum to Counter Terrorism's Independent Advisory Committee, the Aspen Institute UK's RLF Advisory Board, and the GLOCA Board of Advisors.

### **Thomas Miller**

Ambassador Thomas Miller, PhD, was a career US Foreign Service Officer for 29 years and served as ambassador to Greece (2001-04) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1999-2001). From 1997 to 1999, he was US Special Coordinator for the Cyprus negotiations at ambassadorial rank. He served as the State Department's Director of the Office of Israeli

## Participants' bios

and Palestinian Affairs from 1992-1994. From 2011 to 2023, he was Chair of the International Commission on Missing Persons, which identifies missing persons by using DNA. He has headed several large international nonprofits and holds five degrees from the University of Michigan. Since late 2021, he has worked tirelessly to bring Afghans, most of whom had a connection to the US, to the United States.

### **Alice Politi**

Alice Politi is a PhD Candidate at King's College London and the 2024 PhD Eisenhower Defence Fellow at the NATO Defence College in Rome. She is also a Policy Advisor at the Department for Science, Innovation and Technology (DSIT) at the British Government. She has previously collaborated as a Policy Consultant for the UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) and took part in research projects with the European Commission and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation. She has taught at the Department of War Studies at King's College London and has given lectures and seminars in the fields of Chinese Studies and International Relations in different academic institutions, such as the University of Cambridge. She has also organised and has taken part in several policy workshops and conferences and her work has been cited in several outlets, with appearances on Al Jazeera and other broadcasters. She speaks English, Italian, Mandarin Chinese, and Spanish.

### **Omar Rifai**

Dr Omar Rifai is a retired Jordanian Ambassador, who joined his country's diplomatic service in 1975. He started his career serving in Jordan's missions in Cairo, Bern, New York, London and Washington as a junior diplomat. In 1996, Dr Rifai was sworn in as Ambassador, and headed Jordan's diplomatic missions to Israel, Italy and Egypt, where he was also his country's Permanent Representative to the Arab League in Cairo. Other positions held by him included Secretary-General of the Jordanian Foreign Ministry, President of the Jordan Institute of Diplomacy, and Director of the Arab Affairs Division of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). He is a graduate of Harvard and Georgetown Universities.

### **Jonathan Scheele**

Jonathan Scheele is a Research Associate at SEESOX. Jonathan served as a European Commission official from 1974 until 2012; his last posting before his retirement was as Head of the European Commission's Representation in the UK. During his time in the Commission, Jonathan dealt with a wide range of issues, including industrial policy, trade policy, international relations, enlargement and transport. From 2001 to 2006, Jonathan was Head of the European Commission's Delegation in Romania and, from 2007 to 2010, Director for transport infrastructure policy and financing. Jonathan held the first EU Visiting Fellowship at St Antony's in 2009/2010 and was also the ESC Visiting Fellow for 2012/2014. His research interests cover developments in the Balkans, with a particular focus on Romania, as well as the UK's relationship with the EU, following Brexit.

### **Manal Shehabi**

Dr Manal Shehabi is an Associate Faculty Member of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Oxford. She is also Member of the ANU Institute for Climate, Energy & Disaster Solutions, Research Associate of the Economic Research Forum, and Director of SHEER Research & Advisory. An applied economist, she has globally recognized expertise at the intersection of economics, energy, and climate in resource-dependent economies, focusing on the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and the Eastern Mediterranean regions. She is a Consultant to the International Energy Agency and PWYP's Just Energy Transition Program, and an Expert with the UNFCCC, and an advisory board member of the Energy Futures Initiative-KAPSARC Joint Research Program. A polyglot, she advises policymakers and firms and is cited and appears in international media outlets in different languages.

## Participants' bios

### **Bernard Siman**

Bernard Siman is a Senior Associate Fellow at Egmont- Royal Institute for International Affairs in Belgium. He also lectures at the Royal Military Academy in Belgium; the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB); and the European Security and Defence College (ESDC). He worked in Japan (where he also graduated from Kyoto University), U.K., the Middle East and North Africa, and Turkey.

### **Karolin Tuncel**

Karolin Tuncel is pursuing her PhD at the Oxford Department of International Development on the role of non-/religious ideologies in negotiations of gender norms in Turkey. Before starting her PhD, she was a Carlo Schmid Fellow with the UN in Brussels. In this capacity, she worked on issues related to EU foreign and security policy, counterterrorism, and the UN's Protection of Civilians mandate. Previously, she gained work experience at the Global Public Policy Institute, the German Embassy in Canada, and the administration of the German Bundestag, among others. As a scholar of the German Academic Scholarship Foundation, Karolin studied Political Science and International Relations in Berlin (B.A.), Cairo, Reims, and Cambridge (MPhil).

### **Zenonas Tziarras**

Zenonas Tziarras is a Lecturer in the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cyprus. He holds a PhD in Politics and international Studies from the University of Warwick, UK, an MA in International Relations and Strategic Studies from the University of Birmingham, UK and a BA in Mediterranean Studies from the University of the Aegean, Greece. His research focuses on Turkish foreign policy and the international politics of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. Among other publications, he authored *Turkish Foreign Policy: The Lausanne Syndrome in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East* (Springer, 2022).

### **Petros Vamvakas**

Petros Vambakis is Associate Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science and International Studies and the Director of the Institute of Eastern Mediterranean Studies at Emmanuel College in Boston. His area of interest is the intersection of international security and democratization. Since the 1990s, he has researched, written, presented and published on the general topic, covering a wide geographic area from the Andes to Central Asia. Since 2012 his work has focused on the Eastern Mediterranean and the Caribbean, especially as geopolitical shifts and identity have affected issues of security and democratization in these regions. He teaches courses in Comparative Politics, International Relations and Political Theory and has developed a number of courses such as Street Democracy, Imagining the Nation in Modernity, Revolution and Nationalism, American Foreign Policy. Since 2012, he has directed and taught at the Emmanuel College Eastern Mediterranean Security Studies Summer Program in Crete. Recent presentations and publications have focused on Global Stability and The Geopolitical Vortex of the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as viewing the Mediterranean and the Caribbean in Mirror Image.

### **Alexandros Zachariades**

Alexandros Zachariades is a Fellow in the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics and the Policy Lead for Geopolitics at 89 Global. He holds a PhD from LSE and is specialising on Neoclassical Realism and the foreign policies of small states. His empirical research focuses on the Eastern Mediterranean, the Gulf and the wider Middle East. Alexandros has contributed articles and has been interviewed by international and regional media outlets, including Al Jazeera, Euronews, Le Monde, Arab News, Mediapart and Kathimerini.



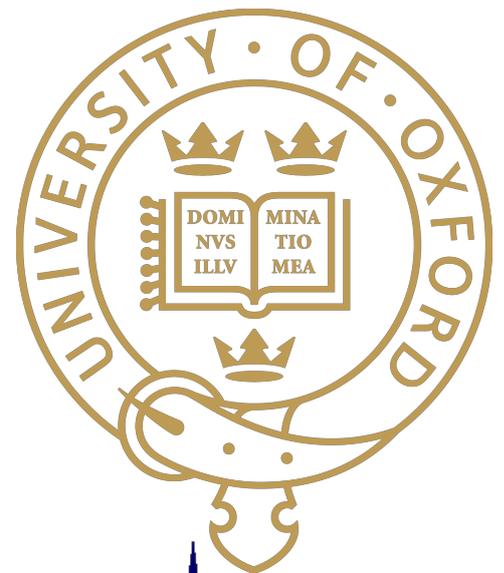


## About SEESOX

Part of the European Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, SEESOX focuses on the interdisciplinary study of the relationship between European integration and the politics, economics and societies of the Balkans, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

Drawing on the academic excellence of the University and an international network of associates, it conducts policy relevant research on the multifaceted transformations of the region in the 21st century. It follows closely conflict and post-conflict situations and analyses the historical and intellectual influences which have shaped perceptions and actions in the region. In Oxford's best tradition, the SEESOX team is committed to understanding the present through the *longue duree* and reflecting on the future through high quality scholarship. SEESOX has the following objectives:

- To support high-quality research on South East Europe.
- To organise conferences, workshops and research seminars.
- To promote multi-disciplinary study of the region's development within Oxford University (e.g. politics, international relations, law, sociology, economics) working in collaboration with other Centres and Programmes within the University, including student societies.
- To spearhead intellectual exchanges and debate on these issues among networks of individuals and institutions beyond Oxford.



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