Documentation

Civil Society CSCME Process

First Preparatory Symposium for the Project "Conference for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East"

January, 13 - 17, 2011 Protestant Academy Bad Boll



In cooperation with: IPPNW, German Section IALANA, German Section CSCME Working Group





Table of Content

Civil Society CSCME Process	5
Results of the 1st Preparatory Symposium for a Civil-Society-Based CSCME Process	7
Program Structure	11
List of Participants	13
Words of Welcome, Christoph Krämer	15
Security and Co-operation in the Middle East, <i>Prof. Dr. Mohssen Massarrat</i>	16
Aims of the Symposium, Christoph Kraemer	19
CSCE/OSCE and Mediteranean Partners for Cooperation, Wilhelm Höynck	22
Helsinki, the Principle of Peaceful Co-existence and their Relevance for Stability and Common Security, <i>Dr. Arne C. Seifert</i>	24
If the States don't start it, Christoph Krämer	34
Civil Society Involvement across Borders, Ingrid Lottenburger	36
Dialog-Training and Dialogue -Facilitator-Training, Fatemeh Sadr-Tabatabai	39
INCM Proposed Worh Sheet for CSCHE Project, Zuhair A. Al-Mahmeed	41
Civil Society CSME Process Paper Proposal: Connecting the Students of the Middle East, <i>Nuri Yesilyurt</i>	44
Mission Statement	46
Appendix: PowerPoint Presentation Applying Web 2.0 Flavor for CSCME Process, <i>Amir Hadji Anzehaee</i>	47

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Civil Society CSCME Process

From the 13th to the 17th of January 2011, a group of people met at the Protestant Academy of Bad Boll to discuss the possibilities for the intervention of civil society in the region of Middle East.

In the invitation to this symposium by Dr. Manfred Budzinski, Christoph Kraemer and Prof. Dr. Mohssen Massarrat it said:

"The basic principle that civil society can and must make an important contribution to conflict solving, as long as the states do not see their way clear to do so, is as relevant in the region of the Middle East as elsewhere.

The planned civil society Conference for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East is thought of as an on-going civil society body, consisting of experts and of NGOs from the region. They will form transnational networks according to the areas of work (for example for education, energy supply, transport network, common security) and develop autonomous regional cooperation from the bottom up. The conference is supposed to stimulate a later conference between the states. Initially the participants of the civil society conference shall be representatives of civil society groups from the core states of the region: Egypt, Israel, the future Palestinian state, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait. In the further process further states might be included."

The conference moderators were Clemens Ronnefeldt from Freising and Andreas Zumach from Geneva.

Guests from the Region came from Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Palestine, Syria, Turkey

The conference language was English.

The organizers would like to extend a special thank you to the then "Stiftung Europäische Friedenspolitik" (European Peace Policy Foundation), now called "Stiftung Friedensbewegung" (Peace Movement Foundation), and especially to its board member Dr. Peter Becker for the generous support of the beginning of the project "Civil Society CSCME Process". This support raised an idea to a reality.

For further information refer to the website of the foundation: http://www.stiftungfriedensbewegung.de



Results of the 1st Preparatory Symposium for a Civil-Society-Based CSCME Process

from 13 – 17 Jan 2011 in Bad Boll (Germany)

Brief Report

In the non-public conference, all in all 27 persons have participated, among them 16 persons from 8 countries of the Middle East (Iraq, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Palestine, Syria, Turkey)*. The participants voted unanimously for the continuation and further development of the process begun by the Initiative Group. During the whole meeting there was an atmosphere of cooperation, confidence and readiness to take constructive decisions. The conference program is enclosed, a documentation of the contributions (as far as submitted in written form) is supposed to follow soon (to be published if there are no reservation from the part of the participants).

The following results were achieved:

1) Coordinated and organized by the Coordination Group which was enlarged by representatives from the region, the Civil Society Based CSCME Opening Conference shall be prepared by 13 thematic working groups.

Seven of them have already been built, on the following working areas:

- Education / Science / Health with Nuri Yesilyurt/Turkey (coordination), Amir Hadji/Iran and Evi Guggenheim Shbeta/Israel (and support by Christoph/Krämer/Germany);
- Intercultural / Interreligious Dialogue –
 with Esra Bakkalbasioglu/Turkey (coordination), Fatemeh Sadr-Tabatabai/Iran,
 Amira Mostafa/Jordan, Zuhair A. Al-Mahmeed/Kuwait and Ziad Abu
 Zayyad/Palestine;
- Common Security / Nuclear Weapons Free Zone (NWFZ) with Hillel Schenker/Israel (coordination), Mohssen Massarrat/Iran/Germany, Noaman Muna/Iraq, Dilan Özgen Bozgan/Turkey-Kurdistan and Arshin Adib-Moghaddam/Iran;
- Economic and Social Development Cooperation with Omar Shaban/Palestine/Gaza (coordination) and Dilan Özgen Bozgan/Turkey-Kurdistan;
- Human Rights and Democratization with Radwan Ziadeh/Syria (coordination), Mahdi Hassan Mohammed/Iraq, Evi Guggenheim Shbeta/Israel and Esra Bakkalbasioglu/Turkey;

- 7 -

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^{*} From Saudi Arabia, a participant had to cancel her confirmation by personal reasons, from Egypt and Lebanon there were no acceptances.

- Internet / Communication -

with Amir Hadji/Iran (coordination), Hillel Schenker/Israel and Nuri Yesilyurt/Turkey (and support by Christoph Krämer/Germany)

- Terminology -

with Arshin Adib-Moghaddam/Iran, Hillel Schenker/Israel and Radwan Ziadeh/Syria (and support by Mohssen Massarrat/Iran/Germany); (see also under 2)

The following working groups are supposed to be established as soon as interested activists are found to fill them:

- Renewable Energy and Electricity Transportation Systems;
- Cross-Border Resource Management (water, energy);
- Cross-Border Environmental Cooperation;
- Humanitarian and Medical Aid;
- Migration;
- Women Rights and Equality -

moreover, the gender issue has to be part of each working group!

2) Terminology

During the meeting, there was a controversial debate on some key terms, especially on the term "Middle East". Some participants argued for replacing it by the term "Western Asia and Northern Africa". As this is a complex issue with various implications, it is supposed to be discussed carefully by all Bad Boll participants. The terminology working group shall bring this discussion forward. For the time being, the term chosen by the Initiave Group remains in force.

3) Modus operandi for the thematic working groups

- Each WG has already defined a coordinator.
- The Internet WG built a *LinkedIn group* in order to provide a platform for the internal CSCME communication. Moreover, it will set up a website as soon as possible.
- Via LinkedIn, each WG can communicate internally and with all other WGs.
- Each WG is developing a working plan for the cross-border cooperation in its respective field and will organize working meetings and workshops if possible, in the Middle East.

- Each member will seek individuals, groups and institutions who are interested to take part in its WG (or in another WG). Prerequisite for the participation is to agree in the two basic principles "security by cooperation instead of mutual threatening" and "dialogue without preconditions". Those who have expressed their interest in an active cooperation, named her/his concrete working field and agreed in the above two principles, are introduced to the other participants through the LinkedIn list and invited to join the work (by the WG working on the respective field or by the Coordination Group).
- Each member can comment on the working program of other WGs, and can also put proposals on it up for discussion.

4) Workshops in 2011

Workshops with the participation of newly won or interested persons are supposed to take place in late summer / autumn 2011 at the latest. Members of the Coordination Group have declared to take part in them.

5) Second Preparatory Conference

The second conference for the preparation of the actual opening conference of the CSCME civil society process is supposed to take place in early 2012, if possible. For organizing, conducting and funding it, the Coordination Group will contact the Turkish participants of the Bad Boll meeting.

6) Summer School

The WG on Education / Science / Health intends to organize a cross-border summer school in cooperation with Ankara University. This is an opportunity also for the other WGs to participate in this event.

7) Actual Opening Conference of the CSCME Civil Society Process

It is supposed to be realized until 2014, if possible. Regarding the place where it can be implemented (Qatar, Turkey or another country), the discussion will be continued.

8) Documentation of the Bad Boll Meeting

- All WGs will discuss and agree on their working programs among each other until 7 Feb 2011 and send them to the provisional CSCME e-mail address: cscme@ippnw.de (Jens-Peter Steffen).
- With the help of the office of IPPNW-Germany, they will be bundled up and, together with the papers of the Bad Boll meeting, e-mailed to all participants.

Moreover, they will be posted on the CSCME website which is supposed to be set up until then (as far as the respective authors won't disagree).

9) Funding

The WGs are themselves responsible for the funding of their workshops. In this, they support each other by exchanging informations. For setting up the website, Christoph Kraemer will apply for a kick-off amount of 500 Euro from IPPNW-Germany.

10) Coordination Group

The previous Initiative Group was enlarged by three members from the Middle East and has now, beside four members from the original group (Mohssen Massarrat, Germany/Iran, Christoph Kraemer, Jens-Peter Steffen, staff member IPPNW-Germany and Martin Glasenapp, all from Germany), the following members from the region: Amir Hadji (Iran), n.n. (Turkey), Ziad Abu Zayyad (Palestine).

11) Civil Society CSCME Mission Statement

Promoting mutual understanding and recognition, peace, stability, human development and human rights as well as overcoming mistrust, fragmentation, hatred and war, by strengthening a common identity as a region, based on common ground in values and on the both principles "security by cooperation instead of mutual threatening" and "dialogue without preconditions".

Mohssen Massarrat + Christoph Kraemer

Program Structure

Thursday, January 13, 2011

18:30	Dinner
20:00	Welcome and introduction of the participants from the region and from Europe Manfred Budzinski, Bad Boll Christoph Kraemer, IPPNW e.V., Berlin Mohssen Massarrat, Osnabrück

21:00 Reasons for the initiative / project

Mohssen Massarrat Christoph Kraemer opportunity for questions

22:00 informal get-together at Café Heuss

Friday, January 14, 2011

08:20	Breakfast
09:00	CSCE: Basic historical conditions and European experience Dr. Wilhelm Höynck, former Secretary General of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Wachtberg Dr. Arne Seifert, former ambassador of the GDR to Kuwait, later member of the OSCE mission to Tajikistan, Hamburg. followed by questions and discussion
10:30	coffee and tea break
11:00	Common Security: A sensible approach not only for Europe – similarities and differences between CSCE and CSCME (input by the Preparatory Group)
11:30	Response and assessment by the participants from the region – followed by discussion
12:30	lunch
14:30	Civil society involvement in the CSCE process – the experience of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Ingrid Lottenburger, Chair of the German Section, Berlin
	If the states don't start it, the civil society can kick-off a Conference for Security and Cooperation process (input by the Preparatory Group)
	Response to both inputs and assessment by the participants from the region
16:00	coffee, tea and cake
16:30	Continuation: response and assessment by the participants from the region – followed by discussion
18:30	dinner
20:00	Examples of cross-border civil society projects in the Middle East: Connecting the students of the Middle East (Nuri Yesilyurt, political scientist, Ankara University) Networking with the help of the internet (Amir Hadji Anzehaee, Tehran)
	followed by questions and discussion
21:00	informal talks and get-together at Café Heuss

Saturday, January 15, 2011

08:20 Breakfast

09:00	Input from the region: Concrete proposals and initiatives of cross-border civil society projects. How can regional cooperation in Middle East be started and facilitated? (1-2 contributions from each country)		
10:30	Coffee and Tea Break		
11:00	Continuation: Input from the region followed by discussion		
12:30	Lunch		
14:30	Summary of the morning and division into small transnational project groups – according to the proposed areas of work (basket 1) and the cooperation principles to be defined (basket 2)		
16:30	Coffee, Tea and Cake		
17:00	Presentation of the results of the project groups then common discussion and summary of the day		
18:30	dinner		
20:00	informal talks and get-together at Café Heuss		
	Sunday, January 16, 2011		
08:30	Breakfast		
09:00	Aim of a permanent conference of civil society Discussion of the tasks for the period prior to the start of the permanent Civil Society CSCME: Where is the opening conference supposed to take place? Broadening of the Preparatory Group, the funding issue, definition and organization of the next steps (2 nd preparatory symposium, ?regional meetings?, working groups etc.) – starting from the presented proposals from the region		
10:30	coffee and tea break		
11:00	Continuation of discussion		
13:00	lunch		
14:30	Continuation with the issues of the morning		
16:00	coffee, tea and cake		
16:30	Discussion and endorsement of decisions		
18:30	dinner and farewells Official end of the symposium		

Monday, January 17, 2011

Departure after breakfast

List of Participants

Iran

Adib-Moghaddam, Arshin, Dr. Lecturer in Comparative and International Politics of the

Middle East, Department of Politics and International Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of

London, UK

Sadr-Tabatabai, Fatemeh Staff-Member in Dialog center of the Institute Imam Musa

Sadr, Teheran - Iran

Iraq

Mohammed, Mahdi Hassan Project Manager for Democracy and Human Rights

Research Centre (DHRC), Erbil - Iraq

Muna, Noaman Iraqi Al-Amal Association, Baghdad – Iraq

Israel

Guggenheim Shbeta, Evi Social Worker, Psychotherapist and Author,

Jewish/Palestinian Village Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam

- Israel

Schenker, Hillel Co-Editor of Palestine-Israel Journal, Tel Aviv– Israel

Jordan

Mostafa, Amira, Dr. Executive Director Arab World Center for Democratic

Development (UNIHRD), Amman – Jordan

Kuwait

AL-Mahmeed, Zuhair A. Secretary General - Islamic National Consensus

Movement (INCM); Head of Strategic Studies Office, Assistant Chairman - Islamic Christian Relations Council

(ICRC), Kuwait City

Palestine

Abu Zayyad, Ziad Founder, Co-Editor & Publisher of Palestine-Israel

Journal, Jerusalem – Palestine

Shaban, Omar Head of Pal-Think for Strategic Studies, Gaza – Palestine

Tamimi, Azzam, Dr. Director of <u>Institute of Islamic Political Thought</u>,

London – UK

Syria

Ziadeh, Radwan, Dr. Founder and Director of the Damascus Center for Human

Rights Policy, Syria. Currently fellow at GWU –

Washington D.C.

- 13 -

Turkey

Bakkalbasioglu, Esra Program Assistant, Turkish Economic and Social Studies

Foundation (TESEV), Democratization Program, Istanbul

- Turkey

Bozgan, Dilan Özgen Coordinator of Diyarbakır Institute for Political and Social

Research (DISA), Diyarbakir – Turkey

Speakers

Hadji Anzehaee, Amir Engineer, manages a firm with ecological projects,

experiences in networking, Teheran – Iran

Höynck, Wilhelm, Dr. Worked several decades in the West-German diplomatic

service. Former Secretary General of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), Germany

Lottenburger, Ingrid Chairwoman Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, Germany

Seifert, Arne, Dr. Former East-German Ambassador and Spokesperson of

former German Ambassadors' Initiative "Diplomats for

Peace with the Islamic World", Germany

Yesilyurt, Nuri Research Fellow and PhD Candidate, Faculty of Political

Science, Ankara University, Ankara – Turkey

Local guest

Nolte, Rainer Head of section "Dialogues", Institute for Foreign Cultural

Relations – Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (ifa),

Stuttgart

Facilitators

Ronnefeldt, Clemens Consultant for issues of peace, German branch of the

International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Germany

Zumach, Andreas Journalist, UN Correspondent, Switzerland

CSCME working group and Protestant Academy of Bad Boll

Budzinski, Manfred, Dr. Program Director, subject area: international conflicts and

migration, Protestant Academy Bad Boll

Glasenapp, Martin medico international, Germany

Kraemer, Christoph Board Member IPPNW-Germany; Physician (Surgeon),

Germany

Massarrat, Mohssen, Prof. Dr. Peace Researcher, Germany / Iran

Steffen, Jens-Peter, Dr. Staff IPPNW-Germany, Germany

Words of Welcome, Christoph Krämer

Dear all of you who have undertaken the journey to Bad Boll,

On behalf of the German chapter of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), and also on behalf of IALANA-Germany (the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms) whose board member Otto Jäckel is very sorry not to be able to be here tonight, I'd like to welcome you to this hopefully important little conference, and thank you very much for traveling all the way to this beautiful and quite a bit famous place in Germany, Europe - which for most of you was a rather long journey from the Middle East! I think that I am speaking for all organizers saying that we are pleased very much that all of you came here - though some few were prevented who afterwards, after you have had the opportunity to introduce yourself, will be mentioned by the moderators. Before you'll have this opportunity, please let me say our special thanks to our friendly hosts and coorganizers of the Protestant Academy and especially to Dr. Manfred Budzinski without whose efforts this conference would not have been possible. And as well to our very openminded sponsors of the IFA (the Institute for Foreign Relations of the German Foreign Ministry) who were ready to fund the start of this civil society project with their means (after long futile attempts with quite a number of foundations) - especially to Mr. Rainer Nolte who is here with us at this conference.

I myself am Christoph Kraemer, physician and surgeon in a Northern German hospital and member of the board of IPPNW-Germany. IPPNW is an international peace organization which since 2007 has taken up the idea of Prof. Massarrat, the spirit behind the CSCME approach. Realizing that the governments haven't started it yet, we found that we should make the attempt to give a strong kick-off to this necessary process from the part of the civil society. But more details on that later, let me now hand over to Prof. Massarrat, the Middle Eastern - European originator of the CSCME approach.

Thank you very much!

Security and Co-operation in the Middle East,

Prof. Dr. Mohssen Massarrat

Welcome and thanks

- to the guests for their coming to Bad Boll
- thanks to other initiators especially to the German section of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), thanks to Jens-Peter Steffen from the IPPNW- Office and to my friend, Christoph Kraemer, who is a member of IPPNW (executive committee) and who is with myself the oldest member of the CSCME iniatiative group. Christoph was all the time very seriously working for our mutual idea.
- Last but not least, I wish also to thank Manfred Budzinski, the Director of the
 Protestant Academy in Bad Boll who also worked very hard to make it possible to
 realize this meeting.

Let me please now briefly give you some ideas concerning my motivations for the necessity of CSCME of which you certainly have already red in our CSCME basic document from February 2007.

As all of you know, we have been learning bad news from the Middle East during the last weeks and months. At first I would like to mention just two actual incidents:

- The bomb attac against a Coptian Church in Alexandria by presumably extremist Moslems.
- The news about natural gas resources found in the Mediterranian Sea between the off shore territories of Lebanon, Israel and Turkey (Cypres).

In both incidents we can see various elements of the many conflicts in the whole Middle East area. The incident of Alexandria seems to have internal roots concerning the possible discrimination of the coptic people in Egypt as well as international roots concerning the Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations*. And the discovery of natural gas reserves in the Mediterranean Sea could possibly lead to territorial conflicts or new wars. And it also includes the dimensions of an international—geostrategic conflict as well.

- 16 -

But let me please go ahead to describe some fundamental aspects that might be generalized for the whole region of the Middle East.

Intertwining and Dependency of Conflicts

Main Conflicts in the Middle East are highly intertwined and enmeshed. Therefore
isolated solutions are nearly impossible. Let me explain this point by referring to
some of the bigger conflicts in the Middle East you all know very well:

Israel-Palestine conflict Sunni-Shiite conflict Nuclear conflict

In general, Israel is co-operating with the Western oriented governments in Arab countries. From the viewpoints of both the Arab governments and Israel Hamas and Hisbollah are said to be terrorist organizations but Iran supports exactly these so-called terrorist groups openly. On the one side Iran supports Shiite movements in Iraq and Lebanon. On the other side Saudi Arabia supports Sunni Parties in the same countries. Israel is the only nuclear power within the Middle East. Iran probably wishes to become the second nuclear power within the region. Therefore a hidden alliance against Iran has been formed between Israel and the rulers in some Arab countries. On the other hand Syria is an enemy of Israel, but Iran is a partner of Syria.

• It may very clearly to be seen: in the Middle East there are a lot of short time formed alliances based on the principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend"; there exists the principle of "divide and rule"; there exists a culture of disunity, mistrust, hostility, lies and inner division mostly between the governmental based elites. This in my opinion is because of a political culture formed by nationalism and fundamentalism during the last century.

Security interests of Middle East states are defined from outside

Energy security of the West

- Bilateral relationship between Western states and Middle East rulers
- Military interventions

The dominating culture mentioned above seems to be the best fertile ground for the Western and sometimes Eastern superpowers as well, to successfully carry through their own power and intervention policy that we have got to know during the last periods.

Consequences

- Numerous wars within last 50 years
- Maintenance of occupation in Palestine
- Millions of victims
- Poverty and misery
- Hostility and mistrust
- Arms race
- Waste of resources

On the other hand the Middle East region disposes of a considerable cultural and material wealth in order to create flourishing economies and societies that would be a necessary base for a sustaining peace.

What can be done?

- Security interests should be defined from inside the region
- Independence and participation of the Middle East has to be reached
- The idea of co-operation should replace the ruling idea of dominance, confrontation and division
- Co-operation is to be based on two conditions:

First: Recognition of Existence of Others and of Differences

Second: Mutual Respect

• CSCME could be a strategic contribution for the new perspectives mentioned above

- 18 -

Aims of the Symposium,

Christoph Kraemer

Mohssen Massarrat has shown us in his introduction all the benefit, which can arise from regional cooperation.

The objections, which I use to hear when I talk about it to others, are mainly the following two things:

- such a process takes a long, long time from the end of the Thirty Years War which brought destruction all over Europe until the foundation of the CSCE process (Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe) it took more than 300 years;
- so far, from the governmental level there hasn't been any visible attempt to initiate an official CSCME process.

My answer on these objections is:

The future of mankind is cooperation. Simply because of globalization: The world is becoming more and more narrow, and all its inhabitants become closer and closer neighbours. Because of TV and Internet, mobile phones and internet-based networks (like facebook), because of the modern means of transport... Since the Thirty Years War we have got an explosion of scientific-technical development. Including weapons with a so-called "overkill" potential which can kill entire mankind twenty or more times. And we have got an explosion of a consuming social model which soon would require twenty earths if all its inhabitants would demand and enforce the Western lifestyle. So, both is Middle Ages – the use of force in order to organize the relations between peoples – and the social model which requires this in order to maintain its excessive consumism. There are no more 300 years left to change it and to adapt ourselves to the requirements of our today's world – maybe not even 30 years...

But why don't the governments initiate the necessary steps?

In my view – from outside, as a member of an international peace organization, in the Middle Eastern region the main reason for this is the very strong external influence coming from the West, directed by its short-term interests (oil, hegemonic strategy...). Abusing governments for proxy policies, stirring up countries against each others, beginning huge wars and maintaining wars over decades. Overlooking how perspectiveless and dangerous it is to act in today's world with the means of the Middle Ages.

The only choice, which affected people have in this situation, is to themselves take the initiative.

Of course, a CSCME process, especially if it is started on a below-state level, can not solve all the big, decades-long conflicts in the region immediately.

But maybe it can be the kick-off for a change of the direction, for a new thinking. Starting not with the big, deadlocked problems, with the blockades, but with small, feasible projects which can create a win-win situation within foreseeable terms. Not necessarily connected directly with peace. But with the question about an own regional identity. No more defined from a colonial or post-colonial view, but from an own perspective:

Discovering the synergistic potentials of a region so rich in common history, in common culture, in common resources – and also in differences. Aren't differences a richness, too? I believe that the key term is emancipation.

Surely, the big powers are an obstacle regarding this (including European powers like Germany).

But another obstacle is the lack of awareness of the own common potentials. Which possibly could be overcome more easily.

Mohssen Massarrat has outlined in his "Fictional Review 2015" what could happen within the next five years if things develop positively. Its purpose is not to push you in any specific direction. But to give you a more concrete idea how a regional cooperation process already on the civil society level could contribute to a process of regional emancipation.

Why are we Europeans interested in this, and what do we try to contribute to it? IPPNW and IALANA-Germany, the NGOs which kicked-off the CSCME Preparatory Group are partss of international peace organizations who are very much concerned about the effects of the enduring wrong policy of the West in the region – with the decades-long colonialism in Palestine and all the damage done by that, also in other regions of the world, with probably meanwhile more than a million people killed by the Iraq war (projecting the figures of the Lancet study of 2006) and an unprecedented social destruction in this country which will probably endure for decades, and with a threatened new big war (against Iran) with totally unforeseeable consequences... But we are also simply your neighbours. And we believe that in our modern world stable and positive relations can only be founded on emancipated, strong and stable partners who organize their own countries and solve their own problems by themselves.

So, we'd like to share our European experience with you as our neighbors – an experience which was rather catastrophic during the last 300 centuries, but led to a new thinking with the CSCE and the foundation of the EU (which is ambivalent and another chapter, but a unique experience with winning a lot despite abstaining from many things...). Because we feel responsible for the role of our country in the Middle East. So we'd like to offer a space for information, communication and hopefully some first steps in concrete planning.

Doubtlessly, the task is huge.

This small conference, as a first step to tackle it, consists of 3 parts:

- On Friday (14 Jan 2011) during the day there will be much input from the European part, but as well much space for your response and common discussion.
- Your inputs will start on Friday evening with the presentation of two sample projects by two special guests, and Saturday will be dedicated completely to your inputs.
- Part 3 is on Sunday when we'll have to define and decide the next steps on the way to the opening civil society CSCME including a second preparatory symposium (maybe still this year), the necessary broadening of the Preparatory Group (which has so far consisted of us Europeans + Prof. Massarrat and should in future have more and more Middle Eastern members), finding participants from the countries which are not represented here (from Egypt and Lebanon we had found no-one who

could participate, from Saudi Arabia and Syria we had participants who had to cancel their coming for personal reasons – in future the whole region should be integrated, not only the "core countries"), and the essentially necessary organizing of the further funding of the process.

But I don't want to end up with the money.

The crucial point is how big the interest in the matter is. Ways will then be found.

With these words I want to close for tonight and wish us an inspiring and fruitful meeting with many concrete results.

Thank you very much!

- 21 -

CSCE/OSCE and Mediteranean Partners for Cooperation,

Wilhelm Höynck

Civil Society CSCME Process Bad Boll 14.1.2011

I History

The CSCE rules of procedure of 1973 stipulate that CSCE negotiators have to bear in mind "the relationship which exists between security in Europe and in the Mediterranean area"; and the "non-participating Mediterranean States" should make "contributions" to the CSCE negotiations.

Since 1975 all major CSCE/OSCE documents including the Astana Commemorative Document 2010 contain some reference to security in and cooperation with the broader Mediterranean area.

In the 1980ies the Mediterranean countries were invited to **participate** on an ad hoc basis in certain CSCE meetings as <u>observers</u>; Step by step they have become **active participants** across practically the entire span of OSCE work.

II Actual Situation

Today OSCE speaks of its "Mediterranean Partners for Cooperation" (MPC). Six MPCs cooperate regularly with OSCE: Algeria, Egypt★, Israel★, Jordan★, Morocco★, Tunisia. Actively engaged are Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco. Syria, Lebanon and Libyia have seized regular cooperation.

- 1. Regular OSCE MPC consultations: *Mediterranean Contact Group* in Vienna. Meets at least every other month. (Chair 2011: Ireland).
- 2. **Mediterranean Conference** <u>once a year</u>. The <u>venues</u> alternate between mediteranean OSCE countriess and MPCs:
 - <u>Participants</u>: OSCE pS and MPCs. Palestinian National Authority (at invitation of host government).

NGOs with "advance registration". 2007 TelAviv " Civil Society Preparatory Meeting".

2008 Jordan " . . . interested NGOs from the Mediterranean area will be given an opportunity **in a side event** to discuss the topic of Co-operation with Mediterranean civil society and NGOs <u>in promoting tolerance and non-discrimination.</u>"

- Conference Subjects:
- −2010 Malta: "The Dialogue on the Future of European Security − A Mediterranean Perspective."
- -2009 Egypt: "The Mediterranean Partners and the OSCE: Co-operation toward enhanced security and stability".
- -2008 Jordan: "The OSCE approach to regional security a model for the Mediterranean. . . .
- 1990 Spain: Spain and Italy submitted a proposal for a CSCM (*in the Mediteranean*). France and some others objected.

- 3. **Partnership Fund** (2007) serves to finance practical cooperative project activities. MPCs identified three priority areas to be addressed in 2010 through fund-financed projects:
 - management of water resources and action to counter desertification;
 - border security and management;
 - human resources, especially creating opportunities for young diplomats from the Mediterranean Partners to gain OSCE experience.

III Assessment

What are practical results of the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership?

Regular mutual information and consultation is useful. Perhaps particularly for the MPCs. They have direct access to discussions on European security issues; opportunity to observe the modus operandi of the OSCE.

OSCE tries in its cooperation with MPCs "to promote OSCE norms and principles . . . including the fundamental principle of resolving conflicts through peaceful means ". MPC framework as an element for formal diplomatic contacts between Israel and some of its Arab neighbours,

There are few tangible results. The reason is not only a lack of funds. OSCE work including all operations in the MPC context is based on consensus. With this precondition decision-making on projects within the Mediterranean/ Near and Middle-East areas is particularly difficult.

The EU "Barcelona Process" now called "Mediterranean Union" has been marked by comparable challenges. (MEDEA comment: Mediterranean Union "stalled due to the breakdown of dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians but also to a lack of credibility of the structure on the international stage.")

IV Two tentative conclusions

OSCE experience with MPCs confirms again that a regional approach to cooperation in the Mediterranean area that *in fact* includes Israel as well as the PA is possible. *What helped?* 1. The C/OSCE umbrella. 2. A slow step by step build up. 3. A low level of public attention.

It seems that all Mediterranean Seminars or Confeences took place without major political incidents. *What helped?* 1. All these meetings, including special events for and with NGO representatives, were very carefully prepared.

2. Organisation and chairmanships of the meetings remained in the hands of the CiO/Secretariat. To avoid that a dialogue degenerates early on into discussions of status and procedures it might be unavoidable to have either a chair with a solid authority (personality or/and mandate based) or/and a minimum of generally accepted reference points

Helsinki, the Principle of Peaceful Co-existence and their Relevance for Stability and Common Security,

Dr. Arne C. Seifert

Ambassador retd.

Berlin

(Presentation at IPPNW, Bad Boll, 14.1.2011)

Dear colleagues from the Middle East, dear German colleagues!

First of all I wish everyone present here all good for that still young new year 2011, good health and for us all successes in realizing our common goal: expelling war causers into the bars and strengthening peace in the Middle East and our common region.

Also very cordial thanks for the invitation to inform here about aspects of the Helsinki process, the principle of peaceful coexistence, its origin, mechanisms and results.

I believe it is highest time, to remind of that principle and the positive role it has been playing in overcoming the threat of war in Europe as well as internationally.

It is also highest time because the ostracism of war as means of international politics as it could be reached through the paradigm of peaceful coexistence, has been canceled again after the Cold War period ended. Especially the Near East and Afghanistan became in the last decade scenes of several wars. As a result of that the situation becomes increasingly unstable in these regions and thousands of people dy. Also the phenomenon of terrorism represents a new danger.

Finally, we here in Europe must become conscious of the fact that the states of Europe and the Trans-Atlantic Alliance are not only involved in these new conflicts. We belong to their causers!

Everything speaks for that that we are confronted with a new conflict quality in the Middle East and Afghanistan, however, also in the relations between these regions and the West. The question consists in how this extremely dangerous conflict situation can be resolved, because it tends to lead us continuously onto the edge of new wars which will have catastrophic effects also on the relation between Europe and your region, my ladies and gentlemen.

Dear colleagues: To be on the fringe of a war that a nuclear would probably have been - that was just the state, in which the two political and military blocks of the west and the socialist camp in Europe, however also internationally, have been for decades faced with. They had to learn to deal with their interest conflicts without resorting to military means.

That the two blocks were able to master. Therefore this experience is and remains valuable. Particularly in the face of the fact that international strength constellation's change in a fast way as well as difficult developments' to be expected, also in the Near and Middle East.

Further on, dear colleagues, I am going to speak about three aspects:

- 1. About the initial situation which has led to Helsinki and peaceful coexistence
- 2. About the peaceful coexistence and its core elements
- 3. About some "lessons to be learnt".

To 1. The initial situation

The roots of the East-West-Conflict were deeper than those of every predecessor in the modern European history:

They went back to the incompatibility of the social orders of the conflicting sides that could not have been more contradictory with their in each case capitalist respectively socialist-communist orientation. The objectives of their sociopolitical orientation were mutually excluding, they supported, thus, antagonistic character.

From the great variety of manifestation of form and content that antagonism took, I would like to select particularly the military and international one.

The east-west-confrontation began already shortly after the end of the 2nd world war. The USSR as a victorious power of the 2nd world war, had enlarged its geo- and sociopolitical area of influence in the course of the suppression of the German Hitler fascism to in the middle of Europe to Germany. That meant a massive influence loss for the west and his society model in Europe and s challenge to the capitalist system as a whole. For Germany it meant the division into east and west, later even into two states, each one belonging to one of those hostile systems.

In a US American assessment is found:

"The USSR was not merely a military powerful country with a very large sphere of influence, it was a revolutionary communist dictatorship and this fact meant that it would never be satisfied with the territorial status qou."¹

About this thesis could be argued because the Soviet Union and in particular the GDR in Helsinki were interested in gaining final legal recognition of that status quo by the western

¹ Karl K. Schonberg, The Evolution of American Attitudes Toward the Atlantic Alliance: Continuity and Change from the from the Washington Treaty to NATO Enlargement, In European Security, Vol. 9, No.4, (Winter) 2000, p. 6., In: Theiler, Olaf, Die NATO im Umbruch, Nomos, Baden-Baden, 203, p.119.

alliance in Helsinki. However, the quotation reflects the assessment of the western superpower.

However, "NATO saw as Europe's central security problem […] the Warsaw Pact's supposed ability to launch a surprise attack aimed at the conquest of Western Europe."²

For the USA in particular the start of the first space capsule, the "Sputnik", by the Soviet Union in 1957, came as a shock because the catapulting of a satellite into the space meant in military respect that the USSR would have also ballistic missiles in future. The east west conflict began to grow from a European one into a *global dimension of the bipolarity*.

That all the more, since at *this* time the outlines of a direct military collision between the Soviet Union and the western powers loomed at the horizon of the Middle East.

Dear colleagues from this region, maybe you will remember:

That was the time of the national independence of your states: the revolution of the Free officers in Egypt (1952); the fall of the Syrian military dictatorship (1954) and the coming to power of the Ba'ath-Party; the Iraqi revolution (1958); the antimonarchic revolution in north Yemen (1962); the Algerian national liberation revolution (1954 to 1962) and the power takeover through a revolution council (1963); the armed liberation fight against the English protectorate in South Yemen (1963 to 1967).

Your young states saw themselves exposed to continuous resistance of the west. England and France planned in 1956 to topple Nasser and began with support of Israel the so called "Three-partied aggression" against Egypt. On the other hand the USSR took position against this aggression sharply.

Especially close to the edge of a direct war led the overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy set up by Great Britain through general Kassem on 14th July 1958. When the new Iraqi leadership left the Baghdad pact, the USA and England considered seriously intervening militarily. The Soviet leadership warned against that and started to provide Kassem with military support through Egypt. As Russian sources assess today, the Iraq crisis brought the Soviet Union, the USA and England by a hair's breadth onto the edge of a military clash.³

In the eyes of the West two new international political forces started here to ally - an anticolonial, therefore anti-imperialistic movement in Asia and Africa and the victorious power of the II. World war, the USSR, and its East European allies.

The global range, intensity and danger of the conflict between the two pact systems of NATO and Warsaw Pact escalated even more during the Cuba crisis 1962. The Soviet

² Hartmann, R., The CFE Treaty, or: Can Europe Do Without Cooperative Security?, In: Zellner, Schmidt, Neuneck, The Future of Convential Arms Control in Europe, Nomos, Baden-Baden, 2009, p. 52.

³ Naumkin, V.V.,Dva krizisnych goda na Blishnem Vostoke: Opyt sopostavlennogo Analiza, In: Islam i Musulmane: Kultura i Politika, Moskva 2000, p. 671

Union stationed missiles at the entry door of the USA in the Caribbean in response to the deployment of American missiles in Turkey at the entry door to the USSR.

At this time, at the beginning of the sixties, ,,the areas of influence of the blocks arisen as a result of the Second World War seemed to be unchangeable. [...] The Cold war in the form of the absolute confrontation has become, in particular as a result of the Cuba crisis 1962, obviously life-threatening for the two sides", as assessed the situation the former head of the GDR delegation in Helsinki, Siegfried Bock. "Insofar stood the crossing to civilized forms of the confrontation on the agenda as well as searching a new basis for the relationships of the states. [...] The variant, that then was tackled, was actually a resort to the old idea of the creation of an All-European collective security system, which had been discusses and refused already in the twentieth and thirtieth years by the League of Nations in Geneva." 4

To 2. About the peaceful coexistence and its core elements

Dear Colleagues, one needed, however, another decade, to the 1st August 1975 as in Helsinki 35 states of Europe, the USA and Canada signed the "Final Act", which entered into the history of the international relationships as the Treaty on "Security and cooperation in Europe." Also representatives of the Mediterranean Sea from Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Morocco, Syria and Tunisia participated as observers in the negotiations.

The time does not allow it, to describe the events and the work that occurred in the years between. The most important thing is:

In order to reach Helsinki a number of conditions had to be created:

- 1. the will of the state leadership to agree. In this connection it has to be recalled, that the plan of an All-European security conference came from the USSR and the Warsaw Pact and had been refused long time in particular by the USA. On the western side, a positive breakthrough could be reached only in 1969 by particular efforts of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany under the government of Brandt and Scheel. 5
- 2. It was to clarify intentions, common interests and contradictions.
- 3. Principles of common conduct were to be elaborated.
- 4. Mechanisms and instruments had to be elaborated, which made the peaceful cooperation more attractive than war and which made confidence permanently possible.

⁴ Bock, S., Die DDR im KSZE-Prozeß, Bock, Muth, Schwiesau, DDR-Außenpolitik im Rückspiegel, LIT, Münster, 2004, p. 102,103.

⁵ Genscher, H.-D., Erinnerungen, Siedler Verlag, Berlin, 1995, p. 299.

Ladies and gentlemen, in conversations with colleagues from the Middle East I am quite often challenged by remarks as Helsinki and its principles are a European model and therefore for non-European conditions not relevant.

Is that like this?

- 4. Didn't, in fact, experiences of the peaceful coexistence and the CSCE-process become worthless in the present international situation
- 5. Didn't globalization and the character of new risks and threats in comparison with the conditions and challenges of the east west confrontation between NATO and Warsaw Pact make them actual-invalid?

So that they can form themselves an own answer onto these questions, you allow me please, to offer you three central complexes from the "Final Act" and the realization of the Helsinki process:

- 1. The principles of the peaceful coexistence
- 2. The security architecture
- 3. The advantages of the CSCE-process

1. For the principles of the peaceful coexistence

I. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty

The participating States will respect each other's sovereign equality and individuality as well as all the rights inherent in and encompassed by its sovereignty, including in particular the right of every State to juridical equality, to territorial integrity and to freedom and political independence. They will also respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulations.

II. Refraining from the threat or use of force

The participating States will refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their international relations in general, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and with the present Declaration. [...]Accordingly, the participating States will refrain from any acts constituting a threat of force or direct or indirect use of force against another participating State.

III. Inviolability of frontiers

IV. Territorial integrity of States

Accordingly, they will refrain from any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations against the territorial integrity, political

independence or the unity of any participating State, and in particular from any such action constituting a threat or use of force.

V. Peaceful settlement of disputes

The participating States will settle disputes among them by peaceful means in such a manner as not to endanger international peace and security, and justice.

[...] For this purpose they will use such means as negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means of their own choice including any settlement procedure agreed to in advance of disputes to which they are parties.

VI. Non-intervention in internal affairs

The participating States will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect,

individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations.

VII. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief

(Very long paragraph and quite disputed during negotiations.)

VIII. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples

By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all

peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development.

IX. Cooperation among States

X. Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law

All the principles set forth above are of primary significance and, accordingly, they will be equally and unreservedly applied, each of them being interpreted taking into account the others.

The participating States express their determination fully to respect and apply these principles, as set forth in the present Declaration, in all aspects, to their mutual relations and cooperation in order to ensure to each participating State the benefits resulting from the respect and application of these principles by all.

2. The security architecture

Dear colleagues, talking about security architecture I am concentrating my attention to conventional arms since this is of major interest also for the Middle East.

Until 2000 a security structure had been created within the CSCE-frame whose key concepts were cooperation, military restraint, transparency, predictability, confidence-building, and crisis prevention. Efforts to achieve military predominance were called into question at a fundamental level.⁶

While atomic strategic arms remained basically matters of concern of the nuclear powers, the CSCE concentrated its efforts on working out and implementing a "Treaty on Conventional Arms Forces in Europe" (CFE).

Its core was a dense, legally binding CFE system. It limited the five conventional weapon systems that are most crucial for offensive military action, reduced the potential of the Soviet Union to mount a strategic offensive, committed the parties to the reduction of some 60,000 pieces of treaty-limited equipment, averted another conventional arms race, and brought the continent a high level of security stability. The heart of the regime was its intensive information and verification system.

The CFE system was complemented by a second circle, namely the network of confidenceand security-building measures. It contains a range of measures, including the exchange of information on force strengths and defense planning, a consultation mechanism in case of unusual military activity, the prior notification of large-scale military activities, and a verification regime.

The whole system is the *Vienna Document* on the resolution of aspects of military security, signed only in 2000, frequently amended, politically binding and applies in the whole OSCE area till today.

3. The advantages of the CSCE process

The first advantage of the CSCE-process consisted in that none of the sides tried to perceive the CSCE as a "European value community". If only one of the sides would have tried to do so, the entire process would have failed. All sides were conscious of that in view of the deep ideological contradictions between the western and socialist-communist camps.
 So, everybody saw In the first place the communicating about obligatory rules of a peaceful mutual conduct of states with different, in part contradictory interests'. This strength falls in particular into the weight, when between the opponents exists no sufficient correspondence with regard to their respective values, cultures and

civilisatory basics, including religious, as in the case of the conflict around

⁶ Hartmann, 54

⁷ Ibid

terrorism. The CSCE would never have become a success history, if one of the sides would have striven for the dominance of its values.

- 2. The second strength of the CSCE process was, that it not only *not* excluded the continuation of the competition of the two contradictory systems, but that it even opened up new elbow room for that competition. Latter is today in this respect meaningful, that the competition between different social and political systems must not be reduced to that between capitalism and socialism. It exists today also between western and other society models. So also between the western and the Islamic, however also between different Islamic self. The CSCE was able to agree on such political general conditions that were acceptable for each of their competing sides *because* they allowed each side to stand for its interests and ideals.
- 3. The third strength of the CSCE process consisted in its peace-formative approaches. The process contained three negotiation and action baskets: next to basket 1 "Principles and security" also basket 2 " Economic Cooperation" and basket 3 " Human Dimension". Through the attractive action and contract options of the "Final Act", the principle of "cooperation" became the stimulus for adhering to peace and the principles of the peaceful coexistence. The treaty awarded its signatories with before never known possibilities of the cooperation in the field of economics, of science and technology and of the environment.
- 4. The continuity of the CSCE-construction can be regarded as the fourth strength of the CSCE-process. "The CSCE became no unique meeting, on which the heads of governments sealed a contract. It developed to a dynamic process, which was directed onto the effort of overcoming the division of the continent" It became a value in itselves that did not allow anybody to get out of it if he did not want to lose his face

With the end of the east west confrontation CSCE's participants transformed the organization into the OSCE. The "Newly Independent States" which had arisen of the decay of the USSR joined the latter one.

The OSCE became thus the greatest existing regional political Euro-Asian organization whose borders reach from Vancouver to China and Afghanistan. She is today a multicultural, multinational, multi-confessional organization to which also belongs to the Islam and its political representatives. Its member states characterize very different political systems. With what the OSCE, however, has its difficulties. As its recent summit meeting showed at the beginning of September in the capital of Kazakhstan, it remains a dynamic organization which is confronted with the challenges of permanent transformation.

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⁸ Genscher, p 307

Finally: "Lessons learnt"

Dear colleagues, I come back to the above mentioned question as to whether experience of the CSCE process can be advantageous also under non-European conditions.

Here my stimulation for the answer that, please, you like to draw yourselves:

1. With the aim of excluding war as a means of politics from the international relations, with the CSCE, the principles of peaceful coexistence and a system of regional collective security, for the first time a *practicable* set of instruments had been created

The *explicit intention* of state leadership is to be owed that this succeeded. They *wanted* it and they created the instruments needed for that.

That was, in my eyes, not only a tactical masterpiece. It was and remains an achievement *in terms of civilization*. However, the leaderships were *forced* to that, because the previous balance of power did leave them no other choice.

2. The political class of the west threw this achievement overboard in the moment when the bipolar balance of power disappeared with the collapse of its previous counter force. It took the 11th September and terrorism as a reason for a basic strategy change: As the value commission of the CDU formulated in 2002: "the East-West Conflict has been replaced by the clash of the values of civilisations, on which global order must rest." 9

In the wake of this strategy change that is based upon the use of military force, profound consequences ensue and the character and self-conception of the international instruments of politics undergo fundamental changes.

Dear colleagues, although the principles of peaceful coexistence are still reiterated by the OSCE, lately in the declaration of its summit meeting in in September in Astana, in it's strategy vis a vis Asian and African countries the West has abandoned the CSCE principle that security is indivisible and that a state's security cannot be strengthened at the expense of the security of other states.¹⁰

However, dear colleagues, new upcoming strong powers as China, India, Brazil, also Russia will not allow the West to talk to them with the language of military intervention. These new circumstances demand, that international politics and international behavior have to be adjusted to a new "categorical imperative":

⁹ On the anniversary of the 11th September, Resolution of the CDU, Germany, 9th September 2002, p.2 ¹⁰ Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, 91st Plenary Meeting of the Special Committee of the CSCE Forum for Security Co-operation in Budapest on 3 December 1994, Federal Foreign Office, Programme for Immediate Action Series, No. 7, p. 1

Namely: All sides must go around unconditionally democratically with each other. And this imperative implies also the resort to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

That will facilitate things for us.

3. What can be done?

First: In the Middle East, a strong peace movement is needed badly! And the European peace movement has to cooperate with it closely.

However, they lack a uniting strategy so far.

Second: we should be pragmatic. For that, we should work out a blueprint of vision, strategy and action that is applicable in practice and can be denied by those only who is outspoken against peace.

In Other Words: of the one who wants to disqualify himself as a war-monger.

Third, needed is a broad coalition of peace activists that can be acceptable for different kinds of ideology, religion, nationality etc.

We should learn from tactics of the CSCE how to escape different ideologies to stop the movement towards excluding war from the political agenda.

In this context, I would like to make it a point that we have to think about how to integrate the "religious factor", if I may say so, into the peace movement.

Fourth: We must find the correct argument that convinces the European on the street that the so called "war on terror" is not in his interest. Three quarters of the Germans are against the war in Afghanistan. In the public, the so-called antiterrorism-strategy is reflected increasingly more critically. People start to understand that this strategy does not increase their security but reduces it and kills more and more people.

The most important argument is: a European area of stability is not feasible without a stable North Africa, Near and Middle East and sound relations with it as an *area of common stability*.

I wish our joint work success!		

Thank you!

If the States don't start it..., Christoph Krämer

The presentations of Arne Seifert and Wilhelm Höynck have shown us that in the case of the CSCE, the states themselves were strong protagonists of the process. One reason for that was already mentioned: the balance of power in Europe - opposite to the situation in the Middle East. Another reason might be that Europe was much less exposed to external interests and to proxy policies than your region. The experience of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly shows us that civil society can play a role in a Conference for Security and Cooperation process begun by states - support it, complement it, influence it politically.

Coming from that, I don't see a reason why it couldn't be reverse:

If the states don't start it, civil society can kick-off a CSC process. If on the level of "big politics" the driving forces are still too weak and the obstacles too big, civil society gets an important role in helping them to get into gear. Not only in the Middle East, it is a general phenomenon that the role of civil society - or let's say of "below state players" as the term "civil society" might have an ambivalent sound in some ears - gets more and more significance. Confronted with the circumstance that governmental strategies must more and more take the reactions of the social movements into account if they don't want to fail, even the New York Times recently called civil society the new superpower.

But before getting too enthusiastic on that, let us realize that there are some specific difficulties when we go from the state to the below-state level.

First, I'd like to particularly highlight the issue of representativity:

On the states level, this is no question - in the conference each country is represented exactly once.

On the civil society or below-state level it is a problem: Which organizations are relevant, or even represent the social spectrum of a country? Regarding this, the situation at this first preparatory symposium is extreme: The selection of the participants is quite a bit, yes, arbitrary. And moreover taken by the preparatory group, from a European view. This situation will improve to the extent to which the initiative will grow. The idea is that all who accept the two basic CSCME principles "security by cooperation" and "dialogue without preconditions" can take part.

Though this will only work if there could a third principle be established: Participants themselves pay their activities, including their travelling costs. Maybe, this should in future be set up as a basic standard. But probably there will be cases where the inclusion of an organization or a person seems to be very important, but they don't have enough own money.

And it remains the problem that especially in the first time of the initiative (~5 years?) it won't be enough to wait for interested people and organizations because it is not yet known broadly enough, so that we'll have to seek and to actively attract new participants.

So, we have two issues which are interlinked and which should be solved until the actual founding conference, if possible:

- considering + finding consent on criteria by which participants should be looked for;
- tackling the funding issue what on the one hand means finding + opening up sufficient resources which make the process independent of Western sources and on the other hand agreeing in common criteria for the funding of specific persons and organizations.
- An additional (3rd) issue is nationality as a basic category. The problems connected with this were mentioned already yesterday. But the matter is complex: The question is not only if nationality is a sensible criterion in a civil society process, and in a globalizing world. We are also facing the fact that various heavy struggles for an own nation state are taking place in the Middle East beginning from Palestine and not ending with Kurdistan.

Also here, a state level process has less problems because it must only take the current international law status of a country take into account. So, also here we'll have to organize a clarifying process and a mechanism for building a consent.

That problems with the "principles of conduct" are not completely new, we have already heard this morning from Dr. Seifert. In the CSCE process - though on other concrete issues - an own basket was made up in order to define principles. It was even named "basket 1", containing the famous "decalogue of principles" which Arne Seifert presented to us.

At this point, I'd like to come to an end of my input. Quite certainly, these issues may be important for creating a below-state level CSCME process.

However, I think we should avoid to invest too much time into very complicated principle issues and keep in our view the absolute importance of concrete cross border projects. Without which no CSCME process will emerge. You find a list of examples of concrete working fields in the Welcome Letter, which we sent to all of you; and again I'd here like to mention Mohssen Massarrat's "Fictional Review 2015" - which you find both in your conference folder as a source of inspiration.

Nonetheless, tomorrow when the small working groups will be built in the afternoon, please feel free to make a group on the above 3 issues if you are interested in them:

- criteria for looking for further participants;
- the funding issue;
- nationality as a basic category?

Thank you very much!

Civil Society Involvement across Borders,

Ingrid Lottenburger

Good evening Ladies and Gentlemen!

My name is Ingrid Lottenburger. l am the chairwoman of the organisations "Helsinki Citizens' Assembly - Deutsche Sektion (HCA)" and "Deutsch-Tschechisches Forum der Frauen".

The HCA is an international network of human- and civil-rights-groups from states belonging to the OSCE with the very Importe n t aim to build up a - Just and Civil Europe - especially from below. That means for us to enforce the possibilities of the civil society.

First initiatives for the constitution of the HCA were developed by a group of dissidents from former Czechoslovakia attending the CSCE-process of the governments 1975 in Helsinki¹¹. The keyword of the foundation assembly in Prague 1990 was "European Integration from below as a project of the civil society". The assembly was opened by Vaclav Havel and was attended by more than 1000 people.

In 1993 the German section was founded.

In September 1996 we organized the seminar "Deutsche und Tschechische Frauen im Versöhnungsprozess" in Bonn. We agreed that we don't agree about the events in the past - but we agreed to have a common future in the attempt of peace and justice.

In this sense we enforced a furious discussion about the "Deutsch-Tschechische Erklärung über die gegenseitigen Beziehungen und deren künftige Entwicklung" and decided to organize a forum of women in the light of both Republics.

Leading Personalities have been Frau Hanna Klimesova / Prag and Frau Heide Schütz/Bonn.

2000 respectively 2001 we established in Liberec/CZ and in Berlin

CESKO-NEMECKE FORUM ZEN

and the DEUTSCH-TSCHECHISCHES FORUM DER FRAUEN

The chairwoman in Liberec is Vera Vohlidalovä. l am - Ingrid Lottenburger -the chairwoman for the Berlin chapter.

The focus of our engagement is mutual reconciliation and a common future in a peaceful Europe.

¹¹ In August 1975 in Helsinki 35 states committed themselves to a peaceful change of Europe within the Helsinki final act - Conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE) later (1994) Organization for Security and Co-Operation in Europe (OSCE).

¹² Ratified between D and CZ 1997

Perhaps you are surprised by

a) the highly visible dependence on the decisions of the CSCE in 1973

Since the end of May 1945 l live without Interruption in Berlin (West), since the early seventies l am politically active and l perceived the CSCE process in 1973 äs an act of liberation

b) the never questioned - transnational and civil - commitment of the participating women.

These are - or unfortunately in some cases have been - women who iived to see the devastating - World War II - respectively experienced its consequences. They are convinced that such deathly conflicts can only be prevented by the transnational involvement of the civil society, especially the involvement of women.

c) the location of the Czech branch in Liberec.

This was my pre-condition to become active in these activities. And this is the reason: my family has been resident for more than 300 years in Bohemia, my brothers and I grew up in Liberec/Reichenberg. We had to leave the city in march 1945 and came to Berlin at the end of May 1945.

In 1996 l have asked Dr. Lazar - the former Czech ambassador in Berlin - to introduce me to political key people and NGO representatives of the Czech Republic. He did it.

l am convinced that our political activities äs members of the Czech and German civil society have had an important impact on our mutual relations. We did not avoid any political difficulties - all is documented. In 2012 we will end our activities with a Conference. The title will be "UNIFY IN DIVERSITY". You are cordially invited to comment and to come

The Czech-German activities occupy me a lot, l am also a member of the German - Czech discussion group, which means that my main activities for the German branch of the HCA is focusing on the German - Czech reconciliation. l am very happy that there is still a European wide "hca-network", with branches mostly in Eastern Europe but also in Istanbul and Ankara in Turkey. In 2012 together with my Kurdish friend Aso Agace l am planning to refresh an old plan we had: We went to Helsinki in 1975 and have presented our ideas for a pacification of the Turkish - Kurdish conflict to the Turkish delegation: a Turkish - Kurdish Conference of women in Diyarbakir. The former Turkish foreign minister approved this idea but we did not receive an diplomatic support from the German government. We visited Mr. Höynck in Bonn which he will probably not remember.

Information regarding my person: I have studied economic science at the Freie Universität in Berlin. For about 20 years I have worked in the industrial sector (Siemens und AEG) and afterwards I was working as a vocational school teacher for another 20 years. Concerning my political activities I concentrated on the issues: Czech-German reconciliation and data protection, also I was active against the abuse of women and children. At some point I even earned my income by working on these issues when I was elected into the city parliament of Berlin as a member of the Green party (at that time: Alternative List). Otherwise I have always followed the principle:

- 37 -

"Enforcement of political aims without Office or mandate" With the consideration of "Gender-mainstreaming"

Thank you for listening.

Please look: www.hca-deutschesektion.de or www.forumlingua.eu

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Enforcement of political aims without office or mandate

Contribution: Ingrid Lottenburger

Part A) Theoretical basis for the work of "Civil Society"

i.e. Charta of the United Nations International Bill of Rights

... Agenda 21...

Part B) Proven procedure

Identification of problem Enlisting of co-workers

Discussion about proposals for solutions

Call for solutions - Organise implementation with the patience of a marathon runner

Part C) Examples

Opening of (public) transport routes Security in public road transport

Facilitation of the learning of foreign languages

Gender equality in the EU (gender-mainstreaming)

Consumer protection - Protection of children

Annex: What is Gender-Mainstreaming?

- 1. Principle: There is no gender-neutral policy. Gender equality is a fundamental principle of democracy
- 2. This was formulated for the first time at the 4th world women's Conference in Beijing in 1995.
- 3. EU: Binding ratification in the Treaty of Amsterdam 1999.

Comment: Gender-Mainstreaming comes on top of specific programmes to promote women - it does not replace them.

- 38 -

Dialog-Training and Dialogue -Facilitator-Training,

Fatemeh Sadr-Tabatabai

Fatemeh Sadr-Tabatabai Dialog-Center Tehran, Iran

I am a Board member of the Dialogue project in Teheran. "center of Dialogue Training and Dialogue-Facilator- training Teheran".

My experiences in communication with the people of my country led me to constitute a Dialogue training-center because of

- 1- different obstacles toward real dialogue and
- 2- the important function of dialogue for developing civil society.

A research from Mr. Omid memarian shows, that many organized NGOs in Iran could not continue their Group work, because they were not able to come in real dialog with each other.

The importance roll of dialogue between different culture for coexistence, security and peace is well known, but the intracultural Dialog has the same importance for peace and security.

Intracultural dialogue means dialogue everywhere and in every day life. For example in the family, in organisations, between different Political parties and between different ideas and for every kind of cooperation.

In order to have a certain dialogue we need generally ask what exactly charactrize Dialogue and how is dialogue different from other form of conversation and communication

This question led us to the task of making an effort to introcduce dialogue, to recognize its conditions and prerequisites, and to study and teach dialogue as a discipline.

The intention of dialogue is to find possibilities for creating a context of mutual understanding in which many problems may simply dissolve. It is a discipline of awareness and transformation at both the individual and the group level.

Since 2004 we offer offer workshos for dialogue-training in Teheran. We invited a trainer team from Germany. We developed a training program in accordance with the Iranian culture. We continued our work in the manner of T.O.T

We offer dialogue workshops with many exercises and activities. We distinguish like the dialogue project of MIT (William Isaac: Dialogue, The Art of together Thinking) and the German dialogue project in Osnabruck, (www.dialogprojkt.de) between 10 core compotecies which support dialogue. The main element of the Dialog facilitator education is

First Preparatory Symposium

- 1- Dialog praxis itself
- 2- Personal mastery and
- 3- facilitator-Workshop.

We invite the workshop members to give attention to their judgments and their ways of perception and thinking.

In a trustful atmosphere, the group is able to realize and identify their automaic reactions and judgments.

The participants of Dialgoue training-workshop reports usually from the changes in their communication and increased ability for understanding other people.

I want to suggest these dialogue facilitating education program as one of the basic activity of CSCME, specially for education Group and for a subject of Summerschools.

Theer is a speciall Curricula for these kind of workshop.

Every member of CSCME can implement it in his own country. Then all kind of participation for building civil society and developing security in the Region needs the cooperation in important questioning and decision-making. Dialogue facilitates such cooperation and Dialog is the way of effective communication and mutual respect.

INCM Proposed Worh Sheet for CSCHE Project,

Zuhair A. Al-Mahmeed

Introduction:

- 1- The problem of the Middle Hast is not initiated by or confmed to Middle Eastern countries, but it is an International problem that was created by western powers after world war two
- 2- We represent NGOs and we are Opinion Makers that reflect the aspirations and culture of our public, and we do not necessarily adhere to the official line of our countries and the agreements that they are bound to, and also the official terminology.
- 3- The CSCE Organization is not comparable to CSCME project as they are two different issues in circumstances and process, although they are similar in terminology. CSCE is a cooperation agreement between Sovereign States that do not suffer aggression or occupation, and it is a Top-Down process from Decision Makers to Opinion Makers, while CSCME project is between people in the Middle East who suffer a brutal and long occupation of Palestine and parts of neighbouring countries, and aggression against its people, it is a Down-Up process from Opinion Makers to Decision Makers.
- 4- In Order to have a successful Start and a sustainable process, we should agree on common values and ethics that can facilitate and guide our relations to build up towards dealing with conflict issues and joint projects to facilitate solutions.
- 5- Given the fluid and dynamic Situation of the middle east, and it's strategic location and role, that affect and shape the International arena via conflict of interests amongst International and Regional powers, that lead to sustainable conflict in the region to the detriment of Middle Eastern countries and populations. The CSCME project is a positive effort to regain decision making process, and shaping the future of the people by the people of the Middle East, based on values commonality and building towards peaceful and just coexistence between cultures and religions to achieve lasting peace and harmony.

Proposed CSCME Mission:

Enhance Mutual Popular Cooperation Of NGOs Through Leading Opinion Makers In The Middle East, Based On Commonalities In Values, And Building On It Through Continued Constructive Dialogue Towards Peace, Harmony, And Human Development.

Proposed CSCME Goals:

- A- Create A Forum Of Willing NGOs Leading Opinion Makers, To Sustain A Dialogue Towards Shaping The Peaceful And Just Development Of Mutual Inter-est Of Middle Eastern Populations.
- B- Discus Various Issues In Prioritised Manner, And From Different Perspectives, Reaching Common Views And Recommendations That Can Be Transferred To Workable Action Plans For Opinion Makers To Promote In Their Societies.
- C- Mobilise Middle Eastern NGOs To Adopt Action Plans Based On Common Views And Recommendations To Effect Positive Policy Change.
- D- Enhance And Sustain Constructive Interaction Between Opinion Makers And Decision Makers Both In Their Own Countries, To Effect Positive And Just Policy Change Towards Peace, Harmony, And Sustainable Human Development.

Proposed Work Plan':

- A- First Preparatory Symposium In Germany Jan. 2011:
 - 1- Discuss & Ratify CSCME Proposed Mission & Goals.
 - 2- Set Ground Rules For Participants And Discussions.
 - 3- Identify And Prioritise Issues To Be Discussed.
 - 4- Identify Willing Participants From Core States.
 - 5- Draft The Agenda For The Second Preliminary Conference In Belgium.
- B- Second Preparatory Symposium In Belgium 2011:
 - 1 Identify The Theme Of The Main CSCME Conference In Qatar.
 - 2- Identify The Different Tracks That Support The Theme Of The Main CSCME Conference.
 - 3- Set The Structure Of The Main CSCME Conference And Workshops Along With The Logistics Involved.
 - 4- Draft And Finalise The Participants List For The Main CSCME Conference.
 - 5- Draft The Agenda For The Main CSCME Conference.
 - 6- Set Structure And Deadline For Paper Presentations For The Main CSCME Conference In Qatar, Along With The Official Languages Of The Conference.

C- Main CSCME Conference In Qatar 2012:

- 1 Publish The Conference Program & Participants List.
- 2- Set Conference Logistics.
- 3- Send Invitations To Participants.
- 4- Process Conference Papers And Publish Them In A Book To Be Distributed During And After The Conference.
- 5- Prepare Draft Resolution Of The Conference To Be Discussed And Ratified By Select Participants From Core States In Line With Conference Papers And Proceedings.
- 6- Establish A High Commission From Leading Opinion Makers Of NGOs, To Follow up The Implementation Of The Conference Resolution And Recommendations Via Set Program To Interact With Decision Makers In Concerned Countries, Within A Predetermined Framework.
- 7- Publish Periodic Reports On Progress To Promote The Conference Resolution And Recommendations By CSCME High Commission.
- 8- Hold Annual Conferences Supporting CSCME Goals.
- 9- Drive CSCME Action Projects To Fulfil CSCME Mission & Goals.

Proposed Action Projects:

- 1- Mobilise Willing NGOs In Each Core Country To Support And Promote CSCME Mission & Goals .
- 2- Hold Forums By Willing NGOs Each In Its Country To Introduce And Promote CSCME Mission & Goals.
- 3- Connect NGOs From Different Disciplines in Core Countries To Explore Common Action Projects.

Civil Society CSME Process Paper Proposal: Connecting the Students of the Middle East, Nuri Yesilyurt

by *Nuri YEŞİLYURT* Faculty of Political Science, Ankara University ynuri@politics.ankara.edu.tr

What specifically made me believe that I can (and should) actively take part in a civil society CSCME process is my personal experience as the organizer of a student trip from Turkey to Syria. In April 2010, I was involved in coordinating a group of 40 Turkish undergraduate students from our department to take a trip to Syria under the auspices of an undergraduate course titled "Regional Politics: The Middle East," taught by Prof. Cagri Erhan of the Department of International Relations at Ankara University. The trip was organized in cooperation with Damascus University, the University of Aleppo and was jointly funded by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ankara University. During the six day trip, our students, along with a few professors, had the opportunity to attend joint seminars and lectures at Damascus University and the University of Aleppo along side with their Syrian counterparts; they made presentations regarding Turkey, visited many historical sites and had a chance to closely interact with Syrians.

Despite many commonalities between the two nations, in terms of culture and history, interaction between Turks and Arabs has remained on a very low level for decades, due in part to the extremely Western oriented policies of previous Turkish governments. Taking this into account, many of our students were making their first trip to the Arab World, of which they previously had negative perceptions. I was very eager to find out the possible changes in our students' impressions of an Arab country during and after the trip. In the end, I was pleased to see that most of our students (re)discovered the many commonalities between the two peoples not only in terms of appearance, but also culture and tradition. I am sure that this trip was an important moment in their lives which helped them to rethink stereotypes and prejudices they held about the Arab world and realize the potential of cooperation between Turks and Arabs. Since these students are going to be future bureaucrats, diplomats, academics, professionals, leaders and politicians, I think that

- 44 **-**

this trip has made a positive impact to the future cooperation and security in the Middle East through interaction and dialogue of young generations.

After this experience, I believe it would be very beneficial to hold periodic gatherings in which students from various Middle Eastern countries would discuss contemporary issues of the region and consider possible solutions to problems. These gatherings can be designed as annual summits, forums or summer schools, and would be held in a different Middle Eastern country each year. A specific number of university students would be chosen from each Middle Eastern country every year to attend these gatherings. If designed as a summer school, lecturers would also be invited from various Middle Eastern countries and sectors (e.g. academia, NGO's, governmental institutions, the private sector).

Middle Eastern universities would be the central hubs of this project. One university would be chosen from each country in the region as a partner institution for that country. These partner institutions would be the main coordinators of the project in their respective countries and be responsible for such activities as announcement of the event(s), accepting and assessing student applications and providing the main facilities and services for the gathering (such as accommodations, venues and local transportation). By this way, the universities in the region would also have an opportunity to forge stronger ties with each other, which would eventually prepare a strong foundation for future joint projects, such as student/scholar exchanges.

As a periodic student gathering in the Middle East, exclusively for students from the region, this project would surely be the first of its kind. Moreover, it would surely help establish a social network between future leaders of the region. It is, therefore, one of the most effective ways to form a sense of security and a spirit of cooperation among the civil societies of the region.

Mission Statement

Civil Society

Conference for Security and Cooperation in Middle East

Mission Statement

Promoting mutual understanding and recognition, peace, stability, human development and human rights, as well as overcoming mistrust, fragmentation, fear, hatred and war, by strengthening a common identity as a region, based on common ground in values and on the both principles "security by cooperation instead of mutual threatening" and "dialogue without preconditions".

Appendix: PowerPoint Presentation

Applying Web 2.0 Flavor for CSCME Process, *Amir Hadji Anzehaee*

Amir Hadji Anzehaee stressed in his presentation the relevance of electronic communication for the CSCME Process and therefore demonstrated possibilities of forming networks and the creation of virtual capacities.

Applying Web 2.0 Flavor for CSCME Process



Conference for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East (CSCME)

13 – 16 Jan 2011, Protestant Academy Bad Boll, Germany Amir Hadji

VERSION 1.0

January 15st 2011

User driven intelligent web Web 2.0

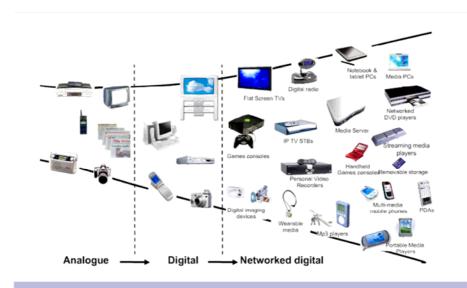
(social computing, user-generated content, software as a service, podcasting, blogs, and the read–write web)

- What is the web 2.0,
- how successful Web 2.0 Web sites are applying them for their own purposes, and
- Why and how to apply them for CSCME purposes?

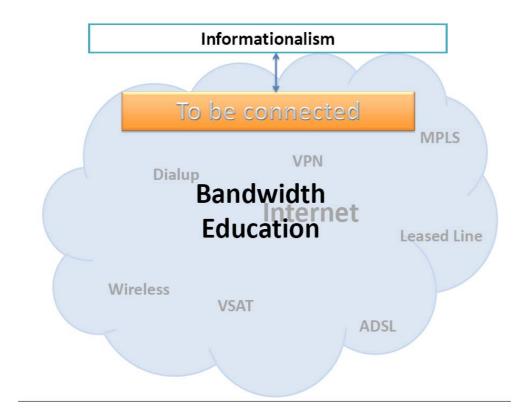
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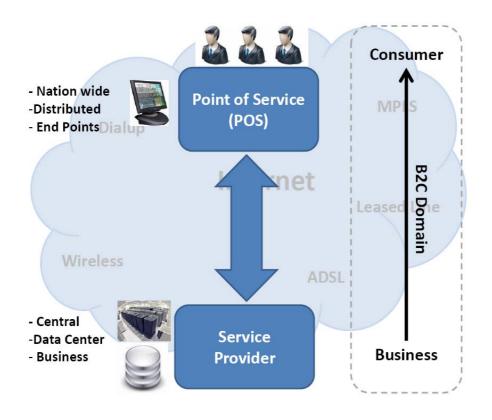
Definition

Web 2.0 is a set of economic, social, and technology trends that collectively form the basis for the next generation of the Internet—a more mature, distinctive medium characterized by user participation, openness, and network effects



From analogue to networked digital





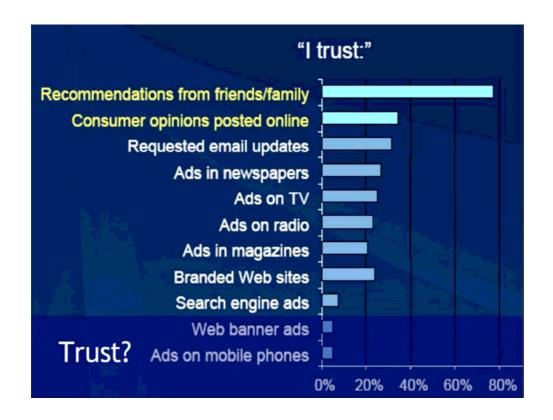
- 49 -

Ingredients of Web 2.0 Success

(Adding Human Element to the Web)

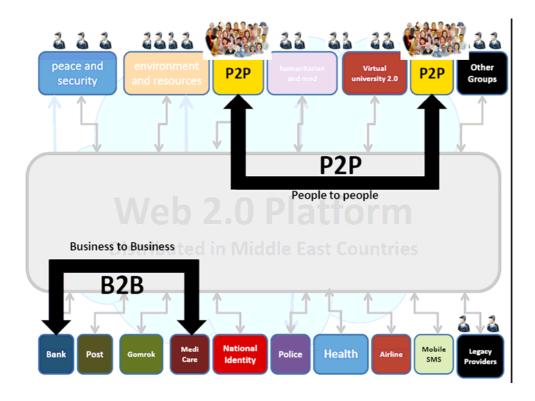
- 1. Harnessing Collective Intelligence
- 2. Data is the next "Intel Inside"
- 3. Innovation in Assembly
- 4. Rich User experiences
- 5. Software above the level of a Single device
- 6. Perpetual Beta
- 7. Leveraging The Long Tail
- 8. Lightweight Models and Cost-Effective Scalability

Web 2.0 Pattern	See Also / a.k.a.	Exemplars	Practices
Harnessing Collective Intelligence	Architecture of participation Co-creation Peer production Wisdom of crowds	Google Wikipedia Flickr Amazon del.icio.us facebook	Pay the user first Network effects by default Involve users explicitly and implicitly Trust your users Software that improves the more people use it
Data Is the Next "Intel Inside"		Amazon eBay NAVTEQ Craigslist Gracenote	Seek to own a unique source of data Some rights reserved, not all Following existing standards Enhance the core data Design data for reuse
Innovation in Assembly	Web as platform Mashups Remixability Small pieces loosely joined Enterprise SOA	Google Maps Yahoo Amazon Salesforce.com	Think platforms, not just applications Create open APIs Design for remixability Build your business model into your API Be your own platform customer Granular addressability of content
Rich User Experiences	Rich Internet applications (RIA) Ajax	•Gmail • Google Maps • Netflix	Combine the best of online and offline applications Usability and simplicity first Deep, adaptive personalization
Software Above the Level of a Single Device	Pervasive computing	• ITunes • TiVo • Shozu	Design across devices, servers, and networks Use the power of the network to make the edge smarter Think location aware
Perpetual Beta	End of the software adoption cycle Software as a service (SaaS) Development 2.0	Google Flickr Amazon	Release early, release often Invite users as co-developers Make operations a core competency Instrument your product Use dynamic tools and languages
Leveraging the Long Tail		Amazon eBay Google Netflix	Algorithmic data management Customer self-service Search, filter, and aggregation
Lightweight Models and Cost-Effective Scalability		• 37signals • Digg • Flickr	Syndicated business models Scale pricing and revenue models Outsource non-essential functions





- 51 -



The nature of Dictatorship countries to continue their existence

- Need to have enemy
- Need to manipulate an ethnic group as arm of power.

The general problem of Middle-East countries the CSCME process will confront in an up to down process

- Lack of democracy
- · Lack of human rights
- · Lack of freedom of speech and media

Reasons:

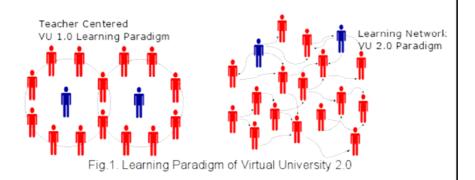
- Dictatorship Governments
- Culture (Border between different religion and ethnics)

Down to up solution

Example of Web 2.0 effect on media and social movements

- Youtube: Gaza 39 days war
- Iran Green Movement : Facebook, Twitter, Balatarin

Virtual University 2.0 Vs Virtual University 1.0



basic differences between VU 1.0 and VU 2.0.

VU 1.0		VU 2.0
Hierarchiral / Centralized ∨U model	←→	Distributed shared-services ∨U model
Closed network infrastructure	↔	Open network infrastructure
"push knowledge method"	←→	"pull knowledge method"
Old Digital Content order	↔	New digital (dis)order
Copyright learning content	↔	Open access and content remix
E-learning platforms	←→	Social read-write platforms
Expensive e-learning platforms	←→	Open source, 0 cost solutions
Students as consumers	←→	Students as creators
Virtual web site portal	←→	Personal aggregators
Teacher Centered Model	↔	Learner Centered Model
Teacher generated learning content	←→	Student generated learning content
Knowledge management	↔	Community knowledge
Individual work	←→	Co-operative team work
Expository learning	↔	Discovery learning
Online chat classrooms	←→	Three-dimensional virtual world
Linear slow progress	←→	Exponential quick network progress

view

- Internet Economy Business Principles
 - Faster, Cheaper, More Reliable
- Professional Team
 - Global IT Partner, Local Partner, National Investment
- Balanced Solution
 - Best Practice, Middle-East Realities, Requirement

Future View base on Fictional review until 2015

- Late 2011: Publishing the research which introduces a solution base on Best Practice, Middle-East Realities, Requirement
- Early 2012: Finding Global IT Partner, Local Partners, National Investors
- Early 2012: Running the cloud servers in regional countries and setup the Glocal (Melocal) space platform
- Late 2012: Enabling ability of holding conference on Glocal (Melocal) space platform
- Late 2013: Running Middle-East Virtual University 2.0 Funded by the a virtual Bank has been established parallel.
- Late 2014: Running at list 5 different web site regarding to working group of CSCME
- Late 2015: more than 20 web 2.0 application on melocal platform has been developed by private sector

Shrinking Branches

(New Customer Touch Points)



Examples Wesabe.com

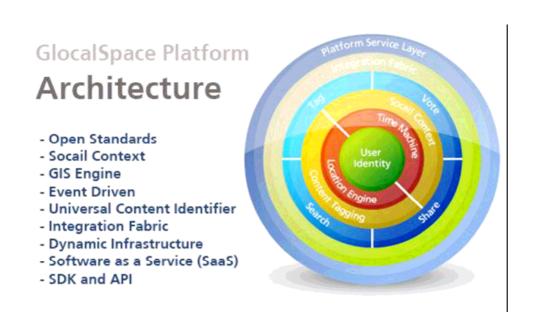






New players in new markets

GlocalSpace Platform



How Your Business Can Enjoy Web 2.0 Features

Your IT resources are not as big as Google or Facebook

Option 1: Build it Yourself Time, Cost, Technology, Workforce

Option 2: Utilize a Web 2.0 Platform Focus on core, outsource the context



Customer Touch points







www.ippnw.eu/en/prevention-of-war/cscme-cisp



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