

**Workshop**

# **GLOBAL MEDITERRANEAN: A NEW AGENDA FOR MULTILATERAL SECURITY COOPERATION**

**TURIN, 4-5 JUNE 2014**

**VILLA ABEGG**

IN COOPERATION WITH



## SEMINAR REPORT

### Prepared by IAI

On June 5, 2014, an international workshop on the “*Global Mediterranean: A New Agenda for Multilateral Security Cooperation*” was held at Villa Abegg in Turin, Italy. The event was the product of a collaboration between the International Affairs Institute (IAI) of Rome, the Compagnia di San Paolo foundation of Turin, the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna, and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The workshop laid out the foundations of the *New-Med* Research Network, a new OSCE-related Mediterranean “track II” initiative, supported by the Compagnia di San Paolo and the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Policy Planning Unit), which benefits from the engagement and involvement of the OSCE six Mediterranean Partners for Co-Operation (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Israel, and Jordan) and leverages on the active participation of civil society – from research and academic institutions to foundations and other actors. The Compagnia di San Paolo, an independent foundation and a partner of *New-Med*, generously hosted and funded the workshop. IAI organized the event in cooperation with the Mediterranean Focal Point from the OSCE Secretariat in his capacity of *New-Med* scientific coordinator.

The event brought together an initial core group of some twenty among academics, researchers from the think tank world, civil society representatives, as well as governmental and international organization officials from a plurality of European, North African and Middle Eastern countries. The workshop took place in a roundtable format and was conducted under Chatham House Rules (i.e., on a not-for-attribution basis). The agenda and list of participants are included as annexes.

Sessions were designed to stimulate debate on the general theme of the emerging “global Mediterranean” and the ensuing need to rethink existing cooperation initiatives in light of dynamics that are profoundly altering the Mediterranean security equation. Two papers were presented and discussed. The former, authored by Dr Kristina Kausch from Fride, Madrid, outlined the key trends that are turning the Mediterranean into a “global region” and analyzed the implications of these developments for multilateral, regional, and sub-regional cooperation, especially from a European perspective. The latter, authored by Dr Eduard Soler from Cidob, Barcelona, reviewed past and existing regional and multilateral initiatives in search for lessons learnt and principles upon which basing future cooperation efforts. The meeting featured two lively brainstorming sessions aimed not only at discussing the papers, which will be revised by the authors and published by IAI in

September 2014, but also at clarifying *New-Med* in terms of rationale, modalities, content, and hoped-for outcomes.

In this regard, the opening remarks emphasised the originality of *New-Med* and highlighted the added value that the network could provide when facilitating the sharing of expert knowledge, views, and experiences on the topic of security cooperation, comprehensively defined, in the Mediterranean region. First of all, *New-Med* represents an innovation with respect to other networks on or from the Mediterranean, which have been traditionally EU-centred or EU-initiated. *New-Med* is indeed the first “track II” network devoted to Mediterranean affairs to be linked to the OSCE, an organisation that includes all EU members as well as many other states. The OSCE was one of the first international organisations to establish a dialogue with countries from the Southern Mediterranean, with the 1975 Helsinki Final Act including a specific chapter on Mediterranean security affairs. The fact that the OSCE may now be better positioned than other international organisations to act as a platform for an open dialogue on how to take Mediterranean cooperation forward can be appreciated from a number of standpoints.

On the one hand, the OSCE attractiveness stems from its vast membership and diverse partnerships. This organisation indeed offers a unique opportunity – as a broad-based group practicing and promoting an inclusive type of multilateralism – to develop a dialogue with a wide range of actors, including states that are not members of either the EU and/or NATO, such as the United States and Russia. As the largest regional organisation under the UN Treaty, the OSCE can also act as the platform for cooperation between other regional, sub-regional, and multilateral organisations in the Mediterranean region. On the other hand, in terms of policy expertise, the OSCE has been active on and developed substantial experience in across a full spectrum of issues that are of critical importance to the security and development of Mediterranean countries, ranging from conflict prevention and crisis management to election monitoring and democratisation. This wealth of expertise can be shared, and perhaps offers an institutional and historical experience to learn from, in the context of today’s deeply divided and conflict-prone Mediterranean region. All these aspects were thoroughly illustrated and discussed during the workshop. Coming from different perspectives, participants concurred that the OSCE added value does not rest with representing a model for “exportation”, but rather lies in a historical and institutional experience that could be adapted, according to interests and needs, to local realities in different regional and sub-regional contexts.

Going back to the elements of novelty of the network, the “track II” nature of this new initiative implies that *New-Med* will operate beyond diplomatic channels, but will strongly rely on inputs coming from governments, thus aiming at contributing original but viable proposals on how to strengthen “track I” dialogue taking place in institutional settings in the Mediterranean region. As a consequence, the network could in the future be activated by individual countries and/or organisations with a view to drawing attention on specific issues or on priorities of their Mediterranean agenda, for instance by Italy during the semester of Presidency of the European Council. A further element of originality of *New-Med* is that it provides a significant and promising example of “public-private” partnership, by featuring the involvement of a national government, an international organisation, a research institute and a foundation, joining resources and forces toward the common goal of promoting security dialogue and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. As the most recent one in a long series of similar initiatives, *New-Med* aims at interacting and establishing ties with other experiences, from the *European Foreign and Security Policy Studies* (EFSPS) to the *EuroMeSCo* networks. Some of the Turin workshop participants were drawn directly from such networks so as to ensure that existing intellectual resources are tapped in and that synergies become the basis for future activities.

In terms of membership, *New-Med* aims at pooling together distinguished and emerging scholars from the think tank and the academic communities in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Europe and other interested partners, sharing an interest in security dialogue and cooperation in the Mediterranean region. Some of the participants have often lived and worked outside of their countries of origin, adding to the diversity of perspectives and making the network an example of the so-called “Erasmus generation”. The network inclusiveness is ensured not only by the number of countries represented but also, if not mainly, by the plurality of backgrounds and interests that are represented. *New-Med* is above all a network of people rather than an association of institutions. Much of its originality and attractiveness lies in its loose institutional structure and the informality of the expert discussions that can take place in this format.

With regard to the goals, *New-Med* strives to promote a two-way dialogue between countries of both shores of the Mediterranean and other interested players. It fosters an understanding of the Mediterranean as a increasingly plural region which is nobody’s “backyard” or reserved domain. It puts particular emphasis on the need to feature and discuss perspectives from the South with a view to ensuring ownership in terms of both visions animating possible cooperation initiatives and practical cooperation projects. At the core of the activities of this dialogue stands the need to stem

the spread of instability and conflict across the region; establish new communication channels to favor constructive engagement and prevent the hardening of already deep ideological, political, and cultural differences that divide governments as well as societies within themselves; identify basic principles and viable mechanisms for cooperation; rethink the role of multilateral, regional and sub-regional organisations so as to make them better equipped to respond to the new realities of the Mediterranean region and address the pressing demands coming from Mediterranean societies all around the basin.

More specifically, the network activities will include a number of studies analyzing key macro-trends and producing concrete proposals, as well as will be articulated in a series of convening and dissemination events. In terms of content, *New-Med* aims to shed light on the key features of the new Mediterranean political and security landscape through policy-oriented research. Chiefly, the network will concentrate its efforts on analyzing the security implications of the Mediterranean as an emerging “global region”. The network will test the view that the Mediterranean has become an economically interdependent but also increasingly multipolar and plural space in recent years. It will discuss the extent to which the political and security geography of the Mediterranean region has undergone meaningful transformations as a result of two, mutually-reinforcing processes.

On the one hand, emerging international players other than the European countries, for example the Gulf states and China, have increased their presence in the MENA region, both economically and politically, thus contributing to opening up the Mediterranean space to influences coming from far beyond the European continent. This process is taking place against the backdrop of the economic crisis that has affected particularly those Southern European countries that used to be the closest ones to the Mediterranean for geographical and historical reasons. This has posed serious strain on their ability to respond to the changes taking place in the Mediterranean region and to project influence at the international level. According to some authors, this has led to the end of the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation framework as it was conceptualized under the so-called “neighborhood approach” and operationalized according to the “enlargement-lite” paradigm in the EU’s strategic documents during the 1990s and early 2000s.

On the other hand, globalization has brought about dramatic changes at the level of the Mediterranean societies, profoundly transforming life-styles and societal dynamics, and leading to the emergence of new societal groups demanding more advanced social contracts and rights. Together with democratic movements, the globalized societies of the Mediterranean face, however,

the growing threat of radicalization and fanaticism, which are fed by widespread frustration and the widening gap between expectations and material realities. Powerful non-state actors, from transnational criminal networks to terrorist organisations, are leveraging on these trends to recruit new followers and wage a battle against modern states, their institutions and policies.

The combination of top-down and bottom-up pressures is today shaping the Mediterranean security equation. Only through a better appreciation of these dynamics, will it be possible to develop new insight about the constraints and opportunities facing the cooperation/integration initiatives promoted by regional and sub-regional organisations.

Moving from these macro-themes, the Turin brainstorming centred on a number of topics that attracted most interest among the participants. Among them was the growing prospect of failing or failed states in the Mediterranean region as a result of intra-state conflicts. The cases of Libya and Syria are in point here. Much of the discussion revolved around the international and regional responses to ensuing instability and security crises stemming from the unregulated movement of people, from irregular migration and trafficking to refugee flows. The discussion of failing states also offered the opportunity to analyze the new terrorist threats facing the region, including the role of terrorist groups in civil wars, and the growing reality of foreign fighters.

These topics, which will likely feature in the research agenda of *New-Med*, were dealt with next to other issues related to the lessons learnt from previous security cooperation initiatives. First, different views were expressed by the participants about the value of frontally addressing the issue of the Middle East Peace Process in “track II” activities such as those promoted by *New-Med*. Similarly, no consensus was reached on the interpretation of the principle of ‘conditionality’ and its usefulness in structuring cooperative relations around the Mediterranean region after the Arab uprisings. Nevertheless, a certain degree of understanding about the doomed fate of institutionalised conditionality and the need to move beyond the current asymmetrical relationship and foster co-ownership and trust surfaced during the meeting. Second, several participants stressed the need to move past the disappointing experiences with grandiose cooperation schemes and to counter summitry fatigue by focusing on loosely institutionalised or informal multilateral schemes and frameworks for dialogue and cooperation. These could be in the shape of permanent conferences open to, or even led by, civil society actors. The feasibility and effectiveness of some of these new schemes could be explored through “track II” channels, such as those provided for by *New-Med*.

The next steps in the launch and consolidation of the network were also briefly discussed during the Turin meeting. *New-Med* will be formally announced on the occasion of the international seminar ‘Towards “Helsinki +40”’. The OSCE, the Global Mediterranean, and the future of Cooperative Security’, which will be held in Rome on September 18, 2014, on the premises of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The seminar is organized by the IAI of Rome, with the support of the OSCE Secretariat and the Compagnia di San Paolo of Turin, and will be held under the joint auspices of the Swiss Chairmanship of the OSCE and the Italian Presidency of the EU. The event will be opened by the Secretary General of the OSCE and the Italian Foreign Minister, and will bring together a diverse group of scholars, governmental and international organisations officials, as well as civil society representatives from around the Mediterranean basin for a one-day discussion.

Promoted by the Italian Permanent Representation at the OSCE and designed by the Mediterranean Focal Point in the OSCE Secretariat, the seminar will address the current state of Mediterranean relations as well as focus more specifically on how to strengthen and expand the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership, along the lines of what was decided at the OSCE Ministerial in Vilnius, Lithuania, in 2011. The upcoming fortieth anniversary of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act in 2015 will provide the opportunity for taking stock of the OSCE Mediterranean engagement over the past decades as well as discussing potential future cooperative security initiatives in the Mediterranean area. The seminar is expected to generate concrete proposals on how to take the OSCE Mediterranean cooperation to the next level. Proposals floated during the seminar will be collected and offered as a contribution to the discussions that are taking place in Vienna in the context of the so-called “Helsinki +40” process.

The Rome seminar will also help further define fields of inquiry and research for the *New-Med* network. Two background papers will be circulated ahead of the seminar. One, authored by Ambassador Mohamed Anis Salem from the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA), will offer an Egyptian view of the changes that are transforming the Mediterranean into a global region. The second one, authored by Prof. Monika Wohlfeld from the Maltese Diplomatic Academic (MEDAC), will provide an analysis of the current state and prospects of the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership. Both papers will benefit from the feedback received during the seminar and will be revised accordingly, with publication expected within the end of the year. Meanwhile, the conference will be instrumental to highlight specific areas of interest for future studies. Proposed themes and topics will be collected and verified by the *New-Med* partner organisations. Among the areas on which the network is considering the preparation and publication of studies is human

security across the Mediterranean, including the issues of forced migration and refugees management; regional security and possible multilateral, integrated responses to the challenge of failed states in the Mediterranean, with a focus on Iraq-Syria, Libya and the spread of jihadi organisations and activities; the role of regional and extra-regional actors in the “global Mediterranean, namely the Gulf states, Iran, China, and Russia; and the role of non-state actors, such as foundations, think tanks, and civil society organisations in general, in shaping the domestic and external responses to the emerging new regional security equation in partnership with international and governmental organisations.

To disseminate research findings and plan activities for 2015, a *New-Med* meeting at the working level is planned to take place in late 2014/early 2015. The meeting could take place in Vienna, with a session open to the delegations of the OSCE participating states, the Partners for Co-Operation, as well as the OSCE structures and institutions, or alternatively in Turin or Rome. Among deliverables of this meeting will be a detailed work plan for 2015, including the role that *New-Med* may play in the activities and events that will accompany the celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the CSCE Helsinki Final Act. In this context, a *New-Med* event in Helsinki could be envisaged. Further activities in 2015 could include brainstorming and seminar events to be held in the countries of the Southern Mediterranean. Not only would these meetings offer the opportunity to discuss fund-raising strategies for the network beyond its first year of activities and ensure its long-term sustainability, but also reinforce the co-ownership of the initiative by the Southern Mediterranean partners.

## AGENDA

### Wednesday, 4 June 2014

20:00 – 22:00      **Welcome dinner**

### Thursday, 5 June 2014

9:00 – 9:30          **Welcome Coffee and Networking**

9:30 – 10:00        **WELCOME REMARKS**

**Nicolò Russo Perez**, Program Manager, Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin

**Massimo Carnelos**, Research, Policy Planning and Historical Documentation Unit, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome

**Ettore Greco**, Director, IAI, Rome

10:00 – 10:30        **PRESENTATION OF *NEW-MED***

**Emiliano Alessandri**, Track II OSCE-Mediterranean Dialogue, OSCE Secretariat, Vienna and *New-Med* Scientific Coordinator

10:30 – 12:30        **FIRST SESSION**

***A “Global Mediterranean”? New Actors and Defining Trends***

Presentation and discussion of the first concept paper

**Kristina Kausch**, Head, Middle East Programme, FRIDE, Madrid

12:30 – 13:30        **Lunch**

13:30 – 15:30        **SECOND SESSION**

***Mediterranean Security in a Global Mediterranean: The Future of Multilateral Security Dialogue and Regional/Sub-Regional Co-Operation***

Presentation and discussion of the second concept paper

**Eduard Soler**, Research Coordinator, CIDOB, Barcelona

15:30 – 16:00        **CONCLUDING REMARKS AND STEPS FORWARD**

**Emiliano Alessandri**, Track II OSCE-Mediterranean Dialogue, OSCE Secretariat, Vienna and *New-Med* Scientific Coordinator

## LIST OF *NEW-MED* PARTICIPANTS (Turin workshop)

**Emiliano Alessandri**, OSCE Secretariat, Vienna  
**Dimitris Bouris**, College of Europe, Warsaw Campus  
**Massimo Carnelos**, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome  
**Silvia Colombo**, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome  
**Jean François Daguzan**, Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique (FRS), Paris  
**Raffaella Del Sarto**, European University Institute (EUI), Florence  
**Maria do Ceu Pinto**, Universidade do Minho, Braga  
**Ettore Greco**, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome  
**Saban Kardas**, Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM), Ankara  
**Kristina Kausch**, Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue (FRIDE), Madrid  
**Mohamed Mellah**, Embassy of Algeria, Rome  
**Wolfgang Muhlberger**, Finnish Institute of International Affairs (FIIA), Helsinki  
**Sharon Pardo**, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (BGU), Beer-Sheva  
**Lourdes Pullicino**, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC), Malta  
**Nicolò Russo-Perez**, Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin  
**Patrycja Sasnal**, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM), Warsaw  
**Eduard Soler**, Barcelona Centre for International Affairs (CIDOB), Barcelona  
**Lorenzo Vai**, University of Turin  
**Omar Amer Youssef**, Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cairo

### Scholars who have expressed an interest in joining the *New-Med* network:

**Jan Joel Andersson**, Swedish Institute of International Affairs (SIIA), Stockholm  
**Andrey Baklitskiy**, Russian Center for Policy Studies (PIR), Moscow  
**Rosa Balfour**, European Policy Center (EPC), Brussels  
**Myriam Benraad**, European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), Paris  
**Niklas Bremberg**, Stockholm University  
**Myriam Catusse**, Institute Français du Proche Orient, Aix-En-Provence/Beirut  
**Bohdana Dimitrovova**, University of Tübingen  
**Karim El Aynaoui**, OCP Policy Center, Rabat  
**Enrico Fardella**, Turin World Affairs Institute (T.wai), Turin; Beijing University  
**Florence Gaub**, European Union Institute for Security Studies (EU-ISS), Paris  
**Stephanie Hofmann**, Graduate Institute for International and Development Studies, Geneva  
**Ian Lesser**, The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMFUS), Brussels  
**Roderick Pace**, Institute for European Studies, University of Malta  
**Nicu Popescu**, European Union Institute for Security Studies (EU-ISS), Paris  
**Claire Spencer**, Chatham House, London  
**Fred Tanner**, Senior Adviser/ Liaison to the Swiss Osce Chairmanship  
**Fabrizio Tassinari**, Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), Copenhagen  
**Mattia Toaldo**, European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR), London  
**Isabelle Werenfels**, Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), Berlin  
**Monika Wohlfeld**, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC), Malta  
**Sarah Wolff**, Queen Mary University, London  
**Richard Youngs**, University of Warwick