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The Center for International and European Studies (CIES) at Kadir Has University hosted the 2nd International Neighbourhood Symposium at Heybeliada, Turkey from Tuesday, 26 June to Sunday, 1 July 2012. This year’s Symposium focused on “Security and Democracy in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South in the Wake of the Arab Awakening”. The 2nd International Neighbourhood Symposium was host to 40 participants representing 22 countries and 25 speakers (see page 9). There were also four observers present from the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the Center for Governance and Culture in Europe at the University of St. Gallen and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Turkey Office. This year’s Symposium was a collaborative effort with the partnership of various partner organizations across the two regions in focus and beyond (see page 3).

The recent changes in the Southern Mediterranean are unlike any we have seen in the past. Starting with the Green Movement in Iran followed by the uprisings in Tunisia, Bahrain, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria citizens have awakened to a new sense of government accountability. Individuals concerned with overall economic well-being, employment, human rights of women and minorities, and the larger framework of good governance stepped out on the streets to demand that their requests be met. Keeping the developments in the Southern Mediterranean in mind, we move to the Eastern Neighbourhood, where similar challenges exist however; which have not been addressed with as much enthusiasm or support. Both regions face security challenges with energy concerns looming large in the equation. As the democratization process takes root in some contexts and remains a distant concept in others, the Symposium looked at what role NATO and the European Union might play in both regions. Additionally, it looked at whether the business community has a specific added value that can present new opportunities for progress. All of these points were discussed further through Structured Dialogue Workshops with Professor Benjamin Broome from Arizona State University.

The International Neighbourhood Symposium project aims to promote further understanding and cooperation in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South and beyond by providing a forum for study, dialogue and networking in a multicultural and interdisciplinary environment. Its goal ultimately is to advance transnational cooperation through ongoing dialogue. Young professionals and graduate students primarily from the countries of the Eastern Neighbourhood, the Mediterranean South, EU member states, and the United States are the Symposium target group. Applicants from the fields of academia, public policy, politics, journalism, and business are especially encouraged to apply. The target age group is 22-35 years of age. The 1st International Neighbourhood Symposium, “Understanding the Common Neighbourhood - The Black Sea Region in Focus”, was held last year on 28 June to 3 July 2011.

The 2nd International Neighbourhood Symposium program consisted of two days of panel discussions followed by Structured Dialogue Workshops. The participants were provided with a reading list prior to their arrival to help them prepare for the panel discussions and workshops (See Appendix III). This year a different dimension was added to the panel discussions portion of the program. The panel discussions were divided into two sections: “security” and “democratization.” Through these two different spectrums the Symposium explored security and democracy issues in both regions and looked at the linkages between them. Another unique aspect of this year’s program was the addition of a business dimension and exploring its role in the democratization process. The concept of the role of business in the democratization process generated a lot of interest and discussion among the participants and speakers alike. The Structured Dialogue Workshops that followed the panel discussions allowed for participants to work together to form project ideas around common issues and interests. The group work resulted in 10 project proposals ranging from regional business cooperation; promoting regional youth dialogue; energy security cooperation; promoting regional women’s dialogue; and the creation of a democratic network between the Mediterranean South and the Eastern Neighbourhood.
LIST OF SPEAKERS

Nagla Abed, Consultant, Oldenburg
Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Mustafa Aydın, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Oleg Barabanov, European Studies Institute, MGIMO University, Moscow
Benjamin Broome, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona
Mitat Çelikpala, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Andreu Claret, Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue Between Cultures, Alexandria, Egypt
Anton Giulio De Robertis, International Institute of Peace, Vienna
Serdar Dinler, Corporate Social Responsibility Association of Turkey, Istanbul
Serhat Güvenç, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Istvan Gyarmati, Centre for Democracy Public Foundation (DEMKK), Budapest
Nikolay Kaveshnikov, MGIMO University, Moscow
Sergei Konoplyov, Black Sea Security Program, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Steven Larrabee, RAND Corporation, Washington, DC
Martins Murnieks, Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation, Bucharest
Gencer Özcan, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul
Soli Özel, Kadir Has University; Habertürk, Istanbul
Inna Pidluska, International Renaissance Foundation, Ukraine
Peter Schieder, International Institute for Peace, Vienna
Stefano Silvestri, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
Peter Stania, International Institute for Peace, Vienna
Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, Center for International and European Studies (CIES), Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Mamuka Tsereteli, Center for Black Sea-Caspian Studies, American University, Washington, DC
İlter Turan, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul
Stefanos Vallianatos, International Centre for Hellenic and Mediterranean Studies, Athens

(For speaker biographical sketches please see Appendix II)
“Security and Democracy in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South in the Wake of the Arab Awakening”

Heybeliada, Turkey

PROGRAM

Tuesday, 26 June 2012

Travel and arrival

20:30-21:30h  Welcome and Briefing

Welcome Dinner

Wednesday, 27 June 2012

Breakfast

9:00–10:30h  Session I: The State of Play
Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, Center for International and European Studies, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Soli Özel, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

“Security”

10:50-12:20h  Session II: The Security Context in the Eastern Neighborhood
Mustafa Aydın, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Istvan Gyarmati, Centre for Democracy Public Foundation (DEMKK), Budapest
Oleg Barabanov, MGIMO University, Moscow

12:40-14:00h  Session III: The Security Context in the Mediterranean South
Gencer Özcan, Istanbul Bilgi University
Stefanos Vallianatos, International Centre for Hellenic and Mediterranean Studies, Athens

Lunch / afternoon break

17:00-18:30h  Session IV: The Energy Factor
Mitat Çelikpala, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Mamuka Tsereteli, Center for Black Sea-Caspian Studies, American University, Washington, DC
Nikolay Kaveshnikov, MGIMO University, Moscow

18:30-20:00h  Session V: What Role for the European Union?
Peter Stania, International Institute for Peace, Vienna
Stefano Silvestri, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

Dinner
Thursday, 28 June 2012

Breakfast

9:00-11:00h  Session VI: What Role for NATO?
Ilter Turan, Istanbul Bilgi University
Sergei Konoplyov, Black Sea Security Program, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
Serhat Güvenç, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Steven Larrabee, Rand Corporation, Washington, DC

“Democratization”

11:30-13:00h  Session VII: Democratization Challenges
Peter Schieder, International Institute for Peace, Vienna
Andreu Claret, Anna Lindh Foundation, Alexandria
Anton Giulio de Robertis, International Institute for Peace, Vienna
Nagla Abed, Consultant, Oldenburg
Inna Pidluska, International Renaissance Foundation, Kyiv

Lunch / afternoon break

14:30-16:30h  Optional Tour to Halki Seminary

17:30-19:00h  Session VIII: Civil Society Priorities
Stefanos Vallianatos, International Centre for Hellenic and Mediterranean Studies, Athens
Martins Murnieks, Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation, Bucharest

19:15-20:30h  Session IX: The Role of Business
Serdar Dinler, CSR Turkey, Istanbul

Dinner

Friday, 29 June 2012

Breakfast

Structured Dialogue Workshops on
“Stability, Security, and Prosperity in the
Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South”
(led by Benjamin Broome, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ)

9:00-11:30h  Workshop 1: Introduction, Identifying Challenges

12:00-14:30h  Workshop 2: Analyzing Challenges

Lunch / afternoon break

18:00-21:00h  Workshop 3: Identifying and Selecting Action Recommendations
Dinner

Saturday, 30 June 2012

Breakfast

9:00-13:00h  Workshop 4: Generating Project Ideas & Implementation Planning

Lunch / afternoon break

19:00-20:00h  Workshop 5: Presentation of Project Proposals

20:00-21:00h  Closing Session

Farewell Dinner

Sunday, 1 July 2012

Early morning departure
The first session of the Symposium focused on the state of the world today. The role of the “center of the world” has been diminishing in recent years. Until now, the combination of capitalism and liberal democracy were the leading forces of the world and they were accepted as the best political system. It is not known where the new center will be but stability and the dynamics of democracy are being transformed all around the world. China is viewed as a new rising force.

The session continued with a discussion on some important transformations that occurred around the world during the last couple of decades. The change of the Chinese regime in the 1970s and its transformation towards a more capitalist society; the domination of neoliberal economic policies in western countries; the end of the Cold War; and the dissolution of Yugoslavia fed the idea that capitalism and democracy were the best political systems. This Western system was performing well until the events of September 11th occurred. The economic crises in the United States that followed the September 11th events highlighted the fact that China had become the second largest economy in the world. In 2010, China took over the United States in manufacturing production. As a result, the world economy is now centered on the Pacific. The southern Atlantic economy, including Africa, is also on the rise. However, these changes trigger the need for a new institutionalism in the world economy. The Bretton Woods system, which resulted after the Second World War era, is no longer a suitable mechanism to solve and respond to the problems of today’s world.

The role of the European Union (EU) was also briefly covered. Since its inception, the EU has been a “sui generis, technocratic, peace project.” The EU project was very closely tied to the presence of the Cold War environment. The strategic logic of the EU was to have a common grouping against a Soviet threat. This project is currently in crisis because the people of Europe today are being asked to accept an environment whereby polices are uniform and political choices are nonexistent. The issue the EU is facing today is that there is no road map to solve the problems it faces, causing the legitimacy of the governing democracies to be in danger. Moreover, the current institutions and political structure of the EU cannot sustain these pressures when certain segments of the European public does not seem to be interested in sharing its wealth with others.

As the world’s hegemon, the United States’ current situation and future plans were also discussed. The parliamentary system seems dysfunctional. It was noted that the United States had lost the economic and political edge it has had since the end of the Second World War. The United States is disengaging from Europe and focusing on Asia. It is trying to build coalitions with its former rival China. The issue of energy was also discussed. The United States is now an exporter of natural gas as well as an oil producer. It could be argued that because of its capacity to innovate, the US economy could grow at a higher rate than China’s by 2020. This implies that today’s developing countries will not be able to achieve their full wealth potential in the future.

The session concluded with a discussion on the Arab Spring. It can be said that the colonial system promoted by the British and the French, and the Cold War system that consolidated authoritarians are not welcome anymore. The region finds itself in a different era now with much instability to follow before a modicum of stability returns. While the Islamists have emerged as the most organized group during the awakening, however, it is still not clear how democratic order and stability be ensured. The Arab spring is the most significant event since the end of the Cold War. This is the reason why the Arab Spring was included as part of this year’s Symposium.
The focus of this session was on the Eastern Neighbourhood, the shareholders in the region and the existing threats and opportunities. The problems that existed during the Cold War still exist in the region today causing them to become frozen conflicts. These ongoing problems are not well understood by countries outside the region. Moreover, regional organizations have been ineffective as they are unable to solve any of these problems. One reason regional organizations are ineffective is due to the diversity of the region. Diversity creates deeper differences. Another issue that was listed as a handicap for the region was Russia's resistance to a multilateral environment and its preference to stress the establishment of bilateral relations. Civil society was expected to help solve problems in the region after the Cold War; however, the numerous regional NGOs remain weak. Another issue put forth in this session regarding the Eastern Neighbourhood was that democratization in the region has not really evolved. The presence of authoritarian leaderships is still one of the ongoing problems of the region. Additionally, countries are occupied with trying to solve domestic issues and cannot concentrate on the region as a whole. For instance, Turkey is unable to engage in the region because of its domestic problems. It was also noted that the European Union is too disorganized to engage in the region. The overall perspective of the speakers was that the future does not look so promising for the region. Even if the region seems stable in terms of security, the frozen conflicts need to be solved in order to secure a peaceful neighborhood.

Another point discussed was the relations between the European Union and the Eastern Neighbourhood. It was noted that the future of the European Union is linked to the future of the Eastern Neighbourhood. On the one hand, the frozen conflicts are a major concern; however, a disorganized and declining Europe is also a threat to the Eastern Neighbourhood itself. Because Europe is lacking in hard and soft power resources, regional states are concerned about the lack of a clear membership perspective, the lack of trust of their own institutions, and the lack of financial resources. As long as regional organizations remain disorganized and ineffective, regional solutions will be hard to achieve. Moreover, long term cooperation in the Eastern Neighbourhood is extremely difficult because countries in the region do not have shared values.

Russian foreign policy towards the Eastern Neighbourhood was also evaluated during this session. For the last couple of years, China has become very important for Russian foreign policy both for economic and political reasons. As Russia works together with China and its BRICS partners, their relations become even closer. The bilateral relations between the two countries affect the unity of the region in a negative manner. Another factor impacting upon the security of the region is Syria which has become a key security challenge. Moreover, the Iranian factor and the situation in Israel are also powerful determinants for the security of the region. This session also included a discussion on how the new Turkish neo-Ottomanism irritates its neighbors and thus emerges as a challenge for regional stability.

In conclusion, it was stated that to recognize and admit the various challenges facing the Eastern Neighbourhood, it is necessary start to start resolving them.

Session III: The Security Context in the Mediterranean South
Speakers:
- Gencer Özcan, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul
- Stefanos Vallianatos, International Centre for Hellenic and Mediterranean Studies, Athens

The main focus of this session was the changes that occurred in the Middle East in terms of security after the Arab uprisings. The Arab uprisings caused the crystallization of the nation states in the region which is important in proving that those nation states are not artificial. Additionally, the
uprisings also underlined the existence of the divisions within the Islamic world. Moreover, the consolidation of the nation states in the Middle East does not mean that the consolidation of democracies, based on universal human rights and political freedoms, should be sacrificed for the creation of a national political culture.

With respect to the ongoing changes in the Middle East, two important related subjects were emphasized: (1) the democratization of political regimes and (2) the enlargement of the political agora. The democratization of the political regime means the de-militarization of the political regime. At least this is what is expected for the near future. On the other hand, it was stated that the enlargement of the political agora could bring political accountability, transparency and larger budget allocations for non-military expenditures. Moreover, it also means the freedom of speech and an increase in political participation by the lower strata which have been living in political silence. It is considered that when the enlargement of the political agora is secured, more political demands will come from the lower strata. This will imply the redefinition of national security. The new political conditions will probably force political groups who struggle for power to redefine their positions in regards to major political issues.

During this session the domestic indicators and problems of the Middle East were also discussed and evaluated to better understand the ongoing Arab uprisings. Until now, in terms of security, there was a particular way of characterizing states in the region because of the way that those states were formed with boundaries imposed by the western colonial powers. On the domestic level, the security threats for the regimes in the Middle East do not coincide with the security that the state or society writ large might face. The security of states emanates either domestically or externally. The states of the region faced many challenges after eliminating the imperialist system, such as nation building and economic development. The monarchies, vis-à-vis the republics, seemed to have enjoyed the freedom to maneuver as they desired because the constitutional monarchy always needs to share its power with other forces. Today, as a result of the Arab spring, states are implementing or introducing constitutional reforms.

The causes of insecurity in the region were also evaluated. Domestic insecurity results when state borders do not match state identities and where identification and loyalty, as well as state legitimacy, becomes a problem. As a result, national security could become dominated by neighboring countries. The region as a whole is the major source of insecurity for the states because the people’s identity goes beyond the borders or because there is the perception of the other as a threat. During the session other issues of insecurity such as environmental threats, water issues, the export of religiously based terrorism and migration were also highlighted. In conclusion, it was suggested that the awakening of people in Middle East and their will to become part of the global political system should be welcomed. It was also mentioned that the Arab spring is a long process where time will tell whether the results of the revolts will be positive or negative.

### Session IV: The Energy Factor

**Speakers:**

- Mitat Çelikpala, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
- Mamuka Tsereteli, Center for Black Sea-Caspian Studies, American University, Washington, DC
- Nikolay Kaveshnikov, MGIMO University, Moscow

This session focused on energy security; its definition; the energy system as a whole; and what problems the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South face in terms of energy. One definition of energy security provided by the speakers was a competition between different actors and factors. The discussion focused on the fact that there is no energy system but rather an energy network and the question is how to make it work properly. The main problems faced in terms of energy security were stated to be sabotage, political intervention, accidents and shortage of supplies.

Turkey’s role in the energy field was also discussed during this session. Turkey is the second biggest consumer of natural gas after China and is also a transit country. Russia is the largest producer of natural gas and also a transit country. In 2011, Turkey spent 150 billion USD on energy sources, an amount equivalent to its entire national deficit.
The geopolitical challenge for Turkey is whether to make the country an energy bridge or a hub, linking the entire region. The main competition for Turkey in this regard is the relations between the Balkans and the European Union and Russia. New agreements such as the small Nabucco pipeline do help to bring Turkey into a strategic position of strength. It was noted that Ukraine is concerned by Russian-Turkish relations because Turkey can be used as a transit country to bring Middle Eastern oil to Russia.

The situation in Iran and Iraq was also summarized. Iran is the second largest natural gas supplier for Turkey. The stance of the United States is important in terms of Iran becoming a source of energy for the European Union. Although Iraq is more stable now it has failed to establish its network. There are 400 billion barrels which have not yet been activated for use because of political instability.

Another definition of energy security offered during this session was from the perspective of producers and consumers. For producers of energy, security means the ability to sell. For consumers, energy security means reliability, diversification and sustainability. The most important economic aspects of energy are stability, predictability and energy flows. Oil prices are volatile because of market speculation of supply and demand and due to financial speculations oil is traded ten to fifteen times higher than the actual price. A key concern is that the economic crisis has stalled investments that would have materialized in 10 years.

Session V: What Role for the European Union?
Speakers:

- Peter Stania, International Institute for Peace, Vienna
- Stefano Silvestri, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome
- Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

This session focused on the role of the European Union towards the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South. There are five main areas that affect the European Union's policies towards these regions: conditionality, differentiation, inconsistency, discourse and the reluctance to engage in the conflicts of these regions. The European Union does not have a policy towards the Middle East. Although the Middle East finds itself in the midst of change, the European Commission has not stated anything new in regards to its neighbourhood policy. Is has offered neither a substantial change in policy; nor a new strategy. There is an absence of a coherent security strategy for this region. The Horn of Africa is a serious area of concern, especially Somalia. Syria finds itself in the midst of a medium intensity civil war with no solution in sight. Iran continues to assert itself in the region while Russia is reaffirming its role in the Mediterranean as a great power. It was noted that the biggest mistake the European Union has made was not accepting Turkey into the Union. It was also suggested that with all of these open issues in the region, the European Union's security approach has to differ from past strategies. The new approach towards the region should be a multilateral one. Given the current context, the general view was that there is no sight of a common foreign and security policy by the European Union towards the Mediterranean South.

Session VI: What Role for NATO?
Speakers:

- Ilter Turan, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul
- Sergei Konopolyov, Black Sea Security Program, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
- Serhat Güvenç, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
- Steven Larrabee, RAND Corporation, Washington, DC

This session focused on NATO's past role and where the Alliance stands today. NATO was created in 1949 to counter a specific threat – the deterrence of a Soviet military intervention in Europe. NATO also had several other functions at that time, such as, maintaining the security link between the United States and Europe; managing the nuclear issue; dealing with the German problem; and
preventing the renationalization of defense. However, those were not major functions and thus subordinate to the primary objective. When the Soviet Union ceased to exist, NATO had to struggle to justify its raison d’être.

Twenty years on, NATO still exists but the challenges it faces are quite different. The world has become very unpredictable and many factors affect NATO because, in this new era, threats emanate from different and unexpected sources. NATO thus has to transform itself to tackle the new challenges of the post-Cold War, post 9/11 and post-Arab awakening eras. NATO needs to address new threats such as terrorism, piracy, cyber warfare, the protection of critical infrastructure, etc. The main question that arises is whether NATO is able to cope with these new challenges.

In the immediate post-Cold War setting, many security challenges still existed and NATO was the one institution that was available to address them. There was much debate regarding whether or not NATO should expand to include countries that were part of the former Soviet bloc. The threats at the time were not military in nature but primarily political and economic. The basic rationale for NATO enlargement was to provide a security framework where these countries would not have to invest a lot of money for defense allowing them to concentrate on their political and economic reforms.

The United States perspective of NATO was also discussed during this session. The United States’ view was that NATO provided security for Western Europe and it could be expanded to include Eastern Europe. The United States’ intervention in the Yugoslav conflict was also mentioned. The United States initially did not pay too much attention to this conflict which turned out to be a strategic miscalculation. When the US eventually intervened in the Yugoslav conflict, it was in fact to save NATO because the instability in Yugoslavia had begun to erode the credibility of many international institutions. This conflict underlined the fact that regardless of a military threat towards a NATO member the security challenges abounded. This resulted in a change in the definition of NATO’s role to include out-of-area operations. This implied a major ideological and political change in the conceptual thinking of NATO.

It was suggested that NATO is no longer a monolithic unit or alliance. The August 2008 war between Russia and Georgia is a case in point. At the time, it proved a difficult exercise to get all NATO member countries together just to make a statement about the war. Member countries were reluctant to take action in defense of Georgia thereby reflecting badly for the Alliance. The 2008 Bucharest Summit also mirrored deep-seated divisions within the Alliance with the United States failing to convince some of its Allies of the need to bring Georgia and Ukraine in the Alliance’s fold. As a result, Russia, sensing discord among NATO countries, does not consider the Alliance as dangerous for its interests as it might have been in the past.

In 2011, after Operation Unified Protector in Libya was officially terminated, there was the sense of relief among NATO members because, finally, the Alliance had found a mission for itself. The new unanswered question now is what is NATO’s role in the post Arab awakening? Although this was a small scale operation it was deemed to be a successful NATO operation. NATO’s Libya operation also changed Turkey’s view of NATO. Through NATO’s role in Libya, Turkey discovered the benefits of multilateral structures and institutions in promoting its national interests. The unfolding crisis in Syria may make NATO membership more relevant for Turkey. As such, the Arab awakening has many similarities with the Yugoslav conflict in terms of the nature and role of international organizations such as NATO. In both cases, although there was no direct threat or attack on NATO members; the security of Europe and the United States has been affected.
This session focused on the democratization process and its problems in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South. Democratization is a process of many different and divergent factors. Among those are democracy's indispensable factors of rule of law, legislation, parliament, civil society, and free mass media. The importance of soft power and civil society were stressed in order to understand what is happening in the societies of today's world.

The main challenges to democratization in Arab countries are the development of a democratic culture, the existence of diversities, political and cultural dialogue and economic development. In terms of historical experience, essential institutions for democracy exist in Arab countries but political parties continue to be the weakest parts. Although building democratic institutions from Islamic tradition can be difficult and time consuming, it is not impossible. It was noted that diversity is one of the most important challenges in Arab countries. Diversity should be seen as richness and should be valued. The protection of constitutional rights and freedoms of all diverse populations is vitally important for the establishment of a democratic culture and for the consolidation of democratic regimes. The importance of dialogue was also stressed, particularly when trying to understand the other side within their context, value and limitations. The establishment of sustainable and healthy dialogue between the West and the Arab countries will change their perspectives towards each other. Soft power was pointed out as an important element of democracies. Soft power will support dialogue, information and experience sharing.

Other issues faced by Arab countries were also highlighted. The people of Arab countries, particularly the youth, lost their fear of the patriarchal state. This occurred not only in the formation of individual personalities but also for the existence of women’s issues. The family structure of Arab societies was also discussed. A patriarchal family structure and value system critically affects what society will look like and who should be a part of it. In this respect, Islamic feminists who bring a new reading of the Quran, emphasizing women and equality issues, play an important role in transforming the patriarchal family structure and establishing democratic values in Arab countries. Other challenges to democratization were also noted, including, tribalism, sectarianism, and corruption.

This session continued with a discussion on the intercourse between domestic democracy and international democracy. Democracy is an organizing system which, on the one hand, means methodology of selecting governments and, on the other hand, a constitutional protection of basic rights and freedoms. The fundamental responsibility of democratically elected governments is to guarantee a fair balance between different segments of society. It was argued that without addressing democracy at an international level, it is not possible to talk about democracy at domestic levels.

This session concluded with an overview of democratic challenges in the Eastern Neighbourhood. The fundamental characteristics of democratic regimes, such as, transparency and participation, can be practiced, learned and developed. A differentiation was made between elite democratization and mass level democratization and it was emphasized that they should be developed in parallels. Civil societies are the main actors pushing for the quality of democracies in the region. Attention was drawn to the fact that despite things moving rapidly in the past few years, democratic consolidation should not take place fast. It is a long, evolving process, where not everyone gets what they want immediately and every time. Transition and consolidation processes are negatively affected by the use of democratic facilities for non-democratic purposes. The existence of fake democracies should be considered as an important challenge in new democracies and in countries transitioning to democracies.
This session focused on the role of civil society. The role of civil society was categorized into three main blocks: democratic reforms, conflict resolution and systemic reforms. Democratic reforms are made by three types of civil society organizations. These are grassroots organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and advocacy organizations. Organizations dealing with conflicts are usually specialized organizations acting as mediators of specific ethnic issues. Civil society’s role in systemic reforms is also very important. International organizations play a key role in facilitating systemic reform. Those wanting systemic reform work with their own governments through international organizations. For example, in some circumstances, people in the Eastern Neighbourhood work through the EU-initiated Eastern Partnership to facilitate systemic reform in their countries.

This session went on to focus on what we understand by civil society. What should it offer? How should it function in a democratic regime? Civil society is the space between the state and its citizens but separate from the state and the market. The role of civil society in the Mediterranean South was analyzed to help answer these questions. Civil societies in the Mediterranean South do not function in black or white terms. This region has gone through four periods of change. The first period, which lasted up to the 19th century, was dominated by community and religiously based charity organizations. After European colonization and the introduction of Western ideas to the region, civil society organizations took on a more secular character. This can be defined as the second era. The third period is known to be the restrictive period. This is when revolutionary groups that gained control viewed any group critical of the regime as a threat to the unity of the state. The last period, known as the period of liberalization, occurred during the 1980s when there was a flood in the emergence of civil society organizations. Today, in the Arab Spring era, civil society organizations in Arab countries will have to be a part of the democratization process as well as part of the bureaucratic process.

This session concluded with a further discussion on the characterizations of civil society and what they need to do. This included discussing the five different types of civil society organizations: religious, service based, membership based, aid based and organizations dealing specifically with the democratization process. Civil societies have to identify a common understanding and work towards it. They need to lobby and present a common front. They must defend their own grounds and not allow for a “Trojan” state. They must network nationally and internationally in order to gain information and resources.

Session IX: The Role of Business
Speakers:
⦁ Serdar Dinler, Corporate Social Responsibility Association of Turkey, Istanbul

This session focused on whether business could play a role in the democratization process of the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South. To analyze this issue there was a discussion on the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) in different cultures. The initiation of CSR in different cultures has been evolving differently in each cultural setting based on cultural values, socio-economic development and other important factors. The most important emphasis of CSR is the shift from decision making which only gives importance to shareholders’ needs, to an inclusive decision making process which includes the needs of preferential stakeholders. CSR is defined as the sum of all responsibilities of a company, including its economic, legal, social and ethical responsibilities. As CSR is a transforming concept, today it touches a very broad area such as human rights in business, fair labor practices, consumer issues, environment, community involvement and anti-corruption. When looking at

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1 The European Commission defines corporate social responsibility as “the responsibility of enterprises for their impacts on society”.

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the larger picture of CSR it combines all of these sub elements which contribute to the development of a more democratic system.

An important point that was highlighted during this session was the interrelation between the ranking of countries in the Democracy Index and their GDP (per capita) levels. The private sector is the greatest actor of modern times. In addition, individuals have the power to make a change in the system with their role as consumers, employers and individuals who have a stake in the market. They can create a big impact on the decisions companies can make to act more responsible.

Facilitator:
⦁ Benjamin Broome, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona

During the last two days of the Symposium, participants engaged in a series of structured dialogue workshops. The first day started with an introduction of the facilitation process by Professor Benjamin Broome. Participants then met in their respective working groups to address challenges facing the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South. Working groups were organized to reflect regional diversity. Once participants discussed these challenges and shared their experiences in their working groups; they were then asked to select the most important issues and provide constructive ways to address challenges facing both regions. All of the groups then were brought together to review the ideas of their peers and to choose their top ideas. Then the groups reconvened to discuss ways to implement those ideas, what barriers might pose a challenge for implementation and who might implement the ideas.

After the completion of the working groups, participants shared their reports in the plenary session. A volunteer from each group reported on the following:

- How many ideas were generated by the group?
- What ideas the group had for the implementation process?
- What challenges the group might face during the implementation process?
- What were the possible linkages between ideas?

Following the first group exercise, participants then engaged in a mapping process of the top ideas to see where overlaps or areas of collaboration might arise. They also took into consideration any challenges they might face during the implementation process. The two days of working group sessions allowed participants to discuss how they might contribute to overcoming some of the most pressing challenges in both regions. Then participants were asked to form their own groups to formulate project ideas around the issues that were discussed earlier. The group work resulted in 10 project ideas. Those projects were (detailed explanations of the projects may found in Appendix 1):

Project I: Building Bridges for Women
Objective: To increase awareness for women’s role in society and politics by developing a ‘training for trainers’ program for women from the Middle East.

Project II: Create bridges between youth in Eastern Europe and Arab Spring countries through media dialogue
Objective: To create bridges and close gaps between youth in Eastern Europe and Arab Spring countries by engaging them in dialogue through media.

Project III: Creating a Youth Dialogue in the Gulf Region
Objective: To build a platform for better communication between youth in the Gulf Region; to find common values for better understanding; to bring a new approach for social cooperation in the region; and to enlighten youth about the benefits of peace in the region.
Project IV: Creating Student Senates in Universities of the Mediterranean South
Objective: To create dialogue and build bridges between educational institutions and student organizations; to improve the quality of education (in collaboration with the academic staff and the administration); and to encourage students to internalize the principles and practices of democracy, as well as to advocate for their university rights.

Project V: Democratic Network; sharing experience of democratic transition in the EuroEast and the EuroMed regions
Objective: To share experiences of democratic transition after revolutions; to learn from achievements and mistakes through information sharing; and to draft practical recommendations.

Project VI: Sharing Energy, Joining People
Objective: To install a renewable energy plant in the Buffer Zone in Cyprus in a cooperative ownership of citizens from the two sides of Cyprus.

Project VII: Energy Security-Early Environmental Learning
Objective: To create spaces for children where they can have hands-on experiences to learn about one's own personal responsibility towards others and the environment.

Project VIII: Regional Business Cooperation
Objective: To create a Regional Business Cooperation to help promote business between Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South.

Project IX: Armenia - Azerbaijan Cultural Event:
Objective: To organize a movie week featuring student films from Armenia and Azerbaijan in order to enhance dialogue.

Project X: Teaching the Holocaust in the Gulf Region
Objective: To start teaching the history of the Holocaust in schools in the gulf region.

The diversity of the project ideas reflects the professional and geographic diversity of the participants. Though many of the proposed projects do not necessarily fall within the purview of the Symposium's agenda, they nevertheless suggest the need for greater interaction between the two regions that were the focal point of the Symposium and for a greater and more habitual free flow of ideas among the next generations of leaders from these regions.
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Heybeliada, Turkey

APPENDIX I

Project Proposals
**Project I: Building Bridges for Women**

**Objective:** To increase awareness for women’s role in society and politics by developing a ‘training for trainers’ program for women from the Middle East.

**Project Details:** The project aims to train a group of 50 Middle Eastern women on women's role in society and politics. These women will then train other women in their home countries. The project includes a development of a training manual in three languages (English, French, Arabic).

**Project II: Create bridges between youth in Eastern Europe and Arab Spring countries through media dialogue**

**Objective:** To create bridges and close gaps between youth in Eastern Europe and Arab Spring countries by engaging them in dialogue through media.

**Project Details:** This project aims to create a blog style website which will include sections such as culture, politics, sports and entertainment. The website will be created in English with future plans to expand it into Arabic and other local Eastern European languages. Publications and articles of regional experts will be translated with their permission to help promote the website. These experts will also be invited to write a piece for one of the sections of the website. The first target areas to launch this project are Bulgaria, Poland and Egypt with hopes to expand it to other areas. The hope is also that after the website is established young professionals in linguistics and journalism can use it to serve their needs and to gain experience.

**Project III: Creating a Youth Dialogue in the Gulf Region**

**Objective:** To build a platform for better communication between youth in the Gulf Region; to find common values for better understanding; to bring a new approach for social cooperation in the region; and to enlighten youth about the benefits of peace in the region.

**Project Details:** The target groups for the project are experts, professionals, scholars and journalists between the ages of 22 and 35 years old. An event will be planned to bring youth from the region together. The event will include a simulation game that will allow participants to simulate the Council of Gulf and will include Iran as well. Participants will discuss issues affecting the region and how to deal with these issues peacefully. They will learn negotiating skills through this process. Cultural events will also take place as part of the larger event to showcase common cultural values.

**Project IV: Creating Student Senates in Universities of the Mediterranean South**

**Objective:** To create dialogue and build bridges between educational institutions and student organizations; to improve the quality of education (in collaboration with the academic staff and the administration); and to encourage students to internalize the principles and practices of democracy, as well as to advocate for their university rights.

**Project Details:** A pilot project was started in Tunisia in 2011 and this project aims to expand that project to other countries in the Mediterranean South. The project aims to create student senates in each university and eventually have these student senates from different universities work together. In addition to building bridges between university administrations and students and improving student's rights; the other aim is to help advocate exchanges between universities to better understand student life in different areas.
Project V: Democratic Network; sharing experience of democratic transition in the EuroEast and the EuroMed regions

**Objective:** To share experiences of democratic transition after revolutions; to learn from achievements and mistakes through information sharing; and to draft practical recommendations.

**Project Details:** This project is influenced by the Colour revolutions in EuroEast (Georgia 2003, Ukraine 2004 and Moldova 2009) and the revolutionary wave in EuroMed (began in 2010-ongoing). The target groups for this project are policy-makers, civil society and youth leaders. Two regional workshops will be held to discuss issues of democratic transition. Through these workshops a network will be formed. Through the workshops and the Network a handbook will be published on democratic transition in the EuroEast and the EuroMed.

Project VI: Sharing Energy, Joining People

**Objective:** To install a renewable energy plant in the Buffer Zone in Cyprus in a cooperative ownership of citizens from the two sides of Cyprus.

**Project Details:** This project aims to contribute to establishing a more even relationship between the two communities of Cyprus while producing income for both of them. In order to reconstruct the perception of each other's communities, this project suggests focusing on renewable energy. The symbolic value of this act would be first to revitalize the so called 'Dead Zone', turning it instead into a source of energy and vitality that could be directly and immediately enjoyed by the citizens of the island through having hot water, heating and electricity. Secondly, the energy would come from the only area of the island which is currently shared by both the communities and bring concrete advantage to both the communities rather than to one only or at the expense of the other. The outcome of the project will thus be to strengthen the idea that through cooperation between the Greek and Turkish communities the idea of the common good can effectively be achieved and that the two communities together can reach a reciprocal, better standard of life and security.

Project VII: Energy Security-Early Environmental Learning

**Objective:** To create spaces for children where they can have hands-on experiences to learn about one's own personal responsibility towards others and the environment.

**Project Details:** This project aims to create spaces for children such as parks, theme parks, zoos, local playgrounds and aquariums where the focus is on "experiencing" but not "teaching." Young children learn through discovery and self-initiated activities. Learning among young children requires active involvement: hands-on manipulation, sensory engagement, and self-initiated explorations. These spaces will have learning stands which will provide locally relevant information about environmental issues and concerns about energy security; explanations about protecting or harming the environment, about the problem of resource exhaustibility; introduction of the notion of renewable and alternative energy; experience of the natural world, as well as understanding of child’s own place in it; a model of appropriate behaviors that would promote smart attitude towards environment and energy preservation.

Project VIII: Regional Business Cooperation

**Objective:** To create a Regional Business Cooperation to help promote business between Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in the Eastern Neighbourhood and the Mediterranean South.

**Project Details:** The project aims to create a free platform for SMEs where they can share information about their own company and have access to information about other companies related to their sector or others thus strengthening the business sector by promoting trade between the two regions. This project will create a different communications level for SMEs and will help to improve the regions socially and economically.
Project IX: Armenia - Azerbaijan Cultural Event

Objective: To organize a cultural event between two disputed countries in order to enhance dialogue.

Project Details: This project was conceived to improve "frozen" relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The event will entail organizing a "movie week" to take place in Istanbul, Turkey. The event will feature short films about daily culture, education, student life or love submitted by university students from Armenia and Azerbaijan. A select scientific committee of academics will evaluate the short films. The event is scheduled to last three days.
APPENDIX II

List of Speakers with Bio Sketches
ABED, Nagla (Ms.), Consultant, Oldenburg
Nagla Abed gained work experience in Brussels, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and the Gaza Strip. As expert consultant for the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, she supported flagship projects and developed culturally sensitive projects to promote dialogue between cultures. Currently she is responsible for the intercultural affairs and dossier section of the Anna Lindh Digest which presents current trends in the Euro-Med region. She holds a LL.B. and an M.A. in Euroculture. During her studies, she focused on women's rights and analyzed for her M.A. thesis the development policy of the EU to support women’s empowerment through women NGOs in the Middle East.

AÇIKMESE, Sinem Akgül (Ms.), Associate Professor, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Sinem Akgül Açıkmeşe is an associate professor of International Relations at Kadir Has University. She holds a B.A. in International Relations as well as an M.A. in European Studies-International Relations from Ankara University. She studied at the European Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) for her M.Sc. degree in European Studies and she completed her Ph.D. in European Studies International Relations at Ankara University. She was a Jean Monnet fellow at the LSE; a Turkish Academy of Sciences fellow; a visiting Ph.D. student at the LSE; a visiting scholar to IGCC-UCSD as a US Department of State fellow; a Sasakawa Young Leaders fellow; and a Black Sea Young Reformers fellow. Her research interests include Security Studies, European security, EU foreign policy, European integration and enlargement as well as Turkey-EU relations.

AYDIN, Mustafa (Mr.), Rector and Professor, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Mustafa Aydın is a professor of International Relations, the rector (president) of Kadir Has University, as well as the president of the International Relations Council (UIK) of Turkey. He was also co-coordinator of the International Commission on Black Sea (2009-10); Deputy Chairperson of International Commission of Eminent Persons on the Caucasus and Caspian (2007); Alexander S. Onassis fellow at the University of Athens (2003); research fellow at the EU Institute for Security Studies, Paris (2003); Fulbright scholar at the JFK School of Government, Harvard University (2002); and UNESCO fellow at the Richardson Institute for Peace Studies, UK (1999).

BARABANOV, Oleg (Mr.), Head of the EU Politics Department, European Studies Institute, MGIMO University, Moscow
Oleg Barabanov is the head of the Department of EU Politics at the European Studies Institute at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University). He has served as a senior research fellow at the Department for Euro-Atlantic Security at the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies with a focus on Mediterranean and Black Sea Studies. Additionally, he has held the post of director for Research and Regional Projects at the Russian Association of International Studies. He is also a member of the board of the Russian Association of European Studies. He accomplished this all while remaining at MGIMO University since 2000. He holds a Ph.D. in History and a Ph.D. in Habilitation in Political Sciences.

BROOME, Benjamin (Mr.), Professor, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona
Benjamin Broome is a professor at the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication at Arizona State University (ASU) in Tempe, Arizona, where he teaches courses in Intercultural Communication, Group Facilitation, and Conflict Transformation. His research focuses on third-party facilitators in complex problem situations. He has been involved in peace-building efforts in Cyprus since 1994, when he held the position of senior Fulbright scholar in Cyprus. Broome is the author of the book Building Bridges across the Green Line. Additionally, he has worked with a number of government agencies, business
organizations, professional associations, educational institutions, Native American Tribes, and community groups in the U.S., Europe, and Mexico.

ÇELİKPALA, Mitat (Mr.), Associate Professor and Head of the Department of International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Mitat Çelikpala is associate professor of International Relations and Head of the International Relations Department at Kadir Has University, Istanbul where he teaches graduate and undergraduate courses on Eurasian Security, Turkish Foreign Policy and Caucasus politics. He also lectures on Turkish foreign policy, politics, history and security at the Turkish War Academy. He serves as academic advisor to NATO's Centre of Excellence Defense against Terrorism (DATR) and is a board member of the Turkish Armed Forces Strategic Research Centre. He has several published academic articles and analyses on the above-mentioned subjects, while he is frequently quoted in the media.

CLARET, Andreu (Mr.), Executive Director, Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, Alexandria, Egypt
Andreu Claret has been the executive director of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures since July 2008. For five years, he headed the European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed), a renowned think tank and cultural center based in Barcelona. He developed most of his professional career in Europe, Central America and Sub-Saharan Africa as a senior correspondent for the Spanish news agency EFE. He published regularly in several Spanish newspapers and international journals as an expert on international affairs and Euro-Mediterranean relations. He has taught at the Faculty of Journalism of the University Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. His professional activity has been honored by the governments of Morocco, Spain and France.

DE ROBERTIS, Anton Giulio (Mr.), Board Member, International Institute for Peace, Vienna
Anton Giulio de Robertis is an International Institute for Peace board member, a professor of International Relations at the University of Bari and a senior analyst at the ISGI-CNR in Rome. He has been a consultant and Italian representative in various international institutions for security and foreign relations, such as the Atlantic Council. He is also the author of several works on disarmament and international cooperation.

DINLER, Serdar (Mr.), President, Corporate Social Responsibility Association of Turkey, Istanbul
Serdar Dinler is the president of the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Association of Turkey, whose goal is to “create tools, resources and methodologies for business to behave socially responsible on social, economical and environmental issues so that business can have a positive impact on the development of society.” Previously he worked at the British Council for 23 years and has founded more than 20 NGOs. He is an expert on NGOs in Turkey. Currently he is also the director of the Life Long Learning Center at Kadir Has University in Istanbul where he is developing education programs in line with the needs of the public and identifying solutions to these challenges to produce high quality education models.

GÜVENÇ, Serhat (Mr.), Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Kadir Has University, Istanbul
Serhat Güvenç is an associate professor in Department of International Relations at Kadir Has University. He has held fellowship positions with the US Military Academy at West Point and Galilee College. Prior to this, he worked at Istanbul Bilgi University, Koç University and the University of Chicago. In addition, he is the assistant editor of Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi and the Turkish representative to the European Association for Middle Eastern Studies. He earned his Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations from Boğaziçi University.
GYARMATI, Istvan (Mr.), President, Centre for Democracy Public Foundation, Budapest

Istvan Gyarmati has been the president of the Centre for Democracy Public Foundation (DEMKK) since 2011. Previously, he worked at the Zrínyi Miklós National Defense University, the Association of Hungarian Journalists and the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After serving in various positions in Eastern Europe and the Balkans, he became Deputy Secretary of State for Integration at the Ministry of Defense in 1996, and Undersecretary for Policy in 1998. He held top leadership positions at the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the East West Institute and the OSCE/ODIHR Election Monitoring Mission in Moldova. He was President and CEO of the International Center for Democratic Transition (ICDT) between 2005 and 2011. He holds a Ph.D. in Military Science.

KAVESHIKOV, Nikolay (Mr.), Professor, Chair of European Integration Studies, MGIMO University, Moscow

Nikolay Kaveshnikov has worked at the Association of European Studies, the International Institute of Economics and Law and at MGIMO University. He is a member of the EU-Russia Collaborative Research Network and the Russian Association for International Relations. His main research areas include EU-Russia relations and EU energy policy. He has also published a book in Russian on Transformation of Institutional Structure of the European Union. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Institute of Europe RAS.

KONOPLYOV, Sergei (Mr.), Director, Harvard Black Sea Security Program, Boston

Sergei Konoplyov is the director of the Harvard Black Sea Security Program and the US-Russia Security Program at Harvard University. As a former officer of the Soviet Armed Forces, he has served in several military missions to Africa, Latin America, and Central Asia. Additionally he holds degrees from the Moscow Military Institute, Kyrgyz University in Journalism (Cum Laude) and the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He received his Ph.D. at the Kiev Institute for International Relations. Since 1998 he has been a member of the International Institute of Strategic Studies, London. Since 2000, Sergei has served as assistant to the Head of the National Security Committee of the Ukrainian Parliament and received awards from the Ministers of Defense of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.

LARRABEE, Steven (Mr.), Corporate Chair in European Security, RAND Corporation, Washington, DC

Steven Larrabee is a senior staff member at RAND in Washington, DC where he holds the RAND Corporate Chair in European Security. He has a Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University and has taught at Columbia University, Cornell University, New York University, the Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Georgetown University, George Washington University and the University of Southern California. Before joining RAND he served as vice president and director of studies of the Institute of East-West Security Studies in New York from 1983-1989 and was a distinguished scholar in residence at the Institute from 1989-1990. From 1978-1981, he served on the U.S. National Security Council staff in the White House as a specialist on Soviet-East European affairs and East-West political-military relations. Additionally, he has been published on a variety of topics.

MURNIEKS, Martins (Mr.), Program Officer, Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation, Bucharest

Martins Murnieks joined the GMF Bucharest office in March 2012 as the program officer of the Black Sea Trust for Russia and Turkey. Prior to that, he was the “Wider Europe” director for five years at the Soros Foundation in Latvia. Before joining the Soros Foundation, he was secretary general (executive director) of the Latvian Transatlantic Organization (LATO), a Latvian NGO dealing with security, defense and foreign policy issues. He has experience in communication and media issues through his work as the public relations officer for the political party “Unity” (Latvia). He holds a B.A. in International Relations-European Studies from Riga Stradins University.
ÖZCAN, Gencer (Mr.), Professor, İstanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul

Gencer Özcan is a professor of International Relations and head of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Istanbul Bilgi University. He has also taught at Marmara University and Yıldız Technical University. He received his B.A. from Ankara University, and his M.A. and Ph.D. in Politics from Boğaziçi University. He has published numerous works on Balkan issues, Turkish security and politics, and broader Middle Eastern issues.

ÖZEL, Soli (Mr.), Lecturer, Kadir Has University; Columnist, Habertürk, Istanbul

Soli Özel currently teaches in the Department of International Relations of Kadir Has University while he is also a columnist for the Habertürk daily. He has previously taught at Istanbul Bilgi University. He has studied at Bennington College, the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at John Hopkins University and the University of California at Berkley. He has been a fellow of St. Antony’s College, Oxford University and at the European Union Institute for Security Studies in Paris.

PIDLUSKA, Inna (Ms.), Deputy Executive Director, International Renaissance Foundation, Ukraine

Inna Pidluska is deputy executive director at the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF). Prior to joining the IRF in 2011, she was executive director of the Yalta European Strategy (YES). She also co-founded and served as president of the Europe XXI Foundation. Since 1992, she was involved in establishing and developing a number of Ukraine’s NGOs and think tanks. She received her M.A. cum laude from the Kyiv State Linguistic University and attended the Institute of Journalism of the Kyiv Taras Shevchenko University. She also studied International Relations as a Chevening scholar at Keele University (UK), Non-profit Management at the International Policy Studies Institute, University of Connecticut (USA), and was an International Policy fellow in European integration at the Open Society Institute in Budapest. She also was a NATO Democracy fellow from 1996 to 1998.

SCHIEDER, Peter (Mr.), President, International Institute for Peace, Vienna

Peter Schieder is the president of the International Institute for Peace and the honorary president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. Previously, he was a member of the Central European Initiative and the Secretary General for the Socialist Party of Austria, as well as the chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Austrian Parliament. Additionally, he is the president of the Lisbon Forum North-South Centre.

SILVESTRI, Stefano (Mr.), President, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome

Stefano Silvestri has been the president of the International Affairs Institute since 2001 and the lead writer for Il Sole 24 Ore since 1985. He has served as Under Secretary of State for Defense; as an advisor to the Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs for European matters; and as a consultant to the Italian Prime Minister’s Office under various governments. He continues to act as a consultant for the Italian ministries of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Industry. As a professional journalist, he has been a special correspondent and columnist for Globo, a member of the Policy Committee of Europe, and has contributed articles on foreign and defense policy to numerous national daily papers. He was a professor for Mediterranean security issues at the Bologna Centre of Johns Hopkins University, and previously worked at the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. He is currently a member of the administrative council of the Associazione Industrie per l'Aerospazio, iSistemi a la Difesa, (AIAD) and of the Trilateral Commission.

STANIA, Peter (Mr.), Director, International Institute for Peace, Vienna

Peter Stania is presently the director of the International Institute for Peace and a lecturer at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. In addition, he is a member of the Executive Committee of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA), chairman of the Executive Board of the Austrian North-South Institute for Development Cooperation Limited and vice president of the NGO Committee.
for Peace at the United Nations Office, Vienna. He has published numerous articles and essays on security issues, particularly as related to Europe and the Americas.

TRIANTAPHYLLOU, Dimitrios (Mr.), Director, Center for International and European Studies (CIES), Istanbul
Dimitrios Triantaphyllou is the director of the Center for International and European Studies at Kadir Has University, where he also teaches International Relations. He holds a B.A. in Political Science and History from the University of California, Berkeley and an M.A. and Ph.D. in International Relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. He was previously, inter alia, director general of the International Centre for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS); a special advisor at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic; senior research fellow at the Institute for Security Studies of the European Union; and foreign policy advisor to a member of the European Parliament. He has written and edited a number of books and articles pertaining to European security, developments in the Black Sea region and South-Eastern Europe, and Greek foreign policy. He is associate editor of the *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* and a co-convener of the Commission on the Black Sea.

TSERETELI, Mamuka (Mr.), Director, Center for Black Sea-Caspian Studies at American University, Washington, DC
Mamuka Tsereteli is the director of the Center for Black Sea-Caspian Studies at the School of International Service at American University and professor of International Economic Policy. His areas of interest include international relations and international economic policy, economic and energy security, political and economic risk analysis and mitigation strategies, and business development in Central Eurasia. He frequently speaks on these issues at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Brookings Institution, the School of Advanced International Studies, and the Atlantic Council. In 2010 he led a pilot study entitled *Attitude of Iranians*, based on in-depth interviews of Iranians who travel to the Caucasus during the Nowruz holidays. He is the president of the America-Georgia Business Council; a board member of the Georgian Reconstruction and Development Fund (MCC funded equity investment fund); and a member of the Atlantic Council.

TURAN, İlter (Mr.), Professor, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul
İlter Turan is currently a professor of International Relations at Istanbul Bilgi University; where he also served as the University’s president from 1998-2001. Previously, he was a professor at Koç University (1993-1998) and Istanbul University (1964-1993) and held visiting appointments at various American and British universities. He is the past president of the Turkish Political Science Association and the program chair of the 21st World Congress of the International Political Science Association held in Santiago, Chile in July 2009. He currently serves on the board of several foundations and corporations. He is widely published in English and Turkish on comparative politics, Turkish politics and foreign policy. His recent writings have been on the politics of water, the Turkish parliament and Turkish political parties.

VALLIANATOS, Stefanos (Mr.), Coordinator, Greek National Network of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for Dialogue between Cultures, Athens
Stefanos Vallianatos is the coordinator of the Greek National Network of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for Dialogue between Cultures. He is also head of the Department of International Relations of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture and teaches Middle East Politics at the International Centre for Hellenic and Mediterranean Studies. He is also an external research associate at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) specializing in Middle Eastern Affairs. He holds a Ph.D. from Lancaster University (U.K.) in International Politics with special reference to the Eastern Mediterranean.
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Heybeliada, Turkey

APPENDIX III

Reading Material List
Session I: The State of Play


Session II: The Security Context in the Eastern Neighborhood


Session III: The Security Context in the Mediterranean South


**Session IV: The Energy Factor**


http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14683849.2011.622511#preview

http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09662839.2010.531707#preview

http://www.acus.org/files/publication_pdfs/403/121510_ACUS_CentralEuropeEnergy.PDF


http://www.jamestown.org/uploads/media/Full_Mamuka_RussiaGeorgia.pdf

http://www.gmfus.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/1/files_mf//galleries/ct_publication_attachments/Paralleli_Brief_FinalFEB10_Final.pdf

**Session V: What Role for the European Union?**


Session VI: What Role for NATO?


http://www.nato.int/ebookshop/nato_after_lisbon/nato_after_lisbon_EN.pdf

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/official_texts_87593.htm
Session VII: Democratization Challenges


Session VIII: Civil Society Priorities


Session IX: The Role of Business


http://europeandcis.undp.org/ourwork/cpr/show/8628C9CA-F203-1EE9-B00F8ED716AE8F22