



POSITION PAPER
ON POLITICAL
COOPERATION WITH
THE COUNTRIES OF
THE MIDDLE EAST/
NORTH AFRICA

**SHAPING CHANGE
IN THE MIDDLE EAST**

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INTRODUCTION

GENERAL CONDITIONS FOR POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH THE MIDDLE EAST

Developments in the Middle East – defined for the purposes of this paper as the Arab world plus Iran, Israel and Turkey – are of decisive importance for Germany and the rest of Europe, since the region borders directly on Europe. Both German as well as European foreign, security and development policies have a significant stake in sustainable peaceful, equitable, and stable development in the region. It is for this reason that questions concerning the role of Europe in assisting in such a development are at the forefront of deliberations on Political Cooperation with the region.

The cause of Political Cooperation with the Middle East can build on the fact that the Middle East is, historically speaking, one of the most innovative and dynamic regions of the world. Modern Europe in its present form would have been unthinkable without the influence on so many levels derived from contact with the Arab world. At the start of the 21st century, the Middle East has great potential, which has nonetheless largely been buried.

Just fifty years ago, the Arab Middle East was one of the most dynamic regions on the planet: Monarchies such as Egypt, Iraq, and Syria were in the process of far-reaching transformation, reinventing themselves as republics and embarking on promising industrialisation processes. Nowadays it is hard to imagine that the government in Cairo was once on equal terms with that of New Delhi, with a leading geopolitical role to play in the non-aligned movement.

Today the members, accession candidates and partners for enhanced engagement with the OECD, include several states from the archetypical development areas of Asia, Latin America, and sub-Saharan Africa – China, India, Indonesia, Korea, Mexico,

Brazil, Chile, and South Africa – but not a single Arab country from the Middle East with its three sub-regions of the Maghreb, Mashreq and the Gulf. In the course of the third wave of democratisation, democratic systems have emerged across the globe, thus decisively disavowed the perception that democracy as a political concept can only function in the context of Western culture. Last but by no means least, many development areas have in recent decades made great progress toward the peaceful settlement of conflicts. However, the Middle East's role in the field of security policy tended to be observably problematic. Practically no other part of the world in recent years has seen a comparable number of wars between nations. Moreover, the trans-national Islamist terrorism propagated by Al Qaeda, for which the Middle East remains a fertile breeding ground, has its origin here.

However, there are in the Middle East two countries, Israel and Turkey, to which the negative development characteristics of the Arab world do not apply, and whose development is to a great extent progressing separately from that of the region, overall. It must also be stated that some thoroughly positive developments are just starting to take hold in the Arab world: processes of economic and political liberalisation can repeatedly be observed. However, as the Arab Human Development Reports emphasise, the level of human development in the Arab world fares poorly in comparison to not only Europe and North America but also when measured against that of other development areas such as East Asia and Latin America. In close examination of the overall picture, the Middle East region is in the grip of a profound crisis that is exerting an influence on almost all aspects of the three core political fields of governance, welfare, and security. It is therefore the aim of this position paper to use an analysis of this crisis to demonstrate how Political Cooperation can contribute to overcoming the difficulties faced by the Middle East region.

Political Cooperation derives from the idea that development does not happen in a vacuum but requires a political framework that Political Cooperation can help to shape. This task appears to be more urgent in the Middle East – whose main problems are neither geography nor culture, but rather is specifically political in nature – than in almost any other region of the world. It is for this reason that the task requires a resolutely political approach. Sponsors of Political Cooperation are organisations that espouse for particular political values and interests and can demonstrate political expertise on specialised subjects. In conjunction with the institutions of the state, the Political Foundations in Germany are the key players in Political Cooperation. The principle element that determines both the content and the structure of the cooperation between Political Foundations and players, from politics, science, religious communities, civil society, the economy, and the media, is that of partnership. Political Cooperation as practised by Political Foundations can be complementary to state-sponsored cooperation. They can also become active in places where government players are not willing or have not the ability to do so.

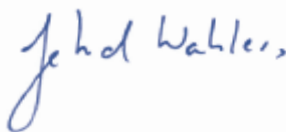
The distinguishing characteristic of Political Cooperation lies in the fact that cooperation is played out on a broader front with partners at all political levels (judicature, executive, legislative), and with a multitude of socio-politically relevant players which is conceived as a strive for political change by means of education, consultation and open dialogue. Particularly in the light of the current discussions concerning the restructuring of German development policy – which has as its objective a paradigm shift toward equal partnership and individual responsibility – the logical consequence would appear to intensify Political Cooperation along with its promotion as a self-contained pillar alongside Technical Cooperation and Financial Cooperation.

In the context of its role in shaping Political Cooperation, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung acts neither as a financier without ideas of its own nor as a mouthpiece for the pre-packaged concepts of others. Rather, the Foundation finds competent local partners whose values chime in with its own, and with whom projects are jointly conceived and implemented. Here, one has to bear in mind that it is not only geographical points of contact, but also close political, cultural and economic relationships going back many centuries which form the ties between Orient and Occident.

Accordingly, the concept of Political Cooperation acknowledges that Europe and Germany also have areas of legitimate self-interest in regards to the Middle East, foremost in the fields of security, energy and trade.

This paper has as its basis ten principles that address development in the Middle East and Political Cooperation in the form practised in the region by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. In the second part of the paper that immediately follows, a short summary of the fundamental principles is presented; in the third part, these are considered in greater detail. In the process, findings are presented in each case, based on which a strategy for Political Cooperation is developed. The paper concludes with a presentation of demands – also taking their cue from the ten principles – for changes within German and European (development) policy.

This position paper on Political Cooperation with the Middle East should on the one hand be understood as describing the position of the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in this important part of the world, based on which the overall strategy of the work of the Foundation will be further developed in the coming years. On the other hand, this position paper also addresses the needs both to intensify strategic cooperation with the countries of the Middle East to accompany the current discussion, and to lend this process some impetus. The paper was approved in the context of the staff conference of the Africa/Middle East division of the Foundation in April 2010 in Marrakech (Morocco). I would like to extend my particular thanks to our overseas member of staff, Dr Martin Beck, who took the lead role in authoring and compiling this paper in collaboration with the Africa/Middle East team.



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TEN PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH THE MIDDLE EAST

1. SHAPING CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

With the exceptions of Israel and Turkey, we see that the Middle East region is in the grip of a crisis that exerts an influence on almost all aspects of political and socio-economic life. The aim of Political Cooperation with the region is to contribute towards the joint identification and presentation of productive ways out of the crisis. This cooperation will promote democratic and constitutional principles, the structures required to create a civil society, dialogue between cultures and religions, the social market economy, education, security political dialogue and cooperation between the countries of the region and collaboration with the European Union in general and Germany in particular.

2. PROMOTION OF AN ORDER BASED ON SOCIAL AND MARKET ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES

No other region in the world relies so heavily on its income on rents as the Middle East. In other words, economic processes in the Arab world and Iran are strongly defined by income that is not accompanied by the performance of work and investment on the part of the recipients, and is therefore seldom used for productive ends. The problems associated with the rentier state can be addressed by promoting the principles of the social market economy, as these are in a position to provide a framework of political order to make it possible to conduct sustainable economic activity in an equitable and socially responsible way.

3. STRENGTHEN PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR SOLIDARITY

The economic crisis goes hand-in-hand with social crisis that manifests itself in the dominance of the state. The latter tends to waste scarce resources by pursuing a policy of redistribution. The comprehensive and consistent implementation of the two basic pillars of the social market economy – solidarity and subsidiarity – can have a role to play in overcoming the social crisis.



Political Cooperation requires dialogue and understanding. Dr Hans-Gert Pöttering MEP, Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and former President of the European Parliament, clarified this in his speech concerning cooperation between Europe and the States of the Gulf in the "Emirates Center of Strategic Studies and Research" in Abu Dhabi.

4. CREATE THE BASIC CONDITIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH GOOD GOVERNANCE AND THE RULE OF LAW

The Arab Middle East and Iran remained untouched by the Third Wave of democratisation. For this reason the promotion of democratisation is of central importance, though it is essential to bear in mind the framework conditions in the pursuit of this objective. This means that projects and measures should focus on points of leverages that are applicable to the specific country in a meaningful way. Here the promotion of good governance is of crowning importance, as it is through the establishment of constitutional structures that people directly experience "added value."

5. EXPAND PARTICIPATION AND PLURALISM

The political crisis contains within it a crisis of participation: The citizens of the Arab world and Iran hardly have any opportunities to play an effective part in shaping political decision-making. Women are, in this case, subject to even greater constraints than men

because the patriarchal structures in which they live often impedes on their strive to reach their potential. For this reason, it is imperative to promote participation in the political process which is primarily rooted in civil society, and to endorse equality for women as a cross-sectional task.

6. PROMOTE DIALOGUE BETWEEN RELIGIONS AND CULTURES

The domestic politics of most Middle Eastern states revolve around redistribution policy, whereas the foreign policy of most of them is aligned with the West. This creates an opposition, whose demands for equitable distribution, is charged with religious sentiment thus provides a vehicle for anti-western resentment. The Political Cooperation approaches this tendency (besides supporting a dialogue based on the concept of the social market economy) by promoting a critical and issues-based dialogue with sponsors of a moderate discourse.

7. MAKE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

In the field of security, the Middle East, with particular reference to its significance for trans-national Islamist terrorism, is also one of the world's most crisis-ridden regions. Exacerbating the problem further is the tendency of some Middle Eastern states to use the pretext of combating terrorism to repress non-violent opposition. Political Cooperation aims to counter this trend by promoting a security policy based on the concepts of "interlinked" and "human" security.

8. SAFEGUARD CREATION – SECURE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

With the exception of the water sector, which has an established place in developmental cooperation, the environmental and energy problems besetting the Middle East with its wealth of oil and natural gas have long been ignored. Political Cooperation promotes an increased awareness of environmental problems and calls for a broader perspective on the promotion of development in order to create a continual flow of innovative ideas to the problems and opportunities in the fields of environment and energy. Moreover, it will address these questions in the context of the support of regional cooperation.

9. SPREAD AND DEEPEN KNOWLEDGE

In respect of globalisation, which has served to reinforce the trend towards knowledge-based societies, the central prerequisite for sustainable development is education. Notwithstanding some positive trends, such as the successes in combating illiteracy recorded in many places, and a sharp increase in the number of women studying at university, the Arab world still has significant shortcomings in this area. Overcoming these issues is an important component of Political Cooperation: Tackling and overcoming the blight of unequal opportunity, primarily between rich and poor, but also between urban and rural populations; modernising the curricula and forms of instruction as well as promoting education and research policy initiatives.

10. TACKLING REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND CRISES IN A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT

Ethnic, religious and territorial conflicts are in opposition to a comprehensive cooperation effort towards regional integration in the Middle East. The aim of Political Cooperation is to contribute to the peaceful management of conflicts through the promotion of confidence building and the creation of preconditions for peace in the minds of the people. As far as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is concerned, Political Cooperation is bound by the European tradition of evenhandedness and, with its measures aimed at political dialogue, contributes to realising the vision of the peaceful coexistence of two states. On this basis, intensified economic cooperation between the states in the region in the spirit of the Schuman Plan that came into being in Europe sixty years ago could have a contribution in bringing about a lasting peace.



Photo: Bundesregierung/Kugler, Steffen

The subject of religious freedom and dialogue between the religions was also pointed out by the Federal President Christian Wulff during his Turkey trip in October 2010.

ELABORATION: TEN PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH THE MIDDLE EAST

1. SHAPING CHANGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

FINDING

For decades, the Arab Middle East has been in the grip of a profound crisis that exerts an influence on almost all aspects of political and socio-economic life. Not a single Arab state has developed into a democracy, and any recognisable processes of democratisation are in germinal form. In contrast to cases in other classic development areas, not one Arab state has proved able to work in a way that seems likely to bear fruit towards overcoming under-development or development along misguided lines or to take decisive steps along the path of autonomous and sustainable economic activity.

There are two Middle Eastern states to which this diagnosis does not apply, Israel and Turkey, both of which are members of the OECD. Within its 1949 borders, Israel is a consolidated democracy, and its gross domestic product per capita is significantly higher than that of some members of the European Union. The same applies to the level of education. Whilst the level of development in Turkey falls significantly short of the particularly advanced Israeli standard, seen from a global perspective, Turkey belongs to the set of more highly developed countries. Turkey is not a consolidated democracy, but since the end of the one-party rule by the Republican People's Party in 1950, the country has been in a process of democratisation.

The divergent developmental paths taken by the Arab world on the one hand and Israel and Turkey on the other over the last sixty years have led to such a yawning gulf between the levels of development of the former and those of the latter. As a result, notwithstanding geographical proximity, there can only be very limited merit in drawing on model functions in the context of Political Cooperation. In this connection, it is worth noting that Israel in particular



Enemies become partners: The Israeli Brigade General (a.D.) Baruch Spiegel (l.) and the Jordanian General (a.D.) Mansour Abu Rashid.

but also Turkey are significantly more advanced than the Arab world in socio-cultural terms. Not only are both countries distinguished by a completely different level of development, but both have since independence pursued individual development paths that have very little attraction for the Arab world. One can even go so far as to say that Israel's self-image, defined by Zionism, meets with clear rejection in the Arab Middle East. However, the laicism instituted by Kemal Atatürk also largely contradicts the self-image of the Arab world.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that cooperation with Israel and Turkey is of decisive importance for the cause of German Political Cooperation. The basis of cooperation with Israel is the lasting responsibility arising from German history and the obligation associated with it to support Israel in her aspiration to live in security and peace with her neighbours. Focal points of this cooperation are German-Israeli dialogue, with its increasingly European dimension, and the promotion of democratic and constitutional development, with particular emphasis on the political and economic integration of Arab Israelis. The central aim of Political Cooperation with Turkey, which makes allowances for the fact that Turkey's relations with the EU are incomparably closer

than with those of the Arab players in the Middle East, is the promotion of German-European-Turkish dialogue. Traditional focal points of this are the promotion of democracy, cooperation in the field of municipal politics, maintenance of economic dialogue and media cooperation. In the context of intraregional Political Cooperation in the Middle East, the role of Israel and Turkey particularly concentrates on those areas in which favourable conditions for cooperation between the Arab world, Israel and Turkey already exist or where there are strong incentives for them to be created. These mainly include the peaceful management of regional conflicts and cooperative projects primarily in the fields of environment and energy (see sections 8 and 10).

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

The rationale behind Political Cooperation with the countries of the Middle East essentially consists of supporting those players in government, civil society, science, culture and religion who wish to contribute to finding productive ways out of the crisis. The work of the Foundation is thereby fundamentally guided by values which are derived from the Christian view of humanity, but are universally comprehensible and applicable. The idea behind Political Cooperation in the Middle East region is to contribute to the future acceptance and implementation based on common values of democratic and constitutional principles and institutions, including pluralistic party systems. The development of a civil society should be encouraged to allow players such as the media and non-governmental organisations to assume an appropriate socio-political role. It is thereby aimed to pursue issues-based dialogue between and within cultures and religions at both national and regional levels, with the objective of developing and implementing common positions on the solution of socio-political challenges. The support of regulatory dialogue based on the social market economy aims to lay the foundations for the application of reform measures with the active assistance of players from the private sector. The promotion of security-political dialogue and further measures to prevent violent conflict is intended to reduce the risk of armed conflicts in the region or, as the case may be, to contribute to the peaceful management of such conflicts once arisen. It is ultimately a matter of promoting stability and development in the region through the intensification of cooperation between the countries of the Middle East themselves and with the European Union and Germany.

Whilst Political Cooperation in the Middle East is values-based, it does not take place in a political vacuum: Misunderstood ideas of disinterest in developmental politics should and must not lead to the dismissal of legitimate self-interest, such as German security interests. The conditions for the success of Political Cooperation are surely at their best where there are partners who share our values. In a region as beset with crises as the Middle East, in which the basic value of so many central players are not, in all cases, the same as those of Europe and Germany, Political Cooperation offers a sustainable framework. It can to a degree, withstand prevailing tensions and disharmony thus enables efforts to finding a medium- or long-term solution. What this means in concrete terms for Political Cooperation is that there is a need to work within the pre-existing structures of that environment in such a way as to allow our own values to be clearly represented.

2. PROMOTION OF AN ORDER BASED ON SOCIAL AND MARKET ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES

FINDING

The economies of the Arab world are demonstrating rates of growth that are in some cases quite high, although rarely high enough to keep pace with population growth. Notwithstanding the economic dynamism associated with the growth, neither the Arab states of the Middle East nor Iran have (unlike Israel and to some extent Turkey) proved able to overcome the problems of under-development and development along misguided lines.

With the exception of states like Yemen, the core problem of the Middle East is not primarily one of poverty. Rather, it is the inefficient and uneven use of resources which are in fact available in abundance: The World Bank's list of 40 countries with low-income economic systems includes no state from the Middle East – apart from Comoros, Mauritania and Somalia as members of the Arab League.

No other region in the world relies so much of its income on rents as the Middle East – in other words, economic processes in the Arab world and Iran are strongly defined by income that is not accompanied by the performance of work and investment on the part of the recipients and therefore only seldom finds sustainable use. Instead of investing in productive sectors, rentier states tend to place the highest emphasis on redistribution policies and to support corruption in order to stabilise their own regimes.



The overcoming of the negative effects of rentier incomes for the Middle East economy is a key field of Political Cooperation.

The most glaring examples of rentier economies of the Middle East are those of the oil-exporting countries in the Gulf. The production costs for crude oil in these states amount to only 1.5 to 8 US dollars per barrel, thus representing only a tiny proportion of the total sales revenue. Even though it is true that the production costs in the Maghreb – in Algeria and Libya – are higher, these too are rentier economies.

However, the rentier problem is not only a matter for the wealthy crude oil states with their generally low population densities: it is rather a problem for the entire region. For example, states such as Egypt and Syria also benefit from income from sales of crude oil: this may well be much lower than it is in the Gulf, but due to the overall weakness of these economies, rents on crude oil also play a decisive role here. What is yet more significant, however, is the fact that nearly all other Arab states have opened up other sources of rents: These are partly based on natural resources, such as potash and phosphate (Jordan, Morocco), but very often the rents in question are non-economic. Thus, for example, Egypt charges fees for the use of the Suez Canal, which far exceed the canal's maintenance costs. In many states, the tourist industry, which had developed based on historical cultural treasures, is also of significance in the politics of rent. What are really striking here are political rents: These take the form of budget supports and "soft" credits etc, whose recipients are primarily the densely populated and relatively poor state bureaucracies of the Mashreq. The most important donors of what are frequently non-transparent payment transfers are the high-income Gulf States; for many states such as Egypt and Jordan, money transfers from the West, particularly aid provided by the USA with a very low degree of conditionality, are also of great significance.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

Why is it that rents are an economic problem? As they do not depend on the performance of work and investment, they are freely available to the recipients; unlike profits made by businesses working in accordance with market economic principles, the recipients of rents are under no pressure to reinvest their income in order to ensure that they can derive income tomorrow. The recipients of rents will therefore only recognise the necessity of productive investment if particular incentives virtually force them to do so. This observation permits the drawing of two conclusions for Political Cooperation with far reaching implications. In the first place, rents and not the rentiers are the problem. Unlike traditional perspectives, which seek to ascribe underdevelopment and misguided development in the Middle East to the mentality of cultural traditionalism which, if it is maintained, holds sway in that region, this analysis emphasises that the problem is not to be found with the people but with the structures.

Secondly and in connection with this point, it can be said that rational counter-strategies are not only possible but also promising. The negative impact of rents does not have its origin in any laws of nature, but is the result of a problematic incentive system. Rent as a means of income does not in itself create any incentives for reinvestment. Hence, such incentives must instead be created by political means. It therefore follows that overcoming the negative impact of rents is a genuine field for Political Cooperation.

The best means of overcoming the problems brought about by rents is the promotion of the principles of the social market economy¹. In places where the market principle is functioning and the state creates clear rules for its appropriate implementation, rents can also be productively used. A "pure" free market economic system does not constitute an appropriate approach to the solution of the Middle Eastern rents problem. Rather, a strong state based on the rule of law must be established which, unlike the "pure" free market, ensures that the corruption which is so widespread in rentier economies is eliminated. Furthermore, a strongly-established competitive order, a key plank of the social market economy, will prevent the misuse of formal free markets to create monopolies – this too is a widespread phenomenon in the rentier economies of the Middle East, in which it is frequently the case that a few entrepreneurs who are particular-

¹ | *"Guidelines for prosperity, social justice and sustainable economic activity" of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.*

ly favoured by the state divide the markets between them to create an oligopoly. Also of great significance and closely related to the point mentioned above is the support of small and medium-sized enterprises: A strong small-business sector that is in a position to independently represent its own interests in the implementation of market economic principles forms the social backbone of an effective competition law. At the same time, small and medium-sized companies are strategic partners for those models of social partnership that form the socio-economic basis of the social market economy.

3. STRENGTHEN PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS FOR SOLIDARITY

FINDING

The economic crisis in the Middle East goes hand in hand with social crisis. This finds its initial expression in the dominance of the state, which tends to use scarce resources to further a redistribution policy whose primary aim is to satisfy the criteria for legitimisation of the political regime.

The state in the Middle East is simultaneously too strong and too weak: It is on the one hand too strong because its broad control of the flow of rents means that it commands relatively high levels of financial assets; the lack of effective checks and balances means that these are frequently used in a non-productive way. The consequence is a misallocation of scarce resources and the aggravation of social problems of many kinds. What seem to be of particularly grave concern in this context are the high levels of unemployment and deficits in education that have been so convincingly noted also by Arab critics, in particular in the Arab Human Development Reports that have been in publication since 2002.

On the other hand, the state is too weak due to the lack of institutions accessible to the citizenry, which can be used to guarantee that public goods will be made publicly available indeed. Consequently, investments in an effective infrastructure and, above all, in the provision and promotion of basic educational opportunities are too low to have any opportunities of success under the conditions presented by globalisation. Instead of creating a performance-oriented system of taxation, the state in the Middle East tends instead to neglect legislation on direct taxation and its implementation in favour of indirect taxation. Instead of making use of social security systems that conform to market principles, the weakness of state

institutions indicates that there are attempts to solve the associated problem of burgeoning inequality by subsidising basic essentials such as bread, gas for cooking and petrol. These measures only serve to distort the system of economic incentives yet further and frequently aggravate the problem of inequality, for example, due to the fact that the development of the agrarian sector is hindered by the subsidisation of foodstuffs. The policies of liberalisation introduced in some states have quickly served to highlight the limitations of the economic systems and place a disproportionate burden on those whose incomes are low.

One reflection of the social crisis in the Middle East is the emigration of Christians, which is primarily the result of the limited opportunities for economic advancement that they enjoy in their Arab home states. The fact that they generally benefit from an above-average level of education means that Christians are better able to establish themselves in the West. Associated with this trend are both a loss of cultural diversity in the Middle East and the emigration of urgently needed, highly qualified workers. Political Cooperation should therefore promote incentive systems, which also motivate Christians in the Middle East to remain in their ancestral homes in order to fulfil their potential there.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

The social crisis in the Middle East is complex and manifests itself in forms for which there are no quick fixes. Market liberalisation is one of the central components required to negotiate the crisis – however, the low level in development of social security systems means that to promulgate this, as has happened in the past, as the cure for all ills, is extremely problematic. What is needed instead is the creation of a clear regulatory framework: As long as labour market policy remains in disorder and no appropriate welfare state measures exist to combat poverty, the abolition of subsidies on food items, for example, serves only to jeopardise peace in society. It is not uncommonly the case that this and other socially unbalanced policies play into the hands of Islamist groups who fill the vacuum by providing social services for those in need.

However, the one-sided promotion of worker organisations and the strengthening of workers' rights also lead into a cul-de-sac, for, without the simultaneous creation of performance incentives and the appropriate provision of public goods by the state, such a policy will frustrate the economic elites who are so essential to economic dynamisation, resulting in the exodus of capital. In addition, a pure trades union policy only reaches those at the very top of the formal sector,

thus not infrequently promoting the interests of a “workers’ aristocracy” and the functionaries representing it instead of using a systematic labour and social policy to create performance incentives.

The best means of combating the social crisis in the Arab Middle East and bringing about sustainable development lie in the implementation of the guiding principles of the social market economy: Solidarity and subsidiarity. Solidarity ensures that the market economy always legitimises itself by directing its efforts to the greater good, and subsidiarity creates the space that is essential for the unfolding of individual responsibility and initiative-taking. Political Cooperation serves here above all to create forums for dialogue, out of which approaches can be developed to implement innovative regulatory structures and mechanisms.

The implementation of the solidarity principle represents the proper alternative to a discriminatory redistribution policy that provides one-sided assistance to those “strategic” groups, which have the potential to challenge the authoritarian regime, while all other groups, irrespective of their ability and willingness to produce, are neglected. The promotion of a labour market policy to create incentives for individual productivity and encourage the growth of the formal sector, which can check the growth of the informal sector so widespread in the Middle East, must go hand in hand with the establishment of social security systems that conform to market principles and the introduction of a performance-oriented tax system. One of the decisive founding principles of this can be seen in the introduction of elements of a subsidiarity-oriented democratic order: Individual responsibility and initiative-taking should be able to come to fruition under political framework conditions that guarantee constitutionality and opportunities for participation.

4. CREATE THE BASIC CONDITIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH GOOD GOVERNANCE AND THE RULE OF LAW

FINDING

With a few exceptions, such as Lebanon, civil society in the Middle East is comparatively weak in the face of state bureaucracy. Whilst the Third Wave of democratisation that began in the mid-1970s in southern Europe resulted in the spread of fully developed democracies in Latin America, Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East remained unaffected. Israel and Turkey either were already democracies or on the

way to becoming democracies as early as the 1950s but the Arab Middle East and Iran remained in the grip of authoritarian regimes. Whilst it must be admitted that phases of political liberalisation have periodically occurred in these places too, these were not instances of true democratisation in the sense of a process that is not controlled or managed from above. Thus it emerges that in the Middle East phases of liberalisation are succeeded by phases of deliberalisation during which the governing regimes roll back relaxations of political control that have previously been instituted. Even policies of liberalisation often serve to reinforce authoritarian structures and are thus, when one takes the intention behind them into account, positively inimical to democratisation.

The tendency of Middle Eastern regimes to oscillate between liberalisation and deliberalisation is a reaction to the crisis of legitimisation of the authoritarian state, which is in any case completely incapable of solving the underlying problems that beset it. As has been shown not only in the West but also in development areas on all inhabited continents, in the long term the only suitable vehicle for solving political, economic and social problems is that of democratic transformation.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

The promotion of democratisation is of crucial importance – although the term’s unpopularity in the Arab world means that it might often be better for this nomenclature not to be used there, and the process should be started in a smart way. Promoting smart democratisation means that projects and measures should be initiated to specifically focus on points of leverage that are applicable to the specific country in a meaningful way, thereby demonstrating the added value of democratisation in a direct manner. This can, but does not always, entail the demand for immediate democratic elections (see section 5). In the light of political realities in the Arab Middle East it often makes more sense to reinforce the principles of good governance, constitutional procedures and institutions such as constitutional courts and to advance the cause of participation qua support for the institutions of civil society in the run-up to the formation of political parties. This also entails working with political parties and persons who subscribe to democratic standards and values.

A policy of liberalisation can turn into a transition to a democratic system, even if the actual intention of the initiators is rather to stabilise the status quo. It would surely mean overestimating the possibilities of Political Cooperation alone if the intention were directly to pro-

mote such a change. However, there is a chance, which is surely worth striving for, to make a contribution to the improvement of the manifold parameters that decide whether in historic moments a process of liberalisation can actually turn into a process of full-blown democratisation. These parameters include some elements that can be influenced by Political Cooperation and which, as well as improving the basic conditions for democratisation, are worthy ends in themselves, as they can bring tangible benefits to the people of the Middle East even within the context of the existing authoritarian regimes.

Thus, for example, the nurture of good governance is of central importance: This "top-down" approach promotes within the apparatus of the state itself the development of staff who feels a loyalty to democratic values. The introduction and implementation of constitutional elements improves the political situation even within the constraints of a yet authoritarian regime structure. The reinforcement and implementation of the principle of rule of law is thereby attended in the process of political dialogue by the promotion of the separation of powers and the implementation of the supervisory functions that go with it. Good governance can also contribute to the productive management of the social and economic crisis, above all in the form of measures to combat corruption. Good governance and its constitutional implications will also be directly able to demonstrate their economic added value: so it is that those countries in the region in which the rule of law holds sway enjoy the fruits of increased direct investment from abroad.

5. EXPAND PARTICIPATION AND PLURALISM

FINDING

The political crisis contains within it a crisis of participation: The citizens of the Arab Middle East have only limited opportunities to play an effective part in shaping political decision-making. This can be ascribed, in the first instance, to the low level of importance of elections in the Middle East. Notwithstanding some recent reforms, a national parliament has still not been elected in Saudi Arabia, and in other Gulf States, civil movements are still in an extremely weak position. In Syria, elections are conducted according to the template of "actually-existing" socialism, and the same applies to Libya. However even in those states which are aligned with the West, elections sorely lack any democratic rules of procedure or transparency. In the constitutional monarchies of Jordan and, particularly, Morocco, parliamentary elections are accompanied by a much higher degree of competitiveness



Political participation "from bottom up" should be promoted. The reinforcement of democratic rules of procedures and transparency can lead to positive developments.

than is the case, say, in Egypt or Tunisia, but even here the executive is appointed by the respective monarch. Indeed, with the exceptions of Israel and Turkey there are only very few examples in the Middle East in recent years or even past decades of free elections which can be said to have had a tangible impact on the political executive: Lebanon, the Autonomous Palestinian Territories, Iraq, Iran and Yemen (as well as Mauritania). Nonetheless, these countries are also beset by enormous problems: Along with the questionable democratic credentials of all those elected, these problems include in particular coups d'état and phases of non-constitutional government (Mauritania, the Autonomous Palestinian Territories), the exaggerated role of non-elected decision makers (Iran), electoral rules that distort majority ratios and electoral manipulation (Iran, Yemen, Lebanon), limited participation due to the lack of authority on the part of the state (Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon) and the strong influence of external actors (Iraq, Lebanon, the Autonomous Palestinian Territories).

It can therefore be avowed that the rights of active participation of the citizens of the Arab states and Iran are severely restricted. This applies to both sexes, but to an especially high degree to women: whereas the inherited patriarchal structures serve, so to speak, as traditionally established means of compensation for men for the lack of political decision-making influence, women are in this respect very severely constrained.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

The promotion of political participation has a "bottom up" emphasis. Here it has to be said that, in the light of the existing political circumstances in the Middle East, direct cooperation with existing political parties

is certainly an option – although it is often not the most promising approach. The authoritarian regimes of the Middle East have in many cases already shaped the landscape of political parties to suit their own purposes, and it is not infrequently the case that the region’s political parties adorn themselves with democratic labels that are very far removed from the reality of the situation. Partners who share the values of democracy and human rights are more likely to be found in civil society and its organisations than in the existing political parties. Strengthening the hand of such groups also offers the promise of providing an urgently needed counterweight to those players who provide by far the strongest opposition to governments in the Middle East: The Islamist organisations and parties. It is furthermore essential to foster dialogue with the parliaments and parliamentary groups: Even if these often only have very little authority, and their role in the political system is not infrequently marginalised, it is nonetheless a central task to provide support to them in their official roles as representatives of the people.

The lack of participation of women in the areas of modern life is convincingly portrayed in the Arab Human Development Reports as a central developmental deficit, alongside democratic deficits and underdeveloped education and research systems. Women in the Arab world often do not have in their professional career and political participation equal opportunities. For this reason the promotion of equality for women is a mainstream task in all fields of Political Cooperation.

6. PROMOTE DIALOGUE BETWEEN RELIGIONS AND CULTURES

FINDING

In comparison to society, the state in the Arab world and Iran is equipped with relatively high levels of power and financial means which it frequently uses to make itself out to be the champion of redistribution. In this context, it often acts in a discriminatory way: For example, members of the upper classes are privileged with oligopolies and subsidies, while middle-class people who work as freelancers are granted licences which distort the market, and those who work for the state are given jobs in the bloated public sector. At the same time, the urban lower classes are fobbed off with subsidised food items. At least in the cities, however, no single social stratum is completely ignored. The existence of state redistribution policies causes the opposition in the Middle East to coalesce less under the banner of freedom than under that of

justice. In the majority of cases, the complaint is not so much that state intervention should be subject to clear rules and should guarantee space for initiative taking and individual responsibility. It is rather more that the principal demands made of the state are for a distribution of resources. These demands, which are embellished with the rhetoric of “fairness”, are actually more centred upon the immediate needs of those making them.

After the failure of Middle East development projects that had borrowed heavily from socialist ideas in the 1960s and 70s had become obvious – a failure that was not matched by any ability on the part of the ruling regimes to come up with new concepts and visions – Islamism was able to set itself up as the dominant ideology of opposition. This turned out to be very well adapted to the framework conditions in the Middle East. On the one hand, the Islamists proved capable of providing a vehicle for the ideas of justice firmly anchored in Islam and of winning the permanent loyalty of groups whose complaint was of the inequity of distribution on the part of the ruling regime.

On the other hand, the Islamists made use of the anti-Western sentiments felt in the Middle East since the end of the era of European colonialism to elicit strong support amongst large parts of the population by offering their own, religiously charged system of values as a counterweight to Western models and values. The anti-Western line of attack is at the same time not traditional or anti-modern but instead fulfils central functions in the modern age, albeit in a problematic way. Islamism gives people both an explanation of the crisis in the Middle East and a meaningful vision of how to liberate themselves from it. Furthermore, the anti-Western attitude is an expression of an effective politics of opposition, considering that since the 1980s nearly all the region’s regimes have aligned themselves in foreign policy terms with the West.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

The starting position for Political Cooperation in the Middle East is an extremely complex one: The ideologies of both the ruling regimes and the dominant opposition groups are largely undemocratic, and the discourse dominated by the opposition demonstrates very strong anti-Western tendencies.

The conclusion frequently drawn from this by the sponsors of Western development cooperation is that cooperation is best conducted with representatives

of groups which have little to do with religion or are actively non-religious. These latter have however alienated themselves from their own social basis: The calls from the West that one encounters occasionally for the radical banishment of religious values from political life in the spirit of Atatürk's secularism is not appropriate to the Arab world. What is needed is more of a critical dialogue with the sponsors of a moderate but not non-religious discourse, because the groups of sponsors in the Middle East that will be reached by such an East-West dialogue have the potential in turn to reach central groups in their own societies. Dialogue with Islam must be in the forefront, but the fostering of relations with the Christian communities of the Middle East also has its place within the context of Political Cooperation.

What is of primary significance in such a critical dialogue is not membership of a religious community per se but the question of the political ideals espoused by a religion that provide guidance for action within the context of a pluralistic order. Without wishing to deny that there are differences, such a dialogue can build those bridges necessary to develop common values. The starting point for this is the conviction that fundamental values such as human rights and human dignity, freedom and justice possess a universal character: the principle of human rights can be just as unswervingly maintained in the Middle East as it can elsewhere. The same applies to the right to democratic participation. At the same time, this approach recognises human rights and rights of participation in the democratic process as being intricately interwoven with religion and culture, and possessing different relationships with them.

7. MAKE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT

FINDING

In security terms, the Middle East is one of the most crisis-ridden regions in the world, both internally and in respect of its relations to the rest of the world, particularly to Europe. Even though the most important havens for Al Qaeda lie to the east of the Middle East, its origins are nonetheless in Saudi Arabia, and cells have formed in many other states in the Middle East. The trans-national Islamist terrorism of the Middle East claims most of its victims in that region, although it is also turning its deadly attention to the West, not least to Europe and Germany.

An overall assessment of the war against terrorism as waged by the state in the Middle East reveals a contradictory picture: On the one hand, most of the states in the region have demonstrated a keen desire to cooperate in this field and have taken active measures to combat not just national but also trans-national terrorism. On the other hand, however, Middle Eastern regimes have also frequently used the fight against terrorism as a pretext to attack opposition groups that have abandoned the use of violence as a means of expressing conflict; the region's regimes have also imposed restrictions on freedom rights in a manner consistent with a strategy of deliberalisation. This last finding brings out a more fundamental security-political problem: The authoritarian state in the Middle East does more than provide security: it also fulfils a contrary function in that it represents a danger to its own citizens, who have inadequate constitutional protection from its encroachments on their liberty.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

The approach that has long dominated cooperation in the field of development is one that maintains a strict separation between issues of political and military security and problems of civil protection and development: this approach is not an appropriate one, especially in the Middle East. The same also applies to the security-political approach, so prevalent in the region, which focuses on the state. By contrast, the Political Cooperation espoused in the region by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is rooted on a holistic approach that links security and development with one another: an approach whose security-political components derive from the concepts of "interlinked" and "human" security.

Interlinked security means that all those players relevant to security- and development-policy at all levels must be regarded as being interrelated. Progress in the fields of security and development can only be accomplished if both functions go hand in hand. It therefore follows that Political Cooperation needs to analyse the social and political preconditions for development and security and form them into integrated concepts for action. This includes recognising that components of security and development in the military, policing and civil spheres are interrelated with each other.

Governmental security and integrity must not be seen in contradiction to human security and protection of human rights. The Political Cooperation reinforces the monopoly of legitimate use of force in order to enable the government to guarantee extensive security to its citizens. By doing so, the monopoly of legitimate use of force is being exercised on the principle of the rule of law.

8. SAFEGUARD CREATION – SECURE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

FINDING

The environmental and energy problems besetting the Middle East with its wealth of oil and natural gas have long been ignored. The West also has mostly tended to view the Middle East through the lens of the energy supplier/energy customer relationship and the associated problems, rather than comprehending it as a region with serious environmental problems and its own energy supply issues.

Excepted from this verdict is the water sector, which in the Middle East is in a precarious condition and has long played a key role in development cooperation. In the Middle East region, which in many places is classified as arid or semi-arid, the problem of how to supply the population with fresh water of adequate quality is foremost a result of the prevailing natural conditions. At the same time, the limited availability of the water resource in the Middle East also has political components. On the one hand, national water management strategies often leave a lot to be desired, and on the other hand, regional cooperation, which is of key importance due to the fact that several large watercourses (especially the Jordan, the Tigris and the Euphrates) are shared by different states, is in need of improvement.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

Although the under-industrialised Middle East is not one of the main originators of climate change, it is nonetheless affected by it and has to contend with a regionally specific environmental problem in the form of water issue. A commitment to help preserve natural resources arises from the task of preserving creation. In this field, the objective of Political Cooperation is to dovetail the promotion of environmental protection and development policies.

What used to be until quite recently seen as the key relationship – that between the producers and consumers of crude oil – has since given way to an



The commitment to help preserve natural resources arises from the task of preserving creation.

understanding that all parties to a globalised energy system depend upon one another. The cooperation in the field of renewable energies (wind and solar power), which is still in its infancy, needs to be supported, as does the recently acquired understanding in the region of environmental problems and their consequences. Apart from providing a basis for further promoting collaboration between Europe and the Middle East, the fields of energy and environment are also suitable for intra-regional cooperation to be promoted by Political Cooperation, because, in comparison to most economic and commercial policy fields, common interests are obvious. Private economic initiatives and Public Private Partnerships (PPP) in the context of Middle East-European cooperation will thereby also gain in significance. It will be essential to use Political Cooperation to unlock the potential of such initiatives.

Many, water-related problems could be solved using technical approaches such as the construction of marine desalination plants, dam projects and environmentally sensitive wastewater disposal systems. Furthermore, the impact of many hydrological problems in the Middle East could be limited by improving national water management, which would require improved coordination between developmental and environmental objectives. For example, in many places, land irrigation systems absorb a large proportion of scarce water resources. In this case, it will be essential to promote development projects with lower water intensity and greater efficiency of water use. Whereby the specific task of Political Cooperation will be to influence the political framework, as it is not rarely the case that changes need to be achieved in regional and/or local constellations of political interests in order to expedite improved harmonisation between developmental and environmental policy.

9. SPREAD AND DEEPEN KNOWLEDGE

FINDING

The second volume of the Arab Human Development Report, published in 2003 with the title "Building a Knowledge Society", reveals an unremittingly negative picture of the educational and science sectors in the Arab world, especially in comparison to other parts of the globe. In line for criticism are the lack of modernity in the production and acquisition of knowledge in the Arab world, as finds expression for example in the level of Internet use, which, notwithstanding high rates of growth, remains low. Also highlighted, however, is a weakness in the field of classical education: The last thousand years have seen the translation in the Arab world of about as many books as are translated in Spain in an average year. The field of research and development, notwithstanding some positive indicators in scientific publications, is also criticised due to inadequate levels of innovation, as observed in the low number of patents.

What is highly problematic in the Arab world is a lack of equality of opportunity in two counts: with both gender-specific and social dimensions. In spite of considerable efforts to combat illiteracy there remain in the Middle East millions of girls who do not attend school. At the same time, Arab educational systems disadvantage both children from regions outside urban centres and those whose parents have a low income.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

Education is held in high esteem in the Arab world, and much greater success has been achieved in addressing problems here than in all the other areas under scrutiny. It is also worthy of note that the overall direction is a positive one: For example, women students at many Arab universities are now in the majority.

In concrete terms, Political Cooperation in the Middle East has to become active in two central fields. Firstly, it is a matter of improving the political framework conditions for the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. There are two prerequisites for successful educational policy. On the one hand, fundamental rights, including rights of freedom such as the rights to freedom of expression and freedom of research, must be respected. On the other hand, there needs to be recognition that educational policy and social policy are inseparably linked: One of the tasks of Political Cooperation in the Middle East is to bring



Education is held in high esteem in the Arab world. At many Arab universities, women students are now the majority.

together decision makers in politics and education to work out common solutions to the problems that need to be addressed. Important task areas are cooperation and collaboration in the field of internationalisation of the university system, bringing about the required integration and facilitating an exchange of views on the contents of curricula. Secondly, there should be targeted support for stipend and exchange programmes for future management personnel. Political Cooperation should thereby pay attention to scientific excellence but not at the expense of promoting the cause of people who combine outstanding scientific achievement with socio-political engagement and who are prepared to work for the general good.

10. TACKLING REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND CRISES IN A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT

One central aspect of the crisis-ridden Middle East is characterised by the accumulation of trans-national ethnically and religiously charged conflicts, which in some cases find expression in massive differences of opinion on matters of territory. Up until the end of the 20th century, the stressed dividing line between Sunni and Shiite Muslims was discernable above all in the traditional rivalry between Iran and Iraq and in conflicts within Lebanon and Iraq. Since then, however, the conflict has adopted an increasingly trans-national dimension: Extremist Sunni and Shiite groups accuse each other of lacking Islamic legitimacy, and some states stoke up such conflicts in pursuit of their own regional political ambitions. The Kurdish conflict, a blight on the region since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, was given impetus by the containment of Saddam Hussein and his final removal from power in the wake of the Iraq wars of 1991 and 2003. The Kurds suppressed by the Iraqi dictator, with their homelands extending over the border into

Turkey, Iran and Syria, gained political autonomy within Iraq, and the question of the integrity of the Iraqi state, with its explosive implications for regional politics, has not yet been definitively resolved.

The conflicts described do not represent an exhaustive list: Also, worthy of mention would be many others, such as the Western Sahara and Turkish-Armenian conflicts and border disputes in the Gulf region. However, one territorial and political conflict stands out among the rest: The Middle East conflict, at the heart of which is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This can be explained on the one hand by the fact that the Middle East conflict has a fundamental bearing on the vital interests of two peoples: The right to statehood of Israel is still not recognised by some of her neighbours – Hamas, Lebanon and Syria. At the same time, the Palestinian people have had to suffer more than forty years of Israeli occupation. On the other hand, the Middle East conflict affects the entire Middle Eastern region: It serves to block the economic, political and cultural integration of Israel into the region; in the Middle East, the contribution of the West to the peaceful regulation of the Middle East conflict is often perceived as unilateral pro-Israeli. This foments anti-Western resentments in the Arab societies and weakens the reform initiatives on the part of the West.

STRATEGY OF POLITICAL COOPERATION

The aim of Political Cooperation is to contribute to the peaceful management of regional conflicts. This occurs in many ways: Political Cooperation firstly promotes confidence-building measures, because without at least a minimal degree of mutual trust it will be impossible to reach any agreements at all – let alone agreements that can stand the test of time. Political Cooperation also creates forums for dialogue in which the framework of ideas required for agreements to be reached – from the initial brainstorming right through to the creation of blueprints – can be presented and discussed. As some of the problems outlined above can only be solved in the regional context, measures are supported which, at the end of the day, serve to raise the level of trans-national cooperation and promote the construction of regional institutions. The first attempts at (sub) regional integration, for example the Arab-Maghreb Union (AMU), the Greater Arab Free Trade Area (GAFTA) and, especially, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), are thereby to be supported. Furthermore, Political Cooperation is committed to the cause of institutional cooperation between the Middle East and Europe as was expressed in 2008 in the foundation of the

Union for the Mediterranean as a consequence of the Barcelona Process.

Political Cooperation as practised by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is aligned with the tradition of a balanced European policy on the Middle East conflict as laid down in the 1970s in the context of the European Political Cooperation (EPC): A peace process must be pursued with the objective of bringing about the peaceful coexistence of Israel and Palestine as two sovereign states. The principle of “security for peace” laid down in resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council hereby provides the frame of reference for the creation of a Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories conquered by Israel in 1967. Any permanent peaceful settlement of the conflict presupposes a security guarantee for the State of Israel and, in particular, a halt to the firing of rockets from the Gaza Strip. On the other hand, the right to self-determination of the Palestinian people must be recognised, which would mean among other things a halt to the building of settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

To bring about a peaceful settlement to the conflict is on the one hand a matter of urgency: It is not merely a question of bringing an end to human suffering as soon as the opportunity presents itself. Rather, a swift settlement to the problem is also required because the window of opportunity to implement the plan of two peacefully coexisting states is visibly closing and might even close altogether in the near future – a development to which the policies of both parties to the conflict are contributing. The Palestinian political leadership is divided, has no democratic legitimacy, and one of its representatives – Hamas – does not recognise Israel’s right to exist. The Israeli policy of building settlements in the occupied West Bank and the occupied part of Jerusalem has in turn created facts on the ground that will make it extremely difficult to bring about a viable Palestinian state recognised as legitimate by its own people. A new attempt to restart the peace process needs to be well prepared through political dialogue and, in particular, to be given intensive external support during the implementation phase in order to prevent a recurrence of the failure of previous initiatives.

TEN DEMANDS FOR GERMAN AND EUROPEAN (DEVELOPMENT) POLICY

1. Intraregional cooperation between Europe and the Middle East must be further advanced. Germany should play a key role in shaping the Union for the Mediterranean, and its political orientation should be reinforced.
2. The EU and Germany should retain their policies of conditional aid; thereby intensify cooperation with other donors.
3. German and European non-governmental organisations of Political Cooperation sponsoring the concept of the social market economy in the Middle East should be given stronger support.
4. The promotion of democratisation must pay more attention to the specific framework conditions in the individual states in the Middle East than has been the case in the past. In particular, nations that have made comparatively big strides in the process of political liberalisation must be given greater incentives to deepen their commitment in the form of tangible benefits in the context of association agreements with the European Union.
5. German and European non-governmental organisations of Political Cooperation that have advantages over state and European bodies in respect of cooperation with civil society – so crucial for the Middle East – must receive greater support.
6. Critical dialogue with political players in Middle Eastern civil society who reject violence as a political means should be intensified, whereby the work of German and European non-governmental organisations of Political Cooperation will be accorded a key role.
7. Cooperative endeavours with Middle Eastern states to contain terrorism should be continued and linked in with the work of promoting the principles of the rule of law and the separation of powers.
8. Euro-Mediterranean private commercial projects and Public Private Partnerships (PPP) which dovetail the goals of development and environmental protection in the Middle East, while serving the interests of Germany and the EU, should be promoted with greater vigour.
9. Players in Political Cooperation should receive further support in the promotion of education and science – an important development-policy challenge in the Middle East – playing a role as they do, on the one hand, in linking science and political consultation and, on the other hand, in promoting education and social and political engagement.
10. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict the possibility must remain of realising the vision of two peacefully coexisting states. The threatened closure of the window of opportunity must be seen as a catalyst to the implementation of a real and effective peace process, for which the required preconditions must be put in place. This acutely implies, on the one hand, the reinstatement of a government of national unity with authority over both the Gaza Strip and the occupied West Bank and the support of this government in the preparation of democratic elections in the near future. On the other hand, it will be essential to bring about an unconditional halt to settlement building in East Jerusalem and the occupied West Bank. The blockade of the Gaza Strip must also be brought to an end.

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