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**60 Years of Peace in Europe – Relevance for the Middle East  
Learning from Mitrany, Marshall, Monnet, Gorbachev?**

**Fourth AFES-PRESS Workshop on  
Reconceptualising Security:**

**“Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks”**

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# Prevailing Narrow Security Concepts in the Middle East

- In the Middle East conflict among all major parties a narrow 'modern' military and political national security concept has prevailed in the thinking of foreign and defence policy elites and of many security specialists (Selim 2003; Kam 2003; Aydin 2003).
- This concept has focused on the 'security dilemma' (Herz 1950) that has addressed conceptual linkages between international 'peace' and 'security' during the Cold War and beyond.
- It has dealt with 'immediate' hard security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks, and has often neglected longer-term environmental and human security challenges, vulnerabilities and risks posed by a 'survival dilemma' that tries to address environment and security linkages.

# Relevance of European Experience for the Middle East Peace Process?

- How relevant is this European experience?
- Is a solution of the Middle East conflict possible within a 'Hobbesian' security concept?
- Is a widening of thinking on security to include environmental & human security relevant?
- Can a long-term focus on common security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks contribute to functional cooperation among adversaries in addressing future challenges?

# **Thesis: Four Conceptual Pillars of 60 Years of Peace in Europe**

- After centuries of permanent & repeated conflicts & wars in Europe four conceptual thinkers & key operational ideas have contributed to a basic change resulting in 60 years of peace in Europe & in a reunification of Europe after the cold war.**
- Mitrany's functionalist working peace system;**
- Marshall's conditionalised aid;**
- Monnet's functional institution-building;**
- Gorbachev's break out of deterrence syndrome.**

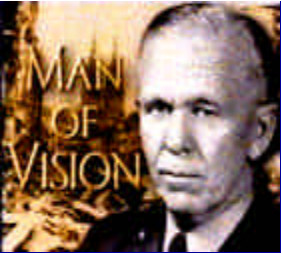
# Pillar 1: David Mitrany's functionalist concept of a working peace system

**Mitrany** developed functionalism as a 'working peace system' to diagnose disorder & as a prescription for shaping a better world:

- Functional transboundary cooperation in intern. organisations;
- technical & non-political problem solution by experts;
- working peace system: reduce conflict by cross-cutting loyal-ties
- functionalist organisation where welfare is maximised through transnational cooperation (water, environment etc.);
- legitimised politics gradually expands & power politics contracts.

**Middle East example: Security relevance of dialogue & cooperation among health, environmental, water & soil specialists,**

- Are scientists addressing common challenges?
- Was there a spill-over from funct. cooperation to high politics?
- What have been major impediments?



## Pillar 2: George C. Marshall's concept of conditionalised aid



- Idea of Marshall Plan developed in 1944 in report of Committee of Economic Development (CED).
- Not to punish aggressor but use conditionalised economic aid as a tool to open markets, to foster co-operation among those who won & lost World War II, & to build common institutions (OEEC, 1948; OECD, 1960).

Soviet threat & US terms for cooperation resulted in integration of Germany into the West and created favourable pre-conditions for European cooperation and integration.

### Middle East relevance:

- Is conditionalised aid for joint functional Israeli, Palestin., Jordanian & Egyptian projects on environm. foreseeable?
- What have been the obstacles?



## Pillar 3: Jean Monnet's concept of functional institution-building

- His ideas & skills changed Franco-German relations after WWII.
- He became intellectual father of European Com. for Coal & Steel in 1950, of Europ. Econ. Community in 1958 & of EU of 25+.
- No dreamer on changing human nature, was convinced that by altering conditions people would adapt to new reality.
- “I’ve always believed that Europe will be established through crises and not the sum of the outcome of those crises.”
- Soviet threat changed thinking of leaders in France & Germany.
- Ideas for building new & lasting supranational cooperation.

Europe: 1945: exhaustion after WWs, new extern. threat, ideas & institutions: breakout of cycle of violence, punishment & revenge.

**Middle East relevance in 2005?**

- **Why was functional institution-building limited to water?**



## Pillar 4: Mikhail Gorbachev's new thinking to break out of the deterrence syndrome

### Perception of end of Cold War differ: worldview, mindset & theories:

- **Realists:** US military superiority provoked implosion of USSR,
- **Liberal institutionalists:** detente, arms control, confidence building measures
- **Cognitive psychologists cooperation:** created favourable conditions for ideas in-fluencing values, goals, & perceptions of new Soviet leaders.

- Research on end of Cold War concluded **old mind-sets often prevented decision makers to recognise changes by Gorbachev's "new thinking"**;
- decisive factor in end of Cold War was a change in beliefs;
- discard of ideology due to changed perceptions of reality;
- Adaptation of domestic and foreign policies to new perception;
- 'New thinking'... combined idealist assumptions & pragmatic policy approach
- learning process, past failures prompted re-thinking & new approaches."

### Middle East relevance?

- **Is 'new thinking' emerging with Abbas & Israeli withdrawal from Gaza?**
- **Is there a willingness and what are obstacles for breaking out of the cycle of violence?**



# Ten Concluding Theses of Antalya Talk

- **Develop ideas to overcome cycle of violence in Middle East by recognising common regional impacts of global env. change through networks of functional cooperation on soil, water, food, energy of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Palest.**
- **Periods of crises & conflicts are periods of conceptual innovation. During World War II, Cold War, Korean War new ideas by Mitrany, Marshall, Monnet & Gorbachev changed polit. thinking in Europe.**
- **New ideas mattered in Europe & changed the political context. New thinking & conceptual ideas are needed in Middle East.**
- **Israelis and Palestinians support functional cooperation on desalination, health, environmental, agricultural, tourism.**
- **Future environmental challenges will be severe for Arabs & Israelis that can only be addressed jointly.**

# Ten Concluding Theses (2)

- **Fundamental shift in perception of security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities & risks: from military nat. security to wider economic, societal & env. & human security.**
- **European experience of functional cooperation matters. Cooperation to address techn. opportunities to cope with future env. challenges.**
- **Functional cooperation will not itself break cycle of violence. Same conditions must abide to all countries & intern. financial institutions.**
- **Minds of citizens & policy-makers must be gradually changed to recognise new common env. challenges, to initiate a process of anticipatory learning & avoid threats to the security & survival of all people.**
- **Donors should conditionalise their support of functional cooperation in the region. Recipients should accept support without links to prior realisation of final status issues.**