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**Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe** 

The Secretariat

**Department for General Affairs** 

OSCE Mediterranean Seminar

on

# THE SECURITY MODEL FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN

Cairo, 3-5 September 1997

**Consolidated Summary** 



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## I. GENERAL INFORMATION

## 1. VENUE

The Seminar was held from 3 to 5 September 1997 at the Sheraton Heliopolis, Cairo.

## 2. PARTICIPATION

2.1 The Mediterranean partners for co-operation (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Morocco, Tunisia) were invited to attend all the sessions and make contributions to all the meetings.

2.2 Japan and the Republic of Korea were invited to participate in and contribute to the Seminar.

2.3 The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was invited to participate in and contribute to the Seminar.

2.4 The following international organizations and institutions were invited to participate in and contribute to the Seminar: Organization of African Unity; United Nations; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; United Nations Environment Programme; United Nations Economic Commission for Europe; Council of Europe; League of Arab States; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; Western European Union; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development; European Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Black Sea Economic Co-operation Council; Regional Marine Pollution Emergency Response Centre for the Mediterranean Sea (REMPEC); Commonwealth of Independent States.

2.5 Representatives of non-governmental organizations were able to attend and contribute to the Seminar in accordance with the relevant OSCE provisions and practices.

2.6 Other countries and organizations could be invited by the host country after consultations with the Chairman-in-Office. A list of these countries and organizations had to be circulated by the host country at least three weeks in advance of the Seminar.

## 3. TIMETABLE AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES

3.1 The Seminar began at 10.30 a.m. (opening ceremony) on 3 September 1997 and ended at 2 p.m. on 5 September 1997; working hours were 10 a.m. - 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. - 6 p.m. Given the last-minute changes regarding the attendance of keynote speakers at the Seminar, it was decided to reschedule its agenda.

3.2 The opening and closing sessions were chaired by a representative of the Chairman-in-Office.

3.3 Each session had a moderator and rapporteur appointed by the Chair. The Consolidated Summary was forwarded to the Permanent Council for further consideration.

3.4 Appropriate arrangements for press coverage were made.

3.5 The working language was English. At the request of several States, interpretation was provided from and into French; at the expense of the host country, interpretation was also provided into Arabic. Interpretation costs were borne by the OSCE participating States

according to the scale for the distribution of expenses of the OSCE. Other common costs of the Seminar were covered by the host State. Each participant bore the individual costs of her/his participation (transportation, accommodation, board). These arrangements will not constitute a precedent that can be relied upon in other circumstances.

3.6 Other rules of procedure and working methods of the OSCE were applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Seminar.

3.7 Rooms for additional ad hoc meetings were made available to participants. Such meetings were held without interpretation.

3.8 The seating arrangement is shown in the Annex.

#### 4. AGENDA

		Wednesday, 3 September 1997				
10 a.m.		Press briefing by <b>H.E. Ambassador Karsten Petersen, Representative of the</b> <b>Chairman-in-Office (CIO)</b>				
<b>Opening Sta</b>	tements	3				
Chair: Rapporteur:	H.E. Ambassador Karsten Petersen, Representative of the CIO Ms. Christina Bürgi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland					
10.30 a.m.	1.	Opening Address by H.E. Ambassador Fathi El Shazli, Assistant to the Foreign Minister of Egypt				
	2.	<i>"From Budapest to Lisbon: Security Model Discussion in the OSCE" - Statement by</i> <b>H.E. Ambassador Karsten Petersen, Representative of the CIO</b>				
	Coffee	e break				
	3.	"Dialogue between the OSCE and its Mediterranean partners for co-operation: Prospects and Challenges" - Statement by H.E. Ambassador Maurice Abela, Head of the Delegation of Malta to the OSCE				
	4.	Discussion				
1 p.m.	Lunch	break				
Session 1						
Afternoon Se	ession:	Comprehensive Security: Risks and Challenges, Implications for the Mediterranean Basin				
Moderator: Rapporteur:		asan Gögüs, Delegation of Turkey to the OSCE rançois LaRochelle, Delegation of Canada to the OSCE				
3 p.m.	1.	"Through a Comprehensive Approach to a Common and Undivided Security Space" - Statement by Mr. Alexei Meshkov, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation				
	2.	<i>"Politico-Military Aspects of Security"</i> - Statement by Mr. John Albert, Delegation of the United States of America to the				

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## 3. *"The Economic Component of Security" -* Statement by Mr. Claus Dieter von Schumann, the European Commission/European Union

Coffee break

- 4. Discussion
- 6.45 p.m. Reception hosted by the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs

## Session 2

Morning Sess	sion:	<b>Comprehensive Security: Risks and Challenges (continuation of discussion)</b>
Moderator:	H.E. A OSCE	mbassador Maurice Abela, Head of the Delegation of Malta to the
Rapporteur:		ichael Klepsch, Delegation of Germany to the OSCE
10 a.m.	1.	"The OSCE and the Scourges of Terrorism, Organized Crime, Drug and Arms Trafficking" - Statement by Mr. Ecvet Tezcan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey
	2.	<i>"Stability Building in the Region" -</i> Statement by Mr. Abdul Monem Said Aly, Director of Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt
	Coffee	break
	3.	<i>"Risk Perception in the Mediterranean" -</i> Statement by <b>Professor Victor-Yves Ghebali, Graduate Institute of International</b> <b>Studies, Geneva</b>
	4.	<i>"From Confidence Building to Common Approaches" - Statement by</i> <b>Mr. Hanan Bar-On, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Israel</b>
	5.	Discussion
1 p.m.	Lunch	break
Session 3		
Afternoon Se	ssion:	OSCE Responses
Moderator: Rapporteur:		ka Heiskanen, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland ves Delaunay, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France
3 p.m.	1.	"Early Warning and Conflict Prevention: OSCE Field Operations" - Statement by H.E. Ambassador Jan Kubiš, OSCE Secretariat
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2. *"Human Rights, Democratic Institution Building and the Rule of Law as an Aspect of Security"* - Statement by **Mr. Gilles Breton, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)** 

- 3. *"Strengthening Security Co-operation with Other Organizations" -*Statement by **Mr. Andrei Androsov, OSCE Secretariat**
- 4. *"Fair Treatment of Minorities as a Factor in Abating Ethnic Tensions and Preventing Aggressive Nationalism" -* Statement by Mr. Frans Timmermans, Adviser to the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM)

Coffee break

- 5. Discussion
- 8 p.m. Visit to the Pyramids at the invitation of the Host Country

## Friday, 5 September 1997

## Session 4

Morning Ses	sion:	Through a Concerted Effort to a Safer World
Moderator:	Profes Genev	sor Victor-Yves Ghebali, Graduate Institute of International Studies,
Rapporteur:		sor Giuseppe Nesi, University of Trento
10 a.m.	1.	<i>"Europe and the Mediterranean: the Barcelona Process" - Statement by</i> <b>H.E. Ambassador Jean Faltz, Presidency of the European Union</b>
	2.	"Drawing upon Europe's Experience" - Statement by H.E. Ambassador Marianne von Grünigen, Delegation of Switzerland to the OSCE
	3.	"MPC Expectations from the OSCE: A View from Tunis" - Statement by <b>H.E. Ambassador Youssef Mokaddem, Tunisia</b>
	4.	Discussion
	Coffee	e break
	5.	Summaries by the Session Moderators
	6.	Concluding remarks by <b>H.E. Ambassador Karsten Petersen</b> , <b>Representative of the CIO</b>
	7.	Concluding remarks by <b>H.E. Ambassador Fathi El Shazli, Assistant</b> to the Foreign Minister of Egypt
12.45 p.m.	Closin	ng press conference
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7.30 p.m. Reception hosted by H.E. Ambassador Karsten Petersen, Representative of the CIO

## II. SUMMARY OF THE SEMINAR

Professor Victor-Yves Ghebali, Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva)

1. The OSCE Mediterranean Seminar at Cairo (3-5 September 1997) took place within the framework of the ongoing Security Model exercise. It marked a further step in the general Security Model debate and the unfolding OSCE Mediterranean dimension.

2. The agenda of the seminar was structured as follows: opening statements, "Comprehensive Security: Risks and Challenges, Implications for the Mediterranean Basin" (Sessions 1 and 2), "OSCE Responses" (Session 3) and "Through a Concerted Effort to a Safer World" (Session 4).

3. Apart from providing a useful informative account of the Security Model discussions, the opening statements developed two main points:

- The OSCE Mediterranean dimension should not remain at the "tail end" of the European Security agenda and, accordingly, a meaningful Security Model should include at least some CSBMs of a cultural nature.
- Since the OSCE Mediterranean dimension has ceased to be considered as having "nuisance value", the OSCE's relationship with the MPCs should now be based on substance and not on form. The time has accordingly come for the OSCE to give the MPCs full-fledged observer status and to spread its activity in the region by means of an outreach programme.

4. Statements made during Session 1 emphasized the following complementary as well as divergent ideas:

- While the OSCE can play a unique and valuable role with the MPCs, it should only do what it is best suited to do. It should not intrude where it lacks the mandate or the capability: a case in point is the peace process in the Middle East where it can bring no "added-value" input. By contrast, the OSCE could contribute to promoting the rule of law (which adds to personal security and which also helps provide the conditions for economic growth) in the region and to developing CSBMs applicable to relations between the MPCs.
- No European Security Model is conceivable without a concrete Mediterranean parameter. The Model itself should contain elements which could be used to turn the Mediterranean region into a zone of peace, stability and prosperity. OSCE experience in the field of arms control is highly relevant, particularly for the crucial issue of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A CSBMs regime specifically designed to meet the needs of the Mediterranean region could play an important stabilizing role. The idea of convening a Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) should not be shelved for good: a CSCM could play a co-ordinating role in respect of other initiatives such as the Barcelona Process and the Mediterranean Forum.

- Special attention should be given to the economic component of security, because the better the economic performance the higher the degree of security, both in terms of objective conditions and of people's perception.
- 5. As to statements made during Session 2, they stressed the following points:
- Of all risks and challenges, terrorism (which is increasingly linked to organized crime and drug trafficking) constitutes the most serious threat to democracy, human lives and private and public property. Being also the most obvious common challenge to OSCE participating States and to the MPCs, it calls for closer, multifaceted co-operation and co-ordination in the Euro-Mediterranean region.
- Although the OSCE has no specific mandate or competence in regard to resolution of the Middle East conflict, it is relevant to keep in mind that the stability of the Mediterranean region remains highly dependent on the continuation in good faith of the peace process and the achievement of a just, equitable and lasting political settlement.
- Ideas about an inevitable "clash of civilizations" are detrimental to a harmonious Euro-Mediterranean dialogue: they only serve, under the guise of scientific objectivity, to introduce prejudice in domestic and foreign policies as well as to fuel harmful cultural and religious misperceptions.

6. During Session 3, the valuable experience of the OSCE in comprehensive security was discussed by a number of OSCE officials. The latter made statements concerning the role of long-duration missions in the field of preventive diplomacy and conflict management, the manifold functions of ODIHR, the co-operation of the OSCE with other intergovernmental organizations and, finally, the specific contribution of the High Commissioner on National Minorities. In addition, representatives of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, the Council of Europe, the League of Arab States and NATO provided useful information about their co-operation with the OSCE and/or their Mediterranean programmes.

7. In the framework of Session 4, which debated the item entitled "Through a Concerted Effort to a Safer World", the following points were addressed:

- The enhancement of Euro-Mediterranean security could conceivably be achieved by means of closer association of the MPCs with the OSCE and/or through the establishment of a CSCM-type institution.
- A safer world requires genuine implementation of the concepts of comprehensive and co-operative security.
- As provided for in the Lisbon Document, the forthcoming Security Model should assign an important role to arms control, co-operation among European and transatlantic organization and institutions and regional security processes, with special emphasis on the Mediterranean region.
- As a successful regional co-operation initiative, the Stability Pact (initially launched by the European Union and now under OSCE custody) could provide a model of some relevance to the Mediterranean region.

8. The Cairo Seminar confirmed the indivisibility of security in the OSCE region and the Mediterranean area. It reaffirmed the necessity of including a substantial (and not just formal) component in the Security Model. It also recognized that the OSCE can, within realistic political limits, play an important role in the Mediterranean. Its major merit lies perhaps in the manifold suggestions for concrete and practical action which were tabled in written and oral form.

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## III. SUMMARIES BY WORKSHOP RAPPORTEURS

#### **Opening Session**

#### Report by Ms. Christina Bürgi

The opening session started with a presentation by Ambassador El Shazli, on behalf of Foreign Minister Moussa, who emphasized the high priority of the Mediterranean dimension of European security. He drew attention to the danger of the Mediterranean dimension of European security turning into a perceived menace and urged that the Security Model for the Twenty-first Century should be free of false preconceptions. He then pointed out his country's efforts to bring about a Middle Eastern nuclear-free region, and called upon the OSCE to consider enhancing the participation of the Mediterranean partners for co-operation (MPCs) in order to encourage a climate conducive to the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

Ambassador Petersen, as the representative of the Chairman-in-Office, made a brief statement on the "Security Model Discussion in the OSCE from Budapest to Lisbon". After a historical review, he referred to the relevance for the Security Model of the regional dimension of the OSCE, with special emphasis on co-operation with the MPCs. He underlined the OSCE's particular ability - stemming from its comprehensive security concept and broad membership - to serve as a meeting-point and as a facilitator for exchanges of best practices between sub-regional organizations. He drew attention to the fact that the MPCs had expressed their adherence to the basic values underlying the OSCE, including respect for human rights, promotion of democracy and ensuring the rule of law, and recalled that these were the elements of the OSCE comprehensive concept of security which was also of primary importance to the work on the Security Model.

Ambassador Abela of Malta, in his presentation, discussed the "Dialogue between the OSCE and its Mediterranean partners for co-operation: Prospects and Challenges".

He pointed out the specific characteristics of the Mediterranean region, presenting some obstacles to a real common approach to Euro-Mediterranean security which included threats other than those of a traditional military nature: increasing economic disparity; the development of rampant terrorism; a social context scourged by fanaticism and xenophobia; the increasing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the southern basin; an alarming decrease in water resources.

He then identified possible forms of pragmatic co-operation in such areas as arms control and disarmament, combating terrorism, promoting cultural exchanges to overcome distorted images emerging from cultural differences, and disseminating the message of human rights in order to launch a concrete and useful dialogue between the OSCE and the Mediterranean partners for co-operation.

Further initiatives could include a non-binding mechanism of confidence- and securitybuilding measures (CSBMs), the implementation of Economic Dimension commitments regarding enhanced co-operation with the Mediterranean region, and the development of CSBMs relevant to the Human Dimension. He called for strengthened political co-operation between the Mediterranean countries and an extension to the MPCs of the facilities available to Japan, namely the possibility to attend meetings of the Permanent Council and the Forum for Security Co-operation.

In the discussion, it was underlined that the OSCE must get involved in those areas where it could contribute some added value as a standard-setting organization (civic society, human rights, the Vienna Document, the Code of Conduct, the market economy, protection of the environment).

The Middle East peace process was already being dealt with in several multilateral organizations, and the OSCE should therefore refrain from getting directly involved. Nevertheless, it could contribute by providing such conditions as to facilitate that process.

It was suggested that the MPCs should be supported in their efforts to develop transparency and confidence- and security-building measures among themselves. One delegate stressed the global character of certain important advances in security matters, namely treaties governing weapons of mass destruction like the NPT and the CWC and called the audience's attention to the proposed treaty banning anti-personnel landmines which is to be signed in Ottawa in December.

#### Session 1

## "Comprehensive Security: Risks and Challenges, Implications for the Mediterranean Basin"

#### Report by Mr. François La Rochelle

During the session, the various presentations and the discussion that followed, while touching upon some of the challenges and specificities of the Mediterranean Basin, concentrated on areas in which the region might benefit from the work now taking place on the Security Model in Vienna and the OSCE's experience in arms control, CSBMs and its comprehensive approach to security, including economic security. Various suggestions were made for improving co-operation between the OSCE and the Mediterranean partners for co-operation (MPCs).

Although work on the OSCE Security Model is still in progress, some of its basis principles and the possible consequences for the Mediterranean Basin were reviewed in the context of a comprehensive and common security approach.

With the premise that the future of Europe and the Mediterranean were linked, one speaker expressed the view that the model would certainly contain some formulae that could be effectively used to turn the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and stability. In the military and political field, some of these principles were already included in the Code of Conduct on politico-military aspects of security.

In the field of arms control, the OSCE had a unique experience that could be highly useful for the region. The benefits, intended and unintended, resulting from the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE Treaty) (although that was not an OSCE instrument) were stressed. It was underlined that the foundation for political and military security in the OSCE was openness and transparency. The process of developing arms control measures and their implementation produced benefits that went beyond the mere text. Those measures possessed the virtue of dispelling distrust and creating a spirit of co-operation. A reference was made by a speaker to the work now being undertaken for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East.

The experience of the OSCE in efforts directed towards the eventual development of a CSBM regime specifically tailored to the region was also mentioned. Progress could also be made on the basis of what had already been accomplished in the Multilateral Working Group on Arms Control in the Middle East Peace Process. One participant noted that, for example, the Vienna Document had been prepared while Europe was still divided. Other examples such as the Open Skies Treaty and Annex 1B of the Dayton Agreement were also referred to.

One participant concluded that the OSCE should be more proactive in strengthening security and co-operation in the Mediterranean Basin and that it could promote CSBMs, the development of the arms control process, and the establishment of international control to ensure the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

One speaker underlined the need for stability in the Mediterranean region. He suggested that the organization of a regional round table under the auspices of the OSCE could provide a forum for the discussion of that subject. Special provision could also be made for regular meetings addressing Mediterranean-related issues in the OSCE Permanent Council with the participation of representatives from the region.

Peace-building, preventive diplomacy and conflict settlement were other domains in which the OSCE had expertise.

The OSCE comprehensive approach to security was a distinct feature of the organization, and it included an economic security component. This had been addressed in more detail during the OSCE Economic Forum in Prague in March 1996. The main elements were described during the session. They reflected the high degree of economic integration and interdependence among countries with a market economy in Europe.

The same speaker noted that the economic situation in Mediterranean countries was in some respects different from that in Europe but nevertheless expressed his conviction that the experience gained in the OSCE countries could be useful to the Mediterranean partners for cooperation. Particular reference was also made to the partnership relations between the European Union (EU) and the Mediterranean under the Barcelona Process.

Ecological interaction between countries in the region and the need to develop a constructive adjustment of humanitarian and social models with the overriding goal of strengthening human rights and fundamental freedoms were referred to.

A speaker emphasized the specific situation of the region. To compare its present state with that existing in Europe at the time of the launching of the CSCE was a perilous exercise, since some notions did not apply. In its relationship with the Mediterranean partners for cooperation the OSCE should not be limited by a geographical definition of the region. Mediterranean partners for co-operation might be affected by situations in other parts of the world such as Africa or the Gulf.

Another speaker noted that the CSCE process had been the culmination of changes in Europe not only in the military field but also in the social, political and economic fields. Structural changes in Europe had been triggered by important events. Although Europe was not a homogeneous continent, that had not prevented the creation of the OSCE. The necessary ingredient was not homogeneity but common adherence to OSCE principles.

Various speakers stressed the importance of finding concrete ways and means to improve co-operation between the OSCE and the Mediterranean partners for co-operation. Another participant emphasized that the implementation of OSCE commitments was of primary importance and should be taken into account in the development of the Security Model.

## Session 2

## "Comprehensive Security: Risks and Challenges" (continuation of discussion)

## Report by Mr. Michael Klepsch

Due to organizational changes made in the Seminar, the original schedule for presentations was departed from and the following presentations were offered in the course of Session 2:

- "The OSCE and the Scourges of Terrorism, Organized Crime, Drug and Arms Trafficking" by Mr. Ecvet Tezcan, Turkey
- Stability Building in the Region" by Mr. Abdul Monem Said Aly, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Cairo
- Risk Perception in the Mediterranean" by Professor Victor-Yves Ghebali, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva
- From Confidence Building to Common Approaches" by Mr. Hanan Bar-On, Israel

The presentations and subsequent interventions covered a wide range of aspects, reaching far beyond the "risk and challenge" discussions of the OSCE Security Model exercise, *inter alia*:

- analysis of the current state and deficiencies of the Middle East peace process and its bearing on the stability of the whole Mediterranean basin, with a discussion of the concept of gradualism versus the need for priority completion of the peace process on the basis of the formula "land for peace"
- reference, *inter alia*, to the question whether there may be a "clash of cultures" in the Mediterranean
- reference to the Parliamentary Conference on Sub-Regional Co-operation to be held in Monaco from 7 to 10 October 1997.

In view of their relevance to the "risk and challenge" discussion in the framework of the OSCE Security Model exercise and the involvement of the Mediterranean partners for co-operation (MPCs), the following considerations deserve to be highlighted, without any attempt to give a complete picture of all the ideas put forward:

- The inclusion of a relevant chapter on Mediterranean security in the evolving Charter on European Security would offer the OSCE the chance to form the nucleus of a true "pan-European security identity".
- The great challenges the States of the Southern Mediterranean region are facing are (a) to continue the peace process in the Middle East and

- (b) to find their way to co-operation between and eventually integration of the nation States.
- It is necessary to be aware of the specific challenges to security in the Mediterranean basin and to include them in the list of risks identified so far in the course of the Security Model discussion.
- In spite of partly differing risk perceptions prevailing on the northern and the southern shores of the Mediterranean, it was commonly felt that the risk of a military confrontation was becoming relatively less. Instead, such factors as the demographic explosion, economic stagnation and growing social tensions, religious fundamentalism and cultural, religious and political misperceptions appear to be becoming more threatening.
- Terrorism in all its varieties, whether based on political, ethnic, separatist or religious goals is the most frightening manifestation of these risks.
- Reference was made to how terrorism was becoming increasingly linked to organized crime and drug smuggling, and how it was becoming ever more professional and more lethal in its attacks, with recourse to weapons of mass destruction not to be excluded. The destabilizing effects of terrorism on democracy and normal civil life and the high loss of life resulting from terrorist acts were reiterated. Closer international co-operation and co-ordination in the fight against terrorists, *inter alia*, via extended data exchange, was called for.

Considerable attention was paid to the responses to be given to the identified risks and the possible contributions to be made by the OSCE as well as other organizations, in particular the EU.

Consensus on the concept of a gradual approach with regard to the question of how to tackle the challenges seemed to develop during the session.

With regard to the OSCE, the following suggestions, *inter alia*, were presented by the various speakers:

- The OSCE could make a contribution to external political stabilization in the region by putting its multifaceted security expertise at the disposal of the MPCs, particularly in the field of arms control and confidence-building. The MPCs could start with basic first steps such as meetings of media commentators on security issues and conferences of scientists, seminars on military doctrines, and the creation of a military defence college. The experience gained in the field of CSBMs at the ACRS meetings of the Multilateral Peace Process should be made use of.
- The OSCE could offer the MPCs its expertise in internal stabilization, *inter alia*, in the field of elections and the development of legal systems. In this context the Informal Contact Group could discuss a priority list of measures tailor-made for the specific needs of individual MPCs.
- The OSCE should consider how to offer the MPCs closer integration in the OSCE structures, *inter alia*, increased access to its meetings.

- The need for closer co-ordination between the Barcelona Process on the one hand and EU and OSCE co-operation with the MPCs on the other hand was emphasized.

#### Session 3

#### "OSCE Responses"

ENGLISH Original: FRENCH

Report by Mr. Yves Delaunay

The first presentation at this session on "Early Warning and Conflict Prevention: OSCE Field Operations" described the field missions, which constitute the main component of the activities of the OSCE - the only Organization, along with the Security Council, that has the power to legally authorize such operations. At the moment, 18 operations were in progress, nine of them field operations. The characteristics of these missions were: their co-operative character, in agreement with the countries concerned; the absence of limitations on contacts and movement within the area; the possibility of opening offices; the variety of mandates, focusing on precise issues (Estonia) or broader questions (for example, military observation). The missions were also temporary and had no permanent staff.

In the presentation on "Human Rights, Democratic Institution Building and the Rule of Law as an Aspect of Security", attention was drawn to the relevance of human rights and fundamental freedoms to any comprehensive security model. In the context of the Security Model for the Twenty-First Century, two sectors where progress was needed could be identified: the media and involuntary movements of population. At the operational level, the main task of the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) related to elections, in the context either of preventing conflicts or of resolving conflicts (as in the case of Albania). Election monitoring could include an active role for the United Nations. The ODIHR also had a technical assistance capability which, although limited, enabled it to respond rapidly to challenges. Lastly, the ODIHR was seeking to promote the idea of a national authority for the human dimension, through the institution of mediators.

In the presentation on "Strengthening Security Co-operation with Other Organizations", stress was laid on the need for co-ordination among the various existing institutions, each one having its contribution to make, within its particular field, to dealing with the various threats to security. Such co-ordination existed both "upstream", at the level of the policy-making organs, and in the field during each phase of a conflict, as was shown by the recent examples of Albania and the operations in the former Yugoslavia, Georgia and Tajikistan. Particular mention should be made of the institutional links existing with the United Nations, brought to the fore at the Lisbon Summit, and with the Council of Europe. In view of the specific nature of the OSCE, whose field of action was Europe, the present model could not be simply transposed to the Mediterranean. In some cases, however, that region could usefully follow the example of the OSCE; for instance, a co-operative security forum could play an essential role in narrowing the gap between States with diverging security perceptions.

In the presentation on "Fair Treatment of Minorities as a Factor in Abating Ethnic Tensions and Preventing Aggressive Nationalism", the speaker noted that minority problems differed in nature from case to case. The role of the High Commissioner on National Minorities consisted essentially in preventing conflicts arising out of minority problems, through on-the-spot contacts in the field and the drawing up of recommendations for Governments. The idea of preserving ethnic homogeneity was at the basis of many conflicts, both the State and the minority in question each being considered a threat to the other. The historical roots of conflicts should be carefully studied so that parties to a conflict might be persuaded to co-operate for the common good. In that connection, economic development, the establishment of the rule of law and the strengthening of democratic institutions made it possible to avoid recourse to more risky solutions for the State and for the minority in question.

During the discussion that followed, one participant expressed concern regarding certain measures adopted in the region in the name of security and regarding the spread of unjustified violence. Unacceptable international commitments should not be entered into on the question of Jerusalem.

One participant gave information on international conventions in the area of the environment and indicated the readiness of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe to co-operate.

One participant drew attention to the co-operation existing between the OSCE and the Council of Europe. In such co-operation, the comparative advantages of each of the two Organizations should be respected.

One participant stressed the role of the League of Arab States in the Mediterranean region and invited the OSCE to make available to the region its know-how in the fields of conflict prevention and arms control.

One participant indicated that NATO, in its training establishments, offered training courses on peacekeeping and disarmament that were open to the Mediterranean partner countries.

One participant emphasized the new problem represented by migrants in Europe who, unlike members of national minorities, did not enjoy citizenship.

## Session 4

## "Through a Concerted Effort to a Safer World"

## Report by Professor Giuseppe Nesi

As regards the relationship between OSCE and the Mediterranean partners for co-operation (MPCs) in the field of security, one of the original dilemmas of the CSCE/OSCE - namely, decided whether a safer world can be achieved through closer co-operation between OSCE participating States and MPCs or through setting up similar processes in the Mediterranean Basin - seems to be still unresolved.

The reality indicates that both Europe and the Mediterranean region face conflicts which need to be solved bearing in mind one of the main achievements of the OSCE: the concept of indivisible security. Thus, in order to have a safer world, both the participating States and the MPCs should not confine themselves to considering military threats; stability, security and peace are closely linked to economic, social and cultural elements.

The OSCE shapes the concepts of co-operative security based on democracy, respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law, the market economy and social justice.

The institutionalization of the OSCE process and the creation of mechanisms are aimed at developing conflict prevention, crisis management and conflict resolution.

Although results have been achieved recently, one of the tasks of the debate on the Security Model is that of improving and adapting the existing institutions and mechanisms in order to face the new challenges to security. In this context, according to the Lisbon Document, a prominent role should be assigned to regional initiatives dealing with regional security processes, arms control, co-operation and complementarity among European and transatlantic organizations and institutions; the Mediterranean area deserves specific attention.

Although there is no direct link between the OSCE and the Barcelona Process, it was observed that a bridge between the two mechanisms could be desirable. In addition, the Stability Pact could be seen as a model for future regional co-operation initiatives, including initiatives in the Mediterranean.

In order to fully exploit the positive experience gained by the OSCE process in the European context and in order to adapt it to the Mediterranean region, it was emphasized that local specificities should be taken into account. In this connection, it was observed that the OSCE experience could not be transferred as such but could indicate methods of easing tension and creating the basis for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

However, the homogeneous development of the three fundamental pillars of OSCE activities (security, the economy and the human dimension) is a first step towards creating the best conditions for fully exploiting the OSCE experience. In this framework, all OSCE initiatives aimed at increasing confidence among States and among the people belonging to those States are obviously most welcome, also in the Mediterranean area. Nevertheless, it

was stressed that, according to the OSCE working method, in order to develop confidence-building measures it was necessary to follow a pragmatic approach on a step-by-step basis; the preliminary drafting of an agenda for fostering the dialogue between the OSCE and the MPCs should be considered.

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#### LIST OF DOCUMENTS DISTRIBUTED DURING THE SEMINAR<sup>(\*)</sup> V.

No.	Date	Institution/Author	Title	Language
97MED/001	03.09.1997	OSCE Secretariat	Draft Agenda and Organizational Modalities as of 29.08.97	English
97MED/002	03.09.1997	OSCE Secretariat	List of Participants as of 02.09.1997	English
97MED/003	03.09.1997	CIO, Ambassador K. Petersen	Opening Statement: From Budapest to Lisbon: Security Model Discussion in the OSCE	English
97MED/004	03.09.1997	Malta, Ambassador M. Abela	Dialogue between the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners for Co- operation: Prospects and Challenges	English
97MED/005 <sup>(**)</sup>	03.09.1997	USA, Col. John Albert	Political Military Security in the OSCE	English
97MED/006A	03.09.1997	Russian Federation, A. Meshkov	Through a Comprehensive Approach to a common and undivided Security Space	Russian
97MED/006B	"	"	"	English
97MED/007	03.09.1997	Luxembourg/EU C.D. von Schumann, Rep. of the EC	The Economic Component of Security	English
97MED/008	03.09.1997	Ukraine	Statement	English
97MED/009A	03.09.1997	Egypt, Amb. Fathi El Shazly	Opening Statement	Arabic
97MED/009B	"	"	"	English
97MED/010	04.09.1997	USA, Col. John Albert	Political Military Security in the OSCE	English
97MED/011	04.09.1997	Egypt, Abdel Monem Said Aly	Rethinking Peace and Stability in the Middle East	English
97MED/012	04.09.1997	Canada	Statement	English
97MED/013	04.09.1997	OSCE Secretariat	Revised Agenda for the two last days of the Seminar	English
97MED/014	04.09.1997	OSCE Secretariat, A. Androsov	Strengthening Security Co-operation with other Organizations	English
97MED/015	04.09.1997	USA, Sam W. Brown	Statement	English
97MED/016	04.09.1997	Israel, Amb. H. Bar-On	From Confidence Building to Common Approaches	English
97MED/017	04.09.1997	Switzerland, Amb. von Grünigen	Through a Concerted Effort to a Safer World	English
97MED/018	04.09.1997	Tunisia	MPC Expectations from the OSCE: A View from Tunisia	French
97MED/019	05.09.1997	OSCE Secretariat	List of Participants as of 5 September 1997	English
97MED/020	05.09.1997	Holy See, Msgr. Ivan Jurkovic	Statement	English
97MED/021	05.09.1997	Egypt, Amb. F. El Shazly	Concluding Remarks	English
97MED/022	05.09.1997	Romania, Mr. Stanescu	Statement: Le Pacte de Stabilité en Europe	French
97MED/023 <sup>(***)</sup>	22.09.1997	Prof. Victor-Yves Ghebali/Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva)	Risk Perception in the Mediterranean (statement)	English

(\*)

Documents are available on request from Documents Distribution. Only the revised version was distributed under the number 97MED/010. (\*\*)

(\*\*\*) The text of Mr. Ghebali's statement was made available after the Seminar.

## Seating Arrangement during the Seminar

