

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe

The Secretariat Section for External Co-operation



OSCE Mediterranean Seminar on "Confidence-Building Measures and Confidence- and Security-Building Measures: The OSCE Experience and its Relevance for the Mediterranean Region"

(Portorož, 30 and 31 October 2000)

Consolidated Summary

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I. General Information

1. VENUE

The Seminar was held from 30 to 31 October at the Grand Hotel Emona, Portorož, Slovenia.

2. PARTICIPATION

- 2.1 Thirty OSCE participating States took part in the Seminar.
- 2.2 Five Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Morocco) were represented. Japan, a Partner for Co-operation was also represented. Thailand, which since became a Partner for Co-operation, participated upon an invitation by the Chairperson-in-Office.
- 2.3 The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly was represented by its President, H.E. Mr. Adrian Severin.
- 2.4 From the international organizations and institutions, the following were represented: European Union/Barcelona Process; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Council of Europe, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Organization of African Unity, Organization of Islamic Conference, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the 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. Two NGOs were represented after having given prior notification.

3. TIMETABLE AND ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES

- 3.1 The Seminar began at 9.00 a.m. (opening ceremony) on 30 October 2000 and ended at 6.30 p.m. on 31 October 2000.
- 3.2 The Seminar was conducted in four sessions.
- 3.3 The opening session was chaired by H.E. Ambassador Dr. Franz Parak, Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office. The closing session was chaired by H.E. Ambassador Liviu Bota, Head of the Permanent Mission of Romania.
- 3.4 Each session had a moderator and rapporteur.
- 3.5 The working language was English. At the request of several participating States interpretation was provided from and into French.
- 3.6 Arrangements for press coverage were made.
- 3.7 Other rules of procedure and working methods of the OSCE were applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Seminar.
- 3.8 The seating arrangement is shown in the Annex.

4. AGENDA

Monday, 30 October 2000

Opening Ceremony – 25 Years of Co-operation with the Mediterranean Partners

Chair:	H.E. Ambassador Dr. Franz Parak, Representative of the C-i-O
9 a.m.	Opening address by H.E. Mr. Alojz Peterle, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia
	Statement by H.E. Ambassador Dr. Franz Parak, Representative of the C-i-O
	Statement by H.E. Ambassador Ján Kubiš, Secretary General of the OSCE
	Statement by H.E. Mr. Adrian Severin, President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly
	Keynote Statement by H.E. Prof. Guido de Marco, The President of Malta
Session 1:	OSCE's comprehensive approach to security: confidence-building measures (CBMs) and confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs)
Moderator:	H.E. Ambassador Mokhtar Reguieg, Embassy of Algeria
Rapporteur:	Mr. Antonio Moniz, First Secretary, Permanent Delegation of Portugal
	Keynote speakers:
10 a.m.	Success or failure? The history of CBMs/CSBMs within the Helsinki Process (1973-2000) – Dr. Adam Daniel Rotfeld, Director, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)
	Human dimension activities as confidence-building measures
	 Mr. Eric Rudenshiold, Head of the Democratization Section, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)
	 Mr. Abdellatif Saadi, Counsellor, Embassy of Morocco
	Economic dimension – Mr. Thomas L. Price, Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities
11.15 a.m.	Group photo session followed by coffee break
11.45 a.m.	Discussion
1 p.m.	Lunch-break

Session 2: OSCE's comprehensive approach to security: CBMs and CSBMs (continued)

- Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Ognen Maleski, Head of the Permanent Mission of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
- Rapporteur: Ms. Adriana Stanescu, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission of Romania

Keynote speakers:

3 p.m. Politico-military dimension of confidence building – Mr. Pierpaolo Tempesta, Adviser, Permanent Mission of Italy

Additional subregional measures within the OSCE area – H.E. Ambassador Ivan Naydenov, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Bulgaria

CBMs outside Europe

- Ms. Fatma Hussein, Deputy Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Security and Strategic Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt
- Mr. Alon Snir, Director, Regional Security Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel
- 4.15 p.m. Coffee break
- 4.30-6 p.m. Discussion
- 7.30 p.m. Buffet dinner hosted by the H.E. Mr Alojz Peterle, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia

Tuesday, 31 October 2000

Session 3: Mutually reinforcing institutions and their undertakings in the Mediterranean

- Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Kai Eide, Head of the Permanent Delegation of Norway
- Rapporteur: Ms. Beatrix Kania, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Germany

Keynote speakers:

10 a.m. European Union/Barcelona Process, as well as WEU - H.E. Ambassador Hervé Ladsous, Head of the Delegation of France/European Union

> Economic and Social Aspects of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership - H.E. Ambassador Ulrich D. Knueppel, Head of the Delegation of the European Commission to the International Organizations in Vienna

> NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue – Dr. Alberto Bin, Political Officer, Co-ordinator for NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue

> Parliamentary dimension – H.E. Mr. Adrian Severin, President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

The Council of Europe's Role in the Mediterranean – Mr. Max Gilbert, Administrator of the Confidence-building Measures Programme, Directorate General of Political Affairs, Council of Europe

- 11.15 a.m. Coffee break
- 11.45 a.m.- Discussion
- 1 p.m. Buffet lunch hosted by Director Andrei Androsov, Head of the Section for External Co-operation on behalf of H.E. Ambassador Ján Kubiš, Secretary General of the OSCE

Session 4: The Mediterranean experience with CBMs and the possible relevance of OSCE tools, instruments and mechanisms for the Mediterranean region

- Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Constantine Prevedourakis, Head of the Permanent Mission of Greece
- Rapporteur: Mr. Khaled Sarwat, First Secretary, Embassy of Egypt

Keynote speakers:

- 3 p.m. H.E. Ambassador Mokhtar Reguieg, Embassy of Algeria
 Mr. Jamal Al-Shamayleh, Chargé d'Affaires, Embassy of Jordan
 H.E. Ambassador João De Lima Pimentel, Head of the Permanent Delegation of Portugal
 Prof. Yves Ghebali, Geneva School for International Studies, Switzerland
- 4.15 p.m. Coffee break
- 4.45- Discussion
- 5.30 p.m.

Closing Session

Chairman: H.E. Ambassador Liviu Bota, Head of the Permanent Mission of Romania

5.30 p.m. Reports by the session rapporteurs

Concluding statement by H.E. Ambassador Roman Kirn, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia

Closing statement by H.E. Ambassador Liviu Bota, Head of the Permanent Mission of Romania

6.30 p.m. End of Seminar

II. Summaries by Rapporteurs

Opening Ceremony – 25 Years of Co-operation with the Mediterranean Partners

The opening ceremony was inaugurated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia who welcomed all, in particular, the Mediterranean Partners to Portorož. He stated that the seminar would be a step in the right direction concerning the further development of a very important OSCE tool, namely of confidence and security building measures, particularly between the Mediterranean Partners. The OSCE, he continued, had succeeded in adding value to a set of agreed measures. Confidence and security building measures had decreased the danger of armed conflicts and "wars by accident". An important achievement was the resulting "culture of transparency".

The Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office started by thanking the host country, Slovenia, for organizing the Mediterranean Seminar 2000, at very short notice, which clearly demonstrated the high value Slovenia attached to the Mediterranean Dimension of the OSCE. He underscored that at all times the OSCE had been a forum for dialogue and discussion for participating States as well as for our Partners, and hoped that this meeting would also fulfil this goal.

In recalling the OSCE concept of the comprehensive approach to security, he stated that the task of the OSCE was to obtain its goals by peaceful means and co-operation. Though this sometimes presented a long and bumpy road, there was no other way for the OSCE to take.

With reference to the implementation of proposals emerging from the OSCE Mediterranean dialogue, he stated that "we would welcome very much, if political leaders from Mediterranean Partners would visit and address the Permanent Council in Vienna more frequently which would considerably contribute to an increased dialogue and understanding". In addition to the forthcoming Ministerial Council meeting on 27 and 28 November 2000, he also made reference to the OSCE Ministerial Troika meeting with the Partners for Co-operation (to take place on 26 November 2000) – at Ministerial level – which would provide another opportunity for an indepth exchange of views on topics of common interest.

The Secretary General of the OSCE in referring to the Mediterranean Contact Group, said that "...one of the most important outcomes of (its) meetings and other joint activities with the Mediterranean Partners... is the fact that the OSCE does not only offer a platform complementing other processes relevant to our Mediterranean dimension of security and co-operation. It also provides an additional level of communication between the Mediterranean Partners themselves..."

The Charter for European Security adopted at the Istanbul Summit acknowledged the interdependence of security between the regions, and encouraged the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation to draw on our expertise in setting up structures and mechanisms in the Mediterranean for early warning, preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention. The intention was to keep this channel of communication mutually enriching – as we could indeed learn from each-others' experiences and responses to challenges. It was not a one-way road.

Many recommendations and proposals, including from the Workshop for Experts from the Mediterranean Partners organized last July by the Secretariat's External Co-operation Section, had been drawn up and circulated among all delegations. He expected to see their further development during the Seminar and the necessary follow-up process through the respective OSCE structures.

The President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly reiterated the importance of the interdependence between European and Mediterranean security. The OSCE was involved in a broad range of topics. It was possible to choose from them and work on issues that brought the Partners and the OSCE closer together, such as security and stability through transparency, through an integrative approach, and the development of civic societies. The strengthening of the Parliamentary dimension was also important, as well as the sustaining of a culture of dialogue. To this end, there was a role for the OSCE to play.

The President of Malta as keynote speaker commenced by stating that the Mediterranean both as concept and reality had confounded and exhaulted thinkers and strategists for centuries, and continued by highlighting the history of the OSCE Mediterranean dimension and the steps that had been taken in relations between the Partners and the OSCE over the last twenty-five years. Malta, he said, had no option but to serve as catalyst to a process of peace in the Mediterranean region and plea for a subsequent reduction of armed forces, for lessening of tension and for co-operation with neighbouring Mediterranean states.

He made reference to the abundance of existing proposals that have emerged within the OSCE Mediterranean relationship, which could embellish the Mediterranean dimension of the OSCE in no small measure. The Charter for European Security called upon the Permanent Council to examine issues and proposals that emerge from the deliberations of the Contact Group and the Mediterranean Seminars.

He added that in an age of globalization, it would be anachronistic to keep the doors of our essential co-operative security fora closed to our Mediterranean neighbours and deny them the possibility of contributing to enhance a common understanding of what security and stability could mean in a Euro-Mediterranean idiom.

Session 1

OSCE's comprehensive approach to security: confidence-building measures (CBMs) and confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs)

Report by Mr. António Moniz, Portugal

During this session, there were presentations by four key-note speakers which resulted in several interventions focusing on both the history of confidence-building measures (CBMs) and confidence and security-building measures (CSBMs) in Europe, as well as, human and economic dimension activities as confidence-building measures.

The moderator opened the session by recalling that the desire of establishing relations of confidence among States has been a long-term process. He stressed that the establishment of reciprocal confidence in Europe allowed for a "détente" in East-West relations and assessed the role that the Helsinki process has played in this regard. After highlighting the different challenges to peace in the Mediterranean region, he pointed out that the spirit of the Helsinki negotiators with regard to the establishment of co-operative security was based on the promotion of democratic freedoms and the principles of a market economy. Finally, he recalled that the OSCE could be regarded as a reference to the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation if the Organisation followed a pattern of co-operation in the strict respect of sovereignty and autonomy of political decisions.

The first presentation by the Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) comprehensively examined the background of CBMs/CSBMs in Europe. The speaker identified the different premises for the CBM dialogue as well as the five stages that could be distinguished in the history of CSBMs. Historically, these measures were regarded as a success story. In conditions of enmity and distrust, two politico-military groupings entangled in the complexities of the Cold War, managed to negotiate and agree on a regime that helped to overcome a lack of confidence in each other's intentions both on the military and political planes. With regard to the role and place of CSBMs in the post-cold war period, it was stressed that they seemed to be less conspicuous and useful in the face of new challenges and threats.

The speaker ended his presentation by assessing the relevance of the CBMs/CSBMs experience regarding non-European contexts, including the Mediterranean region. He suggested that the various attempts to place these measures in other politico-military contexts have borne mixed results. Each region has its own political, social, economic and military characteristics as well as specific mental/psychological peculiarities which should be taken into account when embarking on the road towards strengthening confidence among states. However, it was also stressed that both intuition and experience suggested that once states were ready to believe that the benefits of peaceful relations outweighed the costs of confrontation and conflict, there was a starting point for a confidence-building process and, in this context, some of the OSCE experience could be of relevance.

The second key-note speaker from the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) stressed that confidence-building is a key aspect of the activities of this institution.

The speaker referred to the manifold objectives of ODIHR's democratisation section which includes several aspects, such as the task of developing, educating and empowering civil societies in the OSCE region, the work to enhance the maturity and capacity of society in general, the enhancement of capacities and governmental compliance with OSCE human dimension commitments, the promotion and development of awareness regarding OSCE human rights commitments or the development of a comprehensive view of security among participating States, including the human dimension.

The third key-note speaker from Morocco delivered a useful overview of the activities and experience of his country in the field of confidence building measures both internally and internationally. He recalled his country's long-standing tradition regarding the protection of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities and human rights in general and a number of initiatives promoted by Morocco to enhance confidence-building at international level, particularly in the Middle East.

The last key-note speaker, the Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities, focused on how economic and environmental factors, under certain circumstances, could become a security-enhancing factor or a threat to security, depending on how they are handled. He stressed that we should not refer to confidence-building without mentioning the economic and environmental aspects and he provided participants with an overview of the activities of his Office in the last two years as well as planned future activities.

In the ensuing discussion, several participants recalled the historical aspects that led to the development of CBMs/CSBMs in Europe and how this experience could or could not be of relevance to other regions, including the Mediterranean basin. A distinction between CBMs and CSBMs was made, as well as the increasing attraction of these measures for other regions in the world. The relevance of the role of the CBMs/CSBMs at regional and sub-regional levels was also highlighted as well as the important contribution in this context that could be made by different international organisations (mutually reinforcing institutions).

One participant referred to important examples of non-compliance of existing CSBMs agreements and remembered that participating States had more difficulty in respecting these measures in a deteriorating security situation. It was also remarked that, in future, it would be necessary to reinforce the implementation of CSBMs, namely in areas like paramilitary forces.

Another participant recalled that the role and results of the 1997 OSCE Seminar on Regional Security could still be of relevance to the subject and discussions of the present Seminar.

One Mediterranean Partner for Co-operation recalled the need to promote a risk reduction strategy and underlined the importance of economic aspects in this regard as well as the possible contribution of the OSCE, despite the specific nature of the Organisation.

Another participant recalled that the new comprehensive approach to security could justify new types of strictly non-military CSBMs, the OSCE being the right forum to promote a debate and an exchange of views on this subject.

Session 2

OSCE's comprehensive approach to security: CBMs and CSBMs (continued)

Report by Mrs. Adriana Stănescu, Romania

The session continued the discussions on the comprehensive approach to security promoted by the OSCE, with a focus on the politico-military aspects.

As the first key-note speaker, a representative of Italy, introduced the OSCE experience in confidence building in the politico-military field by providing an overall view on the *aquis* in this field and by highlighting some potential problem areas.

As possible lessons learned from the history of OSCE, he mentioned that a convergence of interests made possible the agreement on a first set of CBMs in the Helsinki Final Act. Furthermore, while differentiating between the so-called "hard" and "soft" arms control, and between legally binding and politically binding agreements, he indicated that the preference for one or the other would depend on specific conditions and needs. The OSCE experience proved the value of CSBMs, as politically binding "soft" arms control agreements, not only for their intrinsic value but also in paving the way for "hard" arms control in Europe, in the form of the CFE Treaty.

The most recent achievements of the OSCE in the politico-military sphere were presented briefly. It was the speaker's expressed belief that with necessary adaptations, the measures developed by the OSCE could be used as a source of inspiration.

In concluding, he mentioned the importance of political will to implement the agreed measures in good faith, as the paramount condition for their success. As recent experience illustrated, this is particularly important in times of crises.

The second key-note speaker, the representative of Bulgaria, complemented the overview of OSCE-wide measures with an insight into the sphere of additional sub-regional measures in various forms. In his opinion, the recent spread and development of these regional measures is due to their ability to respond to specific needs.

The following key principles for the success of regional CSBMs were mentioned: the complementarity between OSCE and regional approaches, their voluntary nature, and their military significance and flexibility.

The speaker assumed that the very process of developing and concluding regional measures is part of building security through co-operation. He underscored that the current experience with regional CSBMs within the OSCE might be of relevance for the Mediterranean Partners.

The fourth and the third key-note speeches focused on the issue of CBMs in the Mediterranean, particularly in the Middle East: facilitating factors or conditions, principles for building confidence, and possible practical steps to be undertaken.

The representative of Egypt argued that the two "facilitators" that she regarded as the basis for the introduction of the concept of CBMs and CSBMs in the Final Act of 1975 (acceptance of the territorial *status quo* and the presence of the strategic East-West balance) are currently lacking in the Middle East where there is a clear strategic disequilibrium and non-recognition of the territorial *status quo*. Under such conditions, CBMs and CSBMs would be considered as a "means to stabilise, reinforce and impose an unaccepted *status quo*". Consequently, the current

deadlock in the Middle East peace process imposes the postponement of any engagement in such measures. She underlined that the OSCE should devote more attention to the progress of peace in the Middle East, recognising the influence of the Middle East peace process on Mediterranean regional security. She also pointed out that gradualism and comprehensiveness are significant features in the building of any security system.

The speaker further outlined a set of principles for the process of building confidence in the Middle East and the Mediterranean regions. In conclusion, she stressed that mutual understanding, co-operation and determination were needed to bring about a peaceful climate for the implementation of CBMs and CSBMs.

The representative of Israel addressed the issue from a different perspective. He favoured a larger perspective to CBMs that would overcome the usual view limited only to security and military aspects. He emphasised the importance of using CBMs in order to overcome psychological fears between the peoples. Moreover, he argued that CBMs should be discussed and implemented while tensions still exist as conflict resolution facilitators.

The speaker considered that the process of CBMs should start with modest measures between the like-minded parties in order to promote trust and co-operation, and thus facilitate approaching the more ambitious topics, including military CSBMs, at a later stage. Such modest measures could be in the field of education, humanitarian problems, natural and man- made disasters.

In the course of the subsequent discussions, several participants referred to other specific regional experiences with CBMs and CSBMs as possible sources of inspiration to the Mediterranean. In this context, several participants referred to the recent multinational initiatives in the naval field in the Black Sea while pointing to the possible use of increasing practical co-operation between navies in the Mediterranean.

One participant underlined the need for the regional initiatives to develop in full transparency towards the neighbours and to be coherent with wider efforts. He mentioned that in some cases the setting of a special framework and involvement of actors out of the region might be needed to encourage regional initiatives.

Some delegations referred to the Asian experience with CBMs and CSBMs. It was maintained that while in the Asian context there exists a wide variety of CBMs in the political, cultural, economic and educational fields, the OSCE may have developed better military CSBMs. The representative of Thailand offered a short presentation of the CBMs developed in the Asia-Pacific region in the framework of the ASEAN Regional Forum. One characteristic of such measures is their voluntary character, the lack of any constraints, in particular, in the military field.

The need to build CBMs in all dimensions was further reaffirmed by all speakers.

One representative underlined the need of continuing efforts to build trust and understanding of each other in the Mediterranean. He mentioned the relevance of the discussion of CBMs as a contribution to the wider efforts in the peace process.

A number of delegations pointed out the need for closer co-operation between the OSCE, involving the Mediterranean Partners, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in developing crisis prevention mechanisms within the OAU. The idea was embraced by the representative of the OAU, who proposed the establishment of a framework for co-operation between the two organisations that would allow dialogue on a large range of issues.

Session 3

"Mutually reinforcing institutions and their undertakings in the Mediterranean"

Report by Ms. Beatrix Kania, Germany

The session started with a presentation by the representative of France/European Union on the topic of the European Union's Barcelona Process. He explained the content of the three volets of the Barcelona process (the political and security, the economic and financial, as well as the social, cultural, and human chapters) which are all interdependent. The Barcelona Process, he said, did not take place in isolation, but had of course to be seen against the backdrop of the political situation in the region. Even in difficult situations, the Barcelona Process had always progressed, although it would only blossom and realize its full potential after peace had been established in the region. All the more, he pointed out, it was important to maintain an on-going dialogue even in difficult political times. He informed delegates about the preparation of the "Charter for Peace and Stability" under the Barcelona Process. The Presidency of the EU had just concluded a fact-finding mission through the capitals. He stressed that it was important to fight against misconceptions and prejudices that may still persist by aiming at even closer cooperation. In this context, he underlined that Europe was not trying to build an "economic fortress" and that closer co-operation among European partners also in the field of security and defense was not aimed against other countries. In addition, he stressed that close co-operation with Mediterranean partner countries would not stand in the way of other processes such as the enlargement of the European Union. The Mediterranean needed an active partnership. Together, countries would be better prepared to face the challenges of globalization.

In the next presentation, the representative of the European Commission focussed on the "Economic and Social Aspects of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership". He explained that the economic and social partnership aimed at creating an area of shared prosperity, in particular, through the progressive establishment of free trade between the EU and its partners, and among the partners themselves in view of the creation of a Euro-Mediterranean free trade area by 2010. The social, cultural and human partnership on the other hand aimed at improving mutual understanding among the peoples of the region and developing an active civil society. He stressed the importance of the Association Agreements also in this context, as the aim of the Euro-Mediterranean free trade cannot be realized until all of the agreements have become a reality. The EU, he said, also encouraged and assisted the establishment of free trade agreements between Mediterranean countries and regional co-operation in other fields such as water, energy etc. He encouraged all partners to become full members of the World Trade Organization (WTO). He regretted having to state that the MEDA programmes (the principal financial instrument of the European Union for the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership), which cover bilateral and regional co-operation, although having a good record of commitment, lack in implementation of the commitments made, the average rate of disbursement for bilateral programmes only reaching 26% of the amount committed. He also gave some information about programmes in the social, cultural and human field. He concluded that many obstacles still had to be removed in order to achieve the aim of the process.

In speaking on his organization's Mediterranean dialogue, the NATO representative pointed out that NATO was devoted to a comprehensive and global approach to security. It had moved away from the traditional concept of security and included also the socio-economic and environmental dimension in its concept of security. Security around the Mediterranean is indivisible and the area is now considered an area of challenges and co-operation, no longer NATO's Southern flank. This is why the organization launched its Mediterranean dialogue in 1995 which had to be

seen in line with its other initiatives such as Partnership for Peace (PfP), Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) and the Joint Permanent Council with Russia (JPC).

It was also important to dispel misconceptions that the Mediterranean countries might still have about NATO. The dialogue, which was therefore a CBM in itself, was based on five principles:

- 1. It has a progressive nature. Progress maybe slow, but it will progress both in substance and in participation.
- 2. It is non-discriminatory. Whatever is offered to one country, is offered to all others.
- 3. It is primarily bilateral, but does not exclude multilateral meetings.
- 4. The dialogue is primarily self-funded, exceptionally however, funding may be made available.
- 5. The NATO Mediterranean dialogue is complimentary to other initiatives.

The dialogue has two volets: It has a political dimension whose primary aim is to dispel misconceptions through political discussions and ad-hoc meetings, and it has a practical dimension. It offers an annual work programme which can be used in the form of a manual according to the interests of the partners. Co-operation is also offered in the field of information, Civil Emergency Planning (CEP) and the science programme. It also contains co-operation in the military field, e.g. training courses.

He said that, in future, the dialogue would continue to acquire substance although it was important not to proceed too fast. While focusing on NATO's comparative advantage, he explained, the organization was trying to progress in areas which were of particular interest to partners. Areas in which he thought the dialogue could be enriched were e.g. "Search and Rescue".

The President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly started his presentation on the "Parliamentary Dimension" of OSCE Mediterranean co-operation by pointing out that already, in 1975, in Helsinki, the need for co-operation with the Mediterranean partners was identified as a priority and had been repeatedly stated in subsequent OSCE documents. It also included a dialogue among parliamentarians, which took place in inter-parliamentarian fora, meetings, seminars and missions. The Parliamentary Assembly had always pledged to help the process of confidence-building, although at the end of Cold War, Mediterranean co-operation had been a little eclipsed from public attention by other political developments. He focussed on the issue of migration to illustrate the continuing importance of Parliamentarians was important not only in the political field, but also in the economic and cultural fields. Co-operation between Parliaments, in his view, also helped to bring together political and civil society and benefited the creation of a favourable environment which in turn facilitated finding solutions.

Finally, the representative of the Council of Europe spoke on his organization's role in the Mediterranean. He explained that the basic principles concerning the rule of law, democracy and human rights also guided the organization's relations with non-member States. With respect to co-operation with non-European Mediterranean countries, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe had been particularly active since the mid-80s. A series of conferences had been organized jointly by the Parliamentary Assembly and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of Europe. He also highlighted the importance of the Council's Center for Global Interdependence which had established a special "Transmed" programme that also offered CBMs in the field of intercultural and inter-religious dialogue. For the future, he said, four major courses of action for the Council of Europe could be envisaged:

- 1. The promotion of dialogue between Parliamentarians of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the Parliaments of non-European Mediterranean States.
- 2. The contribution to the implementation of the Barcelona declaration in specific fields within its field of competence: culture, education, human rights, migration and the fight against intolerance and racism.
- 3. Increased co-operation with countries of the Southern shore of the Mediterranean within the framework of the North-South Center.
- 4. Accession by non-European Mediterranean countries to Council of Europe conventions and Partial Agreements.

Subsequent interventions covered a wide range of aspects and focussed, *inter alia*, on the following points:

One delegate underlined the importance of co-operation in the different fora conducting a Mediterranean dialogue and said that it was sometimes an important experience to sit as the Mediterranean group opposite the EU.

Some delegations expressed their interest in the development of the WEU after its integration into the EU. One delegate regretted that the first basket of the Barcelona process was not as successful as the other two baskets and underlined the importance he attached to the conclusion of the Charter and that CBMs should be included in the Charter. He added that linking the Middle East Peace Process to Barcelona was a great error.

Another delegate expressed the view that the NATO dialogue was successful, because it was on a purely bilateral basis; and, also hoped that the WEU dialogue would not be incorporated into the Barcelona Process.

Several interventions focussed on the difficulties in the economic basket of the Barcelona Process and the issue of migration. It was expressed that the Association Agreements were biased in favour of the European Union. Other delegates mentioned that knowing how important these issues were to Mediterranean partners, they were also controversial among the European publics and, therefore, it was difficult to find solutions acceptable to all partners. One delegate also pointed out that migration was not a natural phenomenon, but closely related to economic development. To tackle the issue, a concerted effort by both the countries from which migrants come from and by those receiving the migrants was needed.

The idea expressed by one delegate that the international institutions focussing on co-operation with the Mediterranean should meet in Vienna to discuss these respective programmes and approaches received wide support.

One delegate stated that the abundance of international institutions was due to the fact that institutions were static, but international life was dynamic. Institutions lasted longer than the real situation and did not adapt quickly enough. He said that it was not realistic to impose a logical division of labour on existing institutions as decisions were not motivated by logic, but by interests of people working in the institutions.

It was pointed out that most questions had focussed on the Barcelona process and that, therefore, more creativity was required from the part of the OSCE for its Mediterranean co-operation programme and that the Organization should develop new initiatives.

Session 4

The Mediterranean experience with CBMs and the possible relevance of OSCE tools, instruments and mechanisms for the Mediterranean region.

Report by Khaled Sarwat, Egypt

The fourth session addressed a wide range of issues related to the Mediterranean experience with CBMs and the possible relevance of OSCE tools, instruments and mechanisms for the Mediterranean region.

The first keynote speaker, the representative of Algeria, stressed that the introduction of CSBMs in the Mediterranean is only possible in the existence of a balance in military capabilities, and when the situation does not involve territorial disputes. This was the situation when the Helsinki process started, but is not the case in the Middle East where on one hand there is a great imbalance in favour of one country, and, on the other, there are still occupied territories despite the international legality.

The speaker believed that the security concept is a global one and is deeply linked to the economic development. He stressed that further co-operation between the European countries and the Mediterranean ones is needed to reduce the economic gap with the aim of building a real partnership between both sides.

He added that CBMs and CSBMs that were successfully applied in Europe could be a source of inspiration for OAU. He urged the establishment of useful co-operation between OAU and OSCE in this regard.

The second keynote speaker, the representative of Jordan, pointed out that there is no alternative in the Middle East but to build the kind of stability that was achieved in the OSCE area.

He stressed that the dramatic incidents unfolding daily in the region emanate from the fact that there is no existing mechanism whereby the ethics of human responsibilities and obligations rule. He referred to the need to set up a regional mechanism leading to CBMs and CSBMs in the region. He supported the establishment of a conflict prevention centre, crisis management networks, applying CBMs, control of weapons not to mention economic and financial terms for market oriented reform, debt reduction, regional development banks, investment promotion and finally regional co-operation.

The third keynote speaker, the representative of Portugal, reminded participants that the effective co-operation of military units of some Mediterranean partners in UN missions has demonstrated the effectiveness of co-operation in a selective field of security. Moreover in the field of civil protection, ecology, maritime traffic, search and rescue at sea there were some steps that have been made.

He believed that the establishment of a conflict prevention centre – drawing on OSCE experience – would be an important tool to contend effectively against security challenges across the Mediterranean area. The centre's objectives should focus on the formulation of principles that should include those of the Barcelona Declaration and similar to the ones found in the Helsinki Final Act. He went even further to describe a later stage, i.e. after such a centre would be fully operational, to define a set of objectives that should be undertaken.

The fourth keynote speaker from the Geneva School for International Studies, speaking on behalf of the Swiss delegation, noted that modest politically significant CSBMs should be started

with in the Mediterranean while postponing for the time being the military significant ones. Some examples of the CSBMs that could be applied in the Mediterranean region are as follows:

- Those related to information and transparency like what is already suggested in the Barcelona process through the notification of the signature and ratification of international agreements related to arms control, disarmament and terrorism, so as to enlarge the information basis.
- Communication and contacts CSBMs by establishing a network for contact points on political and security issues, and by attributing the Mediterranean countries a special status with regard to EUROFOR and EUROMARFOR, in addition to the establishment of an emergency consultation mechanism.
- In the field of crisis management the establishment of an Euro-Med system for CSBM's prevention and management of natural disaster, which is already operating within the Barcelona Process. Also to possibly establish when the time is ripe a conflict prevention centre, and to associate the Mediterranean Partners to post conflict rehabilitation in the OSCE region.

The discussion that followed witnessed a lively exchange of views concerning the repercussions of the Peace Process and evolution of common efforts to develop CBMs taking advantage of the OSCE experience.

A Mediterranean Partner felt that the discussion was not primarily focused on CBMs but rather on setting conditions to build CBMs and CSBMs. It was of the view of starting with CBMs with the aim of ending rivalry, and perhaps at a later stage embarking on CSBMs.

Another Mediterranean Partner disagreed arguing that recent developments in the region are counterproductive to CBMs.

It was stated by a delegation that in periods of difficulty CBMs might be needed more than ever, and in times of crisis dialogue is necessary.

Another delegation proposed that the OSCE could consider organizing a comparable event to the ARF seminar held at the beginning of October in Helsinki, which included the simulation of a confidence and security building measure.

Yet another delegation recalled that the MPCs can second experts to OSCE missions, and further proposed to associate, if and when possible, representatives of MPCs to OSCE measures undertaken within the Vienna Document 1999.

Upon the request of a delegation, a representative of the OSCE Secretariat mentioned that the Secretariat had circulated a list on CBMs and CSBMs that are applied in the OSCE region to serve as a "food for thought" paper for the MPCs.

Closing Session

In his closing remarks, the representative of the Republic of Slovenia stated that the seminar had provided an open floor to learn and listen. He recalled that in 1997 in the same conference hall, an OSCE seminar had been held on the role of international organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Solidarity was a guiding principle; sharing responsibility was a rewarding approach and way towards success. In recalling what had been stated at the opening ceremony by the President of Malta, on whether the OSCE had done enough for the OSCE Mediterranean relations, he stated that this continued to be a challenge in our daily work. He offered four important approaches in working towards solving conflicts, namely, confidence, transparency, compliance, and ownership.

The Chairman of the Contact Group, the representative of Romania, stated that the OSCE community stood ready to respond to the requests formulated by the Mediterranean Partners corresponding to our common goals, and remained committed to the dialogue as a means of building bridges.

A key message of the seminar was the need to further develop our multifaceted dialogue with the Mediterranean Partners, while encouraging dialogue between them, and to creatively continue the search for appropriate forms of co-operation, in addition to the existing one. He stated that continuous dialogue against all odds was a must as revealed by the OSCE experience.

The Secretariat was tasked to prepare a list of suggestions and recommendations made during the Seminar to be submitted for the consideration of the Permanent Council. Before concluding, he thanked Slovenia, once more, for having hosted the Seminar.

III. List of Participants

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#	Date	Author	Title	Language
001	29 Oct.	OSCE Secretariat	Annotated Agenda	English
002	29 Oct.	OSCE Secretariat	Provisional List of Participants	English
003	30 Oct.	OSCE SG, Ambassador Ján Kubiš	Welcome Address	English
004	30 Oct.	SIPRI, Lachowski, Rotfeld	Success or Failure? The History of CBMs/CSBMs within the Helsinki process (1973-2000)	English
005	30 Oct	H.E. Prof. G. De Marco, President of Malta	Keynote address, Opening Ceremony	English
006	30 Oct	H.E. Ambassador Dr. Franz Parak Special Adviser to the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office	Opening address	English
007	30 Oct.	Ambassador Fatma Hussein, Egypt	Confidence-Building Measures Outside Europe	English
008		Cancelled		
009	31 Oct	European Commission, Ambassador Ulrich D. Knüppel, Head of the Delegation in Vienna	Keynote address European Union/Barcelona Process/Economic and social aspects	English
010	31 Oct	H.E. Alojz Peterle, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia	Opening Address	English
011	31 Oct	Prof. Yves Ghebali	OSCE Yearbook 2000 (forthcoming) the Contribution of the Istanbul Document 1999 to European Security and Co- operation	English
012	31 Oct	Mr. Pierpaolo Tempesta, Italy	Keynote speech	English
013	31 Oct	Dr. Alberto Bin, NATO	NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue	English
014	31 Oct	Mr. Alon Snir, Director of Regional Security Division in the Israel MFA	CBM's in the Middle East – Another Perspective	English
015	31 Oct	Mr. Adrian Severin, President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly	Mutually Reinforcing Institutions and their Undertakings in the Mediterranean: The Parliamentary Dimension	English
016	31 Oct	Council of Europe	Confidence-Building Measures Programme, Projects approved in 2000	English
017	31 Oct	Council of Europe	Description of the programme	English
018	31 Oct	Adam Daniel Rotfeld, SIPRI	The OSCE role in co-operation with NATO and EU in Southeastern Europe	English
019	31 Oct	Ambassador João de Lima Pimentel, Portugal	Key-note speech	English
020	Made available after the Seminar	Mr. Jamal Al-Shamayleh Chargé d'Affaires, Jordan	OSCE's Comprehensive Approach to Security: CBMs and CSBMs	English
021	Made available after the Seminar	Ambassador Liviu Aurelian Bota, Chairman of the Contact Group with the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation	Closing Remarks	English
022	Made available after the Seminar	Ambassador V. Ohrysko, Ukraine	Contribution to the discussion under Session 2	English

IV. List of Documents distributed during the Seminar

V. Seating Arrangement

Albania Germany United States of America Austria/OSCE Chairperson-in-Office Bosnia and Herzegovina Bulgaria Canada Cyprus Croatia Spain Finland France/European Union European Commission United Kingdom Greece Hungary Italy The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Malta Norway Netherlands Poland Portugal

OSCE Secretariat Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights NGOs and Scientific Institutions Commonwealth of Independent States European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Organization of Islamic Conference Organization of African Unity North Atlantic Treaty Organization Council of Europe United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Ukraine Turkey Switzerland Sweden Slovenia Holy See Russian Federation Romania

Algeria Egypt Israel Jordan Morocco Japan Thailand

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