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Office of the Secretary General
Section for External Co-operation

**2004 Mediterranean Seminar on
Addressing Threats to Security in the Twenty-first Century:
Interaction between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners
for Co-operation**

Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt, on 18 and 19 November 2004

Consolidated Summary

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1 General information

1.1 Venue

The Seminar was held from 18 to 19 November 2004 at the “Egypt Hall” of the Hotel Savoy in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt.

1.2 Participation^{*)}

- 1.2.1 Thirty-seven OSCE participating States took part in the Seminar.
- 1.2.2 All six Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia) were represented, as well as two Partners for Co-operation (Korea and Thailand).
- 1.2.3 The OSCE Secretariat and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) were represented.
- 1.2.4 The following international organizations and institutions were represented: International Committee of the Red Cross, International Organization for Migration, League of Arab States, Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, Organization of the Islamic Conference, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- 1.2.5 Representatives of non-governmental organizations were able to attend and contribute to the Seminar in accordance with the relevant OSCE provisions and practices.
- 1.2.6 Representatives of academic and other institutions participated.

1.3 Timetable and Organizational Modalities

- 1.3.1 The Seminar began at 9.30 a.m. (opening ceremony) on 18 November 2004 and ended at 1.30 p.m. on 19 November 2004.
- 1.3.2 The Seminar was conducted in three sessions.
- 1.3.3 The opening session was chaired Ambassador Ivan Naydenov, Director of the OSCE Chairmanship Directorate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria. The closing session was chaired by Ambassador Janez Lenarčič, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the OSCE, Chairman of the Contact Group with the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation (MPCs).
- 1.3.4 Each session had a moderator and a rapporteur.
- 1.3.5 The working languages were English and French.
- 1.3.6 Arrangements were made for press coverage.
- 1.3.7 A seminar web page was installed on the OSCE web site:
<http://www.osce.org/events/conferences/2004mediterranean/>
- 1.3.8 Other rules of procedure and working methods of the OSCE were applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Seminar.
- 1.3.9 The seating arrangement is shown in the Annex.

^{*)} See chapter 6 - List of Participants

1.4 Agenda

Thursday, 18 November 2004

9.30 a.m. **Opening ceremony**

Chairperson: Ambassador Ivan Naydenov, Director of the OSCE Chairmanship Directorate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria

Opening address by Ambassador Sameh Shoukry, Assistant Foreign Minister, Chief of Cabinet, on behalf of Mr. Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Foreign Minister of Egypt

Statement by Dr. Solomon Passy, OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria

Statement by Mr. Andrej Logar, Secretary of State, Foreign Ministry of Slovenia

Statement by Ambassador Ján Kubiš, Secretary General of the OSCE

10.30 - 11 a.m. Coffee-break

11 a.m. **Session 1: Co-operative security — reducing risks and building confidence**

Moderator: Ambassador Dr. S. Muhammad Shaaban, Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Egypt

Rapporteur: Ms. Christine Ferguson, Deputy Head of Mission, UK Delegation to the OSCE

Keynote speakers: (10 minutes each)

Ambassador Margit Wästfelt, Head of the Permanent Mission of Austria to the OSCE – “Confidence- and Security-Building Measures for Partners: the Perspective of the Current Chair of the Forum for Security Co-operation”

Dr. Mohamed Kadry Said, Director, Military Unit, Al-Ahram Centre for Strategic and Political Studies, Egypt

Mr. Alvaro Vasconcelos, Director IEEI, Portugal

Ambassador (ret.) Craig Dunkerley, Distinguished Professor, Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, USA – "Confidence-Building amidst Current Regional Realities"

Discussion

Mr. Fuad Sabeta, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Mr. Brian Woo, Head, Action Against Terrorism Unit, OSCE Secretariat

Dr. Iskandar Ghattas, International Consultant for the Cairo Regional Office of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

3 p.m.

Session 2: Tolerance and non-discrimination: a way to mutual understanding and reinforcing positive attitudes

Moderator: Ambassador Jivan Tabibian, Head of the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia to the OSCE

Rapporteur: Ms. Anne Due, Deputy Head of the Permanent Delegation of Sweden to the OSCE

Keynote speakers: (10 minutes each)

Dr. Leila Takla, Chairperson, Foreign Relations Committee of the Egyptian National Council for Human Rights, and former Chairperson of the Parliamentary Foreign Relations Committee

Ambassador Dieter Boden, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany – "The Three OSCE Tolerance Conferences in 2004 – How to Follow-up"

4.15 p.m.

Coffee break

4.30–6 p.m.

Discussion

Ambassador André Janier, Ambassador-at-Large, in charge of the Euro-Mediterranean Process, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, France

Mr. Steven Wagenseil, Deputy Director, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

Friday, 19 November 2004

9.30 a.m.

Session 3: Migration — opportunities and challenges

Moderator: Ambassador Omar Zniber, Permanent Representative, Embassy of Morocco in Vienna

Rapporteur: Mr. Karel Vosskübler, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the OSCE

Keynote speakers: (10 minutes each)

Ambassador Taous Feroukhi, Ambassador of Algeria in Vienna

Ambassador George Doublesin, Head of the Delegation, Embassy of Malta in Cairo – 'Migration – Opportunities and Challenges – A View from Malta'

Ambassador Moustapha Abd El-Aziz, Director of the Egyptian Consultative Centre for Migration Studies

Mr. Jérôme Bellion-Jourdan, Expert, European Commission

Discussion

Mr. Charles Harns, Head, Technical Co-operation, International Organization for Migration

11 –11.30 a.m. Coffee break

11.30 a.m. **Concluding session**

Chairperson: Ambassador Janez Lenarčič, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the OSCE

Reports by session rapporteurs

Discussion on enhancing co-operation between the OSCE and the MPCs, and among the MPCs themselves.

Concluding statement by Ambassador Dr. S. Muhammad Shaaban, Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Egypt

Concluding remarks by Ambassador Janez Lenarčič, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the OSCE

1.30 p.m. Closing of Seminar

2 Summary of the opening ceremony

Report by Ms. Elizabeth Abela, Senior External Co-operation Officer, OSCE Secretariat

The opening session of the 2004 Mediterranean Seminar, chaired by Ambassador Ivan Naydenov, Director of the OSCE Chairmanship Directorate in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgaria, was addressed by four distinguished high-level representatives. They voiced the importance of the OSCE Mediterranean dimension and the increasing interaction between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation, in particular against the backdrop of current global threats and challenges to security. They set the tone of the Seminar by stressing the need to address those threats jointly and based on reciprocity.

The Seminar was opened by Ambassador Sameh Shoukry, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, *Chef de Cabinet*, on behalf of H.E. Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Foreign Minister of Egypt. His country was pleased to host the seminar for the third time. The fact that it was doing so underscored the close link between Mediterranean and European security. Over the years, Egypt had sought to strengthen dialogue, to contribute to various OSCE activities and to benefit from the OSCE's experience.

In speaking on the increase in security threats, he stated that, apart from being military in nature, threats included terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, non-resolution of regional conflicts, increasing hatred, risks of illegal emigration, growing economic disparities and environmental degradation. The most serious threat to security was 'the narrow international prism' through which the region was observed, as it was looked upon as a source of threats and tensions.

There was a need for the economic, social and political development of societies, and a need also to achieve just political solutions for the major problems which had beset the region for several decades. The Palestinian question remained the core of conflict in the Middle East, and required a just and lasting solution. The international community should actively support the elections in Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem, which had been scheduled by the Palestinian Authority for 9 January 2005. The restoration of stability in Iraq was another challenge, and in that context, he recalled the Conference on Iraq that was to take place a week later in Sharm El Sheikh. On the issue of tolerance, he stated that spreading tolerance depended on respecting the 'other', the individual, the human being, irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender, colour or religion in accordance with the unanimity of the international community as reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Chairman-in-Office, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Passy, welcomed the generous offer of Egypt to host the Seminar. He said that the OSCE was happy to share its considerable experience in confidence-building and in fostering tolerance and non-discrimination with the Mediterranean countries as a contribution to building a just and lasting peace in the region. He went on to say that international terrorism posed the most serious threat to international peace and security. He strongly believed that there was a deep generic connection between three of the major security challenges, namely, international terrorism, the Middle East problem and the situation in Iraq. All three needed to be addressed together and in an in-depth manner. The Chairman-in-Office underscored that the principles of non-violence, tolerance, mutual understanding, respect and positive attitudes had constituted the moral pillars of human civilization since ancient times and that the OSCE kept those firmly on its agenda. He expressed appreciation for the outstanding achievements at the human dimension

conferences in Berlin, Paris and Brussels and at the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in Warsaw this year. With reference to the Mediterranean dialogue, he welcomed the increased involvement, reflected, for example, by the attendance of Permanent Council meetings by the Mediterranean Partners, and their significant input to overall OSCE activities in 2004, as well as new forms of interaction. The OSCE should keep the door open for new Mediterranean Partners; the partnership could not be regarded as complete unless it encompassed a number of South Mediterranean States, he said.

Mr. Andrej Logar, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia, representing the incoming Chairmanship, and the current Chairmanship of the Mediterranean Contact Group, stated that sharing experiences with the Mediterranean Partners allowed for greater common understanding and enhanced the possibilities for practical co-operation. He emphasized that his country's approach to joint activities with the Partners had been based on the belief that openness and dialogue provided a significant basis for mutually enriching exchange and a forward-looking partnership. On the question of migration, he stated that it was a growing challenge for the OSCE as well as for the Mediterranean area. The OSCE could contribute to a more positive perception of migration flows and assist in setting up solidarity instruments in the areas of migration by supporting a proactive approach to the integration of immigrants in countries of destination. In May 2005, the OSCE Economic Forum would discuss "Demographic Trends, Migration and Integrating Persons Belonging to National Minorities: Ensuring Security and Sustainable Development in the OSCE Area". That topic was of equal concern both to the east and to the west of Vienna, the seat of the OSCE, and insofar as migration flows, in part, stemmed from the Mediterranean region, the topic was also of direct relevance to the OSCE dialogue with the Mediterranean Partners.

The Secretary General of the OSCE, Ambassador Ján Kubiš, thanked the Government of Egypt for hosting the Seminar and for the warm welcome to Sharm El Sheikh, a city that had become synonymous with negotiations on peace and security in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Meeting in a Mediterranean Partner State for the second consecutive year, following the meeting in Aqaba, Jordan, in 2003, was 'not only a manifestation of a strong commitment of the Partners to our co-operation but a confirmation that, in principle, we have the same attitude concerning a number of issues of security, and that we share commitments to the values and principles of democracy'. He stressed that the multifaceted and cross-dimensional nature of threats prompted the OSCE to work closer with the Mediterranean Partners. Any work on a way forward must take into consideration the needs and aspirations of the Mediterranean Partners and, indeed, was already doing so. The reciprocity in the co-operation was valued, as it was only in working together that ways could be found to solve challenges together and to contribute to peace and security. He also stated that consideration should be given to broader involvement in the dialogue by a wide range of academic experts, the media and representatives of civil society and NGOs, at least from the host country and, better still, from the Mediterranean Partners as well as from the OSCE participating States.

3 Reports by session rapporteurs

3.1 Session One: Co-operative security — reducing risks and building confidence

Report by Ms. Christine Ferguson, Deputy Head of Mission, UK Delegation to the OSCE

The first session, on co-operative security – reducing risks and building confidence, was moderated by Ambassador Shaaban of Egypt, who highlighted the importance of a comprehensive approach to security and the need for an integrated concept of it in the Mediterranean region, as well as the necessity for the West to refrain from regarding the South as a main source of risks and threats.

The first keynote speaker, Ambassador Wästfelt of Austria, focused on ways and means for the Mediterranean Partners to draw on the OSCE's expertise and experience of confidence- and security-building measures (CSBMs), stressing the importance of mutually shared transparency and trust. Firstly, the OSCE could provide a neutral forum for Mediterranean countries to discuss common security issues. Secondly, its historical experience, particularly from the early days of the CSCE, could offer valuable lessons. Possible ways forward could be grouped under two headings. The first one could be direct interaction of the Partners with the OSCE. That might involve more frequent participation in meetings of the Forum for Security Co-operation (FSC) as well as FSC-related conferences, invitations to Partners to attend events in OSCE countries concerning CSBMs or chapter IV activities, development of channels of communication between military establishments and representatives, and possibly a widening of the circle of Mediterranean Partners. The second heading concerned regional CSBMs and structures such as a Mediterranean conflict prevention centre or a regional code of conduct. A key point was to find concrete answers to concrete problems, taking account the specific nature of both the problem and the region. That required a long-term engagement in the process.

The second keynote speaker was Dr. Kadry Said from the Al-Ahram Centre for Strategic and Political Studies in Egypt. He described a series of negative developments regarding the Middle East, with unilateral policies replacing co-operative strategies. However, unilateral action could not prevent proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) or address terrorism or non-State actors effectively. The concept of co-operative security needed to be redefined to allow for more timely, decisive and effective action and to deal with "soft" threats such as poverty, disease and environmental degradation as well as the "hard" threats such as terrorism and WMD. Dr. Kadry Said made the case for a permanent security forum in the region, as well as for efforts to establish a Middle East zone free of all WMD. Finally, he highlighted the gradual realization that regional conflicts had to be addressed in order to deal with terrorism, which in turn represented a threat to everyone.

The third keynote speaker, Mr. Vasconcelos from the IEEI in Portugal, drew on the experience of the Barcelona Process, which demonstrated the value of a comprehensive approach based on inclusion, democracy, economic and social development and acceptance of diversity. The Mediterranean was at the centre of the international debate, and there were numerous new initiatives, but the question was how complementarity and coherence could be assured. A "back to the future" approach was required, in the form of a return to the multilateral era – a Barcelona plus, involving reinforcement rather than expansion of the process. Key objectives included: securing ownership of the process by the South;

guaranteeing political reforms, including integration of the broad range of political forces; integrating the fight against terrorism with respect for justice; tackling migration separately from security questions; increasing transparency and developing concrete measures for co-operation e.g., regarding civil protection and landmines. In order to achieve an inclusive approach, the political crisis also had to be dealt with.

The fourth keynote speaker was Ambassador Craig Dunkerley, Distinguished Professor, Near East South Asia Centre for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, United States, who spoke in a personal capacity on the question of confidence-building amidst current regional realities. Noting that there was no lack of good substantive ideas, he highlighted the fundamental challenge of overcoming political perceptions of a zero sum game. CSBMs alone were no substitute for genuine political solutions, but the OSCE and Mediterranean Partners group could help bring about meaningful interim steps of a modest but concrete nature. That might include tangible support for a conflict prevention centre in the region, if the Partners wanted to move ahead with such an initiative. Other steps could include financial support for unofficial and inclusive dialogue on security issues, so-called Track II activities, involving academics, officials and military personnel from across the region.

Key points in the discussion

The first participant in the discussion referred to the experience of south-east Europe, which was not homogenous and had suffered great turmoil, but where a new spirit of understanding and co-operation had now developed.

The second participant in the discussion, Brian Woo, Head of the Action Against Terrorism Unit, OSCE Secretariat, highlighted the strong consensus within the OSCE on combating terrorism, which posed a threat to all. He noted, *inter alia*, that there had been six times as many suicide bombings in the period 2000 – 2003 as in the 1990s as a whole. He also cited examples of cross-border co-operation, which was shrinking the area where terrorists could hide.

The third participant in the discussion, Iskandar Ghattas, International Consultant for the Cairo Regional Office of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) stressed the importance of juridical and legal aspects for sustainable peace and development and highlighted the experience of the UNODC in promoting international co-operation against crime, terrorism and corruption. The importance was stressed of creating a training centre in order to promote ratification and implementation of international conventions on transnational crime and terrorism.

Several participants stressed the importance of a comprehensive and co-operative approach to security, some noting that security was indivisible.

Some advocated a permanent security forum in the region. It was suggested that the OSCE could play an important role, including through financial support.

Others stressed the importance of practical results. The need for political will to come from within the region was also highlighted.

Mediterranean Partners were encouraged to draw on the OSCE's experience in setting up structures and mechanisms for early warning, preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention. Anti-terrorism, human trafficking, policing and border security and management were suggested as areas of focus for concrete projects.

One speaker referred to the establishment within EUROMED of a working group to pursue dialogue on security issues and noted the importance of co-ordinating such efforts with others such as the OSCE and NATO. It was suggested that an OSCE observer might attend a forthcoming seminar at the European Institute for Security and that a joint EU, OSCE and Mediterranean Partners meeting on security and defence issues be organized in 2005.

One speaker highlighted the contribution of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Co-operation to peace, security and stability in the region through economic co-operation as well as by means of soft security measures, primarily aimed at combating organized crime and international terrorism.

One representative of a Mediterranean Partner noted the increased frequency in 2004 of contacts between the OSCE and Mediterranean Partners and suggested that that grouping could act as a bridge for better understanding within the region. It was suggested that Partners could consider enhancing their own contributions e.g., by rotating the chairmanship of the group. A proposal was made that written rules of procedure should be developed for the group which, it was noted, could serve as a CSBM per se.

One delegate referred to the situation in Cyprus where a just and lasting solution was also needed based on the norms and principles of international law. It was suggested that Cyprus could act as a bridge between the EU and the OSCE and their Mediterranean neighbours.

Another delegate advocated increased dialogue with the Mediterranean Partners in Vienna, expressing the view that the OSCE would not be a major player in a Middle East settlement, but could play a key role in developing democratic principles in the region.

Some participants stressed the need to tackle the root causes of terrorism, noting that military means alone could not prevail. The importance of not undermining democratic values, justice systems and human rights norms in the context of the fight against terrorism was also underlined.

One representative of a Mediterranean Partner highlighted new challenges in the region, such as demographic pressures, migration, environmental issues, smuggling, cross-border crime and terrorism and argued that more could be done regionally in the areas of border controls and judicial co-operation, including in the fight against money laundering and drug smuggling.

It was proposed that the OSCE should set up a working group to consider terms of reference for a structured discussion on migration, covering all three dimensions.

Another proposal was put forward for a mechanism to enable the Contact Group to address the Permanent Council.

OSCE participation in observation of the forthcoming Palestinian elections was also proposed as a good area for future co-operation.

A representative of an Asian Partner highlighted the OSCE-Korea Conference scheduled to be held in April 2005, as an opportunity to disseminate OSCE norms, principles and commitments in north-east Asia and to develop joint efforts to address emerging new threats.

Finally, several speakers called for a more interactive dialogue among participants, rather than reading of prepared texts. A proposal was made for background documents to be prepared in future in order to help focus the discussion.

3.2 Session Two: Tolerance and non-discrimination: a way to mutual understanding and reinforcing positive attitudes

Report by Ms. Anne Due, Deputy Head of the Permanent Delegation of Sweden to the OSCE

The session on "Tolerance and non-discrimination a way to mutual understanding and reinforcing positive attitudes" was moderated by Ambassador Jivan Tabibian, Head of the Delegation of the Republic of Armenia to the OSCE.

The Moderator described the purpose of the meeting as affording opportunity to identify what the OSCE could do, together with its partners, to promote tolerance and what participants could learn from each other in that respect. He stated that nobody had a monopoly on either tolerance or intolerance.

The first keynote speaker, Dr. Leila Tekla, Chairperson, Foreign Committee of the Egyptian National Council on Human Rights, focused on the importance of knowledge of different cultures and religions and pointed to the common denominators in the three religions Christianity, Islam and Judaism. She also pointed out that the concept of "knowing the other" was a prerequisite for successful co-operation. She spoke of the need for development, since deprived people could pose a threat to security. The empowerment of women was an investment in development since they were excellent agents for the dissemination of a culture of peace. She stressed that the notion of justice was also interlinked with peace and to consider both was the only way to sustainable security.

The second keynote speaker, Ambassador Dieter Boden, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE, spoke on how to follow up the three OSCE conferences on tolerance that had taken place in 2004.

Ambassador Boden stated that the follow-up was not an internal OSCE matter, but that the Mediterranean partners in dialogue with OSCE had a lot to contribute. The OSCE specifics in the dialogue could also make a contribution towards solving some problems in the Middle East. Unresolved problems related to intolerance, discrimination and xenophobia might give rise to a wider scale of violence. All forms of those phenomena must therefore be countered in an non-hierarchical holistic approach. The phenomena might, however, differ and therefore require special treatment.

To combat anti-Semitism was a priority. The Berlin conference had laid a solid foundation in that respect. The Brussels conference had also taken up discrimination against Muslims and there was agreement within the OSCE that that issue should be further dealt with as well. Decisions adopted at the Ministerial Council Meeting in Maastricht in 2003, as well as input from the three OSCE conferences in Berlin, Paris and Brussels provided for a comprehensive programme of actions aimed at translating words into deeds. Recommendations were agreed on, *inter alia*, regarding the following:

- The data required to establish strategies for combating the phenomena in question should be collected;
- National action plans on education should be developed aimed at educating pupils at the elementary and high school levels;

- Dialogue should be promoted in a number of fora in society in order to foster mutual respect;
- Co-operation should be promoted with other international fora such as ECRI, EC, UN-CERD, which were pillars in the fight against intolerance.

At the forthcoming Ministerial Council Meeting in Sofia a decision would be taken on appointing three representatives who would deal with issues regarding anti-Semitism, discrimination against Muslims and other forms of racial discrimination and xenophobia. A conference on the implementation of tolerance issues was planned to take place in Cordoba, Spain, in 2005.

The first participant in the discussion stated that the fight against intolerance and discrimination was an important component in the dialogue between the OSCE and its Mediterranean partners. The time was now ripe for translating the ideas raised at the earlier mentioned three conferences into concrete facts and actions.

He further pointed to findings at the most recent ministerial meeting within EUROMED, held in Paris in October 2004, showing how central the fight against religious discrimination in Europe was for the Mediterranean partners. The Northern partners understood that the time had come to adopt concrete measures in that respect. He further pointed to the decision to create a new institution, the Anna Lindh Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, which would work against intolerance and prejudice by organizing meetings among young people, journalists, researchers etc., and also by organizing cultural events.

The second participant in the discussion, Steven Wagenseil, Deputy Director, ODIHR, gave an overview of the ODIHR's activities in 2004 and activities planned for 2005 which, included providing support and assistance to participating States regarding:

- Drafting/review of legislation;
- Training of government officials;
- Strengthening of data collection mechanisms;
- Awareness-raising and educational activities;
- Use of the ODIHR's Advisory Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief.

He further mentioned the ongoing activities of the ODIHR in that field, e.g., supporting civil society, establishing networks of NGOs and supporting implementation of the OSCE Action Plan on Improving the Situation of Roma and Sinti. The ODIHR was also arranging or monitoring a series of meetings regarding tolerance issues and the Mediterranean Partners were most welcome to attend those meetings as well as to visit the ODIHR.

Several participants in the discussion reverted to the notion of knowing and accepting "the other" and "otherness". There was general agreement that that should be a basis for reflection. One participant stated that tolerance was not enough: respect was also needed. A question was raised as to whether there were no boundaries to tolerance and whether there might not be occasions when conflicts arose with regard to basic OSCE values, the question being whether it was possible to criticize without running the risk of being regarded as intolerant? Another participant pointed out, however, that there naturally were overriding

principles like the right to life and that the notion of tolerance should not be misused in connection with common crimes. Despite diversity, there were common values that must be respected.

One participant pointed to the fact that minorities often were the first to suffer from racial discrimination and xenophobia and that that needed particular attention. Statistics should be drawn up focusing specially on the fact that Muslims often were the very object of discrimination.

Regarding the forthcoming appointment of the three representatives on tolerance, the view was expressed that it was important that the representatives should be seen as assisting the ODIHR in raising awareness regarding intolerance, and should not be seen as the beginning of the creation of new institutions. It was also stressed that the representatives should cooperate with each other. It was essential that no competition should arise between them which could lead to tensions and conflicts. Some participants also deemed it important for discrimination against Christians to be a part of the mandate of one of the three representatives.

There was general agreement among the participants that education in different forms and at several levels was one key factor when fostering tolerance and acceptance and that a deep and intensified dialogue was indispensable.

The Moderator concluded that conflicts were often not between good and evil but between two goods, and that education might create tolerance in a new generation – in particular if young people were exposed to a multicultural experience. He pointed out that victims and perpetrators of intolerance had selective memories and therefore different perceptions of what had actually happened. He also pointed to the useful role of the media in positive awareness-raising, but also warned against the misuse of the media.

He returned to the reactivation of a Spanish notion of *convivencia*, which referred to living together in a kind of pluralistic equilibrium, and placed the Cordoba conference in that context. In conclusion, it was clear that the fight against intolerance constituted a major challenge to the participating States as well as to the Mediterranean Partners.

3.3 Session Three: Migration — opportunities and challenges

Report by Mr. Karel Vosskühler, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the OSCE

The third session of the Seminar was devoted to opportunities and challenges of migration. It was the first time that a Mediterranean seminar addressed this problem area.

In his introduction, the moderator, Ambassador Omar Zniber, described the changing dynamics of migration. He argued that a global, long-term approach was needed, rather than a narrow, security-oriented one. The events of 9/11 had given rise to a one-sided association of migration with terrorism and had prompted intolerant responses. Possibilities for legal migration had been further reduced, leading to an increase in illegal flows of migrants and to a concomitant trafficking in human beings, which had resulted in humanitarian tragedies and increased pressures on the countries of transit.

Like some of the keynote speakers after him, Ambassador Zniber pointed to the ageing and shrinking of the labour force in Europe, which would result in a growing need for inflows of labour from the southern shores of the Mediterranean. He proposed an organized approach within the broader context of co-development, which should pay due attention to the impact on the countries of origin. Such a far-sighted approach would have the added benefit that it would correct the prevailing image of a Fortress Europe.

Ambassador Zniber saw the need for a more structured dialogue between the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners on some of the issues, focusing, *inter alia*, on structural demographic factors, non-repressive policy approaches that took due account of economic and social factors, aspects of co-development and legal protection of migrants. That would replace the current logic of exclusion by a logic of support for transit countries and asylum seekers.

In her written contribution to the Seminar, Ambassador Taous Feroukhi welcomed the fact that the theme of migration had been placed on the common agenda of the OSCE and its Partners. She too pointed to the alarming increase in illegal migration into Algeria, which was fed by an influx from sub-Saharan Africa. Migration was clearly an intersectoral problem, embodying elements of security, economics and the human dimension. She noted the absence of a common European policy.

The OSCE afforded a suitable forum for a discussion on the subject in all three dimensions. The stability of both shores of the Mediterranean was at stake, given problems of integration, brain drain and selective migration and clandestine migration. Ambassador Feroukhi further pointed to the limitations of a narrow, security-oriented approach, to demographic factors and to growing intolerance *vis-à-vis* migrants, particularly after 9/11, and to the need for more co-operation and development-oriented approaches.

The OSCE could play a co-ordinating role in all those areas, complementary to those of other fora. It could help strengthen institutional capacities in Partner countries to help them to deal with clandestine migration and to acquire systems for surveillance and teledetection. A more structured dialogue could be pursued, e.g., through a working group, and the theme of migration should remain on the agenda.

In his presentation, Ambassador George Doublesin placed the “push” and “pull” factors which characterized the process of migration in a historical context. Contrary to post-World War II migration, the “push” factors culminating within countries of origin now by far exceeded the absorptive and sustaining capacity of the countries of destination. That was the background of the recent restrictiveness of European immigration policies and the increasing role of the traffickers that were putting heavy burdens upon Malta. Malta favoured Euro-Mediterranean initiatives to regularize migration flows and had offered to host the European Border Control Agency. It also welcomed readmission clauses in the action plans which the European Union was concluding with countries of origin.

In his presentation, Ambassador Moustapha Abd El-Aziz emphasized the multidimensional nature of migration, which went far beyond economic factors, but had strong links with political factors, in particular those related to regional conflicts. Economic development presumed peaceful conditions, and the root causes of migration were to be found in the absence of such conditions. The migration of Jews to Israel was a unique phenomenon with rules of its own. He touched upon the after-effects of 9/11. His suggestions for remedies included increased dialogue between the two sides of the Mediterranean, with due attention to the development process in the South and more attention by Europe to the root causes of regional conflicts, in particular the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Mr. Jerome Bellion-Jourdan presented a perspective from the European Commission, starting from the assumption that a forward-looking, visionary approach was needed. The European Union did recognize the demographic realities mentioned earlier and accepted a continuing need for migratory inflows. Reference was made to policy responses in the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam and the Hague Programme of 4 November 2004, which addressed migration management, refugee policy, fighting of illegal migration and avoidance of humanitarian disasters. Co-operation with the Mediterranean Partners was an obvious priority in that connection.

Promoting legal migration was a clear necessity and in that respect reference was made to an EU common framework on admission of third-country nationals for paid employment. The speaker also addressed the need for a framework for integration and the links between migration and development and such issues as remittances and circulation of skills.

Discussion participant, Mr. Charles Harns of the International Organization for Migration also stressed the need for a more orderly approach to migration, pointing to the need for import of foreign labour, both into Europe and into the Gulf, and also stressed the importance of remittances, an issue which was also stressed in the concluding remarks by the Moderator. Mr. Harns made the link with security issues, and terrorism in particular, mentioning a study by the Danish Foreign Ministry on the potential use of development co-operation as an instrument for the prevention of terrorism.

Mr. Harns pleaded for a broader view of the issue of border management, stressing its positive aspects, not just from the viewpoint of the countries of destination, but also from that of the countries of origin. Migration management systems and policy/legal frameworks should be seen as an essential part of nation-building and improved governance. Dialogues on migration were not needed only in a 5+5 context, focusing on the Maghreb, but also with Sub-Saharan Africa.

In the ensuing debate, one speaker described the Irish experience with migration, which in the past ten years had gone into a receiving mode, with inflows of many Muslims. Another

speaker described the recent activities of the government of Ukraine in reintegrating the Crimean Tatars after their expulsion following World War II. Another participant pleaded for an integrated rather than a narrowly legalistic approach to migration, referring back to the failure of the Sangatte reception centre.

Another contribution focused on the plight of legal migrants and the worsening picture of their integration into many of the countries to which they had been invited decades ago as regular migrant labour. Many practices in that respect infringed the obligations undertaken in multilateral conventions. Yet another speaker pointed to the legal obligations of States with regard to the treatment of refugees under relevant UN conventions. That was not a matter of policy. The terrorist phenomenon had had an adverse impact on the acceptance of refugees.

A final contribution from the floor related Germany's experience with attracting foreign labour, first from Southern Europe and later on from Turkey and other areas. The integration objectives had not all been met, and yet it was clear that the inflow of migrants would continue. Reference was made to paragraph 13 of the OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century, and the speaker pledged support for Slovenia's ambition to make migration and integration a priority theme for its Chairmanship of the OSCE in 2005.

In response to the debate, Mr. Bellion-Jourdan emphasized that the European Union had not endorsed the notion of reception centres in third countries, but did support regional protection programmes for refugees. Other keynote speakers revisited and gave details on points they had made in their presentations.

In his concluding remarks, the moderator underlined the strategic dimension of the problem area of migration as a subject for further dialogue in a Mediterranean and broader context. Obviously, the present debate of one-and-a-half hours had been far too short, but as a general survey it had had its merits.

4 Summary of the closing session

Report by Ms. Elizabeth Abela, Senior External Co-operation Officer, OSCE Secretariat

Following the reports by the rapporteurs of all three sessions, Ambassador Janez Lenarčič of Slovenia, who chaired the concluding session, stated that a number of ideas and suggestions deserving of further study had been submitted. In that way, useful input had been provided for the Informal Group of Friends on further dialogue and co-operation with the Mediterranean and Asian Partners for Co-operation (PC.DEC/571), the Ministerial Council meeting (to take place on 6 and 7 December in Sofia), and, the incoming Belgian Chairmanship of the Mediterranean Contact Group. Slovenia, as the incoming holder of the Chairmanship, attached great importance to relations with the Mediterranean Partners, and strongly supported the further strengthening of those significant relations.

Under the discussion on enhancing co-operation between the OSCE and the MPCs, and among the MPCs themselves, Ambassador Aleksi Harkonen of Finland intervened in his capacity as Chairman of the Informal Group of Friends on further dialogue and co-operation with the Mediterranean and Asian Partners for Co-operation. He stated that the questions related to co-operative security, tolerance and migration should be seen in a more general context of globalization. The OSCE should address security-related aspects of globalization in its own region and together with its partners, both in the Mediterranean area and in Asia. Joint activities and projects with Partners should of course be demand-driven and carried out together with other international organizations as necessary. A draft report including several proposals for future activities had been prepared. The report was not an end in itself. He hoped that Partner and participating States would use it as a handbook when implementing various recommendations.

Ambassador Jivan Tabibian of Armenia, moderator of session 2, welcomed the positive outcome of the Seminar, and the determination of a number of specific areas in which further work could be accomplished. He stressed the importance of organizing "customized workshops", particularly in the context of the FSC, on the establishment of specific OSCE documents, such as those on confidence-and security-building measures (CSBMs). He pointed out that the OSCE documents, on which confidence-building measures were founded, emerged from a long process of negotiations, discussions and compromise. Given the politico-strategic situation among the MPCs, any formula that assumed that, at the outset all six Partners were going to take part in the customized workshops was unrealistic. In that regard, he proposed that customized workshops should be organized for any two of the MPCs. If they were able to successfully employ, borrow or imitate any part or element of a workshop, then they would invite the others to join them. Thus, the development of co-operation would take place both horizontally and vertically. He also suggested that the MPCs should participate in the second phase of the border management discussion.

Ambassador Omar Zniber of Morocco, moderator of session 3, stated that the outcome of the Seminar showed clearly that there were substantive issues to be dealt with concerning the reinforcement of the partnership between the OSCE and its partners in all three dimensions of OSCE activities. Ambassador Zniber stressed the need to review and enhance mechanisms through which such substantive issues could be dealt with. In that regard, he recalled that his delegation had transmitted many proposals aimed at achieving that goal to the Chairman of the Informal Group of Friends on the implementation of PC.DEC/571.

A representative of another Mediterranean Partner, Ambassador Shebab Madi of Jordan, stressed the important link between tolerance and non-discrimination and education.

In his concluding statement, Ambassador Muhammed Shaaban of Egypt (see the full statement, attached), pointed out that speakers had highlighted ways for the Mediterranean Partners to draw on the OSCE's expertise and experience relating to CSBMs, stressing the importance of mutually shared transparency and trust. CSBMs alone were no substitute for genuine political solutions. Further, it was his view that the world had fallen into the trap of theories anticipating an imminent clash of civilizations and an unjustified distrust of 'the other', merely because the other was different. Knowing the other was a prerequisite for successful co-operation. On another subject, namely migration, it was important to move from fear and mistrust to co-operation and the implementation of a multidimensional approach.

Ambassador Janez Lenarčič, in his concluding remarks, welcomed the ideas and suggestions advanced in the course of the discussions by various participants. By way of illustration, he highlighted three suggestions, one from each session of the Seminar:

- With reference to session 1, he underscored the proposal put forward by Algeria and supported by several delegations, such as by Armenia and the USA, on the possible role of the OSCE in the forthcoming Palestinian elections (scheduled for 9 January 2005);
- With reference to session 2, he reflected on the discussion on tolerance and its possible limits. The point had been made that it was important to work towards acceptance and respect and to learn from 'the other';
- With reference to session 3, the question of the integration of migrants had been raised, thereby underscoring the rights and obligation of migrants as well as those of the host countries. In that context, he made reference to the meeting of the OSCE Economic Forum, scheduled to take place in May 2005 on "Demographic Trends, Migration and Integrating Persons Belonging to National Minorities: Ensuring Security and Sustainable Development in the OSCE Area".

Before concluding, he thanked all those who had contributed to the successful outcome of the Seminar, including all the participants, the keynote speakers, moderators and rapporteurs. He also extended his gratitude to the host country, Egypt, and the OSCE Secretariat for the organization of the Seminar.

5 Opening and closing statements

5.1 H.E. Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Foreign Minister of Egypt

Excellency Dr. Solomon Passy
Foreign Minister of Bulgaria,
Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE,
Excellency Andre Logar , State Secretary, Foreign Ministry of Slovenia, incoming OSCE
Chairman-in-office,
Ambassador Jan Kubiš
OSCE Secretary-General,

Mr. Chairmen,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me immense pleasure to greet you today in Sharm El-Sheikh, this fabulous spot of Egypt, at the opening ceremony of the annual OSCE Mediterranean Seminar. Egypt is pleased to host this seminar for the third time, as a practical means to convey our close link that exists between Mediterranean and European security.

I would like to express our appreciation for the dedicated efforts of the Bulgarian Chairmanship of the OSCE, and for those of Slovenia as current chair of Mediterranean Partners Contact Group in making this meeting possible.

Since the establishment of the OSCE, Egypt has been closely following the developments it has gone through, in particular the vital role it has played to build security, stability and mutual confidence in the European continent. We are certain that the success of the Organization in its tasks in Europe is mainly embedded in its dealing with security through a comprehensive approach: political, economic, and social, together with directly addressing the root causes of conflicts and problems in Europe.

Throughout our partnership with the Organization since 1995, Egypt has sought to strengthen dialogue, to contribute to the various activities, and to benefit from the Organization's experience in the more profound dialogue, the promotion of political, economic and social relations, and the consolidation of confidence-building measures among its Member States.

Egypt has welcomed the decision of the OSCE Ministerial Council last year to invite Mediterranean Partners more frequently to attend the meetings of the Permanent Council, and the Security Cooperation Forum as observers, a request we have been making for several years.

This year's Seminar acquires special importance in light of current international conditions and problems which represent a significant increase of security threats. The causes of such threats have become diverse, not merely related to military aspects but also incorporating such issues as terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, non-resolution of regional conflicts, increasing hatred, risks of illegal emigration, increasing economic gaps between countries, and environmental degradation. Such threats do not distinguish between

developed and developing countries. Rather, they impose a serious reality, a *fait accompli*, that has to be addressed and tackled collectively through close co-operation.

In this context, we can say that the most serious threat to our security is the narrow international prism through which our region is dealt with. It is looked upon as a source of threats and tensions that should be sedated and kept within boundaries, without genuine attempts so far to resolve its problems in earnest.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The narrow prism I have just referred to is the genuine threat faced by our region, and an objective realization thereof is the real challenge for our partners. The danger of terrorism may be the exact outcome of such a serious combination of attempts at cultural hegemony over our region.

It is essential to understand the causes of this danger so that we can address and overcome it. Terrorism is born out of despair, oppression, injustice and double standards.

Feelings of frustration are compounded by increasing living conditions below the poverty line, and low standards of living in developing countries in general, as well as fathomless discrepancies among societies. The projection of such discrepancies has been made easy by globalization.

Unfortunately, the international community had not realized the danger of terrorism until its scourge hit it. Immediately, terrorism has promptly jumped to the forefront of the international agenda, and has become a permanent item in all fora and a top priority for the UN and the Security Council which has set up a special committee to combat it.

The most successful and efficient method to confront the threat and danger of terrorism is to uproot the real causes which provide a fertile ground in which it sprouts and grows.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The challenge resides in two elements: the first is the need for economic, social and political development of societies; the second, and the more important in my opinion, is the necessity for achieving just political solutions for the major issues which have beset our region for several decades. In this context, we reiterate the call made by President Mubarak since 1986 to convene an international conference on terrorism under the auspices of the United Nations in order to deal effectively with the underlying causes of that phenomenon, and to examine and address its roots and origins.

We do not concur with the claim that the Middle East is the main source of terrorism and security threats. There are several factors, domestic, regional and external, that have led to the birth and aggravation of violence and terrorism in various regions of the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should refer, in this important forum, to the fact that the prime threat to our region, and perhaps to its geographical neighbourhood too, emanates from the continued possession by

some in the Middle East of nuclear weapons. At a time when everyone is in agreement on the danger of such weapons and the necessity for their non-proliferation, the international community still adopts a selective approach in dealing with weapons of mass destruction.

At a time when the international community seeks to impose strict control systems on imports of dual use materials of states party to the non-proliferation regimes, including all the Arab countries, it turns a blind eye to the persistence of some parties in the region in stockpiling and developing their nuclear capabilities.

Here, a question poses itself: Is it acceptable to condone the continuation of nuclear proliferation risks in this region? Is the present international approach in addressing this issue capable of dealing with those risks and threats? Or does it require an urgent and radical change? Of course we see that it requires an urgent and radical change.

Persistence in adopting double standards can lead, not only to the perpetuation of aggravation of nuclear proliferation dangers but also to weakening conviction of the solemnity and authority of the international treaties on this issue. Moreover, such a state of affairs will compound tensions in the Middle East region. Aware of the peril of such tensions, and in a drive to reduce them and eliminate concomitant risks, President Mubarak launched an Egyptian initiative in 1990, to make of the Middle East a zone free from all weapons of mass destruction, without any exceptions.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Leaving regional disputes unresolved largely contributes to the outbreak and escalation of violence and counter-violence. The Palestinian question remains the core of conflict in the Middle East. It directly affects both Mediterranean and European security. The region will never enjoy stability, calm or development unless a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to this question is reached with no further delay or procrastination.

In this context, the intended Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip could be an important step. If withdrawal is completed in an orderly and complete manner, it could usher the start of defusing the crisis and restoring the peace process to the correct path. If it is carried out in a different logic and frame, it will lead to more tension and violence.

To attain the objectives of withdrawal, a number of elements should be ensured:

- The withdrawal should be total and comprehensive. As long as a single Israeli soldier remains in the Gaza Strip, occupation will not have ended and the factors of tension will persist.
- The withdrawal should include all crossings, the port, and the airport in order to avoid other means of imposing a siege on the Palestinian people.
- A comprehensive Israeli withdrawal does not only mean the departure of the occupation forces from the Gaza Strip but also non-recourse to the practices of incursion, invasion or assassination.

The international community should now support, in an action oriented manner, elections in Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem, set by the Palestinian Authority for 9th January 2005. We expect the international community, particularly at a crucial post-Arafat period, to press all parties concerned not to put any verbal or physical obstacles before a process of smooth and democratic elections.

We still face another challenge namely, restoration of stability to Iraq. In this context, here in Sharm El-Sheikh, an international conference will be held in a few days to discuss the Iraqi question. We do hope that the meeting will represent a step towards the attainment of stability, security, full sovereignty, and prosperity for Iraq and its people.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We wish to express our concern about and preoccupation with the ongoing dialogue within OSCE concerning intolerance. I need not overemphasize our agreement on the necessity of fighting all forms of religious intolerance, and ensuring protection and respect for all religions. There is a pressing need for that in light of what we are witnessing world-wide in terms of defamation campaigns against specific religions, and attacks against their followers, including Islam.

In this regard, we deem it necessary to adopt a common position on dealing with the detestable trends at disparaging religions. Such a common position should reflect concerted efforts by the international community to confront these phenomena, without letting discussion on the details or nature of those efforts lead to further differences, at a time when we need more co-operation and co-ordination among ourselves on this issue.

Therefore, we consider that the formation of a committee to deal evenly with all forms of religious intolerance as the better option that reflects the unity, sincerity and determination of the international community to deal with all those phenomena. Granting a privileged status to one religion or its followers over others, or being selective in such sensitive issues, will be counter-productive. We believe that spreading tolerance depends essentially on respecting the “other” ... the individual... the human being, irrespective of race, ethnicity, gender, colour or religion, in accordance with the unanimity of the international community as reflected in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We look forward to continued and further co-operation and concertation of efforts between Mediterranean countries and OSCE, with a view to reaching optimum ways to deal with security threats in the 21st Century.

In conclusion, I wish to express our appreciation of the efforts made by OSCE Secretariat in the preparation for and success of this Seminar. I hope that your deliberations will be fruitful, and look forward to reading the conclusions of your Seminar. I wish you all an enjoyable stay in Egypt.

Thank you.

5.2 H.E. Dr. Solomon Passy, OSCE Chairman-in-Office, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria

Mr. Chairman,
Mr. Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt,
Mr. State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia Andrej Logar,
Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure and honour to address this major OSCE Mediterranean forum. I am grateful to the Government of the Arab Republic of Egypt for offering hospitality to the seminar in Sharm El Sheikh. This magnificent city in South Sinai is a symbol of the creative might of peace, stability, good neighbourhood and international co-operation which have converted for only two decades a deserted area into famous world resort and venue of historic Summits and diplomatic conferences.

I highly appreciate that for a second consecutive year the OSCE convenes its Mediterranean Seminar in a Mediterranean Partner State. By holding again the annual seminar in the Middle East and by exposing its longstanding experience in confidence building, reducing risks, tolerance and non-discrimination the OSCE unequivocally reiterates that it may also contribute to the international endeavours to halt violence, improve the overall atmosphere for just and lasting peace in the region.

The OSCE is a significant component of the contemporary European security architecture. Co-ordination between the OSCE and other regional security-related bodies is based on identifying comparative advantages and added value, effective complementarity and synergy.

International terrorism poses the most serious threat to international peace and security. The October 7 attacks against tourists in South Sinai exposed once again the ugliest and barbaric nature of terrorism. I would like to stress that the Bulgarian Chairmanship is placing a particularly strong emphasis on undertaking further practical steps to effectively counter terrorism.

I personally believe that there is a deep generic connection between three of the major challenges to world security nowadays. Namely, between international terrorism, the Middle East problem and the situation in Iraq. And the sustainable security solutions might be only those addressing the three of them in-depth.

I would like to underscore that our Mediterranean seminar precedes with only a few days another important event in Sharm El Sheikh – the expanded regional conference on Iraq. We expect that the conference will adopt important decisions on promoting security and stability and transition to democracy in Iraq which is a neighbouring country to the OSCE.

Only a few dozen kilometres to the north of this place is the summit of the Gebel Musa or Mount Sinai. Muslims, Christians and Jews associate this holy summit with such moral values as non-violence, tolerance, mutual understanding, respect and positive attitude. These principles have constituted the moral pillars of human civilization since ancient times. And

we are proud that nowadays the OSCE keeps them firmly on its agenda. This year the Organization had a high-profile conference in Berlin on anti-Semitism, a pioneering meeting in Paris on hate crimes on the Internet and an inspiring conference in Brussels on tolerance and the fight against racism, xenophobia and discrimination which also clearly denounced attacks against the Arabs and the incitement against Islam and its followers. The Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in October agreed on a broad follow-up to these three important conferences. I appreciate that these outstanding achievements of the OSCE in the human dimension in 2004 will be presented and discussed at the seminar.

Mr. Chairman,

I was privileged to attend and address 2003 OSCE Mediterranean seminar held in Aqaba, Jordan, which worked out a wide spectrum of proposals on fostering interaction between the OSCE and its Partners. I was truly satisfied that some of these proposals were subsequently incorporated in the Maastricht decisions.

The Bulgarian Chairmanship of the OSCE regards fostering co-operation and interaction with Mediterranean Partner States among its priorities in 2004. We believe that sharing with the Mediterranean Partners the Organization's vast expertise in addressing the existing and newly emerging threats such as terrorism, organized crime, xenophobia, discrimination, economic disparities, environmental degradation, etc. unite more closely the OSCE participating States and their partners from the Mediterranean.

Our Chairmanship values the increased involvement and noticeable input of the Mediterranean Partners in the overall OSCE activities this year. Pursuant to the decisions made under the Dutch Chairmanship in Maastricht we invited the Partners for Co-operation on more frequent basis to the Permanent Council and we are glad that Partners followed closely deliberations in the Council. We appreciate the strengthening of Parliamentary dimension of the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership.

In 2004 the OSCE has developed a number of innovative forms of interaction which proved its usefulness – participation of observers from Mediterranean Partners during the parliamentary elections in Georgia, last March, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly presence in the international observation mission for the Presidential elections in Algeria, last April.

At this point I wish to draw your attention to the deployment in Afghanistan – another Partner for Co-operation, of an OSCE Election Support Team upon the invitation of the Afghani government. The team successfully assisted in the election process and facilitated realizing the aspirations of the Afghan people to choose its President and Vice Presidents in a free and fair manner. This was the first-ever out-of-area mission of the OSCE which demonstrated its substantial capabilities to offer valuable assistance to a neighbouring country in need. It proved the potential of the OSCE as an important player in the globalizing world and opened new horizons for the Organization in the years to come.

I believe that the OSCE should keep the door open for new Mediterranean Partners for co-operation in future. The framework of OSCE Mediterranean Partnership could not be regarded as completed when a number of South Mediterranean States are not encompassed. In this context it is noteworthy that possible applicant countries should explicitly express their readiness to share OSCE principles, objectives and values, including adherence to functioning democratic institutions, supremacy of law and respect for human rights.

The Bulgarian Chairmanship attaches particular attention to consolidating co-operation of the OSCE with the EU and NATO as well as with other regional organizations, such as the League of the Arab States and the Organization of the Islamic Conference which play an important role on issues of international stability and security and where most of our Mediterranean Partners enjoy membership.

Our Chairmanship acclaims that the Contact Group with Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation, chaired by Slovenia, serves effectively to strengthen the ongoing dialogue and co-operation between participating States and the Partner States, as well as among the Partners themselves. I commend the excellent work of the Informal Group of Friends on the implementation of Decision 571, under the exemplary chairmanship of Ambassador Heikki Aleksi Harkonen of Finland which has prepared an in-depth report with recommendation to be formally presented to the Permanent Council and the Sofia Ministerial meeting.

Mr. Chairman,

I believe that our seminar today and tomorrow will contribute to elaborating a more comprehensive and pro-active approach of the OSCE to the Mediterranean Partnership.

I look forward to welcoming the Mediterranean and Asian Partners to 12th Meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council which will be held in Sofia on 6 and 7 December 2004 and in particular to the Ministerial Troika meetings with Partner States that will take place on 5 December 2004. This will be the right moment to assess results of our partnership, to discuss a way forward together and provide impetus for our work next year.

I wish you all fruitful deliberations and a successful outcome!

Thank you for your attention!

5.3 Mr. Andrej Logar, Secretary of State, Foreign Ministry of Slovenia

Mr Chairman,
Your Excellency, the Assistant Foreign Minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt,
Mr. Sameh Shoukry
Your Excellency, Foreign Minister of Bulgaria, CiO of the OSCE, Dr. Solomon Passy
Your Excellency the Secretary General of the OSCE Ján Kubiš,
Distinguished participants,

Let me start by saying how honoured I am to have the opportunity to address the 2004 OSCE Mediterranean Seminar on behalf of the incoming Chairmanship of the OSCE.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to the government of Egypt for kindly hosting this year's Mediterranean Seminar. I could not stress enough the importance of the fact that yet again the seminar is taking place in a OSCE Mediterranean partner country. This should provide the additional impetus for the success of the seminar.

The topic of this year's OSCE Mediterranean Seminar is well chosen. The issue of threats to security in the twenty-first century is both the subject of numerous discussions and concrete operational activities. In our inter-dependent world, the threats are very similar for all States bordering the Mediterranean. Therefore it is very timely to discuss the issue in the context of interaction between the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners. The key task is to determine which threats we have in common, and how to respond – jointly if possible.

Today's and tomorrow's discussions, as well as the opportunity this meeting provides to meet and share experiences should allow for greater mutual understanding and improve the possibility for practical co-operation.

Slovenia's approach to joint activities with the Mediterranean Partners has been based on the belief that through openness and dialogue, as well as identifying specific areas for co-operation, we will be able to have a mutually enriching exchange and a forward-looking partnership. This is an approach that we intend to continue during our Chairmanship of the OSCE in 2005. We therefore see this seminar as part of a process that we intend to build on next year.

One of the OSCE's key roles as a catalyst and match-maker, using its wide networks of contacts, expertise and capabilities can be a useful source of inspiration to neighbouring regions including the Mediterranean. A well-recognised asset of the OSCE is its co-operative approach to international security including a wide range of confidence and security building measures. Another recent but distinguished feature is the OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the 21st Century. Existing OSCE's mechanisms could strengthen security and co-operation, not only between the participating and partner States, but also between partner States themselves.

The issue of tolerance is especially relevant for the relationship between OSCE and the Mediterranean partners. The Mediterranean region being on the crossroads of civilisations, cultures and religions should use its comparative advantage in finding strategies for pursuing more mutual respect and understanding.

Mr. Chairman,

I believe that we should use this seminar as an opportunity for discussing migration since it is a growing challenge to the OSCE as well as the Mediterranean region in all directions, along the north-south as well as the east-west axes. Excessive migration pressure is a process in which everybody loses. The countries of origin suffer a “brain drain” and diminished human capital, while the countries of destination are presented with the challenge of integrating a massive influx of immigrants, frequently in their turn having to face rising unemployment. In general, migratory flows are not being effectively managed and illegal migration appears to be increasing rather than decreasing.

The OSCE can raise awareness of threats and recommend means to mitigate them. The OSCE could contribute to more positive perception of migration flows, and could assist in setting up solidarity instruments in the areas of migration, supporting a pro-active approach to integration of immigrants in countries of destination. On the other hand OSCE should remain an important advocate for improving economic and security prospects of populations in countries of origin, within the OSCE as well as in the Mediterranean region, in order to contribute to more balanced migration flows.

This thinking was the rationale behind the decision to devote next year’s OSCE Economic Forum to the topic “Demographic Trends, Migration and Integrating Persons Belonging to National Minorities: Ensuring Security and Sustainable Development in the OSCE area”. It is also why we have identified »migration and integration« as the central theme of our Chairmanship. This is a topic of equal concern East and West of Vienna and, insofar as migration flows in part stem also from the Mediterranean region, of direct relevance to our dialogue with OSCE’s Mediterranean partners.

Your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen

Let me conclude by wishing you a very fruitful meeting here in Sharm El Sheikh. I am confident that it will, by providing us with concrete results, greatly help us in formulating our policies at the Sofia Ministerial Council and further during Slovenian OSCE Chairmanship in 2005.

I thank you.

5.4 Ambassador Ján Kubiš, Secretary General of the OSCE

Mr. Chairman,
Your Excellency, Mr. Shoukry, Assistant Foreign Minister of Egypt,
Your Excellency, Dr. Passy, Chairman-in-Office and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria,
Your Excellency, Mr. Logar, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Slovenia,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you today in Sharm El Sheikh on the occasion of the OSCE Mediterranean Seminar on topics of particular interest and relevance for the OSCE participating States and our Mediterranean Partner States, as well as for the Asian Partner States. I also welcome here representatives of our partner international organizations. The topics that we will discuss – enhanced co-operative security, tolerance and non-discrimination and the challenges of migration – are of common concern to both shores of the Mediterranean.

At the outset, I wish to express my most sincere gratitude to the Government of Egypt for hosting this seminar and for the warm welcome to this beautiful city on the Red Sea which has become synonymous with negotiations for peace and security in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. Special thanks to the team in the Foreign Ministry in Cairo and the Embassy of Egypt in Vienna whose excellent professional support and assistance have immensely contributed to the organization of this event. I wish also to thank the Savoy Hotel for its co-operation.

Egypt is hosting the Seminar for the third time. What can be a better confirmation of the importance that Egypt continuously attaches to our joint work? I am particularly glad to note that after an interruption, this is the second consequent seminar hosted by a Mediterranean partner State in the region, following last year's meeting in Aqaba, Jordan. I consider it not only a manifestation of a strong commitment of our partners to our co-operation but a confirmation that in principle we have the same attitude concerning a number of issues of security, and that we share commitments to the values and principles of democracy.

The OSCE, as a pan-European regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, has traditionally attached great importance to dialogue and co-operation with its Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation (MPCs). The maintenance of open channels of communication with the Mediterranean Partners goes back to the very beginning of the Helsinki process.

The OSCE is ready to share its expertise and experience and provide insight into how to address current challenges to security. The OSCE hallmark is its capacity to maintain dialogue on even the most sensitive issue among its participating States. That was the logic for creating the CSCE during the Cold War, and it has served Europe well for the three decades since. The OSCE's concept of comprehensive security is closely linked to the co-operative approach. The key is to work together, achieving security together. One cannot choose one's neighbours. One has to work with them to address issues of common interest and concern.

The OSCE cannot be franchised. We cannot attempt to duplicate what is a unique security organization in other regions. However, some aspects of the work of the OSCE may be

applicable to the Mediterranean and the Middle East. This is the thinking of the OSCE and Mediterranean Partner States, that corresponds with the objective and approach of other initiatives, such as the one put forward at the G-8 level this year and endorsed by many in the Mediterranean and other regions.

From Cairo 1995 to Sharm El Sheikh 2004

This is the tenth OSCE Mediterranean Seminar. In 1995, Egypt hosted the first OSCE Mediterranean Seminar in Cairo (The OSCE experience in confidence-building), marking also the first time that the OSCE and the Partner States met beyond the OSCE area.

Since then, we have come a long way – we have moved from getting to know each other and discussing the OSCE's experiences in confidence-building to deeper interaction. Our relations have become more substantial and we have learned to devote more attention to each other's concerns. Follow up of our work from seminar to seminar has also improved, not least due to the increased input from Partners. Our meeting here today reveals that there is a steadfast commitment to the Mediterranean dialogue.

Interactive relations with the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation

The Partners have been invited more frequently as observers to Permanent Council meetings, and to more regular meetings of the Mediterranean Contact Group. This year, upon a request by the Mediterranean Partners to promote further relations, side-events were also organized in parallel to OSCE activities, such as, on the margins of the Economic Forum in Prague, to discuss human resource development, and the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in Warsaw, to discuss the OSCE's election observation experience. Similarly, Parliamentary delegations from the OSCE States and the Mediterranean Partners participated in side-events organized both at the Winter and Annual Sessions of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

The OSCE has organized major conferences to promote awareness on tolerance and non-discrimination which are key human dimension commitments. Partner States participated actively in the OSCE Conference on Anti-Semitism (in May in Berlin), the OSCE Meeting on the Relationship between Racist, Xenophobic and anti-Semitic propaganda on the Internet and other hate crimes (in June in Paris) and the OSCE Conference on Tolerance and the Fight against Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination (in September in Brussels). This year, they also took part in a Technical Experts Conference on Border Management and Security organised by the OSCE and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime as well as the Annual Security Review Conference. In short, partnership is becoming deeper and more meaningful.

Promoting co-operative security

At the OSCE Ministerial Council meeting in Maastricht, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs decided on the OSCE Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-first Century which outlines the OSCE's response to contemporary threats and challenges to security. To render this response more effective and to strengthen the Organization, the OSCE itself is going through a process of reform. The OSCE, *inter alia*, is strengthening its capacity in policing, border management and security, anti-trafficking, counter terrorism, combating all forms of intolerance, and putting a stronger emphasis on a balance among the three dimensions, the political-military, the economic and environmental as well as the human dimensions.

The multifaceted and cross-dimensional nature of threats of the Twenty-first Century also prompt us to work closer together with our Mediterranean Partners. The Strategy stresses that 'the OSCE will intensify its co-operation with its Mediterranean and Asian Partners for Co-operation, by early identification of areas of common interest and concern and possibilities for further co-ordinated action.' We need to make operational this commitment.

Throughout the course of this year, considerable time and effort has been devoted to seeking further possible avenues of co-operation. The participating States have been tasked to identify additional fields of co-operation and interaction with the Partner States for the purpose of enhancing mutual security, and to encourage them to voluntarily implement OSCE norms, principles and commitments as a means to further interaction with the OSCE. A comprehensive document on partnership is being developed based on all three OSCE dimensions as well as suggestions from both participating and Partner States. This exercise has reinforced our belief in the importance of co-operation with the Partner States. Since the last Mediterranean Seminar that took place in Aqaba, quite a few developments have taken place.

Any work on a way forward must and indeed is taking into consideration the needs and aspirations of the Mediterranean Partners. In an inter-dependent world, Europe – however, you define it – borders the Mediterranean and the destiny of its northern shores is linked to the destiny of its southern coast. Co-operation with the Mediterranean Partners could be increasingly complemented by new activities on broader issues of common concern. We value our dialogue and relations with our Mediterranean Partners. We value the reciprocity in our co-operation. It is only in working together that we can find ways to solve these challenges together and contribute to peace and security.

In the future, we should also strive to make discussions at a meeting like this even more interactive. We can do better than limit participation in our seminars to diplomats and a few experts. We should consider broader involvement in our dialogue of a wide range of academic experts, the media and representatives of civil society and NGOs, at least from the host country and, better still, from the Mediterranean Partner States as well as from the OSCE participating States.

Discussions at the Informal Group of Friends chaired by the Ambassador Härkönen of Finland have revealed a strong interest in the need for consolidating the partnership with Partner States. This new impetus is to be substantiated in a report on practical ways to enhance future relations, that will be presented to the Ministerial Council meeting on 6-7 December in Sofia. On the eve, a Ministerial Troika meeting will take place with counterparts from the Mediterranean Partners. I look forward to the outcome of the Sofia Ministerial.

We also should not miss this excellent opportunity of the Sharm El Sheikh Seminar to consider the enhancement of the Mediterranean dialogue and relations with the MPCs. The Maastricht Ministerial Council's decisions on enhancing our joint work with our Mediterranean and Asian Partners for Co-operation proved themselves well in the past period. We should not stop and remain satisfied with this progress. On the contrary, this Seminar should provide an additional impetus to opening the OSCE farther up to even more enhanced co-operation with our partners, and with others who might wish to benefit from it.

Thank you for your attention.

5.5 Concluding statement by Ambassador Dr. Muhammad Shaaban, Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt

Session 1

Summary and recommendations

- The necessity for the West to refrain from regarding the South as a main source of risks and threats, as a prerequisite for co-operative security, was stressed by several speakers.
- Speakers highlighted ways for the Mediterranean Partners to draw on the OSCE's expertise and experience in CSBMs, stressing the importance of mutually shared transparency and trust. Such ways included direct interaction of the Mediterranean Partners with the OSCE, and secondly, the operation of regional CSBMs and structures such as a Mediterranean conflict prevention centre or a regional code of conduct.
- It was explained that unilateral policies had replaced co-operative strategies in dealing with security threats. However, unilateral action could not prevent proliferation of WMD or address terrorism or non-state actors effectively.
- The concept of co-operative security also dealt with "soft" threats such as poverty, disease, environmental deterioration, and the digital divide.
- The Barcelona Process had demonstrated the value of a comprehensive approach, and the political situation also had to be dealt with.
- CSBMs alone were no substitute for genuine political solutions.
- Participants called for tangible support for a non-governmental conflict prevention centre to be established in the region.
- Several participants stressed the importance of a comprehensive and co-operative approach to security, some noting that security was indivisible. It was suggested that the OSCE could play an important role, including through financial support. Other participants stressed the need for practical results from such joint endeavours.
- Participants agreed that the best strategy to address today's challenges lay in strictly adhering to international law, and the Charter of the United Nations.
- Participants stressed the need to tackle the root causes of terrorism.
- Anti-terrorism, human trafficking, policing and border security and management were suggested as areas of focus for concrete projects.
- OSCE participation in the observation of the forthcoming Palestinian elections was also proposed as a good area for co-operation. The proposal was supported by participants who recommended that the OSCE follow up with the regional parties concerned in order to fix specific modalities for sending observers to Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Session 2

Summary and recommendations

- The world had fallen into the trap of theories advocating an imminent clash of civilizations, and an unjustified distrust of “the other” merely because the latter was different. The meeting emphasized the importance of knowledge of different cultures and religions and pointed to the common denominators in the three religions Christianity, Islam and Judaism. “Knowing the other “ was a prerequisite for successful co-operation.
- It was deemed not enough to simply “tolerate” the other. Instead, there was a need to understand and accept the other. The meeting emphasized the importance of efforts being made towards the empowerment of women, as they were excellent agents for the dissemination of a culture of peace. Also, the notion of justice was intertwined with peace, and both were prerequisites for sustainable security.
- The OSCE-specifics in the dialogue could also make a contribution towards solving some problems in the Middle East. Unsolved problems related to intolerance, discrimination and xenophobia might give rise to a wider scale of violence.
- The participants noted that, at the forthcoming Ministerial Council meeting in Sofia, a decision would be taken, *inter alia*, on appointing three representatives to deal with issues regarding anti-Semitism, discrimination against Muslims and other forms of racism, discrimination and xenophobia.
- The meeting was informed of a decision to create a new institution, the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures – which would counteract intolerance and prejudice by organizing meetings among young people, journalists, researchers, etc., and also by organizing cultural events.
- The war on terrorism should be conducted regardless of the religion of the perpetrators, and that war could not be won by military means alone.
- It was important to adopt educational strategies for tolerance that should be implemented at all levels. There was a general agreement among participants that education in different forms and at several levels was one key factor when fostering tolerance and acceptance and that a deep and intensified dialogue was indispensable. Intolerance, xenophobia and discrimination were not based on religion but rather on ignorance, faulty educational systems and misuse of the media. Inter-religious dialogue could contribute to mutual enrichment and help to overcome divisions. It was also important to address xenophobia in many countries and often in the public discourse of officials.

Session 3

Summary and recommendations

- The participants considered that migration could be one of the most problematic matters to deal with. Immigration was one of the main concerns for the European countries, and Europe must explore the real causes behind it.
- After 9/11, there had been an increase in racial discrimination, and a widening development divide had also resulted in a rise in illegal migration and increased

trafficking. It was essential to move from fear and mistrust to co-operation and the implementation of a multidimensional approach involving comprehensive security in the Mediterranean region. That should be expressed in co-operation between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners.

- In the Middle East, the root cause was not economic factors, but rather political ones such as regional wars and violence.
- Labour was needed in Europe and was available in the southern Mediterranean region. Thus, ways needed to be found to make that mobile work force beneficial for both sides. In order to achieve integration rather than assimilation, thought had to be given to how to integrate migrants without destroying their cultural uniqueness.
- A common base existed for future work to try and find constructive solutions. Humanitarian, economic and political dimensions were all explored, but migration needed to involve a strategic dimension.

6 List of participants

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Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

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International Organization for Migration

Mr. Charles Harns	Head, Technical Co-operation
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League of Arab States

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Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation

Ambassador Tugay Ulucevik	First Deputy Secretary General
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Organization of the Islamic Conference

Mr. Zamel Saeedi	Director of Asia and Balkans for Political Affairs
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United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Mr. Iskandar Ghattas	International Consultant, Cairo Regional Office
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United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Mr. Damtew Dessalegne	Assistant Regional Representative
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Ambassador Moustapha Abd El- Aziz	Director of Egyptian Consultative Center for Migration Studies
Dr. Mohamed Kadry Said	Director, Military Unit, Al – Ahram Center for Strategic and Political Studies

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Ms. Alix Sehr-Stewart	Head of Team, English booth
Ms. Samira Abdel Sayed	English booth
Ms. Anne-Marie Greis	French booth
Ms. Yannick Quero	French booth

7 List of documents

No.	Author	Title	Language
001	H.E. Dr. Solomon Passy, Chairman –in-Office of the OSCE, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria	Statement	English
002	Mr. Andrej Logar, State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia	Address	English
003	Ambassador George Doublesin, Malta	Keynote Statement	English
004	H.E. Ahmed Aboul Gheit, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt	Opening Address	English
005	ODIHR	Background Information	English
006	ODIHR	Composition of the ODIHR Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief – October 2004	English
007	Mr. Charles Harns, IOM	Presentation "Maximising the Potential of Migration in a security-Sensitive Environment"	English
008	Ambassador Kirsten Biering, Denmark	Intervention "Building Viable Security: Democracy, Human Rights and the Rule of Law"	English
009	Mr. Spyros Attas, Cyprus	Statement	English
010	Mr. Mohamed Kadry Said, Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, Egypt	Presentation Paper on Co-operative Security – Reducing Risks and Building Confidence	English
011	Ambassador Taous Feroukhi, Algeria	Intervention	French
012	United States Mission to the OSCE As prepared for delivery by Ambassador Stephan M. Minikes	Statement to Session 1	English
013	Ambassador Margit Wästfelt, Austria	Keynote speech "CSBMs for Partners: the Perspective of the Current Chair of the Forum for Security Co-operation"	English
014	Ms. Amena Lazoughli, Tunisia	Statement "Tolérance et non Discrimination: Moyen pour une Compréhension Mutuelle et un Renforcement des Attitudes Positives"	French
015	Ambassador Dr. Dieter Boden, Germany	Statement "The OSCE Intolerance Conferences in 2004 – How to follow up?"	English
016	Ambassador Ján Kubiš, Secretary General of the OSCE	Statement	English
017	Ambassador Dr. Muhammad Shaaban, Adviser to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt	Concluding Statement	English

8 Seating arrangement

<p>Algeria Egypt Israel Jordan Morocco Tunisia Albania Germany United States of America Armenia Austria Azerbaijan Belgium Bulgaria/OSCE CIO Bosnia and Herzegovina Canada Croatia Cyprus Denmark Spain Finland France</p>	<p>Amb. Lenarčič, Slovenia Mr. Logar, State Secretary of Slovenia Ambassador Shaaban, Egypt Amb Shoukry, Assistant Foreign Minister, Egypt Chairman – Amb. Naydenov, Bulgaria/CIO Dr. Passy, OSCE CIO, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Amb. Kubiš, OSCE SG OSCE Secretariat</p>	<p>Key-note speakers Rapporteur Moderator OSCE Secretariat Key-note speakers</p> <p><i>Sessions 1-3</i></p> <p><i>Opening Ceremony</i></p> <p>Secretary General H/ExtCoop Extcoop H/ATU ODIHR Academic/Other Inst. UNHCR UNODC OIC BSEC League of Arab States IOM ICRC Thailand Korea Ukraine Turkey Czech Republic Sweden Slovenia/OSCE Troika Slovakia Serbia and Montenegro Holy See Russian Federation Romania Portugal Poland</p>
	<p>United Kingdom Greece Hungary Ireland Italy Malta Norway Uzbekistan NL/EU/OSCE Troika EU/EC</p>	