

Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC)

Helsinki plus 40: The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation



Prof. Stephen Calleya and Dr. Monika Wohlfeld
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MEDAC Publications in Mediterranean IR and Diplomacy



The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation

10th November 2015
The Westin Dragonara Resort, St. Julians, Malta

Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC)

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Prof. Stephen Calleya and Dr. Monika Wohlfeld



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Report on the international academic conference on
'Helsinki plus 40: the Mediterranean Chapter of
the Helsinki Final Act and
the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation'

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Background

The OSCE

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is the world's largest regional security organisation, encompassing 57 Participating States from Europe, the Caucasus, Central Asia and North America, as well as 11 Partners for Co-operation from North Africa and Asia. It offers a forum for political negotiations and decision-making in the fields of early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation, and maintains a presence on the ground through a unique network of field missions. The OSCE also advocates arms control disarmament, confidence-and security-building measures, policing strategies, counter-terrorism, as well as human rights issues. In this regard, the OSCE champions a comprehensive approach to security, including its politico-military, economic and environmental, and human aspects.

The founding document of the CSCE – the Helsinki Final Act – which in itself was a mechanism of conflict prevention, is still as valid today, even in the wake of the new risks and challenges that the Organisation faces. Its three facets of security: politico-military, economic and environmental as well as human dimensions are interlinked, and therefore comprehensive.

The Mediterranean Dimension to the OSCE – the Helsinki Final Act (1975)

The OSCE is a common and comprehensive regional organization with a record of bridging the divide between adverse blocs. This was the

case during the Detente period, in the context of the Cold War. In the 1970s, Malta propagated its belief that the Mediterranean was relevant for Europe, so much so that between 1973 and 1975, Malta lobbied the CSCE to incorporate a Mediterranean chapter in its founding document declaring that *it was illogical to speak of European security without reference to the situation in the Mediterranean*.¹ Eventually, these efforts led to the inclusion of a Mediterranean Chapter in the Helsinki Final Act, committing the CSCE to extend and deepen the dialogue *to include all the states in the Mediterranean, with the purpose of contributing to peace, reducing armed forces in the region, and widening the scope of co-operation*.²

When the Cold War ended, and Europe's sensitivity to Mediterranean security problems increased, Spain and Italy had also proposed a Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) as a regional equivalent to the CSCE. This proposal, however, never gained traction³.

The OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation

The OSCE maintains privileged relations with 11 countries, known as Partners for Co-operation. Six of them are in the Mediterranean region, the remaining in Asia, including Australia. The OSCE's Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation are: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia.

This relationship goes back to the Helsinki process of negotiations and the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. The Mediterranean Chapter of 1975 was then followed by the Charter of Paris adopted in 1990, which refers *to the continuation of efforts to strengthen security and co-operation in the Mediterranean as an important factor for stability in Europe*.⁴ In the

1 Gauci, V.J., (2005), *The Genesis of Malta's Foreign Policy: A Personal Account*, Agenda Publications, pp.103-4.

2 As quoted in CSCE Helsinki Final Act, (1975), 'Questions relating to Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean.'

3 Calleya, Stephen, (1997), *Navigating Regional Dynamics in the post-Cold War World*, chapters 4 and 7, Dartmouth Publishing Company.

4 As quoted from the Charter of Paris for a New Europe adopted in 1990.

CSCE Helsinki Document of 1992, a more concretized approach to the fostering of contacts with non-participating Mediterranean States was sought. In 1995, building on the work of the 1992 Prague Document and the 1994 Budapest Document, the OSCE welcomed Mediterranean neighbours assigning them the status of Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation.

A number of regular meetings, conferences and special events provide a broad framework for regular contact. Following the 1994 Budapest Summit decision, the Contact Group with the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation was established within the framework of the Permanent Council. It is an informal group that meets periodically to facilitate the exchange of information and to generate ideas. The annual OSCE Mediterranean conferences offer an opportunity to exchange views and contribute to further developments in the relationship between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation. The seminars are also attended by international organisations, parliamentarians, academics and NGOs, leading to a cross-fertilisation of ideas and recommendations. Significantly, the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation are invited as observers in Permanent Council and Forum for Security Co-operation meetings, as well as Ministerial Council and Summit meetings, and actively participate in annual events and review conferences. The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly and OSCE Institutions have also established a variety of formats for close co-operation with the Mediterranean Partners. The Contact Group with the Mediterranean Partners was chaired by Switzerland in 2013, followed by Serbia in 2014 and Germany in 2015.

All of the above initiatives aim at fulfilling the mandate of closer partnership and cooperation between Europe and the Mediterranean. Considering that the security of the Mediterranean is inextricably linked to that of Europe, can we do more to work towards our common security? The Conference developed its discussion on this basis, and therefore presented several theoretical and policy recommendations for a way forward in this regard.

New-Med Research Network: The Future of Cooperation in the Mediterranean

Established in June 2014, New-Med is a research network of Mediterranean experts and policy analysts with a special interest in the complex social, political, cultural and security-related dynamics that are unfolding in the Mediterranean region. The network is coordinated by Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), in co-operation with the OSCE Secretariat in Vienna, the Compagnia di San Paolo of Turin, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, and the German Marshall Fund (GMF) of the United States. Its informal membership includes renowned think-tanks and distinguished scholars from a range of countries in the Mediterranean region and beyond. MEDAC is one of the members of the network.

At the core of the New-Med activities stands the need to rethink the role of multilateral, regional and sub-regional organisations, to make them better equipped to respond to fast-changing local and global conditions and to address the pressing demands coming from Mediterranean societies all around the basin. A priority of the network is to promote a non-Eurocentric vision of the region, featuring as much as possible views from the South and from other regions. The network also seeks to provide a platform by which emerging researchers can put forward new perspectives about regional cooperation. By undertaking research and outreach activities, this “Track II” initiative aims to foster the scholarly reflection on the changing scenarios in and around the Mediterranean and provide key input to the political dialogue taking place in policy fora, including in the context of the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership.

Summary of Proceedings

Introduction

On 10th November 2015, the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) in partnership with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Malta, and the New-Med Research Network, organised a Conference on 'Helsinki plus 40: the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation' at the Westin Dragonara Resort, St Julians in Malta. The Conference was also sponsored by the Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, the Organization of Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), and the Compagnia di San Paolo.

The international conference marked the fortieth anniversary of the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act signed in 1975. Malta was a key actor in pushing for an inclusion of the Mediterranean dimension in the document, introducing the almost prophetic theorem that *there can be no peace and stability in Europe without security and stability in the Mediterranean*, against the resistance of a number of states. The indivisibility between European and Mediterranean security is a notion that is ever more relevant in 2015, forty years since Malta's proposal at the CSCE. 2015 has proved that this indivisibility is noted by all States within the context of the OSCE and also beyond.

The Conference aimed at a fruitful academic and policy-relevant discussion on the OSCE's mandate of fostering co-operation on the two sides of the Mediterranean – Europe, and the Middle East and North Africa, also known as the MENA region, in the backdrop of the Helsinki plus 40 process. The main objective of the Helsinki plus 40 Mediterranean conference was thus to discuss the state of the Mediterranean dialogue of the OSCE and to consider how to strengthen it in the future. The debate took place in an academic environment, with input from diplomats, policy-makers and civil society, both from OSCE participating States and Mediterranean Partner States.

Some 110 participants from over 30 countries attended the conference. All of the Mediterranean Partner States (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia) were represented through speakers and participants at the conference. Delegates and participants at the event included the Foreign Minister of Malta, the Secretary General of the OSCE, Permanent Representatives of a number of States to the OSCE, Ambassadors from Europe, the Mediterranean, the United States and China, and Representatives of Foreign Ministries, including at the level of Director General, as well as eminent experts, academics and representatives of civil society.

The Conference opened with keynote addresses by the Foreign Minister of Malta, the Hon. Dr. George Vella and the Secretary General of the OSCE, Ambassador Lamberto Zannier.

Report of the Conference

The Historical Dimension – The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act

For Malta, the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act is a significant document, both because Malta played a key role in conceptualizing and negotiating its inclusion, but also because of the rapid change that is taking place in the region. Malta's role as a promoter of confidence building measures in the Mediterranean was indeed acknowledged by participants at the conference, who also pointed out the timely nature of the international meeting and the unique location that Malta offers as host of such an important conference.

When addressing the question whether the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act is still relevant today, all interventions at the conference indicated that the reply is an unequivocal yes. Since 1975, and despite some positive developments in the diverse region, the Mediterranean has experienced a number of conflicts, weak states, and stalled economic development. Indeed, the link between European and Mediterranean security has never been more evident than today.

However, some speakers indicated that the Mediterranean Chapter would benefit from an update, more concerted efforts to implement it, and finally also from the realization that Mediterranean security is not something to be dealt with in a short separate chapter of a document otherwise focused on Europe, but must be understood as part and parcel of all efforts. Thus, for some of the speakers, the Mediterranean dimension of the OSCE's work deserves to be at the centre of its efforts, rather than on its sidelines. A speaker underlined that the Mediterranean dimension of the OSCE has been neglected for too long by the non-Mediterranean participants of the Organization.

The current situation in the Mediterranean would indicate that the provisions of the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act would need to be broadened and rendered more specific and operational to address issues that were unimaginable in the 1970s. However, one also has to keep in mind that the Helsinki Final Act was just a starting point, and that numerous documents and agreements on the co-operation between the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partner States (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia) now make up the *acquis communautaire* of the Organization. This set of documents resulted in a step-by-step effort to improve and operationalize the dialogue. After two decades of “process-oriented” dialogue, 2011 was marking the beginning of a new era of a more “action-oriented” or “result-oriented” dialogue.

However, it was also observed that being reactive is no longer an option for the OSCE Mediterranean dialogue, and obstacles to rendering the dialogue more result-oriented now have to be tackled urgently.

The Mediterranean Chapter provided us with a common framework that recognized the emergence of a more interdependent Euro-Mediterranean regional security paradigm in Cold war relations. Our challenge today is to identify and adopt measures that will enable the OSCE to assume a more effective regional role in the historic transition currently taking place in post- Cold War relations. The strategic objective should be to articulate a security perspective that seeks to assist in addressing the plethora of security challenges we are confronting.

The Current State of the OSCE's Mediterranean Dialogue and the Way Forward

A number of speakers regretted the return of geopolitics in Europe. Evidently, the OSCE is currently preoccupied with events in its area, especially the conflict in eastern Ukraine. Many of its resources are directed to addressing this conflict itself, and also to address the fallout of this breach of OSCE commitments and its implications for cooperation in Europe and beyond. It would be short-sighted however, if the OSCE did not provide an adequate response to the myriad of challenges that affect the Mediterranean region. Thus it was hoped that following the successful annual OSCE Mediterranean Conference on the *“Common security in the Mediterranean region – challenges and opportunities”* in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on 20th and 21st October 2015, attended and addressed by a large number of Foreign Ministers and opened by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany and the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Expatriate Affairs of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, and as a result of this conference in Malta, the OSCE Ministerial Council meeting scheduled for December 2015 could provide tangible input on the way forward for the Mediterranean dialogue for the OSCE.

In order to advance the Mediterranean dialogue, Malta proposed the appointment of an OSCE Special Representative on the Mediterranean, who would, together with the Chairmanship of the Mediterranean dialogue (Germany in 2015, Austria in 2016) guide the work of the Organization towards a more result-oriented effort. Several speakers supported the Maltese proposal.

A number of other means for better operationalizing and advancing the dialogue, were proposed by the participants of the conference.

It is vital that the ‘us versus them’ perspectives pertaining to the Mediterranean region be addressed and overcome. In this context, ‘compartmentalization’ of efforts aimed at Mediterranean Partner States in the context of the OSCE was not helpful. What is needed

are convincing and significant sets of joint projects and initiatives to bridge the divide between the shores of the Mediterranean.

Enlarging the circle of States involved as Mediterranean Partner States needs to be considered seriously when the time is ripe, to include for example Libya. This would allow the OSCE to better address some pertinent problems for the entire region and beyond.

There is a need of a more active high-level political dialogue between the participating States and Mediterranean Partner States in the context of the OSCE. The annual Mediterranean Conference of the OSCE on *“Common security in the Mediterranean region – challenges and opportunities”* in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on 20th and 21st October 2015, provides the best example of such an engagement.

The facilitation of the involvement of all sectors of the society in the Mediterranean dialogue must be an objective. In particular, there is a need for reach-out efforts to involve civil society and academia. The New-Med network’s effort to provide such outreach must be supported.

It was argued that there is also a requirement of more confidence-building efforts, exchanges, educational opportunities and activities engaging youth across the Mediterranean region. The Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies in Malta, the host of the Conference, provides an example of how this can be done. Its engagement in the New-Med network and hosting of the Conference, among other initiatives, must be saluted.

There is also a requirement for better visibility of efforts of the OSCE, for example more exposure to the significant co-operation between ODIHR and Tunisia. Several participants from the Mediterranean Partner Countries regretted the lack of visibility of the OSCE’s work in the region.

Furthermore, the region needs better information sharing mechanisms, and the Organization must thus make better use of existing practices

and documents in relations with its Mediterranean Partner States, on a case by case basis, and in response to their interest. Key documents in this context are provisions of the OSCE pertaining to Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs), which could further be updated and made relevant for the Mediterranean Partner States and the OSCE Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security.

With reference to the latter document, an effort to share and discuss its provisions with the representatives of Mediterranean Partner States is already ongoing with the involvement of MEDAC and a number of participating States. The efforts of the OSCE to provide Arabic translations of its key operational documents in a number of realms (for example of the Code of Conduct) are a step in the right direction.

The OSCE must focus and intensify its efforts to tackle transnational threats. It must also adequately respond to issues such as irregular migration, which cannot become a new dividing line in the Mediterranean. Combating terrorism provides for a common agenda, and needs to be pursued seriously.

A focus on the challenge of pursuing good governance and the rule of law in the Mediterranean region in transition must also provide for an important point on the common agenda. Much has already been done in that direction by the OSCE in c-operation with Tunisia, but more could possibly be done with this country and other Mediterranean Partners.

Last but not least, the OSCE must address difficulties pertaining to operational aspects of the Mediterranean dialogue. In particular, the OSCE should strive to make funding rules more flexible and simplify decision-making procedures on projects.

Conclusion

'The OSCE Helsinki Plus 40 – The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation' conference took place against a backdrop of profound change in the Mediterranean. Since the 2011 historic upheavals across the southern shores of the Mediterranean, there has been an ongoing transformation of the Mediterranean geo-strategic landscape with transition evolving into a 'quasi security vacuum' in some parts of the region.

As demonstrated on several occasions, including in Ukraine in the recent past, the OSCE has the instruments to be a source of stability in situations of instability. The conference provided participants from Europe and the Mediterranean with an opportunity that is disappointingly lacking – a regional platform to discuss security issues across the Mediterranean.

Unlike in other parts of the world, there has been no resurgence of regionalism in the Mediterranean in the post-Cold War era. Participants at the Conference raised several questions pertaining to this theme. Why has there been a lack of effective regional security initiatives in the Mediterranean? What needs to take place to implement a political agenda that will allow for the setting up of regional fora that can address the multitude of security challenges the Mediterranean is confronting?

A review of the numerous policy recommendations proposed during the 'Helsinki plus 40 Conference' clearly highlights that the OSCE has the potential to be a source of stability in a sea of instability. A more profound focus on the Mediterranean Chapter and its agenda would enable the OSCE to support regionalism which would, in an inclusive way, allow the countries concerned to be able to debate openly a comprehensive set of security issues. An inclusive approach would give all OSCE participating and partner countries an opportunity to voice their concerns about ongoing Mediterranean security dynamics.

A co-operative and inclusive security strategy is required to address the sensitive list of security challenges present in the Mediterranean.

The OSCE is well positioned to instill embryonic Euro-Mediterranean co-operative relations. An ongoing programme of confidence building activities that seek to trigger and foster a cooperative pattern of relations would seek to promote conflict prevention, conflict management, the art of compromise, and help to address the perceptions/misperceptions setting currently manifesting itself in the Mediterranean. In essence an increase of OSCE's engagement would help mitigate sources of instability in the Mediterranean.

By building on the annual OSCE Mediterranean Conference on the *“Common security in the Mediterranean region – challenges and opportunities”* in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on 20th and 21st October 2015, the timely *‘Helsinki plus 40 Future of the Mediterranean’* conference discussion in Malta took place ahead of the Belgrade Ministerial Council Meeting, with the objective to provide an opportunity for a frank debate in an academic environment and involving policy-makers, diplomats, academics and civil society representatives. It is hoped that this input will help advance OSCE's deliberations on enhancing its Mediterranean dialogue. On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act, its visionary Mediterranean Chapter provides for recognition of the significance of Mediterranean security.



**International academic conference
Helsinki plus 40:
The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and the
Future of Mediterranean Co-operation**

Tuesday, 10th November 2015
Westin Dragonara Resort, St. Julian's, Malta

AGENDA

9:30-10:30

Keynote Opening Address

Chair: Prof. Stephen Calleya, Director, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC), University of Malta, Malta

Dr. Ettore Greco, Director, Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome, Italy

- **The Hon. Dr. George Vella**, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malta
- **Amb. Lamberto Zannier**, Secretary General of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Vienna, Austria

Introductory Remarks

- **Amb. Claude Wild**, Permanent Representative, Swiss Delegation to the OSCE, Vienna, Austria
- **Mrs. Tamara Rastovac-Siamashvili**, Minister Counsellor, Deputy Head of Task Force, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia

- **Amb. Gudrun Maria Sräga**, German Embassy, Valletta, Malta
- **Amb. Vittorio Rocco di Torrepadula**, Permanent Representative, Italian Delegation to the OSCE, Vienna, Austria

10:30-11:00 Conference Photo and Coffee Break

11:00-12:00 **Panel 1 - The Historical Dimension - The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act**
Chair: Dr. Omar Grech, MEDAC

- *The context of the drafting of the Mediterranean Chapter, including the role of Malta*
Prof. Dominic Fenech, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Head of Department, History, University of Malta, Malta
- *The Mediterranean region since 1975*
Amb. Assia Bensalah Alaoui, Ambassador at Large of his Majesty Mohamed VI, King of Morocco, Rabat, Morocco
- *Is the Mediterranean Chapter still relevant?*
Dr. Emiliano Alessandri, Programme Officer, Office of the Secretary General, OSCE, Vienna, Austria

12:00-13:15 **Panel 2 – The Mediterranean Region in Transition**
Chair: Dr. Monika Wohlfeld, MEDAC

- *The urgent necessity of confidence and security building measures (CSBMs) in the Mediterranean – the role of the OSCE*
Dr. Alex Sceberras Trigona, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Malta
- *The challenge of good governance and the rule of law*
Ms. Natasha Shawarib, Executive Board Member, Sisterhood is Global Institute, Amman, Jordan

- *The challenge of combating terrorism*
Dr. Hamid Boukrif, Ambassador at Large in charge of multilateral issues and policy planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Algiers, Algeria
- *The challenge of addressing irregular migration*
Prof. Dr. Ahmet İçduygu, Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities at Koç University and Director of the Migration Research Center at Koç, Istanbul, Turkey
- *The challenge of building politico-military confidence in the Mediterranean region*
Amb. Fred Tanner, Senior Adviser to the Secretary General, OSCE, Vienna, Austria

13:15-14:30 Lunch

14:30-15:45 Panel 3 - The Current State of the OSCE's Mediterranean Dialogue and Prospects for Future Co-operation

Chair: Dr. Derek Lutterbeck, MEDAC

- *Lessons learnt and the future path of co-operation between the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners*
Dr. Loïc Simonet, Senior External Co-operation Officer, OSCE, Vienna, Austria
- *Security Dialogue in the Middle East: Lessons from Europe*
Dr. Anat Kurz, Director of Research, Institute for National Security Studies, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv, Israel

- *Regional co-operation in the Mediterranean: Is it possible?*

Dr. Ian. O. Lesser, Executive Director, Transatlantic Center and Senior Director, Foreign and Security Policy, The German Marshall Fund of the United States, Brussels, Belgium

Dr. Noha Bakr, Professor, Political Science Department, The American University, Cairo, Egypt

15:45-16:00 Coffee Break

16:00-17:00 **Panel 4 – Concluding Panel**

Chair: Prof. Stephen Calleya, MEDAC

- *The way forward for co-operation with Mediterranean Partners: A view from the South*

Amb. Mohamed Lessir, Chairman of the Tunisian Association “Cercle Diplomatique”, Tunis, Tunisia

- *The way forward for co-operation with Mediterranean Partners: A view from the OSCE*

Mr. Moritz Ehrmann, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Austria to the OSCE, Vienna, Austria

17.00 **Concluding Remarks**

Chair: Prof. Stephen Calleya, MEDAC

- **Dr. Massimo Carnelos**, Counsellor, Policy Planning Unit and NewMed Network Co-ordinator, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome, Italy
- **Mr. Nicolò Russo-Perez**, Head of International Affairs, Compagnia di San Paolo, Torino, Italy
- **Dr. Joe Borg**, Chairman, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, University of Malta, Malta

OSCE Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe



Federal Republic of Germany
Foreign Office



Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra



*Ministerio degli Affari Esteri
e della Cooperazione Internazionale*

MEDAC 
Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies
University of Malta

New-Med
research
network

**ADDRESS by THE HON. Dr. GEORGE W. VELLA
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALTA**

.....
at the International Conference:
**'Helsinki plus 40: The Mediterranean Chapter of the
Helsinki Final Act and the
Future of Mediterranean Co-operation'**
10th November 2015

*Excellencies,
Distinguished Delegates,*

It is with great pleasure that I address you all here today, and warmly welcome you to the opening of this International Conference in Malta dedicated to the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act in the backdrop of the Helsinki plus 40 process, focussing on the Future of the Mediterranean Cooperation.

I have to thank the Mediterranean Academy of the Diplomatic Studies for this conference and specifically Prof. Stephen Calleya of his dynamism and continuous commitment to Mediterranean studies.

It is less than a month that many of us attended the OSCE Mediterranean Conference in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Within a month's time, we will gather again in Belgrade for this year's OSCE Ministerial Council. Today's Conference aims at building on the discussions exchanged in Jordan by going back to the roots of the Mediterranean dialogue and examining closely the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and its relevance today.

The year 2015 is a special year for the OSCE family. We are jointly commemorating 40 years since the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act: the founding document of what is today the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Embedded within the Final Act,

one finds a chapter entitled 'Questions relating to Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean' that has since been referred to as the 'Mediterranean Chapter'. In this chapter, the founding fathers of the OSCE included, among the main goals of the Organisation, important aspects relating to security in the Mediterranean. It is also thanks to this Chapter that we can today discuss and exchange views on common security challenges emanating from the Mediterranean in the various fora of the OSCE.

Forty years is a long time ago and most of you here today may not recall the intensive negotiations that led up to the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Some of you may also be questioning Malta's particular interest in this historical juncture and the reason why Malta is hosting this Conference here today. Allow me to elaborate on this point which will be delved into with more detail in today's first session.

The early days of Malta's participation in the Dipoli Consultations of 1972 were based on the firm conviction that (I quote): '*security in Europe without security in the Mediterranean is nothing but an illusion*'. This was at a time when the Cold War divided Europe and when the Mediterranean sheltered a concentration of naval power. Europe embarked on an East-West dialogue that was meant to introduce security and cooperation at a time when these were non-existent. Malta recognized that such a vision would be incomplete if the South and the Mediterranean were ignored and took it upon itself to serve as a catalyst in promoting a process of peace in the Mediterranean region, pleading in favour of a reduction of armed forces, lessening of tensions and for co-operation with neighbouring Mediterranean states. As the single initiator of this initiative, the Mediterranean Chapter represented the culmination of a process of persuasion undertaken by Malta, which despite its small size had sowed the seeds of consciousness whilst making use of tools permitted by the Conference in seeking to garner support for its proposals.

This conference lasted more than three years and was initially a Russian Initiative concerning European security. The US wanted to

use this occasion to commit Russia to reduce forces and armaments in an agreed and balanced framework. The UK was anything but enthusiastic.

Various countries had different opinions as to what they expected to come out of this conference.

Eventually it was agreed that one discusses political aspects of security, economic aspects, human liberties, culture and access to information.

Discussions were lengthened because of the prevailing political situations developing in Europe, as well as because of the discussions concerning procedures and defining the aims of the conference itself. From the very beginning Prime Minister Mintoff insisted that the conference listens to the opinion and views of Algeria and Tunisia. A Working Group was set up to prepare a Declaration on the Mediterranean. Mintoff wanted to include a proposal for a Euro-Arab union, and also wanted the withdrawal of American and Russian fleets from the Mediterranean. He also wanted a commitment towards peace in the Middle East.

This group brought about division amongst European Countries and eventually Malta remained alone, invoking the wrath of Russia and other big countries. The more Gromyko tried to dominate him, the more PM Mintoff became resistant.

He was accused of irresponsibility, blackmail and treason.

The reality that Malta was to force the conference realise the intimate link that existed between security in the Mediterranean and that of Europe, led finally for a paragraph to be adopted, which promised the promotion of the development of relations with the Mediterranean neighbourhood and that there will also be a follow up to this promise. When Mintoff got what he had fought for, he did not even deign himself to attend the Final Summit in Helsinki.

A year later in Belgrade, Malta also threatened to disrupt consensus, were there not to be agreement on holding a meeting of experts on the Mediterranean in Malta the following year.

History has proved how correct was the vision concerning Mediterranean security. We are living that reality today.

Convinced as we were forty years ago, that an OSCE without a Mediterranean dimension would be incomplete, there is no denying the stark reality that security in Europe to date remains greatly affected by a degree of security, or the lack of it, in the Mediterranean basin.

Distinguished Delegates,

I note that as part of today's discussions you have all been faced with a direct question as to whether the Mediterranean Chapter is still relevant today. On my part, I have already answered this question. Indeed, today's unprecedented levels of trans-border proximity as well as the threats and challenges that we are faced with, ranging from radicalization that leads to terrorism to irregular migration, smuggling and trafficking in human beings, energy security, and so forth; are all factors which point to the relevance and may I say, to the need, of having a deeper Mediterranean focus within the work of the OSCE.

Let me also avail myself of this auspicious occasion to reiterate the importance that my country attaches to the issue of migration. Malta has experienced firsthand - over a number of years - the refugee and migration crisis unfolding in the central Mediterranean, being as it is on a main migratory route toward Europe. Tomorrow my country will be hosting the Valletta Summit on Migration. Malta was at the forefront in proposing a Summit where the heads of government of European Member states as well as the actors in both the Khartoum and the Rabat process could come together to work towards targeting the root causes of migration as well as the eradication of the smuggling business connected with irregular

migration. Valletta will be a point of convergence as partners will be expected to commit not only in word but above all in deed. This means that countries of origin, transit and destination on the two major migration routes between our two continents will be expected to uphold their shared responsibility to address the causes of migration, in their complexity and structural nature and simultaneously, mindful of the concerns, needs and specificities of every participant.

Migration, as well as security challenges such as violent extremism and radicalisation, will also feature in the agenda of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), in Malta from 27th till 29th November 2015, which will present a unique opportunity for the Leaders of Commonwealth countries for an open and frank debate on topical issues, including political and social development and Climate Change.

The Charter of Paris adopted in 1990 refers to 'the continuation of efforts to strengthen security and co-operation in the Mediterranean as an important factor for stability in Europe'. In the CSCE Helsinki Document of 1992, we witnessed a more concrete approach to the fostering of contacts with non-participating Mediterranean States and in 1995, building on the work of the Prague Committee and the Budapest Document, the Organization welcomed Mediterranean neighbours assigning them the status of Mediterranean partners for co-operation. This official dialogue continued to develop through the adoption of Decisions and Declarations which I will refrain from elaborating upon in the interest of time.

We, participating States of the OSCE, have a long shared history with the Mediterranean partners and yet the question arises whether the current state of dialogue meets the expectations of the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act. Have we, as participating States, fulfilled our mandate? Considering that the security of the Mediterranean is inextricably linked to that of Europe, can we do more to work towards our common security? Can we further deepen the already established dialogue with the

Partners and broaden the way in which we address the Mediterranean so that we may comprehensively speak of a Mediterranean region as a whole? Can we collectively work towards bringing the discussion within the Contact Group closer to the work of the Permanent Council?

As a European country with a Mediterranean character, the Mediterranean region does not only represent the OSCE neighbourhood for Malta, it also represents an integral part of the OSCE. A number of participating States are also Mediterranean States. It is therefore in our interests as much as in our neighbours' interests to ensure a sustainable and secure environment in the Mediterranean region, built on mutual confidence and respect. We believe that the Euro-Mediterranean dimension is an integral part of the OSCE area and should be addressed as such.

No doubt, the threats we face and the geopolitical situation today are innately different from the backdrop against which the Helsinki Final Act was negotiated. The Helsinki Final Act, in particular the Mediterranean Chapter, needs to be adapted to fit to the current backdrop. Its relevance needs to be broadened and we need to equip ourselves with the necessary tools to assist us in the coming forty years plus. The participating States and Partners of the OSCE have the responsibility of ensuring that the Mediterranean Chapter remains alive and able to meet today's challenges. We need to look closely at the current *modus operandi* and identify gaps in our operations. What could, in other times, be addressed bilaterally, now requires a collective regional response.

Malta's recent proposal of an appointment of a Special Representative for the Mediterranean therefore encompasses precisely this responsibility to acknowledge and tackle the current realities in the region. A Special Representative with a focus on the Mediterranean would bring much added value to our common work and would serve as the appropriate vehicle for the further implementation of the Mediterranean chapter, equipping the Organisation with novel means to address holistically the challenges of today. We need to adopt a proactive approach when referring to the Mediterranean; being reactive is no longer an option. The stakes are too high.

Thank you.

**Keynote Speech at the Conference Helsinki plus 40 by the
OSCE Secretary General
*Ambassador Lamberto Zannier***

**The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act
and the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation**

10th November 2015

*Minister Vella,
Excellencies,
Distinguished Participants,*

Thank you, Minister Vella, for gathering us here today to commemorate the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act and to explore ways to strengthen Mediterranean co-operation. I would also like to thank the Maltese Diplomatic Academy for organizing this important initiative in co-operation with the Track II *New-Med* network. *New-Med* is creating exactly the kinds of connections and synergies between governmental entities and civil society that we need to foster throughout the Euro-Mediterranean region. I am proud that the OSCE is acting as a catalyst for this co-operation and I am glad to pledge personal support to this effort.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As a matter of fact, I cannot think of a more suitable place than Malta to hold a commemorative event about the long-standing engagement between the OSCE and the Mediterranean. Maltese statesmen and diplomats played a crucial role in ensuring the inclusion of a dedicated “Mediterranean Chapter” in the text of the Helsinki Final Act. In retrospect, the recognition of an inextricable link between European and Mediterranean security, which was reconfirmed at the last OSCE Summit in Astana, is uncontentious and almost inevitable: from terrorism to climate change, from transnational organized crime to the

spillovers of regional conflicts, our interdependence is all too apparent. But in the 1970s these connections were not yet fully grasped. The vision of a common Euro-Mediterranean space had not been fully articulated. More importantly, not all participating States in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE), believed that broadening the scope of discussions to include the Mediterranean would serve the cause of détente.

Forty years later, we can agree that the position of Malta and other countries that advocated a Mediterranean focus for the OSCE was very prescient. Time and time again in the history of our Organization we have realized that working with our Mediterranean Partners on common priorities and shared concerns is not just a matter of good neighbourly relations. We work together because it strengthens our common security in very practical ways.

As the OSCE-Mediterranean Conference in Jordan last month highlighted, Mediterranean issues are no longer regional issues only. They have become part and parcel of both the OSCE agenda and in fact, very significantly, of the global agenda too. From deploying counter-radicalization strategies to addressing the refugee crisis, Mediterranean-based issues cannot be relegated to a separate chapter of our work. Nor can any of these challenges be effectively tackled by any single country or organisation. That is why I think it is no overstatement to label the OSCE Partnership with the Mediterranean countries as strategic: it is not only rooted in history, but it is also critical to successfully addressing the most urgent existential challenges of our time.

*Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It is no secret that we are going through particularly turbulent times in Europe. The OSCE is addressing a deep crisis as challenges to European security threaten to undercut the very foundations of our relations. Our model of co-operation and our founding principles are being challenged. In this context, the crisis in and around Ukraine is only

the latest incarnation of a deeper malaise that has been building up for quite some time. In spite of our achievements in key areas of European security such as arms control, confidence-building measures, crisis prevention and conflict resolution, our countries have failed to genuinely embrace the vision of a common future and have not been able to make peace an irreversible reality in the OSCE area. Instead, we see old and new dividing lines emerging across the OSCE space. Political perspectives, cultures, and interests are once again depicted as mutually exclusive. Geopolitics is back and pitting us against each other.

A significant difference between the Cold War and the current situation is that today there are many more actors involved, including movements and groups that seek to exploit our divisions. The potentially destructive effect of divisive populist and nationalist rhetoric is particularly concerning. Rifts within our societies could erupt into violence just as quickly as tensions between states. Unfortunately, some of these dynamics are at play in the context of the refugee and migration crisis. Migration management, if dealt with short-sightedly and emotionally, risks being hijacked by xenophobic forces that could turn it into a major source of international tension. We cannot allow migration to become a new fault line.

Despite this difficult backdrop, we should not feel discouraged. We can rightfully be proud of what the OSCE has been able to achieve, even in the midst of heightened tensions. In response to the crisis in and around Ukraine, our participating States reached consensus to authorize the deployment of a Special Monitoring Mission. Our monitors on the ground, as well as the Trilateral Contact Group and other OSCE initiatives, have proved useful tools in working towards de-escalating the conflict. Co-operation between our participating States has proved to be possible even these very tense times.

As we look ahead, efforts should now be directed towards reinforcing our engagement through an operationally and technologically strengthened presence in Ukraine. At the same time, we should aim at reinvigorating the political dialogue among our participating

States in Vienna. Now, priority should be given to re-building trust, which is a necessity if we are to make any real progress in European security. Although this anniversary year is closing on a sober note, we should all be clear about one thing: a return to zero-sum logic will not serve us well. It has been tried in the past and has failed. Instead of trading accusations and counter-accusations, the OSCE participating States should use the Organization as it was originally intended: as an inclusive platform for dialogue on the way forward.

This is not the first time we have faced formidable challenges. The fortieth anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act offers some historical perspective in this regard. Since 1975, we have seen the end of the Cold War, for which we claim a contributing role, but also a number of violent conflicts in parts of the former Soviet space and in former Yugoslavia. Some of these conflicts still remain unsolved. One important lesson we have learned is that what has kept us together in both good and bad times is a shared sense that no matter how deep our perceived disagreements, we are better off when all our views are represented around the same table in a constructive way. It may take time to reinvigorate the vision of a common future, but what we must continue to strive to reaffirm is that European security is and remains a common project. As we look ahead to the next forty years, we should emphasize the OSCE's important role as a bridge-builder.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The current challenges to European security are compounded by crises in the Mediterranean region. Here too, centrifugal forces and disintegrative processes seem to have gained the upper hand in a number of contexts. As Malta and others know all too well, unrest on the southern shores of the Mediterranean has had significant negative reverberations in Europe and other neighbouring regions. The instability that presently characterizes some areas of the Mediterranean region is so dire that even mentioning the hopes raised by the so-called Arab Spring of just a few years ago now seems out of touch.

But we should avoid taking a pessimistic view of the future because there are positive examples of coping with change. The Tunisian transition stands out in this regard. The election-related advice and assistance to Tunisia that the Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) and the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly provided is a positive example of cooperation we could activate at the request of an OSCE Partner country. We will continue to promote a comprehensive definition of security among our Mediterranean Partners that includes the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

As the dialogue with our Mediterranean Partners intensifies, we see increasing opportunities for developing more practical cooperation. Over time, the Mediterranean Partnership has become more operational and action-oriented as our priorities have become more closely aligned and our Partners have become more forthright in requesting OSCE co-operation. In a number of areas, including security issues such as the fight against terrorism, the exchange of best practices and capacity building have become particularly important. We are also focusing on a positive agenda that promotes intercultural and interreligious dialogue as well as the protection and integration of minorities as key elements of our comprehensive security dialogue.

In order to build a stronger, more substantive partnership, some OSCE standing procedures may need reviewing and upgrading. I would welcome initiatives to help overcome some of the OSCE's self-imposed constraints that hinder greater operationalization of the Mediterranean Partnership. One set of issues affects our ability to programme activities outside the OSCE area. Without undermining existing prerogatives, we could consider "programmatic baskets" or "framework initiatives" on agreed policy areas that would receive the necessary political backing at the outset, precluding the need for authorization of individual projects. This kind of programmatic approach could also make our engagement more strategic. A second area where I look forward to change is funding. We are not a grant-making organization but our mechanisms should be reassessed so that we can have some long-term resources to use for initiatives with our Mediterranean Partners.

If we are going to take the OSCE-Mediterranean Partnership to the next level, there is one more critical ingredient: political will. Our practical co-operation works best and delivers more tangible results when political leaders from OSCE participating States and Partners for Cooperation articulate a vision for the future that we can translate into concrete initiatives. In this respect, the OSCE-Mediterranean Conference in Jordan last month, which under the leadership of Germany brought together several foreign ministers, marked an important milestone in developing both the political and operational dimensions of our co-operation. But we still need to keep investing in our regular fora for dialogue, especially the Mediterranean Contact Group.

Excellencies,

Yet, even as we discuss the very serious challenges to our security, we should not forget our achievements, including the Helsinki Final Act itself. I am convinced that what had made – and continues to make – the OSCE relevant is its co-operative approach and its comprehensive definition of security. We know that our model is not perfect and cannot simply be transferred to other world regions. But in our relations with the Mediterranean Partners we will continue to offer a platform for two-way dialogue on common priorities and shared concerns that takes inspiration from the OSCE experience in Europe. I am sure that this conference will provide another impetus to strengthening our long-standing relationship. Maintaining a spirit of confidence in our ability to overcome the current crises will help us to seize the many opportunities for co-operation that lie ahead.

Thank you.





The Hon. Dr. George Vella, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta, delivering the keynote opening address at the conference.

Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act & the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation



H.E. Amb. Lamberto Zannier, OSCE Secretary General, delivering his keynote address at the conference.



The Hon. Minister, Dr. Vella, Minister of Foreign Affairs (centre), speaking with H.E. Amb. Ms. Gudrun Sräga, Ambassador of Germany to Malta, and H.E. Mr. Cai Jinbiao, Ambassador of China to Malta.

Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act & the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation



2015/2016 MEDAC's Master in Diplomacy students, participating in the conference.



(L to R) H.E. Amb. Claude Wild, Swiss Permanent Representative to the OSCE, and H.E. Amb. Lamberto Zannier, OSCE Secretary General.



Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act & the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation



The plenary panel of the conference. (L to R) H.E. Amb. Claude Wild, H.E. Amb. Lamberto Zannier, the Hon. Dr. George Vella, Prof. Stephen Calleya, Dr. Ettore Greco, Mrs. Tamara Rastovac-Siamashvili, H.E. Amb. Gudrun Maria Sräga, and H.E. Amb. Vittorio Rocco di Torrepadula.



Prof. Stephen Calleya, Director of MEDAC (centre), with the Hon. Dr. George Vella, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta (left), and Dr. Ettore Greco, Director of Istituto Affari Internazionali (right).

Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act & the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation



Participants attending the conference.



The panel on "The Historical Dimension – The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act". (L to R) H.E. Amb. Assia Bensalah Alaoui, Dr. Omar Grech, Prof. Dominic Fenech, and Dr. Emiliano Alessandri.



Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act & the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation



The panel on “The Mediterranean Region in Transition”. (L to R) Dr. Alex Scებerras Trigona, Ms. Natasha Shawarib, Dr. Hamid Boukrif, Dr. Monika Wohlfeld, Dr. Ahmet İçduygu, and H.E. Amb. Fred Tanner.



The panel on “Current State of the OSCE's Mediterranean Dialogue and Prospects for Future Co-operation”. (L to R) Dr. Loic Simonet, Dr. Anat Kurz, Dr. Derek Lutterbeck, and Dr. Ian O. Lesser.

Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Final Act & the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation



Dr. Noha Bakr, Egypt, on the panel “Current state of the OSCE’s Mediterranean Dialogue and Prospects for Future Co-operation”.



Concluding Panel of the Conference. (L to R) H.E. Amb. Mohamed Lessir, Mr. Moritz Ehrmann, Dr. Joe Borg, Prof. Stephen Calleya, Dr. Monika Wohlfeld, Dr. Massimo Carnelos, and Mr. Nicolò Russo-Perez.





Family Photo of the Conference Participants.

Permanent Mission of Switzerland to the OSCE, the United Nations and the International Organizations

**Statement by *Ambassador Claude Wild*, Switzerland
at the Plenary Panel**

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The Mediterranean Chapter and the Future of Mediterranean Co-operation

10th November 2015
Westin Dragonara Resort, St. Julian's, Malta

*Mr. Minister, Directors, Excellencies,
Dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

I am very honoured to be here today representing Switzerland at this conference on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act and of its Mediterranean Chapter. I would like to thank Malta and the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies MEDAC for organizing this timely meeting.

As you know, currently the Mediterranean region is marked by a number of significant social, economic and political challenges. These comprise difficult inter-state relations, environmental risks, demographic pressure as well as conflicts, migration flows and important democratic deficits in some countries of the region. Since 2011 the region has witnessed a profound transformation.

Even if the eventual outcome of this transformation remains uncertain for the region, it has clearly highlighted the fact that security, prosperity, social cohesion and political stability in the Mediterranean

Region remain key to security, prosperity, social cohesion and political stability in the whole of Europe.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a fact that geographically, for example Tunis or Alger are closer to Geneva than Stockholm, Helsinki, Copenhagen or Dublin. Nevertheless, for many Europeans this geographic proximity is not fully acknowledged because in their minds there is a cultural/religious distance and a prosperity gap which make them think that the populations living on the southern shores of the Mediterranean are much further away from Europe than they really are.

Thus, many in Europe do not see what should be obvious, namely the necessity to build an inclusive and effective Mediterranean area of security and co-operation.

So, in order to mutually benefit from our geographical proximity we must find ways to overcome this virtual distance and gap, which both are however very real dividing lines existing in the Mediterranean Region.

How can we do that? We need for example more institutionalized links and hubs, in all spheres and sectors of the human activity in the region.

MEDAC is *de facto* such a link and hub connecting the Mediterranean in the diplomatic and academic sphere.

MEDAC can play a substantial role in supporting the current democratic transformation in the region by training officials, future leaders as well as civil society representatives, while strengthening trust and common understanding among participants from all Mediterranean shorelines. For Switzerland the continued support to MEDAC is a strategic and political choice in its policy of inclusiveness towards the region.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Just last Friday in Vienna we had an OSCE Ambassadorial retreat. The objective was to try to assess what could be delivered by the OSCE at the Belgrade ministerial meeting in early December.

One recommendation was very clear: OSCE has to stay in touch with the real world and must address challenges as they are, even if it is clear that participating States will not be able to find consensus decisions on all the challenges.

To Switzerland, it is obvious that the Mediterranean Region faces today many challenges that already impact the security, the social cohesion, and the political stability of countries situated on all of the shores of the Mediterranean.

Let me also add that despite the Helsinki Mediterranean Chapter and the different conferences that took place, the documents that were adopted and the projects that are implemented, the Mediterranean dimension of the OSCE has been neglected for too long by too many non Mediterranean participating states of the OSCE, including mine.

Most of these countries have however rediscovered, through the ongoing migrant and refugee crisis, the necessity to have a functioning, well coordinated and operational Mediterranean dimension of the OSCE.

As we have discussed in this year's OSCE-Mediterranean Conference in Jordan, it is high time to agree on a common approach to tackle the issues that have the potential to destabilize the Mediterranean Region.

I am speaking of ongoing conflicts, human insecurity in parts of the Middle East and North Africa, massive migrant and refugee movements coming from conflict or poverty areas of the Middle East or sub-Saharan Africa, Transnational organized crime that exploit refugee and migrant vulnerability and terrorist groups that try to fill political vacuums and spread violence across the region.

These issues are serious issues, they are all interconnected and need a coordinated and cooperative response.

The refugee/migration phenomenon alone raises questions that concern different policy areas covering human rights, humanitarian protection and assistance, combating human trafficking and human smuggling, border management and security issues, socio-economic integration and financial burden-sharing.

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The OSCE has mainly been constructed to be a Forum for dialogue and confidence building, but today it also has effective tools to be operational on the ground.

That is why Switzerland believes that the OSCE, with its comprehensive approach to security, integrating economy and environment as well as democratization and human rights, has a toolbox to address many of these issues. It can usefully contribute to a coordinated international response without duplicating the activities of other organizations.

So, what could be further developed relatively rapidly using the Mediterranean dimension and the Mediterranean partnership structure of the OSCE?

Firstly, we believe that inter-regional dialogue on co-operative migration governance should be enhanced. In this respect, the OSCE, being a long-term platform of exchange between European and Mediterranean countries, can play a very important role.

Secondly, the OSCE could assist participating States and Partner countries with integrating a human rights component into their response to the migration challenge. This is particularly relevant for instance in the areas of border management and the protection of the rights of migrants, where ODIHR and the OSCE Special Representative on Combatting Trafficking in Human Beings could play a leading role.

Thirdly, through its partnership the OSCE can help foster regional dialogue and co-operation in the Middle East and North Africa. This is of particular importance since the lack of regional cooperation within these regions is a factor that complicates co-operative responses to common challenges in the broader Mediterranean region.

Switzerland believes that there is both scope and need for pragmatic co-operative security efforts in the Middle East and North African region. Indeed, States share common interests and face common challenges that could provide potential entry points for co-operation. Among these are cyber security, disaster risk reduction, shared water management as well as building perspectives for the youth.

These issues are all also addressed by the OSCE. The Organization's experience in inclusive and regular dialogue and in confidence-building may therefore serve as a source of inspiration for co-operative security in North Africa and in the Middle East.

In conclusion, I would therefore like to encourage all of us, the OSCE participating States and the Mediterranean Partners, to consider the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act and of its Mediterranean Chapter as an opportunity to aim at enhanced dialogue and closer co-operation in the Mediterranean region.

This dialogue and this co-operation should obviously address the management of the current refugee and migration crisis. But it should also build a comprehensive, long term and inclusive approach for the region. An approach, that takes fully into account the fact that we all share the common destiny, which is shaped by the human, geographic and environmental realities of the Mediterranean Region.

Thank you for your attention.



Mrs. Tamara Rastovac-Siamashvili

**Minister Counselor, Deputy Head of the OSCE Chairmanship
Task Force - Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of
Serbia**

**Introductory Remarks
at the Plenary Panel**

10th November 2015

Westin Dragonara Resort, St. Julian's, Malta

*Chairpersons,
Minister Vella,
Secretary General,
Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It is a great pleasure for me to address this distinguished audience. Let me start by expressing the OSCE Chairmanship's sincere gratitude to Malta for spearheading this Helsinki +40 initiative and to Minister Vella for the profile he has given to this conference. I would also like to thank the Diplomatic Academy of Malta and the *New-Med* network for putting together an outstanding program. We believe that events such as this one serve a particularly important function. They open the discussion about the history of our Organization to civil society, academia, and the wider public. This can only help us better chart the future in these uncertain times.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act and its Mediterranean Chapter which recognized that "*security in Europe is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area as a whole*". At no time has this link been more apparent than in the very challenging circumstances we face today. Our regions are experiencing renewed and increased tensions. As we cope with crises both in Europe and the Middle East, terrorist groups are taking advantage of instability to wage

a frontal attack on our common civilization. Ankara, Copenhagen, Paris, and Sousse, are just some of the many places that have been the scene of despicable terrorist acts this year. The growing number of Foreign Terrorist Fighters travelling from Europe to commit violence in Syria and Iraq has added a new dimension and represents a very dangerous trend.

Following the opposite trajectory, masses of people are taking a dangerous journey to cross the Mediterranean Sea into the European continent in a desperate attempt to flee conflict and hardship. Faced with a phenomenon of historic proportions that will most probably stay with us for the long term, we are duty-bound to come up with a comprehensive, humane, and sustainable solution to address this phenomenon, particularly the protection needs of refugees, and the human rights of all.

While joining forces to fight terrorism and uniting to meet the needs of people on the move, we have to continue to promote integration as the basis for diverse and peaceful societies. We must unite in countering the divisive messages that are being spread by groups who reject dialogue, tolerance and peaceful coexistence and threaten the basis of our societies. It is our shared responsibility to reverse this negative trend towards extremism and polarization by developing a strong counter-narrative that promotes respect for diversity and the value of dialogue.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As it was underlined by previous distinguished speakers, the magnitude and complexity of the challenges faced by the Euro-Mediterranean region cannot be addressed by a single state or organization on its own. We can only prevent and address violent extremism and radicalization when co-ordinating our approaches; we can only achieve peaceful coexistence and stable societies if we convey a joint message of unity; and we can only effectively alleviate the flow of refugees and migrants if we co-operate across borders.

I am therefore pleased to say that the OSCE is playing its part in a joint international effort to address the common challenges that the OSCE area and the Mediterranean share. The Organization has a proven track record in providing a platform for dialogue and common action, and fostering international coalitions to achieve common goals. We welcome proposals on how to further strengthen the OSCE-Mediterranean Partnership to make it even more operational and action-oriented. At the OSCE-Mediterranean Conference in Jordan last October we collected a number of constructive and forward-looking recommendations. We look forward to ideas and proposals that will be presented during today's discussions.

For our part, we are determined to ensure that the OSCE Ministerial Council in Belgrade this coming December (2015) will tackle some of the most pressing challenges facing our common Euro-Mediterranean space. In particular, we are confident that the Organization will be able to deliver new common positions on crucial issues such as shared approaches to counter violent radicalization and extremism that leads to terrorism and on how to turn the ongoing migration and refugee crisis into an opportunity for cooperation while protecting the security of all.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is true that lately our Organization has been focused on the current crisis in and around Ukraine, which has evidenced its operational flexibility and the relevance of its entire toolbox. But this engagement has not distracted a bit our attention for the Mediterranean. As this commemorative event demonstrates, we remain convinced that the OSCE needs to invest in its decades-old Mediterranean Partnership, because the OSCE experience bears relevance to the increasingly interdependent Euro-Mediterranean region as a whole.

I would like to wish all participants active and fruitful discussions.

Thank you.

Ms. Gudrun Sräga
Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Malta

Opening Remarks
at the Plenary Panel

10th November 2015
Westin Dragonara Resort, St. Julian's, Malta

*Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Vella,
Your Excellency, Secretary General, Zannier
Excellencies, Fellow Ambassadors,
Distinguished Participants,*

The subject of the Conference could not be more topical. Also, the location is ideal, since Malta geographically constitutes the border, but also connects Europe/ the OSCE with Mediterranean Countries beyond the sea. And the timing of the Conference this week is perfect as it precedes the Valletta Summit between the European Union and Africa on Migration and thus adds an important aspect to that summit.

- As the previous speakers have already pointed out, the Mediterranean chapter of the Helsinki Final Act, which was particularly promoted by Malta at the time, was indeed very forward-looking.
- Today, against the backdrop of the Syrian crisis, the current migration flows and the common threat of radicalization and terrorism, we see clearer than ever that “the security in Europe is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area as a whole”, as the Final Act states.
- It is true: we cannot solve our manifold common challenges each on our own. Wherever the roots of these challenges lie,

we will only succeed, if we work together to address them.

- That is why the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership is such an important and necessary forum for exchange of views and co-operation.

As this year's chair, Germany was determined to strengthen the Partnership.

- For the first time in the history of the OSCE's Mediterranean Partnership, this year's annual OSCE Mediterranean Conference in Jordan, less than a month ago, has served as a platform for a high level political discussion among foreign ministers and other high representatives from international organizations on common security challenges.
- We were able to jointly reflect on common principles contributing to security and co-operation both in the OSCE and in the Mediterranean. The Mediterranean Conference thus concluded a year of intensive and fruitful discussions between the OSCE participating states and their Mediterranean Partners.
- In Jordan we heard a clear call from participating ministers and delegations to strengthen the Mediterranean Partnership of the OSCE. We are very proud that this call was heeded and many concrete proposals were put on the table. These were among others:
 - to make better use of the partnership fund to deepen co-operation with our partners
 - to work together on issues such as SALW (Small Arms and Light Weapons) and the fight against human trafficking
 - to better involve young people and
 - to enable our partners to partake in the activities of the OSCE in a broader sense.

- And finally, the hope has been expressed that the partnership can be extended to Libya once the situation there stabilizes and enables Libya to co-operate with the OSCE.
- We will discuss these concrete proposals at the last meeting of the German Chairmanship of the Mediterranean Partnership on 20 November in Vienna. We are grateful to the Secretary General for his proposal to follow-up within the format “An Hour with the Secretary General”.
- As the Italian Foreign Minister Gentiloni reminded us at the Mediterranean Conference in Jordan, the ancient Romans called the Mediterranean “mare nostrum”, which literally means “our sea”. If we look at a map of Europe and the Middle East/ North Africa (MENA) region, it becomes clear that the Mediterranean is indeed our common environment. It is not something which separates us, but something which connects us.
- Therefore, it is important to continue and intensify dialogue and co-operation between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partners. As the 2015 chair of the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership, Germany hopes to have contributed to this aim.
- Finally Germany wants to reiterate that as Chair of the OSCE in 2016 we stand ready to support the incoming Chair of the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership, Austria, and will look forward to working closely together.
- Let me thank the host of the Conference, the Mediterranean Academy for Diplomatic Studies/ MEDAC and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Malta, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Rome and other Italian organizations, and the OSCE Secretariat which contributed to the preparations.

I wish fruitful discussions and forward-looking results.

***Permanent Representative of Italy to the OSCE
Ambassador Vittorio Rocco di Torrepadula***

Speech delivered at the conference
**“Helsinki plus 40: The Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki
Final Act and the future of Mediterranean Co-operation”**

Malta, 10th November 2015

Excellencies, dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for me to attend this international conference in a Country which is part of our common civilization. I am particularly grateful to Minister George Vella, for inviting a representative of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and to Prof. Stephen Calleya, President of MEDAC and Prof. Ettore Greco, of IAI. I am also glad to continue here in Malta a reflection that started in Rome in 2013, at the time of the Italian Presidency of the EU, on the Helsinki plus 40 process and the future of the OSCE Mediterranean dimension.

I believe that we made some important steps forward in strengthening the relations between the OSCE and the Mediterranean Partner in the last two years. Although the Helsinki + 40 formula begins to look outdated, the Helsinki spirit fully animated the OSCE Mediterranean dimension, keeping actively together the six Southern Partners including Israel, with an increasing level of political dialogue, much more vivid attention, continuing cooperation, a ministerial political declaration in Basel and Mediterranean Conference at the political level. We are grateful for these results to the Swiss and Serbian Chairmanship of the OSCE and to the German Presidency of the Mediterranean Contact Group. And I am pretty satisfied of the contribution OSCE has offered thanks to the engagement of Mediterranean Partners, the participating States, the Secretary General and all the Executive structures, in a period which has been marked by the crisis in and around Ukraine.

Now, I believe this Conference is very timely, because we have to keep this Partnership and relaunch dialogue across the Mediterranean through the OSCE, overcoming the tendency of some participating States to forget this dimension and to consider it as an option with respect to security and cooperation in Europe.

As happened in Rome in 2013, I find it very useful to recall in the title of this conference the Helsinki final Act and the chapter which is devoted to “questions related to security and cooperation in the Mediterranean”. That chapter, in fact, is a constituent part of the Helsinki Act and it indicates principles which remain enlightening today: security of Europe inextricably linked to security in the Mediterranean, good neighbourly relations on the basis of the Helsinki principles, mutual confidence, dialogue and cooperation in very broad areas, to promote progress, advancement, expansion of dialogue to include all States of the Mediterranean.

So, the Partnership does not have a technical nature: it is a political commitment backed by concrete indications for its development.

I trust we are all invited today to indicate an avenue which could allow a strengthening and development of the partnership in a scenario where the Mediterranean is suffering from an arc of crises that stretches from Libya to Syria, with the unprecedented pressure coming from Horn of Africa and part of Sub-Saharan Africa, causing irregular migration, trafficking, refugees flows, terrorism. Religious divides have sharply deepened and Daesh (Isil) has emerged as a new para-State reality. The Syrian crisis, where major Powers are involved, also causes the dramatic influx of refugees to Turkey, Eastern Europe and Northern Europe.

I believe that the recent Mediterranean Conference in Jordan and this Conference show how constructive, moderate and useful the OSCE Mediterranean partnership can be to increase dialogue and mutual confidence in a situation where the windows of opportunity for dialogue tend to shrink.

Therefore Italy and Malta and other European Union participating States are convinced that the OSCE Mediterranean Partnership has to be supported and nurtured to remain a vital tool of mutual confidence and a vehicle for Helsinki principles, particularly when security and cooperation cannot be taken for granted in the Mediterranean.

I will try now to say how we could try to achieve this aim. First, I believe that the future of the Mediterranean Partnership beyond 2015 is based on existing structures and mechanisms which have not been entirely implemented. High level dialogue and technical cooperation – which is the topic of this Conference – can be further promoted and enhanced. I do not believe that we should institutionalize them: they should be entirely left to the desire of Mediterranean Partners. Nevertheless, they could be fostered in areas like border management, prevention of terrorism, migration, environment and sustainable development. Culture and training should be two broad areas of constant cooperation through exchanges, visits, workshops, particularly focused on youth. Finally the OSCE acquis in terms of human rights, democratization, rule of law should be constantly available to Partners after the example of the very significant projects ODHIR already implemented in Tunisia.

In the Conference in Jordan there were some practical proposals to strengthen future cooperation: a Special Representative for the Mediterranean, the possibility to submit to the Permanent Council entire programs instead of single projects. I believe the Secretary General could assist the Institutions and the Participating States to give the best shape to these proposals. In the end, we should find the way to encourage participation and genuine proposals of our Partners. Their real wishes, consistent with the OSCE capacities, are essential to give a regular breathing in the Mediterranean Partnership.

In this perspective, we rely on the OSCE institutions – the Secretary General, the autonomous institutions – particularly the Special

Representative for the fight against Trafficking of Human Beings – to continue to submit proposals and initiatives to try to respond to the wishes of Mediterranean Partners, in a way and with instruments which could promote as much as possible a balanced and wide contribution of Participating States.

I also believe that the present participation – in PC, meetings with Troika, in the MCG, the annual Conference – are basically sufficient. May be, in the preparation of the Ministerial Council we could give a better say it Partners, to compensate the Euro Atlantic Euro Asian axis which is privileged by the present Membership, at the expenses of the Mediterranean Chapter of the Helsinki Act.

I would like now to say a few words on the issue of irregular migration, that Malta and Italy face with the highest attention. The OSCE Presidency proposed a draft declaration for the Ministerial Council in Belgrade which is well describing the possible activities and institutional reflection within the limits of the competence of the Organization. We believe this is very useful and necessary from the angle of the three different dimensions of the OSCE: security, economic and environment, human rights. Of course, we have to avoid duplications of activities with other organisations and increase consultation for concrete ways of cooperation on the ground.

Italy is prepared to host a Security Day on migration in Rome.

At the same time we look with a strong expectation to the EU Africa Summit in La Valletta, which is opening tomorrow. It will put emphasis on development aid and on legal avenues to enter the EU, return and readmission policies.

To conclude, we can be reasonably satisfied of the present shape of the Partnership. The further challenge we have ahead is to make dialogue and cooperation more regular on the basis of Partners wishes – with the contribution of the civil society, academia, think tanks (this is the spirit of the New Med research network), based on key OSCE competences , in order to get the maximum mutual advantage from this unique security and cooperation relation.

Thanks for your attention.

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Text of the Helsinki Final Act 1975⁵

Questions relating to Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean

The participating States,

Conscious of the geographical, historical, cultural, economic and political aspects of their relationship with the non-participating Mediterranean States,

Convinced that security in Europe is to be considered in the broader context of world security and is closely linked with security in the Mediterranean area as a whole, and that accordingly the process of improving security should not be confined to Europe but should extend to other parts of the world, and in particular to the Mediterranean area,

Believing that the strengthening of security and the intensification of co-operation in Europe would stimulate positive processes in the Mediterranean region, and expressing their intention to contribute towards peace, security and justice in the region, in which ends the participating States and the non-participating Mediterranean States have a common interest,

Recognizing the importance of their mutual economic relations with the nonparticipating Mediterranean States, and conscious of their common interest in the further development of co-operation,

Noting with appreciation the interest expressed by the non-participating Mediterranean States in the Conference since its inception, and having duly taken their contributions into account,

5 pp.36-37 (<https://www.osce.org/mc/39501?download=true>)

Declare their intention:

- to promote the development of good-neighbourly relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, on which their relations are based, and with the United Nations Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States and accordingly, in this context, to conduct their relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States;
- to seek, by further improving their relations with the non-participating Mediterranean States, to increase mutual confidence, so as to promote security and stability in the Mediterranean area as a whole;
- to encourage with the non-participating Mediterranean States the development of mutually beneficial co-operation in the various fields of economic activity, especially by expanding commercial exchanges, on the basis of a common awareness of the necessity for stability and progress in trade relations, of their mutual economic interests, and of differences in the levels of economic development, thereby promoting their economic advancement and well-being;
- to contribute to a diversified development of the economies of the non-participating Mediterranean countries, whilst taking due account of their national development objectives, and to cooperate with them, especially in the sectors of industry, science and technology, in their efforts to achieve a better utilization of their resources, thus promoting a more harmonious development of economic relations;
- to intensify their efforts and their co-operation on a bilateral and multilateral basis with the non - participating Mediterranean States directed towards the improvement of the environment of the Mediterranean, especially the safeguarding of the biological resources

and ecological balance of the sea, by appropriate measures including the prevention and control of pollution; to this end, and in view of the present situation, to cooperate through competent international organizations and in particular within the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP);

- to promote further contacts and co-operation with the non-participating Mediterranean States in other relevant fields.

In order to advance the objectives set forth above, the participating States also declare their intention of maintaining and amplifying the contacts and dialogue as initiated by the CSCE with the non-participating Mediterranean States to include all the States of the Mediterranean, with the purpose of contributing to peace, reducing armed forces in the region, strengthening security, lessening tensions in the region, and widening the scope of co-operation, ends in which all share a common interest, as well as with the purpose of defining further common objectives.

The participating States would seek, in the framework of their multilateral efforts, to encourage progress and appropriate initiatives and to proceed to an exchange of views on the attainment of the above purposes.

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The Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) is an institution of higher learning offering advanced degrees in diplomacy and conflict resolution with a focus on Mediterranean issues.

MEDAC was established in 1990 pursuant to an agreement between the governments of Malta and Switzerland. The Academy is currently co-funded by the Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Malta in the framework of the Swiss contribution to the new European Union member states. The Geneva Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (HEID) was among MEDAC's first foreign partners. More recently, MEDAC has concluded an agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany, represented by the Foreign Office, in turn represented by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and established a German Chair in Peace Studies and Conflict Prevention.

In 2015 MEDAC celebrated its 25th anniversary. Since its inception, MEDAC has acquired a solid reputation both as an academic institution and as a practical training platform. We are fortunate to count over 670 alumni from 59 different countries who have completed successfully the post-graduate courses offered by the Academy. The EU's enlargement towards the Mediterranean, that included Malta in 2004, and the recent transformation of the political landscape throughout the Arab World have resulted in an ever increasing demand for MEDAC's programme of studies.

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