

Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC)

Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco



Malta, July 2011

Med Agenda — Special Issue

MEDAC Publications in Mediterranean IR and Diplomacy

Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco

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Med Agenda — Special Issue

MEDAC Series in Mediterranean IR and Diplomacy

On the cover: the portrait of the President of Malta, Professor Guido de Marco
by Lawrence Buttigieg, 2001, President’s Palace.

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PREFACE

Since their launching in October 1996, Professor Guido de Marco was a stalwart champion of the Euro-Mediterranean Information and Training Seminars. As an advocate of co-operative Euro-Mediterranean relations Professor de Marco always emphasised the importance of people to people interaction through confidence building measures such as the Euro-Mediterranean Seminars for Diplomats, also known as the Malta Seminars.

During the 30th Information and Training Seminar for Euro-Mediterranean diplomats in May 2011 a Feature Session was held to pay tribute to Professor Guido de Marco and his legacy of promoting peaceful and prosperous Euro-Mediterranean relations.

The panel of distinguished speakers at this tribute consisted of the following:

Dr. Joe Borg, Chairman, MEDAC, Univ. of Malta;

Dr. Bichara Khader, Director, Arab Study and Research Centre at the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium;

Amb. Magdy Hefny, Director of the Regional Center for Research and Studies of Water Ethics, Cairo, Egypt;

Dr. Nick Hopkinson, former Director, Wilton Park, UK;

Prof. Stephen Calleya, Director, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC), Malta and

Mr. Tom McGrath (Ireland), Administrator, European Commission, External Relations DG, Brussels.

In addition to the Tribute being attended by the Euro-Mediterranean Seminar participants, members of the Diplomatic Corps in Malta, and representatives of the University of Malta, MEDAC was also honoured by the presence of the entire de Marco family.

Throughout his sterling international career Professor Guido de Marco relentlessly sought to bring the different peoples of the Euro-Mediterranean area closer together. As a signatory of the Barcelona Declaration, Professor de Marco sought to create a more conducive environment within which Euro-Mediterranean cooperative initiatives could be nurtured. The Euro-Mediterranean Information Seminars in Malta is one such mechanism that has brought together more than one thousand eight hundred participants together from across the Euro-Mediterranean area and allowed them to foster a culture of dialogue and cooperation.

As Chairman of MEDAC, Professor de Marco continuously supported the Euro-Med Seminars on every occasion possible by sharing the unique sense of wisdom he had obtained during decades as an exceptional statesman, politician and academic.

This publication is a memento of presentations and talks delivered by the above mentioned Feature Panel — Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco.

Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco

AN INTERNATIONAL STATESMAN AND A PERFECT GENTLEMAN

by **Prof. Stephen Calleya**

Director, MEDAC

Mrs de Marco, de Marco Family members, Excellencies, delegates, colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is both an honour and a pleasure to welcome you to this tribute to the late Professor Guido de Marco, President Emeritus of Malta.

Throughout his illustrious career as an international statesman, Prof. de Marco will always be remembered for his **extraordinary devotion and conviction** when it came to **Championing Issues pertaining to the Mediterranean.**

As, President of the 45th General Assembly of the United Nations, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta, a Signator of the Barcelona Declaration in November 1995 and President of Malta, Prof de Marco relentlessly highlighted the importance of prioritizing the link between European politics and Mediterranean relations, a Euro-Mediterranean relationship that should be built on three essential commonalities, common interest, common concerns, and common heritage.

At one of the first Euro-Mediterranean Seminars Prof. de Marco captured the essence of why such Seminars are so important when he articulated the following:

“May I remind you that these sessions constitute one of the few successful partnership building measures in operation. I firmly believe that by having people meet regularly, getting to know each other and perhaps building personal relationships - by creating a culture of dialogue and developing its structures - one would be gradually creating the right background and providing a more congenial atmosphere within which specific issues could be tackled and dealt with more effectively.

Pursuing peace in a sea in turmoil is our shared responsibility. Building a Pax Mediterranea is the challenge which we Ministers and diplomats, parliamentarians and educators are facing.” A challenge and a trust which we face and hold for future generations.”

I believe implementing such an Agenda of Wisdom is essential in our times of such historic change in the Mediterranean.

In recent years all of us were extremely fortunate to be able to work very closely with Professor de Marco in his capacity as Chairman of the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC) at the University of Malta. His **wisdom, vision and charisma were the heart and soul of all our activities.** All staff, students and friends at MEDAC were enlightened by his relentless devotion to working towards a better tomorrow. Professor Guido de Marco’s **legacy of promoting a more peaceful tomorrow will live forever through MEDAC’s endeavours.**

In December 2009 MEDAC celebrated its 20th anniversary: I would like to share a brief excerpt of Prof. de Marco's keynote address on this occasion in which he highlighted several of the challenges referred to earlier. *(the transcript of the video footage follows)*



“Deputy Prime Minister, President Emeritus, Excellencies, Dr. Vella, Ladies and Gentlemen, what a pleasure it is for me to welcome you all on behalf of MEDAC to this commemorative Conference, what a pleasure it is for me to have next to me former Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Besmertynk, a man of great intellectual calibre, Mr. Sununu, former head of staff of President George Bush. It is a pleasure to welcome you here on a 20th anniversary of an event which changed in actual fact the geopolitics of the world.

“The Malta summit – the first since the new American President and his administration had taken office could be regarded as symbolic in many respects – we met at the junction of three continents, the crossroads of the world, and the meeting point of manifold interests. The talks were to take place on warships, the symbols of the military might behind the Soviet and the American leaders. The world was on the threshold of a new era “. The result was, in spite of the difficulties of going on the battleships and transferring, on the advice of the sailors, to the Maxim Gorky, a very good result. As Shevardnadze wrote “The Malta Summit had drawn the curtain on the cold war, although we still have to live with its difficult legacy “. The German unification problem was part of this difficult legacy, it required ten more months to solve. And again as said by Shevardnadze, in Malta, in a stormy weather of the Mediterranean we buried the cold war. We are living today, the obvious signs of this burying of the Cold War. Certainly the Cold War was buried.

Another minor anniversary, our anniversary, MEDAC's anniversary, we are also twenty years old. Perhaps emerging ourselves to, from this wonderful event,

a wonderful event indeed for us all at MEDAC through the joint efforts of Switzerland and Malta, which we acknowledge and we have managed to get to Malta hundreds of students in diplomacy coming from so many different parts of the world and it is a pleasure to lecture to them and to ensure that these new diplomats are being molded in a frame of mind which upholds the nature of their own history in their own country but also is approaching the new world which was made in Malta twenty years ago today. Thank you for coming on behalf of the Swiss delegation and on behalf of Switzerland which has contributed to MEDAC for these 20 years.

A last word on the Mediterranean. Just a few months after the Malta summit I went to Brussels to present on behalf of the Malta Government, the application of Malta to join the European Community. And in Liberation, Jacques Delors had this to say about Malta. He said "Let us not forget that in the year 2000 we shall be more 12, maybe a little more than 20. There is a country one forgets, but which is very important as a symbol, Malta. We must not displace Europe too much to the north by forgetting the south since we could risk losing our sensitivity to the Mediterranean world which is our world but which at present has dangers for the future of all of us". How right was the government of Malta in 1975 when it linked the security in Europe with security in the Mediterranean. And I think the problems of the Middle East are perhaps one of those problems which have not been solved by the Malta summit. Thank you so much for hearing me out but I wanted to indulge with you the relevance of this anniversary."



Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco

by Dr. Joe Borg

Chairman, MEDAC, University of Malta

How can one seek to characterize Professor Guido de Marco? A lawyer who in the field of criminal law had no equals; a politician who was, in equal measure, strategic and principled; a diplomat whose powers of persuasion became justly famous; a statesman who served his country with dignity and intelligence; a gentleman who was as kind as he could be pugnacious.

On the occasion of his demise last August there were, justly and unsurprisingly, many tributes made to Professor de Marco. It is difficult to say anything which has not been said before about his brilliance as a lawyer or about his indefatigable service to Malta or about his sense of purpose as President of the UN General Assembly.

I will therefore only make my own few personal reflections on this great man.

I got to know about Professor de Marco in the late sixties, when, in my teens, I started to be intrigued by the practice of law, and criminal law, in particular, due in good part to what I now describe as the “Perry Mason” infatuation; and then again when I began to interest myself in politics.

However, I only met Professor de Marco face to face when I joined the law course at the University of Malta and he was one of my lecturers during my first and second and then again during my fifth year. In my university days I relished listening to him lecture to us on criminal law. His wealth of knowledge of the subject and his own experience in that area of the law were unparalleled and this, when coupled with his flair and his personal insight, made his lectures a unique experience.

I then got to know Professor de Marco more closely when I started to involve myself in politics during the seventies and especially when I started to frequent the Nationalist Party Headquarters as member of the “Kunsill Generali” and then also of the “Ezekuttiv” (both being bodies within the Party setup). It was here that I experienced first hand this consummate politician that “Guido” was, as we novices in the political fray used to love calling him. This was the time when the Nationalist Party was in opposition in the seventies and in the early to mid-eighties.

After the electoral victory of 1987, by the Nationalist Party, and the decision taken by the new government in office to apply for membership of the then European Community, I had the extreme good fortune of working closely with him when he became Foreign Minister. This was only a short interval after I had been asked to set up an EU Directorate within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this context I worked intimately with him in order to prepare Malta for accession to the European Union. His commitment to Malta’s membership of the EU was strong, principled and determined.

As fate would have it I was appointed Foreign Minister when Professor de Marco became President of Malta. In this capacity I was privileged to sign Malta’s Treaty of Accession to the

European Union, a step which was facilitated by Professor de Marco's own tireless efforts. As Foreign Minister I took the cue from Professor de Marco and continued the policy of achieving European Union membership while at the same time emphasising Malta's Mediterranean vocation, as he always rightly maintained.

Professor de Marco's Presidency of Malta will long be remembered as one that, in his own words "was close to the people". Throughout his career he always remained close to the people and the people remained close to him.

Since December I have been called upon, once again, to succeed Professor de Marco; this time as the Chairman of the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies. I know how close to his heart MEDAC was. He saw in it a perfect vehicle for expressing the intrinsic importance of Mediterranean dialogue, exchange and friendship. I am honoured to have been called upon to continue pursuing these noble goals.

Following the legacy bequeathed to us by Professor de Marco, allow me now to say just a very few words on the objectives of MEDAC for the coming years.

MEDAC has achieved considerable success since its setting up and it now enjoys a strong repute in its fields of excellence. We cannot, however, rest on our laurels. We are committed to improve on what we have done so far by diversifying our field of activities both geographically and thematically. We are seeking to widen the current geographical network, possibly by inviting other countries and organisations on the Swiss, German or some other model. At the same time we are considering how to broaden the current academic interests of MEDAC, extending

them beyond the traditional diplomatic affairs to issues having an economic perspective or relating to environmental diplomacy or climate change. We are also seeking to develop new instruments, and to organise other activities, in addition to the ones we have, that can help us better address the new realities unfolding in the aftermath of the Arab Spring.

The demands for the services that MEDAC can offer are constantly on the increase, and now even more so. We are more than ready to accede to such demands and to the considerable challenges of increased space and resources that, as a result, we will need to address.

I am certain that Professor de Marco would have wanted to do so. Now that he is no longer with us, it is up to us to deliver. And we will seek to do so because we firmly believe in the future of MEDAC and because we are driven by the same love that Professor de Marco nurtured for the Mediterranean waters that surround us.

In conclusion, I have the pleasure to announce that the Board of Administrators of MEDAC has just decided to set up a scholarship fund in memory of Professor Guido de Marco for the award of an annual scholarship to support one student to pursue a Masters in Diplomacy (M.Dip) with MEDAC.

Thank you.

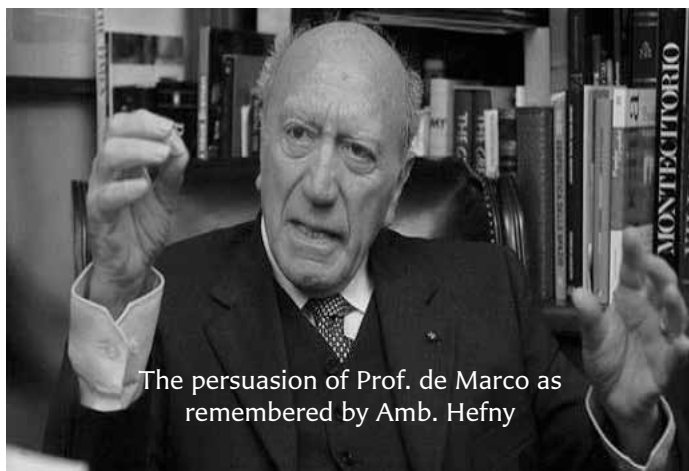


Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco

My Country “EGYPT” and the Arab Region Enjoyed de Marco’s True Friendship

by **Ambassador Dr. Magdy A. Hefny**

Director of the Regional Center for Research and Studies
of Water Ethics, Cairo, Egypt



Mrs. De Marco, and Family
Excellencies, Distinguished Participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen

At the outset, I would like to express my deep thanks and gratitude to H.E. Dr. Joe Borg, Chairman of MEDAC, and to Prof. Stephen Calleya, Director of MEDAC, as well as the organizers for inviting me to be part of the feature panel paying

tribute to Prof. Guido de Marco. The theme of my submission is “My Country “EGYPT” and the Arab Region Enjoyed De Marco’s True Friendship”

This great moment is a powerful occasion to commemorate, recollect, and most important to recognize Professor Guido de Marco’s legacy in Malta’s political life, in the world of diplomacy and politics, and in, regional Euro-Mediterranean dialogue and cooperation. He believed that such cooperation is a basic element in creating structures to consolidate regional security and cooperation.

Indeed, at this moment, Malta and the world of politics and diplomacy lost one of its greatest minds and a dynamic driving force with one of the strongest voices in regional and international politics.

On the home front Prof. de Marco was an eminent criminal lawyer, Minister and Deputy Prime Minister and also as President of the United Nations’ General Assembly. And in his role as a university professor and a chairman of MEDAC, he left his unique mark.

His achievements in high public office, both in Malta and internationally will remain recorded in our modern political history books. And he is the one that presented Malta’s request to join the European Union back in 1990.

I think it is more the individual day-to-day experiences so many people have of Prof. de Marco that have spurred this “outburst of respect and love”, as his family put it in their statement of thanks.

Paying tribute to Professor de Marco, he was a man of ideas and promoting fresh thinking and in bringing about new concepts. He believed that:

- “Relevance does not depend on size but on ideas. “This is what Malta has succeeded in achieving” (Lawrence Gonzi, Prime Minister of Malta, told Parliament in his Speech).
- “Through the politics of persuasion and the rules of engagement, which dictated that two parties need to find the points that link an argument rather than focus on what divides an issue (Guido de Marco, Autobiography).
- He was also instrumental in consolidating Malta’s active contribution to the work of international organizations, including the United Nations, the OSCE, the Council of Europe and the Commonwealth.
- The well known dictum ‘*Si vis pacem, para bellum*’ (if you want peace, prepare for war) should be modified in this day and age to read: ‘*Si vis pacem, para pacem*’ (if you want peace prepare for peace).
- He was reiterating his belief that ‘A step forward in disarmament is a step forward in the survival of mankind.
- He put across several questions in his keynote address to the Montana Forum (Switzerland) “Revisiting Multilateralism: Which Order For the World?”. “What is this new order? Are we going to exercise prevention of wars on a unilateral basis or does the future lie again in the United Nations Charter, the only way to enforce peace and peacekeeping?
- During his Presidency of the UNGA in 1990 (45th Session), Prof. de Marco initiated a dialogue, that later led to a presidential motion unanimously approved, to revitalize the General Assembly and

other aspects of reform necessary during a time of transition in international relations.

- Representing the General Assembly, as its President, Prof. de Marco undertook a number of diplomatic initiatives leading to his visit to the refugee camps in the Occupied Territories and Jordan, to Ethiopia and Albania.
- He proposed a new role for the Trusteeship Council, an initiative which was pursued by Malta within the United Nations, an initiative which Malta is known with.
- He insisted that the role of the president of the General Assembly was not limited to presiding over meetings but rather to represent it and to generate wider and greater awareness of some of the most vital issues the General Assembly discussed and deliberated upon. This he did successfully on many occasions and, particularly, in his handling of the Kuwait crisis for which the Kuwaitis have remained ever so grateful.

Iraq invasion of Kuwait.

His role as President of the UN General Assembly had come at a time, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. In this role he had the courage to take a clear stand and declare that Kuwait should be given all necessary support in that time of dire need. And no wonder that the Emir of Kuwait and his delegation had not only attended his funeral but bestowed such an honor on him.

The Palestinian Question.

With the strongest voice he stood firm for Palestinian rights and the refugees' plight in the occupied territories, while he was caught in gunfire between the Palestinian youth and the Israeli forces, during his visit to Palestine.

Mrs. Suha Arafat, the widow of former Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, described Guido de Marco as a courageous man and a great leader. "When my husband was under siege in Ramallah and everybody was afraid to talk to him, Guido de Marco had the courage to call him every day. He was a loyal man when there was no loyalty at all," Mrs. Arafat said. She cited an Arabic proverb that says: *"A person who has children to follow his path will not die."* She added that "There are people who make history and Guido de Marco was one of them. And Malta should be proud of great men like Prof. de Marco."

Guido de Marco's legacy will influence the establishment of peace and cooperation among all nations of the Mediterranean, (according to the chairman of the UN's Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of Palestinian People). "Prof. de Marco is well known to the members of the committee as an ardent supporter of a comprehensive, just and lasting solution of the Question of Palestine on the basis of international legitimacy and the United Nations resolutions," Ambassador Bajdi said.

He added that "Prof. de Marco contributed personally to identifying practicable approaches towards moving the Israeli-Palestinian peace process forward, he said, adding that the former President highly valued the role of the United Nations, including the committee, in resolving the conflict".

As President of the General Assembly in 1990, he addressed the special meeting of the committee to commemorate the International Solidarity Day with the Palestinian People. When, in 1992, the Government of Malta invited the committee to hold its European meeting in Malta, Prof. de Marco addressed its opening session in his capacity as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Malta.

“He remained a true friend of the committee, always prepared to support its work with advice and counsel. Participants in the United Nations International Meeting in Support of Israeli-Palestinian Peace held in 2008 in Malta gained from his vast experience and insight on the situation in the Middle East as part of the Mediterranean when he addressed the gathering as an invited Honorable Expert,” Ambassador Bajdi said.

The Ambassador and Permanent Observer of Palestine to the United Nations, Riyad Mansour, also shared his condolences for the passing away of *“a true friend of Palestine”*.

For me, since I started my journey with MEDAC in 2004, I enjoyed every moment in meetings with Professor Guido de Marco. His loss is great not only for his family and the Maltese, but also for me. I express deeply that he was a real friend to me, my country “EGYPT” and to my Arab Region. His style and attitude made an impression on me from the outset: brightness, joy of life, a sense of humor, a vivacious intelligence coupled with an approach which many times, would ultimately convince.

In this great moment, I remember all our meetings and discussions about the future of our regional Euro-Med dialogue and cooperation. *His vision* gave me a lot of hope for democracy, peace, and stability to reign over EGYPT and the entire Mediterranean region.

I found in him a man of vision and conviction, together with an extraordinary personal charisma, and a man of principles, possesses the power of reason, and reconciliation. I enjoyed being in audience with Professor de Marco, and I was always happy meeting him and seizing his wisdom and looking forward to our next meeting together. I wish the new political generation would manage to live up to the standards set by great statesmen of his kind.

For MEDAC, the diplomatic and international community will deeply miss this great leader, academic and diplomat. Professor de Marco contributed his knowledge and great experience by writing his famous Autobiography on “the Politics of Persuasion”, which is a must for every student following the MEDAC Diplomatic Studies programme at the University of Malta.

De Marco, I will always remember you as a man of noble traits, a brilliant mind that contributed a lot to the people of Malta and led them into the European Union. I will always remember you as a knowledge generator for the benefit of people of the Mediterranean and beyond, as you have disseminated your knowledge and experience beyond Malta, serving the cause of peace in the world.

At the dawn of the widespread of Arab springs of political change and democratization, may I propose that “Euro-Med Seminars establish on its agenda “A Guido de Marco Observatory for Euro-Med Best Practices of Sustainable Peaceful Transition to Democracy and Good Governance.” The mission of the Guido de Marco Observatory would be to develop criteria and standards on “How Best Political Process for Democratization and Good Governance could be Successful.”

In conclusion, I would like to express anew to Mrs de Marco, and to Mario and all the de Marco family, my heartfelt condolences.



TRIBUTE TO THE LATE PROFESSOR GUIDO DE MARCO

by **Dr. Nick Hopkinson**
former Director, Wilton Park,
Steypning, West Sussex, UK

Mrs. de Marco, the de Marco family, Your Excellencies, Professor Calleya, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like to pay a tribute to our dear departed friend, Professor Guido de Marco. Like Professor Stephen Calleya, I first met Professor de Marco in 1992 when he addressed a Wilton Park conference on enlargement of the European Union (EU). As may know, Wilton Park (www.wiltonpark.org.uk) is an independent higher level international policy forum attached to the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Wilton Park runs most of its 50 annual roundtable conferences at its 16th century modernised house south of London, but it also has convened more than 60 residential conferences in 30 countries around the world, including 4 in Malta, 3 in Turkey and 2 in Egypt. Founded in 1946, Wilton Park's initial purpose was to re-educate German officers in the principles of democracy, from whence the 'graduates' moved on to serve in positions of influence building Churchill's vision of a renewed post-war Germany. Democracy promotion has remained a central theme at Wilton Park, most notably after the breaching of the Berlin

Wall in 1989 for Central and Eastern Europeans and many from Developing World countries.

Professor de Marco returned to Wilton Park as a keynote speaker in 1995 outlining his vision for the southern dimension of the EU and Malta's accession to the EU. As a joint initiative of Professor Calleya with the support of Malta's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we convened in Malta a series of joint higher level conferences in 1999, 2003, 2005 and 2007 with participation from across the EU and southern neighbours.

Professor de Marco spoke at all conferences in Malta in his capacity as President of Malta or Chair of MEDAC. We remember him fondly as an individual of tremendous warmth and generosity who genuinely wanted to get to know each participant individually. He would always greet me with a warm smile and long handshake saying "Hello, Wilton Park!" Professor de Marco had a great passion for Wilton Park, I believe because of the values and spirit of the institution, namely its neutrality and belief in inclusive open and frank international roundtable dialogue, and its ability to build international understanding, produce new thinking and real outcomes.

We both believed that the EU should not forget its southern vocation and dimension while the EU was preoccupied with its Central and Eastern reunification. As we have seen in the video played just now of the late Professor de Marco opening the special MEDAC conference commemorating the 20th anniversary of the Malta Summit of Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachov, the Summit was a turning point in the reunification of Europe. The phrase 'from Yalta to Malta' captures the essence of Europe's reunification which could not be whole without European countries in both the East and South. If instability in the Euro-Med region is to be superseded, the EU should pay more attention to it.

I was privileged to work with Professor de Marco, Minister Borg, Ambassador Zarb, Professor Calleya and many other friends highlighting the importance of the EU's southern dimension and Malta's role. Given the demographic explosion in North Africa and the growing disparities in wealth, unemployment, and practice of democracy between the EU and North Africa, and despite many international issues and challenges competing for Wilton Park's attention, we convened the series in the knowledge that the chances of a major political eruption in the EU's southern neighbourhood increased daily, but we did not know exactly when this might be.

This raises the question of what our dear departed friend would have thought of this year's 'Arab Spring'. The uprisings throughout North Africa and the Middle East clearly demonstrate the widespread anger of populations *inter alia* about the lack of justice, democratisation, human rights, freedom of association and expression, and gender equality.

The last time Professor de Marco spoke at Wilton Park was here in this very room in 2007. His key concern at the time was indeed the weakness of democracy and respect for human rights in the southern neighbourhood and the ways the region might help remedy this situation through a proposed Council of the Mediterranean (CM), a forum modelled on the Council of Europe. Whilst there were any number of pressing security, political or economic issues in the Euro-Med which Professor de Marco could have addressed, his preoccupation with the need to promote democracy and human rights in the EU's southern neighbours was prescient.

The CM, initially proposed by Professor de Marco when Foreign Minister of Malta in 1992, would include the EU, Arab Maghreb Union, and the Arab League. The criteria for membership were adherence to the principles of the UN Charter, respect for the

dignity of the human person and the rule of law, and respect for the establishment and development of representative institutions. The CM was to consist of a Committee of Ministers with a consultative General Assembly of elected representatives from member states to promote peace and mutual understanding. The proposal evolved into the Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean (PAM). In 2006 the Jordanian Parliament hosted its inaugural session, and it was decided to establish its international secretariat in Malta.

Political reform in the Arab world has in part been retarded by the paradoxical Western advocacy of reform, yet frequent open support of regimes in power which at best paid lip service to democratic institutions and procedures. The 'Arab Spring' has exposed this contradiction, and forced the EU and the US to be more 'consistent'. The 2007 Wilton Park conference here called on the EU to stop giving open support to regimes which are clearly unpopular. It correctly foresaw the Arab world was rapidly reaching the stage at which efforts to reform would be confronted with widespread repressive violence. The impulse for political reform would come from within the countries themselves, which indeed it has.

However, that does not mean the EU has no role to play. As we have stated many times, the EU should offer partner countries improved aid, trade and investment prospects, and improve access to loans, particularly for smaller sized businesses. However, major limitations remain including the exclusion of issues of central concern to southern neighbours, namely agriculture, services and labour mobility from agreements. Furthermore, the political atrophy and instability throughout North Africa and elsewhere in the Middle East remains a hindrance to large scale, long term investment. As long as North African economies remain dependent on energy exports, the resulting lack of economic diversification will hinder development.

In large part thanks to the late Professor de Marco's vision and persuasive advocacy of the importance of the Euro-Med region, Malta has established itself as a key bridge in the dialogue between the EU and its southern neighbours, and for constructive change in the Euro-Med. As Professor Calleya notes in the Fall 2010 MEDAC newsletter "While Professor Guido de Marco is no longer with us, his legacy of promoting a more peaceful tomorrow will live forever".



Paying tribute to Professor Guido de Marco

by **Dr. Bichara Khader**

Director, Arab Study and Research Centre,
Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium

We are gathered here, family de Marco, colleagues and friends, to pay tribute to an outstanding intellectual and political figure: Guido de Marco. **‘A man of purpose’, an ‘international statesman and a perfect gentleman’,** wrote Stephen Caley, **‘a great politician and a true patriot with a futuristic wise vision’** read the telegram of condolence of the Secretary General of the Arab League, Amr Moussa.

I did not have the privilege to work with Prof. de Marco but I had the honour of sharing dinners with him a couple of times and chatting often with him during MEDAC seminars where he has been a regular participant. What struck me in these brief encounters was **his love for Malta, his devotion to the Mediterranean Sea, his empathy with the suffering of the Palestinian people and his interest in the Arab World** as a whole.

Let me dwell on these four passions of Prof. de Marco. It is needless to recall the innate love and admiration for his small island, his country, his passion, his obsession, his profession. In all his lectures, he used to remind us how much Malta reflects **the beauty of diversity**. This diversity embedded in the Maltese language, architecture, style of life and the society at large. One

and diverse, Malta is more a symbol than an idol, a bridge that an Island, not a civilization per se, but the synthesis of a **'number of civilisations piled one over the other'**.

In a lecture delivered in Brussels, in November 2009, Prof. de Marco hinted to the famous statement of Admiral Nelson [1758-1805], symbol of British supremacy in the Mediterranean, when he first set foot in Malta: **"Venì, Vidi, Manì"** [I came, I saw, I remained]. Obviously such a statement did not resonate like a chamber music in the ears of Napoleon who once said: **"I prefer to see the English in Paris than in Malta"**.

This passion for Malta sheds light on de Marco's dedication to the Mediterranean Sea **'where the future of Europe so much belongs'**, he used to say. **"Mediterranean nations are strong nations, he once wrote, but the Mediterranean remains weak as a single entity"**, adding that the Mediterranean is not confined to geography and it goes far beyond history ; **"it is a melting pot of cultures and values, intersection of three continents, birth place of the three great monotheistic creeds"**.

Thus prof. de Marco goes beyond the notion of geography and history to remind us of the geopolitical relevance of the Mediterranean as a **key, corridor and crossroad**, and the symbolic importance of the **White Sea of the Middle**, as the Arab call the Mediterranean. Therefore no wonder if **Malta, which is in the Middle of the Middle**, has always aspired to be a "bridge-builder" among peoples and cultures, in sharp contrast with simplistic theories about inherent cultural hostilities and dichotomies of some intellectual spoilers, like Huntington and his followers.

This pushed Malta, already in 1972, to advance the idea that **"There could be no security in Europe unless there is security in the Mediterranean"**. More recently, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, de Marco became the staunch advocate of "a Charter

of Stability in the Mediterranean”. Unfortunately, this Charter has never been signed by the Partners in the Barcelona Process because of the derailment of the Israel-Palestine Peace Process and the absence of a common language in this situation of protracted conflict.

This impasse did not discourage prof. de Marco who continued after leaving the Presidency of Malta to press for a clear and committed policy for the Mediterranean, spelling out, in various occasions, what has become his leitmotif: **“To neglect the cradle that nursed Europe is to abandon the roots of Europe”**. Hence, the constant clarion call of Prof. de Marco for a multilateral, coherent, effective European Policy towards the Mediterranean, supporting its economic development, deepening its partnership without paternalism, addressing the question of migration with open hearts and minds, and helping resolve what he once called **“this festering wound which has been poisoning relations between the Arab world and the so-called Western World”**[lecture at the Centre of European Studies (ZEI) at Bonn University].

For that reason, de Marco did not spare energy to bring to the European attention the necessity of **putting an end to the injustice which has been inflicted on the Palestinian people**. During his frequent visits to the region where he met with Palestinian and Israeli leaders, he did not hesitate to visit Palestinian refugee camps in a sign of empathy. On one occasion, he took part in the Christmas mass, in company with other European leaders, at the invitation of Yasser Arafat, who had a real affection for de Marco and for the Maltese People. De Marco’s empathy with the suffering of the Palestinian people was matched by an equal antipathy to extremism which, on both sides, led to the derailment of the Peace Process and the virtual hijacking of Euro-Mediterranean politics, and the recent surge of narrow nationalistic reflexes.

In his quest for common ground between Israel and the Palestinians, de Marco showed a rare wisdom based **not on equi-distance**, as he once put it, but on **“equi-proximity”**. Unfortunately again, in spite of his relentless efforts, the voice of de Marco remained unheard and unheeded.

In his autobiography, de Marco wrote a masterpiece, his autobiography, **“The Politics of persuasion”**. De Marco was known to everybody as **“kind but tenacious”** (Joe Borg). His art of persuasion certainly applies to his **incredible ability to reach across the political divide** in Malta and win large popular support. It applies also to **his dealings with the international community during his “Presidency with a Purpose”**, as President of the 45th General Assembly of the United Nations, in 1990. It applies certainly **to his negotiations with the European Union** since the first bid for admission on the 16th of July 1990 until the signature of the admission bill in 2004. **But as far as the Arab-Israeli conflict is concerned, he died without a glimpse of hope.**

Although prof. de Marco supported Euro-Mediterranean relations and called for their deepening and renovation, he also believed in **the wider Euro-Arab partnership.” Such a closer relationship is not only in the interest of Europe but for a Mediterranean approach to European Policies”**, he once wrote. In a lecture delivered in Vienna and entitled **“The Mediterranean dilemma: a bridge or a great divide”**, de Marco emphasized that **“the Arab thinking made a marked contribution to Europe”**, blatantly ridiculing the notion of the “Clash of Civilisations” as dangerous, naïve and self-fulfilling prophecy. **“Europe, he said, needs the support of the Arab World”** to become a full-fledged player in international politics. I cannot dissent: **How indeed the European Union can pretend to be a world geopolitical actor if it proves to be unable or unwilling to be a credible player in it’s nearest abroad?**

From my personal conversations with Prof. de Marco, I understood that he was not happy that Euro-Arab Partnership had been discarded on the pretext that it excludes Israel. He was convinced that a general umbrella called “Euro-Arab Partnership” could encompass all regional partnerships whether under the heading of the 5+5 of Western Mediterranean, or Forum of the Mediterranean or EU-Gulf cooperation agreement. I am sure that the ideas of de Marco, and the perseverance of another great Maltese politician, Minister Borg, have been instrumental in opening, in Malta, the **Euro-Arab forum**.

Were de Marco with us today he would have been very happy to witness the Arab youth, dubbed for a long period, as “lost generation” surging out, spontaneously, with courage and a deep sense of dignity to topple well-entrenched authoritarian regimes in Tunisia and Egypt, and to confront other ferocious, predatory and corrupt regimes elsewhere.

What is occurring in front of our eyes is **utterly stunning**. Certainly the future remains uncertain and the transition period will be bumpy, difficult and dangerous. The risks of confiscation of these democratic upheavals are real. But we are at a turning point in the modern history of the Arab World. The combination of educated youth and technology and an innate quest for freedom is driving a wave of change. **Let us cross our fingers: it may turn out just fine.**

2011 has felled two despots and forced others to make concessions. Yet there are some regimes which are losing their sense of responsibility and have showed a high degree of stubbornness and blindness, clinching desperately to their power. **They have lost all credibility and their days are numbered. “Game is over”,** shout the Arab Youth everywhere.

A final word: a few days ago, bin Laden was killed by an American bullet. But before his physical death, **Arab Youth**

has already killed the very “idea” bin Laden both symbolically and politically because the slogans chanted in all Arab capitals (freedom, democracy, dignity, non-violence) are simply “*terra incognita*” in bin Laden’s lexicon. And because Arab young Arabs proved that extremism and violence are not the only outlets for discontent. **Indeed this peaceful generational revolt has proved to be a more powerful arm of mass destruction of the old Arab order than all the criminal terrorist attacks which killed too many innocent people, tarnished the image of the Arabs and Muslims, and harnessed support to populist and far-right movements in Europe and elsewhere.**

A new generation of energetic strong-willed and proud young Arabs from all walks of life is determined to shape its destiny. And if this revolution is immune to hermetic ideologies – Marxism, Islamism and global jihad – it is because the key factor is “horizontalism” which **expands the power of the individual** since technology kills vertical hierarchies. In brief it is a revolution of rising expectations for freedom, dignity and better opportunities. By launching these revolts, young Arabs gave the blatant proof of the fallacy of simplistic theorisations about “Arab exceptionalism” or the incompatibility of Islam with democracy.

Europe has been for the past decades complacent with Arab authoritarian regimes under the pretext of “realpolitics”. It has now the responsibility to assist and support these nascent but fragile democracies. Because democracies take time to make roots, and because youth is courageous but impatient, we should not turn our shoulders to them. Young Arabs have done their part; the European Union should do its part: **accompany the movement by a meaningful partnership for Democracy and co-prosperity.** Prof. de Marco could not have asked less.

- Last publications of Professor Bichara KHADER, Director of the Arab Study and Research Centre at the Catholic University of Louvain, are :
 1. « **Le Monde arabe expliqué à l'Europe** » (French and Spanish versions), 2011
 2. « **l'Europe pour la Méditerranée : de Barcelone à Barcelone** » (French, Spanish and Arabic versions) 2009.



Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco

by **Mr. Tom McGrath** (Ireland)
Administrator, European Commission,
External Relations DG, Brussels

Mme de Marco, Members of the de Marco family, your Excellencies, dear friends

I am not speaking on behalf of the European Commission, the European External Action Service or the European Union, as I know that President Barroso and HRVP Ashton have already addressed their thoughts and condolences to you on the sad occasion of Guido's passing last year. So, for the next 2 minutes I will be representing myself, as I share some personal reflections and memories with you of a person I hold in the highest regard and affection.

I feel immensely privileged:

- to have known Guido,
- to have shared his company here and in his – your – home,
- to have listened and learned from his quiet wisdom,
- to have been embraced by his extraordinary warmth and humanity.

Quite simply – he was a monumental man.

And thus, his loss is equally monumental – for his family, his country, the Euromed region, his friends worldwide, MEDAC and these very seminars.

He was a man of great intellect, dignity and humility.

He was a man of extreme warmth who possessed the great gift, when you were in his company, of making you feel that you were the only person in the universe as he listened to you; and that your words sprang from eternal fountains of wisdom. But it was Guido's words that fill the void left by his passing.

He was a wonderful orator who spoke –

- With passion and poetry,
- And at length, without notes, with amazing powers of recall.

He brought fairness and understanding to complicated and fraught subjects concerning the Middle East;

His words weaved a spell, both capturing and enrapturing audiences;

Those same words resonated with the injustices he witnessed;

And those words were his weapons, in the politics of persuasion, on his lifelong quest for justice.

Those words and his thoughts he shared with us, twice a year,
at these seminars.

Sadly no more, and while it might be easy to say that –
These seminars have been devalued by his absence

I would say, rather, that they have –
Been dignified by his presence.

And will continue to be enriched and inspired by his great legacy.

It was a great honour to have known him.

In Ireland, we have a saying that is only attributed to the
deserved few:

‘He was a relic of old decency’

And continuing in the Irish theme I will finish with a blessing in
Irish and rescue the interpreters with the translation afterwards:

“Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam”

Which means:

‘May his soul rest on the right hand side of God’





Prof. Guido de Marco. A photo-portrait from 1990s as the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta.



Family photo of participants of the 1st Euro-Med Seminar for Diplomats in Autumn 1996 with Prof. Guido de Marco, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta and Marc Pierini, Head of Unit, DG 1B, EU. 4th to the left of Prof. de Marco is then MEDAC director Prof. Fred Tanner (CH).



Foreign Minister Guido de Marco looks on as professor Fred Tanner (left) and Mr Salv Stellini sign the Agreement between Malta and Switzerland regarding MEDAC (September 1996). Also in photo, Professor David Attard, Dr. Jovan Kurbalija, and Ambassador Alfred Zarb.



Group photo of MEDAC professors and students with Board Chairman Prof. Guido de Marco at the 2009/10 academic year opening ceremony.



Academic year opening ceremony during which launch of German Chair at MEDAC was announced. Professor de Marco, Professor Stephen Calleya and German Ambassador Bernd Braun (Lto R).



Prof. Guido de Marco (left) during the international conference "The end of the Cold War and the Mediterranean 1989 – 2009" with MEDAC students and Ambassador Alexander Bessmertnykh (right), former Foreign Minister, Russian Federation.



Hon. Amr Moussa then Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, was welcomed by Prof. Guido de Marco, President Emeritus of Malta, when he visited MEDAC on the occasion of opening of the Euro-Arab liaison office in Floriana in October 2009.



[L to R] Prof. Guido de Marco, Amb. Francesco Paolo Fulci and MEDAC Director Prof. Stephen C. Calleya During his lecture at MEDAC in 2008 on The reform of the Security Council of the UNO Amb. Fulci, former Ambassador of Italy to the UNO said: "I am truly grateful for the invitation to Prof. Guido de Marco, President Emeritus of the Republic of Malta, whose personality is known and highly respected all over the world, especially for his eminent role as President of the 45th General Assembly of the United Nations in 1990. President de Marco is a sincere and good friend, of my country, Italy, and of my native island, Sicily, where, like many Maltese, are the origins of his family."



Prof. Richard Falk, Princeton Univ. NJ, USA, and his wife Prof. Hilal Elver, who spent sabbatical year lecturing at MEDAC in 1996, with MEDAC Chairman Prof. Guido de Marco and Prof. Stephen Calleya [L to R] during a visit to MEDAC in 2007.



Participants of XIII Euro-Med Seminar (November, 2002) at the reception with
President of Malta Professor Guido de Marco at the Presidential Palace, Valletta.



Professor Guido de Marco, President Emeritus of Malta, MEDAC Chairman at the December 2009 international conference "The end of the Cold War and the Mediterranean 1989 – 2009" held to commemorate twenty years since the end of the "Bush-Gorbachev" summit in Malta [L to R]; Ambassador Christian Meuwly, Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Switzerland; Ambassador Alexander Bessmertnykh, Russian Federation; Prof. de Marco; Professor Stephen C. Calleya, Director, MEDAC; Hon Dr. Tonio Borg, Deputy PM and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Malta; Governor John H. Sununu, former Chief of Staff to U.S. President George H. W. Bush.



A selection of publications written or co-authored by Professor de Marco about his career, political struggle and diplomatic initiatives.



The panel of speakers at the Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco During the 30th Malta Seminar (L to R): Amb. Magdy Hefny, Director of the Regional Center for Research and Studies of Water Ethics, Cairo, Egypt; Prof. Stephen Calleya, Director, MEDAC, Malta; Dr. Joe Borg, Chairman, MEDAC; Dr. Bichara Khader, Director, Arab Study and Research Centre at the Univ. of Louvain, Belgium; Dr. Nick Hopkinson, former Director, Wilton Park, UK; Mr. Tom McGrath (Ireland), Administrator, EC, External Relations DG, Brussels.



de Marco family members at the Tribute to Professor Guido de Marco



A group photo of the de Marco family with the panel of speakers at the Prof. Guido de Marco Tribute session.