



Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

Sveti-Stefan Autumn Meetings

- Conference on *‘Democracy and Good Governance in Multi-Ethnic Societies as a basis for Stability and Security’*
- Meeting of the Standing Committee
- 3rd OSCE PA Forum on the Mediterranean

**Sveti-Stefan, Serbia and Montenegro
7-9 October 2005**

Conference Overview

Beginning on October 7, parliamentarians from across the OSCE region gathered for three days in Sveti-Stefan, Montenegro, to debate questions of good governance in multi-ethnic societies in the annual OSCE PA Autumn Conference. The Assembly also held a meeting of its Standing Committee of Heads of Delegation and of the Mediterranean Forum on the following two days.

During the Conference and Parliamentary Forum, the over three hundred participants had the opportunity to hear presentations by experts in the fields being addressed, including several Heads of OSCE field missions, and senior political leaders from Serbia and Montenegro. The parliamentarians took advantage of this opportunity to exchange experiences and debate practices in governing multi-ethnic societies.

In opening the Conference, OSCE PA President Alcee L. Hastings remarked on previous work by the Assembly at promoting respect for ethnic and cultural diversity as a cornerstone of democracy. The President also noted that a great deal more has to be done, as minority populations across the OSCE region often face significant obstacles in daily life. President Hastings noted that poverty amongst minorities continues to be

a problem in his own country, which became particularly obvious in the devastation caused by Hurricane Katrina shortly before the Autumn Meetings. "Democracy did not save those who were left stranded, but democracy linked with good governance would have," stressed the Congressman.

The Speaker of the Montenegrin Parliament, Mr. Ranko Krivokapic, warmly welcomed the participants to Sveti-Stefan. Stressing the importance of inter-ethnic understanding, Mr. Krivokapic also stressed the dangers of focusing too much on economic affairs. He noted that in the former Yugoslavia, aggressive nationalism was able to erupt with a devastating effect despite a strong economy. Dialogue on cultural matters, in forums such as this, is very important.

In four separate sessions, the OSCE PA Conference heard interventions on managing multi-ethnic societies; the challenges of democratic governance in multi-ethnic societies; institutions and their role in minority protection; and the importance of civil society.

In the third annual Mediterranean Forum on October 9 parliamentarians gave particular consideration to issues of migration and trade within the region.



Standing Committee



On the afternoon of 8 October, the Standing Committee of Heads of OSCE PA Delegations met. President Hastings gave a brief report on his activities since the last meeting of the Standing Committee, in Washington, DC in July. He briefed the Committee about his recent visit to Vienna where he had addressed the OSCE Permanent Council on October 4, and gave the Ambassadors an overview of the Assembly's recent activities. In this address, President Hastings had particularly reiterated recommendations from the Washington Declaration on the need for reforming the decision-making

mechanisms of the OSCE to effectively face new threats and challenges. Congressman Hastings also reported on his high-level official visits to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as his participation in events such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union's Second World Conference of Speakers of Parliaments, held at the United Nations in New York.

The Assembly Treasurer, Canadian Senator Jerry Grafstein, reported that the OSCE PA's fiscal year had ended on September 30, and that the International Secretariat continues to run well within budget. He applauded the efficient work of the Sec-



retariat, and particularly commended Programme Officer Paul LeGendre, who will be leaving the Secretariat after five years of dedicated service. Secretary General Spencer Oliver also reported to the Standing Committee on the work of the International Secretariat, highlighting efforts to keep Members informed about the activities of the President, Members, and the Secretariat through the Assembly's bulletin, the *News from Copenhagen*.

The Standing Committee also heard reports on election observation activities and on the work of Assembly Ad Hoc Committees on Moldova, Belarus and Abkhazia (Georgia). The Special Representatives on Gender Issues and on the Nagorno Karabakh Conflict also gave reports to the Standing Committee. In addition, a report was given on the work of the Rules Sub-Committee, which had met on October 7.

In accordance with past practice, the Secretary General of the OSCE, Ambassador Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, addressed the Standing Committee and briefed the Members on the draft 2006 OSCE budget. The Secretary General gave an overview of proposed spending in the OSCE, including work in the field activities and at the headquarters level. Ambassador de Brichambaut then answered questions on the draft budget from the gathered parliamentarians, including issues dealing with implementation of reform of the OSCE, the scale of contributions and outreach programmes by the organization.

The Heads of Delegations also discussed upcoming meetings of the Assembly, and considered proposals for the theme of the 15th Annual Session, to be held in Brussels in July 2006.



Opening Session



Opening remarks by Congressman Alcee L. Hastings, President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

President Hastings welcomed Members to the Autumn Meetings, and thanked the Montenegrin hosts for their warm hospitality. He noted the prominent role that the OSCE and the Parliamentary Assembly have played in the region, and particularly to the protection of ethnic identities as an integral part of democracy.

He noted that the gathered parliamentarians represent different nations, genders, religions, ethnicities and political ideologies, making them well placed to consider the theme of the Conference, *'Democracy and Good Governance in Multi-Ethnic Societies as a basis for Stability and Security.'* In this regard, he reflected on American experiences of "affirmative action" in working to overcome systematic discrimination in recruitment. Nonetheless, President Hastings also noted that the recent devastation caused by hurricane Katrina had made it clear that poverty still disproportionately affects minorities in the United States. "Democracy did not save those who were left stranded, but democracy linked with good governance would have," said Hastings.

President Hastings called for open-mindedness towards correcting historical injustices, and recognition that some ethnic groups have benefited more

than others due to an uneven distribution of power. Positive action, he reminded participants, is the only way to change societies for the better.

Congressman Hastings welcomed the opportunity presented by this Conference, in which Members can work for greater co-operation in overcoming the challenges to democracy and good governance.

Welcoming remarks by Ranko Krivokapic, Speaker of the Parliament of Montenegro and Head of the Delegation of Serbia and Montenegro to the OSCE PA

Speaker Krivokapic joined with President Hastings in welcoming participants to the OSCE PA meetings, stressing that it was an honour to host this Autumn Conference.

Mr. Krivokapic spoke about the contribution that the OSCE has had, in particular to the increasing respect for democracy and human rights – from Vancouver to Vladivostok. More specifically, he referred to the recent troublesome past in the Balkans, and to the dramatic changes that had taken place. In reference to the ongoing development of states in the region, Speaker Krivokapic stressed the importance of inter-ethnic understanding and of the need for dialogue on cultural matters through forums such as this.





At times, he noted, the international community focuses too much on economic indicators rather than on cultural and inter-ethnic understanding. The Speaker paid homage to the French revolution, stressing that the ideals championed at that time still play a great role in society. The fundamental freedoms that we enjoy today have to a large extent thanks to this period of history.

Welcoming remarks by Milorad Drljevic, Vice-President of the Assembly of Serbia and Montenegro

Mr. Drljevic thanked President Hastings for the invitation, and welcomed the opportunity to address the gathered parliamentarians. He underlined his strong support for the Conference, and for the issues to be addressed in the coming days. Discussion on governance in multi-ethnic societies is of utmost importance, he noted. Similarly, consideration of poverty and its connections with instability should be continued, and the OSCE PA is well placed to contribute to dialogue aimed at overcoming this sociological dilemma.

Serbia and Montenegro, Mr. Drljevic noted, has a long history of people from different backgrounds living together. As such, the location of this conference was very fitting.

Before closing, Mr. Drljevic commented on the Mediterranean Forum, which followed the conference. He expressed his hope that this and further initiatives by the OSCE PA would continue to support parliamentary activities in the Mediterranean region.



Welcoming remarks by Ambassador Maurizio Massari, Head of the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro

In his remarks, Ambassador Massari reminded participants that democratic societies are by definition pluralistic. However, to become a factor of strength, pluralism and multi-ethnicity require strong democratic institutions. Where democratic institutions are weak, multi-ethnicity can become a factor of instability, rather than strength.

Ambassador Massari noted that in the Balkans, there has at times been tension between democracy and multi-ethnicity. He called upon the international community to work to assist these governments, and to work to ensure that multi-ethnicity and democracy can reinforce each other. The OSCE has been working to this end, and Ambassador Massari reflected on a number of projects which the Mission in Serbia and Montenegro had undertaken to assist in multi-ethnic coexistence. In particular, the Mission has supported initiatives such as the formation of the Association of Multi-ethnic Cities of South Eastern Europe. Much remains to be done, however, and Massari pointed in particular to problems of refugee returns and the consolidation of the rights of minorities.

The Ambassador underlined the need for the international community to stand firm on the assertion that national identity should not be considered synonymous with mono-ethnicity. Consolidation of inclusive – rather than exclusionary – nationalism, is paramount.



Session 1: Managing Multi-ethnic Societies in the OSCE



The first session was chaired and moderated by Mr. Roberto Battelli, Head of the Slovenian Delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly. In welcoming the participants, Mr. Battelli reminded Members of the complexity of multi-ethnic governance in the region, mentioning the recent violent history and the grave problems of reconstruction as challenges which must be overcome.

Robert Schupp, Senior Advisor, on behalf of the OSCE High Commissioner on National minorities

Mr. Schupp spoke on behalf of the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities on the issue of the protection of minorities in the OSCE. He began by explaining the role of the High Commissioner on National Minorities (HCNM) and by underlining that it was not explicitly in the HCNM's mandate to protect the national minorities. Rather, the High Commissioner's role is as a conflict prevention tool – the HCNM works to uphold the rights of minorities in order to avert potential tensions. Mr. Schupp presented the different instruments that the HCNM uses to ensure the protection of minorities, which consists primarily of the documents and commitments that OSCE participating States have signed on to. When tensions occur in a participating State, the HCNM can work to draw the attention of the State to relevant standards and commitments.

The High Commissioner will typically propose recommendations based on the standards which OSCE states have agreed upon.

Before concluding, Mr Schupp gave an overview of the HCNM's activities in Southeastern Europe over the past twelve months. He highlighted activities in Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, and FYR of Macedonia where the protection of national minorities has been applied as a conflict prevention tool. However, he reiterated that the HCNM can only provide assistance based on commitments agreed upon by the participating States.





**Zarko Korac, Former Deputy
President of the Government of Serbia**

Mr. Zarko Korac focused his presentation primarily on conflict and reconstruction in multi-ethnic societies. He recalled the experiences of the ex-Yugoslavia and its subsequent collapse, in which priority was given to the nation-State, which was in many respects disadvantageous for minorities.

Based on these experiences, Mr. Korac proposed three principles which he insisted were needed for reconstruction. Firstly, new political representatives are needed to gain the trust of the population. Secondly, old political processes must be halted to avoid destabilization. And thirdly, societies must squarely confront their past. Finally, underlying all of this is the crucial role played by education in building a new society, and shaping the key values upon which society is based.

**Ambassador Werner Wnendt,
Head of the OSCE Mission to Kosovo**

Ambassador Wnendt focused his presentations on the case of Kosovo and the OSCE experience in the region. He highlighted that a multi-ethnic society is not simply a society composed of different communities, but is a cohesive pluralistic society which can function as one. He added that the OSCE role was to promote this vision



of a multi-ethnic society in Kosovo. Ambassador Wnendt outlined three elements being used to support the strategy of the OSCE in Kosovo: the Mission is encouraging the building of democratic and representative institutions, is promoting a human rights culture which can guarantee respect for peoples' rights, and is working to advance dialogue and reconciliation in the population. The Ambassador went on to describe the key aspects of Good Governance in Kosovo, as well as to outline the framework needed to further enhance democracy.

Ambassador Wnendt concluded by noting that there are many challenges that still lie ahead, most notably the strengthening of multi-ethnicity in the entire region and encouraging greater respect for the human rights of people in all communities.

Debate

This first session was followed by an open debate during which parliamentarians discussed the challenges presented in governing a multi-ethnic society, while respecting the rights of national minorities. A number of speakers shared experiences from their own countries. The vital role of education in avoiding conflict between communities was underlined by many speakers. The complexity of the phenomenon was stressed by participants, as was the need for an adequate legal framework in helping diverse communities live together.



Session 2: Democratic Governance in Multi-Ethnic Societies



Mrs. Uta Zapf, Chair of the OSCE PA ad hoc Working Group on Belarus, welcomed all members and speakers to this session on 'Democratic Governance in Multi-Ethnic Societies'. She stressed the importance of good governance, as every state in Europe has a multi-ethnic society and many have problems integrating minorities and migrants.

Srdja Darmanovic, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science, University of Montenegro

In his addressed entitled 'Strategies and Mechanisms for Governing Multi-Ethnicity,' Mr. Darmanovic gave an overview of different aspects of multi-ethnic co-operation in Montenegro. One im-



portant aspect which he highlighted includes a low threshold in the electoral system, which facilitates entry by minority parties into parliament. Policies such as this have improved integration by minorities into society, and have increased their stake in the success of the government. Mr. Darmanovic underlined his thesis by noting that it is not only ethnic Montenegrins who are working for an independent Montenegro.

Mansur Ayupov, Deputy Chairman of Committee on Nationalities, State Duma, Russian Federation

Mr. Ayupov addressed the participants, sharing his views on managing multi-ethnicity in the Russian Federation. He presented two different national models of how to deal with the subject. The first model he explored was that pursued in the Russian Federation, which is in many ways a continuation of the Soviet tradition through which every population has its own State. The second model is better seen in the USA and most parts of Western Europe, where peoples' ethnicity is of no importance for the State. Mr. Ayupov stated that neither of these models are a particularly good solution to the problem, stressing that the Russian Federation is an association of different peoples. The principle of equality always has to be encouraged amongst these constituent parts. The concept behind the Russian model is based on



the idea that all people are citizens of one State but remain representatives of their own nation. As such, ethnic origin is explicitly acknowledged. In the ongoing efforts to deal with the difficulties of democratic governance in a multi-ethnic Russian Federation, a new term 'small indigenous people' has been introduced and is currently being defined.

Debate

During the debate that followed the presentations, the importance of education was particularly stressed, especially in regards to objective history lessons. This and other initiatives such as encouraging young people to meet and accept people from other ethnic backgrounds are important, as today's children are tomorrow's citizens. Delegates shared experiences from their own countries, where efforts aimed at increasing self-government and increased education in different languages had met with success. One delegate pointed to the importance of equal, transparent, and fair elections to reach a balance between efficient decision-making and individuals' rights. While the strength of a dynamic and multi-cultural society was stressed, it was also noted that many States have had problems with multi-ethnic societies since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Many people seem to have lost the belief in common grounds. The important challenge is to encourage minorities to achieve their objectives politically rather than by through violence.

Another delegate raised the point that it is not enough simply to have democratic institutions – democratic practices must be engrained in society in order to avoid institutions being governed by clans and business interests. Some fundamental

questions on democratic theory were raised, including: how strong a State needs to be before it can develop democratically, and what is 'good governance'? Also, Members were reminded of OSCE goals: equal opportunity for all, integration of all groups, equal access to education and labour markets, protection of all citizens, and equal rights.



Session 3: Institutions and Minority Protection

Mrs. Pia Christmas-Møller, Vice-President of the Assembly, welcomed participants to the session. Mrs. Møller introduced the theme of the session, ‘Institutions and Minority Protection,’ and provided background information on the keynote speakers who had been invited to speak in the session.

Mrs. Lidija R. Basta Fleiner, Director of the International Research and Consulting Center of the Institute of Federalism of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland

Mrs. Basta Fleiner addressed the Members on the topic of “Institutions of Federalism and Minority Protection” in which she focused on the contributions that federalism can make towards accommodating minorities. Noting the problems that have arisen when trying to apply the Swiss model to other countries, Mrs. Basta Fleiner illustrated the difficulties of power-sharing systems. She stressed that Switzerland’s ‘issue-based’ democracy permits it to work because alliances are built on issues rather than ethnic or religious groups.

Mrs. Basta Fleiner said that a proportional electoral system is important for any multi-national federal designs. Minorities often do not feel the

same sense of belonging as do majority populations, but nevertheless consider the State they live in as their own. As such, they have to be part in the constitutive State-building and decision-making process.

Mrs. Basta Fleiner stressed the importance of the international community applying democratic standards when it comes to instituting democratic transformation. By doing this, minorities are made a part of the process, she said.

Ambassador Paraschiva Badescu, Deputy Head of the OSCE Mission to Serbia and Montenegro – Head of the OSCE Office in Montenegro

In her speech entitled “Building Institutions for the Protection of Minorities – The Case of Montenegro”, Ambassador Badescu outlined the efforts Montenegro has taken towards strengthen institutions for the protection of minorities. She highlighted examples such as the increased use of people’s mother tongue and alphabet, education in different languages, and civic education as an obligatory subject in primary school. These education-based initiatives are important for future generations, she noted. At the level of institutions, Mrs. Badescu spoke about the use of proportional representation in the





public administration, as well as work by the Ministry for National Minorities and Ethnic Groups, and other projects aimed at improved integration of minorities. She noted the OSCE contribution to these efforts. Ambassador Badescu particularly stressed the significance of the co-operation between government and minority populations, noting that the representation of minorities in government and public administration still needs to be improved.

Nebojsa Vucinic, Professor of international law, University of Montenegro

Professor Vucinic focused his address on the constitutional processes that are necessary to improve relations between majority and minority populations in South-Eastern European Countries. He said that the protection of minority rights in multi-ethnic societies is highly politicized, but is nonetheless crucial for the further development of the region. Good relations between majorities and minorities are very important for a country's stability and security. He admitted, however, that when dealing with multi-ethnic problems, constitutional regulation is only the first of many necessary steps. The protection of minorities is a very complex task and includes political, legal, and cultural aspects.

In the past, minorities have often been treated like enemies in their own state, said Mr. Vucinic. He underlined, however, that the state has to belong to all of its citizens. As such, the minority must treat the state as their own. Mr. Vucinic stressed three constitutional steps that should be taken to improve the rights of minorities: adopting and effectively applying fundamental human rights standards, adopting the main international minority rights protections to



avoid simply assimilating minorities, and establishing special state bodies to monitor, control and further improve minority rights.

Debate

During the discussion that followed the presentations, one delegate drew participants' attention to the connection between minority rights and women's participation in politics and society. It was noted that this can be considered an important benchmark for the quality of a democracy. Several strategies were presented on how to integrate minorities, including the teaching of minority languages to young children, and the development of cultural networks. Ensuring equality in relevant legislation was also noted as an important factor.

It was highlighted that there is still no universally accepted definition of "minority". Also, the importance of local conditions in each individual case was noted, for example in regards to solving language-problems. It was stressed that minority and majority populations have to come to solutions jointly.



Session 4: Cultural Diversity, Civil Society and New Citizenship



The fourth session of the Conference was chaired by Mr. Göran Lennmarker, Chairman of the OSCE PA's First General Committee. The focus of the session was on 'Cultural Diversity, Civil Society and New Citizenship' – which the Chairman highlighted as being of relevance to all Members.

Ambassador Douglas Davidson, Head of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina

In dealing with questions of diversity and new citizenship, Ambassador Davidson drew upon his extensive experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The legal definition of 'citizens' and 'peoples' is quite complex in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where four separate groups of 'people' are recognized – Bosnian, Croat, Serb (Srpska) and 'other' – however only the three main groups are entitled to lead the country as presidents. He noted that this distinction was becoming problematic, and was obstructing efforts to create a unified, 'whole' citizenship.

Regarding the political situation in the country, Mr. Davidson noted that ethnic ties still play a very important role. In addition, the international community is felt to play a controlling role in domestic politics, leading to a degree of political apathy on behalf of many in the population. It seems that not only is there limited contact between ethnic groups, but also, the population doesn't seem to be inspired to take matters on themselves.

Expressing his hope for the further development

of civil society and a truly multi-cultural Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ambassador Davidson stressed that more engagement is needed by the people and by the government. The structure that has been put in place only provides the framework, he noted.

Debate

Ambassador Davidson's intervention was followed by an active debate on several of the issues he had addressed. Speakers intervened to advocate a more positive approach by both the media, and by Western countries, which, it was felt, are at times overly critical of governments in South-Eastern Europe. It was noted that, while the complex definitions of citizenship in Bosnia and Herzegovina had caused some problems, it had nonetheless allowed the country to progress very rapidly. The structure which has been put in place has also enabled great progress in forming a single military, a state border service and a unified election commission.

Several speakers addressed the role of the international community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and advocated a less dominant role. This, it was felt, would encourage more active engagement by domestic political leaders.

The importance of education was a recurring theme in the discussion. Several speakers from different regions of the OSCE shared the experiences of their countries, and the vital role played by education in overcoming cultural divides.



3rd OSCE PA Forum on the Mediterranean



Opening Remarks by Congressman Alcee L. Hastings, President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

President Hastings welcomed participants to the Third OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Forum on the Mediterranean and reminded them that this Forum is a response to the Assembly's desire – expressed three years ago in Madrid – to develop stronger links between the OSCE PA and the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation in order to enhance security and stability in the Mediterranean region.

President Hastings indicated that during his first year as President of the OSCE PA, he has had the opportunity to visit all six Mediterranean partners. In these visits President Hastings felt first-hand the sincerity and determination of the leaders from the Mediterranean Partner states to establish a strong relationship with the Assembly.

The OSCE PA, President Hastings indicated, has demonstrated its determination to enhancing the Mediterranean dialogue in the OSCE by adopting in Rotterdam, Edinburgh, and Washington resolutions on the OSCE Mediterranean dimension.

These important resolutions underline that both the OSCE participating States and the Mediterranean partners should focus on promoting security and co-operation in the region through a comprehensive process of enhanced political and economic co-oper-

ation, as well as through the strengthening of democratic institutions and respect for human rights.

Congressman Hastings referred to a number of issues affecting the relations between the OSCE and its partners in the Mediterranean, including migration. Quite often, a number of OSCE participating States have mentioned their frustration and concern with the fact that North African Mediterranean states are constantly used as points of entry for illegal immigration. "However, if we fail to establish a relationship with our Mediterranean partners that encourages greater economic opportunity and development in our partner states can we seriously expect the dilemma of illegal immigration to ever improve?" asked Mr. Hastings.

President Hastings concluded by urging parliamentarians to profit from the Forum in order to enhance dialogue and co-operation among parliaments in the Mediterranean area of the OSCE.



Welcoming remarks by Mr. Milorad Drljevic, Vice-President of the Assembly of Serbia and Montenegro

Vice-President Drljevic welcomed participants to Sveti-Stefan and stressed the importance of the OSCE as an institution promoting common values and defending human rights.

Mr. Drljevic referred to Mediterranean issues as having relevance to all of Europe. He reminded participants that an entire chapter was devoted to the Mediterranean region in the CSCE's Helsinki Final Act of 1975.

The Vice-President indicated the importance that the Republic of Montenegro attaches to security, stability and prosperity in the Mediterranean region. Mr. Drljevic concluded by stressing the need for greater co-operation in the area. In this regard, he considered the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly to be one of the most appropriate organisations for enhancing the Mediterranean dialogue.

Welcoming remarks by Bruce George, President Emeritus of the OSCE PA and Special Representative on Mediterranean Affairs

Mr. George thanked the hosts for their warm hospitality in welcoming the Assembly to Sveti-Stefan. Mr. George indicated that the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act had the foresight to state 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. 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, he reiterated.

Mr. George outlined the efforts undertaken by himself and by the OSCE PA to enhance parliamentary dialogue in the Mediterranean. Parliamentarians bear the task of actively contributing to the Mediterranean dialogue and of explaining to their constituents why it is necessary to have a concerted approach when addressing common challenges faced by the Mediterranean region.

Mr. George concluded by inviting Members to take an active part in the Forum.



Session 1: The OSCE Mediterranean Dimension



The Session was chaired by Mr. Jason Azzopardi, Head of the Delegation of Malta to the OSCE PA, who introduced the historical background of the Forum. He mentioned that the recognition of the inextricable link between security and stability in Europe and in the Mediterranean region was originally promoted by Malta even prior to the signature of the Helsinki Final Act. He noted Malta's leading role in enhancing co-operation between the OSCE and its Mediterranean Partners, and encouraged offering these partners greater opportunity to participate more actively in OSCE activities. Mediterranean partners have participated in election-observation teams as well as in seminars on all three OSCE dimensions, he noted. Mr. Azzopardi men-



tioned the 'OSCE Strategy Document for the 21st Century' and the 'Report on PC Decision 571' as providing specific reasons why such a deeper and more effective dialogue is essential. Mr. Azzopardi also expressed concern about illegal immigration in the area, noting that illegal immigrants were now reaching Maltese coasts on a daily basis.

Address by Milo Djukanovic, Prime Minister of the Republic of Montenegro

Prime Minister Djukanovic pointed out that as a European country with a strong Mediterranean identity, Montenegro is acutely sensitive to the assets of ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. The Prime Minister underlined that the recent wave of European enlargement has highlighted the importance of the Mediterranean dimension of European security. In particular, the unification of Europe has brought about a change in geopolitical boundaries, given that several Mediterranean countries are now the closest neighbours of the EU and of the OSCE region. One cannot speak of a politically stable and prosperous Europe without a stable and developed neighbourhood, he noted. Modern challenges such as terrorism, organized crime, illegal migration, poverty, environmental threats, and the promotion of regional and inter-regional co-operation are of vital importance to all states in the region. Mr. Djukanovic underlined Montenegro's interest in continued development of the Mediterranean partnership focusing on political dialogue, enhanced stability and security, economic and trade co-operation, environmental protection and increased investment.

The Prime Minister reiterated Montenegro's determination to be a persistent advocate of regional cooperation in Southeastern Europe, and stressed that Montenegro will continue working towards full democracy, and improved political and economic freedom for all its citizens. He concluded by urging involvement by the OSCE/ODIHR in a referendum expected to be held in Montenegro in 2006.



**Address by Ambassador
Marc Perrin de Brichambaut,
Secretary General of the OSCE**

The Secretary General welcomed the continuing contribution of the OSCE PA to the OSCE's Mediterranean dialogue through efforts such as this forum. The Forum contributed to the development of special relations across the region, and raises important issues of concern to states in the region, he said.

Ambassador de Brichambaut reported that the OSCE's links with the Mediterranean partners are strengthening, with the partners now regularly attending and contributing to the main meetings of the OSCE, and free to attend the Organization's Permanent Council meetings. The Organization's dialogue with the partners is on a range of issues, and the Secretary General expressed his hope that this would be expanded. Regarding the recently held OSCE Mediterranean Seminar held in Rabat, he noted that a number of the issues highlighted in the PA's work on the Mediterranean had been addressed, including questions on migration, integration, education, cultural understanding, and the possibility of partner status for the Palestinian Authority. Ambassador de Brichambaut noted that the importance of issues such as migration and integration had met with broad trans-Mediterranean consensus in Rabat.

The Secretary General gave an overview of the Organization's work on trans-Mediterranean migration, highlighting the importance of co-ordinated approaches. He noted that there was consideration of transforming the OSCE Mediterranean Seminar

into a more robust forum for exchange of views and to up-grade co-operation with the Partners through, for example, greater involvement in OSCE field work.

In the context of the Mediterranean dialogue, Ambassador de Brichambaut highlighted the OSCE's co-operation with other international organizations on improving dialogue amongst civilizations. In particular, he noted increasingly close co-ordination with the United Nations and the Council of Europe in this regard. The Secretary General reiterated the importance of maintaining an open dialogue with OSCE partners on issues of common concern.

**Address by Modrag Vlahovic,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Republic of Montenegro**

H. E. Mr. Modrag Vlahovic welcomed participants, and commented on relations between a



number of EU countries of the Mediterranean region and Montenegro.

Mr. Vahovic continued by commending the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly for its great contribution to raising the awareness of the OSCE's Mediterranean dimension, not only within the Organization itself, but among parliamentarians from Mediterranean partner states. He stressed the fact that security in the OSCE area is ultimately linked to security in the Mediterranean area. The Foreign Minister noted that, as the region is just emerging from a decade of war, Montenegro has learned to cherish multiculturalism, peace, good neighbourly relations. He concluded with the statement that being simultaneously Mediterranean, European, and within the OSCE area, Montenegro very much feels the need for closer co-operation with Mediterranean, North African, and Middle Eastern states.

Debate

The first session was followed by an open debate during which parliamentarians discussed the issues of concern to countries in the region. The high rate of illegal immigration was noted; while some of these migrants have been repatriated, others have been granted a form of refugee status. Participants from the region urged greater assistance in dealing with this increasing problem, which is exacerbating already dense population rates in some areas. It was noted that this is a very crucial issue not only in the Mediterranean, but across Europe.



Session 2: Economic Security, Trade and Co-operation in the Mediterranean



The second session of the Mediterranean Forum was Chaired by Senator Jerry Grafstein, Treasurer of the Assembly. Senator Grafstein began his address, entitled 'Free Trade – The Fastest Track to Peace in the Middle East' by noting the discouraging state of the economies of many Mediterranean countries. He stated that the Mediterranean basin continues to struggle with economic growth. In some areas, direct investment is down, gross national production is slow, and standards of living have gone from bad before September, 11 2001 to even worse.

Senator Grafstein stressed that free trade remains the fastest track to economic modernization and growth. He noted the strong steps taken by the USA to stimulate growth in the region. He outlined the primary policy tools used to this end. The Senator also noted the use of Qualified Investment Tools which require Arab-Israeli co-operation and input in order to gain access to the U.S. market.

The Treasurer stressed that progress towards free trade zones within the Mediterranean region and with the EU had been progressing too slowly. He also noted the poor levels of Foreign Direct Investment in the region, which had in fact dropped as a percentage of GDP since 1990. Nonetheless, the Senator pointed to the promising signs of increasing literacy and increasing participation of women in economies.

Having enumerated a number of other con-

cerns, including high military spending, low growth rates, and poor use of modern communications, the Treasurer went on to suggest ways of overcoming this. Specifically, he recommended establishing a special Standing Economic Subcommittee to galvanize parliaments and governments to encourage free trade progress. He also suggested specific follow-up conferences to keep parliamentary and public attention on this dossier. Mr. Grafstein concluded by urging parliamentary leadership on this issue.

Gordana Djurovic, Minister for Foreign Economic Relations and European Integration of Montenegro

Minister Djurovic gave an overview of the priorities of her Ministry, focusing particularly on accession talks with the World Trade Organization and integration issues in the region. She noted that the strategic goal of joining the WTO is important from both a global and regional level, from the perspective of Serbia and Montenegro. In regards to these accession talks, Mrs. Djurovic underlined the difficulties faced by countries in the region due to their recent troubled history, but stressed that talks are well underway.

On a regional level, Minister Djurovic noted that integration has been helped by the Stability Pact process, and that a considerable network of



bilateral free-trade agreements had been established. She considered these to be of great importance, and expressed her hope that this network might develop into a multilateral agreement for the region. Nonetheless, trade within the region is still quite limited, and there is much room for expansion. In particular, the Minister noted the potential advantages of harmonizing customs and trade policies in the region.

Minister Djurovic stressed the country's willingness for closer co-operation with the European Union, particularly through a Stabilisation and Association Agreement. The Minister concluded by noting some uncertainty in the negotiations being undertaken given the parallel political developments in Serbia and Montenegro.

Address by Milorad Drjevic, Deputy Speaker of the Assembly of Serbia and Montenegro

Mr. Drjevic, focused his remarks on "The Adriatic-Ionian Initiative". He expressed his appreciation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly for taking part in helping to solve problems in the region and taking part in the political life of this region. Mr. Drjevic outlined to participants the 6 pillars of the Adriatic-Ionian Initiative: common policy in fighting organized crime, common environmental policies, co-operation in education and culture, economic co-operation, joint encourage-



ment of tourism, and a common transport policy. He noted a number of concrete examples which had resulted from this co-operation, including the Programme for collaboration among the universities of this region, the Programme for the care of nature and endangered species of the Adriatic Basin (ADRIACOM), increased co-ordination of the Ambassadors and Consuls from the countries of the region, and the joint protection of the cultural heritage of the region. Mr. Drjevic stressed that this initiative was an excellent example of what can develop through inter-parliamentary dialogue among the participants: Slovenia, Croatia, Italy, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro, FYR of Macedonia, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Norway and the United Kingdom.



General Debate: Addressing Security Risks, Threats and Challenges in the Mediterranean



Introduction by Bruce George, President Emeritus of the OSCE PA and Special Representative on Mediterranean Affairs

Mr. Bruce George opened the general debate by indicating that for a long time he has developed, both as a politician and as an academic, a deep interest in Mediterranean issues. During his time as President of the Assembly (2002-2004) he made one of his objectives to enhance and further develop the Assembly's involvement in the Mediterranean whilst increasing Assembly interaction with the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation.

Mr. George was the first President of the Assembly to lead a delegation that met with the OSCE Contact Group with the Mediterranean Partners in Vienna, and also organised a successful meeting involving experts, parliamentarians and governmental officials on the margins of the Assembly's Sessions, which have been continued every year.

Defining the 'Mediterranean,' Mr. George noted however, is not easy. Geographers, geologists, political scientists, and specialists in geopolitics differ radically on what they believe the Mediterranean to be. Some perceive it as comprising only those littoral states surrounding the Mediterranean, Aegean, and Adriatic seas. Others would view it as more broadly

encompassing those with military and economic interests in the region. There are also those who believe the Black Sea to be an extension of the region, whilst others write of a so-called 'arc of crisis,' encompassing the Middle East, the Gulf, the Caucasus and Central Asia. Though many may disagree with the above definitions, historical evidence is conclusive – the Mediterranean has been the scene of endless military conflicts over the last 3000 years. Today, we must approach the Mediterranean area from the point of view of international co-operation, he stressed.

The Mediterranean dimension to European security has also been recognised in several key international instruments, he reported. The chapter on the Mediterranean contained in the Helsinki Final Act was a clear recognition of shared historical, cultural, economic ties with the then CSCE region (today's OSCE). This relationship has been reinforced since, enabling the Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation – as they are now called – to participate regularly in OSCE events, including those in the Economic and Environmental Dimension.

Over recent years the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has engaged in an increasingly intensified dialogue with its partners from the Mediterranean region. Mr. George indicated that there is a growing awareness in the OSCE that only a free, democratic, prosperous and undivided Europe will be able to promote security, stability and prosperity in the adjacent area, and that European security will benefit from positive developments in other regions, including the Mediterranean.



Security in the OSCE area is ultimately linked to security in the Mediterranean area, stressed Mr. George. However, the great diversity of States included in the Mediterranean – which may be divided in four sub-regions: the Mediterranean EU, the Balkans, the Middle East and the Maghreb – complicate the level of negotiations and political dialogue.

Mr. George continued by stressing that increasing communication and co-operation among the different international organizations focusing on security in the Mediterranean is essential to harmonize such a notion of security while increasing confidence between Western Countries and countries in the Southern Mediterranean.

It is also widely recognised that huge disparities of wealth and environmental resources between the countries on the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean are potentially destabilising. Poverty breeds resentment and alienation, thereby fuelling support for radical Islamic movements, he said.

Mr. George concluded by referring to a research project he has undertaken under the title: “Security in the Mediterranean and Beyond: A collection of essays” available on his web site. The Mediterranean area is of critical importance to all those States bordering its shores but also for OSCE citizens hundreds, even thousands, of miles away. The main conclusion must be that security in the OSCE area is inter-linked to security in the Mediterranean.

Following Mr. George’s introduction, a number of Members of the Assembly took the floor to discuss various topics related to the Mediterranean area which he had addressed. Representatives from Israel, Cyprus, Italy, Germany and Malta, among others, took the floor. Several speakers stressed the importance of co-operation within the OSCE to address issues such as economic development, cultural exchanges and migration.



The OSCE Parliamentary Assembly



The OSCE PA is the parliamentary dimension of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose 55 participating States span the geographical area from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

The primary task of the 317 member Assembly is to facilitate inter-parliamentary dialogue, an important aspect of the overall effort to meet the challenges of democracy throughout the OSCE area. Recognized as a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, the OSCE is a primary instrument for early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation in its area. The Parliamentary Assembly, originally established by the 1990 Paris Summit to promote greater involvement in the OSCE by national parliaments, has grown into a very active and esteemed member of the OSCE family.

The basic objectives of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly are:

- To assess the implementation of OSCE objectives by participating States;
- To discuss subjects addressed during meetings of the Ministerial Council and the summits of Heads of State or Government;
- To develop and promote mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflicts;
- To support the strengthening and consolidation of democratic institutions in OSCE participating States;
- To contribute to the development of OSCE institutional structures and of relations between existing OSCE Institutions.

To pursue these objectives, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly employs a variety of means:

- A Final Declaration and a number of resolutions and recommendations are adopted each year at the Annual Session in July;
- Committee work addresses important contemporary international issues;
- Programmes and Seminars designed to develop and strengthen democracy including an extensive election observation programme;
- Special parliamentary missions to areas of latent or active crisis.

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