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EUROPEAN MOVEMENT INTERNATIONAL**



**Comité Méditerranée  
Mediterranean Committee**



**EMI preparatory conference on the  
“North-South Mediterranean Dialogue”**

Malta, 27<sup>th</sup> & 28<sup>th</sup> November 2004

**Summary Report**

January 2005

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## Foreword

This document is a provisional text, created on the basis of three elements:

- Notes of M. Lannon (Rapporteur)
- Notes of M. Franke (EMI)
- Audio tapes of the meeting which were listened to again in full

This report was written because it was deemed necessary to draw attention to a number of suggestions, proposals and information gathered in a structured and comparative manner. Participants are invited to react to the report and, if necessary, to clarify, complete, or correct its content.

The analytical report should serve to contribute to a continuous dialogue with and between all those who participated in the meeting in Malta. Together with the reports by Mr Hadhri and Mr Lannon, it should serve as the basis for the production of both an intermediary and a final report which will serve as the framework for the 2005 Founding Congress.

### 27<sup>th</sup> November: Welcome session

Mr **Gil-Robles** (President of the International European Movement), began by thanking all the participants and then introduced the next two speakers.

Mr **Pace** (European Movement Malta), who hosted the conference, expressed his delight in opening this first meeting of the North-South Mediterranean Dialogue. He recalled that Malta joined the Council of Europe in 1965, and thereby strengthened the Mediterranean dimension of the Council. The Mediterranean region was always a priority for Malta, which always encouraged North-South dialogue.

Mr **Nothomb** (President of the EMI Mediterranean Committee) outlined the conference's objectives. Two years ago, the EMI, which was set up in 1949, decided to branch out from eurocentricism and to take an interest in the Mediterranean region. Prior to taking up its position on the Mediterranean, it was decided, according to European Movement procedure, to meet the Southern partners whilst ensuring that existing initiatives are not offended. The EMI wants to perform its role as a political movement derived from civil society (i.e. from political majorities and opposition parties, and from cultural and economic movements) and to search for partners from the other side of the Mediterranean. The title "North-South Mediterranean Dialogue" is a broad term which will allow the geographical limits of the region involved in the dialogue to be flexible. It will involve outlining initiatives and devising proposals for the future. Mr Nothomb quickly introduced the participants from various institutions and thanked all participants as a whole.

Mr **Gil-Robles** recalled that the EMI is a multi-faceted organisation. It was an NGO before the term was even invented, and manifested itself as a political movement from civil society in 1949 when NGOs had not even begun to be talked about. The EM only represents itself and its work includes:

- spreading the European ideal and explaining how to achieve the most extensive integration.
- lobbying the EU institutions (EU, Council of Europe etc.)
- acting as a think-tank

To have launched a dialogue with the Mediterranean is not a risk because Europe has reached maturity. It is time for this dialogue to begin here in Malta, at the heart of the Mediterranean. Mr **Gil-Robles** referred to the meeting of the European Movement Assembly, which took place over the past two days, and which concentrated on the two great tasks of the European Movement at present: the ratification of the Constitution and dialogue with the Mediterranean countries.

### **28<sup>th</sup> November: Work session**

Mr **Nothomb** (President of the EMI Mediterranean Committee) introduced the session and the two reporters.

*The two reports were sent to all participants before the meeting. Further copies are available on request from the EMI*

Mr **Hadhri** (rapporteur) presented his report on “The Mediterranean and the future of the North-South dialogue”, developing four essential axes of the Euro-Mediterranean dialogue:

#### **The Mediterranean and the geo-historical burdens of the past:**

As a focal point from all perspectives, the Mediterranean has become a very important political issue. Tensions exist between Europe and the Arab world since decolonisation first began to generate many fears and worries. Professor Hadhri, who supports a renewal of Euro-Mediterranean dialogue, is opposed to tendentious theories such as that of the shock of civilisations. In order to respond to the need for transparency between Europe and the Arab world, we must get over the burdens of the past. At this, the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we must devise a new model for relations between Mediterranean nations, based on pluralism and diversity.

#### **The principal challenges:**

- The challenge of security and political stability:

The question of peace in the Middle East cannot be excluded from the Euro-Mediterranean dialogue; on the contrary it is the condition necessary for regional stability in the Mediterranean. The primacy of international law must be applied, and the countries of the southern Mediterranean expect that Europe will also have a role to play.

- The challenge of economic growth and co-development:

The specificity of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership lies in the disparity in the wealth of the North and the South (the revenue per inhabitant of the Southern countries represents one tenth of that of the Northern Mediterranean). This discrepancy has not been resolved despite the efforts of the Barcelona Process. A similar imbalance has also been noted on the level of commercial dominance in Europe: the deficit of the Southern countries has risen to 30 billion dollars. As a result, Europe must instigate a partnership process so as to develop the flow of investment.

- The challenge of stabilising demographic growth and managing migration:

The partnership implies that immigration is considered a fundamental feature of the Euro-Mediterranean area. The balance and stability of North/South relations will remain dependent on responses to the migratory challenge in the years ahead. Concerned by the future of 15 million immigrants of Mediterranean origin who have settled in Europe and become an essential component of the European socio-political landscape, Europe finds itself with two choices: either it withdraws into itself thus accentuating the isolation of the immigrant

population or it chooses to be a significant partner in the Southern Mediterranean within an international order predisposed to the key principles of respect, liberty and human rights.

-The challenge of controlling ecological and environmental risk:

With the Mediterranean under threat from “biological death”, the environment could become a common identity factor in the Mediterranean, the South and the North, all of them sharing the same problems and the same challenges (destruction of piscatorial resources, water management, erosion, desertification, etc.).

### **The Barcelona Conference – 10 years later**

This conference laid the foundations for an ambitious project and represented the first step towards the creation of a Euro-Mediterranean free trade zone, which symbolised a positive factor and should manifest itself in the development of the dynamic of the economic actors in the Mediterranean. However, the question is whether or not the dynamic which has been initiated is permanent; because we note today the lack of investment in the Southern Mediterranean. Therefore, we must encourage the flow of investment which determines the development of the Southern Mediterranean countries and therefore the success of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership.

### **The Mediterranean in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: a bridge between Europe and the Arab world:**

-What bridges must be rebuilt between the two sides of the Mediterranean so as to get past the burdens of the past and prepare for the future? How can we identify the strategies, the dynamics and the players which are willing to help lay the foundations of the Mediterranean of the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

- We must see to it that the North/South political dialogue can become a guarantee of peace and security in the Mediterranean (one of the achievements of the Barcelona Process, along with the Charter for Peace and Stability in the Mediterranean).

- We must define a way to consolidate the factors of economic, industrial, energy and ecological interdependence in the Mediterranean. Energy could be at the heart of a dynamic which follows the example of coal and steel for Europe in the 1950s.

- There is a need for a greater involvement of civil society on both sides of the Mediterranean to initiate and strengthen dialogue between Europe and the Arab world.

- We must reinforce the theme of culture because the future of the partnership will be decided in this area. Dialogue between cultures and religions is essential to the Euro-Mediterranean project as a whole.

In conclusion, Professor Hadhri responds to the question: cultural dialogue or the shock of civilisations? The Mediterranean represents a real laboratory for testing the possibility of successful dialogue between the South which aspires to better development and stability conditions, and the North which hopes for more prosperity and intends to conserve its strategic position in this new dawn of international order.

**Mr Nothomb** (President of the EMI Mediterranean Committee) then recalled the meeting’s objective to identify the preparations for the 2005 Congress. He made it clear that the intellectual basis of the content (the reports) should be completed and modified by a “tour de table” of the participants, insisting on the idea of appropriation from all participants.

**Mr Lannon** (rapporteur) recalled that the primary objective of the report was to launch a debate and to identify potential partners to define a preliminary agenda for the Congress. The second objective is to promote the value added to the EMI and to identify similar projects

which may be started up, and to avoid doubling-up on projects. The third objective is to elicit other proposals in terms of common themes.

He effectively based his presentation on the document entitled “proposals”, aiming to give a certain number of reference points vis-à-vis the meeting in Malta. From the core texts, three horizontal, interesting and unifying themes were identified for all the partners. For each one, it was necessary to seek the union between the European Movement Congress and the Barcelona process (integration, participation of civil society in the broad sense; dialogue and mutual understanding, etc.) so as to find a common dynamic.

**- Information, training:**

On one hand, one notices the absence of a common perception of what is at stake, which signifies a halt to integration and can become a conflict-promoting factor. On the other hand, a general lack of information and education is more frequent in the South than in the North. Finally, the problem of understanding the complex mechanisms of the EU and of international organisations is also highlighted. It will therefore be a question of simplifying information, of making it more accessible without distorting it. In this regard, the greatest value of the European Movement lies in its educational work, in its experience with information campaigns as well as it having a pan-European membership.

As far as proposals in the area of information are concerned, it will be advisable to promote the spreading of information (using the EM network), to analyse and gather information, and to work on the appropriation of the EU’s policy on the Mediterranean by the new member states. In relation to education, there are numerous potential projects such as student exchanges, school twinning, co-writing school textbooks, and the creation of institutions such as the College of Europe in the Mediterranean region...

**- Employment, the jobs market and migration:**

In this area, the challenges are obvious (young population with no future, boat people...). It is vital to work to collect information relating to the jobs market. The projects envisaged to include “Micro-credit” schemes, the creation of an agency for employment in the Mediterranean, the setting up of schools providing training in issues of migration in countries of origin, the promotion of worker mobility, facilitating the granting of visas, etc..

**- Methods of participation, appropriation:**

European citizenship exists, and we note the emergence of a Southern Mediterranean citizenship (NGO, universities, unions, businesses...). In this respect, the creation of the Euro-Mediterranean parliamentary assembly is important so that the southern countries can express themselves in an institutional setting.

**Mr Lannon** concluded by stating that the European Movement can have an influence on the adoption of decisions covering these different initiatives. The objective is to open a continuing debate on the future of North-South Mediterranean relations and to establish a follow-up mechanism.

## Themes developed from contributions of participants in Malta

### PLAN

Introduction: general remarks

#### I. Set of themes

- Theme 1 Information; education, and training
- Theme 2 Migration, employment and investment
- Theme 3 Methods of participation, appropriation and cultural dialogue.

#### II. Existing and planned initiatives and projects

#### III. Proposals and commitments of participants

Conclusions

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#### **Introduction: general remarks**

*Numerous participants asked what the place and role of the EMI would be and how it would work.*

Some participants insisted on the need to work on concrete questions and specific subjects (Mr O'Connell – EMI Mediterranean Committee). The suggestion was also made to identify “real obstacles” and to create “small working groups” (Mr Camu – EMI Mediterranean Committee). From this perspective, Ms Gützkow (Council of Europe) proposed the organisation of preparatory meetings with representatives of civil society in the Southern Mediterranean area. Mr O'Connell (EMI Mediterranean Committee) also insisted on the importance of establishing a forum in which participants could exchange points of view and create an atmosphere of mutual understanding between the partners. On several occasions, Mr Gil-Robles (EMI President) came back to the need for concrete political dialogue according to the Monnet method, and the need to unite political personalities in the south. Mr Nothomb (President of the EMI Mediterranean Committee) ensured that appropriation would be a central theme in the debate, and would serve as a formula for the definition and implementation of the North South Mediterranean dialogue.

According to Ms Lalumière (EMI Vice-President), the role of the EMI must be clarified in order to give out clear messages. We should not appear dependent on the Barcelona process (should not become integrated with, compete with nor merge with the Barcelona process). We must use the specificities of the EM which sustain relations with numerous institutions, with the associations, social partners and civil society. There are two themes to be studied:

- i) Concrete problems which interest the citizens and which hinder relations between the two sides of the Mediterranean (visas, difficulties in finding funds).
- ii) Cultural questions (in the sense of deep values which form attitudes). We must be conscious of what separates one from the other, and what it is that brings them together (common values) without which there is no real dialogue. Ms Lalumière refers to her particular interest in the latter. As for the list of partners, she highlights the fact that a balance between the institutions and recognised representatives of civil society is necessary, and that the over-representation of the

institutions should be avoided - if not, civil society representatives will not understand – we should also try to avoid becoming too much “third-worldish”. We can have dialogue which varies according to circumstances and according to the theme being studied.

**Mr Imbert** (European Commission), speaking about the question of “how the EMI should position itself”, identifies three aims:

- i) the EMI will work with different organisations (Parliamentary assembly, Anna Lindh Foundation, EMHRN (Euromed human rights network)). The European Movement’s greatest value lies in its ability to position itself above political and religious divides.
- ii) Extend the EM network in the South (create sub-branches of the EM in the South)
- iii) Use the EM’s think-tank function and to look into specific courses of action

**Mr Ammor** (Euromesco GERM) insisted that the European Movement should be a guiding light, a driving force. It could act as guardian of the Euro-Mediterranean process and its voice should be heard by the “decision-makers”.

**Mr Nothomb** (President of the EMI Mediterranean Committee) noted a strong determination to communicate. Dialogue should be initiated throughout the Mediterranean, which will then lead to a common view: projects should be passed on to the citizens through a process of “demultiplication” and decentralisation. We must define:

- what we want to do, who will organise it and
- when which countries we will communicate with (choose/define)
- what themes we will deal with.

**Mr Basile** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) proposes to get involved in environmental problems and other important problems: security (citizens want security), subsidiarity (participation of local authorities), sustainability (financial, economic...).

**Ms Kratsa-Tsagaropoulou** (MEP) emphasises that the EP, via the Parliamentary Assembly, is still competent on a human and social level within the framework of the Barcelona Process. Where then is the value added by the EMI? “We are there first of all to develop a common work ethic, if not the dialogue will remain nothing more than an exchange of business cards”.

**Mr Abidi** (CERMAM/Swiss) insists that the EMI should not go down the same route as the Commission and fall into the same trap, rather it will operate through the grass roots of civil society. The EMI will have to find its niche so that its activities are not the same as those of the Commission, the EP or the Council of Europe.

## I. Set of Themes

### Theme 1. Information, Education and Training

#### a) Information

*The theme of information, in the global sense, was one of the themes most frequently referred to by the participants*

**Mr Imbert** (European Commission) referred to the lack of proximity, of readability and visibility of the Barcelona process. In order to fight against the “shock of a lack of knowledge”, a new communication strategy is planned for the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Barcelona Process (mention Euronews programmes in Arabic).

**Ms Hamouda** (Alexandria library) highlighted the need to revive the concept of the old library as a centre of excellence for the production and dissemination of knowledge, and a centre for dialogue between people and cultures (archives, internet, museums, conferences, research centre housing the Anna Lindh Foundation).

She referred to the first conference on reform which did not involve Arabic civil society and which was the subject of a follow-up: the creation of an “arab reform forum” (permanent forum with a director and secretariat), followed by numerous workshops (notably on the freedom of expression), conferences and various activities (database of institutions, NGOs, good practice). She also referred to the Alexandria Declaration which is available on the library’s website ([www.bibalex.org](http://www.bibalex.org)). The library benefits from the Arabic (Lybia; Yemen...) and Euro-Mediterranean (seat of the Anna Lindh Foundation) dimensions and it operates as a meeting point.

**Ms Benaboud** (Council of Europe, North/South Centre) recalled the importance given by her institution to this informative dimension, quoting the example of the “continuous audiovisual and media conference”.

**Mr Farnararo:** (European Teachers Association) presented his organisation, which concentrates its activities on school exchanges and projects, languages, information, training young people and teachers, new technology, archaeological projects in the Mediterranean. We have the same goals to achieve in respecting tradition, culture and religion. We should create suitable conditions for partnerships between European schools and schools in the Southern Mediterranean region. He proposes that the Commission should expand its Erasmus/Socrates project, because student exchanges are the best way to get to know other nationalities. Knowledge is fundamental to mutual respect.

**Mr Mansouri** (University of Tunis) spoke about the importance of access to new technology in terms of information and education.

**Mr Capasso** (President of the Laboratorio Mediterraneo Foundation, Naples) made a link to the question of perceptions: we must inform people in order to get rid of the equation “Islam = Arabs = terrorists”. Information means the “transfer of knowledge”, which in turn means the promotion of “exchanges”, which leads to “peace”.

**Mr Gribaa** (Director of CEREF, Tunisia) returns to this theme, highlighting the fact that modern Islam is often rigorous and fanatical, blocking democratic developments (even though it is a religion of tolerance). It uses political parties, the media, and other effective ways of

spreading its message. As a result, it will be necessary to think of a way to ensure that this does not disrupt the North/South dialogue.

**Ms Kratsa-Tsagaropoulou** (MEP) spoke, in terms of information, about the need to establish a mechanism and structures.

**Ms Dejou** (World Bank) emphasised her institution's need to listen to civil society given the activities of MENA (loans, aid, reports and expertise in cooperating with governments). We endorse national strategies developed in cooperation with governments but also increasingly developed through dialogue with civil society.

**Mr Parry** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) stressed that there is a need to educate people (in the broad sense). Information is limited amongst the general public and we note a lack of knowledge of Arabic Civilisation (science...). We must thus educate people as a whole. In terms of proposals, television is a choice tool for improving communication with Arabic countries. In order to link economics with communication, we can consider the question of different languages. As a result, it would be useful to contact international TV companies to relay our message and promote our policy.

#### **b) Education**

*The theme of education, which did not feature in the preliminary report, was added because it complemented the training theme, which deals mainly with research, university and the worlds post-university (continuous training). Education is often understood in the broad sense (from education 'en masse' to school twinning).*

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) referred to the quality of teaching and referred to the Arabia plan which is comprised of a number of projects based on understanding others. He referred to the existence of numerous projects initiated by UNESCO which include: school networks, the 'quality education' project, updating school books, cultural centres, and exchange programmes.

**Ms Benaboud** (Council of Europe, North/South Centre), having highlighted the importance of education and youth (training courses for young people from areas bordering the Mediterranean), proposed working on the theme of women and also on illiteracy, in conjunction with the theme of education.

**Mr Giovanni Buttigieg** (European Youth Forum) emphasised the need to concentrate on those countries not involved in the process (Algeria, Syria, Lebanon). He referred to meetings of the European Youth Forum in Bulgaria, Luxembourg, Denmark and Ireland. He added that the Barcelona Process must be made more transparent.

**Mr Farnararo** (European Teachers Association/AEDE) proposes the expansion of the Socrates and Erasmus programmes. He highlights the fact that there is no need to develop models but instead to follow the federalist system and create partnerships between schools in the North and South Mediterranean.

See also in point I a) information:

**-Ms Benaboud** (Council of Europe, North/South centre): Transmed program, education and youth.

**-Mr Parry** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) education of the population  
**Mr Mansouri** (University of Tunis): access to new technology.

### **c) Training**

*Topics discussed include those relating to universities (networks, professorships), scientific research, as well as continuous training, professional training etc.*

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) insisted on the importance of research and, on a more global level, on the need to reinforce the university networks which exist between the two sides of the Mediterranean. He spoke about actions and projects specific to UNESCO (the “Engineering Award”, UNESCO University chairs, various networks, research and exchange programmes).

**Mrs Hamouda** (Alexandria Library) said that her institution has many programmes in scientific research, continuous training and training for adults.

**Mr Imbert** (European Commission) spoke about the expansion of the TEMPUS programme in relation to training, and referred to the idea of a type of Mediterranean College of Europe, identifying the practical problems its establishment could pose, which are mainly financial.

**Mr Basile** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) highlighted the role of universities in training, with more emphasis being placed on research. Universities should be the setting for the promotion of a common culture.

## **Theme 2 Migration, Employment and Investment**

### a) Migration

**Ms Hamouda** (Alexandria Library) spoke about the question of worker mobility as part of South-South migration, stating that her institution had a specific approach compared to that of the Barcelona process.

**Mr Imbert** (European Commission) made the link between questions relating to employment and those linked to migration. He insists that the social dimension which was initially a taboo subject, now constitutes an important point of the Euro-Mediterranean agenda.

- i) The importance of questions linked to migration within the framework of the new European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) (for example, the question of visas is addressed in the ENP’s action plan).
- ii) The EU has the problems of immigration firmly in hand “via neighbourhood and association policies”.

**Ms Benaboud** (Council of Europe, North/South Centre) spoke about the important question of the integration of migrants into the host country, and also the problem of visas, pointing out that this question was a political one.

*The question of migration is also addressed in relation to the transfer of migrant income through FDI (Foreign Direct Investment). (See below)*

## b) Employment

*In addition to the general questions relating to reform in the Arab world and concerning investment, many participants have highlighted the importance of questions linked to the employment of young men and women.*

**Ms Hamouda** (Alexandria Library) made it clear that her institution recently emphasised questions relating to employment and, more notably, to the employment of young people (an international conference on youth employment took place in the Alexandria Library in 2002 and it was co-chaired by President Mubarak with 2000 people in attendance). The Alexandria Library is very much involved in questions related to employment and unemployment. The question of employment for women is also taken into account.

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) referred to the importance of the private sector's participation and the fact that UNESCO created the "Engineering Award" for the exchange of knowledge between engineering students.

**Ms Agli** (Algerian Association of Women Entrepreneurs) raised a certain number of points:

- i) the question of illiteracy amongst women (in Algeria: 35% of women are illiterate)
- ii) the labour market (in Algeria, women represent 14% of the labour market, unemployment increased to 23% in 2003 according to official statistics)
- iii) access to credit (43% of Algerian companies have never had access to credit)
- iv) the problem of access to land
- v) food deficit in Algeria (90% of food supplies is imported)

## c) Investment

*The theme of FDI was added insofar as it provoked a discussion of ideas and a comparison of differing perceptions which call for the creation of a working group on this topic.*

**Mr Gil-Robles** (President of EMI) referred to the fact that private investment is not monitored by the countries involved: "private investment should be warranted and invited; we must avoid a culture of subsidies". Countries should not administer private investment but they should create suitable conditions to attract it (e.g. Ireland). Subsidies only serve as a starting point to get out of a difficult situation.

**Mr Ammor** (Euromesco) stressed that the FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) system was not the key, and that investment only begins to take effect after a few years, adding that statistics are not reliable. The Barcelona Process is running even though investment is not measuring up. On the other hand, some countries have considerable funds but they are blocked and monopolised by a minority, which is not a problem of investment but of government decisions.

**Mr Gribaa** (CEREF, Tunisia) made it clear that reform in relation to FDI should not be imposed but should nevertheless develop in the Southern countries. The principal of reform should become a state of mind in civil society, so that it does not get bogged down in purely institutional reform.

**Mr Marty-Gauquié** (European Investment Bank) highlighted that, according to him, the flow of public aid towards development would not suffice to raise the competitiveness of Mediterranean Partner Countries (MPC) in a globalised economy. It is thus advisable to create the necessary pull factors for substantial Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) or local investment (essentially SMEs). The implementation of a free trade zone does not depend solely on the opening of borders: there is also a need for structural and government reform, which public funds can support, with a view to improving human resources and unleashing creative forces.

#### -2 Remarks

- i) In order to improve companies' access to credit, there must be a strong local banking sector which is modern, liberal and which is prepared to take risks: for their part, companies must practise transparency in both management and communication (need for training).
- ii) For FDI, (which only represents 1% of GDP of the zone compared to 12% in South-East Asia) there must be a rational perception of the risks involved (at present they are exaggerated due to the Middle East and Palestinian conflicts); it is only in restoring this perception to its rightful position and creating an attractive environment for private initiative (modernisation of governance) that FDI can drive development in the MPCs.

#### -3 Proposals

##### **A: Dealing with the fear of change**

- i) Lead the Northern and Southern countries in launching a campaign on the reality of the risks involved for Mediterranean countries (promote information campaigns focusing on the assets of the MPCs and targeting the fears of potential investors).
- ii) Encourage an awareness amongst the MPCs of the need for (and the advantages of) structural and government reform; and employ adequate means of supporting these reforms in the Northern Mediterranean countries (technical assistance, support for the modernisation of the public sector, transfer of managerial and technical expertise).

##### **B: Free the creative forces**

- i) Endorse the modernisation of the local bank sector and access to credit for companies (reform of their regulatory structure, training of local personnel, assisting the local set-up of the European bank sector).
- ii) Further encourage the opening of local capital markets so as to permit loans in local currency, eliminating exchange risks for local and foreign investors.
- iii) Reinforce South-South cooperation to increase economic integration and to give the market a sense of proportion (Algeria is the 15<sup>th</sup> biggest supplier to Morocco and Morocco is the 45<sup>th</sup> biggest supplier to Algeria).

##### **C : Develop a sense of appropriation**

- i) The MPCs should not isolate their public opinion and economic actors from the Barcelona Process (ensure this does not prevent reform).
- ii) The EU should see to it that its new Member States adapt the *acquis* of the Barcelona Process and that they do not weaken the New Neighbourhood Policy (NNP).

**Ms Agli** (Algerian Association of Women Entrepreneurs) referred to study by the EU Commission on the situation in Algeria, according to which the principal obstacles to FDI in these countries are: poor access to banks (local), lack of security, tax bureaucracy, and relations with the authorities...It is therefore advisable to reflect on methods of improving the attractiveness of the Southern countries for direct investors. (see also the figures quoted under the heading "employment").

**Mr Camu** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) also insisted on the need to attract companies to the Southern Mediterranean countries so as to prevent extremism which has its root in poverty. In order to promote foreign investment it is necessary to carry out reforms to create a stable regulatory structure in the Southern Mediterranean countries.

**Mr Basile** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) brought up the question of the credit system and gave his opinion on the strengthening of credit opportunities for the Southern countries, emphasising the need to discuss the question of the Euro-Mediterranean bank.

### **Theme 3: Methods of participation; appropriation and cultural dialogue**

*As regards the general theme, cultural dialogue was inserted as a result of the theme of (co-) appropriation*

#### **A) Methods of participation**

*The question of methods of participation covers all methods, instruments and structures of participation in the decisional process and in political life in general.*

**Mr Gil-Robles** (President of the EMI) recalled the Monnet method and the importance of the promotion of the supra-national dimension, taking European Unity as an example. Emphasis should be placed on achievements between peoples and to rely on solidarity (create concrete links to progress together). Concerning the Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly, he noted the difficulty in finding “true parliamentarians” in the South (and not Ambassadors as is the case in the ACP Parliamentary Assembly). Democracy involves the strengthening of delegations of power in the South. It is necessary to find speakers to communicate and to create concrete links between leaders and experts (according to the Monnet method) but these permanent links are only possible if there is a relationship between the two sides on the democratic agenda (example of Latin America and the EU’s efforts to export this model. With regard to the Andin Pact: break-up of the process as soon as a dictatorship began in Venezuela).

**Mr O’ Connell** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) referred to the Jean Monnet method, based initially on aspirations (peace) but also on a concrete, pragmatic and precise undertaking. In order to make this possible between peoples who have hated and feared and do not understand each other: it is necessary to establish an atmosphere of understanding. We must do a solid job and hold a congress which deals with specific subjects. We must create a forum where we can communicate (talk and listen).

**Mrs Kratsa-Tsagaropoulou** (MEP) referred to the importance of the creation of the Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly and the need to analyse the model and the values of the partnership and common values (respect for Human Rights and international norms). In order that the dialogue is productive, it must be reinstated in the international context (political problem of Cyprus, adhesion to Turkey, Israeli-Arab conflict).

**Ms Gützkow** (Council of Europe) insisted that for a partnership, we should not aim to export a “model”, but rather to agree at least on common basic principles.

**Ms Benaboud** (Council of Europe, North-South Centre) referred to the example of the Council of Europe’s four-part dialogue (governments, parliaments, local and regional powers, and civil society): this collaboration is very important in initiating projects. We must

strengthen networks and export the “good practice of the Council of Europe, but not its model” (we must find common values if we wish to build a real partnership). She also highlighted the question of citizenship (more concrete than the term “civil society”). In the Southern countries, the “local feeling of citizenship” is absent, which makes the idea of a Euro-Mediterranean citizenship difficult. In this context: the question of representation of civil society is important.

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) referred to the possibility of a supra-national mechanism of supervision and the need to promote common universal values.

**Mr Farnararo** (European Teachers Association) considers that the collaboration should take place in respect of diversity, and he shares Mr Gil-Robles’ conviction that the method to be followed should be the federalist method. We should not export a model, on the contrary we should follow the Monnet method, i.e. the functionalist method. Monnet said: “We must first of all unite men, then States”.

## **B) Appropriation**

*The question of appropriation was referred to on numerous occasions including in the course of the debates (Mr Nothomb). This question of appropriation is understood in the broad sense and, according to the participants, is multi-faceted. This idea also provoked reflection on the question of the partners’ involvement in the decisional process (see also the theme of participation).*

**Mr Shabbo** (League of Arab States) stated that one of the principal problems was perhaps the question of appropriation. At Euro-Mediterranean ministerial conferences, the 25 Member States arrive with certain position in mind which cannot be changed by the partners, and it is this European position which is finally adopted. The Southern partners feel that the Barcelona Process is purely European, which explains why they cannot and will not get more involved. The Arab partners feel that the changes were imposed on them (a specific Arabic model must be defined). He emphasised that 8 out of the 22 members of the Arab league are represented in the Barcelona Process. These 8 countries are engaged in a global pan-Arabic strategy “they have nothing new to add to the process apart from what was already adopted by the Arab League”. These countries “assume the collective Arabic position”.

Following the last enlargement of the EU, Malta and Cyprus became EU Member States, and Turkey is in a special situation, which leaves 8 Arabic countries and Israel. Now, in order that dialogue can work, 22 countries from the Arab League must participate. There is a lack of understanding about what the Arab League, Arabic civilisation and Arabs really are. We cannot divide Arabs up into different areas of cooperation (Barcelona, Gulf States, ACP) while Iraq, Yemen, and Libya are not always included in these areas.

EU enlargement served to exacerbate the premise that only Southern EU countries are really interested in the Mediterranean which concerns another dimension to the question of appropriation (priorities and funds were redirected from the South to the East).

With regard to the European Movement’s role, he highlighted the importance of the participation and engagement of Arabic civil society in the process which will lead up to the 2005 Congress. He referred to the question of knowing how to involve civil society (reference to the potential role of the Arab League for civil society).

**Ms Gützkow** (Council of Europe) highlighted that the participation of civil society in the decisional process is essential for the Council of Europe, while referring to the characteristic

principles of the Council of Europe. She insisted on the values and institutions of the Council of Europe.

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) stated that it is necessary to go beyond the elite (young people, underprivileged women).

**Me Ammor** (Germ Euromesco) thinks that societal questions and those questions which touch civil society must be feared in the long term, the same as things that interfere with one's mind and perceptions. It is necessary to create networks which involve more appropriation.

**Mr Marty-Gauquié** (EIB) pointed out the imbalance of the Euro-Mediterranean dialogue: "The EU thinks, prints a paper and gives it to the Southern countries to sign" (reference to Mr Shabbo's speech): it is not a very productive dialogue. Mr Marty-Gauquié exposes the preoccupations of the North:

- the countries of the South hold positions which are derived from the government's decisions and which lack contributions from their civil societies in the wording of their requests concerning the objectives and priorities of the Process: consequently the MPCs have a speech which is either fixed or flexible, but not very significant; In order to reinforce a Euro-Mediterranean dialogue, the MPCs must rely on the expertise and the dynamism of their economic actors and their civil societies; the public must be informed about the Euro-Mediterranean partnership and their expectations raised;
- The Mediterranean Partners favour bilateral talks (France, Spain, Italy) and use the multilateral method as an additional window for the bilateral (c.f. for example, Algerian-French dialogue, Autumn 2004).
- The multilateral character of Barcelona and its specificity within the EU Neighbourhood Policy must be preserved (risk of dilution linked to the single financial instrument and the fact that dialogue between the EU and the newly independent countries is must less advanced than that which was established with the MPCs over the ten years of the Barcelona Process).
- On the European side, there is a need for European societies to provide more information concerning the Barcelona Process, and a need to create greater awareness in the new Member States.

### C) Cultural Dialogue

*The question of (inter)-cultural dialogue, but also of dialogue between the civilisations or inter-religion dialogue, was raised on several occasions, notably on the basis of Mr Hadhri's report which introduced problems at the time of the presentation of his report*

Referring to Mr Hadhri's speech, **Mr Gil-Robles** (European Movement President) also stated that, in his opinion, the Andalusian model could not be transposed as it is, with the applicable laws being different according to religion. **Mr Hadhri** (reporter) then stated that it was a matter of following the model's example, and not transposing it.

**Mr O'Connell** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) emphasised that the word "culture" in French benefited from a broader meaning than in English; it also means a way of life.

**Ms Lalumière** (European Movement Vice-President) highlighted the deficiencies of Barcelona in the area of culture, and asked if the Anna Lindh Foundation was going to change anything (see "general remarks" in the introduction).

**Mr Mansour** (ISESCO) referred to Euro-Arabic cultural exchanges which would serve to correct false images and representations, given that the principal instrument should be dialogue. He also referred to a working group in the Council of Europe “learn to live together”, concerning a mutual Euro-Arab understanding and recognition (See projects hereinafter).

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) stated that UNESCO has been working on the theme of dialogue between civilisations and on the promotion of inter-cultural dialogue since 1999. Until 2007, the principal theme will be “Humanising Globalisation”. He then referred to the experience of “Culture of Peace” and numerous international and regional meetings as well as summits. In order to reach these concrete proposals, (sub-) regional meetings must be prioritised. The UNESCO, ISESCO, ALESCO partnership was referred to and also, notably, the “Euro-Arab” dialogue initiative:

- The Arabia plan (2006-2007) “promotion of the Arab understanding of the Other”, will be reactivated so as to become an essential element of the strategy throughout this period;
- The “Mediterranean Programme” is a non-budgeted programme and is less important than the preceding programme which involves actions in different areas.

**Mr Capasso** (Laboratorio Mediterraneo Foundation, Naples) argues for the creation of a committee of Arabic-Mediterranean countries within the Arab League because these countries are used to cooperating with Europe and can contribute to the modernisation of Islam to eliminate the equation Islam = Terrorists.

## II. Existing and Planned Initiatives and Projects

*Participants from the different institutions and organisations briefly outlined the principal axes and programmes of their respective strategies, referring also to certain instruments, programmes or precise projects which are reviewed below.*

**Mr Imbert** (European Commission) recalled the principal elements of the Barcelona Process, in the framework of which association agreements were signed with all the countries concerned including, most recently, Syria. He highlighted that on a political level, Libya did not submit its application to adhere to the Barcelona Process until now, and that the difficulties of the Peace Process in the Middle East, even if they did not obstruct the Barcelona Process, had an impact on it.

On the level of financial cooperation, he insisted that it was operating at a steady rhythm and that its old critics were long gone, and he added that things had improved, especially in the process of the devolution of delegations.

He admitted that the social aspect was the “poor relation of the Barcelona Process”, but that this situation has changed, notably in terms of the implementation of the association agreements.

In relation to cultural dialogue, he stated that the problem was not the shock of civilisations rather “ignorance between cultures”, which must be overcome.

He also emphasises the plan of action of the new European Neighbourhood Policy (especially with regard to migration) which now completes the Barcelona Process.

**Mr Marty-Gauquié** (EIB) explained that funds from the Commission and the EIB came to three billion euros per annum, of which one billion was donations and grants (Commission) and two billion was refundable aid (EIB):

- i) Long term loans at low rates
- ii) Risk share loans
- iii) Risk capital and subordinate financing
- iv) Local currency loans (currently being put in place, target country: Morocco)

These instruments are completed by a technical aid (study and execution of projects, a new technical aid for the implementation of reforms is anticipated). In the framework of the economic pillar of the Barcelona Process, the main objectives are the development of the private sector (and its corollary: the liberalisation of economies, and structural and governmental reform), socio-economic infrastructure (education/training, health, communications and new technology, environment), and reconstruction following natural disasters. The way to do this is to provide the financial products which partner countries cannot easily access, concluded by institutional dialogue (annual Ministerial Committee, biannual Expert Committees) and dialogue with local economic actors (information conferences with entrepreneurs and banks).

**Ms Dejou** (World Bank) referred to the tripartite cooperation and the “Memorandum of Understanding” concluded between the World Bank, the EIB and the Commission. The Marseilles office is, outside of investment, concentrating on the question of sharing knowledge (South-South and North-South), expertise and analytical research: these activities and dialogue on these questions and on socio-economic and technical questions must be developed. The Marseilles office is working in the promotion of the “capacity building” of training centres and centres of excellence...The promotion of networks and of different initiatives concerning the sharing of knowledge on and in the MENA region, was also referred

to, as well as the new projects between local authorities. Some think-tank forums are being promoted by the World Bank.

3 actions were emphasised:

- i) The sharing of expertise in the area of urban management (town networks)
- ii) Governance (share good practice, legal and judicial reform, management of the public sector)
- iii) Expertise in development (example of Ireland) which provoked interest in the Maghreb (French-speaking North African countries), (2002-2004, two conferences organised in Marseilles).

**Ms Gützkow** (Council of Europe) referred to the third summit of the Council of Europe which will take place on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> May in Warsaw and which will deal with the Council of Europe's objectives and the forthcoming challenges. Initial proceedings have already begun: reinforcement of the Council of Europe's values (reform of the Court of Justice), fight against torture, anti-semitism, racism and terrorism.

**Ms Benaboud** (Council of Europe, North-South Centre) quoted the "transmed" programme which has existed for approximately 12 years and which is founded on the Council of Europe's values: it deals with the promotion and defence of Human Rights, the reinforcement of the democratic process and the state of law, the reinforcement of intercultural dialogue and the question of migration (integration of migrants in Europe). Ms Benaboud also referred to the "People to People" project between Israelis and Palestinians, which is unfortunately at a standstill.

**Mr Ammor** (Euromesco Germ) presented the Euromesco network and its activities, notably in the area of security, indicating that the most important elements of these activities are featured on the website. He referred to Euromesco meetings with senior officials, presented the work programme and emphasised the contribution to the assessment of the Barcelona Process on its tenth anniversary. Euromesco is preparing a big summit on the future of the Barcelona Process and also meetings with English and Luxembourgish EU Presidencies. He also presented the activities of the Mediterranean Studies and Research Group (GERM-Rabat) and pointed out the publication of the Mediterranean Directory.

**Mr Giovanni Buttigieg** (EuroMed Youth Forum) described the activities of the Youth Forum (200 organisations), rounds of meeting, and an institute for "youth studies". In order to concentrate the approach on those absent from the Barcelona Process, he referred to the organisation of meetings for young people on Bulgaria, Denmark, Ireland and Luxembourg. In the framework of the tenth anniversary of the Barcelona Process, a meeting of 100 young people is planned.

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) referred to:

- UNESCO University chairs
- Associated school projects
- UNESCO, ALESCO, ISESCO are planning an agreement on the theme of cultural dialogue in June 2005
- The "dialogue between civilisations" project is UNESCO's leading project.
- The "learn to live together" project in the framework of a Euro-Arab dialogue, launched by the national commissions of UNESCO which are privileged partners of UN member states.

**Mr Capasso** (Laboratorio Mediterraneo Foundation, Naples) presented his foundation which was created to help the EU in the Euro-Mediterranean partnership process.

-The meeting in Naples in 1994 brought together 240 parliamentarians.

-The Foundation collaborated on the first Euromed Civil Forum and organised the second Civil Forum in Naples: 92 concrete projects were proposed and 74 were approved (notably in the area of intercultural dialogue and cinema).

- A network of autonomous groups (574 including Almamed, the Mediterranean Academy, Euromed...) was formed and can give the Euro-Mediterranean area a certain legitimacy and sense or representation.

-This led to the creation of the “Maison de la Méditerranée” on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 2004: all institutions and organisations of Civil Society came together (launch of many activities in the area of intercultural dialogue).

- A report on the use of MEDA European funds will be presented in 2005, according to a university study, 91% of the funds are lost through administrative costs and 74% of the remaining 9% refers to duplicate activities;

- Throughout the 10 years of the Barcelona Process, 148 events are scheduled, and duplications must be avoided.

-The “Maison de la Méditerranée” will conduct 5 events in 2005

i) Europe – Mediterranean – Islam : dialogue

ii) Report on scientific research as a support for dialogue (scientific research represents just 5% of MEDA funds)

iii) Report on the history of the Euromed Civil Forums

iv) Meet with the Heads of State of the newly enlarged Europe and the countries of the Southern Mediterranean

v) Agreement with 12 TV channels to provide internet access via satellite – important information to reinforce knowledge and moves towards peace.

**Mr Mansour** (ISESCO) referred to the existence of a working group called “learn to live together” with the Council of Europe, the EU, UNESCO, ALECSO and the Tunisian and German national commissions for science and culture. The objective is a mutual Euro-Arab understanding and recognition.

ISESCO’s work programme for 2004-2006 will focus on:

- Brain drain, competencies of immigrants

- Inter-islamic, intercultural and inter-religion dialogue

- Cultural exchanges

- Promotion of Islamic culture in Europe

- Seminars: ISESCO’s participation has been noted more than 30 times since 1981

- Publication of approximately ten books dealing with coexistence between religions (official report on dialogue between civilisations).

### III. Proposals and Commitments of Participants

*Various proposals were put forward by the participants during the debate, concerning both the themes and the organisation of the Founding Congress*

**Ms Gützkow** (Council of Europe) proposed to hold preparatory meetings for the Congress in the Southern Mediterranean countries.

**Mr Marty-Gauquié** (EIB) specified that:

- Of all of the EU's external policies (after the pre-accession of the Central European Countries), the Barcelona Process is the one which worked best: the important transfer of financial resources and grants has led to distinct economic progress, initial societal modernisation, institutional dialogue and the beginning of multilateralism. It is thus necessary to maintain it, as there is a risk of weakness in the New Neighbourhood Policy (NNP), in which the new member states rightfully have a marked interest. To progress, we need (cf pg. 12):

- i) To deal with the fear of change
- ii) To set free creative forces and individual initiative
- iii) To develop the sense of the appropriation of the beneficiary countries as EU opinions (particularly, those of the new member states).

**Mr Russell** (UNESCO) also pointed out that:

-it would be useful to have a supra-national mechanism, capable of supervising all efforts being made

-it is necessary to promote universal values amongst young people and in schools. We must go beyond the elites and approach young people, women and the disadvantaged

- create scientific and research centres, and cultural centres on a regional level, in an effort to promote an understanding the "other".

**Mr Ammor** (Euromesco – GERM) highlighted the need for another motivating utopia (following the example of what the Barcelona Process did in 1995): in 2050 we will see the Euro-Mediterranean Union become a reality, an area with common values and aspiring to common objectives.

**Mr Montoliu** (European League of Economic Cooperation) referred to the importance of agricultural issues (olive oil, wine, fruit and vegetables).

*Generally speaking, many participants expressed the need for reform and the need for deep reflection on the subject with the countries concerned.*

**Mr Gribaa** (CEREF, Tunisia) thinks that the process of reform should become a state of mind in civil society, so that it does not get bogged down in purely institutional reform.

**Mr Shabbo** (League of Arab States) also referred to the question of reform in Arabic countries and denounced the established link between the Muslim world and terrorism, confirming the reality of the observations made by different reports. He also insisted on not imposing these reforms while an Arabic model was in the process of being defined.

*Some other themes were discussed and could become the subject of a detailed study:*

- i) The theme of good practice (Best practice/good practice) recurred time and again during the discussion (**Ms Hamouda** – Alexandria Library, **Mr Capasso** - Laboratorio Mediterraneo Foundation);
- ii) The role of women was also introduced (**Ms Benaboud** – Council of Europe, North South Centre, **Ms Agli** - Algerian Association of Women Entrepreneurs);
- iii) **Mr Capasso** - Laboratorio Mediterraneo Foundation), **Mr Imbert** – European Commission, and **Mr Basile** (EMI Mediterranean Committee) brought up the question of mechanisms to avoid duplication and the risk of dispersal.
- iv) **Mr Abidi** (CERMAM) specified the potential role of the EMI as an observatory for with the management of funds by the European Commission.

*It is necessary to unearth the significance of the debates and the number of questions and problems which were highlighted during the meeting, both their form and their background. Some participants have already progressed in helping and supporting the Movement in its initiative:*

***Ms Hamouda** proposed that the Alexandria Library welcome the 2005 Congress as a partner  
**Mr Shabbo**, representative of the League of Arab States offered the strong support of his Secretary General and offered to invite representatives of Arabic civil society;*

***Mr Russell** (UNESCO) proposed the patronage of his organisation;*

***Ms Dejou** (World Bank) revealed the huge interest of her organisation in the EMI's initiative  
**Mr Marty-Gauquié** (EIB) and **Mr Imbert** (European Commission) announced that they are ready to collaborate with the EMI.*

## Conclusions

**Mr Lannon** (rapporteur) emphasised that the debate was very productive and free from taboo subjects.

i) Agricultural questions were discussed (NB. percentage of the population actively employed in this sector and the ambiguity of the European approach to the subject).

ii) The idea of a more rational perception of risk is interesting: it is necessary to be more pragmatic and more rational. The question of FDI came up quite often during the debate, linked to the theme of employment but also linked to the question of perceptions.

iii) The difficulties linked to the “identification of partners in the South” were frequently mentioned (who does one contact in the South?). The European Movement could promote the idea of a European Movement label (following the example of the Euromed label) to give moral support (patronage of NGOs, foundations, partnerships etc.).

iv) Cooperation with the media is essential: the key question is “how to explain complex processes?”

v) Avoid duplications: this is necessary and is one of the primary objectives of the report.

vi) The question of visas is referred to in the Barcelona Process and in the Euromed agreements, but it does not exist on the ground: the European Movement could refer to this question in its resolution and could lobby so that what has been planned is effectively carried out.

vii) It is necessary to remain pragmatic and to work according to the Jean Monnet method and to reach the citizens. The Jean Monnet method also had a main objective as regards coal and steel i.e. to make war impossible. Precise goals must be decided upon.

viii) Participation in the decisional process is essential for appropriation and it is forecast in the new European Neighbourhood Policy through the association councils. Without participation in the decisional process, there can be no appropriation. This can be neither formal nor purely state-related.

ix) The question of citizenship; the emergence of a Euro-Mediterranean citizenship should be linked to the dual citizenship which exists in the EU. This question must be worked on.

**Mr Hadhri** (rapporteur) highlighted the success of the conference. Dialogue is the only alternative between Arabs and Europeans. It comes back to the question of the Andalusian model; we cannot transpose it but we should draw inspiration from it. Studying the past allows us to throw light on the present so as to throw light on the future. As regards investment, we should not expect miracles without having a flow of investment. Opening up competition: the countries of the South will be unable to endure the shock of competition in 2010. There is no “big bang of investment” to support reform. It is necessary to prepare a free trade zone by 2010 (ex. of European funds granted to Portugal). Concerning the Congress, there is a need for a new dialogue between civilisations in order to face the “shock of civilisation” theories, which have been very successful.

We must give the Mediterranean, the birthplace of civilisations, another chance. Let us prepare a new dialogue of civilisations for the Mediterranean of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. We can also widen the debate with a new Euro-Arab dialogue which would allow us to go beyond the Mediterranean.

The question of the location of the Congress is up to the states and not civil society. If it takes place in a country in the South, it will be necessary to work with officials; civil society does not exist in itself, and cannot be organised without prior decision. Civil Society must be allowed to emerge without disregarding states.

**Mr Nothomb** (President of EMI Mediterranean Committee) highlighted the importance of the question of appropriation for real dialogue: there should be two to initiate it and define its course, and we have already done this. As for the problem of participants: the European Movement is working with the institutions and independent movements, the majority and the opposition, and all civil society. The suggestion of holding preparatory meetings in the South is interesting because it is pragmatic and non-theoretical.

We are not taking part in the Barcelona Process but we must take it into account, support it and contribute (sometimes critically) to the process when it is useful to do so. It is important that the big institutions in the South are present (reference to the Alexandria Library's offer). We worked well today. Reference is also made to the support of the European institutions, the Arab League, ISESCO and Mr Capasso's proposal of collaboration.

The Follow-Up: an enhanced report is planned. The work accomplished by the participants must be developed to serve as a basis for the preparation of the Congress.

**Mr Gil-Robles** (EMI President) thanks the participants and the Maltese organisers. The European Movement should continue with those people who joined us in a common vision. He hopes that one is not mistaken about the nature of the EMI which is a political organisation founded by politicians (Churchill, Adenauer, Monnet, Spaak...). We can coordinate a political dialogue which can constitute a dialogue of civilisations, but we cannot lead this dialogue alone. We can talk politics with non-political organisations but also with the political parties which are members of the European Movement.

We want a partnership between both sides of the Mediterranean because it's not about membership. Therefore, there is a need for political dialogue to create an association between the two parties involved. We must talk to the politicians in the Southern Mediterranean region and find the best means to achieve a better partnership between the two sides, focusing on what we are able to do: communicate with politicians in the Southern Mediterranean. We must meet with them because they will influence the decision-makers; they may even become decision-makers themselves.

The Euro-Mediterranean relationship will always be unbalanced due to demographics: We need significant partners on the other side of the Mediterranean.

Mr Gil-Robles thanks the European Movement Team and the interpreters.

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## List of participants - Malta – 27/28 November 2004

### 1) Commission européenne

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### 2) Banque européenne d'Investissement

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### 3) Comité économique et social européen

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### 6) Ligue des Etats Arabes

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### 8) Séminaires de Malte: Les séminaires euro méditerranéen d'information et de formation pour les diplomates

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## 12) Fondazione Laboratorio Mediterraneo

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## 15) Association européenne des enseignants

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## 20) Parlement Européen

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## 21) Euromesco

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22) CEREF: Centre d'Etudes, de Recherches et de Formation

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24) Associations des Femmes chefs d'entreprises algérienne et SEVE : Savoir et Vouloir Entreprendre

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25) UNESCO

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26) Fondation européenne du Micro Crédit pour les femmes entrepreneurs.

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28) Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie

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29) Parlement Européen

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30) Tunisian Embassy

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32) Madame Micheline Briclet

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33) Mouvement européen

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35) Mouvement Européen

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38) Mouvement Européen

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41) Mouvement Européen

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42) Mouvement Européen

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