

Introduction

This document synthesizes the presentations and debates that took place during the IX International Seminar on Security and Defence in the Mediterranean at the Pedralbes Palace in Barcelona on 25 October 2010. This year's seminar was organised by CIDOB and the Ministry for Defence as has been the case since 2002, in collaboration with the *European Union Institute for Security Studies* (EUISS).

The principle objectives of this meeting were to increase transparency and awareness of the development and implementation of different initiatives taking place in the field of security in the Mediterranean region. The main goal was to encourage collaboration and mutual understanding between different nationalities and backgrounds, in order to contribute to the political and academic debate on security and defence in the Mediterranean.

In this edition, the first topic for analysis was the participation of Mediterranean partners in ESDP missions, with the aim of drawing conclusions on cooperation in common security and defence policies. Secondly, conclusions were made on how the Lisbon Treaty and the Union for the Mediterranean could contribute to a security dialogue. Finally, the seminar discussed desert security, with a particular emphasis on the Sahel and the threats that the lack of security in the area represent for the rest of the Mediterranean region.

The IX Seminar was inaugurated by CIDOB's President, Narcís Serra, who insisted that the Mediterranean dialogue should include security and defence issues. Furthermore, he pointed out that the now functioning Secretariat of the Union for the Mediterranean should not be underestimated, despite its slow beginnings. In his inauguration speech, the Director of the European Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), Mr. Álvaro de Vasconcelos discussed the importance of understanding the security challenges we face and the collaboration deficit on security matters. He highlighted the relevance of the southern Mediterranean partners in decreasing this deficit, especially taking into account that they now represent 10% of United Nations security operations.

The Minister for Defense, Carme Chacón, opened the proceedings by pointing out that the Mediterranean has been overlooked in the past, despite the continued efforts of France and Spain to change that. She warned that many of the current threats, such as the Sahel, come from south of the Mediterranean. They are not only Africa's responsibility, however, but Europe and NATO's as well. She confirmed that cooperation in the region is not as good as it could be, thus it is necessary to encourage dialogue and share perspectives on the threats. In an effort to tackle these issues, she highlighted the 5+5 Initiative and NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue. Finally, the Minister for Defence emphasised the necessity of South-South, as much as North-South, Dialogue.

Mediterranean partners in ESDP missions: lessons learned and new cooperation opportunities in common security and defence policies

The first panel looked at lessons learned in those ESDP missions in which Mediterranean partners took part and the opportunities that they present for increased cooperation in common security and defence policies. Lluís María de Puig, Spanish senator for Girona who presided over and moderated this panel reminded the audience of the importance of the Union for the Mediterranean, and emphasised the need to promote transversal cooperation that covers everything from education and cultural exchange to security and geopolitics.

Tacan Ildem, Ambassador and General Director for International Security Affairs in the Turkish Foreign Affairs Ministry, expounded on relations between the European Union and Turkey. More concretely, the Ambassador highlighted Turkey's predisposition to cooperate with the EU and participate in ESDP missions. However, Mr.Ildem made sure to point out that the EU could be more functional, taking the opinion and position of its Mediterranean partners into account as NATO does.

For her part, Erzsébet Nagyné Rózsa, principal investigator in the *Hungarian Institute for International Affairs*, analysed the EU's role and, more concretely, the ESDP missions, in the Mediterranean. She stressed the fact that those operations organised by the EU in conjunction with other international organisations such as the UN or NATO have been the most successful. Mrs. Rózsa also mentioned that the existence of too many Mediterranean cooperation frameworks (European Neighbourhood Policy, Union for the Mediterranean, 5+5 Initiative, Arab Maghreb Union) could be counterproductive to the development of cooperation security.

Mohammed El-Katiri, Senior Assessor in the *Conflict Studies Research Centre* concentrated on the relationship between the EU and Morocco. Mr.El-Katiri gave a historic review of the aforementioned relationship, emphasizing the recent Advanced Status position granted to Morocco, which will offer opportunities for both Morocco and the EU. Lastly, Mr. El-Katiri stated that the EU needs to affront non-conventional security threats and challenges. Cooperation with the southern Mediterranean partners would become even more strategic in this case.

The first panel closed with Ahmed Driss' discourse, President-Director of the Tunisian *Centre of Mediterranean and International Studies*, who showed that despite the evolution of EU-Maghreb relations, frustration still persists as any advances that have been made were insufficient, resulting in a continued asymmetry on both shores. Furthermore, he pointed out that different perceptions and sensations exist in the North and the South regarding threats and security. Mr. Driss thus concluded that both consumers and producers of security needed to cooperate in order to create a real concept of common security.

Mr. Juan Prat y Coll, Spanish Ambassador in the Netherlands commented on the first panel by congratulating the southern partners on their desire to actively participate in European decision-making and defence policy.

Perspectives for a structured security dialogue on the Lisbon treaty and the Union for the Mediterranean

The Seminar's second panel, of a more proactive and operational character, was presided over by Mr. Álvaro de Vasconcelos. He highlighted the importance that both the Lisbon Treaty and the Union for the Mediterranean could have in a structured security dialogue with the Mediterranean countries.

The first speaker, Mr. Youssef Amrani, General Secretary of the Moroccan Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, underlined the necessity of improved cooperation in the Mediterranean, particularly in the Maghreb, in order to tackle the challenges emerging from the Sahel region. South-South cooperation should be encouraged with this in mind. Nevertheless, he confirmed that regional cooperation would not improve whilst frontiers between southern Mediterranean countries remained closed.

For his part, Mr. Ioannis Ghikas, Deputy Representative to the Political and Security Committee of the European Union and the Western European Union pointed out that the Common Security and Defence Policy of the EU was a project open to third country cooperation. As such, he underscored the EU's predisposition to establish a structured security dialogue with the Mediterranean.

Mr. Emmanuel Dupuy, President of the *Institut Prospective et Sécurité en Europe* concentrated on the roles of both NATO and the 5+5 Initiative in the Mediterranean. He stated that NATO's objectives should be to encourage political dialogue, fight against terrorism and encourage interoperability. Regarding the 5+5 Initiative, the speaker mentioned the forum's potential, and encouraged it to be more proactive.

Finally, Jean Pascal Zanders, Principal Investigator of the EUISS, spoke mainly on disarmament and non-proliferation. He stressed the absolute validity of the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the very real necessity of getting key states to sign the treaty. In this respect, he referred to the challenge posed by the relationship between Egypt and Israel. Finally, he proposed that the European model be applied to the Mediterranean

region, creating measures of confidence in the first place, in order to expand the project thereafter to include security.

The debate that followed saw Mr. Eduard Soler, Principal Investigator in CIDOB, question the matter of how best to affront the challenge of improved cooperation in Mediterranean security issues. He outlined three possibilities: firstly, that this cooperation be centred in reinforcing bilateral structures between the EU and its Mediterranean partners; secondly, that multilateralism, regional and subregional organisations be encouraged; and finally, that a less public and more informal dialogue be opened, less subject to internal and external pressures.

Desert security: trafficking, organised crime and terrorist activities

The third panel was introduced by the moderator, Jean-François Dazugan, Principal Investigator in the *Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique*, where he discussed the threats and challenges emanating from the Sahel region.

Mrs. Laurence Aïda Ammour, Associated Investigator for CIDOB and the Bordeaux Institute for Political Studies, commented on how the challenges posed by the situation on the borders of the Sahara and the Sahel are of great importance to the Mediterranean region. In order to overcome these issues, four main problems would need to be tackled: corruption, human and drug trafficking, terrorism and intra-African migration.

The second panellist, Julio Navas, from the Strategic Affairs Division of the Spanish Defence Ministry, demonstrated the need for uniting defence and development in combating the problems in the Sahel. Mr. Navas thus suggested that the EU undertake security reform and capacity-building missions with the state armies of the region. The discussant concluded that the cause of the region's problems is a lack of strong states in the Sahel area, thus security, development and governance should be promoted.

Mr. Manuel Navarette, Lieutenant Colonel of the Civil Guard, pointed out how hard it is to make a clear distinction between terrorism, organised crime and arms trafficking in the Sahel due to their intricate relations there. In order to combat the terrorists, Mr. Navarette suggested a Containment strategy, blocking them in a concrete area and attacking them thereafter.

Finally, Mr. Iván Calabuig, Coordination Advisor in the Fight against Terrorism for the EU, was of the opinion that the EU states had the ways and means necessary to take on the terrorism challenge in the Sahel, however political will was still lacking.

Conclusions and closure

The concluding panel was lead by Mr. Albert Moreno, EU Secretary for the *Generalitat de Catalunya*. Mr. Álvaro de Vasconcelos started by explaining the deficits that exist in the Mediterranean in mutual understanding, cooperation and dialogue. Mr. Vasconcelos thus commented on the need for a pragmatic approach that would encourage increased cooperation in the Euro Mediterranean region.

Mr. Jordi Vaquer, Director of CIDOB, highlighted the necessity of treating security issues in the Euro Mediterranean region. According to Mr. Vaquer, security issues cannot be avoided, and they cannot be improved based only on cooperation in other fields. The Mediterranean has common challenges and threats such as migration, trafficking and border control which have to taken on in unison.

The Seminar's concluding remarks were given by Mr. Luis Cuesta, Secretary General of Political Defence, who underlined the importance of continued political dialogue in order to create trust in the region. The Secretary stressed that Spain would continue to work toward that objective on a national level and in various multilateral fora.

Finally, Mr.Cuesta applauded the Seminar's success, which should continue to be a forum for debate between the academic and government experts, civilians and the military that form part of the study and practice of Mediterranean security and defence. He pointed out the need to maintain and foster arenas such as the Seminar in which dialogue could take place with different perspectives on the ideas of Mediterranean security. Furthermore, he invited all the participants to take part n the next edition, when the Seminar would celebrate its tenth anniversary.