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Lord Robertson of Port Ellen, NATO Secretary General  
Amre Moussa, Secretary General League of Arab States  

**Dedication**

**Editorial for Hexagon Series**

**Acknowledgements**

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Foreword

Forewords can easily take on the appearance of simple afterthoughts. Certainly this particular foreword benefits strongly from hindsight. Just one short day after last September’s NATO-sponsored Canterbury Workshop on Mediterranean security, terrorists attacked the United States, and the global strategic landscape changed dramatically. With one fell swoop, the subjects discussed and conclusions drawn at the Workshop simply had to be viewed in a different light. I am sure that you, having lived through 11 September and the days that followed it, will appreciate this compilation of the Workshop’s proceedings in ways the organisers could have never imagined.

Well before 11 September—from the mid-1990s onwards—NATO had already been looking at the Mediterranean region in a new light; no longer just as the Alliance’s “Southern Flank”, as had been the case during the Cold War, but as an area with unique dynamics whose security and stability directly affect European security. That is why NATO launched, in 1994, its Mediterranean Dialogue with originally 5 countries from the region. 11 September has underlined the great value of this Dialogue, and the need to intensify it as we—Allies and non-Allies together—tackle the threat of terrorism and other common security challenges.

NATO Allies are convinced that there is further scope for enhancing both political consultation and practical cooperation with the seven nations that currently participate in the Dialogue: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. It is clear to us all that promoting better mutual understanding and correcting misperceptions are more important now than they were even a year ago. So that is what the Alliance is intent on doing, including by sponsoring such highly interesting gatherings as the Canterbury Workshop summarised in this volume.

March 2002

Lord Robertson of Port Ellen
NATO Secretary General
Foreword

Firstly, I would like to congratulate the authors for selecting security and the environment as the main themes for this book, and for focusing on the Mediterranean as the geopolitical space for examining the inter-relations between these two important aspects of development and stability. The challenges facing the Mediterranean are tremendous, particularly those highlighted in this book, and raising awareness of them is an essential step to manage them.

Throughout history, the Arab world and the Mediterranean region have interacted on many fronts. The political, economical, cultural, and environmental challenges seen by one have affected the other. The cooperation between the two, however, has been adversely affected in several areas as a result of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and until this conflict is resolved progress in the region will undoubtedly be hindered.

Dealing with environment challenges through regional cooperation cannot be achieved under conditions of military occupation. In fact, as this volume shows, conflict within the region has generated additional sources for environment degradation in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in Palestine. In view of this we believe that the role of the European Union in the Middle East is crucial for the establishment of a regional environment security.

On its part, the League of Arab States has developed a significant interest in environmental issues in the Arab world and the Mediterranean region, mainly through the work of the Council of Arab Ministers responsible for the environment (CAMRE) and the environmental related activities of various Arab specialised agencies.

The League has also made significant contributions to the ongoing debate on regional security in the Middle East. I believe that security in the region can only be achieved through the honest and mutual implementation of the Arab Peace Initiative. This had already been unanimously adopted during the Beirut summit in March 2002, and supported universally. It called for the withdrawal of the Israeli occupying forces, the establishment of a Palestinian State, and a fair settlement of the question of refugees, as well as the end of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the establishment of relations of peace.

If this initiative were to be accepted and implemented, the Arab world would engage in an immediate peace agreement with Israel, and would strive to provide security for all the states in the region.

The League of Arab States has always attached great importance to its relation with Europe. The promotion of Arab-European relations constitutes a permanent item on the agenda of the Arab League Ministerial Council. In its ongoing efforts of reform, the League of Arab States is keen to promote the Euro-Arab Dialogue on a new basis. The objective of the dialogue is to formulate the elements of a new multi-dimensional
strategic understanding between the Arab world and Europe. It also calls upon both sides to begin thinking about the prospects of initiating a Euro-Arab partnership for sustainable development to be coordinated by the European Union and the League of Arab States. The rich experience of the European Union institutionalised relation with the regional organisations in Asia and Latin America can help in building the framework for such a partnership. In all cases, the League of Arab States will spare no effort in building bridges of collaboration and cooperation with our European partners for the mutual benefit of all.

Finally, I wish to thank the editors of the book for initiating such an important research project. This book will certainly play a vital role in giving politicians and researchers ideas on how to deal with the risks of environmental hazards and conflicts, and on ways in which regional collaboration can help abolish them.

August 2002

Amre Moussa
Secretary General
League of Arab States
Editorial

Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace (HESP)

This book series includes monographs and edited volumes that cross scientific disciplines and develop common ground among scientists from the natural and social sciences, as well as from North and South, addressing common challenges and risks for humankind in the 21st century.

The “hexagon” represents six key factors contributing to global environmental change – three nature-induced or supply factors: soil, water and air (atmosphere and climate), and three human-induced or demand factors: population (growth), urbanisation (dwelling, pollution) and agriculture (food). Throughout the history of the earth and of homo sapiens these six factors have interacted. The supply factors have created the preconditions for life while human behaviour and economic consumption patterns have also contributed to its challenges (increase in extreme weather events) and fatal outcomes for human beings and society. The series will cover the complex interactions among these six factors and their often fatal outcomes (hazards/disasters, internal displacement and migrations, crises and conflicts), as well as crucial social science concepts relevant for their analysis.

Further issues related to three basic areas of research: approaches and schools of environment, security, and peace, especially in the environmental security realm and from a human security perspective, will be addressed. The goal of the Hexagon series is to contribute to a fourth phase of research on environmental security from a normative peace research and/or human security perspective. In this series, we welcome books by natural and social scientists, as well as by multidisciplinary teams of authors. The material should address issues of global change (including climate change, desertification, deforestation), and its impacts on humankind (natural hazards and disasters), on environmentally-induced migration, on crises and conflicts, as well as for cooperative strategies to cope with these challenges in the framework of international organisations and regimes.

From a human-centred perspective, this book series offers a platform for scientific communities dealing with global environmental and climate change, disaster reduction, environmental security, peace and conflict research, as well as for the humanitarian aid and the policy community in national governments and international organisations.

The series editor welcomes original manuscripts as proposals. If they are considered of relevance, these proposals will be peer-reviewed by specialists in the field from the natural and the social sciences. Inclusion in this series will also require a positive decision by the publisher’s international editorial conference. Prior to publication, the manuscripts will be assessed by the series editor and external peer reviewers.

Mosbach, Germany, April 2003

Hans Günter Brauch,
Free University of Berlin and
AFES-PRESS

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Satellite Image 3: Nile Delta and Suez Canal. Copyright DLR. Printed with permission of DLR-DFD.
5 NATO’s Agenda and the Mediterranean Dialogue

Nicola de Santis

5.1 Introduction

During the last twelve years NATO has undergone a major adaptation process to the new Post-Cold war security realities, to continue providing security and stability to the Euro-Atlantic area. At its historic November 2002 Prague Summit NATO has pushed its transformation even further. In Prague the Alliance launched its second enlargement, it expanded its missions, enhanced its military capabilities and strengthened its partnerships. In an uncertain and fast changing security environment, NATO embodies the transatlantic link and remains the cornerstone of Euro-Atlantic security. This transatlantic alliance is a unique source of political-military capabilities to manage successfully unpredictable crises and to build new partnerships through a new cooperative approach to security, while continuing to provide for the security of its members. To do so, the Alliance has some key strategic priorities.

• NATO must continue to meet the risks emanating from instability and unpredictable security developments likely to affect the security of its member countries by developing the defence capabilities needed to meet its new post-Cold War missions.
• The Alliance must continue to keep engaged its partners in the Euro-Atlantic area and in the Mediterranean, through the EAPC (European Atlantic Partnership Council), the PfP (Partnership for Peace) and the Mediterranean Dialogue.
• It must continue to intensify cooperation with Russia and the Ukraine.
• It should maintain an open door for future members, helping those aspiring to join the Alliance to actively prepare for inclusion through the Membership Action Plan.
• NATO must continue to work to promote the complementarity of NATO’s ESDI (European Security and Defence Identity) and the EU’s ESDP (European Security and Defence Policy), avoiding unnecessary duplication with flexible arrangements to allow the European Allies to deal with military contingencies when NATO as such will decide not to act and without undermining the effectiveness of the Atlantic Alliance.
• The Alliance must enhance the Mediterranean Dialogue, moving from dialogue to partnership.

I will analyse the main facets of this new NATO agenda and its Mediterranean Dialogue initiative.

5.2 Political-Military Capabilities to Manage Crises

In this fast changing and unpredictable security environment, the first priority for NATO is to continue to develop those defence capabilities needed to manage the full spectrum of its post-Cold War crisis management missions. At the 23 April 1999 Washington Summit, NATO launched the Defence Capabilities Initiative (DCI), with an aim to achieve lasting improvements of capabilities and interoperability.

At the November 2002 Prague Summit NATO’s Heads of State and Government adopted the Prague Capabilities Initiative (PCI), through which each nation took the firm commitment to develop critical capabilities in four main areas: chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear defence; to protect our forces from new threats such as from weapons of mass destruction; command, communication and information superiority: to ensure that both sensitive deliberations and operational communication are timely, reliable, secure and inclusive and make the best of battlefield information of all kind; effective engage-
ment: to enable our forces to engage effectively an adversary across the full spectrum of possible military circumstances; mobility, rapid deployment and sustainability of forces: to deploy rapidly our forces in a theatre of operations and to provide our deployed forces with the logistical support they need regardless of the environment. These 400 plus commitments, one-third of which will be implemented before 2005, will significantly enhance NATO’s overall military capabilities, for example: quadrupling the current total of 4 outsize transport aircraft available nationally or collectively to non-US NATO countries, increasing by around 40% the non-US holdings of precision guided weapons, increasing by 40% the number of air tanker aircraft available nationally or collectively to NATO’s European member countries, accelerating programmes to provide NATO with UAV’s and radar jamming pods and, last but not least, allowing nations to provide NATO with guaranteed access to sealift for all missions. NATO’s Prague Capabilities Commitment will also need to be mutually reinforcing with the EU’s Headline Goal, as the Alliance is working to promote the complementarity between NATO’s ESDI and the EU’s ESDP.

But all of the above will not be achieved if NATO countries do not spend more and better. The defence spending of NATO nations, taken as a share of the GDP, has fallen by nearly half during the last decade. Only 19% of Alliance nations’ defence spending goes to procurement and new equipment, while 40% of NATO defence budget still goes to cover personnel and infrastructure costs.

To address this issue successfully will not only have positive effects on NATO but also on the EU, as the deadline to equip itself by 2003 with a 60,000 men and women rapid reaction force, with the Headline Goal, is not that far away. One thing should be clear: if the capabilities are available for NATO they will also be there for the EU. But if the capabilities are missing for NATO they will not be there for the EU.

NATO capabilities are the reason why: the Cold War is over; two major military crises such as Bosnia and Kosovo were managed successfully; Milošević is before the ICTY; NATO continues to provide for a security environment in which the political, social and economic reconstruction of the Balkans can take place and why seven new countries decided to join the Alliance. NATO’s capabilities are crucial if the Alliance is to continue to guarantee security and stability for the years to come.

In this uncertain security environment NATO may again need in the future to project military power outside the borders of its member countries, to deal with new threats such as, for example, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It is vital therefore that NATO possesses the military capabilities to counter these new threats.

To this end, another important decision adopted at the Prague Summit to meet future threats has been the establishment of the NATO Response Force (NRF), to provide the Alliance with rapidly deployable, high capability cutting edge to deal with the full range of today’s threats. The NRF will enable NATO to react immediately with robust, tailored forces wherever it is called upon. It will also serve as a mechanism for focusing and promoting capability improvements, thus reinforcing the Prague Capabilities Commitment.

At the January 1994 Brussels Summit NATO’s Heads of State and Government acknowledged the threat posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery means. The North Atlantic Council established the Political Military Group on Proliferation to address the political dimension of this issue, while the Senior Defence Group on Proliferation was established to address the military dimension of the problem.

At the April 1999 Washington Summit, NATO leaders decided to build on the decisions of the Brussels Summit and established a Weapons of Mass Destruction Center within the International Staff to increase the quantity and quality of information and intelligence sharing among the Allies and, to increase the public awareness on the challenges deriving from WMD proliferation.

In June 2002 NATO’s Defence Ministers endorsed the NATO Nuclear, Biological and Chemical Defence Initiatives, developed by the Senior Defence Group on Proliferation. These Initiatives were designed to serve as a first step in addressing the most critical deficiencies in NATO’s NBC defences, emphasising multinational participation and the rapid fielding of enhanced defence capabilities. They comprise: a Disease Surveillance System, an NBC Event Response Team, a Deployable NBC Analytical Laboratory, a NATO NBC Defence Stockpile and expanded NBC Defence Training.

We are confronted today with a diverse group of states seeking weapons of mass destruction and long-range ballistic missiles. These countries conceive these weapons as a usable military tool against neighbouring countries, and as a tool of coercive diplomacy.
to: prevent the NATO Allies from coming to the assistance of friends, counter our conventional forces, break the cohesion of Allied coalitions. For example one can only imagine what would have happened if Milošević had weapons of mass destruction at the time of the Operation Allied Force, and what military and political consequences this would have had.

5.3 NATO’s New Partnerships

But NATO is not only about military capabilities. This is the only international security organisation able to mobilise not only military but also political and diplomatic capabilities, to build new partnerships in a cooperative approach to security, projecting stability through dialogue and cooperation in the security field. With the end of the Cold War, NATO extended the hand of friendship to all countries of Central and Eastern Europe, to the successor states of the former Soviet Union, and to Russia as well, opening an unprecedented new era of cooperation and partnership throughout the Euro-Atlantic area.

NATO’s new cooperative approach to security has been inclusive rather than exclusive. It has been aimed at not marginalising anyone in Europe but rather to include all in “variable geometry” partnerships, going from the NACC, the Partnership for Peace, the EAPC, to the Mediterranean Dialogue with seven non-NATO Mediterranean Countries, to the NATO-Russia Council at 20; while at the same time including in NATO three new members in 1999 and seven more in 2004, maintaining the door open for future invitations to join the Alliance through the Membership Action Plan. NATO also continues to intensify its cooperative ties with Russia and the Ukraine.

Through PfP and the EAPC, NATO has promoted a new culture of cooperation throughout the Euro-Atlantic area, aimed at achieving: the democratic control of the armed forces, the transparency of defence budgets and the interoperability necessary to allow our cooperation partners to participate together with NATO in crisis management and peace support operations. In Bosnia and Kosovo NATO has been able to organise under the unified command of its integrated military structure, the formidable response of the international community to the Bosnian and Kosovo crises, bringing peace and security to a very troubled region, while also preventing the outbreak of a third conflict in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in concert with the EU.

5.4 The Mediterranean Region and NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue

An important facet of NATO’s external adaptation and of its cooperative approach to security is also represented by NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue, which was launched at the December 1994 Brussels Ministerial meeting and currently involves seven non-NATO Mediterranean nations: Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. In today’s post-Cold War security environment, the Mediterranean is an area of central geo-strategic interest to NATO. Six of its member countries are Mediterranean nations, while all others have important and vital interests in the region. In addition, the Mediterranean has become the center of increased transatlantic cooperation in the security field within NATO and with non-NATO actors of the region.

NATO has always been a Mediterranean Alliance. Since its inception, one of its most important Regional Commands: AFSOUTH was established in 1953 in Naples, directly in the Mediterranean. We all recognise today the importance of this choice, since the Commander in Chief of AFSOUTH has overall responsibility for the theatre of operations in which SFOR, KFOR and Operation Allied Harbour are deployed.

With the end of the Cold War, NATO has better defined its Area of Responsibility (AOR) and also its Area of Strategic Interest (AOSI), encompassing today a broader area which includes the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean, as well as South-Eastern Europe up to the Caucasus.

Increasingly NATO must factor in developments in contiguous and adjacent territories surrounding the Alliance, which are likely to affect its security. It is also evident that the Mediterranean region is today the centre of interaction of socio-economic imbalances, as well as of security-related issues, and that tensions and conflicts are often a consequence of the instability produced by turbulent political and social change in the region.

Moreover, the old distinction between European and Mediterranean security has also disappeared due to the grown volume of interaction between the two shores of the Mediterranean in all sectors. Security in the area has taken a different shape as a consequence of the end of the Cold War. The “Southern periphery” of the Alliance has also been the centre of two conflicts, in which we have seen NATO intervene in Bosnia and Kosovo. NATO’s strategic realities have evolved to the point that the Mediterranean and
South-Eastern Europe can no longer be considered “out of area”, as security developments there directly affect the security of NATO member countries. Consequently, our governments and peoples will need to refine periodically their definition of what constitutes risks to national and international security. NATO through AFSOUTH has monitored for fifty years security and military developments in the Mediterranean in the context of its defence dimension.

5.5 The Mediterranean Dialogue’s Rationale

The defence dimension of NATO however must not be confused with the goal and rationale of the Mediterranean Dialogue, which is indeed, primarily a political dialogue initiative with clear goals. The Dialogue reflects the Allies’ view that security in Europe is closely linked to security in the Mediterranean region. The aim of NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue is to promote better mutual understanding and confidence, as well as good and friendly relations across the Mediterranean. In addition, the Dialogue helps correct misperceptions in non-NATO Mediterranean countries of NATO’s policies, thus representing its contribution to Mediterranean stability and security.

The Alliance’s Mediterranean Dialogue also complements other international initiatives, primarily the EU’s Barcelona Process which aims at tackling the socio-economic imbalances of the region that often are the root causes of tensions and conflict in the area. The EU certainly has the lead in addressing this socio-economic dimension, while NATO can complement such an effort in the security field (ch. 9).

The Dialogue is a phased approach: In early 1995 NATO invited five countries to participate; Jordan was invited in late 1995 and Algeria in 2000. The Dialogue is therefore open to the participation of other non-NATO countries willing and able to contribute to security and stability in the Mediterranean Region, to be chosen by consensus. Through the Mediterranean Cooperation Group (MCG), established at the July 1997 Madrid Summit, NATO nations are directly involved in the political discussions with representatives of the Mediterranean Dialogue countries, through the 19+1 and 19+7 format of multi-bilateral meetings, taking place on a regular basis.

At the April 1999 Washington Summit NATO’s Heads of State and Government decided to enhance the Mediterranean Dialogue. An annual Work Programme now covers a wide range of cooperative activities: Information and Press, Science and the Environment, Civil Emergency Planning, Crisis Management and Military activities. Since October 2001, periodical 19+7 multilateral Ambassadorial meetings also take place, between the North Atlantic Council and the Brussels based Ambassadors of the 7 Mediterranean Dialogue countries, under the chairmanship of the Secretary General of NATO. Occasionally, high level representatives from capitals of the 7 Mediterranean Dialogue countries, also join their Brussels based Ambassadors at these NAC or MCG meetings.

At their May 2002 meeting in Reykjavik, NATO Foreign Ministers decided to upgrade the political and practical dimensions of NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue, by introducing a number of new items including consultation on security matters of common concern, including terrorism-related issues. In July 2002, the North Atlantic Council decided that the strengthening and deepening of NATO’s relations with Mediterranean Dialogue countries is among the highest priorities of the Alliance. At their November 2002 Prague Summit, NATO’s Heads of State and Government adopted an inventory of possible areas of cooperation to upgrade the political and practical dimensions of NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue.

A particular effort is made in order to provide informed opinions on NATO’s current policies and goals. NATO is not always well perceived in Mediterranean Dialogue countries. The situation there is different from the positive public perception the Alliance has in Central and Eastern European Countries. Through NATO’s Information activities, the Alliance aims at overcoming misunderstanding and to confirm or realign perceptions in the civil society of Mediterranean Dialogue countries. This is why we are also, through our information programmes, engaging academics, parliamentarians, policy makers, the media and other representatives of the civil society from Mediterranean Dialogue countries, as well as co-sponsoring international conferences and seminars such as this one in Canterbury to promote mutual understanding and trust, and to discuss issues of common concern.

The very positive response of our Mediterranean Dialogue partners encourages us to continue this effort to intensify our partnership in the interest of the stability and security of the Mediterranean region as a whole.
Biographies of Contributors

Authors of Forewords

The Rt. Hon. Lord Robertson of Port Ellen (United Kingdom). The Right Honourable Lord Robertson of Port Ellen has been the 10th Secretary General of NATO and Chairman of the North Atlantic Council since October 1999. He was Defence Secretary of the U.K. from 1997 to 1999 and Member of Parliament for Hamilton and Hamilton South from 1978 to 1999. George Islay MacNeill Robertson was born in 1946 in Port Ellen, Isle of Islay, Scotland, and educated at Dunoon Grammar School and the University of Dundee. He graduated MA (Honours) in Economics in 1968. He was a full time official of the General, Municipal and Boilermakers’ Union (GMB) responsible for the Scottish Whisky industry from 1968 to 1978. He was first elected to the House of Commons in 1978, and re-elected five times. He was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for Social Services in 1979. After the 1979 General Election, he was appointed as Opposition Spokesman, first on Scottish Affairs, then on Defence, and on Foreign Affairs from 1982 to 1991. He became Chief Spokesman on Europe in 1981. He served as the principal Opposition Spokesman on Scotland in the Shadow Cabinet from 1981 to 1997. After the 1997 General Election, Prime Minister Blair appointed him Defence Secretary of the U.K., a position he held until his departure in October 1999. In August 1999 he was selected to be the tenth Secretary General of NATO in succession to Dr Javier Solana. On 24 August 1999 he received a life peerage and took the title Lord Robertson of Port Ellen. He is a former Chairman of the Scottish Labour Party, was Vice-chairman of the Westminster Foundation for Democracy, served as Vice-Chairman of the British Council for nine years and was Vice-Chairman of the Britain/Russia Centre. He was, for seven years, on the Council of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) where he now serves as Joint President. He is a Governor of the Ditchley Foundation, an Honorary Vice-President of the British German Association and a Trustee of the 21st Century Trust. He was awarded the Grand Cross of the German Order of Merit by the Federal German President in 1991 and the Grand Cross of the Order of the Star of Romania in 2000, and was named joint Parliamentarian of the Year in 1995 for his role during the Maastricht Treaty ratification. He is Honorary Regimental Colonel of the London Scottish (Volunteers). He has been awarded Honorary Doctorates by the Universities of Dundee and Bradford, by Cranfield University (Royal Military College of Science) and Baku State University, Azerbaijan. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (FRSA) and an Elder Brother of Trinity House. He was appointed a member of Her Majesty’s Privy Council in May 1997. He is married to Sandra, and has three children. His hobbies include photography, golf and reading.

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The Rt. Hon. Amre Mohamoud Moussa (Egypt). The Right Honourable Amre Mohamoud Moussa has been the Secretary General of the League of Arab States since 2001. He was born on 3 October 1936, in Cairo. He obtained a LL.B., Faculty of Law, Cairo University in 1957. In 1958 he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt. From 1974 to 1977 he was Assistant and Advisor to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt. From 1977 to 1981 he was Director of the Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt. From 1981 to 1983 he was Alternate Permanent Representative of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Nations in New York and from 1983 to 1986 he served as Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt to India. From 1986 to 1990 he was Director, Department of International Organizations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt and from 1990 to 1991 he was the Permanent Representative of the Arab Republic of Egypt to the United Nations, New York. For ten years, from 1991 to 2001, he was Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt. He is married and has two children. In 2001 he was honoured with three distinguished prizes: in May 2001 he was awarded the Grand Cordon of the Nile, in June 2001 he received the Order of the Two Niles, first class, Sudan and in December 2001 the Orans Montana Prix de la Foundation.

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