EURO-MED INTEGRATION AND THE 'RING OF FRIENDS'

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The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Process against a backdrop of widening and deepening of the European Union and the policies of the Union and the Communities has been the subject of study by the members of the EU-Med Transnational Regional Research Network, co-ordinated from Malta with Commission support, for the last five years. This is the fourth in a series of books published by the Network. Much has changed in those five years. Much has been achieved under the Process. Much remains to be done. The Network has tracked change, whether it came from within the European Union, from within the non-member Mediterranean States of the Union or from the wider global context, and whether it was change restricted in the first place to Member States or whether it was of direct relevance to EU-Med relations. Never has the pace of change been so fast or so far-reaching as in the last two years. Much of that recent process of change will come to fruition with the conclusion of the Intergovernmental Conference in 2003/2004. The adoption of a Constitution for the European Union heralds a new dawn not only for the European Union but also for Europe as a whole, for all "Neighbours" of the union and indeed for the world.

Ever since Romano Prodi spoke of a new "ring of friends" policy in December 2002[1], the new neighbourhood policy concept has had to be accounted for in the Euro-Med and the global context and vice-versa. This dimension features strongly in this current set of papers, for the imagination of the researchers in the Network has been well and truly captured by the prospect of attacking old problems with not only new tools but a whole new Partner, a bigger, yet more diverse, interlocutor, partner and actor, one wielding potentially

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[1] R. Prodi, 'A Wider Europe - A Proximity Policy as the Key to Stability', Sixth ECSA World Conference, Brussels, 5-6 December 2002, where Prodi spoke of "a ring of friends surrounding the Union from Morocco to Russia and the Black Sea", and of "sharing everything but institutions".

greater, even, super, strength but which inherently understands difference, diversity and dialogue - the new European Union with a new Neighbourhood Policy to match.

Other papers in this volume focus either on politics and civil society or on particular policy areas both as they are evolving within the Union and as they are impacting on non-Member Mediterranean States, this impact then coming full circle to inform further developments in EU policy and increasingly to do so in a co-operative framework. Two of these Mediterranean States, Malta and Cyprus, are set to join the Union in May 2004, when the largest Enlargement of the Union to date takes effect. The others are more directly concerned with the terms of the new relations that the European Union will seek to put in place with them as its Neighbours but in the Mediterranean context.

The whole, read also in tandem with the studies previously published by the Network through the European Documentation Centre of the University of Malta, gives an ongoing and dynamic analysis of the process of Euro-Mediterranean Integration. Through these studies, it is possible to discern the dynamics and the fruits of Pan-Euro-Mediterranean integration in process, institutional and substantive terms.

The first paper presented, that of *Lannon* and *Van Elsuwege,* sets the current but dynamic scene of Euro-Med integration in the light of the new Neighbourhood Policy. The question they pose is as to the potential impact of the new emerging Neighbourhood Policy on the Euro-Med Partnership process. In the process, they seek to raise and answer several questions, including: Is the new neighbourhood policy compatible with the Barcelona process? What are the main obstacles to a neighbourhood policy? What are the optimum strategies for the EU's partners? Is there a need for new institutions or new instruments? Is there a need for a new form of association? What are the main differences between the perceptions of the candidate countries and those of non-candidates? Departing form the text of the draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe[2],

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[2] Draft Article 56.

currently the subject of debate in Intergovernmental Conference, they paint a rounded picture of the Northern, Eastern and Mediterranean dimensions of EU relations of proximity. They emphasise the concern, also a theme in the paper by Moxon-Browne, that whatever is put in place must avoid the creation of "new dividing lines in Europe". Yet the question of differentiation seems to be a central element of the proposed neghbourhood policy, as reflected in the wording of Article 56 of the Draft Constitution. Then follows a detailed analysis of the proposals tabled by the European Commission[3] and the Commission President. Their analysis is that the strategy is clearly global, encompassing political, economic, and human issues ("the influence of the Barcelona Declaration is obvious here"); and that the Commission favours a differentiated and progressive approach, concluding that in less than two years the Commission and its president have progressively identified the main contours of the ambitious new policy, including new forms of neighbourhood co-operation. However, inasmuch as for it to work the project must "become a real Common Project", the authors proceed in the following sections to examine the potential impact of the emerging Neighbourhood Policy on the Euro-Med Partnership process, in the light also of the prospective " third Mediterranean enlargement", the first reactions from the Mediterranean states to the neghbourhood initiative, and then the perceptions of the EU's future eastern neighbours and the views of other European states, including those of Russia, the Newly Independent States, the states of the Southern Caucasus, the views of the acceding Central and Eastern European Sates, and those in the waiting room for Membership, EFTA states and the Balkan states. Altogether, this is a comprehensive study of the wider European geo-political context within which the Neighbourhood Policy has been launched. As the authors write, the Union faces the challenge of realising its axiomatic statement that Enlargement will also be beneficial for

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[3] Especially, Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament, "Wider Europe - Neighbourhood: A New Framework for relations with our Eastern and Southern neighbours", COM (2003) 104 final, Brussels, 11 March 2003; and Communication from the Commission, "Paving the Way for a new Neighbourhood Instrument", Brussels 1 July 2003, COM (2003) 393 final.

those not involved in this process. The authors conclude that, while differentiation within the new Neighbourhood policy will be indispensable, "the Euro-Med Partnership will ..remain for a long time a keystone for the EU's southern periphery…(but) the Euro-med Process must be re-inforced and adapted to the forthcoming tremendous changes", while the "main challenge for the Mediterranean partners is ..to avoid a dilution of the EMP within the broader proximity policy".

Edward Moxon-Browne sets himself the task of examining the process of regional integration among the states that border on the Mediterranean. Geographical proximity, he argues, sometimes dictates co-operation, echoing the study made in the previous volume by Lorca Corrons and Escribano[4]. The extent to which a group of countries that are geographically proximate embark on a process of regional integration normally reflects ambient economic and political realities. This acquires particular salience in the context of EU Enlargement and the new Neighbourhood Policy, as well as the existing context of the Euro-Med Partnership Process. Moxon-Browne now declares that the prospects for integration in the Mediterranean may be considered more problematic when compared with other regions, for example because of the possibility that events outside the Mediterranean region may impinge on the cultural interface that runs inside it, because there is an inherent danger that attempts to create a Mediterranean regional identity based on economic co-operation will be perceived as suspect in Arab countries, because some Islamic states are themselves prey to internal schisms and fluid notions of national identity, because the fate of Mediterranean regional co-operation is not unconnected to the fate of the "road map" in the Middle East, and because the global shifts after September 11th 2001 may make the process that the EU is trying to promote in the Mediterranean "all but impossible". The sum is examined against the backdrop of four theoretical perspectives that have contributed to the understanding

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[4] Escribano and Lorca, "Adapting to Globalisation: The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership from a Southern European Perspective", in Peter G. Xuereb (ed) "European Integration: The Meditterranean's European Challenge Vol. III" at p.13.

of regional integration and that seem most apt to throw light on the progress or otherwise of integration in the Mediterranean area. His final section explores the implications of regional integration theory for the Mediterranean area. He explores the four major themes of: "background conditions"; the prospects for neo-functionalist "spill-over"; the role of institutions; and the role of an 'external actor' in the integration process. He observes that if social, political and economic homogeneity among the units to be integrated is essential the prospects for integration within the Mediterranean, or even between the Mediterranean and the EU, are rather unpromising, but goes on to remind us that diversity (or complementarity) can also be propitious and reciprocity (based more on complementarity than similarity) can be helpful in the integration process. Yet perceptions of benefits that may flow from the integration project argue more strongly in favour of EU-Mediterranean integration than intra-Mediterranean convergence as based on reciprocal interests being served. Certain other perceptions may militate against greater integration, such as divergence of views on the Middle East, a reluctance to implement some of the societal changes advocated by the EU, and intra-Med rivalry. As to spill over, in this context he sees sectors as being kept reasonably distinct. And to co-ordinate the Partnership there is a 'fairly light institutional structure'. So, he says, the policy-making structure and the interweaving of political, economic, security and cultural themes in the Barcelona Process reflect both the federalist tenet that institutions are necessary to co-ordinate the integration process and the neo-functionalist credo that political problems are made more intractable by increasing economic interdependence, and comments that if it is true, as neo-functionalists have argued, that integration 'spills over' from economic interdependence to other types of integration, the pattern of economic relations in the Mediterranean tends to privilege North–South integration at the expense of South-South integration. As to the external actor role, the "EU seems to play this role in the Mediterranean" and the "reality is that the EU is creating a zone of co-operation and stability in which it plays the leading part". This short summary does not do full justice to the wealth of themes that Moxon-Browne raises in his paper, many of which deserve to be further explored.

The next five papers explore the broad theme of security in the evolving scenario painted by Lanon and Van Elsuwege and Moxon-Browne.

Pace explores the link between democracy, economic development and regional stability in the Mediterranean. His starting point is the proposed 'mainstreaming' of human rights in the Euro-med Partnership Process, as set out by the Commission.[5] If, he ponders, the pursuance of human rights and democratic freedoms leads to enhanced regional security while laying the ground for increased economic growth, then the Commission's proposal must be vigorously pursued. It is these links that he proceeds to explore. In particular, he explores the relationship between what I might call the "rhetoric of linkage" on the part of the international community and the empirical data on the actual "practice of linkage" thrown up by the literature. From Kant's *Perpetual Peace*, through Deutsch's "security community", through Babst, Doyle, Russet and the writings of several others, the "peace bias of democracies" and the links with free trade and with economic interdependence are traced. This postulate is placed alongside alternative peace theories rooted in Realism, but Pace argues that democracies "are always preferable to other forms of governance judged from the perspective of development and the position of individuals within them". For the European Union, human rights, democracy and development go together; human rights, including economic rights, are indivisible and inseparable from democracy. Yet he points to what he sees as a rhetoric-reality gap on this score. He declares that the notion that democracy automatically leads to development is as false as the idea that authoritarian government can promote development has been shown to be. However, he quotes Amartya Kumar Sen's argument that the response of a government to "the acute suffering of its people often depends on the pressure that is put on it. The exercise of political rights (such as voting, criticizing, protesting, and the like) can make a real difference to the political incentives that operate on government". (The "pressure from

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[5] Communication from the Commission on Re-invigorating EU Actions on Human rights and Democratisation with Mediterranean Partners: Strategic Guidelines, COM (2003) 294 final, Brussels 21.05.2003

below" as a force for change catalysed by the very existence of the European Union and its global approach is the main theme of the paper by Melakopides). Political reform has lagged behind economic reform in the Mediterranean. While arguing for the strengthening of democracy and human rights for the "advantages" for peace, security and all-encompassing development in the Mediterranean, Pace observes that 'methods' may be needed and operated to 'encourage' recalcitrant states to reform. Also there may be a danger that measures put in place to deal with scourges such as terrorism which often give a latitude of power to governments may have the effect of rolling back the gains achieved thus far unless democratic safeguards are further strengthened. But the Commission proposals are a 'good start', he concludes, for democracy and human rights protection are good values in themselves while having "positive economic and political ramifications".

Çakir's paper explores the EU policy of linkage between democracy and human rights and development from the perspective of the 'carrot and stick' approach. The title of his paper posits the question: is the European Union a civilian or a political power in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership? He seeks to show that within the framework of the Partnership, the Union in the main assumes the role of a civilian power, but that sometimes it also has to assume the 'political power role' by using the attraction of Membership of the Union. However, he argues, there are times when this will not work, such as in relation to attempts to resolve the conflict in the Middle East, and he proposes as a solution the institutionalization of the security dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership with an emphasis on conflict prevention.

Jinan Limam fastens on the concept of 'co-operative security', in the somewhat wider context now of the emerging 'Neighbourhood Policy'. For her, the EU has a choice to make: whether to see the Mediterranean as a 'frontier' in a policy of containment or, alternatively, as a new area of co-operation, where special relations can be built within the framework of a wider neighbourhood policy spanning all border regions from the Maghreb to Russia. For Limam, the new neighbourhood policy approach indicates that the

second alternative is the preferred option of the European Union. The concept of 'security in the Mediterranean' has been 'globalised', as she puts it. And this being the case, she asks what instruments may and need be employed to establish security in the region. The old "Eastern" threat has been replaced by the "Southern threat" in minds and language and rhetoric in the North, and the echo of this rhetoric reverberates around the Mediterranean. While there are undoubtedly causes for concern in fact (terrorism, demography, immigration, and others), Limam argues that at the same time an ideological dimension in the shape of a 'security psychosis' has appeared. At the same time as the EU is redefining its security approach, the Mediterranean, absent co-ordinating structures, remains incapable of formulating a common vision of Mediterranean security: it merely follows the EU lead. And the approach of the Union is global, extensive and progressive, and therefore pragmatic. It is at the same time comprehensive and co-operative, and is consolidated by the new neighbourhood policy. Yet not all find this totally satisfactory, viewing it as lacking in rigour and definition, or as based on a view of the Arab partners less as partners than as potential threats, with the perception on the Arab side that too much emphasis is placed on security concerns in such a way as to smack of "Western interventionism". Migration is seen as a victim of this approach, treated as a security issue when in the view of the states of the Southern Mediterranean it should be seen as an element in the process of construction of Euro-Med unity and a matter for the social and economic policies of the EU. Yet interdependence is the key concept for redefining the notion of security. The "neighbourhood concept" as launched by the Commission communication of 11/3/2003 presupposes political and economic interdepedence, with 'neighbourhood' implying a sharing of tasks and responsibilities in the face of conflicts and all forms of insecurity. One objective of a peace and security policy is the matching of national action with regional and global action. For Limam, the security of the Union cannot be reduced to the normative and institutional completion of the "justice and home affairs policy" but requires also the external projection of this regime to its Mediterranean partners, as recognized by the Feira Council. Co-operation is key, and a Euro-Mediterranean Partnership based on equality requires the effective participation of

the State partners in the conception and implementation of instruments of co-operation in security matters. Turning to these instruments, Limam lists the various instruments made available to the neighbourhood policy, so that the EU appears to be proposing a "securité democratique" for the Mediterranean, its constitutive elements being pluralist democracy, indivisibility of human rights, the rule of law. This global approach requires a "cross-pillar" approach, as Limam proceeds to elaborate. Declaring that conflict resolution mechanisms must be put in place, Limam calls for priority attention to continue to be given to the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Viewed from the South, she writes, the development of the EU's Defence and Security Policy is as worrying as American superpower despite the institutionalization of security dialogue in the framework of the Euro-Med Partnership, characterized as this remains by a certain European unilateralism. Limam calls for a Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean, a regional institution with operational capability and the necessary political and juridical structures to create the conditions of security, taking forward the project launched by the OSCE in the eighties. What must be overcome is the 'exclusion' of the South from security processes. Multilateralism is the only way to build mutual trust, and in her view horizontal integration in the South is indispensable for truly effective multilateral security co-operation. Since Limam wrote her paper, the Commission has made proposals for the consideration of the Foreign Ministers of the Euro-Med Partnership[6]. These include deepening the process of dialogue and co-operation in order to improve mutual understanding, but going some way to addressing the deficits perceived by Limam in proposing also the giving of greater substance to political and security co-operation, in connection with the launching of co-operation under the European Security and Defence Policy, speaking of "the gradual involvement of the Mediterranean partners in a number of ESDP activities…encouraging them to participate either individually or as a group in future ESDP operations, offering financial support for the implementation of

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[6] Communication from the Commission, To Prepare the VI Meeting of Euro-Mediterranean Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Naples, 2-3 December 2003 (Barcelona VI), COM (2003) 610 final, Brussels, 15.10.2003.

actions deriving from the actions on human rights and democratization (the subject of Pace's paper in this volume); noting the progress made in the definition of the main principles for the dialogue of peoples and cultures in the region and that for the first time experts and practitioners from the Euro-Med countries will work together in judicial co-operation, in the fight against terrorism, drugs and organized crime, and in a joint approach to migration - leading to a more ambitious programme in the future. Jinan Limam and the other Members of the network will be tracking developments and practical implementation in such areas, including action decided on by the Ministers at and after their meeting in Naples on 2-3rd December 2003.

Still on the broad theme of security and security co-operation in the Euro-Mediterranean region, the next two papers are two case-studies of the role of the European Union and of the Euro-Med Partnership. In the first, *Costas Melakopides* takes two events from April 2003 developments in Cyprus, and in an analysis of an example of our time in 'Euro-Mediterranean Peace-Building' highlights the catalytic role of the EU. The rest of the title of his article is "The Exit from the Cypriot-Greco-Turkish Labyrinth". He refers to the two relevant events of April 2003 as being of "momentous significance": they were the signing of the Accession Treaty by Cyprus on April 16th and the lifting of restrictions on free movement to and from the occupied territory of Cyprus by Rauf Denktash on 23rd April. He argues that the crack in the Green Line is causally linked to the Nicosia-Athens policies and EU decisions regarding the accession of the Republic of Cyprus to the Union; that the Denktash initiative is to be read in the context of Turkey's main foreign policy objective, that is joining the Union; that the post-23rd April Cypriot landscape has revealed an entirely novel socio-psychological and politico-cultural picture in occupied Cyprus, which cannot be ignored by the EU; and that the Union has since had a rare opportunity to act as a historic conflict-manager vis à vis Cyprus, Turkey and Greece and as a Euro-Med peace-builder. His analysis takes heavily into account, indeed relies on, the reactions to the two events of the peoples involved, in Cyprus and Turkey. He applies the concept of identity change, arguing that a triple identity is dawning on and for Turkish Cypriots, an identity

which is ready to synthesise the Turkish-Cypriot component of a Cypriot political consciousness under "the dream of European citizenship". The task now remaining, he argues, is to convince those Turkish Cypriots who are motivated ('exclusively', he says) by "the EU dream" and are therefore, he argues, prepared to endorse new political experiments to this end, that Nicosia and the Greek Cypriots desire reunified cohabitation in democratic conditions of functional fairness guaranteed by the EU. This, on the rational actor model, he argues, will ultimately favour the coupling of the federal model with the EU *acquis*. Combining his rational actor model and his "pazarlik" hypothesis as to Turkey's foreign policy methodology, and by doing so justifying what he regards as optimism in himself, he argues that the wishes of the peoples, the push of expressed desires and needs, the call of Membership (involving subscription in full to the fundamental values, norms and rules of the Union), the voice of reason and the good offices of the European Union must lead to a fair and functional solution of the Cyprus problem. If this is correct and properly founded, it is impossible to ignore the force of this "case example" as an example of the pull-power of the Union, to recall Cakir's civilian/political power treatise, while observing the effect of people-power and the potential for the mobilization of civil society of the values (as well as the concrete benefits) offered by the Union.

Hugelin's is a case study of the impact of the new Community Immigration Policy on the Euro-Med Partnership. The new approach is closely examined, with attention to the underlying principles and to main instruments adopted. He then asks where the Euro-Med Partnership fits into this policy, referring in particular to the "carrot and stick" approach and the particular issues raised by the 'readmission' of illegal immigrants. It is here that he argues one must look at the implications of the development of the Community's 'internal' immigration policy for relations of the Community with third states, and the conclusion of readmission agreements or the insertion of appropriate clauses in Euro-Med Agreements, taking the Agreement with Tunisia as his prime example, but referring also to the Agreements with Algeria and with Lebanon. He calls for enhanced regional co-operation in the light of the new neighbourhood policy. The new clauses in the

Algerian Agreement on co-operation in justice and home affairs are set out, and he concludes that indeed new opportunities for co-operation with the European Union are thereby created. Political dialogue on relevant issues is facilitated by the new accords, while much remains to be done. On an issue of such salience to security in the Euro-Med region, the modalities of EU-Med co-operation remain to be defined. Prevention and dissuasion, not least by education and information (including about the 'realities' in the Union), leading to control of migratory movements, need to be considered and operated in Mediterranean States as the price for modulation of their positions by, and assistance (including financial) from, the Member States.

Then follow two papers which are grouped together for the evidence they shed on the evolution of civil society, albeit in different contexts and in countries with different levels of political, economic and social development, Cyprus and Morocco. In the first paper, on Cyprus, *Agapiou-Josephides* analyses patterns of continuity, change and adaptation in the political system of Cyprus on the threshold of Membership of the Union. It is of course not surprising that the empirical evidence shows that the patterns of domestic Cypriot politics combine continuity, change and adaptation. Every system will evince such combination, but this is one of the first studies on the 'Europeanisation' of the political system of Cyprus and the author traces selected changes and reforms undergone along the road to Cypriot membership of the Union. It makes a contribution to the growing literature on the impact of European integration on domestic politics. Agapiou-Josephides shows how during the last decade a great number of far-reaching developments occurred in Cypriot governance and public policy-making and how several innovative features were introduced into domestic Cypriot politics. The paper is a ground-breaking attempt to initiate further and deeper analysis of the phenomenon of 'Europeanisation' on a scientific basis. For the author, although some hold that there is doubt over the explanatory power of 'European integration' as a major force driving domestic executive change, this seems not to be the case for Cyprus. The task is to disentangle the impact of European integration from other endogenous or exogenous causes of change. While exploring

Europeanisation at the four levels of policy, politics, polity and society, the sections on polity and society indicate that the Parliament has been very successful in seizing the opportunity of the Future of Europe debate occuring across the whole of Europe to introduce a number of interactive features into its consultations on key European issues and in particular, and more importantly, into its rapport with civil society. The results are identified as: new relationships between Parliament and society, more transparent and participatory political processes, a more visible role for women and youth. At society level more particularly, in a section that ties in with the thinking of Melakopides in his paper in this volume, Agapiou-Josephides declares that the fact that Cyprus' accession has been massively supported both by Greek-Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots has opened new perspectives for peace and co-operation in the country. A wide range of 'social organisations' participated in the fora and debates organized by the Parliament on the Future of Europe, with impressive participation by women and youth organizations. The broad domestic consensus in favour of Cyprus' membership of the Union also meant that it was not surprising that civil society developed close ties, through networking, with counterpart organizations at EU level and cross-nationally. This paper constitutes a first attempt to shed more light, while calling for further research, on the interaction between domestic politics and European integration at various levels, highlighting the gradual yet significant developments in the political system of Cyprus.

Then, still with a focus on civil society, *Ibourk* and *Sahli* provide us with their findings on the promotion of the associational movement in Morocco, showing that important advances have been made but pointing to the need to address the sharp social needs, and in particular the education gap. Economic and institutional progress, the latter giving hope for the development of democracy and the rule of law, have only served to emphasise the social disparities, which have indeed continued to increase through the period of reform. One Morrocan out of five lived below the poverty line in 1999.Yet economic consolidation can be achieved only by social progress, and social policy has become a priority area, one main target being illiteracy. This is matched by individual initiative. On the quantitative level, the associative movement has grown, also

instigating a partnership with the relevant public authorities. New NGOs have intervened in all sectors of national development. The typology of these NGOs is set out, but the contribution of this paper is a wider one and takes its place alongside the growing literature analyzing and evaluating social policy in Morocco. The authors put their study firmly in the context of the "solidarity economy", and focus on the associative movement in the educational sector, having identified it as a key sector and one in which considerable results have been achieved on the quantitative level; an attempt is then made to evaluate the contribution made by the associative movement also qualitatively. The study sheds light on three aspects in particular: the management profile of the associations involved; attitudes developed; and problems encountered; by reference to a survey of 28 NGOs spanning education and culture, the status of women, environmental protection, persons with a disability, and children at risk.

The fourth group of papers in this volume take four key aspects of the building of the EU-Mediterranean Free Trade Area and Single Market. First, trade policy as seen from the perspective of Morocco (Escribano and Lorca), then Rules of Origin and Competition Policy as seen from Tunisia (Karray and Battour respectively), and finally Patent Protection in the Turkish experience and the wider context (Ilgaz). While the country perspective exists in the first two of these contributions, it is a measure of the impact of EU-Med integration and of the Euro-Med Partnership, as well as of the pace of globalisation, that each of them reads as a case-study within the wider context. After an overview of the development of Moroccan external trade policy, *Escribano and Lorca* explore the multitlateral and sub-regional dimensions of this policy and follow this up with an analysis of the process of trade liberalization and the implications for commercial policy of the Association Agreement. But the paper explores in a novel way a dimension often ignored, that of 'modernisation' of trade structures, ending with concrete policy conclusions and recommendations addressing issues both of modernization and liberalization, liberalization needing to be accompanied by modernization. Together with the EU, Morocco must elaborate a model of integration going beyond association but falling short of Membership and of a kind to enable it to succeed in

attracting foreign investment, and the authors make recommendations as to the way forward. *Karray* gives a pamoramic overview of the situation on rules of origin and cumulation of origin in the Mediterranean region, by reference not only to the Tunisian case but across the range of Agreements between the EC and Mediterranean States, providing the context in which recent proposals from the Commission on Pan-Euro-Med cumulation, especially diagonal cumulation, can be seen. Karray expresses concern relating to the broadening of the approach. *Battour*'s contribution is narrower in focus but examines closely the evolution of competition law in Tunisia up to the present time, and argues that for the moment an optimum level of development of competition law has occurred such as to serve the needs of economic relations with Europe, while further "improvements" might be counterproductive. In the final paper in this volume, *Ilgaz* argues from a regional perspective that it will be beneficial for all sectors of industry and business to extend the uniform European patent protection to the whole of the Mediterranean region, as recently done for central and eastern Europe.

Taken together, and read in the context also of the previous three volumes in this series, the papers in this volume explore many facets of the phenomenon that is Euro-Mediterranean Integration in the wider context of Pan-Euro-Mediterranean Integration set in an even wider context of globalisation and the search for a new world order capable of delivering sustainable peace and prosperity in our time.