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***Multilateralism South of the Border:
The EuroMed Partnership***

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Multilateralism South of the Border: The EuroMed Partnership

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Multilateralism South of the Border: The EuroMed Partnership

Introduction

Christiansen, Petito and Tonra (2000, 401) write that

while shared geographic and climatic conditions have shaped regional cultures and peoples – what the French historian Braudel has termed the common ‘material culture’ of the Mediterranean Civilization – they have failed to forge any significant degree of political or ideational collective identity [due] ... to the complex and conflicting geopolitical history of the area ... This duality has recently been reproduced in the ... analysis of the Mediterranean in the post-Cold War era through two opposite images ... the Mediterranean as a ‘sea without customs’ where continuities in social structures, customs, habits and ways of life are the constitutive ingredients of a material Mediterranean civilization. The second is an image of the Mediterranean Sea as one of the key fault lines in a ‘clash of civilisations’ (Huntington 1993 in *Ibid.*).

Indeed the MENA region is variegated along north-south as well as in south-south orientations. No one will argue about the positive correlation between economic development and political stability (e.g. Christiansen, Petito and Tonra 2000, 404). As much discussion as has taken place on this topic – and development and research funds spent – the yawning gap in income between developed and developing countries has worsened in the past three decades despite a booming world economy (Ocampo 2006). The Middle East and North African countries (“MENA”,¹), also referred to in this article as Magreb and Mashrig, are one area in the European “neighborhood” with traditional historical cultural ties to Europe as well as of continuing strategic significance.

Approaching MENA from the geo-political perspective of Iraq today, the instability in the latter will likely spread to the Middle East in the foreseeable future. It can be expected to cause problems especially in countries with divided societies, such as Lebanon, where Islam will fill the political and intellectual vacuum (Haass in Spiegel Online 11/13/2996). From an economic perspective, balancing the widening income gap *among* developing countries in addition to the *overall* international income inequalities, requires the more developed EuroMed partners to focus socio-economically and politically on MENA more urgent today than ever.

Howard Zinn (2005) argues that *war* is not a successful approach to defeat terrorism by religious extremists, which is currently taking place in predominantly Muslim countries and spreading other regions outside of MENA, Iraq and Iran. Against the observed past instabilities and the prospect of an increase in terrorism in the Magreb and the Mashriq and its spill-over to neighboring countries and beyond, I will examine the role of the EuroMed Partnership (EMP) between the countries bordering the Mediterranean for its potential to contribute to regional stabilization and development to fill this political void and regional demarcations addressed by Richard Haass (2006), president of the Council on Foreign Relations. Or in Christiansen, Petito and Tonra (2000) terminology, forging the role of the EMP in a political and ideational collective identity rather than allow the countries bordering the Mediterranean to develop fault lines among them.

¹ MENA is used to refer in this article to the EuroMed Partner states in the Middle East and North Africa, including Israel

History of the EuroMed Partnership

US President Bush and USSR President Gorbachev send an invitation for a peace conference on October 30, 1991 in Madrid to the governments of Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, the Palestinians (as part of the Jordanese delegation), Egypt, the European Community, and the Gulf Cooperation Council and the UN as observers (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website “Madrid Letter”) to take advantage of the opportunity for reshaping the basic political order in the Middle East following the breakup of the Soviet Union and the “Second Gulf War” (Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait), which read i.a.:

“The co-sponsors believe that this process offers the promise of ending decades of confrontation and conflict and the hope of a lasting peace ... and hope that the parties will approach these negotiations in a spirit of good will and mutual respect. In this way, the peace process can begin to break down the mutual suspicions and mistrust that perpetuate the conflict and allow the parties to begin to resolve their differences... Only through this process can the peoples of the Middle East attain the peace and security they richly deserve” (Ibid.).

The framework laid out in this invitation became the structure of the Madrid Framework for a *bilateral* as well as a *multilateral* negotiating track which enabled the first-ever direct talks between Israel and her immediate Arab neighbors on November 3, 1991, hosted by the US Department of State in Washington. Additionally, the multilateral track envisioned by the Madrid Framework was hoped to contribute to the construction of the Middle East of the future, while building confidence among regional parties (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs website “The Madrid Framework”). These talks opened in Moscow in January 1992 with delegations from North African and Middle East countries (MENA) as well as from the international community. These negotiations focused on key issues of concern to the entire Middle East: *water, environment, arms control, refugees and economic development*.

Formal talks continued intermittently until 1993 with Israel at first refusing to take part in the refugee and economic meetings as Palestinians from outside the West Bank and Gaza were present. Syria and Lebanon refused to take part in multilateral meetings as long as there was no concrete progress on this level. Formal talks froze in this multilateral track until January 31, 2000 although secret negotiations continued (e.g. resulting in the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty of 1994 and the signing on the White House lawn of the Declaration of Principles between Israel and Palestine, based on the terms of the Madrid round of negotiations which had been rejected at first). This in effect greatly increased the number of countries which recognize Israel and have some degree of diplomatic relations with it, in particular Gulf countries, Tunisia and Morocco as well as a decline of the Arab boycott and an increase in economic relations with some Arab countries (Shlaim 2001).

Emanating from these processes, the first Euro-Mediterranean Conference of Foreign Ministers was held in Barcelona in November 1995 and marked the official starting point of the EMP (sometimes referred to as the “Barcelona Process”). The EMP established three main objectives for the partnership:

- 1) the definition of a common area of peace and stability through the reinforcement of *political and security* dialogue;
- 2) the construction of a zone of shared prosperity through an *economic and financial* partnership and the gradual establishment of a free-trade area;
- 3) and the rapprochement between peoples through a *social, cultural and human* partnership aimed at encouraging understanding between cultures and exchanges between civil society” (Horizon 2020 Bulletin 2005, 2).

The EMP constitutes the EU’s main multilateral foreign policy instrument in MENA. Currently, the EMP comprises the twenty-five EU member states, and ten Mediterranean Partners

(Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey, which is also an EU candidate country) and Libya as observer since 1999). Malta and Cyprus, also original EuroMed Partners, are now EU member states.

The EMP as a theoretical construct

The EMP's mandate is based on the political, economic and culturally strategic significance of the Mediterranean region to the European Union (EU) and seeks to develop a relationship between its partners based on "comprehensive cooperation and solidarity, in keeping with the privileged nature of the links forged by neighbourhood and history" (EU Commission website 2006: Barcelona declaration). The "three pillars" of the EMP (reflecting in fact some of the goals originally set out in President Bush's and President Gorbachev's invitation to the Peace Conference of 1991) consist of the following in greater detail and follow the dual regional (multilateral) and bilateral tracks established in the Madrid Peace Conference for the international relations among EMP members.

The political and security partnership with the aim of strengthening the political dialogue based on "observance of essential principles of international law, and to reaffirm common objectives in matters of internal and external stability" (Ibid.). EMP partners agreed to act in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (such as guaranteeing "the effective legitimate exercise of such rights and freedoms, including freedom of expression, freedom of association for peaceful purposes and freedom of thought, conscience and religion, both individually and together with other member of the same group, without any discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, language, religion or sex" (Ibid.)) as well as other obligations under international law, including their regional and international agreements. Furthermore, they agreed to "develop the rule of law and *democracy* in their political systems, while recognizing in this framework the right of each of them *to choose and freely develop its own* political, socio-cultural, economic and judicial system, ... respect for diversity and pluralism in their societies [both with MENA AND the EU], promote tolerance between different groups in society and combat manifestations of intolerance, racism and xenophobia. ... to respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, *acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the UN ... including those relating to territorial integrity of states* (Ibid., emphasis mine).

In the economic and financial partnership aspect of the EMP the participants emphasize the importance of sustainable and balanced economic and social development with a view to achieving their objective of creating an area of *shared* prosperity. They acknowledge the impediment debt represents to development (e.g. by promoting an environment conducive to both internal savings as the basis for investment, and by direct foreign investment), the need to dialogue and regionally cooperate for an acceleration of socio-economic development and propose solutions, (such as the promotion and development of the private sector, upgrading the productive sector, establishing appropriate institutional and regulatory frameworks for a market economy, such as those protecting intellectual and industrial property rights and competition, those promoting mechanism for technology transfer), the progressive establishment of a free-trade area and a substantial increase in the European Union's financial assistance to its partners (Ibid.).

This area of the EMP also emphasizes the interdependence of members with regard to the environment which requires increased regional cooperation and coordination between existing multilateral programs. Furthermore it stresses the importance of the conservation and rational management of fish stocks, including improved research into stocks, including aquaculture. Additionally, it acknowledges the pivotal role of the energy sector in the economies of EMP partners and the need to strengthen cooperation and intensify dialogue in the field of energy policies, including the appropriate framework conditions for investments and the activities of

energy companies (Ibid.). The supply, management and development of water resources, the modernization of agriculture and the development and improvement of infrastructure, especially in rural areas, including efficient transport systems and information technologies, were also declared priorities (Ibid.).

The participants acknowledged that the creation of a free-trade area and the success of the EMP require substantially increased financial assistance through the EU and the European Investment Bank (EIB). This would necessitate sound macro-economic management in terms of promoting dialogue and optimized financial cooperation between members' respective economic policies (Ibid.).

Social, cultural and human affairs are delineated in the EMP with the aim of developing human resources, promoting understanding between cultures and exchanges between civil societies (Ibid.). The participants recognize that the traditions of culture and civilization throughout the Mediterranean region, dialogue between their cultures and exchanges at the human, scientific and technological levels are essential factors in bringing their peoples closer, promoting understanding between them and improving their perception of each other, including the importance of the role which mass media can play in the reciprocal recognition and understanding of cultures as a source of mutual enrichment (Ibid.). Additionally, the importance of civil society and the development of human resources, such as social development and education and training for young people, e.g. the familiarization with the cultural identity of each partner country by facilitating active exchange programs between member states.

The importance of these programs is to develop civil society as a significant component of functioning democratic institutions and strengthening the rule of law. These programs are also recognized as positive factors in economic development which in turn are hoped to reduce illegal migration (compare White 2006) to the northern Mediterranean countries. EMP states agreed to cooperate in the repatriation of illegal immigrants as well to cooperate in the joint fight against drug trafficking, international crime and corruption, racism, xenophobia and intolerance (Ibid.).

The EMP in practical application

Jose Antonio Ocampo (2006), UN Under-Secretary General for Economic and Social Affairs, states that the "global economic conditions and regional economic environment" (Ibid.) are important factors in addressing a reduction of the yawning gap in income between developed and developing countries. Additionally, he recommends that developing countries transform their production and "export structures, particularly by shifting resources to activities with higher levels of productivity" (Ibid.) rather than specialize solely in natural-resource intensive sectors. Furthermore he stressed the need to strengthen economic linkages *among* developing countries, creating new domestic technological capabilities and to integrate these countries into dynamic world markets *within* the mutually reinforcement of macroeconomic stability (such as soothing normal business cycles instead of pro-cyclical fiscal adjustments), with investment (such as creating fiscal space through improved governance, a strengthened tax base and institutional reform including the creation of regulatory and institutional frameworks required for well functioning markets) and growth.

In the case of the EMP we notice that since its inception in 1995 its members have set out to in fact pursue this agenda: Follow-up meetings between the foreign ministers of EMP member states as well as conferences have been taking place since the signing of this agreement. Examples of their results are the establishment of a EuroMediterranean Free Trade Area through harmonization of rules, procedures and standards in the customs field, the elimination of unwarranted technical barriers to trade in agricultural products and the adoption of relevant food, phyto and veterinary sanitation measures and the reporting of reliable data on a harmonized basis between member states.

Joint research programs, especially in the telecommunications and energy sectors (including the support for renewable sources of energy) and regional tourism development, environmental protection (especially combating desertification) and scientific and technical cooperation (such as the expansion of the Mediterranean Water Charter of 1992 for the expansion of desalination projects and improved research into fish stocks to compensate for over-fishing in the Mediterranean) (Ibid.).

A particular focus are development measures for small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and the adoption of international or European standards for, and the upgrading of, conformity testing, certification, accreditation and quality standards among EMP members. The Euro-Arab Business School in Granada and the European Foundation in Turin for example are contributing to this end, as is the Anna Lindh foundation which focuses on women's empowerment and development. It should be pointed out that NGOs, such as the Stanley Foundation (in association with the Institute for Near East & Gulf Military Analysis) in the US for example also address open Arab media. These example serves to point out that the EMP is not simply an EU construct out of ulterior market and political motives, but that instead the multilaterality including the US, which existed at the very beginnings leading to the establishment of the EMP, continues within the EMP.

The main financial instrument for the EMP is the EU's MEDA program. For the period from 1995 until 2003 MEDA's budget was 5.458 million Euros, while the European Investment Bank lent fourteen billion Euros since 1974 (3.7 billion Euros for the period 2002-2003) (European Commission Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona Process website).

The EMP has made concrete progress in wide areas of its mandate: Examples are the Member states agreement in May 2006 to a European Commission draft for "level 2" implementation of measures to combat money laundering and terrorist financing, launched the first two twinning projects in Euro-Egyptian relations in the tourism and maritime safety (tourism) sectors, and the "Europe for Mediterranean Journalists" project to empower journalists to have greater, more informed knowledge when they present EuroMed partnership-related information to their audiences and to network among colleagues in the region (in addition to the establishment of many other programs) .

Several Think-Tanks have been established in the context of the EMP, such as IEMed (the Institut Europeu de la Mediterrania) and the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures. The former organization pursues a very broad agenda of lectures, seminars, training, exhibitions, cultural activities and publications on the politics, economy, migration, society and cultural dialogue on EMP issues, such as civil society, participation and human rights, minorities and cultural identities, women and social change, sustainable development, and human movements and migration. The Anna Lindh Foundation pursues a broad human development/ training agenda in member countries on goals agreed on by EMP members. It is apparent that within the EMP the EU's "four freedoms" (services, capital, goods and people) are becoming more and more established, as e.g. also the 2003 Framework Protocol for the Liberalization of Trade in Services to all EuroMed Partners shows.

On a parallel, though independent from the EMP, track for the purpose of regional economic and political integration between the EU and the "greater Middle East", the EU and the Golf Cooperation Council (GCC) are also in the final stages of preparing the Gulf-European free trade zone agreement "which is hoped to open the door to a strategic partnership, not only confined to the economic aspect but that also includes political and security affairs as well" (Mohamed 2006). Gender equality has progressed as well in MENA in the last few years, e.g. in Morocco fifty female imams were recently awarded diplomas by the Islamic Affairs Ministry and in Turkey the Directorate of Religious Affairs (the Diyanet) appointed two hundred state-paid female preachers (Ahmed-Ullah 2006). Some scholars point out (e.g. Purvis 2006) that Western Europe needs to find ways in which its secular traditions can coexist not only with the bordering continents, "but with those that have, 500 years after the reconquista, returned to its shores... there will be no

more pressing challenge [in his opinion] to the next generation of Europeans than to reconcile its practice with the best of the old Continent's humanist tradition" (Ibid.).

Analysis

The above discussion shows i.a. also the parallels of intra-EU economic and social relationships in relation to the harmonization with EU "best practices" among EU candidate countries. Some scholars have critiqued the application of this approach in MENA as either neo-imperialistic or disrespectful of traditional migration patterns of the some North African tribe and their socio-economic consequences. Buzan (2005) points out that "Arabic" countries are traditionally not state-bound, (some are e.g. Bedouin) but emphasize the socio-spatial dimension through bloodlines. Hence Crawford's (2005, 2006) argument that the EU within the EMP is "regionalizing" MENA is not really appropriate, since in the Magreb and Mashriq traditional blood lines actually follow this geographic region, rather than having been created in the early 1990's by political strategists in Brussels. Buzan's argument that "the West" is trying to impose Westphalian notions onto the Magreb and Mashriq is not really accurate either: the governments (whether based on ruling clans and/or families or not) of the (voluntarily) participating MEP countries had accepted concepts of sovereign states already decades earlier.

The brief synopsis above of the contractual language of the EMP agreement highlights the fact that the Eastern Enlargement of the EU was not automatically to the detriment of MENA, as some scholars claim (e.g. Crawford 2006) – the free trade zone established by the EMP in 1995 allows the countries in MENA to firmly establish themselves on EU markets following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, well before the EU Eastern Enlargement in 2004. If anything, the enlarged EU also increased the market for MENA agriculture as the demands for products from Southern climates ballooned in the new EU member states.

The end of the Cold War "led to systemic transformations reshaping the global order" (Reus-Smit 2005, 195) and with it questions about the "dynamics of international change, the nature of basic institutional practices, the role of non-state agency and the problem of human rights (Ibid.). This paper argues that the EuroMed Partnership (EMP) is significant in terms of economic growth and political and socio-cultural stabilization beyond the region (EU and the Middle East and North Africa) but is also viewed positively by other regions and powers for the same reasons. It might hereby dispel some myths which surround the EMP, such as its origins lying in "bursting on the scene in 1995 when the Spanish presidency of the EU organized a conference in Barcelona" (Crawford 2005, 1), since its origins go back to multilateral efforts in the early 1990s beyond the EU.

The EMP should be understood not as an attempt by the EU to invent a region that did not yet exist and but to create a regional identity based neither on blood nor religion, but on civil society, economic interdependence, voluntary networks and civic beliefs (Ibid.), i.e. to "construct in the Mediterranean region a pluralistic security community whose practices are synonymous of peace and stability" (Ibid.). The EMP cannot be adequately analyzed solely in the neo-liberal theory of international cooperation (e.g. Keohane 1984) whose elements are the importance of international anarchy in shaping state behavior, with the state as the most important actor in world politics and the assumption of states as essentially self-interested when there is low interdependence between states. Rather, the establishment of new norms and institutions (i.e. explicit principles, norms rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations of the EMP) (Keohane 1984, 85-109) in EU relationships reduce international anarchy among its members (to varying degrees, depending on whether it is intra-EU or an EU-external relationship), thus inducing them to incur reciprocal obligations as cooperation demands. This leads to a reduction in transaction costs as cooperation and information are increased. In terms of the neo-liberal premise of relative-power

gains, EMP members could also be viewed as utility-maximizers who “will entertain cooperation so long as it promises absolute gains in their interests” (Reus-Smit 2005, 192).

The institutional significance of the EMP lies partially in providing conditions (e.g. coordination/harmony through an international institutional framework under which international cooperation can take place (Keohane 1988, 380) and in harmony achieved according to Ruggie (1998). The sociological approach to the study of institutions “stresses the role of impersonal social forces as well as the impact of cultural practices, norms, and values that are not derived from calculations of interests (Barry 1970; Gilpin 1981). Improving the intersubjective meanings-“understanding” (Kratochwil and Ruggie, 1986, 265) of how people think about institutional norms and rules, and the discourses they engage in, is considered as important as the impact of the norms is in evaluating the behavior which changes in response to their application (Keohane 1988, 381). Constructivists contend that *normative* or *ideational* structures are just as important as *material* structures. While neo-realists emphasize the material structure of the balance of military power, and Marxists stress the material structure of the capitalist world economy,

constructivists argue that systems of shared ideas, beliefs and values also have structural characteristics, and that they exert a powerful influence on social and political action... constructivists also stress the importance of normative and ideational structures because these are thought to shape the social identities of political actors... by understanding how non-material structures condition actors’ identities is important because identities inform interests and, in turn, actions... Understanding how actors develop their interests is crucial to explaining a wide range of international political phenomena that rationalists ignore or misunderstand (Reus-Smit 2005, 196/7).

Luna (2004, 334) points out that there are several major collective action strategies available, e.g. *partisan* action and *normative* action, which both depend on external and internal factors, as well as institutional traditions which constrain and give meaning to the implementation of different practices. While some previous cooperative endeavors in the Mediterranean region were less successful (e.g. the Western Mediterranean Forum), it has been argued that with these the “absence of a strong web of regional interaction at state and non-state levels, ... the cross-cutting strategic interests of the key states involved ... and the low and strongly asymmetrical rate of economic integration between the two shores of the Mediterranean Sea” (Christiansen, Petito and Tonra 2000, 403) were contributing factors. The institutional and ideological structures of the EMP on the other hand were designed to address the weaknesses observed in other cooperative efforts in this region. In fact we observe how the ideational structures of the EMP influence democratic institutionalization and the norming effect e.g. on gender relations, the enhanced integration of market economics, and environmentally protective measures.

“Pluralism and tolerance are pillars of modern society.... But pluralism doesn’t just mean diversity. It means that we share the same rules and values, and are still nevertheless different” (“European have stopped defending their Values”, Spiegel 10/2/2006). The normative aspect of the EU’s values and norms is apparent in its relationships and explicit in its institutions, whether in its “aid” or “trade” programs, in its accession proceedings through the Copenhagen Criteria, or in its neighborhood policy of which the EMP is a special case. The stated values of the EU are democracy, human rights, a market economy, and the rule of law. Crawford (2005, 3) questions whether the EMP is simply the EU’s “civilian power in the service of peace and prosperity for all” (Ibid.) or whether it is really “a guise in which the power politics of an enlarged EU are played out” (Ibid.) along realist calculations in a quest for supremacy in tandem with EU enlargement (Kupchan 2003).

Could it not be possible that peace and prosperity, as foreign policy aims, be approached in terms of democracy, human rights, a market economy, and the rule of law in a region (compare EuroBarometer: The European Union and its Neighbours 2006), rather than through massive military attacks which have shown in “the recent experience of the United States and Israel in the Middle East ... [that they are] not only morally reprehensible, but useless in achieving the stated

aims [i.e. democratization] – of those who carry them out” (Zinn 2006). The details of the EMP above have shown that the EU’s economic, political, and socio-cultural initiatives are for the purpose of extending the European area of stability south and to create a pluralistic security community whose practices are synonymous with peace and stability (Adler and Crawford 2004). The EMP was also “designed as the EU’s preferred tool for engaging Islam in a ‘dialogue of civilizations’, and its central foreign economic policy in the region as a whole” (Crawford 2005, 1).

This EU-MENA multilaterality is, in fact, also not meant to exclude the US. On the contrary, these values of democracy and multilateral organizations were the same which the US supported – and now the “fear in Europe is that a disillusioned US will retreat into itself [after its recent *l’etat c’est moi* Iraq excursion] ... rather than recommitting itself to the world (Thornhill 2006). Yet, conditions, such as global infrastructures of communication and increasing awareness of common interests, which facilitate transnational cooperation between peoples have never been as favorable as today (Held et al. 1999, 5) – and it is hoped that the transatlantic alliance will continue to be supportive of the Euro-Mediterranean engagement.

Discussion

Globalization is not new. But the speed at which it expands and deepens is extraordinary. The impact of the new economic giants such as China, India and others as well as the gap between the EU and the US which is not closing are concerns to the EU (Commission of the European Communities 2005, 4). Buzan and Gonzalez-Pelaez (2005) find that an analysis of Middle Eastern society through the English School lens is helpful in understanding the traditionally non-liberal mix of interhuman, transnational and interstate social structures of the classical Islamic world in a “layered international social structure in which some norms and institutions are shared and some not” (Ibid., 11). The EMP can be understood as functioning within this interplay of interregional and global social structures².

Held (1999) states that common European values underpin each of our social models. They are the foundations of our specific European approach to economic and social policies.

There can be no partial solutions. No single country can meet the challenges alone. Acting together at a European and national level, we can give Europe a future. We can have a strong voice, projecting European vision and European values among our partners around the world ... the status quo is not an option ... growth and jobs is a truly European agenda. ... The EU’s Member States have developed their own approach reflecting their history and collective choices (Ibid., 3).

The EU’s public sector’s role of delivering high quality services of general interest through regulation or government spending and a strong ‘European dimension’ reinforces national systems on a European level (Ibid.). This type of integration can be analyzed within the EMP through the English School approach such as pursued by Buzan and Gonzalez-Pelaez (2005), briefly referred to above already. Utilizing this ontological approach, the EMP can be analyzed in terms of “second order society” (transnational order), consisting of the “power political” (the international system pillar of the traditional English School), “coexistence” (the core institutions of international society in a pluralist diplomatic, territorial, legal and great power management balance), the “cooperative” within the public domain (i.e. “beyond coexistence but short of extensive domestic convergence”, Ibid., 13) and lastly, “convergence” (referring to “the development of a substantial enough range of shared values within a set of states to make them adopt similar political, legal and economic forms). This more Kantian form of solidarism is differentiated from cosmopolitanism (Ibid.) as the “key primary institutions of sovereignty,

² in the widest sense, including cultural and economic-political as they are affected by the social

territoriality, diplomacy, international law and nationalism became internalized more or less worldwide [including in the EMP], they are no longer depending on the coercion that originally delivered them to the non-Western world” (Ibid.). This would argue against the EMP as a European neo-colonial instrument. Were one to make a detailed institutional analysis of the MENA region in the 20th century, one would find traditionally (i.e. pre-EMP) the “master institutions” (in Gonzales-Pelaez’ terminology, 2005) such as diplomacy, territoriality, equality of people, markets and nationalism, but derivative institutions, such as alliances, multilateralism, bilateralism, trade liberalization, and self-determination less well developed in favor of conflict, patron-client relationships, and dynastic principles. One of the hopes by its founders is for EMP derivative institutions to become “cooperatively institutionalized” (in Buzan’s terminology, 2005) for the region as a whole.

The diffusion of EU norms in MENA in the context of globalization is also significant in the fight against terrorism which cannot be fought with military means alone:

apart from international law, tolerance and respect for other cultures should be the maxims of actions ... Islamic motivated terrorism can only be successfully fought if we encourage the democratic and economic development in the affected crisis regions and achieve more respect for human rights (Merkel in Spiegel Online 9/11/2006).

Democracy Watch (2006) reports a significant increase in the pervasiveness of democracy, respect of human rights and civil liberties in the Arab world along several parameters, although a stage of peaceful, substantive democratization is not yet reached in the Magreb and Mashrig.

Conclusions

The EMP is primarily a regional multilateral mechanism, enhanced by bilateral relations between member states. The fact that the US and the former Soviet Union both were essentially its godparents rather invalidates some claims (e.g. Crawford 2005) that it is an imperialistic tool of the EU to out-do the US. However, the synergy between the EU and MENA member states makes it a truly cooperative Euro-Mediterranean project, rather than the reverse of this hypothesis as one might suspect, a “colonial project” by the US or the Soviet Union.

Aid and debt relief have not improved stability in Africa overall and developing countries rather need to commit themselves to good *policies* (Williamson and Beattie 2006). Indeed, it is a project of mutual learning on both shores of the Mediterranean, the traditional Judeo-Christian club of the EU opening itself socio-culturally to the Muslim world (in tandem, of course, with Turkey’s actual accession proceedings) and actively engaging itself politically and economically, and with the reciprocal true for the MENA member states. While the bilateral “track” addresses characteristics specific to the relations between the EU and each Mediterranean partner, the regional dimension of the EMP covers simultaneously region-wide economic, political and cultural cooperation. The “regional cooperation has a considerable strategic impact as it deals with problems that are common to many Mediterranean Partners [due to the partially shared history of MENA, for example], while it emphasizes the national complementarities” (European Commission Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona Process website).

The significance of approaching the EMP from a constructivist standpoint is that constructivists think that culture matters in that it is inherently *socially* constructed, not foremost rooted in blood and soil (Reus-Smit 2005, 211). English School writers, such as Hedley Bull, prefer to think of international relations not only in terms of competition for power and wealth, but also holding particular rights, entitlements and obligations, i.e. as a society of states with cosmopolitan values (e.g. Grande and Beck 2004). We do not live in a borderless world, regardless of whether from a standpoint of extreme extrapolation of globalization, or in the basic sense of Bedouin migration for example, loosely organized according to bloodline.

Reitan (2002) reminds us that Neo-realism and Neo-liberalism as international relations approaches are ‘undersocialized’, paying too little attention to how actors and social structures

become constructed (Wendt 1999, 4-5 in *Ibid.*). A Constructivist focus would be on the processes which

seek to facilitate greater understanding of identity and interest formation and transformation, structural and institutional constitution, unique re-conception of power, and the ontology and construction of the social world and how social change happens within it (Reitan 2002, 2).

This is, in my opinion, significant in the wider globalization setting, such as an analysis of the dynamics within the EMP as well to capture not simply power gains and expansion spheres of political interest considerations, but to address the socio-cultural aspects of economic integration and eliminate dependencies in terms of the English School writers, such as Hedley Bull might, and hereby achieve the political harmonization within the area of the EMP which the European Coal and Steel Community achieved after World War II.

In the absence of another alternative for peaceful coexistence, we observe how the agreements between the EMP states contribute to an interdependence between them, enhancing the zone of increased trust (through predictable and stable institutions) as well as peace and prosperity due to functioning market economies, accountability and transparency. The EMP also contributes to a reduction of economic boundaries and cultural prejudices. This would serve to counteract the marginalization of MENA in the globalization processes and contribute to the stabilization of this region politically through economic integration with its neighbors across the Magreb and Mashreq as well as with the EU. Perhaps Robert Putnam's proposal (in Lloyd, 2006) can be applied to the members of the EMP: "What we shouldn't do is to say that they should be more like us. We should construct a new 'us'" such as a regional Euro-Mediterranean "us".

The EMP celebrated its tenth anniversary and is set to continue to grow with the support of an expanded MEDA budget, to further continue its mandate of economic, political and cultural cooperation such as addressing the de-pollution of the Mediterranean Sea by 2020 through a reduction of industrial (e.g. ship) emissions, and municipal/urban waste as well as stemming the decline in local fishery stocks and to provide safe drinking water to millions of citizens in conferences (such as the Third Global conference on Oceans, Coasts and Islands in January 2006 in Paris, the Third International Meeting for the Future of the Blue Planet in January in Boulogne, France, the Sharing the Fish Conference in February in Perth, Australia, the Envirowater Conference in Delft, the Netherlands, etc.) (Horizon 2020 Bulletin 2006) and the EuroMed 2004 International Water, Wastewater and Desalination Exhibition (ace-events 2004). Progress continues to be monitored through improvements in reliable and consistent data collection and identification of "synergies with existing actors in the Mediterranean region"

European Parliament President Borrell presented the President of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, to the EU parliamentary plenary session in May 2006 as "the umbilical cord linking to the path of peace in the region" (Euromed Synopsis 2006) and requested support of the international community to give the new Palestinian government the chance to adapt to the basic requirements of the international community. This was a symbolic example of the significance of the EU, in this case through the EMP process, in contributing to regional peace: The synergy between pursuing an agenda for domestic and regional development and facilitated international cooperation and rules, which guarantee "policy space" for the developing countries of MENA, represents an approach to follow the recommendation by made by Jose Antonio Ocampo (2006) of UN EcoSoc to close the economic (and with it, hopefully socio-political) gaps in global income contribution in this part of the world, i.e. MENA) and contribute to the leap to a better, more inclusive form of globalization (*Ibid.*).

Should we not achieve this, we need to consider an alternative outcome (Mishkin 2006): "Could there be another Great Reversal in which globalization retreats and the world suffers political, social and economic upheaval and destruction? The answer is yes".

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