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THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

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No. 2/2001

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En tant que membre du personnel de l'OTAN vous pouvez emprunter des livres (Type: M) pour une période d'un mois et des revues pour une semaine. Les livres de référence (Type: REF) sont à consulter sur place. Les personnes n'appartenant pas à l'OTAN peuvent s'adresser à leur bibliothèque locale et emprunter des ouvrages via le système de prêt interbibliothèques.

PART I : BOOKS

PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES*

The 50 Years of NATO Seen from the Mediterranean Region - Rome : Emilio Tomaselli Art Director, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

144 p. : ill. ; 29 cm.

ID number: 80015927

Type: M

Library Location: 495.2 /00141

Subject(s):

1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Coccia, Maurizio, ed.

Co-operation and Security in the Mediterranean : Prospects after Barcelona - Malta : Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:9990955077

258 p. ; 21 cm.

ID number: 80016778

Type: M

Library Location: 449 /00033

Subject(s):

1. EMP

2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. University of Malta. Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MT)

2. Bin, Alberto, ed.

Contributions to the International Colloquium, Malta, 22-23 March 1996.

'To examine current security trends and prospects for co-operation in the Mediterranean in the wake of the Barcelona Conference, the Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies organized a two-day Colloquium to promote a constructive exchange of views on issues of security, stability and co-operation in the Mediterranean following the establishment of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. It brought together over thirty experts from the Mediterranean region, Europe and the US, representing governments, international organizations, foreign policy institutes and the academic community. The papers collected in Part One and Part Two discuss the outcome of the Barcelona Conference as seen from the Northern and Southern rim of the Mediterranean respectively. Part Three examines various aspects of Mediterranean security and co-operation.'

* This list contains material received as of January 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 31 janvier 2001.

Die Lage im ostlichen Mittelmeerraum als Aspekt deutscher
Sicherheitspolitik - Baden-Baden : Nomos, 1997.
ISBN/ISSN:3789047651
170 p.; 23 cm.
(Schriftenreihe des Verbandes der Reservisten der Deutschen Bundeswehr
e.V.: Wehrdienst und Gesellschaft ; 4)
ID number: 80014475 Type: M
Library Location: 355.4 /01202
Subject(s):
1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
Added entry(s):
1. Trummer, Peter, ed.
2. Fleischer, Sabine, ed.
3. Puhs, Wolfgang, ed.

De Euro-Mediterrane samenwerking : basishypotheses en resultaten :
proceedings = Vers un partenariat euro-mediterraneen : les paris et les
promesses : proceedings - [s.l.] : Koninklijk Hoger Instituut voor
Defensie, 1996.
ISBN/ISSN:
59 p.; 30 cm.
ID number: 80013421 Type: M
Library Location: 449 /00029
Subject(s):
1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Added entry(s):
1. Koninklijk Hoger Instituut voor Defensie (BE)
2. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense (BE)
Colloquium 21 februari 1996 = colloque 21 fevrier 1996.

Histoire de la Mediterranee - Paris : Seuil, 1998.
ISBN/ISSN:2020303620
619 p. : ill.; 22 cm.
ID number: 80015487 Type: M
Library Location: 941 /00013
Subject(s):
1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--HISTORY
Added entry(s):
1. Carpentier, Jean, ed.
2. Lebrun, Francois, ed.
Bibliography: p. 583-587. Includes index.
'Voici une histoire, scientifique et vivante, de la 'mer interieure'
et des peuples qui habitent sur ses bords depuis les lointaines
origines jusqu'a nos jours, voici un livre qui situe les quatre cent
millions d'habitants actuels dans un site habite depuis la
prehistoire et qui a ete le theatre de migrations, d'echanges, de
conflits, de catastrophes naturelles qui en ont fait un mare nostrum
borde de continents parfois a la derive.'

Les iles et la securite en Mediterranee? - Nice : L'Europe en formation,
1991.
ISBN/ISSN:2855051223
190 p.; 22 cm.
(Cahiers ; 5)
ID number: 80007360 Type: M
Library Location: 355.4 /00987
Subject(s):
1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
Added entry(s):
1. Observatoire Strategique Mediterranee (FR)
Actes du Colloque International, organise a Nice et Toulon, du 14 au
18 mai 1990, par l'Observatoire Strategique Mediterranee, l'Institut
Europeen des Hautes Etudes Internationales de Nice, et l'Institut
Mediterraneen d'Etudes Strategiques de Toulon.

Mediterranean Security Into the Coming Millennium - Carlisle Barracks, PA
: US Army War College, 1999.
ISBN/ISSN:1584870036
v, 516 p.; 23 cm.
ID number: 80016036 Type: M
Library Location: 355.4 /01241
Subject(s):
1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
Added entry(s):
1. Blank, Stephen J., ed.
2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

La Mediterranee : nouveaux defis, nouveaux risques - Paris :
Publisud-Case, 1995.
ISBN/ISSN:286600728X
255 p. : ill.; 23 cm.
ID number: 80011937 Type: M
Library Location: 327 /00907
Subject(s):
1. GEOPOLITICS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
3. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--FOREIGN RELATIONS
Added entry(s):
1. Daguzan, Jean-Francois, ed.
2. Girardet, Raoul, ed.
3. Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres (FR)
4. Ministere de l'Enseignement Superieur et de la Recherche (FR)
5. OTAN. Service de l'Information
'Aucune approche de ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler 'les problemes de
defense' ne saurait aujourd'hui se borner a la seule attention
accordee aux forces militaires, a leurs systemes d'armement, a leurs
modes d'organisation ou d'encadrement. Pese de plus en plus
lourdement, dans l'analyse des potentiels militaires des nations, la
prise en compte des donnees economiques, demographiques, culturelles
ou ideologiques... De meme, l'analyse des conflits presents ou
virtuels de cette fin de siecle ne peut-elle se reduire a l'evocation
des litiges territoriaux, des querelles de frontiere ou des rivalites
de puissance. Ce sont, dépassant les contours des Etats et des
nations, des zones de fragilite ou de virtualite conflictuelle que la
geopolitique tend de plus en plus a dessiner sur les cartes du
globe.'

Mediterranee occidentale : securite et cooperation - Paris : Fondation
pour les Etudes de Defense Nationale, 1992.
ISBN/ISSN:2857891008
261 p.; 24 cm.
ID number: 80014975 Type: M
Library Location: 355.4 /01219
Subject(s):
1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. EU--AFRICA, NORTH
3. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Added entry(s):
1. Dumas, Marie-Lucy, ed.
2. Fondation pour les Etudes de Defense Nationale (FR)
Bibliography: p. 259-262.
'En Mediterranee occidentale, les quatre de l'Europe du Sud (Portugal,
Espagne, France et Italie) et les Cinq de l'Union du Maghreb Arabe
(Mauritanie, Maroc, Algerie, Tunisie et Libye) ont developpe, depuis
de nombreuses annees, des relations particulieres dont on connait bien
les disequilibres. Mais on connait moins bien ce que ces pays peuvent
avoir ou mettre en commun en matiere d'economie, de droit, de gestion
des ressources, etc. ou bien en matiere de securite dans la zone. Les
realisations concretes et les propositions communes passent par une
meilleure connaissance des uns et des autres, par l'identification et
le demontage des images et des prejuges qui entravent cooperation et
securite, et par la mise en valeur des initiatives a cet egard. Plus

que dans toute autre region, mentalites et relations ont une influence reciproque. Dans un environnement rendu pls clair par la fin de la Guerre froide, mais en pleine transition, les dix prochaines annees sont ouvertes a l'alternative : aggravation ou reduction des differences entre les deux rives de la Mediterranee. La volonte politique est necessaire de part et d'autre pour que cet enjeu majeur - la securite par la cooperation et la democratie - devienne la preoccupation prioritaire des Europeens et des Maghrebins.'

Seguranca no Mediterraneo e Medio Oriente : seminario - Lisboa : Instituto da Defesa Nacional, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:9729393060

151 p.; 21 cm.

ID number: 80008248 Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01035

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. MIDDLE EAST--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Instituto da Defesa Nacional (PT)

Southern European Security in the 1990s - London : Pinter, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:1855670232

xi, 147 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80008647 Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01053

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE, SOUTHERN--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Aliboni, Roberto, ed.

Bibliography: p. 136-142. Includes index.

'This timely volume brings together experts from all the countries concerned, to assess the issues facing the region in the 1990s. One scenario presented is that the West's current preoccupation with Eastern Europe will lead to the marginalisation of the Southern European region. From a Western viewpoint, this perspective cannot be ignored; firstly because the Gulf War and continuing repercussions of crisis in the Middle East have led to renewed strategic concerns about the Eastern Mediterranean, but secondly and most crucially, because the security of the Southern European region is vital to the cohesion of the European Community as a whole.'

Aghrout, Ahmed

From Preferential Status to Partnership : The Euro-Maghreb Relationship - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:0754615383

x, 207 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80017001 Type: M

Library Location: 449 /00034

Subject(s):

1. EU--AFRICA, NORTH
2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Bibliography: p. 187-200. Includes index.

'The subject of the Euro-Maghreb relations is of increasing importance to specialists of the European Union (EU) and its institutions as well as scholars and students of Middle East studies, Development studies, Security studies and International economics. This approach successfully mixes historical, political and economic analysis in a style which is both readable, cogent and scholarly. It moves from general principles and determinants to the growing cooperation between the European Community and Maghreb states and continues further to analyze recent problems in Maghreb countries and the EU's responses to them. The study concludes that a more assertive EU presence and active role in Maghreb is needed, otherwise there will be damaging costs for the already fragile regional stability.'

Aliboni, Roberto

La securite europeenne a travers la Mediterranee - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 50 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 2)

ID number: 80011233

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01118

Subject(s):

1. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

El Bekri, Mohamed Ali

Vers de nouvelles relations entre l'Europe et le Maghreb - Bruxelles :

Institut Royal Superieur de Defense, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

vi, 93 p.; 21 cm.

(Securite et Strategie)

ID number: 80013595

Type: M

Library Location: 449 /00030

Subject(s):

1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

2. AFRICA, NORTH--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

3. AFRICA, NORTH--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

4. EU--AFRICA, NORTH

Added entry(s):

1. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense. Centre d'Etudes de Defense (BE)

Bibliography: p. 88-93.

'Quel a ete l'apport de la cooperation europeenne pour le Maghreb ? Cette cooperation a-t-elle ete a la hauteur des esperances et des enjeux existants ? A-t-elle permis d'asseoir des economies fortes, capables de pourvoir aux besoins des populations locales et d'envisager l'avenir avec optimisme ? Ou faudra-t-il mettre en place un veritable partenariat pour instaurer une zone de paix et de securite durable en Mediterranee a l'aube du troisieme millenaire ? Dans un premier chapitre consacre a la definition et a l'evolution de l'espace maghrebin, l'auteur essaie de donner un apercu de l'aspiration a l'unite maghebaine et d'analyser les facteurs entravant et favorisant cette demarche. Dans un deuxieme chapitre consacre a l'importance des relations Euro-Maghreb, il tente d'identifier les menaces perçues et les interets en jeu aussi bien du cote europeen que du cote maghrebin, afin de pouvoir ulterieurement determiner le type de cooperation necessaire entre l'Europe et le Maghreb, pour repondre aux besoins securitaires et satisfaire les interets en jeu. Dans un troisieme chapitre consacre au bilan de la cooperation euro-maghebaine, il essaie de determiner si la cooperation passee a repondu aux attentes des parties concernees et si la cooperation presente et future seront a la hauteur des enjeux identifiées dans le chapitre precedent. Enfin, le quatrieme chapitre est consacre a l'analyse des contraintes et des difficultes pouvant entraver les futures relations euro-maghebaines et a l'elaboration de suggestions visant a les renforcer.'

Brown, James, 1934-

Delicately Poised Allies : Greece and Turkey : Problems, Policy Choices and Mediterranean Security - 1st ed. - London : Brassey's Defence Publications, 1991.

ISBN/ISSN:0080376894

xv, 184 p.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80005885

Type: M

Library Location: 495.2 /00109

Subject(s):

1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. GREECE--NATIONAL SECURITY
4. TURKEY--NATIONAL SECURITY
5. NATO--GREECE
6. NATO--TURKEY

Includes index.

'This is a comprehensive study of the political and national security policies of Greece and Turkey and how their actions and interactions have influenced NATO's strategies in the South Eastern Flank'.

Dejeant-Pons, Maguelonne

La Mediterranee en droit international de l'environnement - Paris :

Economica, 1990.

ISBN/ISSN:2717817670

374 p.; 24 cm.

(Cooperation et developpement)

ID number: 80005344

Type: M

Library Location: 341.2 /00201

Subject(s):

1. ENVIRONMENTAL LAW--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. ENVIRONMENTAL LAW, INTERNATIONAL

Added entry(s):

1. Universite d'Aix-Marseille III. Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales et Communautaires (FR)

Bibliography: p. 313-335. Includes index.

Echeverria, Carlos

Cooperation in Peacekeeping among the Euro-Mediterranean Armed Forces - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:

x, 39 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 35)

ID number: 80015607

Type: M

Library Location: 355.2 /00224

Subject(s):

1. INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES
2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--ARMED FORCES
3. EUROPE--MILITARY RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

'Cooperative security will increasingly replace the traditional balance of forces mechanisms, to the extent that multilateralism spreads as the means by which states are coping with the manifold new challenges to the prosperity and security of their citizens. The borderline between international humanitarian concerns and the definition of national interests is therefore also fading. The need to utilize military instruments for non-military purposes is indeed broadly accepted. But how these 'peacekeeping operations' should be undertaken depends on specified circumstances. In order to be effective and sustainable over time, they rely on the consent and participation of recipients as much as on institutional legitimacy. When the Berlin wall crumbled, the fear was expressed that the reintegration of Europe might occur at the expense of Mediterranean requirements. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership launched by the EU in 1995, an essentially political endeavour, should have dispelled this notion. And yet, security cooperation is still kept waiting at its margins, clearly in need of a more confident attitude, including

by Europe's Mediterranean partners. This Chaillot Paper, written by a former research fellow of this Institute following a seminar on Mediterranean countries' approaches to peacekeeping held at the Institute in June 1997, seeks to demonstrate that the experience and confidence acquired by the armed forces of non-European Mediterranean nations in many peacekeeping operations can be put to good use for broader, region-wide initiatives. But, as WEU moves closer to EU, EU's approach to the Mediterranean can only be demand-driven, proactive. The considerations expressed here are submitted to a wider debate between WEU and its Mediterranean partners, in the promotion of the security dialogue that WEU has been developing with them.'

Faria, Fernanda

Security in Northern Africa : Ambiguity and Reality - Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

51 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 25)

ID number: 80013552

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01174

Additional Author(s):

1. Vasconcelos, Alvaro

Subject(s):

1. AFRICA, NORTH--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. AFRICA, NORTH--MILITARY POLICY

3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

4. WEU

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

'The basic argument of this paper is that differences in language and perceptions of security between the two shores of the Mediterranean remain. In this area, the very notion of security, while not identical in all countries, embraces a wider concept than elsewhere. Policies and strategies are suggested that take account of the special conditions in the region. The second part of the paper includes individual studies of non-WEU Mediterranean states that are engaged in a security dialogue with WEU, with the addition of Libya.'

Gillespie, Richard

Spain and the Mediterranean : Developing a European Policy towards the South - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:0333725832

xiii, 226 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80016145

Type: M

Library Location: 327 /01005

Subject(s):

1. SPAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--FOREIGN RELATIONS--SPAIN

3. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Bibliography: p. 202-211. Includes index.

'This is the first comprehensive study of Spanish Mediterranean policy. After providing a historical overview, it examines how the country's transition to democracy affected its Mediterranean relationships, especially those with Morocco and Algeria. The book shows how, subsequently, Spain has developed a 'global' Mediterranean policy, extending beyond North Africa to the Near East, and how Spaniards have come to play an influential role in the European Union through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership : a multilateral response to instability in the South. Recent experience calls into question the adequacy of this response. Spanish and EU Mediterranean policy is marked by various tensions : between seeking to reduce the North-South divide and pursuing self-serving economic strategies, between advocating inter-cultural dialogue and feeling threatened by immigration, and between attempting to promote democracy and cooperating with regimes that violate human rights. Spain's pragmatic Mediterranean diplomacy has helped reduce these

tensions, but the contradictions remain.'

Lansford, Tom

Looking South : France and Regional Security in the Mediterranean -
Norfolk, VA : Old Dominion University, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:

23 p.; 28 cm.

(GPIS Working Paper ; 96.7)

ID number: 80013926

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01187

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EUROPE--NATIONAL SECURITY--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Old Dominion University (US)

Larrabee, F. Stephen

Mediterranean Security : New Issues and Challenges - Santa Monica, CA :
Rand Corporation, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:0833023845

xi, 39 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80015462

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01228

Additional Author(s):

1. Thorson, Carla

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)
2. NATO Office of Information and Press
Conference Proceedings, Brussels, October 15-17, 1995.

Lesser, Ian O., 1957-

Mediterranean Security : New Perspectives and Implications for U.S. Policy
- Santa Monica, CA : Rand, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:0833012800

xv, 125 p.; 23 cm.

(R-4178-AF)

ID number: 80008137

Type: M

Library Location: 355.4 /01032

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--FLANKS--SOUTHERN FLANK

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Bibliography: p. 119-125.

'This report documents research on the effects of the changing
strategic environment in Europe and around the Mediterranean on the
countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Southern Region
and the implications for U.S. policy and strategy.'

Lesser, Ian O., 1957-

Strategic Exposure : Proliferation around the Mediterranean - Santa
Monica, CA : RAND Corporation, 1996.

ISBN/ISSN:083302373X

xviii, 107 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80014874

Type: M

Library Location: 623 /00834

Additional Author(s):

1. Tellis, Ashley J.

Subject(s):

1. WEAPONS PROLIFERATION--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. WMD--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Bibliography: p. 101-107.

'The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction - nuclear, chemical, and biological - and the means for their delivery at ever longer ranges is a leading issue in the post-Cold War debate about international security, and a prominent concern of US policymakers and strategists. Nowhere are the effects of proliferation trends more keenly felt than around the Mediterranean, where the spread of such weapons across North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean places NATO's southern allies - Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey and France - at particular risk. The authors explore these proliferation trends and discuss the implications for European security and US and NATO policy. In a detailed, country-by-country analysis, the authors find that key states south and east of the Mediterranean either possess or are in the process of acquiring 'WMDs', along with the means for delivering these weapons across the Mediterranean. Within ten years, it is possible that every southern European capital will be within range of ballistic missiles based in North Africa. Because vulnerable allies may be reluctant to commit forces or even to support US action, European exposure to WMD risks will directly affect the United States and NATO. At a minimum, a Europe at risk will demand increasing reassurance and deterrence against these risks, and US and NATO policymakers must reappraise alliance strategy with WMD threats from the Middle East in mind.'

Pierros, Filippos

Bridges and Barriers : the European Union's Mediterranean Policy, 1961-1998 - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate, 1999.

ISBN/ISSN:1840144475

viii, 336 p.; 22 cm.

ID number: 80016015

Type: M

Library Location: 449 /00032

Additional Author(s):

1. Meunier, Jacob

2. Abrams, Stan

Subject(s):

1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

2. EMP

3. EEC--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Bibliography: p. 274-325. Includes index.

'This is a detailed study of the European Union's Mediterranean Policy from the initial agreements in the 1960s to the recent

'Euro-Mediterranean Partnership'. The scope of this analysis includes the Maghreb and Mashreq countries in addition to Turkey,

Malta, Israel, the Occupied Territories and Cyprus. The authors

argue that the limited success of trade and development policy in

this region resulted from endogenous and exogenous factors. Examples

of the former include the lack of the political will necessary to

implement trade, aid, and reform policies, while the latter include

the energy crisis of the 1970s, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the

Cold War.'

Pugh, Michael

Europe's Boat People : Maritime Cooperation in the Mediterranean - Paris :
Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union, 2000.

ISBN/ISSN:

v, 74 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 41)

ID number: 80016660

Type: M

Library Location: 325 /00088

Subject(s):

1. REFUGEES--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

3. EMP

Added entry(s):

1. Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union (FR)

'This paper suggests a new perspective on maritime cooperation in the

Mediterranean, focusing on the 'boat people' issue as an aspect of the new European security agenda. In particular, it looks at the western Mediterranean, where there are foundations for maritime cooperation between France, Italy and Spain on the one hand and southern Mediterranean states on the other. Boat people are a significant factor in global migration. The issue is, moreover, perceived as having reached crisis proportions; trafficking in people is closely linked to transnational crime; and boat people constitute an issue for humanitarianism. Responses to the boat people issue necessarily form part of wider transmediterranean relations, in particular the EU's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). The EMP process seems to provide an overarching security framework for the Mediterranean that could obviously include seaborne refugees and migrants. Several promising routes to cooperative security could be investigated : via the continuation of bilateral measures; through the EMP pilot scheme for disaster management; in the context of the CFSP's 'common strategy' on the Mediterranean; and within the projected Euro-Mediterranean Charter for peace and stability.'

Redmond, John, 1953-

The Next Mediterranean Enlargement of the European Community : Turkey, Cyprus and Malta? - Aldershot, UK : Dartmouth, 1993.

ISBN/ISSN:1855212811

viii, 157 p.; 23 cm.

ID number: 80010374 Type: M

Library Location: 449 /00022

Subject(s):

1. EEC--TURKEY
2. EEC--CYPRUS
3. EEC--MALTA
4. EEC--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Bibliography: p. 145-154. Includes index.

'This book examines the prospect for Turkey, Cyprus and Malta of their accession to the EC, concluding that it is unlikely any of them (and especially Turkey) will be at the front of the queue. Consequently, it goes on to set their applications in a broader context and considers what, realistically, these countries can expect to be offered and what their role might be in the new emerging European Community.'

Stearns, Monteagle, 1924-

Entangled Allies : U.S. Policy Toward Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus - New York : Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1992.

ISBN/ISSN:0876091109

xv, 185 p. : ill.; 24 cm.

ID number: 80007383 Type: M

Library Location: 327 /00772

Subject(s):

1. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
3. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--GREECE
4. GREECE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
5. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--TURKEY
6. TURKEY--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
7. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--CYPRUS
8. CYPRUS--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA

Includes index.

'Monteagle Stearns, U.S. Ambassador to Greece from 1981-1985, argues that resolving the differences among the three countries is vital to U.S. strategic interests. He presents an overview of Greek-Turkish problems, including their current dispute over the Aegean to command and control, and others. Stearns also addresses whether Cyprus is a symptom of Greek-Turkish tensions or their root cause'.

Stenhouse, Mark

NATO and Mediterranean Security : The New Central Region - London :

Brassey's, 1994.

ISBN/ISSN:

61 p.; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 22)

ID number: 80010333

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1. George, Bruce

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1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

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3. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

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Tovias, Alfred

Options for Mashrek-Israeli Regionalism in the Context of the

Euro-Mediterranean Partnership - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies, 1997.

ISBN/ISSN:9290792264

ii, 90 p.; 21 cm.

(CEPS Paper ; 67)

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Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--COMMERCE

2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Bibliography: p. 81-90.

'Since the latest takeoff of the Middle East process following the 1993 Oslo Agreement, the issue of economic cooperation in the Middle East seems to have become closer to realisation than ever before. This CEPS Paper sets out to review possible scenarios for economic cooperation in the light of the present Middle East reality. It examines the full range of possible arrangements among countries that wish to reap the benefits of regional economic cooperation without paying a prohibitive price, whether economic or political. This is done by studying the economic and political reality in the Middle East and checking it against theoretical models developed for regional economic arrangements and actual cases of successful and unsuccessful arrangements in other parts of the world. The author bases his analysis on the assumption that, at least in the case of the passage from war to peace in the Middle East, economic cooperation is a measure that will initially be adopted for political purposes. Only after the political hurdles have been overcome may economic developments allow partners to draw closer and consider tighter forms of economic cooperation. This implies a gradual process beginning with less compromising forms of cooperation and moving up step by step. A sine qua non for success in this strategy would be to convince the key players, which are primarily public and private sector firms, that functional integration is not a zero-sum game, i.e. if one side wins, the other doesn't necessarily lose. Another vital requirement is the ability to ensure that gains from cooperation between former enemies would be fairly shared between them.'

PART II : MAGAZINE ARTICLES

DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES**

- The Barcelona Process : Building a Euro-Mediterranean Regional Community.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 2000, Special Issue.

- Cooperation and Stability in the Mediterranean : An Agenda for Partnership.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 29, no. 3, July - September 1994, p. 5-20.

- Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Areas : Commercial Implications.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 4, no. 2, Summer 1999, Special Issue.

- The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership : Political and Economic Perspectives.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 2, no. 1, Summer 1997, Whole Issue.

- La Méditerranée dans la vie internationale (7 articles).
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES, no. 87, automne 1996, p. 241-344.

- La Méditerranée, enjeu stratégique (plusieurs articles).
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 53ème année, octobre 1997, p. 5-66.

- Western Approaches to the Mediterranean.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 2, Autumn 1996, Special Issue.

- Abadie, Damien Sanges d'
The EU after Amsterdam : Still Towards the Mediterranean ?
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 3, Winter 1998, p. 81-92.

- Aguirre, Mariano
The Limits of Conflict Prevention and the Mediterranean Case.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 3, Winter 1998, p. 21-37.

Conflict prevention is gaining importance in the field of international relations theory and decision making processes. Multilateral organizations and states usually respond to existing conflicts too late. In their responses, they try to manage conflicts and reduce the level of violence, but generally they do not address the roots of the problem. This approach is fading in conflicts that have profound structural roots especially where the problems are a mix of economic, ethnic and religious factors. The outcome after a short period of pacification is the re-emergence of hostilities. There is an increasing tendency and consensus on the need to understand the roots of modern wars in order to adopt appropriate policies before, during and after the conflicts. 'Understanding (the) structural components can contribute to the development of more realistic strategies to dealing with civil wars. External agents are unlikely to have a great deal of influence over the elements of irrationality and contested values and identities that underlie many protracted conflicts.'

** This list contains material received as of January 2001 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 31 janvier 2001.

- Aliboni, Roberto
The Mediterranean Scenario : Economy and Security in the Regions South
of the EC.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 25, no. 2, April - June 1990, p. 138-154.

- Aliboni, Roberto
Political Dialogue and Conflict Prevention in the Euro-Mediterranean
Partnership.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 1, January - March 2000, p.
103-114.

The first part of this article discusses a number of possible models of Euro-Med political dialogue and tries to ascertain which one appears most in tune with the broad goals of the EMP, as well as sustainable with respect to the political conditions prevailing in the EMP sphere. On the assumption that the most important and attainable goal of the EMP, at least in the foreseeable future, is conflict prevention, the second part considers EPD as a mechanism of conflict prevention in itself, as well as a mover of other instruments for conflict prevention.

- Aliboni, Roberto
Re-Setting the Euro-Mediterranean Security Agenda.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 33, no. 4, October - December 1998, p.
11-15.

The author offers a critical view concerning the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, known also as the Barcelona Process, focusing on the structural causes that have prevented the implementation of its security cooperation goals so far. The author also puts forward a series of policy suggestions for re-setting the EMP short- and medium-term agenda with an eye to establishing a real conflict prevention capacity, creating a less EU-centric institutional setting and making possible a sub-regional approach.

- Aliboni, Roberto
Securite et stabilite : les nouveaux enjeux du Partenariat
euro-mediterraneen.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 40, hiver 2000 - 2001, p.
43-48.

Cinq ans apres la signature de la Declaration de Barcelone, le Partenariat euro-mediterraneen devrait, a l'occasion du sommet de Marseille, connaitre des avancees significatives. Outre l'adoption de la Charte euro-mediterraneenne pour la paix et la stabilite, c'est a une veritable renegotiation de la Declaration de Barcelone a laquelle on devrait assister. En effet, on constate le passage d'une conception de la securite comprenant principalement une dimension militaire a une approche que l'on pourrait qualifier de 'Soft Security', c'est-a-dire une conception basee sur des principes de stabilite civile et socioeconomique. Neanmoins, les engagements recents de l'Union europeenne dans les domaines de la defense et de la securite ont suscite quelques inquietudes chez les pays de la rive sud de la Mediterranee dont le sommet de Marseille pourrait se faire l'echo.

- Asmus, Ronald D.
Larrabee, F. Stephen
Lesser, Ian O.
Mediterranean Security : New Challenges, New Tasks.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 44, no. 3, May 1996, p. 25-31.

The authors argue that, with the end of the Cold War, the Mediterranean, which has often been considered Europe's strategic backwater, is now a region where the Alliance may be most likely to face new challenges. However, US and European allies lack a shared view of the problems in the area and hence a coordinated strategy to deal with them. NATO's recent Mediterranean initiative represents an important step in the right direction although there is as yet no clear consensus on the content or ultimate aim of this initiative. NATO enlargement to the East should remain a top priority but it needs to be complemented by a greater outreach to the South if these new challenges are to be managed. While this article is intended to contribute to a discussion of these issues, it does not necessarily reflect the views of member governments or of NATO.

- Axt, Heinz-Jurgen
Konflikttriade im Ostlichen Mittelmeer : die Türkei, Griechenland und Zypern.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1996, S. 33-38.

- Baklanov, A.
NATO Mediterranean Dialog.
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 2, 2000, p. 111-115.

- Barbe, Esther
The Barcelona Conference : Launching Pad of a Process.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 1, Summer 1996, p. 25-42.

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Initiative marks a shift in EU Mediterranean policy from bilateral economic agreements to a multilateral approach. The Barcelona Conference was above all a political gesture, an act of political recognition of the Euro-Mediterranean dimensions of socio-economic realities and security concerns. The EU is now allocating more resources to its Mediterranean neighbours, and the conference itself created a propitious atmosphere for greater agreement. However, important differences were expressed over political and security questions, and the section of the Barcelona-approved Work Programme relating to such matters is the shortest and least precise. Official Spanish satisfaction over the conference must be set against more sceptical 'alternative' responses that point to a persisting European proclivity to impose its cultural values and economic interests on the South.

- Benblidia, Mohamed
Margat, Jean
Vallee, Domitille
Penuries d' eau prochaines en Mediterranee ?
FUTURIBLES, no. 233, juillet - aout 1998, p. 5-29.

Vitale par excellence, l'eau risque d'etre au XXIe siecle l'objet d'enjeux majeurs et un facteur limitant fondamental a l'encontre du developpement. En temoignent les remarquables travaux du Plan Bleu sur l'avenir du Bassin mediterraneen dont sont tirees les perspectives aux horizons 2010 et 2025 ici presentees. Les ressources en eau sont rares, fragiles et inegalement reparties dans l'espace (86 % au nord du bassin contre 14 % au sud) et entre les populations (plus de 10 000 m3 par habitant en moyenne dans les Balkans contre moins de 100 m3 a Gaza ou l'indice d'exploitation atteint deja 100 %). Elles sont en outre sujettes a des usages conflictuels, par exemple entre les besoins en eau potable domestique - qui ne feront que croitre particulierement au sud et a l'est, la ou la croissance demographique et l'urbanisation seront les

plus rapides - et les besoins agricoles (irrigation). Les auteurs examinent d'abord comment pourrait évoluer la demande, en fonction des différents usages, pour montrer que - a ressources naturelles inchangées - même dans l'hypothèse la plus favorable, de nombreux pays seront confrontés des 2010 - et a fortiori, d'ici 2025 - à de graves problèmes de pauvreté et de pénurie (la Lybie parvient à un stupefiant indice d'exploitation supérieur à 2000 %!). Ils exposent ensuite quelles sont les perspectives en terme d'offre en partant d'un recensement des différentes ressources, renouvelables et non renouvelables, et en examinant quels sont les divers moyens de l'accroître (retraitement des eaux usées, dessalement de l'eau de mer, importations ...) pour montrer finalement que leur effet demeurera inévitablement limité et les pénuries inéluctables. A moins, soulignent enfin les auteurs, d'agir sur un troisième registre impliquant d'une part l'adoption d'une gestion plus économe et efficace des ressources, d'autre part un arbitrage favorisant les usages domestiques au détriment du secteur agricole. Boire ou manger apparaît ainsi comme une alternative redoutable, y compris dans l'heureuse hypothèse d'une gestion concertée pacifique de l'écosystème

- Bensidoun, Isabelle
Chevallier, Agnes
Libre-échange euro-méditerranéen : marche de dupes ou pari sur l'avenir ?
FUTURIBLES, no. 215, décembre 1996, p. 47-53.

L'Europe et les pays méditerranéens se sont engagés dans la voie de l'association. Ils ont décidé de développer une coopération politique et sociale et de constituer des zones de libre-échange : les accords d'association, déjà conclus ou en cours de négociation, prévoient la mise en place graduelle du libre-échange industriel, accompagnée d'une augmentation de l'aide financière de l'Union. Pourtant certaines voix s'élèvent pour exprimer des réticences ou, du moins, un certain scepticisme : le libre-échange ne serait-il pas un marché de dupes dont les gains n'iraient, en réalité, qu'à l'Europe ? Le risque existe, en effet, que les ruptures provoquées par l'ouverture empêchent les économies méditerranéennes, encore fragiles, de tirer bénéfice de la libéralisation. Mais, dans ce cas, l'Europe serait, elle aussi, perdante. Le projet régional est un pari sur l'avenir que font, ensemble, les pays méditerranéens et l'Union européenne. Cette dernière devra, à la fois, encourager l'ouverture méditerranéenne pour que l'option du gradualisme ne conduise pas à ajourner les réformes, intensifier la coopération pour contenir les sources de déséquilibre et, enfin, surmonter ses propres réticences à accorder une ouverture plus large de son marché aux produits agricoles méditerranéens.

- Biad, Abdelwahab
Conflict Prevention in the Euro-Med Partnership : Challenges and Prospects.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 2, April - June 1999, p. 109-122.

The author, after discussing some crucial policy dilemmas of conflict prevention, analyses the steps that can be taken to provide the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) with a substantial norm-setting and confidence-building capacity. He points out that, due to the different perceptions and political culture of the Arab countries, it would be unrealistic to think of simply duplicating the OSCE model in the Mediterranean. He argues, however, that a number of valuable conflict prevention initiatives can be undertaken in the EMP context, such as a code of conduct for naval activities, the establishment of a regional early warning system and the gradual development of the human dimension.

- Bin, Alberto
Strengthening Cooperation in the Mediterranean : NATO's Contribution.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 4, Winter 1998, p. 24-27.

As part of a broad framework of cooperation in the region, NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue seeks to improve mutual understanding and stability around the Mediterranean. Over the course of the past year, the Dialogue has demonstrated its practical value and potential to evolve, will all six Dialogue countries - Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia - taking part in numerous cooperative activities. However, Dr. Bin argues that the Dialogue's ultimate success will depend on further support of the initiative by both NATO and Dialogue countries. One way of strengthening it may be for NATO to concentrate its efforts in fields where it has a clear comparative advantage, including defence and security.

- Boyer, Yves
Europe's Future Strategic Orientation.
WASHINGTON QUARTERLY, vol. 16, no. 4, Autumn 1993, p. 141-153.

- Brauch, Hans Gunter
Energy Interdependence in the Western Mediterranean.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 3, Winter 1996, p. 295-319.

The energy dependence of European Union countries on North Africa will change fundamentally by the year 2050. The fossil reserves of Algeria and Libya will be depleted and EU member states will have to reduce their carbon dioxide emissions under the framework convention on climate change (FCCC). Simultaneously, all the North African countries will be faced with demographic pressures, ecological problems, and water and food shortages, which may result in greater pressures for their people to try to migrate to the European Union. The declining income from fossil-based energy will exacerbate these economic crises. Is there an alternative that guarantees external income for North African countries while facilitating the implementation of the FCCC by EU member states ? This could lie in a shift from fossil to solar energy exports by cable or by using hydrogen as an energy carrier. Research and development and demonstration projects on renewable energy systems for the Mediterranean indicate the possibility of satisfying the long-term energy needs of Germany and other EU members.

- Brown, Harry
Population Issues in the Middle East and North Africa.
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 140, no. 1, February 1995, p. 32-43.

- Calabrese, John
Beyond Barcelona : The Politics of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 6, no. 4, Winter 1997, p. 86-110.

This study examines the political dynamics of the struggle by, and among, the EU member states to develop the Euro-Med formula. It demonstrates that the Barcelona framework is the product of two sets of uneasy compromises : first, a Western European bargain struck mainly between southern and northern EU members, and second, trade-offs between EU members and the southern littoral countries of the Mediterranean. This study is divided into four sections. The first section sets the adoption of the Euro-Mediterranean framework against the backdrop of the evolving concept and changing structure of European security. The second discusses the conditions on Europe's southern flank which acted as the catalyst for EU efforts. The third establishes the Euro-Med partnership as the culmination of the progressive widening of the geographical and substantive scope of EU policy toward Mediterranean non-member countries (MNCs). The fourth explores the convergence of Western European interests which led to the adoption of the Euro-Med Partnership.

- Calleya, Stephen C.

The Euro-Mediterranean Process After Malta : What Prospects ?
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 2, no. 2, Autumn 1997, p. 1-22.

Developments around the Mediterranean since the launching of the Euro-Mediterranean Process (EMP) in November 1995 have underlined the fundamental fact that this geostrategic area continues to be dominated by a mosaic of distinct subregional constellations, each evolving according to their own indigenous pattern of relations. Given such a heterogeneous cluster of regional dynamics, is the EMP the correct mechanism to contend with the plethora of security challenges largely emanating along Europe's southern periphery and what can be done to make this process more effective and sustainable than it has been to date ? What are the issues at stake in this process and what relevance is this multilateral initiative having for the daily lives of the Euro-Mediterranean citizens it is essentially seeking to address ? A reality check of the significance of the Euro-Mediterranean process reveals a daunting picture of the issues and the potential results that can be achieved.

- Carlson, Adolf

NATO and North Africa : Problems and Prospects.
PARAMETERS, vol. 28, no. 3, Autumn 1998, p. 35-49.

This article explores present-day security issues pertaining to North Africa. It traces the background of those issues and outlines their current framework, concluding with recommendations for NATO military policy that will reduce the risks of confrontation and enhance the potential for a security partnership with the North African region.

- Christiansen, Thomas

Petito, Fabio

Tonra, Ben

Fuzzy Politics Around Fuzzy Borders : The European Union's 'Near Abroad'.

COOPERATION AND CONFLICT, vol. 35, no. 4, December 2000, p. 389-415.

The external borders of the European Union (EU) are becoming increasingly difficult to delineate as it exports policies to states beyond its own membership. While the EU possesses a clearly defined membership, its borders are 'fuzzy'. The purpose of this paper is to consider the impact of these 'fuzzy' borders on the EU's neighbours - and its resulting 'fuzzy' politics. Two case studies are considered : the Baltic States and the Mediterranean. In each, the authors seek to assess the impact of EU relations with these two regions. Four tentative conclusions are drawn. First, the EU is indeed surrounded by regions that can be regarded as intermediate spaces between the inside and outside of the Union, and these regions have indeed become the targets of significant 'policy-export'. Over time, the EU has developed substantial interests and significant influence in what can be called the 'near abroad'. Second, the EU does not possess a coherent policy of dealing with this 'near abroad'. An uneasy mix of initiatives often contradicts the stated goal of region-to-region relations. Third, EU relations with the two regions actually appear to serve rather opposing functions - simultaneously facilitating enlargement and non-enlargement. Finally, the regional impact of EU policies varies considerably as a consequence of the different geopolitical and institutional context in the two regions.

- Clapham, Christopher

The Political Economy of Conflict in the Horn of Africa.

SURVIVAL, vol. 32, no. 5, September - October 1990, p. 403-419.

This article examines the economic basis of insurgency in the Horn. It concludes that, viewed across the region as a whole, economic marginalization provides a better guide than ethnicity, political exclusion or even economic exploitation to the incidence of insurgency.

- Comijs, Diana
Het Euro-Mediterrane partnerschap : meer dan markt alleen.
INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 54, nr. 3, maart 2000, p. 136-140.

The author surveys the European Union's relations with the Mediterranean countries. At the international stage, the EU is considered an economic giant. At the same time it is often seen as a political mouse. It should however be emphasized that the EU maintains not only economic, but also political ties with many regions. In the 1990s the EU has redefined its relations with the Maghreb and Mashrak countries. This so-called New Mediterranean Policy has created coherence between social, economic and security issues. The policy not only aims at the creation of a free-trade zone in 2010, but the EU has also explicitly committed itself to the peace process in the Middle East. However, economic development is considered to be the catalyst of social stability. Therefore, much attention is devoted to the economic element of the partnership. But too many problems still have to be resolved in this region. The free-trade area with the EU can only be a success if mutual trade barriers of the countries concerned are eliminated.

- Corrons, Alejandro V. Lorca
Maroto, F. Alicia Almansa
Jerech, Martin
La compatibilite des frontieres 'Sud versus Est'.
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 6eme annee, no. 4, 1996, p. 324-335.

L'objet de cet article est une etude, ainsi qu'une mise en perspective, des relations entre l'Union Europeenne et les pays constituant ses frontieres : pays de la Mediterranee et d'Europe de l'Est. L'idee principale est de mettre en relief les differences existant entre les deux frontieres exterieures de l'Union Europeenne : celle du Sud et celle de l'Est.

- Coustilliere, Jean-Francois
Mediterranee : quel enjeu pour le XXIe siecle ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 4, avril 1999, p. 5-21.

- Dismukes, Bradford
A US Perspective on Mediterranean Naval Security.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 28, no. 4, October - December 1993, p. 95-112.

- Dokos, Thanos P.
The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Mediterranean :
The Threat to Western Security.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 5, no. 3, Autumn 2000, p. 95-116.

The study of military forces in southern Mediterranean countries leads to the conclusion that for the present and the immediate future NATO is not confronted with a real 'threat from the South'. States around the Mediterranean have neither the capability nor the intention to threaten military the territory and populations of the alliance. Therefore, the proliferation threat against NATO countries should be conceived of as a mid- to long-term threat that - under certain circumstances - might be avoided altogether by political means. The question, however, is whether one can rely solely on political-diplomatic means or whether these should be complemented by military preparations. NATO's emphasis should continue to be on political-diplomatic means and on non-proliferation, but these should be complemented by military preparations, mainly of a defensive nature.

- Dumas, Marie-Lucy
Securite et cooperation en Mediterranee.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 48e annee, janvier 1992, p. 79-89.

- Edis, Richard
Does the Barcelona Process Matter ?
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 3, Winter 1998, p. 93-105.

This essay traces the background leading up to the EU-Mediterranean Barcelona Declaration of 1995, describes the performance of the Process so far and gives an assessment of its prospects. It argues that the Barcelona Process is remarkably ambitious in its scope and provides a comprehensive framework for the development of relations between the European Union and the Mediterranean region. It concludes that while it is still too early to make a firm forecast of its chances of succeeding, the Process is now unlikely to collapse and could be very far-reaching in its effect.

- Farley, Jonathan
The Mediterranean : Southern Threats to Northern Shores ?
WORLD TODAY, vol. 50, no. 2, February 1994, p. 33-36.

- Farrar-Hockley, Dair
Future Instability in the Mediterranean Basin.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 3, no. 1, Spring 1994, p. 58-81.

- Fernandez-Ordóñez, Francisco
The Mediterranean : Devising A Security Structure.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 38, no. 5, October 1990, p. 7-11.

- Gautron, Jean-Claude
La politique de l' Union Europeenne (Vetera et Nova).
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 6eme annee, no. 4, 1996, p. 315-323.

- Gold, Peter
Immigration into the European Union via the Spanish Enclave of Ceuta and Melilla : A Reflection of Regional Economic Disparities.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 4, no. 3, Autumn 1999, p. 23-36.

As the only EU territories in North Africa, the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla are unique points of entry for immigrants into the EU. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) of Barcelona Process is designed to reduce disparities between Europe and the countries of the South and East Mediterranean and thereby tackle the immigration problem in the medium to long term. In addition there are short-term measures outside the EMP that are being taken. But the EMP, although an ambitious and major commitment by the EU towards non-European Mediterranean countries, is unlikely to result in sufficient economic growth to have a significant effect on the immigration issue. Nor has the Partnership made much progress through the third chapter of the Barcelona Declaration in tackling the immigration concerns of countries from both sides of the Mediterranean. In the foreseeable future the enclaves will therefore continue to attract would-be immigrants into the EU from across Africa.

- Gorce, Paul-Marie de la
La strategie americaine en Mediterranee.
EVENEMENT EUROPEEN, no. 9-10, avril - juin 1990, p. 43-53.

- Gordon, Philip
Storms in the Med Blow Towards Europe.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 54, no. 2, February 1998, p. 42-44.

- Guazzone, Laura
The Mediterranean Basin.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 25, no. 4, October - December 1990, p. 301-309.

The subject of this analysis is the relationship between the EC member countries and the countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean.

- Guazzone, Laura
The Politics of Mediterranean Naval Security.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 28, no. 4, October - December 1993, p. 11-38.

- Guazzone, Laura
Who Needs Conflict Prevention in the Mediterranean ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 1, January - March 2000, p. 83-102.

This article analyses the factors militating for and against the development of new instruments for multilateral security management in the Mediterranean area, with special attention to conflict prevention mechanisms. In the first part, the article reviews the structural characteristics of Mediterranean security to illustrate why a new security architecture is needed; in the second part, it tackles the same question from a different angle, comparing existing security threats (that is, latent and open conflicts) with available security instruments and stressing the need for conflict prevention mechanisms; in the third and final part, it considers the role of existing security institutions in the creation of new instruments for multilateral management of regional security in the Mediterranean area.

- Jacobs, Andreas
Obstacles to Cooperation between Europe and the Arab World.
AUSSENPOLITIK, vol. 47, no. 1, 1996, p. 61-70.

During the course of the Nineties new and pressing problems have surfaced both in the East and in the South for the European Union. The author argues the case for greater emphasis on relations with the Arab South, which he feels is neglected in comparison with relations to the countries of Eastern Europe.

- Jacobs, Andreas
Masala, Carlo
Germany's Mediterranean Challenge.
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 20, no. 2, August 1999, p. 109-115.

- Joffe, George
The Economic Factor in Mediterranean Security.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 31, no. 4, October - December 1996, p. 75-87.

- Karaosmanoglu, Ali L.
Naval Security in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean : A Turkish View.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 28, no. 4, October - December 1993, p. 139-144.

- Kienle, Eberhard

Destabilization through Partnership ? : Euro-Mediterranean Relations after the Barcelona Declaration.

MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 2, Autumn 1998, p. 1-20.

The new 'partnership' which the European Union offers its neighbours on the southern shores of the Mediterranean may well have more negative than positive consequences for the prosperity and stability of the countries concerned. Contrary to the expectations of their advocates, policies of internal and external economic liberalization are not likely to increase the economic performance of the southern Mediterranean countries. In terms of productivity, investment, job creation and overall prosperity, losses will have to be faced. On the political level, these losses, seen as imposed by the 'West', pose many threats to the stability of the southern countries. While increasing repression may guarantee the survival of their regimes, it will further erode the stability of these countries. However, even economic growth and an equitable distribution of wealth would not be sufficient to ensure transitions to more participatory forms of government and thus stability based on more than repression. A serious yet circumspect political dialogue is also needed as an essential contribution to the stability of the countries concerned and of the entire Mediterranean basin.

- Kienle, Eberhard

Libre-echange contre liberalisation politique : partenariat et stabilite dans le bassin mediterraneen.

POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 63e annee, no. 1, printemps 1998, p. 51-67.

Pour l'auteur, le partenariat euro-mediterraneen, tel qu'il existe depuis la conference de Barcelone de 1995, risque de ne pas parvenir au but qu'il s'est fixe, a savoir promouvoir la paix et la stabilite des pays mediterraneens. En privilegiant l'aspect economique et la liberalisation, le partenariat, et les politiques mises en oeuvre sous ses auspices, pourraient avoir des consequences nefastes en termes d'emploi et d'inegalites sociales, et favoriser une crispation a l'encontre de l'Europe, en particulier a connotation religieuse. Pour lui, le partenariat devrait plutot s'appuyer sur le dialogue politique et sur l'instauration d'une 'conditionnalite politique', a la cooperation economique.

- Kodmani-Darwish, Bassma

Pulsions et impulsions : l' euro-mediterranee comme enjeu de societe.

POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 63e annee, no. 1, printemps 1998, p. 35-49.

Pour l'auteur, le partenariat euro-mediterraneen constitue un veritable enjeu de societe au Nord comme au Sud, dans le sens ou il met en cause leur identite et leur rapport a l'autre. Au Nord, le rapport au Sud se traduit par une tension autour de la question de l'integration des communautes immigrees et du multiculturalisme. Au Sud, la relation au Nord se manifeste par une tension relative a la modernisation/occidentalisation. Le defi fondamental est donc celui de la conciliation de l'affirmation identitaire et d'une nouvelle universalite qui reste a definir.

- Labaronne, Daniel

Les relations commerciales des PECO avec l' Union europeenne et le Bassin Sud de la Mediterranee.

COURRIER DES PAYS DE L' EST, no. 410, juillet 1996, p. 15-26.

L'analyse des relations commerciales des pays d'Europe centrale et orientale avec leurs partenaires europeens (les quinze pays de l'Union europeenne) et mediterraneens (Algerie, Maroc, Tunisie, Egypte, Israel, Turquie), sur la periode recente (1990-1993), peut etre conduite a partir d'indicateurs d'echanges relatifs. Ces indicateurs permettent de souligner la place preponderante qu'occupent l'Allemagne et l'Italie, notamment, dans les echanges commerciaux de chacun des PECO. Cette

analyse ne permet pas, cependant, d'avoir une vision précise de la configuration régionale des échanges des PECO. Il convient de la compléter au moyen d'indicateurs d'intensité des échanges, qui sont utilisés afin de mettre en évidence les effets de proximité géographique et historique qui jouent dans les relations commerciales privilégiées entre deux pays. Le calcul de ces indicateurs montre ainsi que la Pologne entretient des relations particulièrement intenses avec les pays scandinaves, c'est aussi le cas de la Hongrie et de l'ex-Tchécoslovaquie avec l'Autriche, l'Allemagne et l'Italie, de la Roumanie avec les pays de l'Est de la Méditerranée, de la Bulgarie avec l'ensemble des pays du Bassin Sud de la Méditerranée.

- Lesser, Ian O.
Geopolitica del Mediterraneo occidental.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 14, no. 75, mayo - junio 2000, p. 73-83.

Una nueva geopolitica esta surgiendo en el Mediterraneo occidental de la mano de los cambios producidos en Argelia, Marruecos y Libia. El futuro de este area, de importancia estrategica creciente, determinara cada vez mas la prosperidad y seguridad de Europa, cuyo papel predominante en el Mediterraneo aun deja espacio para un compromiso mas activo entre las dos orillas.

- Lia, Brynjar
Security Challenges in Europe's Mediterranean Periphery : Perspectives and Policy Dilemmas.
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 8, no. 4, Winter 1999, p. 27-56.

Challenges to European security emanating from the southern Mediterranean have had a marked influence on European security policies during the 1990s. This article identifies the main themes in the debate on Mediterranean security and the policy dilemmas which these security challenges raise for European states and their multilateral security organizations. It is argued that Mediterranean security challenges cannot be fully understood without grasping the security implications of the presence of authoritarian and repressive regimes in the South. As European security policies aim at supporting 'political stability' in the South through development assistance, expansion of trade relations and military co-operation, these policies also contribute to uphold an illegitimate status quo, which is often the very source of political instability and insecurity.

- Licari, Joseph
The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership : Economic and Financial Aspects.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 3, Winter 1998, p. 1-20.

The Barcelona Declaration provides for a free-trade area between the EU and 12 Mediterranean partners. A free-trade agreement between the EU and Tunisia came into effect in March 1998. Others have been concluded or are being negotiated. But no free-trade agreements have been concluded among Mediterranean partners. The emerging 'hub-and-spokes' structure will increase the EU's power to direct investment. Other shortcomings are the agreements' exclusion of agricultural trade and the welfare costs imposed by their preferential nature. The 12-year transition envisaged is too short for the partners to implement the investment and reforms necessary to face unimpeded competition. However, the area will succeed if the agreements' dynamic provisions come into effect : free trade in farm products some time after 2000, mutual recognition of standards, and freer trade in services. The higher financial aid envisaged is being directed judiciously. The Euro-Mediterranean agreements provide for their own updating when new countries join the EU. They should be reappraised after the next enlargement.

- Linden, Eric van der
Europe and the Mediterranean.
NATO'S SIXTEEN NATIONS, vol. 35, no. 2, April 1990, p. 26-31.

Europe is closely linked to its southern neighbours and conscious of the need to close a development gap. In addition to association agreements the European Community expanded into cooperation, development and aid to the Mediterranean countries. However, unsound economic policies combined with severe population pressures have caused enormous problems. Together with other international institutions the Community should make a major effort to help to improve structures for stable economic growth.

- Lorca, Alejandro V.
The EU and the Mediterranean : Is an 'Us' versus 'Them' Situation Inevitable ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 31, no. 3, July - September 1996, p. 51-69.

- Mancebo, Francois
En Mediterranee, un bloc regional a construire.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 7, juillet 1999, p. 80-95.

- Marks, Jon
High Hopes and Low Motives : The New Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Initiative.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 1, Summer 1996, p. 1-24.

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Initiative has a predominantly economic agenda and forms part of plans to create a free trade area encompassing 800 million people by early in the twenty-first century. It is a risky venture, since accelerated economic liberalization in the southern Mediterranean could produce greater instability, contrary to the central aim of the partnership. The effects of such liberalization will be felt most directly by Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. Despite the ambitious objectives behind the Barcelona process, the financial support offered to non-EU Mediterranean countries is small in comparison with the funds invested in convergence within the European Union. However, success depends also on the ability of the southern states to address their own instability. A lot of work still needs to be done to transform Euro-Med rhetoric into an effective partnership.

- Marquina, Antonio
Conflict Prevention in the Framework of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership : A European Point of View.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 4, no. 2, June - August 1999, p. 31-53.

- Martinez, Luis
Maghreb : une decennie perdue ?
POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE, no. 82, hiver 1998 - 1999, p. 337-349.

At the end of the 1980s, North Africa seemed to have embarked on the road to greater political openness. In Tunisia, young president Ben Ali replaced Habib Bourguiba; in Algeria, the riots of 1988 led to the end of the FLN-run state and the introduction of a multiparty system; even Libya, under Muammar Qaddafi, was taking baby steps towards liberalization. Ten years on, however, these hopes have been dashed : Algeria is sinking even further into civil war; Tunisia is sliding towards an authoritarian regime; and Libya has cut itself off from the outside. Only Morocco appears to be an exception to this rule. The king's decision to open up the country's limited democracy is a ray of light in dark times. Paradoxically, this general backward trend has emerged as North African countries embark on negotiations with the European Union for a partnership that will foster democracy and establish a free trade zone. Today, this process is the key to North Africa's hopes for greater

freedom and prosperity.

- Miskel, James F.

The Future of the US Military Presence in the Mediterranean.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 2, Autumn 1998, p. 93-103.

For a variety of reasons, the United States will gradually reduce its military presence in the Mediterranean basin. One of the principal reasons is that collectively the region is becoming less important economically to the United States. Trends in exports and imports between the United States and the states with Mediterranean coastlines indicate that the region accounts for a small and diminishing proportion of overall US trade. American overseas investment patterns appear to confirm this trend. This is important because the flag is more likely than ever before to follow economic interests. All other things being equal, a region that accounts for a small percentage of a nation's trade and investment will eventually be accorded a lower foreign policy priority than regions with greater trading volumes and higher investment values.

- Monar, Jorg

Institutional Constraints of the European Union's Mediterranean Policy.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 2, Autumn 1998, p. 39-60.

The European Union's policy in the Mediterranean suffers from a gap between its apparent potential to act and its actual performance. This discrepancy can be explained in part by the particular institutional and procedural constraints of the Union's 'dual' system of foreign affairs. These constraints make the Union a clearing-house for national interests rather than a unitary actor, they lead to an in-built tilt towards economic measures and they create difficulties for its partners in terms of transparency and predictability. Cases such as the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, the association agreement with Jordan of 1997 and financial cooperation with Turkey all demonstrate the limitations that the system imposes on the Union's Mediterranean policy decision-making and implementation.

- Moratinos, Miguel Angel

La relation euro-mediterraneenne cinq ans apres la conference de Barcelone.
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 40, hiver 2000 - 2001, p. 125-128.

Les pays et les peuples riverains de la Mediterranee ont rarement connu la stabilite. Refugies et deplacés ont toujours été legion. Les conflits d'aujourd'hui s'inscrivent dans cette continuite. La conference de Barcelone est un projet de paix Nord-Sud dont la principale caracteristique est de mettre en place une zone de libre-echange et de stabilite qui devrait voir le jour en 2010. Ce projet ambitieux d'echanges contractuels peine a se mettre en place. L'Union europeenne (UE) est accaparee par son elargissement vers l'Est. Le Sud mediterraneen, plus volontiers individualiste, renacle a faire sienne la philosophie unificatrice et communautaire que lui tend l'UE. La France, L'Espagne, et l'Italie pourraient être les moteurs de la Mediterranee en Europe. L'UE doit tenir compte de l'existence d'autres diplomaties, notamment americaine, qui sont a l'oeuvre en Mediterranee et qui peuvent modifier son projet. A l'egard des migrations, qui sont au coeur des relations Sud-Nord, l'Europe pourrait faire preuve d'inventivite et concevoir une gestion communautaire de la circulation des personnes.

- Nordam, Jette
The Mediterranean Dialogue : Dispelling Misconceptions and Building Confidence.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 45, no. 4, July - August 1997, p. 26-29.

Simple geography means there will always be a link between security in Europe and that of the Mediterranean. NATO's dialogue with six non-NATO countries of the Mediterranean region, launched in 1995, aims to dispel possible misconceptions about the Alliance and to build confidence through greater transparency, discussion and cooperation. An important part of the Alliance's policy of partnership and cooperation, the Mediterranean dialogue has been given new political impetus by the Madrid Summit. The Mediterranean Cooperation Group, established by NATO Heads of State and Government in Madrid, will involve allied member states directly in bilateral political discussions with partners.

- Ortega, Martin
Military Dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean Charter : An Unjustified Absence.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 35, no. 1, January - March 2000, p. 115-125.

The purpose of this article is to argue that the lack of a security and military dialogue within the Barcelona process is neither coherent with the EMP's global and comprehensive goals, nor with recent developments in CFSP after the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty and the Cologne and Helsinki European Councils' declarations on a common security and defence policy. In addition, the absence gives the erroneous impression that there is currently no dialogue in military and defence matters in the Mediterranean.

- Ounaies, Abderraouf
Securite et partenariat en Mediterranee.
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 57e annee, no. 1, janvier 2001, p. 76-94.

Etude par un homme du Sud, sur l'evolution de la securite et du partenariat en Mediterranee, dans les dix dernieres annees. Apres avoir brievement rappele les diverses initiatives regionales et sous-regionales, le paysage geopolitique est trace. L'auteur analyse en profondeur les strategies de l'Union europeenne et des Etats-Unis, ainsi que les reponses des partenaires arabo-mediterraneens, en rappelant avec force le caractere central de la question palestinienne. Il tente, en conclusion, une esquisse du partenariat de demain entre l'Europe et les pays du Sud, pour qu'enfin la Mediterranee entre dans 'une ere de concorde, de respect et de fraternite'.

- Peters, Joel
The Arab-Israeli Multilateral Peace Talks and the Barcelona Process : Competition of Convergence.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 33, no. 4, October - December 1998, p. 63-76.

The author analyzes here the interaction between the Barcelona process and Arab-Israeli multilateral talks, underlining their complementarity, but also the need for greater coordination and transparency between the two undertakings on the basis, in particular, of closer cooperation between Europe and the United States.

- Poulain, Michel
Les flux migratoires dans le bassin mediterraneen.
POLITIQUE ETRANGERE, 59e annee, no. 3, automne 1994, p. 689-705.

- Redmond, John
Pace, Roderick
European Security in the 1990s and Beyond : The Implications of the
Accession of Cyprus and Malta to the European Union.
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 17, no. 3, December 1996, p.
430-450.

The central concern of this article is the impact on the European Union of the accession of Cyprus and Malta and, more specifically, the security implications of this. When (and if) the two Mediterranean applicants eventually join the Union, it will almost certainly be in the company of some of the other nine or ten applicants from central and eastern Europe. They will be joining a Europe which has taken increasingly northern and central European characteristics, a Europe which will view the world through the prism of the main concerns of central and eastern Europe, primarily the place of Germany and relations with Russia. The Mediterranean, already low in the Union's concerns, will even be lower in priority. There is a broad consensus that the dangers and challenges which the Union faces in the Mediterranean region could destabilize Europe itself if left to run out of hand. Malta and Cyprus, being wholly Mediterranean states whose prosperity depends to a large degree on the maintenance of stability in the region will, to the extent that they will be able to unmoor themselves from particular issues and move to more general and far reaching ones, partly redress the imbalance of focus in the enlarged European Union of over twenty members.

- Remnek, Richard B.
The Horn of Africa : Retrospect and Prospect.
STRATEGIC REVIEW, vol. 18, no. 4, Fall 1990, p. 39-50.

- Rhein, Eberhard
Mit Geduld und Ausdauer zum Erfolg : die neue Mittelmeer-Politik der
Europäischen Union.
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1996, S. 15-20.

- Rhein, Eberhard
Towards a Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in Renewable Energy.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 2, no. 3, Winter 1997, p. 102-113.

In this article, a powerful case is presented for a more accelerated development of renewable energies around the Mediterranean. The development of solar energy as a viable alternative to fossil-based energies is seen as one of humanity's major challenges in the coming century. To meet it, Dr. Rhein urges the European Commission to prepare a long-term action plan with the EU's Mediterranean partners, to ensure that cooperation in the development of renewable energy becomes a major feature of the Partnership.

- Romeo, Isabel
The European Union and North Africa : Keeping the Mediterranean 'Safe'
for Europe.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 3, no. 2, Autumn 1998, p. 21-38.

Is the comprehensive answer to the Maghreb - as institutionalized by the EU in Barcelona - an adequate solution to the real and perceived security problems these countries pose for Europe ? Given that the EU has been much more impressed by the supposed threats of migration and Islamic activism, exacerbated by a combination of intervening factors, than by the opportunities offered by shared interests, it is argued that the European response has not unexpectedly been very limited, betraying a lack of long-term commitment and political vision. Current policy offers neither a plausible response to the supposed threats connected with the Maghreb and based in the objective socio-economic problems underlying them, nor a reasoned strategy based on an objective assessment of European interests in the region. This is why the current response could

create or exacerbate the very insecurity it is intended to avert.

- Ronzitti, Natalino
Law of the Sea Aspects and Legal Policies of Naval Arms Control in the Mediterranean.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 28, no. 4, October - December 1993, p. 39-72.

- Salies, Bruno Callies de
Mediterranee : quelle politique envers les Etats du Sud ?
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, fevrier 1996, p. 93-108.

- Santayana, Jose Pardo de
Seguridad en el Mediterraneo.
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 5, no. 20, primavera 1991, p. 41-52.

- Santis, Nicola de
The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 46, no. 1, Spring 1998, p. 32-35.

The future of NATO's Mediterranean initiative was the subject of a thought-provoking study presented by RAND to the Alliance's top political and military authorities and opinion leaders, as well as to representatives of the six Mediterranean dialogue partner countries, at a high-level conference in Rome last November. Co-sponsored by NATO and the Centro Militare di Studi Strategici in Rome, the conference was opened by Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi. In this article, Nicola de Santis, Liaison Officer Italy and Officer for Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries at NATO, and coordinator of the conference, highlights the issues raised and some of the proposals put forward in Rome.

- Schade-Poulsen, Marc
The Barcelona Process.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 9, no. 4, 1998, p. 55-62.

Because of its scope and comprehensiveness, and because of its incorporation of a human rights dimension, the Euro-Mediterranean partnership has given rise to the hope that in due course of time it will install a dynamic comparable to the Helsinki process in making human rights and fundamental freedoms a legitimate subject for discussion between governments and the governed, and in making internal human rights questions a legitimate concern of all partners in the endeavour of securing peace and prosperity for the region. The author describes the Barcelona declaration, as well as the background for the Euro-Mediterranean partnership. Finally, he points to the most central elements of the Barcelona process in order to clarify whether it is relevant to compare it with the Helsinki process.

- Schilling, Walter
Stabilitat im Mittelmeerraum : Aufgabe europaischer Politik.
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 49. Jg., Nr. 11, November 2000, S. 17-19.

- Schraeder, Peter J.
The Horn of Africa : US Foreign Policy in an Altered Cold War Environment.
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 46, no. 4, Autumn 1992, p. 571-593.

- Serfaty, Simon
Algeria Unhinged : What Next ?, Who Cares ?, Who Leads ?
SURVIVAL, vol. 38, no. 4, Winter 1996 - 1997, p. 137-153.

The dire predictions that prevailed after the cancellation of Algeria's January 1992 elections have not come to pass. The killing continues and divisions remain deep, but economic and political conditions have improved since the November 1995 presidential election, and there is currently little prospect that the Islamic Salvation Front will come to power. Still, Algeria is a fragile society, and it is too critical to European and regional stability to be either ignored or left in the care of one state or institution alone. A common Euro-Atlantic effort to consolidate the economic and democratic gains of the past few years is now necessary.

- Solana, Javier
The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative.
NATO'S SIXTEEN NATIONS AND PARTNERS FOR PEACE, vol. 42, no. 4, 1997, p. 3-4.

- Spencer, Claire
Building Confidence in the Mediterranean.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 2, no. 2, Autumn 1997, p. 23-48.

In the 1990s, the Mediterranean became a focus for renewed consideration in western security circles of the regional security frameworks, structures and regimes proposed at a time when the end of the cold war was almost in sight. Arising from the experience of western Europe's normalization of relations with its eastern neighbours, one of the main ambitions for new security arrangements in the Mediterranean has been to create channels for the promotion of the kind of regional confidence-building measures (CBMS) which have enjoyed considerable success both prior to the end, and in the aftermath, of the cold war. In the follow-up to the European Union Euro-Mediterranean Partnership initiative launched in November 1995, for example, the meetings of high officials charged with giving substance to the Barcelona Declaration's 'Political and Security Partnership' have concentrated on preparing a list of measures and exchanges of information which fall under a general heading of CBMs. Other agencies and institutions, such as NATO and the Western European Union, have also used the vocabulary of CBMs in their 'outreach' programmes and bilateral dialogues with non-member Mediterranean partners.

- Spencer, Claire
Partnership-building in the Mediterranean.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 4, October - December 1999, p. 59-74.

- Spencer, Claire
A Tale of Two Cities.
WORLD TODAY, vol. 53, no. 3, March 1997, p. 79-82.

Twice in the past six years, Spanish cities have lent their names to the promotion of peace and stability in the Mediterranean region. One process failed, or at least, was transformed into something else. The other has just celebrated its first anniversary with mixed feelings about its response to the scale of the challenges. Madrid and Barcelona have entered the lexicon of statecraft.

- Sturua, Georgi M.
Soviet Naval Arms Control in the Mediterranean : Will Russia Accept the Legacy ?
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 28, no. 4, October - December 1993, p. 125-138.

- Tanner, Fred
An Emerging Security Agenda for the Mediterranean.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 3, Winter 1996, p. 279-294.

The Mediterranean region is one the world's most conflict-prone regions and has, as a result, been subject to a large number of initiatives designed to reduce its conflict potential, including the multilateral track of the Middle East peace process, the Mediterranean Forum, the Barcelona Process and the Dayton Peace Agreement. The introduction of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Initiative provides an opportunity for an integrated initiative. France has proposed a 'Stability Pact' as an initiative within the context of the European Union's common foreign and security policy. Malta has now made a similar proposal, which predates the French initiative and which, because it is designed to operate both within the Barcelona Process and outside it - through a series of working groups - offers the possibility for a more comprehensive and effective solution of the potential for regional conflict.

- Tanner, Fred
The Euro-Med Partnership : Prospects for Arms Limitations and Confidence Building after Malta.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 32, no. 2, April - June 1997, p. 3-25.

This article explores, in light of the Malta ministerial meeting, the extent to which the Barcelona partners are able to proceed with efforts in the domains of arms limitations and confidence building. With the escalation of violence among Barcelona partners in the Middle East, the platform for security cooperation has become very narrow, but there are niches where the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership can still develop the basis for a future security regime.

- Tanner, Fred
Joint Actions for Peace-building in the Mediterranean.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 4, October - December 1999, p. 75-90.

This article explores the extent to which the future Charter will be able to prescribe and promote Euro-Med cooperation in peace support, responses to humanitarian emergencies and election monitoring. All these activities fall into the broad category of peace-building. They are 'soft' in nature and should therefore be palatable to the various views of security cooperation in the Mediterranean.

- Tanner, Fred
The Mediterranean Pact : A Framework for Soft Security Cooperation.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 1, no. 4, December 1996 - February 1997, p. 56-67.

- Tayfur, M. Fatih
Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean .
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 3, September - October 2000, p. 125-145.

- Terpstra, Rienk W.
The Mediterranean Basin as a New Playing Field for European Security Organisations.
HELSINKI MONITOR, vol. 8, no. 1, 1997, p. 48-58.

- Turan, Ilter
Mediterranean Security in the Light of Turkish Concerns.
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 3, no. 2, June - August 1998, p. 16-31.

- Vasconcelos, Alvaro de
The New Europe and the Western Mediterranean.
NATO REVIEW, vol. 39, no. 5, October 1991, p. 27-31.

- Velo, Dario
Europe's Policy between Variable Geometry and Single Market.
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 6eme annee, no. 4, 1996, p. 336-339.

- Venturoni, Guido
Naval Arms Control and Maritime Security in the Mediterranean.
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 28, no. 4, October - December 1993, p. 7-10.

- Villaverde, Jesus A. Nunez
The Mediterranean : A Firm Priority of Spanish Foreign Policy ?
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 2000, p. 129-147.

Spanish foreign policy pays special attention to the Mediterranean, basing itself on a model established in the mid-1980s. The model is focused excessively on the Maghreb. While the period that led to the Euro-Mediterranean Conference at Barcelona in 1995 was characterized by creative activism in both the bilateral and the multilateral sphere, the period since then has seen the Mediterranean lose prominence on Spain's foreign policy agenda. The challenges to be found in the area, most importantly underdevelopment, Islam and emigration, require a change of attitudes and instruments from those currently involved in Madrid's policy.

- Vormann, Ingo
NATO'S Star Rises in the Med.
PROCEEDINGS, vol. 121, no. 3, March 1995, p. 73-78.

- Winrow, Gareth M.
A Threat from the South ? : NATO and the Mediterranean.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 1, no. 1, Summer 1996, p. 43-59.

Since the end of the Cold War, NATO (and particularly its Southern Region) has come to focus much more on Mediterranean problems. To what extent is there a 'threat from the South' ? In the past NATO saw this primarily as a Soviet military threat. Despite the collapse of the Soviet Union, concern about the South has grown, fuelled initially by the Gulf War. The 'threat' today comes from the economic and social problems of the southern Mediterranean and Middle East. Increasingly NATO is trying to work for stability beyond its borders. The Alliance has its own Mediterranean Initiative which seeks to develop a security dialogue with non-member riparian states. However, sensitive political issues have tended to be excluded from this dialogue. NATO still has to define a precise role in the area, in order to avoid duplication with parallel initiatives taken by the WEU, EU and OSCE.

- Youngs, Richard
The Barcelona Process after the UK Presidency : The Need for Prioritization.
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 1999, p. 1-24.

Developments within the Barcelona process during the UK presidency illustrate a number of limitations to EU strategy in the southern Mediterranean. First, in relying on the expectation that its economic, political and social initiatives will naturally reinforce each other in stabilizing relations with the Mediterranean region, the EU has failed to recognize the need for a coherent prioritization between potentially conflicting objectives in the design of its short-term policies. Second, a number of EU policy instruments lack the precision necessary for their

possible operationalization to have been contemplated within the Barcelona framework. Third, the Barcelona process still lacks the norms of cooperation that characterize international regimes and facilitate the desired convergence of negotiating positions.

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