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*No. 7/2004*

**THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION : THE  
LAST TEN YEARS**  
**LA RÉGION MÉDITERRANÉENNE AU COURS  
DE LA DERNIÈRE DÉCENNIE**

*Bibliographies Thématiques*  
*No. 7/2004*

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# **PART I : BOOKS**

## **PREMIERE PARTIE : LIVRES\***

**2004**

449 /00045

Rethinking the Euro-Mediterranean Political and Security Dialogue - Paris  
: European Union Institute for Security Studies.

48 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 52)

Author(s):

1. Balfour, Rosa

Subject(s):

1. EMP

Added entry(s):

1. European Union Institute for Security Studies (FR)

Notes:

'Since the summer 2000, the emergence of the new intifada and the deterioration of Arab-Israeli relations, the terrorist attacks of 11 September and the military intervention in Iraq have all played their part in undermining the security environment in and around the Mediterranean, with negative repercussions on EU policies towards the region, while at the same time highlighting the vital importance of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. The 2003 Wider Europe/New Neighbourhood initiative and the European Security Strategy that confirmed the EU's ambition to become a fully fledged regional power and to strengthen its global role could together give fresh momentum to the EU's Mediterranean policies. But was the EMP on its deathbed ? Should these new strategies signal a change of direction in the EU's Mediterranean policies ? This paper argues that, while welcoming the new proposals, the Barcelona process still remains an appropriate framework for deepening relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Its strengths lie in its 'global approach' that binds together economic reform with development, cultural exchange with political dialogue, human rights with security, and in the conceptualisation of 'comprehensive' security that underpins the EMP. It also provides the only forum in which Israel and the Arab countries can sit around the same table. The core focus of this paper is the first basket of the Barcelona process, which deals with a 'political and security partnership' - perhaps one of the most neglected aspects of the EMP given its uneven and limited record of success, where the ambitions of 1995 were gradually wounded as tension in the Middle East became increasingly explosive. More specifically, the security predicament in the region must be understood in conjunction with the absence of a process of democratisation, which, de facto, has hitherto been tacitly supported by the EU member states for fear of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. But the endurance of more or less authoritarian regimes has created a vicious circle whereby the democratic deficit breeds fundamentalism and fundamentalism provides the justification for authoritarianism. Only recently has the European Commission started to acknowledge the degree to which the creation of a secure environment also depends on the individual human dimension, and the new European Security Strategy, too, posits

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\* This list contains material received as of September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 2 septembre 2004.

a strong relationship between security and good governance, human rights and the rule of law. This paper explores the relationship between these two dimensions, traces the development in these fields from 1995 until the most recent achievements during the Italian EU Presidency of the second half of 2003 and suggests some policy recommendations. Rather than seek radical change to revamp the EU's Mediterranean policies, a modus vivendi between the achievements of the EMP's 'global approach' with the new concepts of 'differentiation' and 'benchmarking' introduced by the Wider Europe strategy should be found, allowing individual countries to make progress without jeopardising the entire regional approach. The EU should also try to strike a balance between the conception of 'soft' security inherent to the EMP and addressed following a comprehensive methodology, and the new developments in the fields of the European Security and Defence Policy and the new European Security Strategy.'

ID number: 80019288

Year: 2004

339 /00106

Gestion des ressources naturelles et questions de securite en Mediterranee - Rome : NATO Defense College.

283 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(Seminar Report Series ; 19)

ISBN: 8887967245

Subject(s):

1. NATURAL RESOURCES--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. WATER-SUPPLY--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
3. POWER RESOURCES--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
4. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Dufourcq, Jean, ed.
2. Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.
3. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

Actes du 6eme seminaire international de recherche du Dialogue mediterraneen, tenu a Rome du 10 au 13 decembre 2003, organise par le College de Defense de l'OTAN en collaboration avec l'universite de Nouakchott (Mauritanie) et avec le soutien du Ministere de la defense de la Republique islamique de Mauritanie.

'La recherche et le controle des ressources naturelles de premiere necessite sont une des fonctions cles de l'Etat. Indispensables a la survie et au developpement, l'eau et le petrole sont tres inegalement repartis sur la planete. Ils sont donc tout naturellement devenus un enjeu strategique des relations internationales. Pour le pays qui les possede, ces ressources constituent une garantie d'independance et aussi un atout susceptible d'etre utilise comme levier politique ou economique vis-a-vis d'autres pays moins bien pourvus. A l'oppose, les pays qui en sont depourvus percoivent cela comme une fragilite a laquelle ils doivent remedier, par la cooperation ou par la force. Dans tous les cas, les rapports liant la gestion des ressources naturelles aux questions de securite sont complexes. Probleme de relations internationales, la gestion des ressources en eau mais surtout en petrole est aussi un probleme de securite interieure. Une mauvaise gestion economique, la corruption ou la captation des ressources par les uns au detrimment des autres ont toutes chances de deboucher sur l'instabilite chronique, les guerres civiles et les coups d'Etat. Dans ce contexte, la region mediterraneenne occupe une situation particuliere et paradoxale. Souffrant d'une penurie d'eau sur sa rive sud, elle est par contre mieux pourvue que la rive nord en petrole, grace a ses ressources propres et parce qu'elle en permet le transit.'

ID number: 80019196  
Year: 2004

449 /00044

Euro-Mediterranean Relations After September 11 : International, Regional and Domestic Dynamics - London : Frank Cass.

245 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0714655120

Subject(s):

1. EMP
2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
3. SEPTEMBER 11 TERRORIST ATTACKS, 2001

Added entry(s):

1. Junemann, Annette, ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'This is a comprehensive study of the nexus between security and democratization in the Mediterranean, seen as essentially complementary yet threatened by political trends witnessed since the September 11 attacks. Contributors from a variety of European and Mediterranean countries address the impact of a restructured security system, Europe's effort to establish an autonomous security and defence policy, and attempts among the Mediterranean Partner Countries to build regional security regimes.'

ID number: 80019245

Year: 2004

## 2003

355.4 /01377

L'espace mediterraneen : les enjeux de la cooperation et de la securite entre les rives nord et sud a l'aube du XXIeme siecle - Rome : NATO Defense College.

161 p. ; 21 cm.

(NATO Defense College Serie Monographies ; 14)

ISBN: 8887967172

Author(s):

1. Jebnoun, Nouredine

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)
2. Ose, Dieter, ed.
3. Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.

Notes:

'This study contains a personal analysis of all the factors of crisis that are likely to destabilize the region, together with some interesting views on issues such as weapons of mass destruction, water and economic globalization which some Southern Mediterranean societies have had difficulty in assimilating. The author's concerns are the slow progress of all the different activities in the Dialogue, but he is optimistic about the long-term results of this process. The author proposes a number of possible avenues for North-South cooperation for immediate implementation, including military cooperation but also, and above all, civil cooperation, particularly in the field of academic thought.'

ID number: 80018780

Year: 2003

325 /00092

Immigration : Stability and Security in the Mediterranean Region - Rome :  
NATO Defense College.  
121 p.; 21 cm.  
(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 21)  
ISBN: 8887967180  
Author(s):  
1. Haless, Mohamed Lemine Ould  
Subject(s):  
1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION  
2. EUROPE--EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION  
3. EMP  
Added entry(s):  
1. NATO Defence College (IT)  
Notes:  
'Defying all the usual cliches and generally accepted ideas, the author goes to great lengths to enhance our understanding of the origins and root causes of the old and new phenomena of immigration, its boons and burdens, and its impact on the security and stability of the Mediterranean region.'  
ID number: 80019093  
Edition: 2nd rev. ed.  
Year: 2003

449 /00043

Negotiating the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership : Strategic Action in EU Foreign Policy ? - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.  
ix, 209 p.; 23 cm.  
ISBN: 0754619222  
Author(s):  
1. Gomez, Ricardo  
Subject(s):  
1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION  
2. EMP  
Notes:  
Bibliography: p. 183-201. Includes index.  
'In this study the author traces the origins of the external Mediterranean policy of the European Union and examines in detail the negotiations that shaped the policy and its impact. Combining historical analysis with case studies of the Euro-Med partnership initiative, EU policy on Algeria and the EU's involvement in the Middle East peace process, he covers a diverse array of issues that will appeal to scholars across a variety of sub-disciplines of political science and international relations.'  
ID number: 80018894  
Year: 2003

449 /00046

Euro-Mediterranean Security : A Search for Partnership - Aldershot, UK : Ashgate.  
xvi, 160 p. : ill.; 23 cm.  
(International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series)  
ISBN: 0754634876  
Author(s):  
1. Biscop, Sven  
Subject(s):  
1. EMP  
2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY  
3. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION  
Notes:  
Bibliography: p. 127-156. Includes index.  
'This incisive book provides a clearer understanding of the EU's approach towards security in the Mediterranean. After examining the EU's interests and the potential threats to security in the

region, the book analyzes EU security policy towards the region as a whole, through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, and towards all disputes and conflicts in the area. It recommends opening up the European Security and Defence Policy to Mediterranean participation, in order to establish a deep and equitable security partnership between both shores. The book argues that this way the EU could implement its innovative comprehensive and cooperative approach to security. Rather than focusing on the military aspect alone, this approach takes into account all dimensions of security (political, socio-economic, cultural and ecological) and is based on partnership rather than confrontation. It therefore contrasts quite sharply with the policies advocated in the US National Security Strategy.'

ID number: 80019348

Year: 2003

614 /00164

Security and Environment in the Mediterranean : Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts - Berlin : Springer.

xxvi, 1134 p. : ill. ; 28 cm.

ISBN: 3540401075

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
3. ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
4. WAR--ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Notes:

Includes index.

'In this volume security specialists, peace researchers, environmental scholars, demographers as well as climate, desertification, water, food and urbanisation specialists from the Middle East and North Africa, Europe and North America review security and conflict prevention in the Mediterranean. They also analyse NATO's Mediterranean security dialogue and offer conceptualisations on security and perceptions of security challenges as seen in North and South. The latter half of the book analyses environmental security and conflicts in the Mediterranean and environmental consequences of World War II, the Gulf War, the Balkan wars and the Middle East conflict. It also examines factors of global environmental change : population growth, climate change, desertification, water scarcity, food and urbanisation issues as well as natural disasters. Furthermore, it draws conceptual conclusions for a fourth phase of research on human and environmental security and peace as well as policy conclusions for cooperation and partnership in the Mediterranean in the 21st century.'

ID number: 80019403

Year: 2003

327 /01186

Peace-, Institution- and Nation-Building in the Mediterranean and the Middle East : Tasks for Transatlantic Cooperation - Roma : Istituto Affari Internazionali.

95 p.; 24 cm.

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
2. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST
3. MIDDLE EAST--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MIDDLE EAST
5. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--FOREIGN RELATIONS--USA
6. USA--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
7. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--FOREIGN RELATIONS--EUROPE
8. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Aliboni, Roberto, ed.
2. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IT)

Notes:

'In recent years, the Middle East and Mediterranean have played a growing role in transatlantic relations. To a large extent, this is due to the growing commitment of the American administration towards the Greater Middle East region. In spring 2003, this commitment led to the US attack and overthrow of the Ba'ath regime in Iraq with a view to establishing a democracy in that country and promoting political and economic reform throughout the region. This move was predicated on a sharp and profound change with respect to previous US policy, which attributed more importance to stability than to political reform. This new policy has given way to a heated and at times bitter debate within the transatlantic community and brought about unprecedented splits across the Atlantic as well as in the European Union. The conference took into consideration a number of key issues relating to the Greater Middle East (the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the European geopolitical vision) and the new US policy : democracy promotion, nation-building, political reform and development policies to support it, and the role of third parties in the special case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These issues were discussed by a distinguished group of Europeans, Americans and representatives of the Middle East and Mediterranean regions with a view to underscoring the possibilities for transatlantic cooperation in a context of divisions and disagreements.'

ID number: 80019205

Year: 2003

355.4 /01376

Managing Change : Evolution in the Global Arena and Mediterranean Security - Rome : NATO Defense College.

200 p.; 21 cm.

(NATO Defense College Seminar Report Series ; 15)

ISBN: 8887967164

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
3. TERRORISM--GOVERNMENT POLICY

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)
2. Ose, Dieter, ed.
3. Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.

Notes:

5th Mediterreanean Dialogue International Research Seminar, Rome, 27-30 October, 2002.

'The events of 11 September 2001 have generated a wealth of discordant literature about the evolution in international security and the strategic changes required to cope with it. The Mediterranean region, in which some countries have been

experiencing violence and terrorism for years, is the one that is most concerned in thinking about the exact nature of these changes that go far beyond strictly military security. But, while there is certainly a need to reconsider the existing policies of both the North and the South vis-a-vis the Mediterranean region, how can we implement change there without endangering a stability that does sometimes tend to be shaky ? This Seminar tries to envisage change in terms of the international and regional security environment, training for the civilian and military actors, terrorism and, finally, the Mediterranean Dialogue itself.'

ID number: 80018779

Year: 2003

495.2 /00156

NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue : Learning from Others - Rome : NATO Defense College.

96 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 17)

ISBN: 8887967237

Subject(s):

1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Bakken, Bent Erik, ed.
2. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

'This paper shows that while NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (MD) needs to be developed much further, this will be a significant challenge. It will furthermore require a well thought-out strategy to design and conduct dialogues. In order to help establish such a strategy, dialogue theories and three case studies of previous dialogues are presented and discussed. These dialogue case studies concern respectively the Schuman Plan, the Oslo Peace Accords, and a strategic reorientation of the Trammel Crow Corporation, once America's largest real estate developer. The case studies are described, and a common dialogue process diagram is developed. It is argued that the process diagram is a dialogue 'exemplar' that could be used as a framework for deepening the MD. A 'straw-man' proposal for offering NATO membership to all MD partners is provided and serves to test the framework, and offer several practical suggestions, including the use of informal channels and computer simulation and gaming.'

ID number: 80019118

Year: 2003

**2002**

449 /00042

Optimiser le processus de Barcelone - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union Europeenne.

52 p. ; 30 cm.

(Occasional Papers ; 36)

Author(s):

1. Schmid, Dorothee

Subject(s):

1. EMP
2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 50-52.

'Le Partenariat euro-mediterraneen est dans les faits un cadre de travail original, offrant la possibilite de structurer une action autonome de l'Union europeenne dans la region. Pourquoi

le processus de Barcelone s'est-il donc, chemin faisant, detourne de sa perspective strategique essentielle ? Quel sens donner aujourd'hui a un Partenariat que sa lourdeur et sa complexite rendent de moins en moins gerable ? Repondre a de telles questions suppose, une fois rappelees les contraintes qui pesent sur Barcelone de facon permanente, de se pencher sur les interets qui entrent en jeu dans la relation euro-mediterranenne, avant de reflechir sur les methodes et les institutions du Partenariat. Quatre themes de reflexion apparaissent ainsi comme prioritaires pour l'avenir du Partenariat. Premierement, le sens de la relation partenariale elle-meme, qui suppose de clarifier en quoi le statut de 'partenaire' peut etre considere comme attractif et porteur d'une dynamique pour les pays tiers mediterraneens. Deuxiemement, la portee de l'ambition regionale et la pretention de Barcelone a traiter simultanement le politique, l'economique et le social. Troisiemement, l'insuffisante visibilite du Partenariat, qui met en question sa faible institutionnalisation et son aspect parfois experimental. Quatriemement enfin, la pertinence et la centralite du cadre mediterraneen lui-meme, a la veille de l'elargissement de l'Union, et alors que de nouvelles lignes de structuration geopolitique se dessinent au-dela de la Mediterranee.'

ID number: 80018158

Year: 2002

355.4 /01322

Common Challenges to the Levant : Cooperative Security in the Middle East after Peace - Rome : NATO Defense College.

92 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 11)

ISBN: 8887967113

Author(s):

1. Mekheimer, Osama F.

Subject(s):

1. ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT--1993---PEACE
2. MIDDLE EAST--NATIONAL SECURITY
3. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

'In going back over the history and contents of several of the bilateral and multilateral initiatives in the field of cooperative security, including the ones launched by the OSCE, NATO, the European Union and the 1991 Madrid Framework, the author tries to establish what prospects there are for practical cooperation in the security field that could draw the countries of the Levant closer together. To do so, he begins by analysing the main economic, social and political indicators in the six countries comprising the Levant - Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and the Palestinian Territories - so as to identify possible areas of cooperation between them. In going back over the history of the various peace agreements that have been signed between Israel and its neighbours, he concludes that two major challenges will await the signatories immediatley after peace : how to sustain peace, on the one hand, and how to build lasting trust between the parties, on the other. He ends his analysis by urging Arab scholars to become more deeply involved in thinking about collective security while calling upon Middle Eastern governments to deepen their cooperation with Western countries and in particular with NATO.'

ID number: 80017931

Year: 2002

355.4 /01332

Future Talk : Building the Hybrid Security Community in the  
Euro-Mediterranean - [s.l.] : US Naval War College.

76 p. ; 23 cm.

(Jerome E. Levy Occasional Paper : Economic Geography and World Order  
; 3)

ISBN: 1884733190

Author(s):

1. Liotta, P. H.

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

3. EMP

4. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Naval War College (US)

Notes:

'This paper is about an extraordinary complex topic : how the political, cultural, economic, and security geographies of Greater Europe and the Greater Near East converge in the Euro-Mediterranean region, and how the success or failure of this convergence will shape future relations and shared security interests. In addition to describing the 'mental map' of the area known as the 'Euro-Mediterranean', this work addresses how economic influence, identity and governance, and environmental stresses influence security. This paper also integrates the cooperative initiatives that have been launched in recent years to address issues of common concern - and mutual benefit - for a region that is neither well defined nor understood.

ID number: 80018091

Year: 2002

355.4 /01342

Shaping a New Security Agenda for Future Regional Co-operation in the  
Mediterranean Region - Rome : NATO Defense College.

250 p. ; 21 cm.

(Seminar Report Series ; 14)

ISBN: 888796713X

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

2. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)

2. Universite Mohamed V. Centre d'Etudes Strategiques (MA)

Notes:

4th Mediterranean Dialogue International Research Seminar, Rome,  
21-24 November, 2001.

'The theme for this seminar had been selected before the terrorist attacks plunged the US into mourning on 11 september 2001. The organisers' objective was to identify ways in which the Mediterranean dialogue countries could deal collectively with those risks that are sometimes referred to, incorrectly, as soft security issues, and to draw up a new agenda for regional co-operation. Indeed, the seminar highlighted the fact that unresolved economic, political, and social problems actually help to sustain the breeding ground for open conflict and terrorism at both the local and the transnational level.'

ID number: 80018077

Year: 2002

449 /00037

The Emerging Euro-Mediterranean System - Manchester : Manchester University Press.

x, 156 p.; 25 cm.

(Europe in Change)

ISBN: 0719060133

Author(s):

1. Xenakis, Dimitris K.
2. Chrysochoou, Dimitris N.

Subject(s):

1. EMP
2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Chrysochoou, Dimitris N., 1970-

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 127-151. Includes index.

'This book offers new insights into a subject that has been of great interest recently to both scholars and policy-makers : the principal challenges facing the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership following the signing of the Barcelona Declaration in November 1995. It assesses past European policies towards the region, addresses questions of Mediterranean complexity, investigates the changing conditions of security-building, explores the normative dimensions of institutionalised governance, and accounts for the politics of order-building and regime-formation in the emerging Euro-Mediterranean system. The book is divided into three parts, each reflecting a particular concern with the structure and dynamics of Euro-Mediterranean governance. Part I accounts for the realities of the post-1989 international order and assesses the nature of Mediterranean complexity. Part II brings into focus past and present European policies towards the Mediterranean and the extent to which the newly-instituted Barcelona Process represents a break with the past. Part III justifies the centrality of theory towards the development of a more profound understanding of complex social and political phenomena and conceptualises the emerging properties of the Euro-Mediterranean system through the intersection of regime theory and international governance.'

ID number: 80017331

Year: 2001

449 /00041

The European Union-Maghrebian Dialogues : Echoes of Disappointments Past - Washington : Center for Strategic and International Studies.

viii, 63 p.; 28 cm.

(CSIS Report)

ISBN: 0892063858

Author(s):

1. Lewis, William Hubert

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Center for Strategic and International Studies (US)

Notes:

'This work analyses the reasons for the substantial failure of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in all three baskets established in Barcelona in 1995, predicting that Europe will have little success in the future as well as in encouraging political and economic reforms in the area and ensuring the Maghrebi support for the Barcelona Declaration. Of the seven chapters, three are

dedicated specifically to Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia; the seventh and last chapter touches on the role of the United States in the area and towards the EU, hoping for a more active role in the search for convergence and synergy towards North Africa. An appendix contains the full text of the November 1995 Barcelona Declaration.'

ID number: 80017845

Year: 2001

325 /00092

Immigration : Stability and Security in the Mediterranean Region - Rome : NATO Defense College.

120 p.; 21 cm.

(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 12)

ISBN: 8887967105

Author(s):

1. Haless, Mohamed Lemine Ould

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION
2. EUROPE--EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION
3. EMP

Added entry(s):

1. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

'This study is not intended to be exhaustive, but sets out to understand the challenges of immigration within the Euro-Mediterranean context. It attempts to improve the understanding of immigration itself, its root causes, and its positive and negative impacts on the sending and receiving countries and the immigrants themselves, as well as the consequences it might have on security and stability on both shores of the Mediterranean. The aim of this study is to analyse, discuss, and propose a set of short- and long-term solutions for controlling legal immigration and discouraging illegal immigration that will benefit the stability, security, and development of the entire region and serve the overall mutual interests of all the sending and receiving countries of the Mediterranean region and the European Union.'

ID number: 80017898

Year: 2001

338.9 /00659

Economic Transformation, Democratization, and Integration into the European Union : Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective - New York : Palgrave.

xx, 360 p. : ill.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333801229

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--ECONOMIC CONDITIONS
2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--ECONOMIC POLICY
3. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Gibson, Heather D., 1961- , ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'The transformation from a closed and inward-looking economy to an active integration into the European Union is one which a number of countries are facing. This book examines the experience of southern European countries where such transformation has occurred within a short space of time and has been accompanied by important sociopolitical developments, including the consolidation of democracy. The various contributions from authors from a number of social science disciplines cover a broad range of economic issues including the process of trade liberalization, labour markets structures,

the role of tourism, industrial policy and privatization, financial liberalization and the importance of EU structural funds. The focus of each chapter is on the motivation for economic change and, in particular, the role of integration into the European Union, the problems encountered and the lessons to be learnt.'

ID number: 80017137

Year: 2001

449 /00040

Europeanization and the Southern Periphery - London : Frank Cass.

287 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0714650870

Subject(s):

1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. EUROPE--ECONOMIC INTEGRATION
3. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--ECONOMIC POLICY
4. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Featherstone, Kevin, ed.
2. Kazamias, G. A., ed.

Notes:

Includes index.

'This volume presents a comparative study of the impact of the European Union (EU) on the states of southern and Mediterranean Europe. In doing so, it highlights different manifestations of a process of 'Europeanization', charting the varied impacts of EU obligations on state institutions and modes of governance, as well as wider state-society and state-economy relations. The focus is on the adaptation evident in the distinct institutional settings of each state. Europeanization via the structures of the EU entails more than a passive response to external pressures : the domestic and EU institutional settings are intermeshed, with actors engaged in both vertical and horizontal networks and institutional linkages. Thus, at the domestic level, Europeanization is both a cause and effect of action and this volume explores these diverse features in the different national studies.'

ID number: 80017833

Year: 2001

449 /00036

The EU's Enlargement and Mediterranean Strategies : A Comparative Analysis - New York : Palgrave.

xx, 403 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0333772814

Subject(s):

1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. EMP
3. EU--ENLARGEMENT

Added entry(s):

1. Maresceau, Marc, ed.
2. Lannon, Erwan, 1968- , ed.
3. University of Ghent. European Institute (BE)

Notes:

Includes index.

'This book analyses and compares the preferential relations between the EU and the countries on its eastern and southern peripheries. It presents a comprehensive study of the emerging pan-Euro-Mediterranean regional integration and analyses the economic, political and social strategies adopted by the EU, and will be an indispensable reference volume for those working on issues related to EU enlargement and Euro-Mediterranean partnership.'

Year: 2001

495.2 /00152

Security and Stability in the Mediterranean Region - Rome : NATO Defense College.

182 p. : ill. ; 21 cm.

(Seminar Report Series ; 12)

ISBN: 8887967075

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Ose, Dieter, ed.
2. Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.
3. NATO Defence College (IT)

Notes:

3rd International Research Seminar on Mediterranean Security, Rome, 2-4 November, 2000. NATO Defense College in conjunction with National Defense College - Nasser Higher Military Academy, Cairo.

'Focussing on the different fields of the dimensions of security and cooperation in the Mediterranean Region, this seminar made it clear that this region wishes to play a more active role and engage in a more constructive relationship with NATO as well as with the EU.'

ID number: 80017886

Year: 2001

355.4 /01321

La securite dans l'espace de l'est mediterraneen et du Proche-Orient = De veiligheid in het oostelijke Middellandse Zeegebied en het Nabije Oosten - [s.l.] : [s.n.].

80 p. : ill. ; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--NATIONAL SECURITY
2. EMP
3. EU--MIDDLE EAST

Added entry(s):

1. Universite Catholique de Louvain (BE)

Notes:

Proceedings, 28/11/2001.

ID number: 80017907

Year: 2001

**2000**

495.2 /00149

Dialogue with the Mediterranean : The Role of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative - New York : Garland.

xix, 261 p. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0815336241

Author(s):

1. Winrow, Gareth M.

Subject(s):

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

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 233-245. Includes index.

'This book is about NATO's Mediterranean dialogue. It uses a multi-level framework to examine multilateral and institutionalized attempts by NATO to foster relations with NATO dialogue countries (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia). The book is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter wades through the definitional and subjective

quicksand surrounding terms such as 'Mediterranean', 'region' and 'unstable peace'. The second chapter attempts to examine 'exactly' what is meant by 'Mediterranean security'. The third chapter provides an overview of NATO and individual NATO member countries relations during the Cold War era. The fourth chapter outlines the participation of non-NATO Mediterranean states in the NMI and the significant political developments taking place within them. The fifth chapter focuses on economic security issues, and highlights the lack of inter-state trade between southern states. The sixth chapter provides an historical overview of the allied action in the Gulf, Balkans and the Middle East. In the seventh chapter, the author delivers what it sets out to do by dividing the evolution of the NMI in three distinct ages. The eighth chapter examines the alternative Mediterranean dialogue and initiatives prevalent in the region. The ninth chapter is the conclusion.'

ID number: 80017597

Year: 2000

325 /00088

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

v, 74 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 41)

Author(s):

1. Pugh, Michael

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)

Notes:

'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.'

ID number: 80016660

Year: 2000

325 /00088

L'Europe et ses boat people : la cooperation maritime en Mediterranee -  
Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe  
Occidentale.

v, 81 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 41)

Author(s):

1. Pugh, Michael

Subject(s):

1. REFUGEEES--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--EMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION

3. EMP

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 78-81.

'L'immigration n'est certainement pas un risque en soi : les pays europeens ont besoin de l'apport des travailleurs immigres et il est souhaitable que les portes de l'Europe leur restent ouvertes de facon concertee et controlee. En revanche, l'immigration illegale represente un double risque pour la stabilite des pays europeens et pour la securite des clandestins qui s'engagent dans cette aventure au peril souvent de leur propre vie. Ce cahier traite de la question des 'boat people' en Europe, phenomene cyclique depuis quelqueus annees, notamment en Mediterranee au large des cotes italiennes, francaises et espagnoles. Au vide juridique et politique qui entoure le statut de ces clandestins de la mer s'ajoutent souvent des tragedies humanitaires que les democraties europeennes sont impuissantes a resoudre. Ce phenomene en Mediterranee occidentale repose essentiellement sur les differentes marines nationales concernees. Celles-ci ont certes deja une longue tradition de secours en mer et d'assistance aux autorites civiles, etant liees d'ailleurs par de nombreux accords bi- ou multinationaux de cooperation. Mais l'augmentation previsible du nombre de refugies maritimes, dans un contexte de developpement de la politique de securite commune de l'Union europeenne, plaide pour un renforcement de cette cooperation entre les marines europeennes d'une part et avec celles des pays du Sud de la Mediterranee d'autre part. Les boat people relevent donc essentiellement, selon l'auteur, d'une gestion humanitaire des crises, et non d'une menace militaire directe pour la securite des pays europeens.'

ID number: 80017553

Year: 2000

495.2 /00150

NATO Looks South : New Challenges and New Strategies in the Mediterranean  
- Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xvii, 64 p.; 30 cm.

(RAND Publications ; MR-1126)

ISBN: 0833028103

Author(s):

1. Lesser, Ian O., 1957-

Subject(s):

1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.rand.org/publications/electronic/gse.html>> accessed  
29/11/01.

'The security environment facing the United States and NATO in Europe is changing in fundamental ways, including a steady growth of security challenges emanating from Europe's southern periphery - around the Mediterranean and beyond. This study

explores this phenomenon, with special attention to transregional risks, Turkey's Alliance role and need for redefinition, the risk of a Greek-Turkish conflict, the Mediterranean dimension of NATO adaptation, and what these issues might mean for US and NATO strategy.'

ID number: 80017652

Year: 2000

327 /01005

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

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

ISBN: 0333725832

Author(s):

1. Gillespie, Richard

Subject(s):

1. SPAIN--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

2. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--FOREIGN RELATIONS--SPAIN

3. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Notes:

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.'

ID number: 80016145

Year: 2000

449 /00038

Mediterranee : defis et enjeux - Paris : Harmattan.

212 p. : ill. ; 22 cm.

(Les Cahiers de Confluences)

ISBN: 2738495923

Author(s):

1. Balta, Paul, 1929-

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--HISTORY

2. EMP

3. EUROPE--FOREIGN RELATIONS--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

4. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Notes:

Bibliography: p. 211-212.

'Culture, commerce et conflits se sont toujours conjugués en Méditerranée, foyer de grandes civilisations et berceau de trois religions monothéistes révélées. Dans cette mer des paradoxes, les riverains ont rarement réussi à s'unir en dépit de leurs aspirations. En 1995, la Déclaration de Barcelone, acte fondateur de la Méditerranée du XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle, a initié le partenariat entre l'Union européenne et douze pays méditerranéens, en vue de créer une zone de paix, de stabilité

et de prosperite partagee : l'Euro-Mediterranee. Dans une fresque allant des origines a nos jours, l'auteur expose les enjeux, considerables pour les riverains, et analyse les defis qu'ils doivent surmonter pour edifier un ensemble dynamique qui porte haut leurs valeurs au sein de la mondialisation.'

ID number: 80017650

Year: 2000

449 /00034

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

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

ISBN: 0754615383

Author(s):

1. Aghrout, Ahmed

Subject(s):

1. EU--AFRICA, NORTH

2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Notes:

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.'

ID number: 80017001

Year: 2000

449 /00035

Euro-Mediterranean Partnership for the 21st Century - Houndmills, UK : MacMillan.

xxii, 477 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 0333778383

Subject(s):

1. EMP

2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Brauch, Hans Gunter, 1947- , ed.

2. Marquina, Antonio, ed.

3. Biad, Abdelwahab, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 403-450. Includes index.

'In this book security experts and peace researchers from North Africa, Europe and the US analyse the evolution of the Euro-Mediterranean process between Barcelona (1995) and Stuttgart (1999), and offer proposals for confidence- and partnership-building measures among the twenty-seven countries. The contributors review the Northern debate and Southern perceptions of the four trans-Mediterranean security dialogues of OSCE, NATO, WEU and the EU and, in two case-studies on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Cyprus, they discuss the relevance of this concept for conflict resolution. Finally, they propose short-, medium-, and long-term partnership-building measures and projects and a code of conduct for good Euro-Mediterranean relations for the twenty-first century.'

Year: 2000

495.2 /00151

The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative : Evolution and Next Steps  
- Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.

xv, 50 p.; 30 cm.

(RAND Publications ; MR-1164-SMD)

ISBN: 083302812X

Subject(s):

1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

<<http://www.rand.org/publications/electronic/gse.html>> accessed  
29/11/01.

'NATO's Mediterranean Initiative is acquiring new significance with changes in the strategic environment and changes in NATO itself. Members of the NATO Dialogue will have a shared stake in addressing new security challenges, many of which are transregional and require cooperative strategies in response. Policy recommendations include reinforcement of the nongovernmental dimensions of the Dialogue, establishment of a region-specific agenda that can include defense training and exercises, and increasing resources devoted to the Initiative commensurate with the region's growing importance.'

ID number: 80017653

Year: 2000

## 1999

449 /00032

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

viii, 336 p.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 1840144475

Author(s):

1. Pierros, Philippos
2. Meunier, Jacob
3. Abrams, Stan

Subject(s):

1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. EMP
3. EEC--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Notes:

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.'

ID number: 80016015

Year: 1999

355.2 /00224

Cooperation in Peacekeeping among the Euro-Mediterranean Armed Forces -  
Paris : Institute for Security Studies of Western European Union.  
x, 39 p. ; 24 cm.  
(Chaillot Papers ; 35)

Author(s):

1. Echeverria, Carlos

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)

Notes:

'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.'

ID number: 80015607

Year: 1999

355.2 /00224

La cooperation entre les forces armees euro-mediterraneennes pour le maintien de la paix - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale.

x, 41 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 35)

Author(s):

1. Echeverria, Carlos

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

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

Notes:

'La securite cooperative va progressivement remplacer l'equilibre traditionnel de la puissance dans la mesure ou les Etats font de plus en plus appel au multilateralisme pour relever les nombreux defis mettant aujourd'hui en cause la prosperite et la securite de leurs populations. La frontiere entre les preoccupations humanitaires internationales et la definition des interets nationaux s'attenuent elle aussi peu a peu. La necessite de recourir a des instruments militaires pour repondre a des besoins non militaires est largement reconnue. Mais la facon dont ces 'operations de maintien de la paix' doivent etre entreprises depend de circonstances precises. Pour etre efficaces et s'inscrire dans la duree, elles reposent autant sur le consentement et la participation des beneficiaires que sur la legitimité institutionnelle. Lors de la chute du Mur de Berlin, l'inquietude a ete que la reintegration de l'Europe ait lieu aux depens de la Mediterranee. Le Partenariat euro-mediterraneen lance par l'UE en 1995, initiative essentiellement politique, aurait du rendre cette notion nulle et non avenue. Pourtant, la cooperation en matiere de securite ne joue encore qu'un role marginal, en attendant une attitude plus confiante, notamment de la part des partenaires mediterraneens de l'Europe. Ce cahier tente de montrer que l'experience et la confiance acquises par les forces armees des nations mediterraneennes non europeennes dans de nombreuses operations de maintien de la paix peuvent etre tres utiles pour des initiatives plus globales, a l'echelle de la region. Cependant, alors que l'UEO se rapproche de l'UE, cette derniere ne peut a l'egard de la Mediterranee que s'adapter a la demande, etre active. Les considerations exprimees ici sont soumises a un vaste debat entre l'UEO et ses partenaires mediterraneens, en vue de promouvoir le dialogue securitaire que l'UEO a developpe avec eux.'

ID number: 80017577

Year: 1999

441 /00082

A Balanced European Architecture : Enlargement of the European Union to Central Europe and the Mediterranean = Une architecture europeenne equilibree : l'ouverture de l'Union Europeenne vers l'Europe Centrale et la Mediterranee - Paris : Publisud.

223 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 286600616X

Subject(s):

1. EU--ENLARGEMENT
2. EU--CEE
3. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Elsenhans, Hartmut, ed.

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 201-218.

'French, Polish and German specialists discuss possible synergies of an enlargement of the European Union to the Central and East Central European Countries and the countries of the Southern Shore of the Mediterranean. This cooperation could become a central element of maintaining a balanced European architecture which the enlargement of the European Union to the East may threaten because of the increased centrality of Germany. The contradictions, the requirements and the priorities to be observed with respect to these two options are discussed within the framework of the overall foreign policies of the three countries of the Weimar triange.'

ID number: 80017053

Year: 1999

355.4 /01241

Mediterranean Security Into the Coming Millennium - Carlisle Barracks, PA  
: US Army War College.

v, 516 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 1584870036

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Blank, Stephen J., ed.

2. US Army War College. Strategic Studies Institute (US)

ID number: 80016036

Year: 1999

495.2 /00141

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

144 p. : ill.; 29 cm.

Subject(s):

1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Coccia, Maurizio, ed.

ID number: 80015927

Year: 1999

**1998**

941 /00013

Histoire de la Mediterranee - Paris : Seuil.

619 p. : ill.; 22 cm.

ISBN: 2020303620

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--HISTORY

Added entry(s):

1. Carpentier, Jean, ed.

2. Lebrun, Francois, ed.

Notes:

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.'

ID number: 80015487

Year: 1998

495.2 /00147

NATO's Mediterranean Initiative : Policy Issues and Dilemmas - Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation.  
xxiii, 107 p.; 23 cm.  
ISBN: 0833026054

Subject(s):

1. NATO--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)
2. Ministry of Defense (IT)

Notes:

Bibliography : p. 103-107.

'This report examines NATO's Mediterranean Initiative, which was launched at the end of 1994, and how the initiative can be developed as a vehicle for addressing some of the key security problems in the Mediterranean region. The report analyzes the growing connection between Mediterranean and European security; the contribution of other fora, particularly the 'Barcelona process' (the European Union's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, launched in Barcelona in 1995), to enhancing Mediterranean security; the origins and goals of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative; and the perspectives about the initiative of the members of the dialogue. The final chapter suggests ways in which the initiative could be expanded and deepened to enhance transparency of and understanding about NATO's goals and purposes.'

ID number: 80017380

Year: 1998

<b>1997</b>
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382 /00271

Options for Mashrek-Israeli Regionalism in the Context of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership - Brussels : Centre for European Policy Studies.

ii, 90 p.; 21 cm.

(CEPS Paper ; 67)

ISBN: 9290792264

Author(s):

1. Tovias, Alfred

Subject(s):

1. MIDDLE EAST--COMMERCE
2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Centre for European Policy Studies (BE)

Notes:

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.'

ID number: 80014067

Year: 1997

355.4 /01202

Die Lage im ostlichen Mittelmeerraum als Aspekt deutscher Sicherheitspolitik - Baden-Baden : Nomos.

170 p.; 23 cm.

(Schriftenreihe des Verbandes der Reservisten der Deutschen Bundeswehr e.V.: Wehrdienst und Gesellschaft ; 4)

ISBN: 3789047651

Subject(s):

1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

Added entry(s):

1. Trummer, Peter, ed.
2. Fleischer, Sabine, ed.
3. Puhs, Wolfgang, ed.

ID number: 80014475

Year: 1997

## 1996

623 /00834

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

xviii, 107 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 083302373X

Author(s):

1. Lesser, Ian O., 1957-
2. Tellis, Ashley J.

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Rand Corporation (US)

Notes:

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.'

ID number: 80014874

Year: 1996

355.4 /01228

Mediterranean Security : New Issues and Challenges - Santa Monica, CA :

Rand Corporation.

xi, 39 p.; 23 cm.

ISBN: 0833023845

Author(s):

1. Larrabee, F. Stephen
2. 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

Notes:

Conference Proceedings, Brussels, October 15-17, 1995.

ID number: 80015462

Year: 1996

355.4 /01187

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

23 p.; 28 cm.

(GPIS Working Paper ; 96.7)

Author(s):

1. Lansford, Tom

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. Old Dominion University (US)

ID number: 80013926

Year: 1996

355.4 /01174

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

51 p.; 24 cm.

(Chaillot Papers ; 25)

Author(s):

1. Faria, Fernanda
2. 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)

Notes:

'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.'

ID number: 80013552

Year: 1996

355.4 /01174

La securite dans le nord de l'Afrique : equivoques et realites - Paris : Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale.

v, 53 p.; 24 cm.

(Cahiers de Chaillot ; 25)

Author(s):

1. Faria, Fernanda
2. 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. Institut d'Etudes de Securite de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (FR)

Notes:

'L'arguemnt de cette etude est qu'il demeure des differences de langage et de perceptions de la securite entre les deux rives de la Mediterranee. La notion meme de securite, variable selon le pays, y est plus vaste qu'ailleurs. La presente publication suggere des politiques et des strategies tenant compte des particularites de la region et comporte, dans la seconde partie, une analyse au cas par cas des Etats mediterraneens non membres de l'UEO engages dans un dialogue de securite, ainsi que de la Lybie.'

ID number: 80017573

Year: 1996

449 /00030

Vers de nouvelles relations entre l'Europe et le Maghreb - Bruxelles : Institut Royal Superieur de Defense.

vi, 93 p.; 21 cm.

(Securite et Strategie)

Author(s):

1. El Bekri, Mohamed Ali

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)

Notes:

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 maghebine 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 percues 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-maghebine, 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 identifies dans le chapitre precedent. Enfin, le quatrieme chapitre est consacre a l'analyse des contraintes et des difficultes pouvant entraver les futures relations euro-maghebines et a l'elaboration de suggestions visant a les renforcer.'

ID number: 80013595

Year: 1996

449 /00029

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.

59 p.; 30 cm.

Subject(s):

1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Added entry(s):

1. Koninklijk Hoger Instituut voor Defensie (BE)
2. Institut Royal Superieur de Defense (BE)

Notes:

Colloquium 21 februari 1996 = colloque 21 fevrier 1996.

ID number: 80013421

Year: 1996

449 /00033

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

258 p.; 21 cm.

ISBN: 9990955077

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.

Notes:

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.'

ID number: 80016778

Year: 1996

**1995**

327 /00907

La Mediterranee : nouveaux defis, nouveaux risques - Paris :  
Publisud-Case.

255 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

ISBN: 286600728X

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

Notes:

'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, depassant 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.'

ID number: 80011937

Year: 1995

**1994**

495.2 /00122

NATO and Mediterranean Security : The New Central Region - London :  
Brassey's.

61 p. ; 21 cm.

(London Defence Studies ; 22)

Author(s):

1. Stenhouse, Mark
2. George, Bruce

Subject(s):

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

Added entry(s):

1. University of London. Centre for Defence Studies (GB)

ID number: 80010333

Year: 1994

## **PART II : JOURNAL ARTICLES**

### **DEUXIEME PARTIE : ARTICLES DE REVUES\*\***

**2004**

- Pace, Roderick  
Stavridis, Stelios  
Xenakis, Dimitris K.  
Parliaments and Civil Society Cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 15, no. 1, Winter 2004, p. 75-92.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Daguzan, Jean-Francois  
La Mediterranee au prisme du nouveau panorama strategique.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 60e annee, no. 5, mai 2004, p. 101-113.  
Après avoir dressé le panorama geostrategique resultant du 11 septembre 2001, de la 2eme Intifada et de la guerre en Irak, l'auteur etudie l'avenir du Partenariat euro-mediterraneen (PEM), bien mal en point. Il recommande que dans le Proche et le Moyen-Orient l'Europe reprenne l'initiative, laquelle restera distincte, mais complementaire du Greater Middle East americain.
  
- Volpi, Frederic  
Regional Community Building and the Transformation of International Relations : The Case of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.  
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 9, no. 2, Summer 2004, p. 145-164.  
This article examines whether there exists a European approach to international relations that makes a difference to the global prospects for political cooperation between western liberal democracies and other regional and cultural groupings. More precisely, it investigates whether, and how, the European Union through its Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) can create a new type of regional community that increases security and reduces politico-cultural tensions around the Mediterranean. In particular, the article addresses the issue of how far such a 'partnership' constitutes a new approach to community building that shuns old realist approaches to international relations but creates instead in the Mediterranean region a rationale for cooperation grounded in the social constructivist notion of a 'convergence of civilizations'.
  
- Schumacher, Tobias  
Riding on the Winds of Change : The Future of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 2, April - June 2004, p. 89-102.  
Considering the Barcelona process' dismal record so far, the author argues that a general revision of the process is highly warranted if the EMP is not to fail, like its predecessors did. The author surveys those areas where immediate progress is not only possible, but relatively easy to achieve and proposes redefining the EMP's geographic scope to transform it into a more inclusive and flexible Euro-Middle East Partnership. The article concludes with a brief discussion of the recent EU interim report entitled 'An EU Strategic Partnership with the Mediterranean and the Middle East', which seems to follow the logic of the proposed EMEP.

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\*\* This list contains material received as of September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 2 septembre 2004.

- Schmid, Dorothee  
La Mediterranee dans les politiques exterieures de l' Union europeenne : quel avenir pour une bonne idee ?  
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATEGIQUE, no. 49, printemps 2003, p. 23-32.  
Retracer la construction progressive du concept de Mediterranee et etudier l'usage qui en est fait, notamment dans le champ politique, peut nous aider a feuilleter l'album mediterraneen de maniere raisonnee ; et cet effort de distance nous permet aussi de porter notre attention sur l'Europe, qui est bel et bien l'autre acteur d'un mythe mediterraneen intresequement rassembleur. Le questionnement, fort classique, qui sous-tend cette reflexion est en effet le suivant : pour les Europeens, a quoi sert la Mediterranee ? Cet article tente ainsi d'examiner l'apport specifique de l'idee mediterraneenne a la formulation des politiques exterieures de l'Union europeenne, afin de comprendre en quoi la Mediterranee serait encore un cadre ou un horizon d'action fecond.
  
- Bin, Alberto  
Enhancing NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue.  
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2003, 3 p., accessed 24/04/03.  
<http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2003/issue1/english/art4 pr.html>  
At the Prague Summit, Alliance leaders agreed a package of measures to upgrade the Mediterranean Dialogue, NATO's programme that aims to contribute to security and stability in the wider Mediterranean region and achieve better understanding between NATO and its Mediterranean Partners. Measures include the possibility of taking further advantage of opportunities offered by the existing multilateral/bilateral dialogue with a view to establishing a more regular and more effective consultation process; intensifying the political relationship through high-level contacts and the involvement of decision-makers; using the framework of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC), including by associating the Mediterranean Partners with selected EAPC activities; and further developing practical cooperation in security matters of common concern, a tailored approach to cooperation and a continuous process of consultation at expert level. Further development of the Mediterranean Dialogue will likely draw inspiration from what NATO has already achieved with the EAPC and the Partnership for Peace.
  
- Biscop, Sven  
Opening Up the ESDP to the South : A Comprehensive and Cooperative Approach to Euro-Mediterranean Security.  
SECURITY DIALOGUE, vol. 34, no. 2, June 2003, p. 183-197.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The European Union currently lacks a strategic concept for its European Security and defence Policy (ESDP). However, two themes can already be discerned within the EU's security policy : a focus on the periphery of the union and a comprehensive and cooperative approach to security. These can be seen in the objectives of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. However, there have been few concrete developments within this project because of paralysis of the partnership's political and security basket. The main reason for this is the persistence of conflict in the Middle East, though a lack of trust between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean has also obstructed implementation of the partners' security commitments. Opening up the ESDP to participation by the EU's Mediterranean partners would make them less suspicious of the union's security policy. At the same time, it would provide a basis on which a close, institutionalized security partnership could be built, beginning with enhanced dialogue and the adoption of confidence- and security-building measures. This process could ultimately lead incrementally to the establishment of Euro-Mediterranean arrangements for crisis management and the emergence of a truly joint security policy.

- Robertson, George  
NATO & Mediterranean Security : Practical Steps Towards Partnership.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 148, no. 4, August 2003, p. 50-52.
  
- Del Sarto, Raffaella A.  
Israel's Contested Identity and the Mediterranean.  
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 2003, p. 27-58.  
Launched by the European Union in November 1995, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) relies on a region-building approach in its attempts to stabilize the southern Mediterranean. It entails the promotion of common values, interests and a shared identification among the participating parties. This article discusses the implications of the EMP's 'Mediterranean identity' for Israel. In view of Israel's unsettled regional identity and high degree of domestic fragmentation, the 'Mediterranean option' touches upon domestically disputed questions. Israel cannot engage in being part of a Mediterranean region so long as it has not sorted out what kind of state and society it wants to be.
  
- Sioussiouras, Petros  
The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Zone : Prospects and Possibilities.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 14, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 112-121.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Youngs, Richard  
European Approaches to Security in the Mediterranean.  
MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL, vol. 57, no. 3, Summer 2003, p. 414-431.  
The EU's 'comprehensive' approach to security in the Mediterranean links together economic liberalization, democracy promotion, social cooperation, and strategic objectives. In practice, the EU has failed to fully implement its own declared commitment to attack the underlying causes of instability emanating from the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding the limitations to EU policies, criticism of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership has commonly failed adequately to recognize the evolution in European approaches to security in the Mediterranean. Wholesale dismissals of EU efforts are unjustified; a more legitimate preoccupation relates to the challenge of better articulating linkages between different policy domains so as to realize the full potential of European strategies.
  
- Chrysochoou, Dimitris N.  
Xenakis, Dimitris N.  
Prospects for Euro-Mediterranean Governance.  
REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, vol. 2, no. 4, Summer 2003, p. 47-70.  
At a time when power is becoming more widely dispersed and 'low politics' areas acquire greater salience for students and practitioners alike, the Mediterranean finds itself in limbo between order and change. Against the background of unprecedented global transformations that redefine international politics, this article aims to assess developments in Euro-Mediterranean relations with a view to conceptualizing their intrinsic properties. Its principal aim is to draw normative and empirical insights from the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), as well as to investigate the extent to which the Partnership has been able to ascribe new meaning to regional order-building.

- Vasconcelos, Alvaro de  
The EU and the Mediterranean : Overhauling the Status Quo Policy Approach.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 38, no. 3, July - September 2003, p. 99-110.  
The author focuses on the initiatives that the Italian presidency can take in view of relaunching the EU's Common Strategy on the Mediterranean. He argues that the time has come to reconsider the EU's Mediterranean policy guidelines which have, over the years, revealed a number of shortcomings. One of these is the preference for regime stability even at the cost of reducing the possibilities for political transition towards more democratic political systems. According to the author, the Italian presidency could make a major contribution to changing this pro-status quo policy by encouraging the EU to be more active in the promotion of human rights and in supporting political reform. As for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, he argues that the Italian presidency should insist on the need for not only a credible monitoring mechanism for the 'Road Map', but also an international military force with clear rules of engagement.
  
- Euro-Mediterranean Relations After September 11 : International, Regional and Domestic Dynamics.  
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 8, no. 2 - 3, Summer - Autumn 2003, Special Issue.  
This collection sets out to analyse the development of politics in the Mediterranean against the background of a paradigmatically changing international environment. The terror attacks of 11 September 2001, the most decisive event determining international relations in recent times, have shifted the coordinates of the complex system of Euro-Mediterranean relations; they have shaken up intra-regional relations and have influenced the evolution of domestic politics within the region. Most of these developments are to the disadvantage of political and socio-economic processes that had started to prosper in the aftermath of the cold war.
  
- Calleya, Stephen C.  
Subregional Dynamics in the Western Mediterranean.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 14, no. 4, Fall 2003, p. 139-157.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The Mediterranean states are trying to expand the scope of action of their present foreign policy orientation. At the same time, however, they show no sign of convergence and most simply pay lip service to issues of the Mediterranean, preferring instead to give priority to Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa. Countries along the northern shore of the Mediterranean focus their attention on developments in the Western European international region. Countries in the southern and eastern part of the Mediterranean are more concerned with events in their own subregions and the Middle East as a whole. In other words, none of the states concerned can afford to sacrifice their strategic economic and military links outside the Mediterranean simply for the sake of Mediterranean orientation.

<b>2002</b>
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- Benchenane, Mustapha  
Les Etats-Unis et la Mediterranee.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58e annee, no. 4, avril 2002, p. 79-93.  
Les attentats du 11 septembre ont sensiblement modifie la politique des Etats-Unis, qui ont bascule en faveur de la politique d'A. Sharon. Apres avoir rappele la longue presence des Etats-Unis en Mediterranee - zone d'interets strategiques - l'auteur regrette la faiblesse de l'Europe et celle des Etats arabes, soigneusement entretenues. Malgre une timide prise de conscience d'un besoin de dialogue et de cooperation entre les rives Nord et Sud de la Mediterranee, que traduit le processus de

Barcelone ou le dialogue euro-mediterraneen de l'OTAN, on ne peut dire que la Mediterranee soit aux Mediterraneens. L'Europe et le monde arabe doivent devenir de vrais acteurs sur la scene internationale et contribuer ainsi, avec les Etats-Unis, a stabiliser la Mediterranee.

- Beneyto, Jose Maria  
Becerril, Belen  
La UE y el Mediterraneo.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 86, marzo - abril 2002, p. 157-170.  
La presidencia espanola dara un nuevo impulso al proceso euromediterraneo abierto en Barcelona en 1995. Una cumbre en Valencia discutira nuevos programas economicos y sociales.
  
- The European Union and Democracy Promotion : The Case of North Africa.  
DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 9, no. 1, Spring 2002, Whole Issue.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
The present collection provides a detailed study of the democracy promotion policies of one international actor, the European Union, in one specific area, North Africa. It is structured so as to provide a comprehensive analysis of the various factors and considerations pertinent to the external dimensions of democratization. The introduction expands on the range of themes judged to be relevant to the study of EU democracy promotion policies in North Africa, offering a contextual background for the issues that guide the collection's subsequent contributions. A number of these then go on to assess the nature of European policies and the motives behind the approaches to democracy promotion adopted by the EU member states. Related to this, a key theme is the assessment of how effectively the EU has deployed its resources as unified actor and of the dynamics of convergence and divergence between the policies of different European governments, notably France and Spain. Other contributions seek to shed light on North African perspectives on the EU's democracy promotion commitment and to explore the political implications of the impact that European policy has had on social, economic and political conditions in North Africa. The collection also includes analysis of the dynamics that have unfolded at the level of civil society, taking the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network as a case study. Finally, the conclusion seeks to draw together the different strands in order to assess whether there is a significant role that the EU can play in promoting political change in North Africa, either in the immediate future, with the prospects of democratization appearing remote, or at some future juncture, when democratic forces within the region have become more assertive.
  
- Biscop, Sven  
Network or Labyrinth ? The Challenge of Co-ordinating Western Security Dialogues with the Mediterranean.  
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 92-112.  
During the cold war, the Mediterranean was of limited interest to western security organizations, but as a consequence of the rising importance of Mediterranean security issues the WEU, NATO and the OSCE all initiated security dialogues with Mediterranean countries. Each of these organizations has its own particular approach to Mediterranean security with its own structures; there is little coordination between them. Participation in the dialogues is limited and they lack the comprehensive and multilateral character of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, which appears to be the most suitable framework to realize the objective of creating a Mediterranean area of peace and stability. Aligning the programmes of activity of the other Mediterranean initiatives so that they complement those of the EMP would therefore seem to be the most efficient and effective way of putting the available means to good use.

- Ounaies, Abderraouf A.  
Les enjeux de l' Euro-Maghreb.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 58eme annee, no. 8 - 9, aout - septembre 2002, p. 54-63.  
Sans etre partie prenante dans tous les enjeux de la grande Europe, le Maghreb s'estime neanmoins concerne par la portee du Partenariat euro-mediterraneen et par l'edification d'un futur pole europeen de puissance. L'Europe d'une part pourrait creer de nouveaux disequilibres entre la zone de l'elargissement et la zone du libre-echange; d'autre part, l'Europe reste un facteur decisif pour resorber l'ecart israelien dans la region. Le pole europeen de puissance s'impose par ailleurs comme un facteur d'equilibre mondial face aux menaces que fait peser l'unilateralisme des Etats-Unis qui, desormais, empruntent de plus en plus ouvertement, a l'echelle mondiale, le modele israelien dans la region.
  
- Robertson of Port Ellen, Georges  
Moving from Dialogue Towards Partnership.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 54-57.
  
- Bradshaw, Ben  
The Increasing Importance of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 58-59.
  
- Najem, T. P.  
Political Change and Long-Term Stability in the Mediterranean.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 60-62.  
The purpose of this paper is to examine the internal political environment in the Mediterranean region, arguing that political change has become an essential element of long-term stability in North African countries, as well as in other Arab countries in the region.
  
- Dagi, Ihsan D.  
Human Rights and International Security : The Challenge for NATO in the Mediterranean.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 13, no. 3, Summer 2002, p. 119-134.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
In an attempt to show the linkage between the domestic and the international aspects of human rights violations, the author explores the repercussions of the state of human rights on international security, with special reference to the Mediterranean. He argues that international security in general and the security of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization area in particular cannot be separated from respect for human rights, simply because such respect is a security-generating value and practice and as such cannot be ignored by institutions that claim to promote peace and provide security.
  
- Aliboni, Roberto  
Upgrading Political Responses in the Mediterranean.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 2, April - June 2002, p. 103-112.  
For years Western countries have made efforts and set up institutions aimed at rendering the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern areas stable and capable of peaceful change. These efforts have set in motion a considerable number of organisations and institutions based on cooperation and partnership. The impact of 11 September on international relations adds new strategic weight and importance to these efforts and suggests their strengthening. The question is how the constellation of initiatives of cooperation that have been established since the end of the 1980s can be reinforced and redirected to make them more effective and able to cope with the new challenges posed by the post-11 September world. To respond to this question, some comments are made on recent and current experiences, essentially the ACRS in the Middle East peace

process; the EU-initiated Euro-Mediterranean Partnership; and the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue. These are followed by recommendations and suggestions on what to do.

- Vasconcelos, Alvaro di  
Seven Points on the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 2, April - June 2002, p. 113-119.  
The author maintains that EMP has much to offer in several areas including confidence-building, the promotion of cultural dialogue and support for the participation of Southern Mediterranean countries in the world economy.
  
- Gillespie, Richard  
Spain's Pursuit of Security in the Western Mediterranean.  
EUROPEAN SECURITY, vol. 11, no. 2, Summer 2002, p. 48-74.  
Despite efforts to develop a more 'global' presence in the Mediterranean, Spanish foreign policy has remained preoccupied primarily with the western Mediterranean. Security concerns have featured prominently in Madrid's policy towards this area, although Spanish economic interests have grown notably in Morocco over the past decade. Spain has looked to the EU for multilateral reinforcement in support of its own national objectives, chiefly through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. It has found, however, that on major issues, such as northward migration, bilateral relationships remain fundamental to an effective pursuit of security. Policy effectiveness has been affected by a diversification of Spanish foreign policy ambitions under Aznar and a lack of coherence between northern and southern security concerns.
  
- Larrabee, F. Stephen  
US Middle East Policy after 9/11 : Implications for Transatlantic Relations.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 37, no. 3, July - September 2002, p. 43-56.  
The article discusses the impact that the events of 11 September has had on US policy in the Middle East, changing its attitude towards a number of important areas : the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey. The author critically notes that the war on terrorism has become the organising principle of US foreign policy and, in particular, that the US administration tends to see the various problems of the Middle East through the prism of terrorism, a view that obscures their deeper roots. This attitude, the author underlines, represents a relevant source of divergence from the Europeans who instead consider the Palestinian issue a high priority. He also gives a critical evaluation of the US declared objective of regime change in Iraq, emphasizing the formidable difficulties of any plan aimed at its democratic reconstruction after a major conflict. However, the author argues that, as a result of the recent evolution of the Middle East area, its problems are likely to intrude on the NATO agenda and that greater efforts will be required to reach a common transatlantic stance. Hence he concludes with a set of suggestions on how to achieve this goal, notably by reinforcing the NATO's Mediterranean Initiative which can, in his view, provide the basis for a comprehensive Western policy of security cooperation in the area.

- Delpesch, Therese  
The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Mediterranean.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 4, August 2002, p. 46-52.  
Making an objective, impartial and comprehensive European assessment of the nature and magnitude of weapons of mass destruction proliferation in the Mediterranean is no easy task. First, no such assessment has ever been undertaken by the European Union. Secondly, since much proliferation-related activity is by nature clandestine and therefore hidden from expert observation, strategic intelligence - an asset which Europe hardly possesses - appears essential. Finally, the scene is under constant and rapid evolution, particularly in the Middle East, with new developments that frequently have WMD implications.

## 2001

- 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'.
- Spencer, Claire  
The Mediterranean Matters : More Than Before.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 57, no. 3, March 2001, p. 15-17.  
Organised crime, it seems, knows no boundaries. The United Nations Convention against Transnational Crime, now open for signature, poses a difficult set of challenges to governments seeking to combat organised networks of an increasingly global nature. One such challenge is to the European Union's Mediterranean security policy, currently in flux. If illegal activities which begin in China end up in Casablanca, Gibraltar or New York, does it still make sense to try and contain them within the Mediterranean basin alone ? Can Europe ignore the corruption, poverty and violence in which global crime thrives ?
- Dezcallar, Jorge  
El Magreb que viene.  
POLITICA EXTERIOR, vol. 15, no. 80, marzo - abril 2001, p. 87-105.  
Los paises del magreb requieren un examen conjunto, que estudie la evolucion de sus respectivos procesos de construccion nacional y el reto de la modernizacion economica y politica. Solo asi podra elaborarse una politica europea - y espanola - que afronte las necesidades mas urgentes y propicie a largo plazo la integracion regional y la liberalizacion de sus sistemas de gobierno.
- Biscop, Sven  
Het Euro-Mediterraan Partnerschap en veiligheid : een moeizaam proces.  
VREDE EN VEILIGHEID, jg. 30, nr. 1, 2001, p. 39-52.  
Door de aanwezigheid van veel spanningen en conflicten blijft het Middellandse-Zeegebied een overwegend instabiele regio. Een rechtstreekse bedreiging voor de Europese Unie is er niet, maar er is wel een groot risico op Zuid-Zuidconflicten, die kunnen overslaan naar een lidstaat van de Unie en de veiligheid van Europese burgers in het buitenland en de economische belangen van de Europese Unie kunnen bedreigen. Samen met een aantal politieke overwegingen noopt dit tot een Middellandse-Zeegebied veiligheidsbeleid dat aandacht heft voor 'harde' veiligheidskwesaties.

Aanvankelijk was Europa's Midderraan beleid eenzijdig economisch gericht. Onder impuls van de zuidelijke lidstaten en naarmate de invloed van de Midderrane veiligheidssituatie op Europa duidelijk werd, werd een omvattend veiligheidsbeleid ontwikkeld. Dit resulteerde in het Euro-Midderraan Partnerschap, dat verregaande doelstellingen op veiligheidsgebied omvat. Als gevolg van onerigheid tussen de zuidelijke partners onderling, hun wantrouwen tegenover de Europese Unie en vooral het zich voortslepende conflict in het Midden-Oosten, konden deze doelstellingen echter nog niet worden gerealiseerd.

- Soltan, Gamal A. Gawad  
Security Perceptions in the Arab World and Euro-Med Relations.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 1, January - March 2001, p. 5-11.  
This article examines how the security perceptions of the Arab countries shape their approach towards the security agenda of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership.
  
- Ambrosetti, Massimo  
NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 1, January - March 2001, p. 83-89.  
This article analyses the results and prospects of NATO's Mediterranean dialogue, another major cooperation framework in the Mediterranean area.
  
- Pugh, Michael  
Mediterranean Boat People : A Case for Co-operation ?  
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 1-20.  
This article counters the hegemonic discourse about Mediterranean boat people as a 'threat' by representing the phenomenon as a welfare issue with political and social-economic foundations. It requires thinking about people on the move as an issue of human welfare, and recognition that assistance and regulation address only the symptoms of structural features of the international system. Practical requirements, however, demand that the issue be treated as a fruitful area for functional transMediterranean co-operation through frameworks such as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and the project for a Euro-Med Charter for Peace and Stability. Maritime governance can privilege human welfare on this issue, rather than being constructed around strategic or civilizational security threats.
  
- Lewis, William H.  
Gravitational Forces in the Mediterranean Basin.  
MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 2001, p. 23-42.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Hanelt, Christian-Peter  
Neugart, Felix  
Die Europa-Mittelmeer-Partnerschaft : Stabilitat und Prosperitat im Mittelmeer-Raum.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 56. Jahr, Nr. 8, August 2001, S. 53-58.  
Die 1995 in Barcelona aus der Taufe gehobene Europa-Mittelmeer-Partnerschaft bringt die Mitgliedstaaten der EU mit zwolf Landern des sudlichen und ostlichen Mittelmeer-Raums zusammen. Die beiden Verfasser untersuchen die Moglichkeiten dieses Konzepts, zu Stabilitat und Prosperitat in der Mittelmeer-Region und zum Frieden im Nahen Osten beizutragen.

- Biscop, Sven  
 Het Middellandse-Zeegebied in het Europees Veiligheids- en  
 Defensiebeleid.  
 INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR, jg. 55, nr. 11, november 2001, p. 536-540.  
 The author of this article states that now that the institutions and the  
 military capacity of the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) are  
 getting into place, it is time to consider a strategic concept in which  
 due attention should be given to the Mediterranean. Although no direct  
 military threat emerges from that region, the EU should formulate a  
 policy on 'hard' security issues, in order to safeguard its interests in  
 the Mediterranean. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership includes an  
 ambitious security basket, but as a result of the ongoing conflicts in  
 the region and the lack of trust between the northern and southern shores  
 of the Mediterranean, this has not been implemented to date. In the first  
 place the EU should therefore actively contribute to the resolution of  
 all current conflicts, notably in the Middle East. The EU can then open  
 up the ESDP to participation by its Mediterranean partners, as a first  
 step to a Euro-Mediterranean security partnership. After 11 September,  
 this would be the clearest signal of the EU's willingness to cooperate  
 with instead of confronting the Arab World.
  
- Liotta, P. H.  
 Challenging the Future : On Building a Culture of Confidence and  
 Partnership in the Euro-Mediterranean.  
 MEDITERRANEAN QUARTERLY, vol. 12, no. 4, Fall 2001, p. 33-61.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>
  
- Cavatorta, Francesco  
 Geopolitical Challenges to the Success of Democracy in North Africa :  
 Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco.  
 DEMOCRATIZATION, vol. 8, no. 4, Winter 2001, p. 175-194.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 The promotion of democracy in developing countries has been at the top of  
 the foreign policy agenda of most western countries in the last decade.  
 This stems from the liberal sentiment that the spread of democracy is the  
 basis for international peace. However, the continuities of power  
 politics outnumber the novelties of the international environment. This  
 article argues that processes of democratization cannot be simply  
 understood in light of the role of new concepts such as international  
 legal norms, liberal ideals and economic globalization. Geopolitical  
 understanding is key to explaining both failures and successes of  
 attempts to democratize. This study highlights how western promotion of  
 democracy is in fact the pursuit of selfish interests and democracy is a  
 criterion that powerful countries apply to serve their national interest.  
 This can be clearly witnessed when accounting for western policies in the  
 Maghreb where the West supports brutal authoritarian regimes for  
 geopolitical benefits. The connection between western regimes and Maghreb  
 reigning elites are examined to demonstrate how the discourse of  
 democracy is replaced by the practice of repression.

- Del Sarto, Raffaella  
Tovias, Alfred  
Caught Between Europe and the Orient : Israel and the EMP.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 4, October - December 2001, p.  
61-75.  
'The purpose of this article is to analyse Israel's attitude towards and  
experience with the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), launched at the  
Barcelona Conference in November 1995. Israel has a long history of  
bilateral relations with the EU and initially reacted with scepticism to  
the EMP, particularly regarding the economic rationale. In view of the  
potential political benefits, however, it adopted a more positive  
attitude towards the initiative. Yet it is the framework of the Barcelona  
process that remains problematic for Israel. While participating as a  
southern Mediterranean country, Israel differs from other MNMCs in terms  
of its socio-economic features, which are more similar to those of EU  
countries. Israel's perception of being caught between Europe and the  
Orient is also reflected in terms of culture and identity in view of EUs  
attempts to promote a "Mediterranean identity".'
  
- Bianchi, Patrizio  
A Common Future for the Two Shores of the Mediterranean ?  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 36, no. 4, October - December 2001, p.  
77-87.  
'Patrizio Bianchi analyses the various economic policy instruments that  
may be applied to create stable cooperative links between the two shores  
of the Mediterranean. He emphasizes the crucial importance of the removal  
of trade barriers as well as the need to promote structural adjustment in  
the southern Mediterranean countries as a pre-condition for their  
successful, that is socially sustainable, opening to foreign investment  
and international competition.'

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

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

- Tayfur, M. Fatih  
Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean .  
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 5, no. 3, September - October 2000, p. 125-145.
  
- Schilling, Walter  
Stabilitat im Mittelmeerraum : Aufgabe europaischer Politik.  
EUROPAISCHE SICHERHEIT, 49. Jg., Nr. 11, November 2000, S. 17-19.
  
- 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 renegociation 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.
  
- 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 deplaces ont toujours ete 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 etre 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.
  
- 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.

- 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.  
<http://www.swetswise.com>  
 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.
  
- 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.
  
- Terracini, Giulio Mario  
 Security in the Middle East : A Changing Environment.  
 COMMITTEE REPORTS (NATO Parliamentary Assembly), 2000, 13 p.  
 (491.6/24).  
<http://www.nato-pa.int/publications/comrep>  
 The rapporteur analyses here security in the Middle East taking into  
 account some significant developments in the last few months in  
 conjunction with some security concerns in the Persian Gulf, such as  
 energy security and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and  
 missile technology. He then tries to draw some indications for the future  
 of the various dialogue and cooperation initiatives across the  
 Mediterranean, with particular attention to the NATO Mediterranean  
 Dialogue Initiative.

- Coustilliere, Jean-Francois  
Mediterranee : quel enjeu pour le XXIe siecle ?  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 4, avril 1999, p. 5-21.
  
- 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.
  
- Mancebo, Francois  
En Mediterranee, un bloc regional a construire.  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 55eme annee, no. 7, juillet 1999, p. 80-95.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- Jacobs, Andreas  
Masala, Carlo  
Germany's Mediterranean Challenge.  
CONTEMPORARY SECURITY POLICY, vol. 20, no. 2, August 1999, p. 109-115.
  
- Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Areas : Commercial Implications.  
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 4, no. 2, Summer 1999, Special Issue.

- Spencer, Claire  
Partnership-building in the Mediterranean.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 34, no. 4, October - December 1999, p. 59-74.  
After analyzing the evolution of the strategic picture of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), the author sketches out a step-by-step process of confidence-building based on the principles to be set down in the Euro-Mediterranean Charter.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.

- Gordon, Philip  
Storms in the Med Blow Towards Europe.  
WORLD TODAY, vol. 54, no. 2, February 1998, p. 42-44.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- Turan, Ilter  
Mediterranean Security in the Light of Turkish Concerns.  
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 3, no. 2, June - August 1998, p. 16-31.
  
- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.

- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.'
  
- 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.

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

## 1997

- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership : Political and Economic Perspectives.  
MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 2, no. 1, Summer 1997, Whole Issue.
- La Mediterranee, enjeu strategique (plusieurs articles).  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 53eme annee, octobre 1997, p. 5-66.

- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.

- 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.

<b>1996</b>
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- Salies, Bruno Callies de  
Mediterranee : quelle politique envers les Etats du Sud ?  
DEFENSE NATIONALE, 52e annee, fevrier 1996, p. 93-108.
  
- Rhein, Eberhard  
Mit Geduld und Ausdauer zum Erfolg : die neue Mittelmeer-Politik der Europaischen Union.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1996, S. 15-20.
  
- Axt, Heinz-Jurgen  
Konflikttriade im Ostlichen Mittelmeer : die Türkei, Griechenland und Zypern.  
INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, 51. Jahr, Nr. 2, Februar 1996, S. 33-38.
  
- 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.
  
- 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.

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

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

- 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 form 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.
  
- Gautron, Jean-Claude  
La politique de l' Union Europeenne (Vetera et Nova).  
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 6eme annee, no. 4, 1996, p. 315-323.
  
- 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.
  
- Velo, Dario  
Europe's Policy between Variable Geometry and Single Market.  
REVUE DES AFFAIRES EUROPEENNES, 6eme annee, no. 4, 1996, p. 336-339.
  
- 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 precise de la configuration regionale des echanges des PECO. Il convient de la completer au moyen d'indicateurs d'intensite des echanges, qui sont utilises afin de mettre en evidence les effets de proximite geographique et historique qui jouent dans les relations commerciales privilegiees entre deux pays. Le calcul de ces indicateurs montre ainsi que la Pologne entretient des relations particulierement 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.

- La Méditerranée dans la vie internationale (7 articles).  
RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES, no. 87, automne 1996, p. 241-344.
- Tanner, Fred  
The Mediterranean Pact : A Framework for Soft Security Cooperation.  
PERCEPTIONS, vol. 1, no. 4, December 1996 - February 1997, p. 56-67.

## 1995

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

## 1994

- 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.
- Cooperation and Stability in the Mediterranean : An Agenda for Partnership.  
INTERNATIONAL SPECTATOR, vol. 29, no. 3, July - September 1994, p. 5-20.
- Poulain, Michel  
Les flux migratoires dans le bassin méditerranéen.  
POLITIQUE ÉTRANGÈRE, 59e année, no. 3, automne 1994, p. 689-705.

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