

**BRIDGING THE MEDITERRANEAN**  
**a bibliography**

**BOOKS**

The Mediterranean and the Middle East = Méditerranée et Moyen Orient  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2004  
(NDC Occasional Paper ; 4)

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Dufourcq, Jean, ed.  
Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.

Gestion des ressources naturelles et questions de sécurité en Méditerranée  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2004  
(Seminar Report Series ; 19)

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Security and Environment in the Mediterranean : Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts  
Berlin : Springer, 2003

'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.'

Bakken, Bent Erik, ed.

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NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue : Learning from Others  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2003  
(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 17)

'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.'

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Immigration : Stability and Security in the Mediterranean Region  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2003  
(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 21)

'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.'

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Jebnoun, Nouredine  
Ose, Dieter, ed.  
Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.

L'espace méditerranéen : les enjeux de la coopération et de la sécurité entre les rives nord et sud à l'aube du XXI<sup>ème</sup> siècle  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2003  
(NATO Defense College Serie Monographies ; 14)

'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.'

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Ose, Dieter, ed.  
Borgomano-Loup, Laure, ed.

Managing Change : Evolution in the Global Arena and Mediterranean Security  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2003  
(NATO Defense College Seminar Report Series ; 15)

5th Mediterranean 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.'

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Shaping a New Security Agenda for Future Regional Co-operation in the Mediterranean Region  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2002  
(Seminar Report Series ; 14)

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.'

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Mekheimer, Osama F.

Common Challenges to the Levant : Cooperative Security in the Middle East after Peace  
Rome : NATO Defense College, 2002  
(NATO Defense College Monograph Series ; 11)

'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 immediately 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.'

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Abd Alaziz, Alaa A. H.

Balance of Threat Perception and the Prospects of NATO Mediterranean Dialogue  
(NATO-EAPC Fellowships Winners - Egypt)

Final Report for the Institutional Research Fellowship Programme 2001-2003.

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Jerch, Martin

A Co-operative Security Approach to the Mediterranean : Linking Economic and Security Issues  
(NATO-EAPC Fellowships Winners - Germany)

Final Report. NATO-EAPC Research Fellowship 2000-2002.

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Couloubis, Theodore

NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue : Prospects and Policy Recommendations  
(NATO-EAPC Fellowships Winners - Greece)

NATO Institutional Research Fellowships 2000-2002. Final Report.

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The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative : Evolution and Next Steps  
Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation, 2000  
(RAND Publications ; MR-1164-SMD)

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.'

URL: <http://www.rand.org/publications/electronic/gse.html>

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Winrow, Gareth M.

Dialogue with the Mediterranean : The Role of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative  
New York : Garland, 2000

'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 eight chapter examines the alternative Mediterranean dialogue and initiatives prevalent in the region. The ninth chapter is the conclusion.'

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Lesser, Ian O., 1957-

NATO Looks South : New Challenges and New Strategies in the Mediterranean  
Santa Monica, CA : Rand Corporation, 2000  
(RAND Publications ; MR -1126)

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.'

URL: <http://www.rand.org/publications/electronic/gse.html>

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Brauch, Hans Gunter, 1947- , ed.  
Marquina, Antonio, ed.  
Biad, Abdelwahab, ed.

Euro-Mediterranean Partnership for the 21st Century  
Houndmills, UK : MacMillan, 2000

'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.'

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Coccia, Maurizio, ed.

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

## ARTICLES

De Hoop Scheffer, Jaap

Anticipating Istanbul

NATO REVIEW, Summer 2004, 3 p.

During NATO's first four decades there were only ten Summits. In the next 14 years, there will have been seven, all short on rhetoric, but long on substance. These numbers are a strong indication of how the pace of change has accelerated. The Istanbul Summit will introduce significant improvements in NATO's defence-planning and force-generation processes. Istanbul will also include an enhanced package of measures against terrorism and mark the full operational capability of NATO's new Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear Defence Battalion. Afghanistan is a top priority and the Summit provides the perfect setting for NATO to demonstrate its commitment to a better future for Afghans and their country. Istanbul will underline NATO's continued stabilising role in the Balkans and raise relations with Partner countries to a new level. Istanbul could also be the opportunity to launch a broader and more ambitious framework for NATO's outreach to countries from the Mediterranean and the wider region of the Middle East. By making progress in all these different areas, Istanbul will reaffirm NATO as the principal forum where Europe and North America address the key military and political issues of the day.

URL: [http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue2/english/art1\\_pr.html](http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue2/english/art1_pr.html)

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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'.

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Said, Mohamed Kadry

Assessing NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue

NATO REVIEW, Spring 2004, 4 p.

In the decade since NATO launched its Mediterranean Dialogue, the strategic environment in the Euro-Atlantic area, the Middle East and beyond has changed almost beyond recognition. Today, the geographic space for security cooperation between NATO and Dialogue countries

has expanded eastward all the way to Afghanistan and possibly beyond. The 'Clintonian' approach to the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean with its emphasis on dialogue, treaties, confidence building and economic incentives has been superseded by intrusive, pre-emptive and interventionist policies. And the more interventionist US approach to the Middle East is accompanied by an attempt to change the value system in the region to bring it more in line with Western, democratic models. The Mediterranean Dialogue has come a long way in the past decade and, as intended, has provided both NATO and Dialogue countries an opportunity to start to get to know each other. While there is potential for upgrading NATO's engagement in this part of the world, the Alliance must seek to develop a two-way relationship with Arab countries and also to address their security concerns.

URL: [http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue1/english/art4\\_pr.html](http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2004/issue1/english/art4_pr.html)

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Robertson, George

NATO & Mediterranean Security : Practical Steps Towards Partnership.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 148, no. 4, August 2003, p. 50-52.

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Bin, Alberto

Enhancing NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue.  
NATO REVIEW, Spring 2003, 3 p., accessed 24/04/03.

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.

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Bradshaw, Ben

The Increasing Importance of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue.  
RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 58-59.

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Robertson, Georges

Moving from Dialogue Towards Partnership.

RUSI JOURNAL, vol. 147, no. 3, June 2002, p. 54-57.