THEMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHIES
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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As a member of the NATO HQ staff you can borrow books (Type: M) for a period of one month and journals for one week. Reference works (Type: REF) must be consulted in the Library. People from outside NATO can borrow books through their local library via the interlibrary loan system.

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

Lorsqu'un article de revue est disponible en ligne, le lien vers le texte intégral est indiqué. Dans certains cas, un nom d'utilisateur et un mot de passe vous sont demandés. Vous pouvez les obtenir de la Bibliothèque sur simple demande.

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Vous pouvez également les consulter sur le site web de la Bibliothèque à http://www.nato.int/structur/library/library-f.htm
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...'

* This list contains material received as of September 2nd, 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
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.'

161 p.; 21 cm.
(NATO Defense College Serié Monographies ; 14)
ISBN: 8887967172

Subject(s):
1. MEDITERRANEAN REGION--NATIONAL SECURITY

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.'
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

ix, 209 p.; 23 cm.
ISBN: 0754619222
Author(s):
1. Gomez, Ricardo
Subject(s):
1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. EMP
Notes:
'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

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:
'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
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
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.
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-à-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
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 rappellees 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 reflexion 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
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

'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
x, 156 p.; 25 cm.
(Europe in Change)
ISBN: 0719060133
Author(s):
1. Xenakis, Dimitris K.
2. Chryssochoou, Dimitris N.
Subject(s):
1. EMP
2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Added entry(s):
1. Chryssochoou, Dimitris N., 1970-
Notes:
'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.'

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 /0092
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
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):
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
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.
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
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.
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.'
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.
3. NATO Defence College (IT)
Notes:
'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

La securite dans l'espace de l'est mediterraneen et du Proche-Orient = De veiligheid in het oostelijke Middelandse 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:
ID number: 80017907
Year: 2001

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:
'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.'

ID number: 80017597
Year: 2000
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. REFUGEES--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 stabilité 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 quelques 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 europenne, 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

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:
'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.'

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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:
'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.'

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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 conjugues en Mediterranee, foyer de grandes civilisations et berceau des trois religions monothéistes revelees. Dans cette mer des paradoxes, les riverains ont rarement reussi a s'unir en depot de leurs aspirations. En 1995, la Declaration de Barcelone, acte fondateur de la Mediterranee du XXI siecle, a initie le partenariat entre l'Union europeenne et douze pays mediterraneens, en vue de creer une zone de paix, de stabilite
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:
'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
xxii, 477 p. : ill.; 22 cm.
ISBN: 0333778383
Subject(s):
1. EMP
2. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Added entry(s):
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-Hercegovina 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.'
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:
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

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, Filippos
2. Meunier, Jacob
3. Abrams, Stan
Subject(s):
1. EU--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
2. EMP
3. EEC--MEDITERRANEAN REGION
Notes:
'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
'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.'
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'attenue 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 precis. Pour etre efficaces et s'inscrire dans la duree, elles reposent autant sur le consentement et la participation des beneficiaires que sur la legitimite 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

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
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

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
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:
'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
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:
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
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 engagees 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 maghrébin, l'auteur essaie de donner un apercu de l'aspiration a l'unite maghrébaine 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 perdues et les interets en jeu aussi bien du cote european que
du cote maghrebin, afin de pouvoir ultérieurement déterminer le
type de coopération nécessaire entre l'Europe et le Maghreb,
pour répondre aux besoins sécuritaires et satisfaire les
interets en jeu. Dans un troisième chapitre consacré au bilan
de la coopération euro-maghrebine, il essaie de déterminer si
la coopération passée a répondu aux attentes des parties
concernées et si la coopération présente et future seront à la
hauteur des enjeux identifiés dans le chapitre précédent.
Enfin, le quatrième chapitre est consacré à l'analyse des
contraintes et des difficultés pouvant entraver les futures
relations euro-maghrebines et a l'élaboration de suggestions
visant à les renforcer.'
ID number: 80013595
Year: 1996

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

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 systems d'armement, a
leurs modes d'organisation ou d'encadrement. Pese de plus en plus
lourdement, dans l'analyse des potentiels militaires des nations,
l'a 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
- Pace, Roderick
  Stavridis, Stelios
  Xenakis, Dimitris K.
http://www.swetswise.com

- Daguzan, Jean-Francois
La Mediterranee au prisme du nouveau panorama strategique.
Apres avoir dresse 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 american.

- Volpi, Frederic
Regional Community Building and the Transformation of International Relations: The Case of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.
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
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.

** This list contains material received as of September 2nd, 2004 – Cette liste est arrêtée au 2 septembre 2004.
La Méditerranée dans les politiques extérieures de l'Union européenne : quel avenir pour une bonne idée ?
REVUE INTERNATIONALE ET STRATÉGIQUE, no. 49, printemps 2003, p. 23-32.
Retracer la construction progressive du concept de Méditerranée et étudier l'usage qui en est fait, notamment dans le champ politique, peut nous aider à feuilleter l'album méditerranéen de manière raisonnée ; 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 méditerranéen intresequement rassembleur. Le questionnement, fort classique, qui sous-tend cette réflexion est en effet le suivant : pour les Européens, à quoi sert la Méditerranée ? Cet article tente ainsi d'examiner l'apport spécifique de l'idée méditerranéenne à la formulation des politiques extérieures de l'Union européenne, afin de comprendre en quoi la Méditerranée serait encore un cadre ou un horizon d'action fécond.

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.

http://www.swetswisse.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.
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.

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.

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 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.

2002

- 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 rappelle 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.

- The European Union and Democracy Promotion : The Case of North Africa.
  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.
  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.
Sans être partie prenante dans tous les enjeux de la grande Europe, le Maghreb s'estime néanmoins concerné par la portée du Partenariat euro-méditerranéen et par l'édification d'un futur pôle européen de puissance. L'Europe d'une part pourrait créer de nouveaux déséquilibres entre la zone de l'élargissement et la zone du libre-échange; d'autre part, l'Europe reste un facteur décisif pour resorber l'écart israélien dans la région. Le pôle européen de puissance s'impose par ailleurs comme un facteur d'équilibre mondial face aux menaces que fait peser l'unilateralisme des États-Unis qui, désormais, empruntent de plus en plus ouvertement, à l'échelle mondiale, le modèle israélien dans la région.

Robertson of Port Ellen, Georges
Moving from Dialogue Towards Partnership.

Bradshaw, Ben
The Increasing Importance of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue.

Najem, T. P.
Political Change and Long-Term Stability in the Mediterranean.
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.
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.
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.
- Delpech, Therese
The Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the Mediterranean. 
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.

- 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 ebauche 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. 
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. 
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 Mediterraan veiligheidsbeleid dat aandacht heeft voor 'harde' veiligheidskwesties.
Aanvankelijk was Europa's Mediterraan beleid eenzijdig economisch gericht. Onder impuls van de zuidelijke lidstaten en naarmate de invloed van de Mediterrane veiligheids situatie op Europa duidelijk werd, werd een omvattend veiligheidsbeleid ontwikkeld. Dit resulteerde in het Euro-Mediterraan Partnerschap, dat verregaande doelstellingen op veiligheidsgebied omvat. Als gevolg van oneerigheid 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.
  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.
  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 ?
  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.
  http://www.swetswise.com

- Hanelt, Christian-Peter
  Neugart, Felix
  Die Europa-Mittelmeer-Partnerschaft : Stabilität und Prosperität im Mittelmeer-Raum.
- Biscop, Sven
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.
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.
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.
Caught Between Europe and the Orient: Israel and the EMP.

Del Sarto, Raffaella


'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 EU's attempts to promote a "Mediterranean identity".'

A Common Future for the Two Shores of the Mediterranean?

Bianchi, Patrizio


'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.'

Het Euro-Mediterrane partnerschap: meer dan markt alleen.

Comijs, Diana

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.

NATO Mediterranean Dialog.

Baklanov, A.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (Minneapolis), vol. 46, no. 2, 2000, p. 111-115.
- Guazzone, Laura
Who Needs Conflict Prevention in the Mediterranean?
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
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
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.
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 importencia estrategica creciente, determinara crada 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.

MEDITERRANEAN POLITICS, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 2000, Special Issue.
Cinq ans après la signature de la Déclaration de Barcelone, le Partenariat euro-méditerranéen devrait, à l'occasion du sommet de Marseille, connaître des avancées significatives. Outre l'adoption de la Charte euro-méditerranéenne pour la paix et la stabilité, c'est à une véritable renégociation de la Déclaration de Barcelone à laquelle on devrait assister. En effet, on constate le passage d'une conception de la sécurité comprenant principalement une dimension militaire à une approche que l'on pourrait qualifier de 'Soft Security', c'est-à-dire une conception basée sur des principes de stabilité civile et socioéconomique. Néanmoins, les engagements récents de l'Union européenne dans les domaines de la défense et de la sécurité ont suscité quelques inquiétudes chez les pays du sud de la Méditerranée dont le sommet de Marseille pourrait se faire l'écho.

Les pays et les peuples riverains de la Méditerranée ont rarement connu la stabilité. Refugiés et déplacés ont toujours été légion. Les conflits d'aujourd'hui s'inscrivent dans cette continuité. La conférence de Barcelone est un projet de paix Nord-Sud dont la principale caractéristique est de mettre en place une zone de libre-échange et de stabilité qui devrait voir le jour en 2010. Ce projet ambitieux d'échanges contractuels peine à se mettre en place. L'Union européenne (UE) est accaparée par son élargissement vers l'Est. Le Sud méditerranéen, plus volontiers individualiste, renonce à faire sienne la philosophie unificatrice et communautaire que lui tend l'UE. La France, l'Espagne, et l'Italie pourraient être les moteurs de la Méditerranée en Europe. L'UE doit tenir compte de l'existence d'autres diplomaties, notamment américaine, qui sont à l'oeuvre en Méditerranée et qui peuvent modifier son projet. À l'égard des migrations, qui sont au cœur des relations Sud-Nord, l'Europe pourrait faire preuve d'innovativité et concevoir une gestion communautaire de la circulation des personnes.

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.
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.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Mediterranean: The threat to Western security.

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.

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  
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.  

- Youngs, Richard  
The Barcelona Process after the UK Presidency : The Need for Prioritization.  
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  

- Jacobs, Andreas  
Masala, Carlo  
Germany's Mediterranean Challenge.  

- Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Areas : Commercial Implications.  
- Spencer, Claire
Partnership-building in the Mediterranean.
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.
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
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.

- Santis, Nicola de
  The Future of NATO's Mediterranean Initiative.
  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-mediterraneen 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 multiculturisme. 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.
  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.

- Carlson, Adolf
  NATO and North Africa : Problems and Prospects.
  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.
  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.
  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.
  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.
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.
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, with 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.
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.
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 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 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.  
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?  
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?

1997

- Spencer, Claire
A Tale of Two Cities.
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.

- Tanner, Fred
The Euro-Med Partnership: Prospects for Arms Limitations and Confidence Building after Malta.
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.
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.

- La Mediterranee, enjeu strategique (plusieurs articles).
Calleya, Stephen C.
The Euro-Mediterranean Process After Malta: What Prospects?
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.
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.

Rhein, Eberhard
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.
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.

1996

- Salies, Bruno Callies de
  Mediterranee : quelle politique envers les Etats du Sud ?

- Rhein, Eberhard
  Mit Gedul und Ausdauer zum Erfolg : die neue Mittelmeer-Politik der Europaischen Union.

- Axt, Heinz-Jurgen
  Konflikttriade im Ostlichen Mittelmeer : die Turkei, Griechenland und Zypern.

- Jacobs, Andreas
  Obstacles to Cooperation between Europe and the Arab World.
  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.
  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.
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.

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.

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.

The EU and the Mediterranean : Is an 'Us' versus 'Them' Situation Inevitable?

Western Approaches to the Mediterranean.
Serfaty, Simon  
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.*  
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.*  
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.
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.
scandinaves, c'est aussi le cas de la Hongrie et de l'ex-Tchecoslovaquie 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).

- Tanner, Fred

1995

- Vormann, Ingo
  NATO'S Star Rises in the Med.

1994

- Farley, Jonathan
  The Mediterranean : Southern Threats to Northern Shores ?

- Farrar-Hockley, Dair
  Future Instability in the Mediterranean Basin.

- Cooperation and Stability in the Mediterranean : An Agenda for Partnership.

- Poulain, Michel
  Les flux migratoires dans le bassin méditerranéen.
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