

University of Southern Denmark, 8 September 2011:
Mediterranean Perspectives

Changing agendas in the Mediterranean Region
and the Middle East.
The European Mediterranean Partnership (EMP)
– its history and perspectives

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Literature:

- Seeberg, Peter: EU and the Mediterranean: Foreign Policy and Security,
- Dannreuther, Roland: Recasting the Barcelona Process: Europe and the Middle East,
- Malmvig, Helle: Cooperation, Reform and Dialogue: The EU's Ambivalent Security Discourses in the Mediterranean,

*...in Seeberg, Peter (2007). *EU and the Mediterranean. Foreign Policy and Security*. Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, pp. 1-37, 38-58, 85-140



Outline:

- The Middle East and the Peace Process in the 1990s as an important precondition for the Barcelona process...
- The Barcelona-process – its historical background, the actual context in 1995, the ambitions and achievements – an overview
- The Barcelona-project, November 1995, extracts from the treaty, the headlines of the treaty and the appendix'es
- Changes in the EU foreign and security policy agenda – challenges in the Mediterranean and the Middle East
- The concept of discourse in relation to foreign policy research: an introduction to discourse analysis
- Discourse analysis and the Mediterranean reality
- The Barcelona process and the Greater Middle East...



The Middle East and the Peace Process in the 1990s as an important precondition for the Barcelona process...

- Israel, the Lebanese quagmire and the Intifada from December 1987
- The Madrid negotiations in 1991, leading on to...
- The Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993:

"The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council (the "Council"), for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338."
- Hope for growth and better social conditions in the Mediterranean, strategic withdrawal (or at least moving east) by the US and gradually European taking over in the Mediterranean...

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The Barcelona-process – its historical background, the context in the 1990s, the ambitions and achievements – an overview

- an ambition about developing the foreign policy dimension after the Maastricht-agreement – the foreign policy column
 - the peace process launched in 1993 (– and stopped in 1996 with the murder of Rabin and the election of Netanyahu...)
 - the tragic development in Algeria in the 1990s
 - an American ambition about moving east in the Middle East – to the Gulf
 - a European interest in taking care of its own economic interests
 - the growing legal and illegal migration pressure...but also
 - ...a long term need for a foreign, cheap labour force in Europe
- ...all preconditions for the Barcelona-project from November 1995:

http://www.eeas.europa.eu/euromed/index_en.htm

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The Barcelona-project, November 1995, extracts from the treaty

- ...stressing that this Euro-Mediterranean initiative is not intended to replace the other activities and initiatives undertaken in the interests of the peace, stability and development of the region, but that it will contribute to their success. The participants support the realization of a just, comprehensive and lasting peace settlement in the Middle East based on the relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions and principles mentioned in the letter of invitation to the Madrid Middle East Peace Conference, including the principle land for peace, with all that this implies
- convinced that the general objective of turning the Mediterranean basin into an area of dialogue, exchange and cooperation guaranteeing peace, stability and prosperity requires a strengthening of democracy and respect for human rights, sustainable and balanced economic and social development, measures to combat poverty and promotion of greater understanding between cultures, which are all essential aspects of partnership
- hereby agree to establish a comprehensive partnership among the participants in the Euro-Mediterranean partnership through strengthened political dialogue on a regular basis, the development of economic and financial cooperation and greater emphasis on the social, cultural and human dimension, these being the three aspects of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership

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The headlines of the Treaty and the appendix'es

- See the Treaty here:
http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2005/july/tradoc_124236.pdf
 - Political & security partnership: Establishing a common area of peace & stability:
 - Economic cooperation and concerted action
 - Partnership in social, cultural and human affairs: Developing human resources, promoting understanding between cultures & exchanges between civil societies
 - + Annex: Work Programme
- In the culture section a special paragraph on migration, terrorism, drug trafficking, organised crime & illegal immigration. This is to a high degree (still) attached to the national level within the EU – (the Danish law on minimum 24 years for family reunion as an example...)

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Changes in the EU foreign and security policy agenda – challenges in the Mediterranean and the Middle East

- 9.11 was (also for European politicians) a tough awakening to a new reality
- The new challenge was – to find our own position between a pragmatic approach to the repressive Middle Eastern regimes and promote (our own) security...
- Gilles Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds*: "Before 9/11, Europe had provided a sanctuary where Al Qaeda's planners could complete preparations for the world-shattering operation they had conceived in the mountains of Afghanistan. But with events in Madrid in spring 2004, Europe emerged as the primary battlefield on which the future of global Islam will be decided." (Harvard 2004)
- The EU and the MENA-states: a schism between supporting the conservative regimes (against Islamism) – thereby contributing to further radicalization of the "opposition"

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Changes in the EU foreign and security policy agenda – challenges in the Mediterranean and the Middle East

- Arab Human Development Report 2002: The Middle East is behind in several indicators, particularly as to democratic possibilities
- The European "reaction": the launching of a series of bilateral democracy promotion programmes (UK, BRD, Dk, Sweden etc.)
- Added to that multilateral initiatives, cf. Solana: "The best protection for our security is a world of well-governed democratic states"
- A new initiative from 2003-4: the ENP building on bilateral agreements (Action Plans, see homepage: http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm)
- The dilemma of the changing paradigm: democracy promotion does not necessarily lead to progress and stability, examples: Iraq, Palestine...
- But recently: With the Arab Spring a (real) democratization process has started in the Middle East (?) – a farewell for good to the conservative "change to preserve", and to theories of authoritarian resilience... (?)

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Changes in the EU foreign and security policy agenda – challenges in the Mediterranean and the Middle East

- The 'soft power' of Europe is ineffective and exposes the role of the EU as being 'payer not player'
- USA is more problemoriented, not institutionalized, while the EU is basing its policy on institutions and conditionality
- The question is, however, does the EU foreign policy work, see for instance the cases of:
 - Iraq – some improvements lately for the US policy, the EU?
 - Iran – see http://www.eeas.europa.eu/iran/index_en.htm
 - Maghreb – the most developed area as to EU influence
 - Mashreq – Jordan as a 'role model' for EU policies
 - Palestine – support for Fatah (and not for Hamas)
 - GCC – competition for oil, security...
 - Turkey – accession talks from Oct. 2005, many problems unsolved

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The concept of discourse in relation to foreign policy research Introduction to poststructuralism & discourse analysis:

Background:

- Yet another "school" in International Politics theory...?
 - Discourse analysis close to social constructivism
 - Developed since the 1980s...
 - At first marginalized and severely criticized, now more 'main-stream'
- Poststructuralism, epistemology:
- Poststructuralism differentiates itself from traditional social science paradigms by its basic epistemological assumptions...
 - Epistemology – our ability to know if our knowledge is true?
 - Are there limits to our cognition? Do we perceive the world as it is...?..or will there always be 'disturbances', 'obstacles' etc?

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Introduction to discourse analysis:

Paradigms in social science, political science etc.

- Rationalism: We perceive the world with our reason, our common sense. *A priori* truths can be found. Our knowledge is universal and general
- Empiricism: We perceive the world with our experiences. Knowledge is established or constructed by observation and experience
- Hermeneutics: It is about interpreting the world. We can't explain the world, but we can understand the world...
- A methodology based on a hermeneutical approach will very often consist of interviews, field work, (participant-) observation...
- ...entering into something not explored before, like "Livingstone in Africa" contrary to for instance survey analysis...

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Introduction to discourse analysis:

"Objective" social science:

- Knowledge must be found/uncovered: 'the truth is out there'
- Our knowledge is a true representation of the world
- The world is independent of the researcher. It has its own existence

Poststructuralism/discourse analysis:

- Our knowledge about the world is shaped by the time and the context, in which we are living
- The world is nothing in itself, but a product of discursive representations
- Research cannot stand outside (or be independent) of the world which we are analyzing
- What counts as knowledge/truth changes over time – and knowledge is not a reflection of an objective world



Introduction to discourse analysis:

A typical focus for discourse analysis based research

- A critical research approach (Norman Fairclough: critical discourse analysis)
- Subject positions
- Object positions
- Identities
- Practices
- Representations of power, contradictions, inequality etc.



Discourse analysis and the Mediterranean reality

We can distinguish between different forms of representations of the Mediterranean reality, for example:

- The Mediterranean as a region (with attached sub-regions)
- The Mediterranean as "interface" – being expressed by representations of (European) power

If we take an example: Discourse analysis and security in the Mediterranean...

How in practice? If we claim that the Mediterranean is being securitized to an until now unseen degree: how do we analyze security within the framework of a discourse analysis approach?

- By focusing on discourses, narratives of security as such - and
- By focusing on decisions, actual expressions, laws translating the discourse into practice etc.



The discourses of the EU: Malmvig's main points

- Much research claims that, "the EU's commitment to democracy promotion in the Mediterranean/Middle East is merely a rhetorical commitment. In reality the Union is driven by narrow security interests..." (p. 85)
- But: are democracy and security necessarily on collision course? By claiming this you tend to miss a point, namely that the concept of security in itself contains a conflict...
- According to Malmvig the EU is torn – not between ideals and interests – but between two conflicting versions of security. Engaged in a paradoxical practice, reproducing two different security discourses:
 - a) a cooperative security discourse &
 - b) a liberal reform discourse

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The EU's security discourses: a cooperative security discourse

- it is possible to identify a narrative of common (security-) challenges, perceived as common EU-Mediterranean problems – like terror, radicalism, WMD, organized crime, illegal immigration, drug smuggling etc. – listed as anonymous phenomena
- the phenomena are confronted as common matters of importance, perceived as common for us (within the EU), but also among the partners south of the Mediterranean...
- a number of 'enemies' are constructed; emphasizing, that we are speaking of relations, which 'we' and 'them' have to tackle as identical conditions: identity becomes a central issue
- cooperation is necessary – because of the different identity of the two partners

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The EU's security discourses – a liberal reform discourse

- seemingly with the same point of departure – the various threat problems expressed as common security issues, but now perceived as expressions of more profound political and social problems in the Mediterranean space
- a clear cut border between the southern Mediterranean space and Europe
- phenomena like terror, extremism etc. are perceived as direct security threats, and the character of the authoritarian regimes and the lack of economic growth are perceived as 'root causes' for the problems...
- security becomes a question of EU's own interests and...
- to sum up: within the liberal reform discourse, the true sources of insecurity are the poor conditions south of the Med. – therefore by encouraging democratization, the EU can tackle the challenges at its roots and provide for its own security...

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The EU's discourses of security: and a new discourse on its way

- the basic problem is that the two discourses (pointed at by Helle Malmvig) – when applied simultaneously – lead to that the EU in effect is speaking in two different "security languages" at the same time...
- therefore a need for a new security discourse, based on cultural dialogue...(emerging or "launched" for instance in connection with "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue", 2008)...
- cultural dialogue and the belief in a 'convergence between cultures' – can be found within projects like the Anna Lindh-foundation (Alexandria)
- The following, final question marks remains: is it possible to establish new meaningful combinations of discourses? Or more directly: can dialogue lead to democracy? Or will securitization related to Euro-Mediterranean cooperation – in spite of attempts at democracy promotion – undermine the conditions for "dialogue-based interaction"?

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The Barcelona process and the Greater Middle East...

European policy towards the Middle East characterized by (Dannreuther): "complexity, strategic ambiguity and indeterminacy..." (p.38)

...but signs of increasing maturity and strategic competence in the European policy towards the Middle East

- Three dimensions of this dynamic of change: 1. the Barcelona-process as the most institutionalized and well established of the European engagements, 2. the ENP (Neighbourhood-policy) as an answer to the criticism for being 'neo-imperialist' and 3) the Gulf, Iran and Central Asia as the third dimension (like concentric circles...)
- Contradiction between the Barcelona-process perceived as an anachronism ...and the ENP as neoimperialism?
- Europa and the Greater Middle East – the EU's policy towards the Greater Middle East on its way to becoming a 'regime' (see next slide)

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The Barcelona process and the Greater Middle East...

The EU is according to Dannreuther trying to develop a 'regime' for the Middle East. A regime can be defined as:

"implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations" (Krasner)

The European regime contains the following dimensions:

- A two-state solution based on the Venice declaration
- A regionalist approach to the problems of the region – contrary to a globalist approach
- A John Stuart Mill approach to democratization (bottom up; inside-out...)
- A firm belief in the possibilities of dialogue
- A need for 'red lines' on behalf of the EU – only minor success
- Conclusion: The role of the EU is only likely to become more important...

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Relevant literature

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