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Mediterranean Perspectives

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) – new perspectives on European foreign and security policy
Discources on EU security and the Mediterranean
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Student Presentation: Differences between the EMP and the ENP

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Literature:

• EMP and ENP, homepages etc.
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• Pace, M. (2007). "Norm shifting from EMP to ENP: the EU as a norm entrepreneur in the south?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20(4): 659-675.
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• …in Seeberg, Peter (2007). *EU and the Mediterranean. Foreign Policy and Security*. Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, pp. 141-173

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Outline:

• Student presentation: Differences between the EMP and the ENP
• Can the ENP be perceived as an alternative to enlargement?
• From the EMP to the ENP – what's at stake?
• From normative regionalism to normative bilaterialism…what's the news and what does it mean?
• Migration and the security paradigm – new challenges
• Discussion and conclusions

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The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and the Union for the Mediterranean

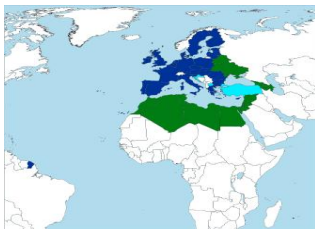▪http://www.eeas.europa.eu/euromed/index_en.htm

The European Neighbourhood Policy

▪http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/index_en.htm

The ENP as an alternative to enlargement

• The foreign policy of the EU is about 'transformational diplomacy' based on the enlargement-process, which other things being equal has strenghtened the EU as an actor

• Threats from outside and lack of inner coherence contributes to laying the foundation for the ENP-project

• How can the ENP be perceived as an alternative to enlargement? Dannreuther: "The ENP is (…) a strategy which seeks to promote the EU's transformational diplomacy but without the incentive of a perspective of future membership."

• A contradiction between interest in transformation and convergence among the neighbours and an interest in status quo? Examples: free trade and migration

• Difficult challenges from the former USSR-republics, but the ENP seems to be efficient towards them

The ENP as an alternative to enlargement

• A potentially positive development towards Israel, but with built-in conflicts towards the US and the Arab world

• The ENP is not 'revolutionary' in its design, but contains new visions about the EU as an entity influencing the neighbour states towards economic change and convergence of values

• In this respect the ENP can, according to Dannreuther, be understood as a significant and potentially even radically innovative policy…

• Summing up Dannreuthers rather positive view: by presenting a "final" solution to the question of the relations between the EU and its neighbours the ENP (in the sense that the ENP means a stop to further enlargement – except for the Balkans and (maybe) Turkey) – the ENP represents an alternative to enlargement. According to Dannreuther, that is…

From the EMP to the ENP – what's at stake?

• Del Sarto & Schumacher (see literature list): "… when the EMP started in 1995, peace-talking characterized the Middle East, multilateralism was the sign of the times, '9/11' was a perfidious movie scenario at best, the EU had 15 member states, and Saddam Hussein was still in power in Iraq."

• The EMP (and maybe also the Middle Eastern reality) did not live up to expectations…therefore the new scheme was introduced

• The enlargement process in itself created new conditions for cooperation between the EU and the non-EU-states in the ENP

• The ENP represents a policy shift, metaphorically launched in Dec. 2002 by Romano Prodi: …creating a 'ring of friends'

• The role of Turkey is not becoming more clear, and in the meantime Turkey is playing a new, more active role, which seem to strengthen the country vis-à-vis the Arab Middle East…

• With the ENP in principle the concept of Europe and the idea of the EU is becoming identical – this does not mean that all problems are solved…

From the EMP to the ENP – what's at stake?

• Four aspects seem to constitute the most important differences between the EMP and the ENP:

• The ENP leaves regionalism behind and establishes a differentiated and bilateral approach – *differentiated bilateralism*…

• Instead of negative conditionality ENP represents positive conditionality

• The ENP is more explicit as to the actual interests of the EU…

• The individual "bench-marking" approach is likely to create problems for the idea of the EU as a neutral broker in the MENA-area…

• Summing up: the bilateral approach seems potentially stronger than the regionalist approach of the EMP and it is the ambition of the ENP, by being more differentiated, to correct or adjust some of the imperfections of the EMP building on 'joint ownership' and positive conditionality. In my view it doesn't work – the bilateral conditionality has turned into unbinding statements and unclear goals…

From normative regionalism to normative bilaterialism…

- NB: the article by Michelle Pace attempts to analyze EMP and ENP from a discourse analysis perspective, by looking, for instance, at expressions of dialogue and shared norms
- What does it mean, that the EU is pursuing a normative policy? According to Pace it means that rules, standards, values and institutions are projected to Europes neighbours
- The EMP-model according to Pace can be seen as a 'normative regionalism model', whereas the ENP is a 'normative bilateralism model'
- But is it meaningful to speak of 'shared norms'? The mantra is "become like us, and we will reward you"! Is that what takes place?
- According to Pace with the ENP the normative dimension becomes even more obvious – but also another important point: "If the EU rocks the boat too much, it may risk upsetting the quest for stability and security"!

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From normative regionalism to normative bilaterialism…

- A critical question by Pace: is it meaningful to speak of 'shared interpretations of common values'? On one side the new approach is strong: divide and rule!
- Then on the other side (and notice when the article was published): New challenges create problems: 'Arab Democratization' meaning Islamist election success, the unsolved issue of how to deal with Hezbollah, Hamas, the Islamists in Iraq etc. What about the Arab Spring?
- The double strategy (being a normative power and at the same time pursuing political and economic interests) raises critical issues for both theoretical and policy level discussions
- How can the EU deal with the dilemma created by the new approach, that the ENP is more binding for the states involved – which means also for the EU itself. If it doesn't live up to this we might end in a reverse logic – as discussed in the article by myself…(see next seminar)

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Migration and the security paradigm – new challenges

- The security issue is relevant in a historical EU-context back from the "population bomb" to the recent threat of terror in Europe
- The security dimension is integrated in the Partnership policy as well as in the Neighbourhood policy
- The question is what we are talking about: who and what should be made secure?
- A number of critical questions can be lined up as to the relationship between migration and security – is this relationship always relevant?
- The question is relevant for the development of the overall security situation in Europe: the bombs in Madrid and London and the discussion about "homegrown" terror groups, but also theoretically…
- Therefore it is necessary to discuss and develop theories about the relation between migration and security – not the least after 9-11. How can this tragedy be perceived?

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Migration and the security paradigm – new challenges

- Theoretically the so-called Copenhagen school has been central in the development of theories within this area
- On a general level this has been a question of a theoretical development from a "traditional" foreign policy analysis building on realism (states as actors pursuing foreign and security policy interests) to more complex and sophisticated analysis focusing on 'societal security' – an understanding of security with a broader perspective: society, the community, "us" etc.
- In order to deal with this the concept of securitization has been developed – by Ole Wæver etc. (we will come back to that later…)
- As expressed by the Belgian political scientist Jef Huysmans in *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*, the point about securitization of immigration is relevant related to the issue of societal coherence – with the construction of the threat from "outside", 'us' vs. 'them', 'the other' etc.

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Migration and the security paradigm – new challenges

- Case: the Algerian migration to France – why relevant?
- Because of the radical right in France, which again and again points to the threat from the African immigrants
- The large number of Moroccan and particularly Algerian immigrants in France
- The tragic development since the attempt of FIS to come to power in the beginning of the 1990s
- A number of terror attacks in Paris, which resulted in extensive police actions, which by and large had success in uncovering and arresting the groups
- An important point is, that the activities did not lead to well functioning international cooperation or for that matter to French inclusion of the immigrants – or success in dealing with "the enemy within"
- Summing up: Security has become a decisive factor behind the immigration policies in Europe. It is highly controversial – and a important national issue (not the least in Denmark…)

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Supplementary literature

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