

Freie Universität Berlin

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Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence

Otto-Suhr-Institut für Politikwissenschaft

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Summer term 2006 /7.3 Aufbaumodul + Wahlaufbaumodul Internationale Beziehungen



15153 HS - The Barcelona Process - the Political Economy of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

Tuesday 14.00-16.00

Otto-Suhr-Institut

Ihnestr. 22 / E1

In 1995 European and Mediterranean governments signed the Barcelona Declaration, establishing a partnership aimed at building a zone of peace, stability and prosperity in the Mediterranean basin. As the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership enters its second decade, its results have clearly been disappointing, and much work remains to be done to resolve the many challenges facing this ambitious initiative.

In this course we will examine the major political and economic issues that affect the EU's relations with its Mediterranean neighbours. While the course deals principally with European policy in the region, the aim is to identify the core interests of actors on both sides of the Mediterranean and to assess how these interact in the institutional settings that have been created.

This course will be taught in English.

Requirements for credits:

- Regular and active participation in the course
- Presentation (in English) of one seminar theme (max. 30 min, handout please one week before the seminar)
- Hausarbeit in English, German, Spanish or French (10 - 15 pages)

Course Readings

- There are two or three core readings each week. These are the bare minimum for participation in discussion – presenters will need to use the secondary readings as well. Naturally, you can also read beyond the lists we give you.

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Course Outline

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|---------------|---|
| 18.04. | Introduction, regional overview (Gàndara/Furness) |
| 25.04 | The Euro-Med Partnership in its second decade: problems and prospects (Furness) |
| 02.05. | The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area. Can the EMFTA be established by 2010? (Gàndara /Büge) |
| 09.05. | Savings, investment and growth south of the Mediterranean: Where foreign investors fear to tread (Bolle) |
| 16.05. | Labour market governance: Can Europeans solve the MENA's employment puzzle? (Büge) |
| 23.05. | The EU and the Euro-Mediterranean negotiations process. Establishing the mandate of the European Commission in foreign policy negotiations (Bodenstein) |
| 30.05. | (AG1) EU-Enlargement and the new European Neighbourhood Policy. Does the ENP complement or conflict with the Barcelona Process? |
| 06.06. | (AG2) EU foreign aid: Reform, conditionality and unilateral foreign policy through the MEDA programme. |
| 13.06. | (AG3) Intra- and inter- regional migration: How effective are EU strategies for controlling regional migration flows? |
| 20.06. | (AG4) Regional integration south of the Mediterranean. Can the MENA be considered 'a region' politically as well as geographically? |
| 27.06. | (AG5) Regional security 1: Hard security. European regional security objectives, and the role of intergovernmental institutions. |
| 04.07 | (AG6) Regional security 2: Human security. Is EU security policy consistent with international human rights norms? |
| 11.07. | (AG7) Domestic reform in Mediterranean Partner Countries. What does 'democracy' mean in the MENA? |
| 18.07. | Discussion, course evaluation |

Seminar outline and Readings

18.04. Introduction, regional overview (Gàndara/Furness)

Readings:

- **European Commission** (1995) 'Barcelona Declaration' (Summary Compiled by MF)
- **Solingen**, Etel (2003). The Triple Logic of the European–Mediterranean Partnership: Hindsight and Foresight *International Politics* vol. 40

25.04. The Euro-Med Partnership in its second decade: problems and prospects (Furness)

Core Readings:

- **Philippart**, Eric (2003) The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Critical Evaluation of an Ambitious Scheme *European Foreign Affairs Review* vol. 8
- **Schumacher**, Tobias and Raffaella A. Del Sarto (2005) 'From EMP to ENP: What's at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy Towards the Southern Mediterranean?' *European Foreign Affairs Review* vol. 10

Secondary Readings:

- **Radwan**, Samir and Jean-Louis Reffers, Coordinators (2005) *The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, 10 Years after Barcelona: Achievements and Perspectives* FEMISE Network Publication available at www.femise.org.
- **European Commission** (2005) Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament: Tenth Anniversary of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

02.05. The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area: Can the EMFTA be established by 2010? (Gàndara /Büge)

Core Readings:

- **Schumacher**, Tobias (2004) 'Survival of the Fittest: The First Five Years of Euro-Mediterranean Economic Relations' EUI Working Paper RSCAS no. 2004/13
- **Radwan**, Samir and Jean-Louis Reffers, Coordinators (2005) *The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, 10 Years after Barcelona: Achievements and Perspectives* (pp 1-39). FEMISE Network Publication available at www.femise.org.

Secondary Readings:

- **Augier**, Patricia and Michael Gasiorek (2003). The Welfare Implications of Trade Liberalization between the Southern Mediterranean and the EU. *Applied Economics* vol. 35
- **Sioussiouras**, Petros (2003) 'The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Zone: Prospects and Possibilities' *Mediterranean Quarterly* 14:3

09.05. Savings, Investment and Growth South of the Mediterranean: Where foreign investors fear to tread (Bolle)

Core Readings:

- **OECD** (2006) 'Investment Climate and Regulation of International Investment in MENA Countries' MENA OECD Investment Programme Report

Secondary Readings:

- **Yousef**, Tarik M (2004) 'Development, Growth and Policy Reform in the Middle East and North Africa since 1950' *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18:3

16.05. Labour Market Governance: Can Europeans solve the MENA's employment puzzle? (Büge)

Core Readings:

- **Dasgupta**, Dipak, Mustapha K Nabli, Christopher Pissarides, and Aristomene Varoudakis (2003): 'Making Trade Work for Jobs: International Evidence and Lessons for MENA' World Bank Working Paper, Washington D.C./London.
- **Gardner**, Edward (2003): 'Creating Employment in the Middle East and North Africa' International Monetary Fund available at www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/med/2003/eng/gardner/index.htm

Secondary Readings:

- **Agénor**, Pierre-Richard; Mustapha K. Nabli, T. Yousef, Henning T. Jensen : 'Labor Market Reforms, Growth, and Unemployment in Labor-Exporting Countries in the Middle East and North Africa', World Bank Working Paper 3328, Washington D.C.
- **Keller**, Jennifer; Mustapha K Nabli (2002): 'The Macroeconomics of Labour Market Outcomes in MENA over the 1990s: How Growth Has Failed to Keep Pace with a Burgeoning Labor Market', World Bank Working Paper, Washington D.C.

23.05. The EU and the Euro-Mediterranean Negotiations Process: Establishing the mandate of the European Commission in foreign policy negotiations (Bodenstein)

Core Readings:

- **Hix**, Simon (2004). *The Political System of the European Union* (2nd edn) Chapter 12, Foreign Policies. London: Palgrave
- **Koenig-Archibugi**, Mathais: (2004) 'Explaining Government Preferences for Institutional Change in EU Foreign and Security Policy' *International Organisation* 58, Winter 2004

Complementary Readings

- **Philippart**, Eric. (2003) 'The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Unique Features, First Results and Future Challenges.' Middle East & Euro-Med Working Paper No. 10, April 2003.
- **Tsebelis**, George (2002). *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*, Chapter 11. Princeton. (Available at Jean Monnet Center – Room 210)

30.05. (AG1) EU-Enlargement and the new European Neighbourhood Policy: Does the ENP complement or conflict with the Barcelona Process?

Core Reading

- **Smith**, Karen E (2005) 'The outsiders: the European neighbourhood policy' *International Affairs* vol. 4
- **Johansson-Nogués**, Elisabeth (2004) 'A 'Ring of Friends?' the Implications of the Neighbourhood Policy for the Mediterranean' *Mediterranean Politics* 9:2

Secondary Reading

- **Bichara Khader** (2003) Eastern Enlargement and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Win-Win Game?' EuroMeSCo Paper 20
- **Chourou**, Bechir (2003) 'European Enlargement and its Impact on the Barcelona Process' and
- **Bobinski**, Kryzstof (2003) 'European Enlargement and the Barcelona Process' both in Andreas Jacobs (ed) Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation: Enlarging and Widening the Perspective ZEI Discussion Paper C131
- **European Commission** (2003) 'Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours', COM (2003) 104 final.

06.06. (AG2) EU Foreign Aid: Reform and conditionality through the MEDA programme

- **Holden, Patrick** (2005) Partnership Lost? The EU's Mediterranean Aid Programmes *Mediterranean Politics* 10:1
- **Stetter, Stephan** (2004) 'Torn Between Reform and Stagnation: an Institutional Analysis of the MEDA Programme' *EUI Working Paper RSCAS*, no. 2004/43

Secondary Reading

- **European Commission** (2005). Euro-Mediterranean Partnership – MEDA – Regional Indicative Programme 2005-2006.
- **Murphy, Emma C** (2001) 'The State and the Private Sector in North Africa: Seeking Specificity' *Mediterranean Politics* 6:2

13.06. (AG3) Intra- and Inter- Regional Migration: How effective are EU strategies for controlling regional migration flows?

Core Readings:

- **Johansson de Silva, Sara** and Carlos Silva-Jáuregui (2004): 'Migration and Trade in MENA: Problems or Solutions?' World Bank Discussion Paper, Washington D.C.
- **Nassar, Heba** and Ahmed Ghoneim (2003): 'Trade and Migration, are they Complements or Substitutes?' ERF Working Paper 0207, Cairo.

Secondary Readings:

- **Gallina, Andrea** (2004): 'Migration, financial flows and development in the Euro-Mediterranean area' Frederico Caffè Centre Research Report no. 5.
- **Weinstein, Eric** (2002): Migration for the benefit of all: Towards a new paradigm for economic immigration. *International Labour Review* 141:3
- **Widgren, Jonas** and Philip Martin (2002): Managing Migration: the Role of Economic Instruments. *International Migration* 40:5

20.06. (AG4) Regional Integration South of the Mediterranean: Can the MENA be considered 'a region' politically as well as geographically?

Core Readings:

- **Moulakis, Athanasios** (2005) The Mediterranean Region: Reality, Delusion, or Euro-Mediterranean Project? *Mediterranean Quarterly* 16:2

- **Lamy**, Pascal (2002). Stepping Stones or Stumbling Blocks? The EU's Approach Towards the Problem of Multilateralism vs. Regionalism in Trade Policy. *The World Economy* 25:10
- **Calleya**, Stephen (2004): 'The Euro-Med Partnership and Sub-Regionalism: A Case of Region-Building?' *UC Berkeley Institute of European Studies Paper* 040424

Secondary Readings:

- **Moxon-Browne**, Edward (2003): 'New Wine, Old Bottles, Or Both? Regional Integration in the Mediterranean' in *Peter Xuereb (ed) Euro-Med Integration and the 'Ring of Friends: The Mediterranean's European Challenge* vol. 4 Malta: European Documentation and Research Centre.
- **Escribano**, Gonzalo (2000): 'Euro-Mediterranean and Arab Integration: Political Implications and Trade Policy Response' *Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografia e Statistica*, vol. LIV

27.06. (AG5) Regional Security 1: Hard Security: European regional security objectives, and the role of intergovernmental institutions.

Core Readings:

- **Attina**, Fulvio (2004) 'The Building of Regional Security Partnership and the Security Culture Divide in the Mediterranean Region' University of California (Berkeley) Institute of European Studies paper 040508.
- **Perthes**, Völker (2004) 'America's "Greater Middle East" and Europe: Key Issues for Dialogue' *Middle East Policy Vol. 11 Issue 3 Page 85 September 2004*
- **Spencer**, Claire (2002) 'The EU as a Security Actor in the Mediterranean: Problems and Prospects' *Columbia International Affairs Online Quarterly Journal* vol.2 available at www.ciaonet.org/olj/co/co_apr02k.pdf

Secondary Readings:

- **European Commission** (2004) 'EU Strategic Partnership with the Mediterranean and Middle East', EuroMed Report 78
- **Wagner**, Wolfgang (2003) 'Why the EU's common foreign and security policy will remain intergovernmental: a rationalist institutional choice analysis of European crisis management policy' *Journal of European Public Policy* 10:4

04.07. (AG6) Regional Security 2: Human Security: Is EU security policy consistent with international human rights norms?

Core Reading

- **Youngs, Richard** (2004) 'Normative Dynamics and Strategic Interests in the EU's External Identity' *Journal of Common Market Studies* 42:2
- **Chourou, Bechir** (2005) 'Promoting Human Security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in the Arab States' UNESCO SHS/FPH/PHS/2005/PI/H/2 (pp. 11 – 38; 61 – 67), available at http://portal.unesco.org/shs/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=8598&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Secondary Reading

- **Haqhaqi, Jaouad** (2004): 'Small Arms and Regional Security in the Western Mediterranean: Reflections on European Views' *Mediterranean Quarterly* 15:3

11.07. (AG7) Domestic Reform in Mediterranean Partner Countries: What does 'democracy' mean in the MENA?

Core Reading

- **Tovias, Alfred and Mehmet Ugur** (2004) 'Can the EU Anchor Policy Reform in Third Countries? An Analysis of the Euro-Med Partnership' *European Union Politics* (5:4)
- **Gillespie, Richard and Richard Youngs** (2003) 'Democracy and the EMP: European and Arab Perspectives' EuroMeSCo Brief 6

Secondary Reading

- **Economist** (2005) 'Something Stirs – Middle East' *Economist* 5 March 2005
- **Volpi, Frédéric** (2004) 'Pseudo-Democracy in the Muslim World' *Third World Quarterly* (25:6)

18.07. Discussion, course evaluation