

**Freie Universität Berlin**

Prof. Dr. Michael Bolle, Dipl. Pol. Pablo Gandara, Mark Furness MA (Hons).

Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence

Otto-Suhr-Institut für Politikwissenschaft

Wintersemester 2005/2006



**15152 PS - The EU's Mediterranean Neighbourhood - the Political Economy of  
the Euro-Med-Partnership**

(4.2 Wahlpflichtmodul Internationale Politische Ökonomie)

Tuesday (Dienstag) 16.00-18.00; Garystr. 55 Room 105

Tutors' Office Hours by appointment: please contact us at:

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In 1995 European and Mediterranean governments signed the Barcelona Declaration, establishing an ongoing partnership aimed at building a zone of peace, stability and prosperity in the Mediterranean basin. As the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership enters its second decade, much work remains to be done in order to resolve the many challenges facing this ambitious initiative. In this course we will examine the major economic, political, cultural and security issues shaping the EU's relations with its Mediterranean neighbours.

**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)
- One essay or working paper either in English, German or Spanish (max. 3500 words)
- Good humour

**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 use complementary readings.

## Seminar Outline and Readings

### Section A: Introduction

#### 18.10. Introduction and Overview (MF, PG, Prof. Bolle)

#### 25.10. The Euro-Med Partnership Ten Years After Barcelona (MF, PG)

##### Core 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*, (179–194)

##### Complementary Reading

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

#### 01.11. 'A Civilian Power?' Political Theory and International Economic Policy (MF)

##### Core Readings

- **Moravcsik, Andrew** (2003) 'Striking a New Transatlantic Bargain' *Foreign Affairs* (82:4)
- **Attina, Fulvio** (2003) 'The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership Assessed: The Realist and Liberal Views' *European Foreign Affairs Review* (8:2)

##### Complementary Readings

- **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)

- **Wallace, Helen** (2000). Europeanisation and globalisation: Complementary or contradictory trends? *New Political Economy* (5, 3)

### 08.11. The EU-25's Decision-Making Processes and the EuroMed FTA (PG)

#### Core Readings:

- **Hix, Simon** (2004). The Political System of the European Union, Chapter 12, Foreign Policies. 2nd ed, London: Palgrave.
- **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).

#### Complementary Readings

- **Alesina/Angeloni/Schuknecht** (2001). What Does the European Union Do? NBER Working Paper No. 8647, December 2001. ([www.nber.org](http://www.nber.org))
- **Tsebelis, George** (2002). Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work, Chapter 11. Princeton. (Available at Jean Monnet Center – Room 210)

## Section B: The Core Issues of Euro-Mediterranean Relations

### 15.11. The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area (AG1)

#### Core Readings

- **Petros Siousiouras** (2003) 'The Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Zone: Prospects and Possibilities' *Mediterranean Quarterly* (14:3)
- **Tobias Schumacher** (2004) 'Survival of the Fittest: The First Five Years of Euro-Mediterranean Economic Relations' *EUI Working Paper RSCAS*, No. 2004/13

#### Secondary Readings

- **Ivan Martin** (2004) 'The Social Impact of Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Areas: A First Approach with Special Reference to the Case of Morocco' *Mediterranean Politics* (9:3)

- **Nougent/Youseff** (2005). Does MENA Defy Gravity? How MENA has Performed in its Intra-regional, EU and Other Trade. *EUI Working Papers RCSAS* No. 2005/26.
- **Augier/Gasiorek** (2003). The Welfare Implications of Trade Liberalization between the Southern Mediterranean and the EU. *Applied Economics* (35)

## 22.11.: Core Trade Issues: Agriculture and Fisheries (AG2)

### Core Readings

- **García, José María** (2002). Agricultural Trade and the Barcelona Process: Is full Liberalization possible? *European Review of Agricultural Economics* (29:3), 399-442.
- **Vaquer I Fanés, Jordi** (2003). The Domestic Dimension of EU External Policies: The Case of the EU-Morocco 2000-02 Fisheries Negotiations. *Mediterranean Politics*, (6:2), 51-67. (Available at Jean Monnet Center – Room 210)

### Secondary Reading

- **Awwad, Hanan** (2003). Euro-Mediterranean Agricultural Trade Policies: Are they Sustainable? Friends of the Earth Middle East. *Options Méditerranéennes, Sér. A / n°52*. (Available at Jean Monnet Center – Room 210)
- **Winters, L. Alan** (2005). The European agricultural trade policies and poverty *European Review of Agricultural Economics*, Vol 32 (3)

## 29.11. Public Sector Financial Assistance: The MEDA Programme (AG3)

### Core Reading

- **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.

## 06.12. Foreign Direct Investment South of the Mediterranean (AG4)

### Core Reading

- **Emma C. Murphy** (2001) 'The State and the Private Sector in North Africa: Seeking Specificity' *Mediterranean Politics* (6:2)
- **OECD** (2004). Regulatory Environment for International Investment in MENA Countries. (Esp. pp. 3 – 35)

### Secondary Reading

- **World Economic Forum** (2005). The Arab World Competitiveness Report 2005. Davos.

## 13.12. Energy and Water Issues (AG5)

### Core Readings:

- **Observatoire Méditerranéen de L'Énergie** (2003). Development of Energy Supplies to Europe from the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries.
- **Selby J** (2005). The Geopolitics of Water in the Middle East: fantasies and realities. *Third World Quarterly* (26:2)

### Complementary Readings:

- **Lemaitre, Phillipe** (2002) Energy Policy: EU Must Take Charge of its Own Fate *European Affairs* Spring 2002.

## 20.12. Regional Labour Markets, Demography and Migration (AG6)

### Core Reading

- **Fargues, Philippe** (2005). Mediterranean Migration 2005 Report. *CARIM at EUI*, pp. 5-33.
- **Ellen Laipson** (2002) 'The Middle East's Demographic Transition: What Does it Mean?' *Journal of International Affairs* (56:1)

- **Konstantinos D. Magliveras** (2004) 'Protecting the Rights of Migrant Workers in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership' *Mediterranean Politics* (9:3)

#### Secondary Reading

- **Pugh, M.** (2001) 'Mediterranean Boat People: A Case for Co-operation?' *Mediterranean Politics* (6:1)
- **Bougroum, Mohammed and Aomar Ibourek** (2003), 'The effects of job-creation schemes in Morocco' *International Labour Review* (142:3)
- **Weinstein, Eric** (2005). 'Migration for the benefit of all: Towards a new paradigm for economic immigration' *International Labour Review* (141:3)

### 03.01. Domestic and International Security (AG7)

#### Core Reading

- **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.
- **Balfour, Rosa** (2005). Rethinking the Euro-Mediterranean Political and Security Dialogue. ISS, *Occasional Papers* N° 52.

#### Secondary Reading

- **Chourou, Bechir** (2005) *Promoting Human Security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in the Arab States*. UNESCO.
- **Heller, Mark A.** (2003) 'Prospects for Creating a Regional Security Structure in the Middle East' *Journal of Strategic Studies* Vol. 26 No. 3

## Section C: 21st Century Challenges

### 10.01. Regional Integration in the Middle East and North Africa (AG8)

#### Core Reading

- **Stephen Calleya** (2004) 'The Euro-Med Partnership and Sub-Regionalism: A Case of Region-Building?' *UC Berkeley Institute of European Studies Paper* N°040424

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- **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.

### Secondary Reading

- **Escribano**, Gonzalo (2000) 'Euro-Mediterranean and Arab Integration: Political Implications and Trade Policy Response' *Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografia e Statistica*, vol. LIV
- **Chourou**, Bechir (2003). Arab regional integration as a prerequisite for a successful Euro-Mediterranean partnership. *Mediterranean Politics* (9:1)
- **Sadeh**, Tad (2003). Israel and a Euro-Mediterranean Internal Market. *Mediterranean Politics*, March 2004 (9:1)

## 17.01. EU Accession for Turkey (AG9)

### Core Reading

- **Akçakoca** Amanda, Fraser **Cameron** and Eberhard **Rhein** (2004) 'Turkey – Ready for the EU?' *EPC Issue Paper* No. 16
- **Flam**, Harry (2003). Turkey and the EU: Politics and Economics of Accession. *IIE Institute for International Economic Studies – Working Paper 718*.
- **Ulusoy**, Kivanc (2005). Turkey Reform Effort Reconsidered, 1987-2004. *EUI Working Paper RSCAS* No. 2005/28

### Secondary Reading

- **Oguzlu**, H. Tarik (2003) 'An Analysis of Turkey's Prospective Membership in the European Union from a 'Security' Perspective' *Security Dialogue* (34:3)
- **Halliday**, Fred (2004) 'Turkey and the Hypocrisies of Europe' Open Democracy 16 December 2004
- **European Commission** (2004). 2004 Regular Report on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession. Brussels.

## 24.01. EU Enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy (AG10)

### Core Reading

- **Johansson-Nogués**, Elisabeth (2004) 'A Ring of Friends? The Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy for the Mediterranean' *Mediterranean Politics* (9:2)
- **Smith**, Karen E. (2005). The outsiders: the European Neighbourhood Policy. *International Affairs*, (81:4)
- **Chourou**, Bechir (2003) 'European Enlargement and its Impact on the Barcelona Process' and **Kryzstof Bobinski** (2003) 'European Enlargement and the Barcelona Process' both in Andreas Jacobs (ed) Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation: Enlarging and Widening the Perspective. *ZEI Discussion Paper C131*

### Secondary Reading

- **Bichara Khader** (2003) Eastern Enlargement and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Win-Win Game?' EuroMeSCo Paper 20
- **Madalena Meyer-Resende** (2004) 'The Impact of Eastern Enlargement on the Barcelona Process' EuroMeSCo Paper 38

## 31.01. Geopolitical Challenges (AG11)

### Core Reading

- **William Wallace** (2003) 'Looking After the Neighbourhood: Responsibilities for the EU-25' *Notre Europe Policy Papers* No. 4
- **Eric Philippart** (2003) 'The Euro-Med Partnership: A Critical Evaluation of an Ambitious Scheme' *European Foreign Affairs Review* (8:2)
- **Perthes**, Volker (2005) 'Germany and the Middle East' SWP-Berlin. *Working paper FG6 2005/2*
- **Zoubir**, Yahia / **Benabdallah-Gambier**, Karima (2005). The United States and the North African Imbroglio: Balancing Interests in Algeria, Morocco, and the Western Sahara. *Mediterranean Politics* (10:2)

### Secondary Reading

- **Everts, Stephen** (2004) 'The Ultimate Test Case: Can Europe and America Forge a Joint Strategy for the Wider Middle East?' *International Affairs* (80:4)
- **Brian Crowe** (2003) 'A Common European Foreign Policy After Iraq?' *International Affairs* (79:3)

### **06.02. Domestic Reform in Mediterranean Partner Countries (AG12)**

#### Core Reading

- **Gillespie, Richard and Youngs, Richard** (2003) 'Democracy and the EMP: European and Arab Perspectives' EuroMeSCo Brief 6
- **Aliboni, Roberto** (2004) 'Promoting Democracy in the EMP: Which Political Strategy?' EuroMeSCo Working Group Report

#### Secondary Reading

- **UNDP** (2004). Arab Human Development Report 2004: Towards Freedom in the Arab World (executive summary).
- **Volpi, Frédéric** (2004) 'Pseudo-Democracy in the Muslim World' *Third World Quarterly* (25:6)

### **14.02. Discussion and Course Evaluation**