

# **THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A ‘POWER THROUGH TRADE’: THE CASE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN**

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## Abstract

In the lack of an institutionalized foreign policy the European Union was forced to use its trade policy in the region of the Mediterranean to achieve its foreign policy goals –where the Union has a peculiar interest due to the interconnectedness of the two regions. In the 1990's after the securitization of the region new institutional frameworks, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the European Neighbourhood Policy have been established. In my thesis I focus on European foreign policy in the Mediterranean using the discourse analysis method of related EMP and ENP documents to justify my claim that the EU is using trade policy to achieve foreign policy aims in the region in order establish and maintain security.

While the Association Agreements are providing more general objectives for the Mediterranean countries, the Action Plans are composed of detailed instructions for short and medium term to realize the main objectives applying positive conditionality. The analysis of the Action Plans of Jordan and Morocco showed that both documents are focusing on achieving higher security in the region, although the focus of the documents has been different. While in the case of Morocco migration and related social issues were the most important issues related to security, Jordan is closely connected to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

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## List of Abbreviations

AA	Association Agreement
ACP	African, Caribbean, Pacific Countries
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
AP	Action Plan
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy <sup>1</sup>
ENPI	European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument
EPC	European Political Cooperation
EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Area
GMP	Global Mediterranean Policy
NHDI	National Human Development Initiative, Morocco
NIP	National Indicative Programme
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territories
RMP	Renovated Mediterranean Policy

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<sup>1</sup> Although in the thesis I use the American spelling, the official term for the ENP is in the British mode of writing: European Neighbourhood Policy that I will use in the thesis.

# Introduction

The European Union has dialogues with several regions of the world; with the Eastern European countries and the Mediterranean countries through European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), with the Asian, Caribbean and Pacific countries (ACP), with the countries of Asia through the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), the countries of Southern America within Mercosur (European Commission: Trade: Countries and Regions.). However, not all these regions have the same importance in European foreign policy. While with the ACP countries, the ASEM and the states of the Mercosur the main aim of the Union is to increase economic development and improve trade relations, the situation is different with the countries of the Mediterranean and Eastern Europe. In these neighboring region the EU's policy 'is of critical importance' (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 157) and the regions have a high priority on the EU agenda. In the ENP, European policies are not only about achieving economic prosperity but to promote democratization, human rights and the rule of law. This thesis, however, is focusing only to the Mediterranean countries and not the Eastern Europe. This thesis claim that the EU is using trade policy for foreign policy aims in the Mediterranean region to ensure its security. In my thesis I define Mediterranean countries as Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT), Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. In my research, Turkey will not be included because although geographically it is part of the region, unlike other Mediterranean countries there is the possibility to become an EU Member State.

The mutual dependence of the two regions and the proximity of the Mediterranean to Europe provides unique opportunities but also threats for the EU. The geographical, historical proximity has been perceived as a security issue after the end of Cold War when next to the deepening of the integration, attention towards the neighboring countries increased. The need for renewing

relations with the Mediterranean has led to the institutionalization of the cooperation in the form of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) in 1995, and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) in 2004.

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the reasons and processes of increased attention. Therefore, I focus on the reasons of the increased attention of the EU to the Mediterranean region and to discover the main incentives for the foreign policy importance of the region in the EU. In my research I claim that in order to guarantee its security the EU is using its trade policy tools to achieve foreign policy goals. Through the analysis of the related documents of the EMP and the ENP I will analyze the main security concerns of the EU in the case of two Mediterranean countries, Morocco and Jordan. The topic of achieving security in the Mediterranean has great importance because of the related security issues being on the top of the European agenda, such as migration, organized crime, terrorism or the question of Israel and Palestine. The recent institutional change, the launch of the Union for the Mediterranean has also developed a political dialogue around European perception of the Mediterranean. Moreover, the recent unrests clearly called the attention of Europe to the importance of action in the Mediterranean and showed the actual instability of the region. This thesis, however, does not deal with the recent uprisings and revolutions in the Mediterranean region, partly due to constraints of length of the thesis and partly because these changes cannot be proven to be linked directly to EU foreign actions. Moreover, the effects of these unrests are still unpredictable, not only in Libya or Syria where violence is still active but also in the other countries. The analysis of these actions in the frame of European foreign policy is the subject of another research study.

Followed by the introduction, a short historical overview is necessary in order to present European attitudes towards the countries of the Mediterranean, and the methodology will introduce how the research was built up. The literature review of the second chapter shows the

different perceptions and role of European foreign and trade policy. Chapter 3 develops the hypothesis of the thesis as well as provides the justification of case selection. Chapter 4 is the analysis part of the thesis, focusing on EMP and ENP documents related to Jordan and Morocco. Chapter 5 develops the conclusions of the thesis.

### ***Historical overview***

For the main hypothesis it is important to stress that European interest in the Mediterranean region is not new, because the usage trade relations as foreign policy was developed before the EMP. There have been relations with the region since the start of the integration process, through Member States and later through European institutions (Bindi 2010: 32). In this section, I will summarize European policies towards the Mediterranean until the establishment of the first, presently existing frameworks, the EMP, in order to see the antecedent perception of the region.

Before the development of the political angle in the European Community through the creation of the European Political Cooperation (EPC) in 1969, the Euro-Mediterranean relations have only been economic; trade, development aid and the Association Agreements (AA) introduced in the Treaty of Rome in 1957 (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 158-159). In the developing system of ‘concentric circles’ of European trade relations the Mediterranean region was of high priority, the Northern Mediterranean countries being the first, the tightest cooperation circle and the Southern Mediterranean countries in the second circle (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 159). However, in the first 15 years European interest was only ‘accidental’, without any framework (Bicchi 2007:1; 43). Bicchi evaluates this period as there was the lack of European foreign policy’ (Bicchi 2007: 61) and necessarily European foreign relations towards the Mediterranean.



The development of EPC, however, together with the *détente* brought a change in the Euro-Mediterranean relations as well, and the question of the Mediterranean has been politicized. Therefore, parallel to the EPC negotiations the need for a ‘global Mediterranean approach’ has been raised (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 160), global in substance and geographical in meaning (Bicchi 2007: 97). As a result the Global Mediterranean Policy (GMP) was launched in 1976 with new agreements (Cooperation Agreements) signed with the Maghreb states (Bicchi 2007: 105). The GMP was the first initiative where the EC considered the Mediterranean countries as a region (Bicchi 2007: 63), ‘toward which it had political and developmental responsibilities’ (Bicchi 2007: 64). Economic relations with the region have become politicized because as a result of the oil shocks in the 1970’s the question of oil and mainly energy developed a mutual economic dependence (Bicchi 2007: 73-74). The new agreements not only focused on international trade but addressed questions such as social issues, financial and technical support and the establishment of joint institutions as well (Bicchi 2007: 105-107). The final goal as the single free trade area has also been mentioned during the GMP discussions for the first time (Bicchi 2007: 97). Parallel to the development of GMP, the Euro-Arab Dialogue was introduced in order to respond to the oil shocks, their effects and to ensure oil supply to Europe (Bicchi 2007: 101).

In the 1980’s European foreign attention decreased towards the Mediterranean because of the deepening and widening of the EC and as a result of the second Cold War (Bicchi 2007: 111; 113). In the 1990’s however, at the end of the Cold War European attention increased again toward the Mediterranean. While the region has begun to be seen as a security threat for the EC, and new security challenges were perceived such as migration, Islamic fundamentalism or organized crime; a need for a new policy moved high on the European agenda (Bicchi 2007: 130). Parallel to the preparatory negotiations of the Maastricht Treaty the Renovated Mediterranean Policy (RMP) was created to provide a new framework for the cooperation with the Mediterranean. However, the policy was restricted only to the Maghreb states (Bicchi 2007: 129-

132). The RMP would have increased the amount of funds to the region through new, multilateral and decentralized ways, pointing towards regionalism (Bicchi 2007: 155-156). The structure of RMP together with these new ideas later on was expanded to all nonmember Mediterranean countries as the EU launched the Barcelona Process in 1995 with a similar structure than the RMP, with a total of twenty-seven participants (Bindi 2010: 33). Before the launch of the Barcelona Process, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean, proposed by Spain failed due to the lack of interest by the partners (Bicchi 2007: 158). The Barcelona Process, however, was proved to be unsuccessful, thus in 2004 the European Neighbourhood Policy was launched in order to improve Euro-Mediterranean relations. In 2008 these two frameworks were expanded with the Nicolas Sarkozy French President's initiative, the Union for the Mediterranean. These three frameworks which at the moment compose the Euro-Mediterranean relations, will be introduced in detail in Chapter 4.

## ***Methodology***

This thesis focuses on the foreign policies of the European Union towards the Mediterranean countries. I use a qualitative method of analysis in order to focus on European action in the Mediterranean. Through discourse analysis I evaluate and analyze primary sources of documents related to Euro-Mediterranean relations, including Association Agreements, Action Plans (AP). In the discourse analysis documents will be looked at in detail, discovering the main points, structure and content; and comparing country-specific similarities and differences. The analysis of the supplementary documents show how the Association Agreements and the processes included have proceeded over time, how successful EU foreign policy was in these countries. Later, due to the limitations of length of this thesis, two countries, Morocco and Jordan, are looked at in more detail through other documents as well such as through the progress reports and annual assessments.

I consider Mediterranean countries as the Maghreb states, namely Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya; and as the countries of the 'Mediterranean Middle East': Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and the Occupied Palestinian Territory (Tocci and Voltoni 2010: 115). The notion 'Mediterranean countries' can also be interpreted as 'countries that border the Mediterranean, and which are not EC/EU members' (Bicchi 2007: 2). In this study, however, limitations will be done as the case of Turkey will not form part of the countries of the Mediterranean in the research for two reasons. In the case of Turkey there is a real future possibility of becoming a Member State of the European Union unlike Mediterranean countries, and the Association Agreement with Turkey is the earliest of these documents, created long before the other ten, in 1963 (Tocci and Voltoni 2010: 110).

In this thesis, after the introductory remarks and a short historical background, secondary sources of the scholarly literature are evaluated. Appropriate definitions for foreign policy in terms of EU, as well as for the difference between foreign policy and foreign economic policy are inevitable to be highlighted in the literature review. Through the general conclusions of the scholarly literature in the main research question, the main hypothesis is developed on the basis of these findings. The main hypothesis should be tested in order to validate, therefore I focus on EU documents in relation to the Mediterranean. In the next chapter the overview of the scholarly literature will show how European foreign policy in the Mediterranean is perceived.

## Chapter 1. Literature review

The aim of this thesis is to focus on the foreign policy of the European Union in the Mediterranean and to assess to why trade was forced to become an instrument of foreign policy. In order to place the research in the scholarly debate not only the assessment of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) but also the evaluation of the EU's foreign policy is necessary. The aim of this literature review is to place this research in the existing framework and to draw a picture of the different EU foreign policy understandings and definitions that can explain the shift in Mediterranean policies. The literature review does not concentrate on International Relations theories on EU foreign policy, rather aims to focus on the more practical understanding of foreign activity. After developing the foreign policy ideas, the EMP-ENP debate is necessary to develop for the further research in the thesis. The EMP-ENP discussion is an important part of the debate of the foreign policy of the European Union because both policies are providing a framework through which European foreign policy can be tested.

First, the definition of EU foreign policy is necessary, complemented with the difference between foreign policy and foreign economic policy in order to develop a working definition. Defining European foreign policy is inevitable because as it can be seen later it differs from national foreign policy as there is no institution that has centralized power in foreign policy making in the EU. The lack of traditional foreign policy obliges EU to use other capacities to arrive to foreign policy outcomes.

The scholarly literature agrees on the existence of a European foreign policy although not in a traditional national way as it lacks a member-state centralized authority (Knodt and Princen 2003: 1). Federiga Bindi and James Shapiro define foreign policy as 'the strategy or approach chosen by

a national government to achieve its goals in relation to external entities' (Bindi and Shapiro 2010: 340). Although the EU is 'neither a state, nor a traditional alliance' (Andreatta in: Gross 2009: 7), 'a European foreign policy not only exists but is a dynamic and ongoing process in which EU member states play a defining role' (Gross 2009: 7). Van Oudenaren also claims that although there was no foreign policy mandate of the European Community, it 'pursued a de facto foreign policy' through its economic power and for example the establishment of the Association Agreements (Van Oudenaren 2010: 17). However, the foreign economic policy, being part of the former first pillar directed by the EU level, is the most influential and effective foreign policy tool (Knodt and Princen 2003: 1; Gomez 2003: 1). The CFSP however, remains intergovernmental. As a result, while in the area of CFSP cooperation and coming to an agreement is more difficult, in the first pillar it is significantly easier (Sjursen 2003: 37).

Other definitions of foreign policy are also justifying the importance of foreign economic policy for the EU foreign activity. Federica Bicchì defines foreign policy as 'that body of declarations, decisions, and actions, that are made by the use of all the instruments that the EC/EU has at its disposal, that are decided at the EC/EU level, and conducted in its name toward a country or an area outside its borders' (Bicchì 2007: 2). Next to other issues such as migration or development policy it is external economic relations that are of crucial importance for foreign policy (Bicchì 2007: 2). Meunier and Nicolaïdis (2006: 906) state that the EU is a 'power through trade', a conflicting trade power using this strength as a bargaining power to influence policy changes in the international and the regional, bilateral level as well. Dür and Zimmermann in their article (2007) describe the EU as an, using trade as the 'most consequential aspect of EU foreign policy' (Dür and Zimmermann 2007: 771).

The definitions cited above are in accordance with my research in showing that because of the incapacibilities of the CFSP, tools of the Community pillar are used on the European level to

achieve foreign policy goals, such as trade. After covering the foreign policy definitions of the scholarly literature it is evident that foreign policy in European terms is highly interlinked with foreign economic policy, although the two concepts are not the same. This thesis applies the differentiation of Karen E. Smith (Smith 2004). She defines foreign policy as a sort of governmental activity that is not limited any more to high politics, can use economic means as well, but have aims that are explicitly security related or political. On the other hand, foreign economic policy's objectives may be related to politics, but includes economic means and goals as well (Smith 2004: 3).

Using its trade power for the EU is evident from the European point of view, as Andreas Dür, just as Faber and Orbie also argues that the EU is dominant in its regional and bilateral relations, for example towards the neighbor countries and former colonies, by trade tools, for example preferential agreements (Dür 2006: 363; Faber and Orbie 2008: 200). Vaduchova also describes EU foreign policy as being an important actor by providing economic incentives to 'export stability' towards the neighboring countries (Vaduchova 2007: 99-100). As seen above, it is a commonly accepted and descried fact that in the lack of a proper foreign policy framework the European Union is 'forced' to use other policy tools to achieve its foreign policy goals. In the region although there have been more attempts to politicize more the foreign policy discourse in the Union, 'in the absence of other instruments of foreign policy, the EU often uses trade policy to achieve foreign policy aims' (Dür 2006: 369) 'rather than its defence and military capacities, which have really mattered' (Gomez 2003: 7).

Since my research is focusing on the EU foreign policy in the Mediterranean region, the overview of the scholarly literature about the EU's Euro-Mediterranean policies is necessary. The debate discusses the incentives, reasons and relevant measures as well as the efficiency of the whole framework. The reason for the increased interest in the Mediterranean region is usually a

common feature in the literature. There is the generally acknowledged approach of ‘proximity’, both geographically and historically, alongside with security and ‘interlinkedness’ (Tocci and Voltolini 2010: 108).

Security of the Mediterranean is becoming a more and more important issue. Bicchi argues that after the Cold War the European approach of security transformed, the southern Mediterranean countries become more important on the security agenda, not only through the traditional military understanding of security but also through the questions of migration and Islamic fundamentalism (Bicchi 2007: 131-132). Migration in the EU was ‘perceived to open the door ... to all the problems which were associated with Mediterranean societies’ (Bicchi 2007: 140). Smith and Lahteenmaki also claim that the stability of Europe is strongly tied to the stability of the Mediterranean region (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 155).

The reasons for the lack of success of the European policies in the region are, however, different. The two main approaches are: on the one hand the threat posed by these policies to the Mediterranean states which could weaken the domestic power of the countries of the Southern shore (Taylor 2010: 148; N. Rózsa 2010:4); and on the other hand the lack of real incentives for them to cooperate. Stefan Gänzle as a representative of this approach claims that political conditionality could only be effective from the part of the EU if it included the perspective of the membership, the main ‘carrot’ (Gänzle 2009: 1716; Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 207). In the literature it is mentioned to be an ‘important external governance tool’, a key factor (Khasson et al. 2008: 231; Cassier 2010: 102). These two reasons cannot be separated from each other; however, they both were causing the lack of success in the Mediterranean.

The development of the Euro-Mediterranean frameworks however can also be explained from a public policy perspective. Federica Bicchi describes the process as a series of policy windows

throughout the process of European integration. In her approach the European policies towards the Mediterranean moved forward when there was an open policy window, a policy entrepreneur available and the interaction between the member state and the EC/EU level (Bicchi 2007: 9-10). As mentioned above, most of the scholars share a common opinion about the success - or the lack of it - of the EMP-ENP frameworks, namely that the policies have not fulfilled their goals and failed to influence in merit the domestic policies of the Mediterranean states (Tocci and Voltolini 2010: 130; Youngs 2009: 901; Panebianco 2010: 186; Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 275). There are however, differences between the goals on EMP and ENP. While EMP is more about enforcing the regional cooperation, ENP builds more on bilateral relations (Panebianco 2010: 187). Stefan Fröhlich claims that, contrary to other authors published in the topic, before ENP there was an attempt to construct agreements that are 'one-size-fits-all' and there has been 'almost no correlation between democratic progress and economic issues' as the EU did not react to non-democratic activity of the states (Fröhlich 2007: 82). The ENP with its conditionality principles (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 155; Baracani 2005: 266, 268), the ENPI (European Neighbourhood Policy replacing MEDA and the Action Plans next to the Association Agreements can provide a better partnership (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 279).

There are other perspectives to analyze European foreign policies in the Mediterranean that cover a significant part of the scholarly debate. Although the approach developed below does not help to explain the research problem of the thesis, it has to be mentioned. This commonly accepted approach is the process of 'Europeanization' and the perception of Europe as a 'normative power'. In their book Kevin Featherstone and George Kazamias (Featherstone and Kazamias 2001: 4)) claim that Europeanization is the 'adaptation to Western norms and practices', 'representing an alternative mode of governance' (Featherstone and Kazamias 2001: 4). Khasson et al. define Europeanization as exporting the EU's *acquis communautaire* (Khasson et al. 2008: 224). Smith and Lahteenmaki defined Europeanization more from the Mediterranean



perspective, being in their article as a ‘process by which the countries of the AMU [Arab Maghreb Union] undertake structural transformations in order that they may benefit from the economic networks’ (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 155), ‘extension of economic and political interdependencies’ (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 156). Although the Europeanization concept is traditionally applied to European states becoming members of the Union it can be applied to the Southern Mediterranean countries that are linked to the EU through the EMP. In this sense the EMP can be perceived as a framework, wishing to export European norms and values. This approach thus suits to another popular theory about the EU being a normative, ‘civilian power’ that promotes norms and human rights and rule of law (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 158; Gomez 2003: 2; Panebianco 2010: 192; Manners 2010: 29). However, although in the documents there are attempts to motivate political and normative reforms, on one hand there have not been operative instruments necessary adapted (Panebianco 2010: 188); and on the other hand the EU is well aware of the possible destabilizing effects of democracy promotion (Panebianco 2010: 193).

After analyzing the scholarly literature it is clear that the European Union has *de facto* a foreign policy although not in a traditional format. As a consequence, the EU is stressed to use other tools such as foreign policy to achieve foreign policy goals, although not every European trade relation is considered to be foreign policy. The Mediterranean is a region of high importance in EU foreign relations, partially because it became ‘securitized’. The newly established frameworks in order to develop an appropriate approach towards the Mediterranean, however, failed to be successful according to the scholars. The assessment of the Euro-Mediterranean frameworks, however, failed to show how and why trade policy shifted to become a foreign policy tool in the Mediterranean. Thus, it is the primary aim of this work to evaluate on the reasoning and on the possible ways of how European foreign policies are working in the Mediterranean.

## Chapter 2: Hypothesis

My research question is why the EU's trade policy is operating as foreign policy in the Mediterranean. Although in the scholarly literature the European activity to use trade policy to achieve foreign policy goals is mentioned in several works, the evaluations of the related documents and policies elaborated so far seems not to be answering this question in every sense. Therefore, in order to answer my research question I will analyze the documents of the Euro-Mediterranean frameworks, the EMP and the ENP to contribute to the existing debate on the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation.

The historical overview of the Euro-Mediterranean relations in the introduction and the literature review of this study show that European economic relations towards the Mediterranean have been of a great importance since the start of the integration process. Foreign economic relations, however, do not always mean foreign policy. In order to reach my main hypothesis I use the definition of Karen E. Smith to differentiate between foreign policy and foreign economic policy. As developed in a more detailed way in the literature review, foreign policy has specific, political goals whereas foreign economic policy – although using the same assets – has economic aims only. This basic difference between foreign policy and foreign economic policy is visible in the history of Euro-Mediterranean relations as well. Until 1972 the cooperation was only confined to clearly economic terms, whereas later other, political incentives and interests began to influence the policy-making environment in order to achieve 'peace and stability' (Smith and Lahteenmaki 1998: 166).

After the assessment of the scholarly literature and the historical relations of the Mediterranean my hypothesis is that the European Union seems to be using its trade policy to achieve foreign policy goals. For the partner states this shift is presented through the principle of conditionality. Being developed in Chapter 4, conditionality puts trade advantages and European foreign policy aims into a casual dependence, the two factors should both be realized.

As to why this shift – trade policy taking on the role of foreign policy – has taken place, I claim that it was security which initiated this change. Therefore, in my thesis the independent variable of my hypothesis will be security. Among the various reasons underlying shift of trade policy to foreign policy the lack of a clearly developed, supranational foreign policy in the EU in the traditional sense, the economic strength and latitude of the EU in relations of economic and more precisely, in trade issues should be noted. For the Union it is trade which has been positively perceived by the Mediterranean states and can be offered as an effective incentive in the Mediterranean, as well as in other regions. Nevertheless, trade serves the aims of foreign economic policy when it is not related to politics and is only concerned with trade. In this sense I hypothesize that if trade policy and external economic policies are used to achieve political, foreign political and security goals, they are considered to be foreign policy. These political and security aims achieved by trade for the Union can be democratization, promoting the rule of law, law harmonization, civil and human rights, social issues (Khasson et al. 2008: 225), but also on the cooperation on migration, against terrorism and organized crime.

In order to test the hypothesis developed above the European Union's trade relations will be analyzed. Although the EU has trade relations with a lot of countries around the world, it is important to notice that not all European trade policies work as foreign policy (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 199) as some of them are serving economic goals only. In order to test the hypothesis in this thesis I chose the case of the Mediterranean for several reasons. The Mediterranean region is high on the European political agenda, both because of the recent institutional changes in the framework of cooperation – the launch of the Union for the Mediterranean – and the due to its importance from the geographical, cultural, historical and economic points of view. Since the Mediterranean is linked to Europe in such a complex way, Euro-Mediterranean relations tend to be securitized (Bicchi 2007: 132).

The Mediterranean is the region covered by both the EMP and the ENP, representing the closest relationship of the Union with non Western countries. However, unlike in the case of the Eastern European countries, for the Mediterranean ones the possibility of European membership is not an option. The Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, due to the region's special status in the European foreign relations may serve as a possible attractive example of future cooperation for other regions, for example in terms of cooperation with the ACP (Asian, Caribbean, Pacific countries).

Besides looking at the Mediterranean as a whole and examining the ten Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries listed in the beginning of the introduction, I selected two countries to be analyzed in greater detail: Morocco from the Maghreb and Jordan from the Middle East. In the case of these countries not only their Association Agreements and the related Action Plans, but the development of the partnership and their political and economic situation will be looked at. Both Morocco and Jordan can be considered as a success story in the Euro-Mediterranean frameworks of cooperation. Although both countries are very important, they are different from

the point of view of the EU security. Morocco's importance lies not only in its geopolitical situation, but its readiness to fight terrorism and prevent migration directed towards the EU. Jordan is not only a reliable partner and ally in one of the world's most conflictual regions, but is a cornerstone of peace and security in the Arab-Israeli context. Yet, regarding European trade relations, there is a big difference between the two countries: Morocco is highly dependent on European trade, while Jordan is more independent in its budget (Vachudova 2007: 107). Thus, the comparison of these two examples as to what extent the power of the EU to realize its interests is efficient, developed in the next chapter, may provide useful information to support my hypothesis.

### **Chapter 3: Assessing EU policies in the Mediterranean region: Association Agreements, Action Plans; the example of Morocco and Jordan**

In this chapter the existing frameworks and their documents will be analyzed in order to justify my hypothesis that it is by security reasons that the EU is applying its trade policy as foreign policy. The Euro-Mediterranean relations are complex at the moment as there are three frameworks in force for cooperation, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM). The UfM, initiated in 2008 by French President Nicolas Sarkozy, however, is not an object of this thesis as it is a new concept the strategy of which cannot yet be analyzed in merit. Apart from the UfM, this work will not focus on the ENP and EMP in structural terms, therefore, only their short introduction is necessary. The main emphasis of the analysis is on the specific documents, the Association Agreements and the Action Plans established within these frameworks. This chapter comprises of a short introduction of the actual situation of the Euro-Mediterranean relations, followed by the Association Agreements and the Action Plans of the ten Mediterranean countries focusing on two specific cases, Morocco and Jordan as developed in Chapter 3.

The Barcelona Process (EMP), as mentioned in the historical overview of the introduction, was launched in 1995. The EMP ‘aimed to create an area of dialogue, exchange, and cooperation that would guarantee peace, stability, and prosperity in the Mediterranean’ (Panebianco 2010: 185). The aim of the Process was to bring together European and Mediterranean countries to provide a multilateral, regional framework of cooperation in three areas (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 275). These three ‘baskets’ of the EMP were established after the Helsinki Summit of 1975 - but also followed the structure of the pillars of the EU; developing an economic and financial; political and security; social and cultural partnership (Bicchi 2007: 170; Keukeleire and

MacNaughtan 2008: 275). In order to finance the cooperation the MEDA funds were established as well (Bicchi 2007: 172). Parallel to the regional dialogue, the EU renewed its partnership with the Mediterranean countries by implementing new Association Agreements in order to develop country specific policies (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 275). The Association Agreements involved European instruments from the first, Community pillar of the EU to a large extent (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 277). They have a great importance as they are providing leverage to political issues through the EU's economic power (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 205). In the case of Palestine, for example, the creation of the Association Agreement served not only economic but also political reasons as the action was part of the EU's Middle East peace policy (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 207).

As pointed out in Chapter 2, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, however, has not been successful in achieving its aims. Moreover, in some Mediterranean countries, according to EU reports, the situation has worsened (Keukeleire and MacNaughtan 2008: 277). A new framework was established in order to improve cooperation with the Mediterranean region, which encompassed the Neighbourhood Policy of the Eastern neighboring countries and the policy for the countries of the Caucasus with the Mediterranean policies in 2004 (Bicchi 2007: 176-177). While the EMP aimed more at building a regional dialogue between the countries of the region and the EU, the ENP, through building the EU's 'ring of friends', has more of a bilateral focus (Bodenstein and Furness 2006: 3; Bicchi 2007: 174; Panebianco 2010: 186). Another significant difference between the two frameworks is that while in the EMP the EU had the major role in setting the agenda, the ENP involves the partner Mediterranean countries more in policy making (Panebianco 2010: 187). As a result while the structure of the Association Agreements is very similar as they were 'negotiated on a single pattern', the Action Plans, created to supplement the Association Agreements to 'provide for a deeper and wider partnership' (Keukeleire and

MacNaughtan 2008: 279), are more adjusted to the specific country (Bicchi 2007: 172). Also, the MEDA was replaced by the ENPI (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument) in 2007 (Baracani 2005: 267).

The most important change between the EMP and the ENP probably was the changing nature of the conditionality principle the EU established. In the case of the EMP, the MEDA Regulation included a suspension clause that in the situation of non compliance with the prescriptions of the framework regarding human rights, sanctions could be introduced against the country, even suspension (Baracani 2005: 264). This negative conditionality served as a kind of assurance for the implementation of the provisions of the EMP and more precisely, the Association Agreements. The ENP preserved conditionality as a good incentive for action but supplemented it with a more positive ‘incentive’ formula. In the ENP ‘increased political, security, economic and cultural cooperation is offered in return for political and economic reform’ (Baracani 2005: 266). This positive conditionality, unlike the negative incentives of the EMP, can encourage more commitment from the part of the Mediterranean states as there are mutual gains coming from the cooperation. In the next section among other factors, the positive and negative conditionalities will be examined in detail within the Association Agreements and the Action Plans.

### ***3.1. Association Agreements and Action Plans in detail: analysis***

In this section the Association Agreements and the related Action Plans, see in the Appendix as well, will be looked at in detail in order to discover the general tendencies and methods of EU policies in the Mediterranean. The Association Agreements were negotiated parallel and after the launch of the Barcelona Process, from 1995, while the Action Plans were adopted in 2005 and 2007. However, the number of countries under research has to be narrowed down from the ten, because there are countries with which the EU does not have an agreement. Regarding the



Association Agreements, negotiating a Framework Agreement with Libya, long an observer in the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, was started - for political reasons - only in 2008, following the launch of dialogue only in 2004 (EU Press Release 2008). Syria is another special case as the text of its Association Agreement is ready, but still not signed; therefore, the Agreement has not entered into force (EEAS 2011). In this sense, only eight countries' Agreements can be analyzed in this chapter. The situation is similar with the Action Plans. Libya and Syria have no Action Plans, for similar reasons, and Algeria has not one either because it is anticipating certain parts of the Neighbourhood Policy (European Commission: Trade: Algeria). As a result the basis of analysis will be the eight Association Agreements and the seven Action Plans. As mentioned above the Association Agreements are very similar to each other as they define almost the same issues in the case of every country. They are laying down the bases of the long-term cooperation between the EU and the Mediterranean countries covering the three baskets of the EMP, although the economic parts are the largest.

At the beginning of every document the main aims of the Agreements are defined. Political dialogue and the development of close relations, promotion of social and economic development, democratic principles and trade liberalization to develop a Free Trade Area are the common features; however, as for example in the case of Israel, or other more developed countries, social development is less emphasized as a main objective. Regional cooperation, peaceful existence and achieving security are features present in the Israeli, Jordanian and the OPT Treaty where, as it will be developed later, security is of a crucial importance (Israel Association Agreement 2000).

The economic considerations are focusing on the development of a Free Trade Area between the EU and the related country, in the medium term, twelve years after the entering into force of the agreement. The creation of the FTA requires the progressive cutback of trade barriers and taxes,

detailed in the Agreements. The Association Agreements are aiming to create an environment favorable to the FTA in the Mediterranean countries, through economic and social development. The free movement of the goods will be realized with the entering into force of the FTAs; and there are provisions about the free movement of persons, ideas and capital in the Agreements. Reciprocal commitments are also included in the text. Competition law is strictly regulated in order to implement European regulations and standards in this area, as well as rights of establishment and the incentives to invest. Next to clearly economic issues, standardization and conformity assessment as well as approximation laws are very important in the texts for the creation of a FTA and to adjust to European requirements. (Morocco Association Agreement 2000).

The economic issues developed in the Association Agreements are pointing towards the need to create more developed, liberalized, modern economies in the Mediterranean. On the one hand, these measures are helping these countries to achieve more welfare and to increase their GDP; on the other hand, however, the EU benefits from the implementation of these points, as the development of free trade areas effectuate a bigger market for the EU. Another advantage for the EU is that the Union is the biggest trade partner of all these Mediterranean countries (European Commission: Trade: Euromed), therefore, diminishing all trade barriers would help to preserve this position in the region and to further increase trade relations.

Despite the above mentioned economic benefits of the Association Agreements, other important measures to be implemented are included in these documents. Social issues are not very much developed; however, their importance is crucial for the EU because of migration and the improvement of social welfare. A better working social system can reduce both legal and illegal migratory forces and social dissatisfaction. Establishing a migratory cooperation in the region can

also help to reduce the problem, providing greater security in the region. Other, security related measures are mentioned as well, such as the joint action against money laundering, fight against drugs and organized crime. (Morocco Association Agreement 2000)

Another crucial issue from the EU point of view is mentioned in the Agreements, the question of energy. The energy supply for the Union is a delicate issue because its energy dependence is very high, and many transit routes are across the Mediterranean. Thus, guaranteeing energy security in the region is of a high importance. (Morocco Association Agreement 2000: 13)

The Association Agreements also define the institutional structure of bilateral cooperation, establishing an Association Council for the ministerial level and an Association Committee for the official level of interaction. Next to the institutional framework the importance of political dialogue is emphasized in order to bring the countries of the region together and to ensure the security and stability of the region.

In sum, all Association Agreements are very similar to each other as their main part is about the creation of the Free Trade Area and the related economic provisions to realize it. Nevertheless, important European political aims are mentioned in the treaty, clearly showing the EU's interests in the political development and the security of the region. Yet, these documents are very general regarding these issues and introducing only long-term goals and the bases of the cooperation between with the Mediterranean. The negative conditionality is visible in the Agreements as they are only evolving the necessary objectives to the Mediterranean countries to realize them. The Action Plans, however, are built on a different approach applying the principles of positive conditionality.

One of the main reasons for the development of the Action Plans was to solve the problem of the Association Agreements by providing concrete measures in the short and medium term. Moreover, the APs are less focused on trade issues than the Agreements; their focus is balanced among the three main issues of discussion after the three baskets of the EMP. In all the APs, the main objective of the ENP is emphasized as to ‘strengthen the ties between them and promote stability, security and prosperity on a basis of a partnership, common interests, joint ownership and differentiation’ (EU/Morocco Action Plan 2005: 1). All the Action Plans are specifying the main perspectives of partnerships, in short and in medium term as well. While the Association Agreements are providing more general, long-term directives, the APs are developing the objectives in more detail. Usually the Action Plans are constructed for a period of three-five years, with the possibility of extension and continuation as well (EU/Morocco Action Plan 2005: 4). All the Plans are stating the possibility of a ‘new contractual relationship’ (EU/Morocco Action Plan 2005: 3), if the requirements of the AP are fulfilled.

The Action Plans, next to introducing the partnership of the EU and the Mediterranean countries, are setting up objectives for each Mediterranean country government. These objectives, however, have to be in accord with the Association Agreements. One difference becomes clear from the comparison of the AAs and Action Plans: the APs reflect the partner country’s preferences more as in the AAs as stated that the Moroccan AP ‘also reflects the Moroccan Government’s priorities’ (EU/Morocco Action Plan 2005: 3).

Trade and economic issues are one of the biggest parts of APs; they are in harmony with the provisions of the Association Agreements. Also, the signature of free trade agreements between Mediterranean states is encouraged in the future perspective of the creation of a Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area in the medium term. Regarding the free movement of goods, services, rights of establishments, competition policy and taxation the provisions of the

Association Agreements are elaborated in greater detail. Moreover, one of the main priorities of the ENP listed in the documents claim that a significant degree of integration is to be achieved by the Mediterranean states, including a ‘stake in the internal market’ (EU/Tunisia Action Plan 2005: 2). Financial support to implement these changes is provided by the EU, first from the MEDA and now from the ENPI.

The other important section of APs is the issues promoted by European foreign policy, the importance of democracy and the rule of law, the improvement of the role and presence of the civil society, the strengthening of the independent judicial system and the implementation of the related international conventions, resolutions. The importance of political dialogue and cooperation to maintain security and peace in the region is highlighted, as well as participating in regional security dialogue, promoting human rights and the fight against terrorism, also by implementing the related UN Security Council Resolutions. Regarding security, besides the participation of foreign and security policy dialogues the creation of a more efficient border management and the visa system will be changed in the future as well.

The analysis above of the APs presented the policies and measures to be implemented. The Union provides primarily funds, technical and know-how assistance, norms and a complete institutional structure to follow for the Mediterranean states. The Mediterranean countries are willing to implement all these provisions in order to achieve a better economic and social performance, stability, security and prosperity in their countries. Through the development towards human rights, the rule of law, a more democratic political structure and a better economy the Mediterranean countries can achieve stability within themselves and also in the region. This stability and better living standards can contribute to the reduction of migration, illegal crime and also the fight against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

One aspect of difference is clear between the two types of documents, while the Association Agreements are only providing provisions to fulfill, in the case of the Action Plans there is a positive conditionality (Baracani 2005: 266-67). Political and social reforms on the part of the Mediterranean countries will result in enhanced cooperation and better integration into the EU's economic system.

### ***3.2. The case of Jordan and Morocco: implementation***

In this section two countries will be analyzed in further details, Morocco and Jordan. Both countries can be considered as good examples where the implementation process has been successful. Despite the success of both countries, there is a big difference between them; economically Morocco is very much dependent on the EU, unlike Jordan. In order to evaluate the development of implementation processes of the two countries after related EU documents, the Country Reports from 2004 and the two National Indicative Papers (NIP) for the 2007-2013 periods will be analyzed. The country specific reports are special because the EU is not only providing the main objective of implementation but is encouraging and supporting internal reforms and implementation processes of new policies and standards and practices.

Jordan's 'commitment to reforms, openness to political development, potential for deeper economic relations with the EU and willingness to cooperate with the EU in promoting reform in the region' is very important for the Union (NIP Jordan 2007-2010: 16). The positive approach towards reforms can help the EU to create a region of peace and stability; moreover, Jordan's example can be a best practice to be followed by the other Mediterranean countries. Hence, the NIP of 2007-2010 claims the main objective of the Union towards Jordan to be the creation of a 'privileged partnership' and a new level of 'deepened cooperation' in political and economic issues (NIP Jordan 2007-2010: 16).

In order to realize its interests in the country the EU supports and encourages the implementation of national reforms in Jordan. The reform called National Agenda established in 2005 developed reforms in the political, social and economic field in order to increase the life quality of the country (NIP Jordan 2007-2010: 12). To establish a forum of social discussion the initiative *Kulluma al Urdun* (We are all Jordan) was launched in order to bring together the society and to promote democratic principles (NIP Jordan 2007-2010: 13). Promoting social interaction is a key issue in Jordan because traditional forces do not support the democratization of the country. The resistance of social groups could aggravate administrative reforms and decentralization of power.

Economically Jordan is not that much dependent on the EU as other Mediterranean countries, as only one third of their imports are coming from the EU and their export is not significant (Jordan Country Report 2004: 18). Therefore diminishing trade barriers of goods alone cannot be an effective solution in the case of Jordan. However, according to the Country Report of 2004 about 70% of Jordan's GDP was coming from the services sector (Jordan Country Report 2004: 12). Thus, liberalizing the trade of services could be an important EU incentive for Jordan. Regarding security issues, Jordan also has a key importance. Jordan's role both in the Iraqi reconstruction and in the Israeli-Palestine conflict is significant, since Jordan not only acts as a mediator but also accommodates hundreds of thousands of Palestinians and claims that about 40% of the population is Palestinian (Jordan Country Report 2004: 10). Moreover, the positive example of Jordan fighting terrorism could also be an example to follow for the neighboring countries. Thus, EU emphasis in the case of Jordan is on diminishing terrorism and promoting peace, security and stability.

Although Jordanian attempt to democratize the country and to promote social and human rights is continuous, one of the risks the NIP documents are mentioning is the vulnerability of the country. It is, therefore, a primary interest of the EU to keep the Jordanian political system stable because of both being a good example for other Mediterranean countries and in order not to destroy or diminish stability and peace in the region. Even in relation to Jordan, however, there are risks for the EU. Despite the increased attention to social development, both NIPs showed that although social indicators grew the cleavage between the rich and the poor has not been diminished; on the contrary, it has increased. Thus, the policies and resources available should be increased in order to achieve real development (NIP Jordan 2007-2010: 15).

In Jordan in exchange to trade liberalization, even in services, the EU supports the creation of national reform and consultation programs giving the directives and main objectives to follow. In this sense, the ENP is not about showing the way to democratization to the Mediterranean countries but to encourage them to implement the necessary measures themselves. The policies, however, should still be improved as despite the developments after the National Programmes, the stability of Jordan is still a risk factor for the EU. Therefore in the future, even more increased attention should be given to social, democratic and institutional issues.

In the case of Morocco, the other case study, cooperation is the strongest in democracy and human rights and security issues. According to the Country Report of 2004, Morocco is devoted to participate as much as possible in foreign and security policy issues together with the EU (Morocco Country Report 2004: 3). The Moroccan National Indicative Programmes are even more detailed than those of Jordan, elaborating on the details of implementation of objectives down to the lowest levels. From the point of view of the European foreign relations towards Morocco the key issue is migration and illegal migration. Migratory issues are representing one of



the biggest threats to the EU, not only through the decrease of security within the Union but also with their effect on social costs and expenditures. It is therefore a primary objective of the EU to decrease migratory flows from Morocco to the Union.

One tool to reduce migration is to increase social welfare in the Mediterranean countries as numbers in the reports indicate that there is a ‘negative spiral’ in the Moroccan social sector between weak economic performance, unemployment, poverty and migration (Morocco Strategy Paper 2007-2013: 3). In the Strategy Paper for the period of 2007-2013 it is emphasized that despite the open economy and European support, the performance of the economy is still weak, and development was unable to decrease the negative effects of poverty, unemployment or negative trade balance (Morocco Strategy Paper 2007-2013:3). The measures indicated in the Country Report, however, did not have a significant impact in the short term. According to the NIP available for the period of 2011-2013, which also serves as the Midterm Review of the Country Paper, although the level of poverty was stabilized at 9%, unemployment has not changed and still remains around 9% (NIP Morocco 2011-2013: 11). Moreover, cleavages between the rich and the poor are significant in Morocco just as the low level of rural development and socialization.

In the case of Morocco, just as in Jordan, there are national attempts to encourage the development of the domestic situation and to ensure the security of the country. In order to improve the situation in 2005 the King of Morocco launched a national human development initiative (NHDI) with objectives to reduce poverty, unemployment and for social development (Morocco Strategy Paper 2007-2013:7).

Thus, an emphasis from the part of the NIPs is, next to trade liberalization and economic measures, necessary for the creation of a free trade area are the social reforms. Although the

economy is relatively open compared to the other Mediterranean countries (Morocco Country Report 2004: 12), its trade balance is in serious deficit. In the Programmes there are different objectives in order to decrease economic weakness, including the increase of investments in the country which could help to restore Moroccan trade balance.

From the analysis of the documents of EMP and ENP it is clear the EU next to promoting economic development through the creation of FTAs and implementation of the related economic provisions is expecting the stabilization of the countries and the promotion of security and democratic principles. While in the EMP framework these measures were tied to a negative conditionality, in the APs positive incentives are present.

## Conclusions

The main aim of this thesis was to analyze why the European Union is using its trade policy to achieve foreign policy goals in the Mediterranean. The main hypothesis claims that partly as a result of the changed international atmosphere the Mediterranean region has moved high on the political agenda as a security issue in the EU. The European response to this security threat was the relaunch and institutionalization of Euro-Mediterranean relations. The AAs of the EMP defined only the main objectives of the cooperation by a kind of negative conditionality. The APs of the ENP supplemented Euro-Mediterranean relations dismantling the objectives for plans of short and medium term, applying positive conditionality as an incentive for the Mediterranean countries to improve democratization. In the case of the Moroccan and the Jordanian example this positive conditionality is also visible, as the development of FTAs and the necessary institutional measures are developed in the Action Plans together with objectives to ensure security of the countries and the region. While in the case of Jordan the main objective to achieve security is to secure a stable and committed state for the Israeli-Palestinian case, in the case of Morocco the main security threat is migration. In order to lessen the problem the main objective is the development of Moroccan social welfare.

The impact of the present tensions in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East on European foreign policy and on Euro-Mediterranean relations is unpredictable at the moment. It will take years to be able to analyze the outcomes, but these events have increased the security importance of the Mediterranean for the EU. There are the primary effects such as increased diplomatic and military presence. The secondary effects, however, may have more serious influence on European perception on the Mediterranean. The social effects such as increased levels of migration, organized crime, growing necessity of aid could make the Mediterranean region even more

important in EU foreign policy. And despite the launch of the European External Action Service, Europe's foreign policy will still stay unable to fulfill all its traditional aims. Therefore, the importance of trade relations in foreign policy will last in the long term.

## Appendices:

### ***Association Agreements***

Country	Date of signature	Entering into force
<b>Algeria</b>	2002	1 September 2005
<b>Egypt</b>	2001	1 June 2004
<b>Israel</b>	1995	1 June 2000
<b>Jordan</b>	1997	1 May 2002
<b>Lebanon</b>	2002	1 April 2006
	negotiations on a framework agreement since	
<b>Libya</b>	2008	
<b>Morocco</b>	1996	1 March 2000
		Interim Agreement
<b>OPT</b>	1997	July 2007
	October 2009 - Syria's signature	
<b>Syria</b>	pending	
<b>Tunisia</b>	1995	1 March 1998

Source: European Commission

### ***Action Plans***

Country	Date of adoption
<b>Algeria</b>	no Action Plan
<b>Egypt</b>	2007
<b>Israel</b>	2005
<b>Jordan</b>	2005
<b>Lebanon</b>	2007
<b>Libya</b>	no Action Plan
<b>Morocco</b>	2005
<b>OPT</b>	2005
<b>Syria</b>	no Action Plan
<b>Tunisia</b>	2005

Source: European Commission

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