Western security arrangements and establishment of the Western Mediterranean as a security complex: ENP Policy Review and Impact on Partners

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Abstract:

"Security-building in the neighborhood" is one of the main objectives of the "European security strategy." Through this strategy, it is clear that the European Union has worked to define its own agenda that focuses on its internal security starting from an attempt to ensure the stability of adjacent neighboring countries, from the East and South, which are the same areas characterized by the existence of old and renewed conflicts, in addition to the escalation of new threats, especially that which concerns the South as a source of threat and promoting the agenda of "threat coming from the South". All of these factors prompted the European Union (EU) to think seriously of a project under the slogan "Peace-building in the neighborhood," which formed a significantly ambitious project.

Key words: European Neighborhood Policy, European Union, Mediterranean, security.

ملخص باللغة العربية:

" بناء الأمن في الجوار" هدف من بين الأهداف الرئيسية "لإستراتيجية الأمن الأوربية" ، و من خلال هذه الإستراتيجية يتضح أن الاتحاد الأوربي عمل على تحديد أجندته الخاصة و التي تركز على أمنه الداخلي انطلاقا من محاولة ضمان استقرار الجوار المتاخم له ،شرقا و جنوبا، و هي نفس المناطق التي تتميز بتواجد نزاعات قديمة، وأخرى قديمة – متجددة، إضافة إلى تصاعد حدة التهديدات الجديدة، خاصة ما تعلق الأمر بالتركيز على الجنوب كمصدر للتهديد و الترويج لأطروحة "التهديد القادم من الجنوب". كل هذه العوامل دفعت الاتحاد الأوربي إلى التفكير بشكل جدي في مشروع تحت شعار "بناء السلم في الجوار"، و الذي شكل مشروعا طموحا إلى حد كبير.

الكلمات المفتاحية: سياسة الجوار الأوربية، الاتحاد الأوربي، المتوسط، الأمن.

Introduction:

"Security-building in the neighborhood" is one of three main objectives of the European Security Strategy, the same document adopted by the European Parliament in December 2003, which refers to the overall threats and issues of the European Union, without neglecting the other two important objectives: Building security in the neighborhood and an international system based on effective multilateralism.

Through this strategy, it is clear that the European Union has worked to define its own agenda, which focuses on its internal security, based on an attempt to ensure the stability of adjacent neighboring countries, from the East and South, the same areas characterized by the existence of old conflicts, the new asymmetric threats, and particularly the focus on the South as a source of threat and the promotion of the agenda of 'threat from the South'.

All of these and other factors prompted the EU to think seriously of a project under the slogan "Peace-building in the neighborhood," which was a very ambitious project published by the European Commission as an official document in March 2003 entitled "New relations with the East and the South ," later known as the "New European Neighborhood Policy" in 2004.

What this paper attempts to present is the reintroduction of a reading of the European Neighborhood Policy more than fifteen years ago, in the light of the many transformations that the EU has experienced on the one hand and its neighboring region, which has witnessed security shifts and the escalations of threats on the other. All of these factors lead us to examine the effectiveness of this policy in 'building a zone of peace' and achieving the equation of the "circle of friends" of Europe with its neighbors.

The importance of this research stems from its examination of the subject of the European Neighborhood Policy from various angles. It examines the interactions that the European Union has directed towards securing its Southern borders in the face of the new security threats, and its attempts to establish equal relations with its neighbors in the Southern Mediterranean. This study is crucial because it does not neglect the interactions generated by this European orientation and its implications on the countries concerned with the policy of neighborhood.

Accordingly, the problem arises as follows:

To what extent has the European Neighborhood Policy achieved its objectives, especially those related to the construction of a zone of stability in its regional neighborhood? Does the reality of the transformations really require a radical revision? Or does it require the modification of some aspects only?

We will try to analyze the research problem presented through the following elements:

1. **Section one: The European Neighborhood Policy: Origination and development**
2. **Section two: European Neighborhood Policy: The establishment of a regional system**

Section one:
The European Neighborhood Policy: Origination and Development

When talking about international relations, the concept of neighborhood becomes more complicated, especially since the first thing that will come to mind regarding the relations of neighboring countries is an atmosphere of harmony and interdependence. However, this may not always reflect reality in the light of possible crises between States in certain regions.

In the case of the EU experience, it may be necessary to point out that this experience was the result of wars and catastrophic conflicts between its states and political units, and hence the need to build effective cooperation in order to solve crises and problems and strengthen economic relations.

The basic background of the idea of "European Neighborhood" is the possibility of creating a unified relations framework for the Eastern Neighborhood of Europe (Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus) and the Southern neighbors (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon, the Palestinian Authority, Syria).

The idea itself gradually emerged from the debate among the political representatives, prior to the expansion of the European Union in 2004[1]. This policy was considered a qualitative addition to the integration process on the European continent since the end of the bipolar period, as the political ambitions of the European project grew[2].

It is noteworthy that this policy was put under the pressure of changes and transformations deep inside and outside Europe. With the enlargement of the European Union to include ten countries at once (May 2004), Malta, Cyprus which have become increasingly concerned about the gray political areas[3]. This expansion has also caused political debate in Western European societies, raised by the problems of other countries that will join the Union later (Bulgaria and Romania), Turkey and the Western Balkans. In addition to the external developments that reinforce the importance of neighboring European Union and its complexity at the same time.

The main objective of the European Neighborhood Policy is to ensure the establishment of a stable and secure environment in the Eastern and Southern European Union, as well as in the South Caucasus, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, without the need to integrate these neighboring countries into a ring of friends. This way the Union gets to share trade and economic and political cooperation without sharing institutions[4].

In the sense that the policy includes the formation and deepening of long-term relations with neighboring countries without yet the criteria for accepting those countries into the EU, which include in particular: Extensive participation in the internal market of the European Union, cooperation in crisis prevention, crisis management and migration, and, ultimately, freedom of movement of goods, people, services and capital in return for serious political, economic and institutional reforms.

The European project of cooperation with some of the so-called "neighbors" is inspired by the mechanisms used with EU candidates for EU membership, but it is not a pre-nomination process[5].

Some European Mediterranean countries (France, Spain and Italy) have exerted pressure to persuade decision makers to include the countries of the Mediterranean in the new policy. These countries have in fact feared that a significant and decisive East expansion will move the EU's center of gravity to the East and will lead to the neglect of countries on the Southern countries. In addition, these countries are considered more necessary in the context of Post-9/11, which characterized the hypothesis of the threat of Islamic terrorism coming from the countries of the South Mediterranean[6].

Therefore, the ENP is intended to be a compromise between partnership and membership. Members are not equal, not just partners like those associated with partnership with Europe, which means that they make them more than partners and less than a member[7].

The "peripheral regional" Neighborhood Policy can be likened to the 16 countries and the less dynamic peripheral regions of the enlarged EU, a "peripheral agreement" that translates the EU's central interest in creating secure parties to its immediate borders to promote trade and exchanges as well as to receive some assistance. Border trade, and in the end good borders, do not issue their problems and disputes[8].

Section two:
European Neighborhood Policy: The establishment of a regional system

From the above, we wonder: **to what extent can the ENP be considered as a regional representation? Does Europe really want to build a security community in the Mediterranean through this policy?**

Iver B. Nauman was the first to use the term "building building" as a good reference point to consider that a regional framework, rather than a nation-state, appears to be a more appropriate formula for social gathering in Europe's political space and to address the issues raised with the ENP[9]. According to Karl Deutsch, states can develop a cohesive integration into a sense of collectivism, that is, the sense of "we" expressed by Karl Deutsch as a "we-feeling." Through peaceful means, and through abandoning the use of military option or violence, social integration can

be achieved through intensive interactions, which in turn results in joint institutions, as a final result of the building of the security community[10].

It is difficult to imagine a security community in the wider Europe, because security groups are not spontaneous constructions, but rather the result of dynamic and positive relationships between power, ideas, intense interactions, and social learning[11]. Political elites, individuals, global and regional institutions require ideological and material resources to develop political causes, and the desire to build collective identities; i.e. sharing values, identities, and standards, which leads to a bond of trust and security.

In the broader context of Europe, there is not enough attention given to the actors: political representatives, institutions and civil society[12]. In addition, the March 2003 connection, for example, has been characterized by a minimum, if not a total lack of institutional level. The reason behind this is that neighborhood agreements are based on traditional cooperation between governments and are managed by joint committees that make decisions based on understanding. Thus, the neighborhood policy operates within the framework of national sovereignty, not in a 'supra-national' sense [13].

In practice, any regional integration process is based on the development of a sense of common ownership towards initiative between the parties formed for the region. Indeed, the development of a subregional cooperation and a sense of shared ownership are issues that have been put forward with particular emphasis in the ENP Strategic Document on geographical and political differences between the eastern and southern neighbors. Regional cooperation, therefore, seems unlikely because of these differences[14]. The adoption of the bilateral approach (individual action plans of States) is more effective than genuine regional cooperation[15].

The lack of a sense of common identity, belonging to the same territory, and the common ownership of institutions, can convince the Southern neighbors of the negativity of their asymmetrical / symmetrical relations with the EU, which is likely to undermine the foundation of the Neighborhood Initiative over time[16]. The success of the initiative depends, therefore, on the degree to which different identities / groups address common threats and problems related to regional instability and insecurity on the basis of a common principle[17].

What is presented as a joint venture is in fact a ''one-sided'' initiative that reflects the vision of a European centrist. In all areas - the formulation of rules and the obligation to follow them, the tactical and organizational capacity, the dictation of standards and the direction to be followed - the EU maintains classic forms of leadership; neighbors can participate in the process of establishing these standards and instructions[18]. The European Neighborhood Policy is therefore linked to the EU's interest in strengthening its prosperity and security by turning its neighbors into allies by posing problems as collective and thus calling for collective solutions[19].

The European Neighborhood Policy can be considered a "soft imperialism" that reflects the desire of the West to export its institutional and cultural model,

democracy, human rights, rules of law and the market; that is to export the European model to neighboring countries by making them comply with EU standards, rules and values. Thus, complying with the positive European experience, through soft power tools. Neighborhood policy in essence is therefore a "security speech."

Therefore, the trend towards "security" of the EU's relations with its neighbors will inevitably lead to the erosion of the political discourse of the declared objectives of the Neighborhood Policy with all credibility, especially with regard to strengthening political dialogue between Europe and its neighbors[20].

Also, Barry Bozan defines the concept of security compound as « the group of countries whose fundamental security concerns are closely linked, making it virtually impossible to consider the security of a state in isolation from other states » [21]. The European Union, which presents itself as responsible as a regional force for stability in the internal and external environment, must ensure the stability of the neighborhood, which is a necessity for its internal security, and the duty to spread security and stability in this region[22].

Section Three:
European Neighborhood: Circle of Friends or Circle of Fire?

European Neighborhood States can be classified into two main categories:

Category 01: The EU neighboring countries, which are part of the European Neighborhood Policy and are partners of the European Union, benefit from the Association and Co-operation Agreements with the EU and can be divided into three categories:

1. Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries: Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine, Israel and Jordan.

2. Southern Caucasus States: Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan.

3. Eastern European countries: Moldova and Ukraine. Although countries such as Armenia, Azerbaijan and Jordan are not geographically direct neighbors of the European Union, they are part of the Neighborhood Policy, which means that the EU has relied on a geopolitical rather than a geopolitical approach to its design. There are also countries that should have been included in the Neighborhood Policy but have not yet entered (Algeria, Belarus, Libya, Syria).

Category 02: The second category includes EU neighbors not included in the ENP, in the form of Russia and Turkey[23].

It is necessary to point to the overall changes that have taken place in the European neighborhood since 2004 until today, not only because of their impact on the Neighborhood Policy itself, but because it created an increasing pressure on the EU to reconsider policy in its goals, or review the mechanisms.

Earlier in the year, former Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt made a statement that it was hard to avoid the conclusion that the EU was surrounded by a circle of

friends, but a circle of fire, which to a large extent revealed the dilemma facing the European Union. This may have been directly linked to the increasing influx of refugees to EU countries at a rate of more than 8,000 (8,000) - according to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees- which has transformed Europeans' dreams of making the areas around their borders into a safety and cooperation zone stretching from the Caucasus to sub-Saharan Africa into a source of constant concern and trouble[24].

Some analysts attribute the collapse of the Circle of Friends to several factors, perhaps as a reason for the failure to stabilize or democratize the European Union in part from outside the Union. Russian intervention in Georgia in 2008 may be one of the most prominent reasons. Also, after the Crimea Declaration, Crimea became part of the independent Ukraine after the last referendum. These events contributed to the change of the map of Europe and represented real tests of the effectiveness of the European Union within the continent and of the limits of its influence. In addition, these changes increased the Russian involvement in the region, as well as the repercussions of the conflict in the Middle East[25].

Of the six (06) countries concerned with partnership and European Neighborhood Policy, five (Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan) were significantly affected and at least somewhat weakened at the domestic level as a result of Russian intervention. In addition , the nature of the government is very comprehensive, which made them subject to successive sanctions from the European Union.

In the South bank, it is not very different. The Atlantic intervention in Libya has created an undesirable situation, despite the improvement of Libyan-Western relations in the pre-Gaddafi period as a result of the Lockerbie case resolution. Besides Libya, we find Syria, Egypt and Yemen, without forgetting the impact of the failure of reaching a just solution to the Palestinian issue.

Section Four:
Renewal of European Policy: A new vision or a reduction of missing cohesion?

In 2007, the European Union launched an effort to improve the European Neighborhood Policy by reintroducing some of its mechanisms. The most important of these was the integration of the funds granted under a single financial instrument called the European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument. The amount of materials allocated to that instrument is still not clear. If the resources are insufficient to attract the attention of the countries of the South, the positive policing effects can be lost and the Neighborhood Policy may not be able to achieve its objectives. It is noted that the new plans of the Neighborhood Policy, which are agreed upon bilaterally between the European Union and each concerned country in the Southern Mediterranean are based on issues of human rights and democracy[26].

Perhaps the most troubling fact about the new countries in the South was that it ended the policy of private dialogue between the governments of the two shores, removing the collective frameworks of a bilateral relationship with a country on its own and disseminating approved action plans contrary to the wishes of the governments concerned. Moreover, Europeans attach great importance to the expansion of pluralism, the establishment of a state of law and the support of civil society, having given absolute priority to economic cooperation in the first generation of partnership agreements.

On the other hand, an important point is the EU's offer to conclude 'deep and comprehensive free trade agreements,' which is unrealistic and destabilizes the economies of neighboring countries because it requires them to open up their markets to EU competition before they have what they intend to sell to Europe.

Based on these and other elements, the biggest challenge in the new European Neighborhood Policy is to ensure the stability of the neighborhood and its countries, where conflicts, terrorism and extremism exist. However, according to EU Commissioner, Johannes Han: "Poverty, corruption and bad governance are also sources of insecurity. We have to focus our relationship with our partners where it is essential to our true common interests, specifically economic development, with a strong enphasis on youth employment[27].

At the regional level, the Eastern Partnership is likely to be strengthened in line with the commitments set by the Riga Summit in 2015, and here the Union for the Mediterranean can play an enhanced role in supporting cooperation between the South Neighbors, through the involvement of other regional actors outside, and where appropriate to meet regional challenges.

In October 2013, the European Parliament adopted a resolution aimed at strengthening the European Neighborhood Policy. However, the various progress reports for 2012 showed a different picture of progress and stagnation, and even the decline of the European Neighborhood Policy. What is noticeable here is the European Parliament's focus on the Southern side on the need to support the transformations in those areas, especially democratization, and civil society.

Conclusion:

It seems that the rapid changes in the Mediterranean space put the European Neighborhood Policy to the test. Instability shifted from the European Neighborhood, although the most important goal of the policy was to build security in the neighborhood. The friendship circle was transformed by the negative effects of the Arab movement in the South and the Russian intervention in the East Europe, into a ring of fire.

All these and other factors force the European Union to reconsider some of the axes of the Neighborhood Policy in order to rectify the shortcomings recorded. The most important of these are the offering of more roles and facilities to the South Bank countries, as well as the interest of development issues and economic growth. The disagreement that formed the cause of the ineffectiveness of the Neighborhood

Policy, which is the difference of perceptions between the two shores of the various issues involved, is reflected in the nature of mechanisms proposed to address these issues.

The European Union is called upon to reconsider the role of civil society actors and other regional actors, as well as organizations and blocs similar to the Maghreb Union. Furthermore. Priorities must take into account such transformations and crises.

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