

Notes

1 Introduction: Model or Muddle?

1. Mercosur is a trading bloc in Latin America comprising Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru are associate members.

3 Delineating the Muddle: From 'Patchy' Frameworks to the European–Mediterranean Partnership

1. Intra-regional trade accounted for around only 4 per cent of exports and imports (Kebabdjian 1995).
2. Despite hopes in Madrid, the situation in the Middle East is far from settled. However, the 'land for peace' agreement adopted in that summit constitutes the diplomatic anchor of any future negotiation between Israel and the Arab states.
3. The first attempt came from the three big Southern European countries (i.e. France, Spain and Italy) which explored ways of regional cooperation over a Spanish/Italian proposal for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) at a Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Summit in Palma in September 1990. These countries viewed the conference as a conflict prevention mechanism by bringing together Mediterranean countries, Gulf states and EU members. The fact that the initiative excluded the USA and its consequent reactions made the proposal drop off the CSCE agenda by mid-1992. The second attempt came from France who called for a narrower alternative cooperation route based on subregional cooperation covering North Africa and the Western Mediterranean countries in December 1990 under the title of 'The 5 + 5 process' during a conference of foreign ministers in Rome. The '5 + 5 process' was based on annual meetings between foreign ministers and established several working groups to address issues such as economic development, food self-sufficiency and environmental management. However, just like the CSCM, the '5 + 5 dialogue' quickly floundered consequent to political tensions amongst the participating countries.
4. From 1989 onwards, the Gonzalez government committed to CSCE rather than NATO, but when Spain realized CSCM was going to fail, it changed its position, before committing to Europeanization of its foreign policy again.

5. The idea of convening a conference was first verbalized in the Corfu Summit in June 1994 (Spain offered to host it in 1995). However, the real watershed was the Essen Summit in December 1994. The agreement for a conference was partly the result of an inter-governmental deal in which Mediterranean member states accepted that eastern enlargement had to be the EU's priority in exchange for a significant gesture towards the South.

4 Emergence and Consolidation of a 'Model': The European–Mediterranean Partnership and Beyond

1. The Barcelona Process is named after the city that gave this agreement its legislative and institutional cradle in November 1995.
2. The member states are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the UK (EU) and Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey (MP).
3. Through the bilateral track, Israel, Malta and Cyprus are not eligible for MEDA funding for the following reasons: Israel is considered to be a semi-developed economy, while association agreements signed by Cyprus and Malta envisaged the option of membership. In May 2004, they joined the Union and hence are not eligible for this type of funding.
4. The EU and Russia decided to develop their relations independently of the ENP through the creation of the 'four common spaces' that were defined at the 2003 St Petersburg Summit (Cini 2004).
5. This involves all of the Mediterranean Partners with the exception of Cyprus, Malta and Turkey. The first two are not included in the EMP anymore since they have joined the Union in 2004. Turkey is excluded since it is undertaking negotiations for its own accession process with the EU.
6. Under this agreement, Euro-Mediterranean Partners have accepted to start negotiations and design and implement a road map for all the reforms listed above. The components of these reforms will be developed in a comprehensive way in accordance with the provisions of the Association Agreements for the creation of a free trade area by 2015. For more information, see European Commission (2005b).
7. Against the European Commission's wishes, this particular reform is no longer addressed. Instead, the EU opted to reinforce its already existing Facility for Euro-Mediterranean Investment and Partnership (FEMIP) which helps in creating a favourable private-sector environment in the Middle East and North Africa; see European Commission (2007a).
8. The membership of the UfM encompasses all EU member states, the European Commission, MPs, observer status countries under the Barcelona Process (Albania, Libya, Mauritania) and other Mediterranean coastal states – Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Monaco and Montenegro. See European Commission (2008).

9. The French Caisse des Dépôts, the Moroccan Caisse de Dépôts et de Gestion, the Egyptian EFG Hermes, the Italian Cassa Depositi e Prestiti and the European Investment Bank.
10. EMP is also called the Barcelona Process after the name of the city that gave it its first inaugural meeting.
11. The Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries that signed the Barcelona agreement in addition to the EU 15 in 1995 are Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey (Libya attends as an observer). Cyprus and Malta are no longer MPs after they joined the EU in May 2004. Israel and Turkey are technically in the EMP but found themselves in a *sui generis* position. Israel does not benefit from the EU *MEDA* funds since it is considered a semi-developed economy. Turkey, on the other hand, does not benefit from these funds any longer due to its current negotiations with the EU regarding future membership. For all of these different reasons, the Arab Mediterranean Partners (AMPs) constitute the *de facto* Mediterranean Partners (MPs). Also see, for example, European Commission (2000) *The Barcelona Process. Five years on (1995–2000)*. Luxembourg: Office for official publications of the European communities; and European Commission (2004) *Regional indicative program 2005–2006*. Luxembourg: Office for official publications of the European communities.
12. See http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/euromed/summit1105/five_years.pdf
13. This was clearly elaborated in the following document: European Commission (2005) *The Barcelona Process. Ten Years on*. Luxembourg: Office for official publications of the European communities.

5 The Role of Ideas and Interests in the EU–Mediterranean Policy

1. Under this agreement, Euro-Mediterranean Partners have accepted to start negotiations and design and implement a road map for all of the reforms listed above. The components of these reforms will be developed in a comprehensive way in accordance with the provisions of the Association Agreements for the creation of a free trade area by 2015. See European Commission (2005b).
2. The Mediterranean Partners (MPs) are Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey. Libya has an observer status under the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership agreements.
3. Joffé was referring here to the potential beneficial impact of EU anti-corruption policy on Morocco in 1996. See Joffé (1998).
4. Interview with Mr Andreas Bassols Soldevilla who works with DG External Relations. He is involved with the economic transition and private-sector development programme under the EMP. The interview was conducted on 14 April 2005.

5. This argument was also advocated by Philippart (2003).
6. Interview with Mr Bertin Martins who works in the Economic Analysis Unit with DG External Relations. The interview was conducted on the 15 April 2005.
7. This is a classical argument drawing on the literature about the Political Economy of Aid. See Moore (2001).
8. This is based on the widely used and accepted model of Fischer on levels of policy evaluation (Fischer 1980; Gasper 1996).
9. Under the rubric of 'policy evaluation', Fischer distinguished between various levels of analysis: technical verification of programme objectives (Level 1), situational validation of policy goals (Level 2), vindication of political choice (Level 3) and choice of social order (Level 4). Policy justification is situated in this classification under Level 2. See Gasper (1996).
10. Another study by Dessus and Suwa (2000) evaluated the impact of EU policy on two MPs: Egypt and Tunisia. The findings were similar to Brown, Deardorff and Stern (1997) and Rutherford, Rutström and Tarr (1995), but it should be noted that the former was initiated and published by the OECD.
11. For a good summary on this debate read Ménard and Shirley (2008), see also Oliver Williamson (who first coined the term 'New Institutional Economics'), Douglass North and Joseph Stiglitz.
12. See European Commission, *Barcelona process: Union for the Mediterranean*. COM (2008) 319 Final.
13. Extended Impact Assessments are tools used by the European Commission to improve the policy development process. They examine the main choices and potential impacts of a particular policy decision based on an *ex ante* perspective. In so doing, they identify the likely positive and negative impacts of a potential policy action and enable informed policy judgements and identify trade-offs between competing policy targets. The criteria taken by the Commission in this study focused on risk profile, intensity of resources, corporate culture, partnership, interaction with local economic reforms, long-term political commitment and visibility and overall costing. See *ibid*, pp. 9–15. See also European Commission, *Communication of the Commission on Impact Assessment*, COM (2002) 276, and European Commission, *Commission work programme 2003*, COM (2002) 0590, Annex 2.
14. Check FEMIP's website at <http://www.eib.org/projects/regions/med/index.htm>

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