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**WORKING GROUP 4**

***“How can we **develop** and **improve** the actual instruments and mechanisms under the **European Union: Barcelona Process** and complementarily under **NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue**”.***

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## **INDEX**

1.	INTRODUCTION .....	page	3
2.	STRATEGIC AREA.....	page	3
3.	RISKS, THREATS, AND CONFLICTS.....	page	5
4.	EUROPEAN UNION PROJECTS .....	page	5
5.	NATO PROJECTS/PROGRAMS .....	page	7
6.	COOPERATION AND COORDINATION BETWEEN EU & NATO	page	8
7.	DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE INSTRUMENTS IN PLACE .....	page	10
8.	EUROPEAN UNION – OBJECTIVES TO ACCOMPLISH.....	page	11
9.	NEW INSTRUMENTS AND MECHANISM FOR COODINATION BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND NATO. ....	page	11
10.	CONCLUSIONS.....	page	13
	REFERENCES.....	page	15

## Subtheme

*“How can we **develop** and **improve** the actual instruments and mechanisms under the **European Union: Barcelona Process** and complementarily under **NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue**”.*

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Mediterranean area is a unique site where three continents met and three different cultures live. There may be no other region on the globe where the dichotomies of north-south and west-east are simultaneously present. On the other hand, the complicated relationship among Christianity-Judaism-Islamism, the monotheist religions rooted in this region, makes it a more complex geopolitical and geostrategic area.

The roots of the difficulties in the Mediterranean area draw from history it has a long history of “pilgrimage” of empires and civilizations, none of them quite peaceful, and the withdrawal of the empires left scars which are not yet closed. Undoubtedly it has been for many centuries the cradle of the so called Occidental Civilization. Important to add to this reach history of events the developments occurred in the last decades full of conflicts and rivalries still remain unsolved.

Now with the current, revolutionary processes in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya..., we can see and live all this complex ambience of permanent and different risks and threats to the security of the region and to the stability of the world.

### 2. STRATEGIC AREA

Nowadays North African Countries and the Mediterranean Sea are becoming very important for Europe. They are many reasons among which the fact that they are two main energy supply routes from Algeria through Tunisia and Morocco in addition to the importance of maintain open the seas lines of communication which are essential to the economic growth and security of the EU nations. (Suez Canal).

However during the Cold War years, NATO and Europe not consider the Mediterranean as a strategic area, they consider the area as a minor issue affecting only the neighbors' countries as Italy, France, Spain and Portugal. It was only during the late nineties when becoming a hot spot which stability was crucial not only for Europe but for the rest of the world, prove of which are the recent conflicts occurred in the area which could become a global crisis if the appropriate measures are not taken rapidly into consideration. It is a problem affecting the stability of the EU, the entire region, and the world.

The Mediterranean area is a compound of several pools with their own distinctive features. The stakes and the interests of the coastal countries vary according to their pool, and often even the approach of the security issues differs between neighboring countries. The situation is changing day by day and it is early to know when and how will end.

Country	Population	Current Situation
Algeria	35.423.000	Social protest. Light political reforms.
Egypt	84.474.000	Social unrest. Mass protests. President Hosni Mubarak resigned. (FEB11)
Israel	7.112.359	Permanent tension.
Jordan	6.472.000	Social protest. Change of government and political reforms.
Libya	6.546.000	<b>Civil War.</b>
Morocco	32.381.000	Social protest. Light political reforms
Palestinian Territory	4.008.332	Permanent tension.
Syria	19.747.586	Social unrest. Critical situation, tanks on the streets.
Tunisia	10.374.000	Social unrest. President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali deposed. Preparing "democratic" elections.
Yemen	23.450.000	Social unrest. President Ali Abdala Saleh is negotiating a plan for a transition of power.

### 3. RISKS, THREATS, AND CONFLICTS.

European Union is especially vulnerable to the current situation and this is a good reason for EU to get involved and be proactive leading the implementation of needs required for a political evolution where security and stability are improved.

Nevertheless, they are some Regional Crisis not yet solved, without their resolution; no true stability can be expected in the Mediterranean area. The most significant are:

- Arab-Israeli conflict: Palestine, Gaza Strip, Lebanon
- Syria's role in the Lebanese conflict
- Greco-Turkish antagonism, Cyprus issue
- Morocco and Algeria antagonism. Western Sahara
- Massive immigration, south – north and large-scale refugee flows
- Energy security. Interruptions of energy flows, gas and petrol
- The spillover of radical Islam elsewhere in North Africa
- Iran's political situation and the nuclear issues

### 4. EUROPEAN UNION PROJECTS

Since more than 20 years, EU has established some cooperation/relationship programs with Mediterranean and Neighbor countries, the more relevant are:

- a) The **Dialogue 5+5** (Five plus Five), is an intergovernmental initiative/program created in July 1990, with the aim of develop cooperation between **Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, and Malta**, on the one hand, and **Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Mauritania** on the other. The project has limited ambition, in topics as natural resource management, economic links and financial assistance, immigration, and culture. One of its aims was to allow the participating states to focus on sub-regional security challenges without linking them to the Middle East Problem.

The last three “5+5” meetings, including the ministerial which took place in Tunisia April 2010, have focused on immigration, organized crime and terrorism.

b) The EU, at the Euro-Mediterranean Conference (27-28/11/95), in Barcelona, formally launched its new Mediterranean policy, “**Barcelona Declaration**”, to enhance and upgrade cooperation in the Mediterranean. The main aim of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership is to promote long-term stability through economic development and liberalization. The document was signed by the members of the EU and **Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and the Palestinian National Authority**. The Euro-Mediterranean policy’s most significant results, has been in the economic and financial domain.

c) Since 2004 coexist with, another program related with EU neighbors countries, **The European Neighborhood Policy** (ENP), a vehicle established for cooperation with these countries, looking for a greater economic development, stability and better governance. The ENP covers, **Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordan Lebanon, Libya, Republic of Moldova, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Ukraine**. -The ENP favors the deepening of bilateral relations differentiated.

d) “**Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean (UfM)**”, established at the EU Paris Summit (13 July 2008). The Heads of State and Government agreed to build on and reinforce the successful elements of the Barcelona Process by upgrading their relations incorporating more co-ownership in their multilateral cooperation framework and delivering concrete benefits for the citizens of the region. It was decided to launch and/or to reinforce a number of key initiatives: De-pollution of the Mediterranean, Maritime and Land Highways, Civil Protection, Alternative Energies: Mediterranean Solar Plan, Higher Education and Research, Euro-Mediterranean University and the Mediterranean Business Development Initiative

The principal object of the program is the Maghreb integration. The Union for the Mediterranean, acts as a mechanism of mutual supportiveness for bilateral and regional policies in Mediterranean.

Members: **EU (27) + Algeria, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Monaco, Montenegro, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey** and the **Palestinian Authority**

After more than twenty years, the programs have only reached limited success because they did not reach the people. The cooperation needs specific objectives, with a long term prevision and allocation of the appropriate funds. To find the proper match to all of these set of policies and initiatives will be one of the main challenges in the euro Mediterranean relationships.

## **5. NATO PROJECTS/PROGRAMS**

Similarly as the EU, NATO also has established some cooperation/relationship programs with Mediterranean countries.

a) **NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (MD)** was initiated in 1994 by the North Atlantic Council. It currently involves seven non-NATO countries of the Mediterranean region: **Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.**

The Mediterranean Dialogue's overall aim is to contribute to regional security and stability, achieve better mutual understanding and dispel any misconceptions about NATO among Dialogue countries.

The main areas of activity and cooperation within the MD are: military education, training and doctrine, defense policy, investment, defense, civil emergency planning, crisis management, arms and information, scientific and environmental projects and activities of public diplomacy.

The Dialogue is primarily bilateral in structure (NATO+1). Despite the predominantly bilateral character, the Dialogue nevertheless allows for multilateral meetings on a regular basis (NATO+7).

The Dialogue is meant to mutually reinforce and complement other international efforts such as, for example, the EU's Barcelona Process (Euro-Mediterranean Partnership), the Partnership for the Mediterranean and the OSCE's Mediterranean Initiative.

b) **NATO's Istanbul Cooperation Initiative (ICI)**, launched at the Alliance's Summit in the Turkish city in June 2004, aims to contribute to long-term global and regional security by offering countries of the broader Middle East region practical bilateral security cooperation with NATO.

ICI focuses on practical cooperation in areas where NATO can add value, notably in the security field. Six countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council were initially invited to participate. To date, four of these - **Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates** - have joined. Saudi Arabia and Oman have also shown an interest in the Initiative.

The Initiative offers a 'menu' of bilateral activities that countries can choose from six areas:

- a) Tailored advice on defence reform, defence budgeting, defence planning and civil-military relations.
- b) Military-to-military cooperation to contribute to interoperability.
- c) Cooperation in the fight against terrorism, including intelligence-sharing;
- d) Cooperation in the Alliance's work on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery.
- e) Cooperation regarding border security in connection with terrorism,
- f) Civil emergency planning, training courses and exercises on disaster assistance.

Despite these projects, since 90's NATO has given higher priority to the opening up to the Eastern European countries than to the Mediterranean area, this is one of the reasons why the programs did not give concrete results.

## 6. COOPERATION AND COORDINATION BETWEEN EU & NATO

Institutionalized relations between NATO and the European Union were launched in 2001, building on steps taken during the 1990s to promote greater European responsibility in defence matters. The political principles underlying the relationship were set out in the December 2002 NATO-EU **Declaration on European Security and**

**Defence Policy (ESDP)** ESDP. NATO and the European Union now have 21 member countries in common.

NATO and the European Union are working together to prevent and resolve crises and armed conflicts in Europe and beyond. The two organizations share common strategic interests and cooperate in a spirit of complementarity and partnership.

Beyond cooperation in the field of security and defense, other key priorities for cooperation are to ensure that our capability development efforts are mutually reinforcing.

Close cooperation between NATO and the European Union is an important element in the development of an international “Comprehensive Approach” to crisis management and operations, which requires the effective application of both military and civilian means.

NATO and EU officials meet on a regular basis to discuss issues of common interest. Meetings take place at different levels including at the level of foreign ministers, ambassadors, military representatives and defence advisors.

### **NATO-EU Declaration on ESDP**

The NATO-EU Declaration on ESDP, agreed on 16 December 2002, reaffirmed the EU assured access to NATO's planning capabilities for its own military operations and reiterated the political principles of the strategic partnership: effective mutual consultation; equality and due regard for the decision-making autonomy of the European Union and NATO; respect for the interests of EU and NATO members states; respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; and coherent, transparent and mutually reinforcing development of the military capability requirements common to the two organizations.

### **The “Berlin-Plus” arrangements**

As part of the framework for cooperation adopted on 17 March 2003, the so-called “Berlin-Plus” arrangements provide the basis for NATO-EU cooperation in crisis management by allowing the European Union to have access to NATO's collective assets and capabilities for EU-led operations, including command arrangements and assistance in operational planning.

EU and NATO must work together to promote good governance while preserving the political stability of the Arab countries in the Mediterranean.

However serious thoughts should be given to the fact that some Arab countries perceive NATO as a military organization, less “friendly” than the UE, maybe for the anti-Americanism feelings and the unconditional support given by USA to Israel. EU should be considered for a stronger role as the liaison for connecting with these particular countries.

## **7. DEVELOPMENT AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE INSTRUMENTS IN PLACE**

Currently, the instruments and mechanisms under the projects of the European Union and complementarily under NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue are different from three months ago.

The potentials presented in the articulation between EU and NATO must be redefined with renewed strategies for cooperation in different areas and particularly in the area of security and defense on the Mediterranean region. Both organizations should exert more effort in establishing closer relations with representative institutions.

Regarding the purposes and the activities developed by the two international organizations, and besides the differences in strategies, geometries and interests, we think there is a good potential for complementation between EU and NATO. It is important to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort, to ensure transparency and to respect the autonomy of the two organizations.

None of the two organizations contains political, diplomatic, economical, military and cultural abilities in itself. The proposals could be found in a new standard of strategies for an extended cooperation, identifying and exploring synergies between organizations to achieve common strategic goals.

The EU should take the lead promoting democracy and seeking arrangements in areas as economic, social and cultural; on the other hand NATO is better suited to deal with security cooperation and defence (especially military aid, training and exercises).

To support the struggle for democracy and freedom in the South of Mediterranean, the EU should strengthen it’s diplomatic, economic and education investment.

## 8. EUROPEAN UNION – OBJECTIVES TO ACCOMPLISH

The Defense of the EU starts with the stability of its neighbors. The current upheavals in North Africa countries offer a unique opportunity to improve the quality of governance in many Arab nations, building forms of popular representation which allow former subjects to become citizens and modernizing elites to gain legitimacy by offering a realistic vision of the future.

Solutions must be based in “a new hope and opportunity to build a future based on democracy, pluralism, human rights, and social justice”.

The EU need to put in place a plan with the goal to achieve the stability and security of the countries in the area. **All the goals must be defined in close relationship with those countries, according to their needs and aspirations.**

The plan must include a bilateral relationship with each country in the area, to help the order and to suit the measures to the reckonable development in key aspects as economics, politics, cultural and social.

The political measures of the new governments must be based on the following priorities.

- 1) Consolidation of Democracy: Rule of Law, as the guiding foundation.
- 2) Economic improvements (sharing responsibilities, encouraging entrepreneurs, creating jobs and spreading wealth). A more proportionate distribution of benefits of economic performance will allow better growth and prosperity. Reduce poverty by introducing more young people into productive formal employment
- 3) Respect for human rights and establish a basic Health Care system.

## 9. NEW INSTRUMENTS AND MECHANISM FOR COORDINATION BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND NATO

After the fight for democracy in the North of Africa, made by the people, poor, frustrated and limited in their freedom, it is time to change the EU strategy to the Mediterranean to help on the creation of new democracies, implementing concrete measures and projects avoiding bureaucratic walls.

The full implementation of the *Union for the Mediterranean* it's a solution and a necessity, but more important is to solve the problems with Leadership and Trust in a future more secure for the region.

EU Cooperation' initiatives should be established on a case-by-case basis aimed to very specific areas and funded with the appropriate resources.

EU should examine the evolution and the behavior of the respective governments and support the countries evolving to democracy. The main lines of action are:

### Political and Social Instruments

- Supporting the democratic transitions; the elections and other developments to democracy and freedom on the region;
- Reinforcing the political cooperation with the regional institutions;
- EU parliament cooperation with the political leaders to ensure a good transition into the political reforms, ensuring human rights and social justice;
- Nominate a special representative (a personality with global recognized leadership) of the EU for the Mediterranean under ESEA (European Service for External Action) responsibility;
- Condemn the violent repression and the systematic violation of human rights in the region, not only in times of crisis but when they happen (showing consistency with the European values).

### Economical Instruments

- Execute a plan along the line of the Marshall Plan; to develop the economics and financial institutions and to support the development and job creation for the countries in the ongoing process of democratization;
- Support the proposal to create a Euro-Mediterranean Investment Bank to help fund the transition to democracy.

### Security and Defence Instruments

- Mentoring programs for the foundation of a Defense structure.
- Introduce in the agenda of the NATO-EU relationship, the issue of security and stability in the Mediterranean region.
- Improve instruments for the use of military forces (in coordination with NATO) only in special cases (humanitarian) and exclusively with a clear mandate from the United Nations;

### Education

- Free access to the Education, as a basic right. Mandatory up to 14/16 years old.
- Increase the exchange of education programs between EU and North of Africa countries, as an instrument of democratization by sharing values and knowledge.

We believe the current events must accelerate and magnify the process, the instruments and the mechanisms of action.

Besides the cyclical events in the North of Africa, we must solve the structural historical problems, like the conflict between Israel and the majority of the Arabic countries, contributing to the normalization of the relationship between Israel and its neighbours.

## 11. CONCLUSIONS

- North African Countries and the Mediterranean Sea are very important for EU and NATO, however we need to raise awareness and more sensitivity to all EU countries and expose them to the potential consequences of not been considered.
- All the existing structures have reached limited success. It's necessary to start with an assessment focused on needs, with the agreements of North African Countries, and then create the appropriate and functional structures to reach the goals.
- Those goals should be defined at the highest political level.
- At a political level decisions should be made for each goal; who will fund and how the funds will be managed. Operations could be leaded by UE, NATO or countries designated by the alliance. This is the only way to maintain the image of trust and credibility of the EU on the North-South relationship, especially for the future generations.
- We must implement new instruments and mechanisms for coordination between the EU and NATO in different areas, namely political, social, security and defense, economic and educational.

We hope the current situation becomes simultaneously a challenge and an opportunity for all EU and NATO members (despite the economic constrains) to assume a more active and comprehensive vision (roles should be complementary rather than competitive) for the peace and security in the Mediterranean region.

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