

## Newsletter

May / June 2007

### Foreword

Warmest greetings to partners, colleagues and friends of the GO-EuroMed research project. We are now well into our second year of work, and this newsletter is our chance to update you all. The last 18 months were momentous for the Mediterranean basin.



There have been tragic times, but there has also been some progress towards the Barcelona Process' ambitious objectives. Dialogue and exchange between Europeans and Mediterranean partners is strong – this project is

itself an example of partners working together towards common objectives. I would like to thank everyone who has contributed to this exchange thus far, and to say how much I look forward to our common research into the major challenges facing the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.

*Prof. Dr. Michael Bolle*  
Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence  
Freie Universität Berlin

### مقدمة

نقدم اجمل التحيات الى جميع شركائنا وزملائنا وجميع المهتمين بمشروع بحث البعد الاقتصادي-السياسي للحكم الرشيد في إطار الشراكة الأورومتوسطية (GO-EuroMed). ونحن الآن في السنة الثانية من مشروعنا البحثي وفي هذه النشرة سنقوم بتزويدكم بأخر التطورات. إن الأشهر الثمانية عشر الماضية كانت لها أهمية خاصة في حوض البحر المتوسط. فقد كان هناك أوقات عصيبة ولكن كان أيضاً هناك تقدم نحو تحقيق أهداف عملية برشلونه. وكان هناك حوار وتواصل قوي بين الأوروبيين وشركائهم من جنوب المتوسط، وهذا المشروع هو مثال لشركاء يعملون معاً لتحقيق أهداف مشتركة. أود أن أشكر كل من ساهم في الوصول إلى هذه المرحلة وأعبر لكم عن تطلعي إلى أبحاثنا المشتركة حول التحديات الرئيسية التي تواجه الشراكة الأورومتوسطية.

بروفيسور مايكل بولي  
مركز جان موني للتميز  
جامعة برلين الحرة

### Contents

The Ongoing Crisis in Lebanon	page 2
Interview with Günter Glöser	page 3
The Amman workshop	page 4
News from the GO-EuroMed partners	page 5-6
Upcoming and past events	page 7
Publications	page 7
The GO-EuroMed project	page 8

## The Ongoing Lebanese Crisis

by Khalil Gebara, Lebanese Center for Policy Studies (LCPS)\*

The recent Lebanese conflict that started with the July-August war 2006 has yet to come to a conclusion. On the surface, the current political quarrels in Lebanon might be seen as focusing on participation and proper representation. However, these quarrels underscore major differences that could be irreconcilable, could threaten the frail stability of Lebanon, and might even lead to its break-up.

The assassination of the late Prime Minister Rafik Hariri in February 2005 created new momentum in Lebanon. The peaceful demonstrations and public pressure, dubbed the Cedars' Revolution that followed the funeral of Hariri, the withdrawal of the Syrian army from Lebanon and the relatively free elections that took place in summer 2005 unleashed hope for change and for reforms in Lebanon that might spread to other countries in the region.

Unfortunately, several events have diminished any hope that Lebanon might be on the right track towards political reforms and modernization: the relative success of Hezbollah during the Israeli war on Lebanon; the open sit-in in downtown Beirut, and the resignation of the Shiite ministers directly before the government was scheduled to approve the bylaws of the international tribunal to try the suspects in the killing of former Prime Minister Hariri. Moreover, the violent strike and the communal clashes were a reminder that communal peace is still volatile and political quarrels can still lead to street clashes. By the end of 2006, it became apparent that the counter-revolution had taken the upper hand. The events in Beirut, as well the problems in Palestine since the success of Hamas in legislative elections and the continued worsening of the situation in Iraq, put all the advocates of democracy in the Arab region on the defensive, strengthening the position of the realists who have been promoting the pres-

ervation of the status quo. In particular, they warn about the results of an Iranian-led assault, which is using proxy local groups in three countries: Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine.

Will Lebanon ever be able to overcome the need to rely on regional power-brokers to arbitrate between different political groups? Also, will Lebanon ever witness long-lasting democratic reforms? It seems that the answer to these questions is negative unless there are embedded mechanisms inside the rigid power-sharing arrangement that can make this system more dynamic and can ensure peaceful competition inside the different communities. Maybe introducing such mechanisms requires re-conceptualizing the Tai'f accord. However, more medium-term solutions might be less drastic, such as the introduction of a new, modern and democratic electoral law that ensures proper representation and a new, peaceful reshuffling of the Lebanese political elite.

\* Khalil Gebara is a Lebanese researcher and holds a PhD in Political Economy from the University of Exeter (UK). A longer version of this article appeared in *Democracy and Society*, Volume 4, Issue 2.

### الأزمة اللبنانية خليل جبارة- المركز اللبناني للدراسات

تتناول هذا المقال آخر التطورات السياسية في الساحة اللبنانية، فبعد انسحاب الجيش السوري الذي اعقب اغتيال رئيس الوزراء الأسبق رفيق الحريري ، ساد تفاؤل حذراً ولكن سرعان ما انتهى مع بدء النزاع السياسي بين الطوائف المتعددة في لبنان . إن هذه التطورات في لبنان ، بالإضافة الى سوء الاوضاع السياسية في فلسطين والعراق ، وضعت مؤيدي الديمقراطية في العالم العربي في موقف ضعيف . ترى هذه المقالة أن الاستقرار السياسي في لبنان يتطلب اصلاح النظام الانتخابي على المدى المتوسط ، وربما يتطلب إعادة صياغة اتفاقية الطائف على المدى الطويل .



„GO-EuroMed“ - internationales Forschungsprojekt zur EU-Mittelmeerpolitik

Weitere Informationen zum Projekt, den beteiligten Forschungseinrichtungen und zu den Euro-mediterranen Beziehungen finden Sie unter [www.go.euromed.org](http://www.go.euromed.org) .

## Interview: Günter Gloser, Minister of the State for Europe at the German Federal Foreign Office

*Questions and translation by  
Matthias Keese, JMC Berlin*



**Our first question refers to the status quo of the Barcelona Process. Where do we stand? What has changed?**

When the Barcelona Process was launched in the mid of the 1990s, it was mainly an issue for

the governments. Fortunately, this has changed in the meantime. The Barcelona Process is more and more accepted by the civil societies. I consider that its establishment within the population is a great chance for its success.

**Currently, where do you see difficulties?**

In recent times the Barcelona Process has been criticized for being too sluggish. Surely, it is slowly moving forward. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the Barcelona Process performs an important task within the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Its critics often misjudge that the Barcelona Process alone will not be able to make peace in the region. But this is not its task.

**What are the main focuses of the German Council Presidency to push the Barcelona Process?**

The German Council Presidency has set ambitious objectives. I want to illustrate five issues for Euro-Mediterranean cooperation we put an emphasis on during our presidency. Firstly, I would like to mention the strengthening of the social dialogue in our partnership. Within the Euro-Med frame, issues of employment policy and social policy have been hardly discussed. However, a common space of security and prosperity, to which the Barcelona Process is supposed to contribute, will not be generated in a sustainable way without a working social dialogue and new jobs. Secondly, let me say some words on the European Neighbourhood Policy. We want to strengthen this instrument. Indeed, the inclusion of the eastern neighbours of the EU in a common concept for the south and the

east caused some concern among several partners worrying that the European view will focus more on the east and that the south will fall behind. But this is by no means the case. Thirdly, I would like to mention the subject of migration. This is a very important field for our collaboration. We all have the pictures of refugees in mind who risk their lives in thousands to reach Europe via the sea using boats that are often not sea-worthy. And it is foreseeable that this will even grow. The danger exists that migration will increasingly become a destabilizing factor in external and domestic issues. For that, it is not surprising that migration plays a more and more important role in the external relations of the EU.

**In addition, what are main areas of interests of the German Presidency?**

Fourthly, education. We become more and more conscious how important access to education for our people is. This issue has developed from a pure national to an international issue. In the world of today, the education factor decides on the social, political and economic development of a country and for the individual's life in it. Meanwhile, education is considered a formula to cope with the future in a globalized world. Fifthly, I finally want to point to three important events that we are going to undertake in the EuroMed format in the first half of the year 2007. In addition to the first Euro-Mediterranean Youth Parliament we are going to hold a EuroMed Media Conference and a Euro-MeSCo seminar (*EuroMed Study Commission*) on Good Governance, Reform and Human Rights in Berlin.

**Thank you very much for this interview.**

في هذه المقابلة يناقش معالي السيد جانتر جلوسر، وزير ألمانيا للشؤون الأوروبية، التطورات التي جرت لعملية برشلونه وأولويات ألمانيا لهذه العملية خلال رئاستها لمجلس الإتحاد الأوروبي. عبّر السيد جلوسر عن رأيه بأن عملية برشلونه في تقدم مستمر وإن كان ذلك بطيئاً كما انه قدم قائمه من خمسة مواضيع سوف تركز عليها الرئاسة الألمانية بخصوص التعاون الأورومتوسطي وهي: تقوية الحوار الاجتماعي، تقوية سياسة الجوار الأوروبية، موضوع الهجرة، تطوير التعليم واخيراً تنظيم عدة لقاءات متعلقة بالشراكة الأورومتوسطية ( برلمان الشباب الأورومتوسطي، مؤتمر الإعلام الأورومتوسطي، وورشة عمل لهيئة الأبحاث الأورومتوسطية (أورومييسكو) حول الحكامية الصالحة والإصلاح وحقوق الإنسان).

## GO-Euromed Workshop in Amman: Impressions

by Thoraya El-Rayyes, CSS Amman

The GO-EuroMed project held its third Workshop in Amman from 3-5 May 2007. The meeting was hosted by Dr. Ibrahim Saif and the staff of the Center for Strategic Studies at the University of Jordan.

The consortium discussed the overall research design of Stage II dealing with major political and economic challenges to the Barcelona Process. Each working package coordinator presented a detailed outline of their colleagues' work in five issue areas: EU enlargement; do-



*The consortium members at the CSS building.*

mestic reform; regional integration in the MENA; demography, migration and culture; and geopolitical change. The consortium discussed scientific and policy relevant approaches to researching these challenges. Working paper outlines for two of the project's stage II Working Packages (regional integration and demography, migration and culture) were discussed in detail. The meeting concluded with agreement on the next steps in the process, and with high expectations regarding intra-consortium communication and the publication of results.



*Working atmosphere at the Amman workshop*

عقدت ورشة العمل الثالثة لمشروع البعد الاقتصادي-السياسي للحكم الرشيد في إطار الشراكة الأوروبية-متوسطة (GO-Euromed) في عمان من 3 - 5 مايو 2007 واستضاف الاجتماع مركز الدراسات الاستراتيجية في الجامعة الأردنية وقد حضر ممثلي من المؤسسات الشركاء الثمانية.

وركزت ورشة العمل على مشروع بحثي يتناول موضوع "التكامل الاقتصادي في الشرق الأوسط وشمال أفريقيا" وموضوع "الهجرة وتبادل الثقافات"، كما تمت مناقشة تركيبة المرحلة الثانية من مشروع GO-Euromed.

ومن المشجع ان جميع الشركاء قد احرزوا اكثر تقدماً عن العام السابق . وقد انتهت ورشة العمل بجلسة لمناقشة كيفية الاستفادة من موقع الإنترنت للمشروع لغاية تحسين التعاون والتواصل بين الشركاء.

## News from the GO-EuroMed partners

---

### CSS Jordan

As the coordinators for Working Package 8 on "Regional Integration", the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) has been busy working with the Jean Monnet Centre and Lebanese Center for Policy Studies to prepare the working papers for the GO-EuroMed workshop in Jordan during May. CSS's contribution to this working package will be a paper on "Merchandise Trade and Regional Economic Integration". In related research, CSS has also been researching the linkages between trade liberalization and employment in Jordan. Rather than focusing merely on job creation effects, the research aimed to investigate the types of export-oriented jobs being created. In particular, we analysed the wage-levels, non-wage benefits and working conditions in export-oriented sectors."

---

### JMC Berlin

The JMC Berlin has organised the Jean Monnet Lecture series since the summer of 1998. Prominent scholars and practitioners are invited on an ad-hoc basis to deliver public lectures on EU integration and foreign policy related topics. Upcoming guests include Prof. Dr. Michael Landesmann (The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies) on Outsourcing, Skills and Catching-up in the Enlarged European Union, Dr. Carsten Helm (Technical University of Darmstadt) on the Incentive Effects of Unemployment Benefits and Dr. Adam Posen (Peterson Institute for International Economics) on the G8 Summit in Germany.

The JMC Berlin also holds a Lecture Series every Thursday on issues related to the German EU Presidency 2007. Upcoming guests include Mr. Daniel Cohn-Bendit MEP and Mr. Günter Verheugen, Vice President of the European Commission.

---

### JMC Madrid

The University Institute for European Studies at CEU San Pablo University (IDEE) is performing a wide spectrum of activities in relation with research and dissemination of European and

international law, International relations and EU policies.

Current research: These are some of the main research projects in which the Institute is working: Together with the European Studies Centre of St. Antony's College (University of Oxford) and with the support of the European Parliament has undertaken to make a study on the "Development of a Political Framework and Legal Structures for Implementing Article I-57 of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (European Neighborhood Policy)". Besides, the IDEE is currently working on a research project, supported by the Rafael del Pino Foundation on the future of the European Constitution. The project, called "The Future of the European Constitutional Treaty and Possible Scenarios" is being performed in cooperation with the European University Institute (Florence, Italy). Finally the IDEE is working on a project founded by the European Commission with the Istanbul Policy Center (Sabanci University) on the "Economic Impact of an Eventual Enlargement of the EU to Turkey".

---

### SGH Warsaw

*Economic cooperation. Bilateral visits*

The Year 2007 began with several visits of Arab officials in Poland. To name few - in February the 7<sup>th</sup> Moroccan Minister of Agriculture, Country and Fishery Development - Mohand Laenser and the Moroccan Kingdom delegation - was a guest of KIG - Country Economic Council. Moroccans expressed their interest in the purchase of Polish agricultural machinery and equipment. A month later Lebanese Ambassador Maalouf visited Zabrze - a city in the Silesian Region. He held a conference on the relations between Lebanon and Poland.

*News from SGH. A Century on the Seas of Knowledge:* In 2006 *Szkoła Główna Handlowa w Warszawie (Warsaw School of Economics)* is celebrating the hundredth year of its uninterrupted activity. The school is the oldest economic university in Poland. See: [http://www.sgh.waw.pl/ogolnouczelniarne/100-lat-en?set\\_language=en&cl=en](http://www.sgh.waw.pl/ogolnouczelniarne/100-lat-en?set_language=en&cl=en)

---

**GO-EuroMed: Ekonomia Polityczna Zarządzania w Partnerstwie Euro-Śródziemnomorskim.** Dodatkowe informacje na temat projektu, członków konsorcjum badawczego oraz stosunków Euro-śródziemnomorskich znajdziecie Państwo na stronie internetowej [www.go-euromed.org](http://www.go-euromed.org).

## LEO Orléans

The LEO is currently engaged in the dissemination of results of the first stage of the GO-EuroMed project. On January 16, the "International Economics and Finance" team of the LEO has organised a morning lecture for economics high-school teachers, during which special attention has been devoted to the trade-off between regionalism and multilateralism in trade negotiations with a special focus on Southern Mediterranean countries. Second, during the Sixth International Conference 'Economic integration, competition and cooperation' at Opatija – Croatia, on April 19-20, 2007, LEO's paper, stressing that MPCs are still lagging behind NMS and EU15 in terms of attraction of backbone services and thus of catching up, has drawn attention and comments. It has fruitfully completed the points raised by the EC delegate from DG ECFIN, Jürgen Kröger and the deputy governor of Croatian National Bank, Boris Vujčić, regarding, respectively, the economic outlook in the EU27 and the prospects of Croatia adhesion.

## Sabancı University, Istanbul

The University's commitment to conducting research manifests itself in a number of projects undertaken by scholars from all faculties. With respect to the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, project areas include democracy studies, public sphere, the Black Sea region, as well as the Go-EuroMed project on the political economy of Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. Some of the projects that take place under the European Commission's Sixth Framework Programme are as follows:

**Eurosphere:** This project, undertaken by 15 other partner institutions from around Europe, endeavors to identify elements of openness in various public spaces towards the idea of a European Public Sphere. It also aims to identify the features of sub-European public spaces and the idea of European citizenship, by bringing together intellectuals, political parties, social movement representatives and the media. Creation of the European Public Sphere Knowledge-Base is the ultimate objective of

Eurosphere. It is a 5-year project, starting in Fall 2007.

**RECON:** This project seeks to clarify whether democracy is possible under conditions of pluralism, diversity and complex multi-level governance, with the overall aim of developing a theory of democratic deliberative supranationalism. RECON has around 70 participating researchers across Europe, most of who are affiliated to one of the 19 partner institutions of RECON such as ARENA, University of Bath, Free University of Berlin, and Sabanci University. It is a 4-year project, planned to be finished by the end of 2011.

## AUI Ifrane

From Cruise Ship to Scholar Ship - an Ocean-going Campus for a Flat World: The Scholar Ship and six international universities representing the Consortium of Academic Stewards (the University of California - Berkeley, representing the United States, Macquarie University (Australia), Fudan University (China), Tecnológico de Monterrey (Mexico), Al Akhawayn University (Morocco), and University of Ghana, representing Sub-Saharan Africa) will start its 16-week trip with 600 students from around the world in September 2007.

This concept of Scholar Ship is the first international education program that is ship-based and that integrate graduate and undergraduate students in a multi-cultural, multi-destination academic and living environment. The Macquarie University, on behalf of the Scholar Ship's Consortium of Academic Stewards, awards academic credit to students.

A high number of applications for admission (more than 8000) from over 175 countries was received: The Americas region represents 36% of student interest, Europe/Middle East/Africa, 44% and Asia Pacific, 20%.

---

## U p c o m i n g e v e n t s

JMC Berlin, 31 May, Why do we (not) need a new constitution? Daniel Cohn-Bendit (MEP), FU Berlin, Ihnestrasse 21, HS A.

AUI Ifrane, 4 and 5 June, Solidarity and Stewardship: Interfaith Approaches to Global Challenges: The Scholar Ship Research Institute and Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane (AUI) organize a two-day academic conference to look at the role of various faith traditions in structuring contemporary global challenges and activating civic action to address common global concerns.

JMC Berlin, 4 June, Jean Monnet Lecture: Prof. Dr. Michael Landesmann: Outsourcing, Skills and Catching-up in the Enlarged European Union.

JMC Berlin, 12 July, Looking back on the German Presidency, Günter Verheugen (European Commission), Ihnestrasse 21, HS A.

Lebanese Centre for Policy Studies, Beirut, early September, 4<sup>th</sup> GO-EuroMed project workshop.

---

## P a s t e v e n t s

The University Institute for European Studies organised an International Conference commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signature of the Treaty of Rome. The Conference, with the title "Europe 50 years after: Economic and Political Challenges", was held on the 15 and 16 of March 2007.

SGH Warsaw, April: Professor Żukrowska gave an interview for the American TV station CNBC Europe (clip can be viewed on her homepage).

IEAPS Ifrane, 10 April, Training Seminar about Concepts and Practice of Human Development.

JMC Berlin, 23 April, Jean Monnet Lecture, Professeur Patrick A. Messerlin (Director of the Groupe d'Economie Mondiale at Sciences-Po Paris): "Trade Policy is Foreign Policy: European Choices"

CEU San Pablo University, Madrid, 8 May, International Seminar on a New Social Model for a Competitive Europe. Organised by the University Institute for European Studies and the Faculty of Economics of CEU San Pablo University. Sponsor: The Spanish Ministry of Education.

---

## P u b l i c a t i o n s

Warsaw School of Economics

The International Security Department, Warsaw School of Economics (SGH) published several books on issues connected with international relations, world economy and international security in 2006 and 2007. List of the books titles:

1. Integration and Disintegration Processes in the World Economy, Warszawa 2007.
2. The Role of Institutionalisation in Shaping International Relations, Warszawa 2006.
3. European Union and the United States and the Global Challenges, Warszawa 2006.
4. International Security, Theory and practice, Warszawa 2006.

Information about the publications edited or written by Prof. Katarzyna Żukrowska can be found on her homepage: [http://www.zukrowska.inf.pl/index1.php?strona=index\\_ang](http://www.zukrowska.inf.pl/index1.php?strona=index_ang).

---

## The GO - EuroMed project

### The Political Economy of Governance in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership

The GO-EuroMed project focuses on the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, in the context of EU efforts to improve governance throughout its neighbourhood.

The maxim that economic performance is a core element of socio-political stability has been the guiding principle of European integration since 1945. The EU's 2004 enlargement followed the successful 'export' of this philosophy - and the institutions that make it work - to Central and Eastern Europe, Malta and Cyprus. The next external relations challenge for the EU-25 is to continue spreading peace, security and prosperity throughout its neighbourhood.

The prospect of EU accession proved a powerful 'carrot' for Central and Eastern Europeans, encouraging liberalisation, growth and stability during the 1990s. As full membership is not on offer for Mediterranean Partner Countries, the EU needs to work closely with them to ensure that concrete gains for the region and its peoples are realised. Economic growth is the most obvious and tangible benefit - but is hollow unless structured to reach all levels of society. Efficient, legitimate regional institutions may hold the key to improving economic performance - and encouraging socio-political stability - throughout the 'Wider Europe' region.

The GO-EuroMed project assembles a team of economics and political science institutes from EU and Mediterranean Partner Countries, together reflecting the diversity of a dynamic region. Research aims to identify multilateral, bilateral and domestic institutional design and management strategies for the key trade, investment and labour sectors. Although these institutions are ostensibly economic, their design and management cannot take place in a political vacuum - indeed, trade, investment and labour are deeply intertwined with domestic and international political processes. The project evaluates growth strategies in the light of key political and social challenges facing the region, in order to produce economically desirable and politically feasible institutional solutions capable of furthering the Barcelona Process' goals in the Mediterranean Basin.



Center for Strategic Studies,  
University of Jordan, Amman



Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence,  
Freie Universität Berlin, Germany



Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence,  
Instituto de Estudios Europeos, Madrid, Spain



Laboratoire d'économie d'Orléans, France



International Security Department, Warsaw School of Economics, Poland



Sabancı University, Istanbul, Turkey



Al Akhawayn University, Ifrane, Morocco

### GO - EuroMed Newsletter

The GO-EuroMed Newsletter is edited by the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, Ihnestrasse 56, 14195 Berlin, Germany, Tel: +49-(0)-30-838 5 49 66, Fax: +49-(0)-30-838 5 23 57, eMail: office@jmc-berlin.org. To subscribe to this newsletter or to cancel it, please contact [www.go-euromed.org](http://www.go-euromed.org).



Lebanese Center for Policy Studies



: البعد الاقتصادي-السياسي للحكم الرشيد في إطار المشاركة "GO-Euromed" مشروع الأورو متوسطية. المزيد من المعلومات عن المشروع والمؤسسات المشاركة به متوفرة على موقع الإنترنت [www.go-euromed.org](http://www.go-euromed.org)