

## Newsletter

November / December 2007

### Foreword

Dear partners, colleagues and friends, welcome to the second edition of the Newsletter of the GO-EuroMed research project. In recent months there have been some new and exciting developments in Euro-Mediterranean relations. The election of President Sarkozy in France and his proposal to establish a Mediterranean Union is sure to re-energise Europe's engagement with its Mediterranean Partners, whether the Union is launched formally or not. The consortium will follow these developments closely, as our project will also culminate during the French EU Presidency in the second half of next year.



The second stage of the project is coming to an end, and we are working hard on preparing our research results for publication in the New Year. We are also looking forward to our upcoming conference in Madrid in February, where we will have the chance to present our results. I would like to thank once again everyone who is contributing to our work on the Euro-Med Partnership.

*Prof. Dr. Michael Bolle*

Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence  
Freie Universität Berlin

### مقدمة

شركاؤنا و زملاؤنا و أصدقائنا الأعزاء مرحبا بكم في العدد الثاني لمجلة ال مشروع الأ ورومتوسطي. في الأ شهر القليلة الماضية ، حدثت بعض التطورات الجديدة و المثيرة في العلاقات الأ ورومتوسطية. انتخاب الرئيس ساركوزي في فرنسا بالإضافة إلى اقتراحه الذي ينطوي على ت أسيس اتحاد متوسطي سيؤدي بالتأكيد إلى إعادة الحيوية إلى تعهد أوروبا مع شركائها المتوسطيين ، وهذا في حالتي انطلاق أو عدم انطلاق الاتحاد بطريقة رسمية. ستتبع رابطة المشروع الأ ورومتوسطي هذه التطورات عن قرب ، نظرا لأن مشروعنا هذا سيصل إلى نهايته خلال فترة الرئاسة الفرنسية للاتحاد الأوروبي في النصف الثاني من العام المقبل.

بروفيسور مايكل بولي  
مركز جان موني للتميز  
جامعة برلين الحرة

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## Polish foreign policy after the parliamentary elections 2007

By Aleksandra Galek, Warsaw School of Economics

“Massive win for Polish opposition”, “Restoring hope”, “Chance for the new beginning”, “Free Poles comes back to Europe”, “Change in political direction in Poland” these are the headlines of most of the European newspapers on 22 October 2007 after the Civic Platform won the parliamentary election in Poland. This free-market, pro-European party with roots in “Solidarnosc” movement came in first in front of the Kaczynski’s brother Law and Justice party. The expectations of Poles and their friends in Europe with regard to the new government led by Donald Tusk and especially their foreign policy are very high. They must restore the trust and confidence of all the partners in the EU and pro-actively get involved in all the new and old European initiatives.



New Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk

While Brussels, Moscow and Washington will be the first capital cities which Donald Tusk has promised to visit, it is hard to predict when one of the Mediterranean capitals will welcome the new Polish PM. The Civic Platform supports Turkey in its European aspirations and sees in Turkey’s membership lots of potential not only from geostrategical perspective, but also from the perspective of further development of the European Single Market. Additionally, in Poland, the question of Turkish membership in the EU comes always together with the Ukrainian issue.

If Turkey is able to join the EU, so is Ukraine – the representatives of the Civic Platform say. The second “Mediterranean issue” which may gain some attention of the Polish new diplomacy is the President Sarkozy’s idea of the Mediterranean Union. If it is not buried during the next months, it might challenge the European Neighborhood Policy which Poland was so far quite involved in. A third key issue for Poland in the Middle East is the country’s contribution to the rebuilding of Iraq. Mr. Tusk has announced that Poland’s mission in Iraq will end in its current form in 2008.

Youth movements have fought election lethargy in Poland, although turnout was only 53% of registered voters. Polish foreign policy experts are hoping that the new government will fight diplomatic lethargy in the Polish Foreign Ministry.

### السياسة الخارجية البولندية ما بعد الانتخابات البرلمانية لـ2007 أولا كالك، مدرسة "وارسو" للاقتصاد

"انتصار واسع للمعارضة البولندية"، "إعادة الأمل"، "فرصة من أجل بداية جديدة"، "بولنديون أحرار يعودون إلى أوروبا"، "تغيير في الاتجاه السياسي في بولندا"، كانت هذه عناوين لأغلبية الجرائد الأوروبية يوم 22 أكتوبر 2007 بعد فوز المنتدى المدني في الانتخابات البرلمانية في بولندا. هذا الحزب المعروف بسياسة السوق الحرة وسياسة محالفة لأوروبا بالإضافة إلى جذوره في حركة "صوليدارنوسك"، جاء في المرتبة الأولى أمام الأخوان كاتشينسكي التابعان لحزب الحق والعدالة. تتسم توقعات البولنديين و أصدقائهم في أوروبا بخصوص الحكومة الجديدة بزعامة دونالد توسك بكونها جد عالية خصوصا فيما يتعلق بسياساتها الخارجية. ويجب على الحكومة إعادة ثقة جميع الشركاء نحو الاتحاد الأوروبي والمشاركة بطريقة فعالة في كل المبادرات الأوروبية الجديدة والقديمة.

## The GO - EuroMed Macroeconomic Policy Standing Group

By Andreas Kern, JMC Berlin

### Egypt's Role in Euro-Mediterranean Governance

Alongside its ambition to strengthening integration within Europe, the EU-27 focuses on wider cooperation with Mediterranean neighbours in attaining peace, security and prosperity. Egypt is a key partner in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership process.

The GO-EuroMed Macroeconomic Policy Standing Group (MPSG) considers the implications of Egyptian governance as a benchmark case for economic reform in the south Mediterranean.

The MPSG builds on the GO-EuroMed consortium's work on trade and investment in 2006. It also complements research in 2007 and 2008 on the challenges of regional integration and domestic reform in MENA countries, and institutional governance strategies for the EMP during the next decade.

Two MPSG working papers are planned: No.1 aims to identify key channels through which EU policy instruments set incentives for the implementation of institutional reforms in Egypt and throughout the MENA region. Issues include the incentives for governments to restrain popular expenditures, and the coordination between the Central Bank and fiscal authorities in Egypt and other countries. Working paper No. 2 aims to identify opportunities for the EU to actively support the implementation of a reform agenda for financial institutions and markets in the MENA. Issues include implementation strategies for financial sector governance and management of the regulatory environment. Further aspects of regional financial integration and regulatory cooperation in Mediterranean neighbours will be investigated.

The MPSG is supervised by the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence in Berlin in cooperation with private and public sector partners. The GO-EuroMed consortium is especially pleased and honoured to welcome Professor Mohammed Omran, Professor of Finance at the Technical University of Alexandria, to the MPSG. The MPSG opening meeting will take place in Cairo in late November 2007. The MPSG plans to hold a workshop in Cairo scheduled for January 2008, followed by two research sessions in Berlin and the presentation of results at the GO-EuroMed Conference in Brussels in December 2008. .

### لجنة دائمة لسياسة الاقتصاد الجمعي المتعلقة بالمشروع الأورومتوسطي

أندرياس كيرن، مركز جان موني للتميز

برلين

دور مصر في الحكم الأورومتوسطي

تهتم دول الاتحاد الأوروبي الـ27، إلى جانب طموحها المتجلي في تقوية الاندماج داخل أوروبا، بتوسيع التعاون مع الجيران المتوسطيين من خلال تحقيق السلام والأمن والرفاهية. تعتبر مصر شريكا رئيسيا في عملية الشراكة الأورومتوسطية.

و تعتبر اللجنة الدائمة لسياسة الاقتصاد الجمعي المتعلقة بالمشروع الأورومتوسطي مُقْتَضِيَات سياسة الحكم المصرية كميدان لمقارنة حالة الإصلاح الاقتصادي في جنوب المنطقة المتوسطية.

تعتمد هذه اللجنة على عمل رابطة المشروع الأورومتوسطي فيما يتعلق بالتجارة والاستثمار في 2006. وهي تساهم أيضا في بحوث 2007 و 2008 حول تحديات الاندماج الإقليمي والإصلاحات الداخلية في بلدان الشرق الأوسط و شمال إفريقيا و استراتيجيات الحكم المؤسسي للشراكة الأورومتوسطية.

## Interview with Colin Scicluna\*

### **How does the Council evaluate the progress of political reforms within the Euro Med Partnership?**

In a multilateral forum such as the Barcelona Process, where decision-making is based on a consensual approach, it is not always easy to take a photograph of the situation at any given moment. Nevertheless, while certain partners have registered progress in the field of political reform, the record overall has been somewhat patchy. The European Neighbourhood Policy, with its bilateral approach, is in many ways better equipped to press for reform in this field. It is, however, too early in the life of the ENP to assess progress in any conclusive manner.

### **How can the EU guarantee that the ENP keeps its unique partnership status within the EMP Framework?**

The Euro Med Partnership and the European Neighbourhood policy certainly have some areas of overlap, but they are clearly complementary processes rather than competing ones. First of all, as stated earlier, the former is primarily multilateral, while the latter is bilateral in character. Moreover, the underlying concept of Barcelona is distinct from that of the ENP, in that it was born out of a specific series of events linked to the Middle East Peace Process, while ENP is quite simply what its name implies, extending as it does to the east towards the Caucasus, besides its southern dimension.

### **The recent assassination of MP Antoine Ghanem shows that Lebanon is far away from reaching stability. What can the EU contribute to security in Lebanon and more generally in the MENA region?**

The EU has maintained a clear and consistent position on Lebanon. Any solution must be a Lebanese solution. It cannot be imposed from the outside. The international community should support and encourage such a solution, but this can only be attained as a result of dialogue between the parties. The EU believes that a new President should be elected by consensus, according to the constitutional process.

The EU has stood by its commitments, as evidenced by its extensive contribution to the restructuring of Lebanon as well as through the troops provided by EU member states in UNIFIL. It is hoped that the return of stability to Lebanon, with the support of the international community including the EU, can act as catalyst for stability and security in the entire region.

### **How does the Council evaluate the French proposal of a Euro-Mediterranean Union?**

All parties concerned are generally supportive of any initiative that aims to improve co-operation and collaboration in the Mediterranean. Some ideas have been presented so far, but no formal proposal has been made. There are still many details that need to be clarified. Moreover, this is not an entirely new idea. A proposal to set up a Council of the Mediterranean, on the lines of the Council of Europe, has been around for several years. Perhaps we can return to this matter in a few months' time!

### **How does the EU envisage optimizing the social and economic benefits of migration across the Mediterranean?**

The first Euro Med Ministerial meeting on Migration was held on Monday 19 November in Portugal. Unfortunately we missed that event by a few days, so I cannot comment on its conclusions, but I can say a few things in anticipation of them. First of all, this was a crucial meeting on a subject that is a top priority for all Euro Med partners. This applies both to legal migration as well as to illegal migration. The Euro Med countries are almost all either countries of transit or of destination, far less so these days, countries of origin. The two shores of the Mediterranean are no longer two different sides of the story, but in many ways we share the same problems. This means that we must tackle the situation together and seek solutions together.

\*Colin Scicluna is a member of the Policy Unit of the EU High Representative, covering the Mediterranean and the Middle East, Council of the European Union

## GO-EuroMed Workshop Ifrane, Morocco

### Impressions and Outcomes

The GO-EuroMed project consortium held its 4<sup>th</sup> research workshop in Ifrane from Sep. 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup>, 2007. The meeting was hosted by the Institute of Economic Analysis and Prospective Studies (IEAPS). The location was Al-Akhawayn University at Ifrane, Morocco.

In his welcoming remarks Al Akhawayn University President Prof. Rachid Benmokhtar underlined the importance of joint research and the GO-EuroMed network for the region. The former Minister emphasized the need to keep in mind the sources of tension between MENA countries and the EU, especially water issue, social issues, human development, religion and migration.

As an introduction to the workshop project coordinator Prof. Michael Bolle (JMC Berlin) presented a proposal for an overall theoretical approach for assessing the performance of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. His presentation, entitled "The Barcelona Process: an analytical view, some anecdotal evidence and an assessment proper" underlined the relative rigidity of the EMP's decision making process, assessing distribution of power, the shaping of national interests and ordering preferences of EMP members.

During the workshop the preliminary results of GO-EuroMed 2nd stage research were discussed. The consortium also worked on further developing the project's overall message, tailoring all working papers within the political economy approach. Finally, the consortium also worked on its strategy for disseminating its results, planning PALMs and conferences for the remainder of the project. All partners agreed on strengthening communication with the national delegations of the European Union in their countries. The workshop concluded with a visit to the ancient city of Fes.



Al Akhawayn University Ifrane

### ورشة عمل المشروع الأورومتوسطي، إفران، المغرب الانطباعات و النتائج

عقدت رابطة المشروع الأورومتوسطي ورشة عملها الرابعة بإفران من 9 إلى 12 سبتمبر ر 2007. نظم هذا اللقاء في معهد التحليل الاقتصادي والدراسات المستقبلية بجامعة الأخوين، إفران، المغرب. أكد رئيس جامعة الأخوين، البروفسور رشيد بن ال مختار، في كلماته الترحيبية على أهمية البحث المشترك و شبكة المشروع الأورومتوسطي بالنسبة للمنطقة. شدد الوزير السابق على ضرورة اعتبار أسباب التوتر بين بلدان الشرق الأوسط و شمال إفريقيا و الاتحاد الأوروبي، خصوصا فيما يتعلق بقضية الماء و المشاكل الاجتماعية و التنمية البشرية و الديانة و الهجرة.

## News from the GO-EuroMed Partners

### Current Work, Research and Projects

#### CSS Amman

In October, the Iranian Studies Unit of CSS published „Tue Politics of Iran’s Assembly of Experts after Meshkini”, an analysis of this important institute in Iranian politics. We are currently preparing to host the Club of Madrid and its distinguished members as they investigate Freedom of Association in Jordan. Other current work includes a country-wide survey entitled “Evaluation of the 14<sup>th</sup> Parliament (2003-2007) and Determinants of Voting Behavior”, the results of which will be published in November. Finally, the Economic Studies Unit is preparing to release the conclusions of its study entitled “The Economic Reform Process in Jordan: Was it a Success Story?”

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#### JMC Berlin

Freie Universität Berlin was successful in the second funding round of the federal and state Initiative for Excellence. The Federal Minister for Education and Research, Dr. Annette Schavan, announced in Bonn that the applications for the future strategy and three clusters of excellence as well as three graduate schools at Freie Universität Berlin have been approved. The Freie Universität is now one of the nine “universities of excellence” in the Federal Republic of Germany.

In early September 2007 Mark Furness presented working papers from working package 5 (Euro-Mediterranean Negotiations) and working package 10 (Geopolitical Change) at the UACES annual conference “Exchanging Ideas on Europe” in Portsmouth, and at the 4<sup>th</sup> ECPR General Conference, Pisa.

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#### IDEE Madrid

The 5th December the University Institute for European Studies (IDEE) at CEU San Pablo University (Madrid) will held a discussion forum on the Euromediterranean Partnership in which students from the university and the general public will have the opportunity to know the view of a Spanish MP on this issue. Gustavo de Arístegui, member of the Spanish Parliament and the Spanish Foreign Service, will give a presentation on co-operation for peace and security in the Mediterranean. Further, the Institute has organised a seminar on the relations between the European Union and Russia, which will take place the 26th November 2007.

Besides, the IDEE is going to publish the results of a research study on the relations between the EU and Turkey.

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#### Sabancı, Istanbul

Bahri Yilmaz plans to give three lectures about WP1-Trade, WP2 Investment and WP6 Enlargement at Cambridge University/UK (February 2008), SOAS University of London (March 2008), LSE (March 2008) and Center for European Studies at Harvard University (June 2008). We plan to organize an international workshop on the topic of "Relations of the EU with MPCs: Has Barcelona Process succeeded?" on 3-5 of September 2008 in Istanbul

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## LEO Orléans

The LEO participants have completed their draft for the second round of the GO-EuroMed working papers (WP7 and WP9). Anne Lavigne is currently finishing the WP9 synthesis. Isabelle Rabaud has presented her joint papers of the Trade Working Package with Thierry Montalieu and with Hughes Jennequin at the Economic, Social and Environmental Consequences of the Liberalization of Trade in North Africa and the Middle East conference co-organised by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in Rabat, 19-20 October 2007.

## SGH Warsaw

International Security Department, together with the Civic Club Foundation and the Friedrich Naumann Foundation are organizing a conference on the future of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement between Russia and the EU. The conference will take place in the premises of Warsaw School of Economics (SGH) on 21 November 2007.

Warsaw School of Economics together with European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes held the International Workshop in Warsaw from 30 May till 1 June 2007. The meeting was hosted by Prof. Katarzyna Żukrowska and the staff of the International Security Department, Warsaw School of Economics (SGH). The main idea of the meeting was to discuss the issues connected to the topic: The EU – India: The problems of strategic partnership and its significance for transformations in the world system. The workshop was attended by junior and senior scholars – representatives of universities from Poland, India, France as well as representatives of diplomatic circles of Poland and India. The papers presented at the workshop will be soon published in Economic Papers series edited by Prof. Żukrowska and the Warsaw team.

## IEAPS Ifrane

On September 1<sup>st</sup> 2007, the IEAPS launched three new projects. They are respectively focusing on interdependencies between health, education and poverty in the MENA region (FEMISE); economics of intellectual property rights in Morocco (Académie Hassan II of Science & Technology, Morocco) and indices for assessing human development in Morocco (National Observatory for Human Development, Morocco). Besides that, IEAPS is pursuing its work within GO-EuroMed and on local development issues (University of Lecce) among others.

On September 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>, Al Akhawayn University organized a conference “Political parties and democratization process: lessons from 2007 elections”. Representatives of principal political parties and national & international NGOs analyzed the results of the Moroccan elections of September 7<sup>th</sup>, 2007.

Four round tables took place and discussed the following issues: the confidence of the voters, the local mobilization, the political communication and the legitimacy of the parties.

On October 17<sup>th</sup>, 2007 Mrs. Joanna Vronedska, Polish Ambassador to Morocco, Prof. Ahmed Driouchi, Dean of the IEAPS and Prof. Rachid Benmokhtar, president of Al Akhawayn University met to focus on creating effective collaboration between Al Akhawayn University and universities from Poland.

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

November 22-23<sup>rd</sup>, 2007: The FEMISE (“Forum Euro-Méditerranéen des Instituts de Sciences Economiques”) network will organize its annual conference in Marseille, France where the IEAPS is a founding member.

December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2007: 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. The next guest is Paolo Garonna of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

December 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>, 2007: International Conference at the Freie Universitaet Berlin: The Challenges of Transformation – Visions and Revisions of the Middle East and North Africa

December 17<sup>th</sup>, 2007 (14:00-18:00): The second GO-EuroMed PALM organised by the Laboratoire d'économie d'Orléans will be held at the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement. The LEO participants to the GO-EuroMed project will present the WP9 conclusions on demography, migration and cultural values in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, to be discussed by two keynote speakers. This PALM will also launch a new partnership in human and social sciences between the Institut de Recherche pour le Développement and the University of Orléans.

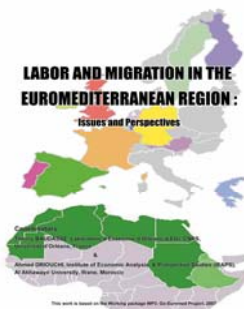
December 2007 and January 2008: Prof. Driouchi (IEAPS) will participate to a seminar organized by “Laboratoire d'économie d'Orléans”- LEO, France and conduct working sessions on advancing GO-EuroMed research (3<sup>rd</sup> stage, WP11).

January 2008: GO-EuroMed Macroeconomic Policy Standing Group workshop in Cairo

February 20 – 21 2008: GO-EuroMed General Conference in Madrid

March 2008: GO-EuroMed Workshop in Beirut.

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



Thierry Baudassé (LEO Orléans) and Ahmed Driouchi (IEAPS Ifrane) have edited a book which presents six papers elaborated during Year 1 of GO-EuroMed, one on agriculture liberalization and migration, one on skilled workers' migration, two about the labour markets in Europe and in the MENA, one on the Labour Side Agreement in Nafta, and one on the “Polish plumber” issue. The reference of this book is as follows: Thierry Baudassé & Ahmed Driouchi coordinators: *Labor and Migration in the Euromediterranean Region: Issues and Perspectives*, 149 pages, ISBN:9954-413-70-7, LEO, CNRS, France & IEAPS, Al Akhawayn University, Morocco ; 2007/2897, ImprimElite, Rabat, Morocco.

Prof. Michael Bolle and Oliver Pamp's article “It's politics, stupid!- EMU enlargement between an economic rock and a political hard place”, on the enlargement of the Eurozone, has been published in the CesIfo Forum. The article can be downloaded at the CesIfo website: [www.cesifogroup.de/pls/guestci/download/CESifo%20Forum%202006/CESifo%20Forum%204/2006/forum4-06-focus4.pdf](http://www.cesifogroup.de/pls/guestci/download/CESifo%20Forum%202006/CESifo%20Forum%204/2006/forum4-06-focus4.pdf)

Jamil Mouawad, 2007: Youth as Actors of Political Reform in the Southern Mediterranean. EuroMesco Paper 62.



## 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-27 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. 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.

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