

Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza"



Centro di eccellenza europeo Jean Monnet-Luigi Einaudi

RAPPORT FINAL D'ACTIVITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE DU GROUPE DE RECHERCHE SUR "LES RELATIONS TRANS-MÉDITERRANÉENNES AU TEMPS PRÉSENT"

RESEARCH TEAM

Les professeurs et les jeunes chercheurs qui ont contribué à la recherche sont:

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- Salvatore Bono, président de la Société internationale des historiens de la Méditerranée;
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- Francesco Carlucci, professeur d'Économétrie dans l'Université de Rome La Sapienza;
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- pour le Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université de Crète:

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- pour le Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université Complutense de Madrid:

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- pour l'ECSA de Chypre:

-Savvas Katsikides, chaire Jean Monnet d'Économie européenne, professeur de Sociologie dans l'Université de Chypre, chef de file;
-Evros I. Demetriades, chercheur dans l'Université de Chypre;
-Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides, chaire Jean Monnet de Science politique européenne, professeur de Relations internationales dans l'Université de Chypre;
-George Isaias, chercheur dans l'Université de Chypre.

• en dehors des sept Centres associés:

-Chibli Mallat, chaire Jean Monnet de Droit européen dans l'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth, directeur du Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université de Beyrouth.

RESEARCH AIMS

Ainsi que l'on soulignait dans le dossier de candidature (p.9), le premier but poursuivi avec la mise en oeuvre de cette recherche était celui d'activer, entre les spécialistes des relations trans-méditerranéennes du temps présent faisant partie du réseau des Centres Jean Monnet ci-dessus, un débat de niveau haut et interdisciplinaire sur les thèmes de recherche qui les occupent.

Un deuxième but, coordonné et fonctionnel par rapport au premier, était celui de créer sur l'Internet un Observatoire européen sur les relations trans-méditerranéennes pour donner visibilité aux activités en cours et pour attirer éventuellement des offres de collaboration, misant en plus sur la possibilité que les résultats de recherches scientifiques axées sur les problèmes actuels retiennent l'attention de personnes et d'institutions ouvranes dans le domaine des relations trans-méditerranéennes.

Ce projet n'a, donc, pas été bâti autour d'un thème de recherche unique duquel on aurait confié les différentes parties à plusieurs chercheurs, car une telle stratégie top down n'aurait pas été applicable en partant d'expériences et d'orientations d'études hétérogènes et étant donné que les sept Centres européens étaient aux débuts de leur collaboration. On a suivi, par contre, la stratégie bottom up, en demandant aux spécialistes des problèmes méditerranéens de présenter des propositions de contribution par rapport aux dossiers qui sont sur la table: la modernisation, l'intégration économique, la sûreté, le dialogue interculturel.

Les propositions parvenues à la veille de la présentation du dossier de candidature (annexes 4-5 à ce dossier) ont été mieux précisées au moment du démarrage de la recherche, et d'autres propositions son venues s'ajouter à ce moment là, contre-balançant les quelques abandons qu'on avait eu pour des empêchements personnels survenus.

Les research teams faisant partie du Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université La Sapienza ont travaillé, le cas échéant, moyennant aussi du field research et des séminaires interdisciplinaires, sur l'évolution des relations euro-méditerranéennes dans la perspective soit historique soit juridique; sur la dimension géopolitique de la région; sur l'influence du facteur religieux sur la politique, le droit, l'économie des Pays islamiques; sur la mesure du niveau de pauvreté dans les Pays méditerranéens; sur les flux des migrations dans la Méditerranée; sur la gestion des ressources d'eau dans le bassin de la Méditerranée; sur la politique d'aide au développement de la BEI en Grèce et en Turquie; sur la zone monétaire et financière en formation dans la région méditerranéenne; sur le partenariat euro-méditerranéen dans le secteur de l'énergie; sur la

possibilité de réception des règles européennes en matière de sûreté alimentaire dans les Pays sud-méditerranéens; sur les perspectives de fragmentation de la production dans la région; sur le patrimoine culturel du Sud de la Méditerranée en tant que facteur de développement.

Le Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille III a travaillé, en employant lui aussi la méthode des séminaires pluridisciplinaires et de la comparaison des analyses théoriques avec l'expérience des acteurs institutionnels, sur la mise en oeuvre du Réseau écologique européen Natura 2000, en particulier sur la sauvegarde de l'environnement marin et sur les problèmes juridiques concernant l'activité de la pêche dans la Méditerranée. Un deuxième sujet de recherche dans ce Centre a été le dialogue interculturel en tant que précurseur d'un espace public euro-méditerranéen.

Le Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université de Brescia a analysé les aspects politiques et économiques des relations EU-Turquie sur la base de la documentation européenne, d'informations orales recueillies à Bruxelles dans le milieu des fonctionnaires chargés du dossier turc, et de recherches et séminaires réalisés en Turquie aussi avec la participation de chercheurs de l'Université de Marmara.

Le Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université de Catania a travaillé sur le problème de la coopération euro-méditerranéenne en matière de sûreté, établissant avant tout un questionnaire sur ce sujet et l'envoyant à des experts (académiques, diplomates, journalistes de 33 Pays). Par la suite, dans des séminaires ouverts à des spécialistes ne faisant pas partie du groupe de recherche, les résultats de l'enquête ont été débattus, dans le but de vérifier dans quelle mesure le partenariat euro-méditerranéen puisse offrir des instruments pour servir à la mise en oeuvre d'un système de sûreté méditerranéenne, compte tenu des cultures de sûreté des Pays méditerranéens qui sont différentes et des situations politiques et militaires qui sont conditionnées par des acteurs majeurs, externes de la région.

Le Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université de Crète, employant la méthode des entretiens dans le milieu des SMEs en Grèce et des workshops d'analyse théorique, a étudié le rôle du capital social dans la préparation des SMEs grecques au maxi-élargissement. Et aussi, en collaboration avec les Universités d'Athènes et de Chypre, a développé une recherche sur l'introduction de l'E-democracy et de l'E-governance en Grèce qui présente des éléments de comparaison utiles par rapport à une recherche analogue de l'ECSA de Chypre.

L'ECSA de l'Université de Chypre, sur la base de la littérature existante et d'un field research original, a examiné l'emploi des nouvelles technologies à Chypre et a vérifié son influence sur le fonctionnement de la démocratie et de la gouvernance.

Le Centre Jean Monnet de l'Université Complutense de Madrid s'est engagé dans le domaine du droit comparé, examinant en parallèle l'évolution constitutionnelle de l'UE et les développements constitutionnels des Pays méditerranéens, et étudiant l'influence de l'adhésion de l'Espagne à l'UE sur le droit administratif de ce Pays pour faire des prévisions sur ce qui pourrait se passer en Roumanie et en Bulgarie. En plus, on a examiné les questions de genre dans la politique des droits fondamentaux de l'UE pour évaluer leurs réflexes dans le dialogue interculturel.

L'Université Saint-Joseph de Beyrouth, dans la personne du Prof. Chibli Mallat, a rejoint à la mi-route les teams de recherche ci-dessus avec une étude sur la nécessité et l'urgence de démocratie dans le Sud de la Méditerranée, en particulier au Moyen Orient.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Le premier but de cette recherche, la formation d'un réseau thématique de chercheurs, a été pleinement réalisé pendant le déroulement du projet de recherche et les échanges et les contacts dans cette amicale continuent en vue de la publication en cours des travaux exécutés, de la présentation qu'on fera de ce livre dans différents Pays et dans la perspective de collaborations futures.

Le deuxième but de cette recherche a été aussi réalisé et le site « Jean Monnet Observatory sur les relations euro-méditerranéennes » existe sur l'Internet (<http://jmobservatory.eco.uniroma1.it> **) crée et mis à jour par le Centre de Documentation Européenne « Altiero Spinelli » de l'Université La Sapienza.

Le troisième but qui a été rejoint, et qui n'était pas prévu au départ, a été la promotion d'une initiative de collaboration italo-égyptienne pour harmoniser les lois égyptiennes et les lois européennes en matière de production et de commerce des produits agro-alimentaires. Cette initiative s'est développée à partir des contacts entamés au Caire par le groupe de recherche coordonné par les Professeurs Alberto Germanò et Maria Pia Ragonieri au cours du déroulement de leur recherche. Les problèmes qui faisaient l'objet de cette recherche ont trouvé, du côté égyptien, une attention immédiate et par conséquent la possibilité s'est présentée de les transposer dans un exercice concret de solution dans lequel les Universités du Caire et de la Tuscia et le Centre Jean Monnet de La Sapienza sont engagés et qui reçoit le soutien de l'Ambassade d'Italie au Caire, du Ministère italien de la politique agricole et forestière, du Ministère égyptien de l'agriculture et de l'Union des producteurs et des exportateurs agricoles égyptiens. Les Actes du colloque qui s'est déroulé au Caire le 6 Juin 2004 ont été publiés dans les langues arabe et italienne (MARIA PIA RAGONIERI, *La commercializzazione dei prodotti agroalimentari nell'area mediterranea*. Milano, Giuffrè, 2004) et, toujours en 2004, auprès de l'Agricultural Research Institute du Caire un accord a été signé, qui engage les parties italienne et égyptienne à collaborer pour des buts spécifiques, concernant l'interprétation des règles communautaires en matière de sûreté et d'hygiène alimentaire, agriculture biologique et biotechnologie, et qui prévoit une suite de rencontres, deux fois par année.

En ce qui concerne l'approfondissement des connaissances sur l'état des relations euroméditerranéennes, cette recherche autour des quatre volets de la modernisation, de l'intégration, de la sûreté et du dialogue interculturel a mis en lumière la complexité des relations qui se sont tressées à l'intérieur du processus de Barcelone et même en dehors de ça et les éléments parfois de préoccupation parfois d'opportunité qui en ressortent.

Si sur la rive méridionale des problèmes de stagnation économique, sous-développement, inégalités sociales, déficit démocratique persistent, si le processus d'évolution démocratique rencontre des difficultés et des obstacles sur le terrain des droits de l'homme et du citoyen et si dans la région l'instabilité et les risques pour la sûreté ont augmentés à cause d'une différente perception de la sûreté et des intérêts respectifs entre les deux rives, mais aussi de divergences à

l'intérieur des deux zones, de faiblesses structurelles, de la détérioration du scénario régional et du poids des conditionnements extérieurs, néanmoins des signes d'une évolution positive apparaissent aussi:

-la croissance de la production et du prix du pétrole a déterminé une certaine reprise de la croissance économique et aidé au démarrage de réformes économiques et au développement du libre échange;

-l'histoire a montré que les relations commerciales et culturelles s'entraînent les unes les autres et dans le cas des relations euro-méditerranéennes la nécessité et la possibilité d'introduire des mesures de libéralisation économique a commencé à produire des effets de rapprochement normatif et administratif. Le renforcement des liens entre cultures juridiques différentes -est Sabino Cassese qui l'a écrit¹ - est un symptôme excellent de leur capacité de communiquer, et "la circulation des instituts juridiques entre ordres divers, la capacité extraordinaire des instituts juridiques de vivre ensemble, en se superposant, en se composant et en s'intégrant parfois en cas de nécessité" ensemble indiquer la route à suivre pour harmoniser des réalités sociales, politiques, économiques, culturelles différentes sans établir des hégémonies;

-des objets et des instruments nouveaux de coopération ont été trouvés, qui soutiennent le processus de modernisation des Pays sud-méditerranéens et répondent à la demande locale de services, connaissances et assistance technique qui en ressort, particulièrement en matière de protection de l'environnement, de mise en valeur des ressources prioritaires (eau, énergie, finances, patrimoine), de capacité de gestion.

Les résultats atteints par chaque recherche sont, dans les synthèses rédigées par les participants au Colloque final, les suivants:

Trans-Mediterranean relations at the time being (Prof. Maria Grazia Melchionni)

International relations today have a central focus on the Mediterranean issues and the EU has major responsibilities, as a regional as well as a global actor, in shaping the future of the area. After a rapid recapitulation of the trans-Mediterranean relations during the cold war and the decolonisation process, which underlines inadequacies and hesitations from the EEC in tackling the problems arisen and in some cases its impotence, this paper deals with new instruments but also old limits.

The theory of "the clash of civilisations" is therefore discussed to show how it cannot be of use in the context of the globalisation era and how dangerous it is as an instrument of international politics.

Finally the paper examines different perspectives of evolution in Euro-Mediterranean relations and brings to mind the historical design of a Mediterranean system as a corner stone in the remaking of a world order centred upon the reconciliation between East and West.

Le dialogue interculturel, facteur de relance d'un partenariat entre l'Union et son voisinage méditerranéen (Prof. Rostane Mehdi)

¹*La Carta impossibile dei diritti universali*, in *Corriere della Sera*, 23. 03. 2005.

The President of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, introduced, with a lot of lucidity, a strategy aiming at to avert the risk of a " shock of civilizations " and to forge quality links between Peoples and between societies across the Mediterranean. The dialogue between Peoples and Cultures, based on their equal dignity, seemed as the surest axis to reach this aim. Such an approach intends to offer to the euro-Mediterranean partnership this " supplement of soul " that the developments of the process of Barcelona (more centred on security and economic concerns) did not manage to bring. The European Union thus arose as a "mediator".

Islam: strumento di integrazione, ostacolo all'assimilazione? Le matrici religiose delle scelte politiche dei paesi arabo-islamici (Prof. Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti)

The paper begins with a short profile of how islam integrated, from its beginning, the cultures which shaped Mediterranean and Near Eastern civilizations, to such an extent that it must be considered a 'western' phenomenon. The paper tackles with the impact of colonialism; it presents the different ways Muslims have theorized their so called 'decadence' and 'crisis' and with the consequent different political issues of Muslim states and societies. In this perspective, the problem of what can be called a 'muslim' or an 'islamic' state arises. Two antithetical cases are taken into consideration: Iran and the Islamic Revolution; the Palestinian resistance and Hamas. Then, the idea of 'community' is sketched together with its impact on the political theories of 'Abd al-Nasir and Ghedhdhafi. The author pays a particular attention to women and their participation in politics in connection with the contradictory role of islam. The last issue concerns the importance in the muslim world of moral principles as it appears analysing three words/concepts: politics/siyàsa; economy/iqtisàd; ethic/akhlàq.

The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Prof. Edoardo Chiti)

This essay focuses on the legal characters of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership. It is argued that such regulatory scheme has a composite nature: on the one hand, it reproduces, at the regional level, a number of elements which are typical of global regulation; on the other hand, it is strictly connected to the legal experience of the European Union. The interaction between global and European regulation within the context of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership is examined with reference to: the general features of its institutional design; the finalities of the partnership; its organisation; the addressees of regulation; and the regulatory process. The analysis shows that the Euro-Mediterranean partnership highlights the tendency to the extension of European regulation beyond its territorial boundaries without giving place to a formal enlargement of the Union. The implications of such conclusion are therefore assessed, in relation both to social research on the Mediterranean area and to the nature of the European legal order.

La Constitution Européenne et le développement constitutionnel des Pays de la Méditerranée (Prof. Francisco Balaguer Callejón)

In this paper we began with the theory of constitutional development as conceptual tool that allows us to analyze the different state constitutions, not in connection with an unique constitutional model, but in attention to the basic purpose of a Constitution: to organize the peaceful coexistence of a societies by means of controlling power and preserving rights. We worked with the concept of "normative Constitution", to which we gave a material sense thought the distinction between Constitution and Constitutional law. The Constitutional law would be an indicator of the constitutional development because it solves the social conflicts and builds a basic consensus.

Beginning with the deficiencies of the constitutional development of the Mediterranean countries that are not integrated in the European Union (African and Asian countries), we valued the potential that the European Constitution and the European Constitutional law could have to promote the constitutional development of those countries, regarding its configuration as a constitutional and democratic model and its quality to impulse the European unity and the European institutions. Finally, we wrote about the immigration in Europe (mostly of Mediterranean origin) as a central topic of the European Constitutional law, which opens a new frontier and requires a constitutional answer of European dimension.

L'impératif démocratique (Prof. Chibli Mallat)

The article covers two topics of relevance to the democratic quest of civil societies in the South and East of the Mediterranean. The first consists of a collective contribution, drafted initially by the author, to the New York meeting of the G-8, which invited civil society members in the Middle East to express their priorities. The second dwells on the democratic imperative as identified in the paper, from the particular angle of political and criminal responsibility.

Continuity and discontinuity in contemporary Islam: guidelines for a comprehension of the relationships among policy, law and economy (Prof. Gian Maria Piccinelli)

The relationship between Islam and the West around the Mediterranean area has been characterized by a strong mutual influence. The acculturation process did play an important role in the Islamic world during the XIX and XX centuries, due to the worldwide influence of the European culture. The legal acculturation realized the reception in the Arab world of the western model of modern state with a constitutional basis, founded on the legality principle, substituting both the traditional form of feudal state pre-existing in the context of the political collapse of the *dār al-islām* and the universal and abstract ideal of the *umma*. Furthermore, the legal acculturation has led to the reception of new legal models, based on a western conception of law, codes and jurisprudence, which has stressed the dichotomy between *shari'a* (divine law) and *qanùn* (man made law). Nevertheless, the religious factor still plays an important role, considering that the western principle of separation of powers has been received in the Islamic world only on a formal point of view, while in the practice there is a constant interference between religion and state. Finally, the religious aspect is a main factor also of the so-called *Islamic Economic System*, which aims at realizing an economy based on the principles of the *shari'a*, by prohibiting any form of unjust enrichment and proposing social justice and equity, cooperation and solidarity.

Preparedness Towards Enlargement in Microenterprises in Greece: The Role of Social Capital (Prof. Sokratis M. Koniordos and Dr. Christina Karakioulafi)

Arguably EU enlargement from 15 to 25 member countries is bringing opportunities, e.g. new markets, as well as strains, for instance increasing competition, to family-based micro-enterprises. We focus on micro-SMEs because current EU official discourse hails this sector as the backbone of entrepreneurship and as the creator of net new employment. Accordingly, EU agencies have supported micro-SMEs with a purpose of effecting the sector's enhancement and renewal.

We aim to explore whether the bearing of institutional change, as in the case of EU expansion, is actually felt and perceived by small business concerns. Further to this, we look into the impact that social capital may have in the mobilisation of resources for preparing and coping with the after-effects of EU expansion.

To explore the issue, we review EU support towards micro-enterprises, and look on the role attributed to social capital as a factor influencing economic behaviour, as well as social cohesion. Then, on the basis of a sample of 24 in-depth interviews with Athenian micro-businesspersons in the sector of garment manufacturing, which are located in the Athens area, we proceed to empirically explore the role social capital and the benefits related to it have played in enhancing the preparedness and the adaptive capacity of such business units in relation to EU enlargement.

The Measurement of Poverty Level in the South-Mediterranean Countries (Prof. Francesco Carlucci and Prof. Stefano Pisani.)

The paper has the objective of applying a procedure developed by the authors to the evaluation of well-being in the South-Mediterranean Countries, made up of economic, social and environmental aspects, therefore enlightening their general poverty level.

This analytical procedure, based on the construction of a multilinear function of several variables (the attributes), has been developed by Keeney and Raiffa to define the utility of a set of attributes. The authors have then transformed it by replacing the concept of utility with that of value, and its measurement with the operation of evaluation, improving the part of the procedure where parameters of the (multilinear) evaluation functions are determined through a method (the DELPHI one) that harmonizes the opinions of experts or governmental representatives.

Essentially, the procedure consists of the following steps:

- the situation of Well-being and poverty in a Country is characterized by means of a set of attributes that are measurable either monetarily, or quantitatively, or even qualitatively;
- for each attribute an univariate evaluation function is constructed, basing on a stochastic option;
- univariate functions are then aggregated by two, three, four, ..., reaching a multilinear function that expresses the evaluation of the overall development of the Country, in terms of Well-being and poverty.

Gli spostamenti di popolazione nell'area mediterranea e con l'area comunitaria (Prof. Enrico Todisco)

Ten researchers from the Universities "La Sapienza" of Rome, Florence, Naples as well as non strictly academic world (Embassy of Morocco Kingdom in Italy) participated to the study on Population movements inside e through the Mediterranean. Aim of the Group has been to evaluate migration flows that have passed the Mediterranean Basin and how these flows could

change under the pressure of economic and demographic factors. The Mediterranean has been always an area where different cultures met and clashed, where conflicts regulated these relationships. Now populations are invited to find solutions to their conflicts respecting diversities. The Europe Union has thought how is possible. The total amount of the movements inside the Mediterranean cannot be identified precisely since it is necessary to compare statistical organizations very differentiated in terms of efficiency and efficacy; furthermore definitions and legislations are often diverse. From the point of view of some researchers who participated to the study, it is evident how some political facts, also if occurred in very distant part of the world, could have influenced the flows, such the Berlin wall fall or the Balkan war. Analogously, other areas not immediately involved could be influence movements through the Mediterranean Basin. The migration towards the Oil Countries some years ago called workers originating from the Arab world. Nowadays these countries prefer workers coming from outside the Arabs area such as from Pakistan and India, more flexible and available to come back without asking the family reunion. A specific attention has been devoted to the remittances, that is the money the migrant send back to his family in the country of origin. They are big economic flows very decisive for the development of many LDC. The migrant is unconsciously an operator of the development. But it depends on how such monetary resources are utilized since they could stimulate the internal production and consumption, but could weigh down the commercial balance if they are addressed towards the consumption of goods available only in the international markets. As last point it has been seen if some factors originating the migration are still effective, such the poverty and the high demographic reproductivity. An analysis concerning relationships between poverty and reproductivity has been advanced with respect to Egypt. Differences between rural and urban environment, the Southern and the Northern part of the territory, still exist but they are progressively reducing.

L'influence de l'Union européenne sur l'administration de 3 Pays: l'Espagne, la Roumanie et la Bulgarie (Prof. José Ignacio Cases Méndez)

This essay aims to study the impact of the request for entering European Union on the three referenced countries public administrations. Spain, already member, but whose candidature was delayed for long time, Romania and Bulgaria, which wait for their entry around 2007.

In practice the reform and the modernization of the candidates' public administration constitutes one of the essential conditions to reach a political homologation comparable to that in the current European Union members. The problem is not only reaching similar levels of efficacy and efficiency ensuring an application of Community acquis. It is also managing the ability to introduce routines and behaviours to remove all kind of administrative misbehaviours and perversions, and mainly the most obvious and widespread of them: corruption.

We can not remain naive about this last question. Every country has undergone in their public life the fact of corruption at almost all time. The difference among each other is that some of them pursued sufficiently dissuasive mechanisms of control, and even if it was not possible the complete eradication of corruption, they turned up it less current and generalized. Other countries do not still know this situation and must make efforts to fight against it.

This struggle remains long and must be carried out with tenacity. It is not based on good intentions and nice wishes but it requires precise, rigorous, and sufficiently effective techniques for ensuring the success of the desired goals. The means to reform and modernize the Public Administration will be useful to support the achievement of this task.

Turkey and the European Union. A candidate different from the others (Prof. Angelo Santagostino)

In December 2002 the EU Member States announced that if by December 2004 Turkey would meet the criteria set by the Copenhagen European Council, accession negotiations would start “without delay”.

This decision comes forty years after the pre-accession agreement - the Association agreement signed in Ankara in 1963 - and almost twenty years after the official request for accession, presented by Turkey in 1987.

Although the Copenhagen criteria set requisites to be met by each candidate country both on an economic and political level, in the case of Turkey the political aspect prevailed. In fact, given its size, comparable to Germany's, and its cultural roots, the perspective of an enlargement to Turkey opened, since the beginning, a wide debate on the future identity of the European Union, still *in fieri*.

This paper focuses on the two major issues related to the political criteria and considered by the European Commission as a *conditio sine qua non* for the opening of the negotiations: the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Turkey and the resolution of Cyprus problem.

These issues are put in their historical background in order to give a more comprehensive overview of the present situation, through the analysis of the EU and International NGOs' official documents and reports

The European Investment Bank's role for investments in connection with the European aid policy and its intervention in Countries such as Greece and Turkey (1958-1978) (Prof. Donatella Strangio)

Since the beginning of its activities, this body has been called upon to extend the reach of its operations in many countries outside the EEC. In taking on this added responsibility, not expressly mandated by the Treaty of Rome, the Bank has contributed to shape what has been one of the most successful achievements of the Community in its twenty years of activity, the implementation of a generous aid and development policy.

The extension of the EIB's activities has taken place within the framework of association and cooperation agreements. The agreements signed by the EEC encompassed every year more than 50 countries in Africa, the Caribbean, the Pacific and Indian Oceans (Lomé Convention) as well as 14 Mediterranean seaboard countries.

Solidarity with the signatory countries of the Lomé Convention is rooted in the strong historic ties developed with them by some of the Community's Member States during their colonial past. The Bank's first investments in the countries of the Mediterranean basin date back to the 1960s, when the Community entered into association agreements with Greece and Turkey. In view of the possible accession of these two countries, the spirit of the two agreements was considerably different from that which informed the development of the Community's Mediterranean policy. During 1975 and 1976, the Community signed several agreements with the Maghreb and Maschrack countries, as well as with Malta, Israel and Cyprus, with the intent to increase trade and to strengthen industrial, technical and financial cooperation. At the end of 1977, the Bank had total loans outstanding to Mediterranean countries amounting to 680.1 c.u., of which 388.7 to Turkey, 150 to Portugal and 116.4 to Greece.

Political aspects of the recent EU-Turkey relations: custom union and foreign direct investment
(Prof. Esra Hatipoglu)

The Customs Union (CU) is the last phase of the three-staged integration model foreseen in the Ankara Agreement that constitutes the legal basis of the partnership between Turkey and the EU. The discussions about the CU still go on, however, all these discussions should not be understood in terms of a conflict between supporters and opponents of the CU. The two sides in the CU debate display basically two fundamental opinions-“yes to the EU” and “yes to the EU but”. There are some core points around which the discussions are centred. Within this context, the main issue is the fact that Turkey is the only country, which has concluded the CU without becoming a full-member of the EU and the probable negative effects caused by this situation. The other issue is related with the fact that the Turkish economy became an open market for the EU Member States and third countries after the CU without necessary preparation for international competition. The third issue is much more concerned with the expectations of an increase in foreign direct investments and aid from the EU funds that couldn't be fulfilled.

Nowadays, however, Turkey is again at the crossroads. Within a few days, the European Council that will take place on December 17 is expected to give a decision about the date for the starting of the accession negotiations with Turkey. For starting the negotiations, the fulfilment of the Copenhagen political criteria and political reforms were the main priority, but when negotiations start, the economic reforms will become more important and the discussions about the CU will have a different path.

Is the internet transforming government and democracy in Cyprus? A socio-political perspective
(Prof. Savvas Katsikides and Prof. George Isaias)

The paper examines the use of the Internet in Cyprus in view of answering wider socio-political questions: Whether the Internet in Cyprus (a) transformed bureaucratic institutions into centers for online citizen-service, and (b) whether the internet altered the practice of democracy. In dealing with these questions, the paper in essence tries to answer questions derived from technology determinism thinking on the affect of technology on bureaucracy and the society's participation in the democratic process. We use an empirical analysis that is two-fold: e-government (services to the citizens) and e-democracy (citizens' participation in the democratic process). In reference to e-government, the paper examines the e-government policies and actions of the Republic of Cyprus; in reference to e-democracy, it examines whether the branches of the government (executive, legislative, and judicial) are using the potential of the internet to enable the public to participate in the democratic process.

Exploring E-modernization of Democracy and Governance: Evidence from Greece (Prof. Roy Panagiotopoulou)

While rapid growth in the development and application of ICT has been a crucial theme in assessing the extent of modernization and progress achieved by a country or region, ICT have also been associated with governance and the political participatory processes through which citizens can directly express their views and involve themselves politically. Indeed, ICT appear to offer a new framework for the reorganisation of the relations between citizens and the state.

Accordingly, terms like “e-democracy” and “e-governance” have already invaded both the current practices of social organization and every day vocabulary. However, it has also emerged that the expansion of ICT has not taken place at the same rate so much so that a technological divide has emerged. This divide is evident within the EU too and there has been concerted action by the EU itself to promote a joint model of e-governance among its member-states.

In this paper we aim to outline the development of e-governance and e-democracy in Greece. To do so we first look at the situation with respect to the use of Internet in Greece. We then proceed to present and assess development in the direction of e-governance by scrutinising concrete activities such as the public agencies web portals and actions, like the Citizens Information Telephone Centres, Citizens Service Centres and the TAXIS programme. Following this, in order to approach the development of e-democracy in Greece, we take up the relationship of political parties and candidates for Parliament that establish and operate web sites to the users-citizens. It emerges that a modicum of progress in the dissemination of ICT has taken place, which may be useful in effecting an opening up of the State and its apparatuses to the citizen. However, the observed developments do not in themselves appear to suffice for redressing ingrained social inequalities.

Security cooperation in the Mediterranean: the EMP instruments to appease different security perceptions (Prof. Fulvio Attinà)

This chapter explores the regional integration processes occurring in the Mediterranean and the EuroMediterranean Partnership in particular. It presents the results of an empirical research based upon an e-mail questionnaire. Experts in this field have been contacted to investigate topics such as regional co-operation processes taking place in the Mediterranean, the ongoing projects to adopt common instruments and strategies to face the threats to security in the Mediterranean, the political and cultural challenges to create a security system in the Mediterranean, the existence of different European and Arab security cultures, the involvement in the regional cooperation of relevant external actors. As a result of this survey a widespread impression emerged that Mediterranean partners are “paying the price” of cooperation with the European Union without being really convinced of the importance of sharing security information and experience. It seems that the Mediterranean partners play the EU game mainly to achieve their primary goal: financial aid and economic support. As a respondent commented «the Barcelona Process is an EU proposal that was half heartedly accepted by certain Mediterranean governments. The question remains: is there a hidden agenda on both sides of the bargain?» Undeniably, the Mediterranean is experiencing a security building process which was originally suggested by security interdependence. But at the same time, sub-regional conflictual relations and political tensions can be considered as the key responsible for the slow speed of the advancement of the Partnership in political and security affairs. Together with the acknowledgement that the existence of different security cultures do not help regional cooperation in security affairs, most respondents share a “wait-and-see” attitude being confident that the future of the EuroMediterranean Partnership can benefit of the solution of the political and territorial disputes in the Middle East.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Mediterranean region (Prof. Georg Meyr, Dr. Raffaele Umana

The research Group of the University of Trieste is working in the field of international security.

Object of specific attention have been:

- the analysis of the changed role and importance of the Mediterranean region for NATO as well as for NATO Member Countries;
- the analysis of the evolution of the proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and their delivery means in the region as a key question affecting the geopolitical and geo-strategic balance;
- the analysis of the Italian foreign and security policy in the Mediterranean region.

Regarding the first point, a particular attention has been devoted towards:

- the different geopolitical vision of the Mediterranean region by NATO Member States during the Cold War;
- the evolution of these geopolitical visions after the end of the bipolar rivalry and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US;
- the development of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue initiative.

Regarding the second point, object of a specific analysis has been:

- the spread of interest for WMD and their proliferation in the '90;
- the impact of proliferation of WMD on regional stability;
- the evolution of non-proliferation/counter-proliferation policies and initiatives.

Finally, regarding the third point, the research group focused on the fundamentals of the Italian foreign and security policy during the Cold War, on the challenges to the Italian national security during the '90 and today.

Water scarcity in the Mediterranean area. Proposals for an efficient management and a protection of water resources (Prof. Giulio Querini)

Earth is a blue planet, it is something different in the universe thanks to water, that makes it unique. Water creates oceans, seas, lakes, rivers, and then forests, trees and animals. But water is not everlasting, it could come to an end, and men are doing a lot to accelerate towards this destiny.

An exam of the contemporary society proves the terrible importance of water for the development of humans. Richer countries consume up to 500 liter of drinkable water per person every day, while in the poorer countries this size is impossible to reach even in one year.

But the modern world has a much bigger necessity of water, while, at the same time, the use of water is becoming more and more inconsiderate and polluting.

In the Mediterranean region, in the same area where the ancient civilizations were born, there is scarcity of water resources. There is a growing conflict for the use of water resources between human activities in the same countries, between agriculture and cities.

Water scarcity has always been part of the history of the Mediterranean. As a basic element for food production, economic development and for life itself, water has been an axis and a symbol of our cultures. It is the essential element which is impossible to replace, expensive to transport and store, and difficult to purify. Water in most countries and regions of the Mediterranean is a limiting factor.

The level of exploitation of water resources is generally high in most countries and pressure over water resources is increasing.

The main goal should be that to reach an efficient management of water resources, to reach once again the balance between availability and demand, so important for the ancient civilization in the Mediterranean. Moreover, the management of water resources was not explicitly included in the past in most of those countries normative system and this contributed to a low efficiency of

water use and waste of it, and water prices are often well below levels needed to cover the costs of the system.

We should go back to that track to reduce the waste of water resources and use part of it to maintain the environmental habitat.

Cultural heritage and economic development in the South of the Mediterranean: the example of Tunisia (Prof.Gaetana Trupiano.)

The work is divided into two parts: the first one concerns the interventions of the European Union in the countries of the South of the Mediterranean; the second one the territorial economic effects of the valorisation of the cultural property in Tunisia.

1- From the examination of the 1995 Barcelona declaration, the study comes to the association agreements with the Mediterranean partners through the tool Meda which concerns the culture, too. In specific instance for this field the realization of the program Euromed Heritage I, launched in 1998 and Euromed Heritage II of 2001, both directed towards the safeguard and valorization of the European and Mediterranean cultural heritage, are important.

2. - About Tunisia, the objective is to examine some archaeological sites as a factor of development of the territory. The interested area is particularly, the North - West of the Tunisia, the governorships of Jenduba, Beja and Kef that include the archaeological sites of Boulla Regia, Chimtou and Dougga; the fortified town of El Kef delimits the area. Within the theories of the integrated development, every single archaeological site is examined in its own economic context; the infrastructures, the local economy; the organisation and the management of the site are analysed. The select methodology is the analysis SWOT.

The study is concluded with a series of critical observations, recommendations and operational proposals of exploitation of the examined area, in a logic of integration of the interventions in the territorial area of reference.

Les réseaux transméditerranéens et la protection de la biodiversité (Prof. Sandrine Maljean-Dubois)

This article presents the different networks put in place for that purpose in the Mediterranean area and shows the multiplicity of existing initiatives. Despite its economic, political, cultural and social heterogeneity the Mediterranean world gives rise to innovative concepts and tools in the field of environmental law and the law of the sea. The need to protect a common heritage plays in fact a unifying role. States weave legal relationships and develop true cooperation networks.

A challenge for Mediterranean integration: international fragmentation of production (Dr. Filippo Vergara Caffarelli)

This paper discusses the issue of international fragmentation of production both theoretically and empirically. Existing literature does not constitute a well-articulated and verified theoretical framework that can explain fragmentation in fullness. The empirical investigation is centred on the comparison of the production integration patterns between the South-Mediterranean countries and the European Union with the performance of central- and eastern-European countries. Integration of firms from the Mediterranean basin into European production-sharing networks appears still very modest when compared with their central and eastern European

competitors. However the region has the potential to host a much larger amount of such international networks.

Italy as a bridge between Europe and Egypt in a Mediterranean Sea as a free trade area: the European food safety regulation between extra-territory and respect of local identity (Prof. Alberto Germanò)

The free movement of goods which will follow the Barcelona Charter's application, arises some issues in relation to agricultural and food safety fields.

European Union has its own food safety binding rules in the European Regulation n. 178/2002 which not allows unsafe foodstuffs and gives some binding rules in relation to the food standards. It has to strike-down that also the extra-Eu foodstuffs have to shown the same standards or, better, almost the equivalents ones to enter in our market, that is to say pursuit the some tasks even if they are expressed by instruments having a different juridical form.

The paper will explain some issues related to this matter and the commercial relations between Europe and Egypt, with particular reference to Italy as a green corridor for foodstuffs exchange.

Les relations trans-méditerranéennes aujourd'hui. Conclusions emerging (Prof. Jacques Bourrinet)

First the Community then the European Union have always constituted a particular interest for the entire Mediterranean basin (co-operation agreements, search for an overall and balanced policy within the entire zone, proposal for a euro-Mediterranean partnership with the Barcelona declaration in November 1995, policy of neighbourhood). In the framework of this evolution, two principal questions arise. Which model for the trans-Mediterranean relations? Which priorities for the construction of these relations?

We can note that the euro-Mediterranean partnership in spite of its flaws subsists. A new European neighbourhood policy was defined by the European Commission and new prospects are offered by the constitutional treaty of 2004 which specifies in its article I-56, "The Union shall develop a special relationship with neighbouring States, aiming to establish an area of prosperity and good neighbourliness, founded on the values of the Union and characterised by close and peaceful relations based on co-operation". To revitalise the trans-Mediterranean relations, it would be desirable that in the legal order, its relations contribute to the improvement of democracy, that in the political order, they bring new guarantees for the safety of the zone, that in the economic order, they structure a regional economic area, and that in the field of the environment, these trans-Mediterranean relations take into account the particular vulnerability of the area.

Pour conclure il ne reste qu'à présenter quelques considérations générales, qui ont été suscitées par ce long exercice de brain storming collectif. Dans cette perspective il faut, donc s'interroger sur les limites de la politique méditerranéenne de l'UE qui apparaissent et sur les problèmes principaux qui semblent à résoudre pour les surmonter.

La politique méditerranéenne de l'UE ne pourrait pas être définie simplement graduelle et pragmatique, tant elle se montre incertaine et marginale par rapport à d'autres politiques

européennes de la même génération. Elle se trouve aujourd'hui vis-à-vis à des problèmes cruciaux et ne pourra pas se développer sans les résoudre clairement. Il s'agit:

- du problème de la spécificité de cette politique qui avait été pris en considération inventant le processus de Barcelone, mais qui semble négligé depuis que la politique méditerranéenne a été noyée dans une politique plus générale de proximité, qui concerne toutes les nouvelles frontières de l'UE. Si la mise en oeuvre du processus de Barcelone avait souffert de la mise en oeuvre, parallèlement, de la politique d'élargissement à l'Est de l'UE, encore plus semble-t-il qu'il sera nuisible aux Pays méditerranéens cette conception d'ensemble des relations de l'UE avec son near abroad, qui dans la période brève et moyenne semble destinée à privilégier les besoins d'une géopolitique européenne de l'énergie;

- du problème de l'unité de cette politique, qui devrait mieux serrer ensemble les aspects commerciaux, culturels, politiques et stratégiques de son action;

- du problème du résultat final que l'on se propose de rejoindre avec cette politique. La formule des "relations privilégiées" adoptée dans la politique de proximité n'exprime pas clairement la nécessité que la partnership euro-méditerranéenne repose sur une organisation des Pays sud-méditerranéens aussi. La nécessité que ces Pays développent l'organisation de leurs relations est évidente même seulement par rapport à la perspective de la zone de libre échange euro-méditerranéenne, qui résulterait insuffisante sans une mise en oeuvre effective du libre échange entre les Pays sud-méditerranéens, mais elle l'est autant par rapport à la dimension de la sûreté dans la Méditerranée, qui résulterait impossible à réaliser à faute de convergence intérieure aux deux zones. Par contre, l'entrée dans l'UE de Malte, Chypre et, in fieri, de la Turquie - de 3 des 12 Pays sud-méditerranéens engagés dans le processus de Barcelone - semble profiler comme but final de la politique européenne non la construction d'une partnership efficace et durable entre deux cercles de sujets divers et qui ont plusieurs raisons pour coopérer étroitement, mais l'ébauche d'un dessin centralisateur sans frontières nettement établies que l'UE ne semble heureusement pas avoir ni le caractère ni la force de mener à bien;

- du problème de mieux déterminer les instruments à employer pour essayer d'obtenir le résultat final. Parmi eux, quel que soit le résultat final que l'on se propose, semble-t-il qu'on rôle central doit être réservé à la construction d'un ordre juridique euro-méditerranéen à travers l'interaction des normes: dans le droit de l'économie pour accompagner l'application du libre échange commercial, dans les droits humains pour développer la démocratie from below et le dialogue interculturel, dans le droit international pour répondre aux attentes de sûreté dans la région et pour coordonner les initiatives institutionnelles, dans le droit de la mer et le droit de l'environnement pour mieux réaliser la complémentarité et l'efficacité du système des réseaux transméditerranéens et la défense de l'environnement marin.

Maria Grazia Melchionni

** Le nouveau URL du Jean Monnet Observatory sur les relations euro-méditerranéennes est <http://w3.uniroma1.it/jmobservatory/>