The Barcelona Declaration and the Role of EU in the Development of Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyses the contributing of EU in the development of this particular region and their relations. The Europe's Economic, political, Social Cultural relations with the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries are centuries back, due to geographical proximity between the two shores, they always ruled each others territories, whenever one of the shore became economic and political power in the region they occupied the other region and its natural resources. Mediterranean Sea divide the Europe and southern and eastern Mediterranean region. The Mediterranean region is always to be called the theater of wars. The southern and eastern Mediterranean countries are politically, socially and economically less developed in the region where human smuggling, drug trafficking ,lack of democracy, human right issues, illegal immigration, unemployment, political problems, fanaticism, grand corruption, dictatorship, terrorism and proliferation is also present in the region which is threat for the Europe and the region.

Keywords: Barcelona Declaration, European Union, Mediterranean Countries

Barselona Deklarasyonu ve Avrupa Birliği'nin Güney ve Doğu Akdeniz Ülkelerinin Kalkınmasındaki Rolü

ÖZ

Bu çalışma bu özel bölgenin gelişmesine ve ilişkilerine Avrupa Birliği'nin katkılarını analiz etmektedir. Avrupa'nın, Güney ve Doğu Akdeniz ülkeleri ile ekonomik, politik, sosyal ve kültürel ilişkileri, iki kıyı arasındaki coğrafik yakınlıktan ötürü yüzyıllar öncesine dayanır. Iki kıyıdan biri ne zaman ekonomik ve politik güç haline gelmişse diğer bölgeyi doğal kaynaklarını ele geçirerek yönetmiştir. Akdeniz, Avrupa'yı güney ve doğu Akdeniz bölgeleri olarak ikiye böler. Akdeniz bölgesi her zaman savaş tiyatrosu olarak anılmıştır. Güney ve Doğu Akdeniz ülkeleri, insan kaçakçılığı, uyuşturucu kaçakçılığı, demokrasi eksikliği, insan hakları sorunları, yasadışı göç, işsizlik, politik sorunlar, fanatizm, büyük yolsuzluklar, diktatörlükler, terörizm ve kalabalığın mevcut olduğu bölge politik, sosyal ve ekonomik olarak daha az gelişmiştir ve Avrupa ve bölgesi için tehdit oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Barselona Deklarasyonu, Avrupa Birliği, Akdeniz Ülkeleri

The EU is contributing a lot in the development of different regions in the world particularly the near ones. The Barcelona Declaration or Euro-Mediterranean Partnership was signed in 25th April 1995 by 15 European Union Countries and its 12 Mediterranean Partners. It is a political agreement between the European Union and several southern and eastern Mediterranean countries. which developed from 1989, its main object is to change Mediterranean into common region of peace, stability, and prosperity through political dialogue and security, an economic and financial cooperation and a social, cultural, and human partnership. The MEDA programmed were launched for their development. The neighborhood policy was also introduced for their development in the regions on the basis of more aid more contact. The Mediterranean Union is and other development in the region. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership based on three key aspects the Political and Security, Economic and Financial , Social, Cultural and Human Aspects.

Political and Security Aspect: aims to work stopping the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons; and various arms control and weapons reduction agreements. Also, co-operation in the field of illegal immigration, the fight against terrorism, narcotic trafficking, international crime and corruption have been emphasized.

Economic and Financial Partnership: deals common prosperity, social, cultural and the human aspect aiming to take suitable steps for rules of origin certification, protection of intellectual and industrial property rights and competition; to pursuit the fundamental law of market economy; the correction and advancement of economic and social structures prioritizing the private sector, the improving of productive sector and establishment of a suitable institutional and controlling structure for market economy and

The Social, Cultural and Human Partnership: accepted social, cultural, and human affairs and to bringing peoples close together, and improving their perception of each other. The partnership is based on, mutual respect of different traditions, cultures and civilizations. EU strategy to achieve these goals through the dialogue between cultures and religions. ¹

The Mediterranean Development Aid (MEDA): was Launched by the European Union for Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries for their development in the Barcelona Declaration to provide financial and technical assistance which aims to fulfill the objectives of three sectors of Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: Support political stability and democracy; creating a Euro-Mediterranean free trade area and the development of economic and social co-operation and taking right discription of the Human and Cultural Dimension. However, Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area, support small and medium-sized firms (SMEs) with job creation ii) opening-up of markets iii) promotion of private investment, industrial co-operation and trade, iv) raise the quality of economic infrastructure; v) strengthening of major financial stability and creation of an economic environment helpful to accelerated growth (support for structural adjustment).

The MEDA Program also supports socio-economic development, through i) the taking part of civil society and population in the programming for their development ii) the betterment of social services (education, health, housing, water etc.), iii) rural development including agriculture development; iv) the strengthening of democracy, human rights and the rule of law; v) the protection and betterment of environment; vi) improving of economic infrastructure, especially in the area of transport, energy and the information society; vii) development of human resources (vocational training, improvement of scientific and technological research).

MEDA supports regional sub-regional and cross-border cooperation in particular through; i) regional cooperation between Mediterranean partners and between them and the EU and its member states; ii) vital regional trade; iii) exchange and interconnecting of civil society across (universities, local communities, associations, trade unions, the media, private business, non governmental organizations etc). In order to face out some geopolitical and Geo-economical problems, all these actions are planned to be fulfilled in the Mediterranean basin, particularly, in its eastern part (known as Middle East). 2

The EU Mediterranean Partnership has two perfecting dimensions, first the bilateral dimension where EU started valuable co-operation activities bilaterally with each country. The most important the Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreement and the other regional dimension, in this dimension the Partnership covering the political economic and cultural areas of regional co-operation.

The EU is the largest supporter of non-military assistance to the Mediterranean and Middle East giving in 2003 about 1 billion Euro as aid and grants near that 2 billions larger amount as soft loan; for carry out of EMP. For 1995-2004 MEDA provided 6.2 billion Euro of the total € 8.8 billion of budgetary resources and in its second programming which covers (2000-2006) period with a budget of 5.3 billion Euro.³

EU encourage economic merging and free trade in the region, where two sides association agreements have been signed with all Euro Mediterranean Partners. The agreement brought near north-south regional merging and trade, as a result of Turkey's association agreements, a customs union with the EU go into force on 1st January 1996. The EU has always encouraged south-south economic integration and successfully helped by Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia to make decision the Agadir Regional Free Trade Agreement that was signed on 25th February 2004.

The EU is the large trading partner of every country in the region and consider for almost 50% of their clear imports and exports (€ 91.5 billion in 2003), compared to 14% (€ 26.4 billion) for the US trade in services with the EU total to € 32 billion in 2001. In 2001 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) rise from the EU into the region considered goods for € 2 billion and FDI goods reached € 100 billion in 2003.

The EU is working with partners in the region to encourage democracy, the rule of law and honor for human rights and basic freedoms. For this plan further € 50 million were available as from 2006.4

The procedure was sketched up by the European Councils in Lisbon (June 1992), Corfu (June 1994) and Essen (December 1994) and the Commission Proposal, the European Union (EU) decided to establish a new structure for its relations with the countries of the Mediterranean basis with a opinion to creating a partnership. This partnership became a fact at the Barcelona Conference of 27 and 28 November 1995, where 15 EU Member States and the next 12 Mediterranean non Member Countries (MNCs); Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia, and Turkey. The League of Arab States and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) were also invited as was Mauritania (as a Member of the UMA). ⁵

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Barcelona Declaration played an important role in the development of the southern and eastern Mediterranean Region. From 1957-1972 The first stage of Mediterranean Policy was mainly commercial in direction, completing little more enclose having being trading form between the Community and third countries, many of which were previous colonies of member states.

The Treaty of Rome gave only hazy guidance as to how relations with the region should be develop and easy for the Community to avoid making crazy independent promise. As the Mediterranean countries form a line to establish strict relations with the Community.⁶

A Global Mediterranean Policy (GMP) 1972-1990

At their 1972 summit meeting in Paris, the Community's heads of states and governments settled to make relations with the Mediterranean third countries, and directed the European Commission to watch at reformulating the association agreements. "Global Mediterranean Policy" the (GMP) gather in the center on new cooperation agreements that covered financial, technical and social matters, and increased geographical sphere of connective network. One of the long period purpose of the GMP was the creation of a Mediterranean free trade area. The commission endeavored to convince member states to accept the opinion for economic development of the Mediterranean.

The GMP accomplished many of the Community's promises. While, from the associates point of view, agreements failed sufficiently to take into explanation the commercial, cultural, and historical uniqueness of their relationships with the Community, insert simply, the agreement merely eternalized their economic dependence on Western Europe.⁷

Mediterranean Policy was reformulated by European Union after sudden geopolitical changing shape of Europe in 1989-91 caused a serious influence on both

the Community's outer surroundings and its internal arrangement. Its response was to turn to its eastern borders and begin think over to take with former Soviet-block states back in to the "Eurofold". With uncomfortable balancing impact of US-Soviet competition in the region removed, the challenges and complexities of Mediterranean safety change into expanding clear. In this dramatically distinctive Geo-strategic overall situation, the Community, and then the EU, was expected to take on a bombastic share of responsibility for security in its own backyard.8

The landmark of the Barcelona Process and of negotiations of EMA are showed in Tables 1.

November 27-28. 1995	Euro-Mediterranean Conference. Barcelona
April 15-16. 1997	Second Euro-Mediterranean Conference. Malta
July 1, 1997	Entry into force of the Interim Association Agreement between the EU and the PLO on support of the Palestinian Authority
March 1. 1998	Entry into force of the EU-Tunisia Association Agreement
June 3-4. 1998	Ad-hoc Euro-Mediterranean conference. Palermo
January 28-29, 1999	Euro-Mediterranean Conference on regional cooperation. Valencia
April 15-16, 1999	Third Euro-Mediterranean Conference. Stuttgart
March 1.2000	Entry into force of the EU-Morocco Association Agreement
May 25-26, 2000	Euro-Mediterranean Think Tank Meeting. Lisbon
June 1, 2000	Entry into force of the EU-Israel Association Agreement
November 15 16,2000	Fourth Euro Mediterranean Conference. Marseilles9

Table -1 Landmark of the Barcelona Process

EU Trade Relations with Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries

In 2000, the Mediterranean Partner Countries (MPCs) managed nearly half of their total trade (imports/exports) with the EU. The United States, among 14.1% of total MPC trade, ranked second after the EU as a trading partner. In 2001, the EU transfered 7.1% of its total additional-EU trade with the MPCs.

The Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia) of MPCs trade largest with the EU. In 2000, trade with the EU considered for 61.2%, 64.5% and 75.0% accordingly of the total trade of these countries. 10

EU's Achievements in the Region

Neighborhood policy: EU's Neighborhood Policy (ENP) was developed in 2004. Its objectives were prevent the appearance of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its Neighbors and to strength the prosperity, stability and security for all. ¹¹

In the Framework of EU's Neighborhood Policy the 16 of the EU's nearest neighbors. Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Israel, Jordon, Lebanon, Libya, Moldova, Morocco, occupied Palestinian Territory, Syria, Tunisia, and Ukraine. The Policy was first planed by the Commission for Wider Europe in March 2003. In December 2006 and

December 2007, the Commission also made the suggestions that policy could more strong.

- 1. the Eastern Partnership
- 2. the Union for Mediterranean
- 3. Black Sea Synergy (combined co-operation)
- 4. Activity or action Plan Strategy

The aim of Neighborhood Policy is rule of law, good management, the honor for human rights, including the minority rights, the initiative of good friendly relations, and fundamental law of market economy and sustainable development.¹²

The Neighborhood Policy strengthen the Barcelona Process and demonstrate the EU strategic partnership with the Mediterranean Countries, Morocco, Tunisia, Jordon, Israel, and Palestinian Authority. ¹³

The European Union has been sending more trade, more aid, more people to people contact, for their deeper cooperation on the whole field of their, economic, political, and located reforms, as their partnership could develop in the area of transport, energy, environment and climate change, research health and education.

According to the Catherine Ashton Vice President of the European Commission and high representative for Union for the Foreign Affairs, that Our European neighborhood Policy is successful story with many examples, where she said that we can and should do to make our part of the world more sources, more stable and prosperous.

EU's Trade with ENP region is grew during 2004-2008, where EU's exporting rises by 63 % by 91 (2009 brought some slow down, due to the global economic and financial crises. The EU is ready to establish free trade area with all its neighbors as soon as they are ready and prepared for them. Energy cooperation was Strengthening with reminder of agreements or Declaration with Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Egypt, Jordon, and Morocco.¹⁴

Union for Mediterranean: The Union for the Mediterranean (UFM) is a multilateral partnership that enclose 43 countries from Europe and the Mediterranean Basin. The 27 member States of the European Union and 16 Mediterranean Partner Countries from North Africa, the Middle East and the Balkans. It was created in July 2008 as launch

again Euro Mediterranean Partnership (The Barcelona Process), when a plan to create an independent Mediterranean Union was abandoned. The Union possess the aim of promoting stability and prosperity in every part of the Mediterranean region. Anyhow, its 2009 and 2010 Summits could not be arrange due to the deadlock of the Arab-Israel peace process after the Gaza war. The Union for the Mediterranean established new institutions into the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership with the aim of expanding its visibility such as the creation of secretariat. The Union of the Mediterranean is the southern regional co-operation branch of the Neighborhood Policy. Its eastern equivalent is the Eastern Partnership. 15

The Members for the Union of Mediterranean:

From European side:

- *the 27 European Union member states (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungry, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom).
 - * the European Commission

Mediterranean Partners Countries:

- * Albania, Algeria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, Croatia, Egypt, Israel, Jordon, Lebanon, Mauritania, Monaco, Montenegro, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey.
 - *Libya as observer country
 - * the League of Arab states

A plan to setup a "Mediterranean Union" was part of the election goal of Nicolas Sarkozy during the French Presidential Election Companion in 2007. During the campaign, Mr. Sarkozy said that Mediterranean Union would be modeled on the European Union with a joint judicial area and common institutions. He saw Turkish membership of the Mediterranean Union as an alternative to membership of the European Union, which he opposes, and as a forum for dialogue between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Once elected, President Sarkozy invited all heads of states and governments of the Mediterranean region to a meeting in June 2008 in Paris, with a view to setting the basis of a Mediterranean Union. Egypt and Israel vigorously supported it but Turkey strongly opposed the opinion and at first reject to attend the Paris Conference until it was assured that membership of the Mediterranean Union was not being suggested as an alternative to membership of the EU.

Union between the EU member states the plan was encouraged by Italy, Spain, and Greece.16

Aims and tasks: The Union for Mediterranean activated a new angle of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, which means the Union agree and perform to continue the Barcelona Process, the goal of union to promote "peace, stability and prosperity" throughout the region (Barcelona, 2); therefore, the chapter of cooperation developed in the system of Barcelona Process during thirteen years remained binding.

At the 10th Anniversary Euro-Mediterranean Summit the 43 Ministers of Foreign Affairs gathered in Marseilles on November 2008 identified six solidify projects that aimed particular necessarily of the Euro-Mediterranean regions and that will improve the visibility of Partnership. These cover De-pollution of the Mediterranean, Maritime and Land Highway, Civil Protection, Alternative Energies: Mediterranean Solar Plan, Higher Education and Research: Euro-Mediterranean University and the Mediterranean Business Development Initiative.

Institutions for the Union: Biennial Summits of Heads of State and Government; North and South Co-presidency System; Secretariat; Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly; Euro-Mediterranean Regional and Local Assembly; Anna Lindh Foundation Funding (the Anna Lindh Foundation for Dialogue between Cultures, with headquarters in Alexandria, Egypt was establish in April 2005). 17

Europe's Relations with the southern and eastern Mediterranean Countries through the centuries.

Europe's social, economic, political, geographical and cultural relations are very old since the dawn of history, many civilizations grew up and prosperous around the Mediterranean basin that were, Egyptian, Greeks, Phoenician, Carthaginian, Roman and Muslims. Mediterranean sea touch three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa. Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries are located in front of the Europe. Due to the geographically proximity both shore had remained close relationships and also occupied each others region and territories during the different historical period.

Some fifteen year B.C to Three hundred B.C Lebanon was the Center of Phoenicians. The Tyre and Sidon was their Trade Center. They built city states around the Mediterranean shores. Phoenician were purely traders and maritime cultural people, their monopoly was over Mediterranean sea. Their trade competition was with the Greeks in the Mediterranean. 18

Greeks were an other civilization in the Mediterranean sea and its basin, who ruled many centuries around the Mediterranean regions. Their city states were spread around the Mediterranean, their period was from 2000-200 B.C. Their famous city states were Crete, Mycenaean, Minoan, Athens, Sparta and Macedonia etc. They were

also highly traders. Their Classical period was 4th and 5th century B.C where it was the center of knowledge. In this period. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle was the famous Philosophers of the Classical Greece Period. 19

In 4th Century B.C. Greek King Alexander the Great crossed the Mediterranean and occupied some southern and eastern Mediterranean countries, and conquest Asia, and some North African countries. He was the first European powerful king that unite the Mediterranean shores and brought them in under the European Greek control. (20)

After the declined of Phoenician in 6th Century B.C, Carthaginian became the Master of Mediterranean, they were also traders. They established more colonies around the Mediterranean basin. Carthaginians were heirs of the Phoenicians. Phoenicians founded the city of Carthage in (Tunis) North Africa in 8th Century B.C. Carthage was destroyed by the Romans in third Punic war in 146 B.C and occupied it. 21

Now Romans came into power, they occupied both shore of Mediterranean, Mediterranean sea became their Lake. They usually said that it is our sea. mare nostrum. After passing some time Roman Empire divided into two parts, the western Roman Empire and Eastern Byzantine Empire. Western Roman Empire's capital remained the Rome, (Italy), and Eastern Roman Empire's Constantine (Istanbul). 22

Western Roman Empire could not survive due to the attacks of eastern barbarian Vandals, who sack the the Rome in 5th century B.C, and occupied it, they also occupied the some north African countries a part of western Roman Empire. ²³

13th Century was the peek period of Eastern Byzantine Empire. It was vast empire in its time, the both shore of Mediterranan were under their empire. In the year 313 A.D, Emperor Constantine accepted the Christianity, after that gradually European accepted the Christianity and it became the religous of Europe.

In 7th century A.D Muslims occupied most of the southern and eastern Mediterranean region from Roman Byzantine Empire. Spain was also conquest by the Muslims in 711 A.D, where they ruled over eight centuries. In15th century Ottoman Turk Muslims, occupied Constantinople, and changed the Justinian Cathedral of Saint Sophia into a mosque and also occupied Eastern European countries. In 15th century, Spain was reconquested by European Christian kings, Ferdinand and Queens of Castille Isabella.24

In nineteenth and twentieths century the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries again changed into European colonies. After first and Second World War, Europe's power shifted to America. Due to economic, political, and social destruction in the Europe in the two World Wars it could not keep its control over on their colonies. However, Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries got independence from the Europeans. However, after Second World War, the Cold war started between the two super powers, American and Communists Russia. The world divided in two poles, the Capitalists and Communists. 25

During this period European tried to became united, they singed, Treaty of Paris in 1951 and started to develop new prosperous Europe. The European Coal and Steel Community was established by six Western European countries, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, Netherland and Denmark, now it is called European Union. EU started the negotiations with the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries, during the period of Cold War for close relationship as they could release the tension between the both shores, that were ex-colonies of Europe. ²⁶

After Signing Barcelona Declaration in 1995 between the both shore for the development of the region, and to end the confrontation of Islam and Christianity which is continue since last thirteen century. Which aim to maintain the Security, prosperity, and social development in the region which is new phase of the history for both regions. ²⁷

PROBLEMS IN THE REGIONS

Hizbullah and Security threats in the region: Increasing to permanent tensions in the Middle East. It is to to be said that Hizbullah movement and its preparation of long-term battle plans for international terrorism provide the Islamic rebellion in the Palestinian territories that indicate to its political objectives since September 11th 2001. This organization has taken lead in the fight against Israel and its allies, particularly the USA. Recent events have galvanized Hizballah towards the strengthening of its forceful strategy, gathering support in other Islamic organizations external side its main area of action.

It is also to be said that Hizballah is an old religious and political movement which gave birth of terrorism in 1989s, developed guerrilla warfare capability in the 1990s, and by the new millennium had grew into an important Middle East Strategic Player, capable of influencing the direction of peace and war in the region. Some analysts have claimed that Hizballah's focus be primarily on the liberation of occupied Lebanese lands, and secondarily on the Israeli- Palestinian conflict.

According to one such analyst, Hizballah has no working interests other than diplomatic, further than these area. This view described the organization as merely one of many "Islamic National Liberation Movements" which have little interest in working outside their close surroundings. ²⁸

The Organization's role in major terrorist attacks against Israeli and Jewish targets in Buenos Aires (in 1992 and 1994) and against the Khobar Towers U.S. Military Complex in Saudi Arabia (1996) bear witnessed it. Therefore still its mission to achieve local goals, such as the establishment of Islamic Government in Lebanon, have taken on an international dimension.

Various important developments that took place in the region since 2000 have only strengthened Hizballah and increased its honor among supporter as a leading player

in the fight against Israel, the United States and other enemies of Islam. These events have also established the organization's commitment to terrorism.

The happening of September 11, 2001 played a major role in excited Hizballah to strengthened its strategy and forceful activities. The group's spiritual Leader, Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah admit that "the state after September 11 is similar to a major earth quick" and that Islam is living in a time of great stress that it never witnessed in all of its history.

Actually, the al-Quida attacks on the United States and succeeding U.S. military campaign in Afghanistan and happening "War on Terror" all endanger to move Hizballah's strategic profit it had made result from the Israeli withdrawal from Southern Lebanon.

The Bush administration's after September 11 policies also raised the possibility that both Hizballah and its state sponsors might finally be targeted in continuing campaign against the "axis of evil". In reaction, the organization to increase both its attacks on Israel and its support of the Palestinian Intifada, primarily as a means of interfering US action in the region and focusing global attention on the Palestinian arena. 29

The Mediterranean: A Prone Region

The Mediterranean has been one major cradle of human civilization and the birth-place of the three monotheistic religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. For centuries, the Mediterranean has been an area of highly concentrated conflict but also of close co-operation with an highly focus economic and cultural exchange. Since 1945, the Mediterranean has been conflict descending region. During the East-West conflict, this region was divided due to unusual and in some occasion shifting relationship of several parties in the United States and the former Soviet Union. The East and the oil fields of the Persian Gulf was also an area of intensive rivalry of both NATO and the Soviet fleet. However, several countries (Egypt, Yugoslavia, and Algeria) have also been very active member states in the non -aligned movement.

With respect to the whole Mediterranean (from 1945-1998), five types of conflicts may be distinguished,1) wars of independence,2) major regional wars, 3) bilateral intraregional conflicts, 4) internal conflicts and ethno-religion wars and 5) coups d'etas. In Conflicts Barometer (December 1989) by the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK) the 31 violent conflicts through out the world, two occurred in Europe and 8 in the East (5 took place in the Mediterranean region: Kosovo, Turkey, Algeria, Israel/Lebanon, Israel/Palestinian Authority). Among the 97 primarily nonviolent conflict worldwide, 20 occurred in Europe and 22 in the East (12 took place in the Europe Mediterranean region and five among the dialogue partners in the near and Middle East and in North Africa. This statistical survey demonstrate the Mediterranean was one of the most conflict-prone regions during the cold war (1945-1990) as has remained close to since the global turn of 1990. 30

Causes of Instability and Conflict: In the Northern Mediterranean region, the main reasons of conflicts have been internal instability. Where Lack of political and social integration of ethnic and religious minorities (for example, Bosnia-Herzegovina, in Kosovo and Macedonia as well as the Kurds in Turkey; and temporary loss of lawfulness of the governments due to serious domestic of linguistic and cultural autonomy in Sardinia (Italy), Corsica (France), and of political independence in the Basque territory in Spain and in France.

Causes of Instability and Conflict in the Southern Mediterranean: In opposition to the North especially with observe to political and security communities of the EU, WEU and NATO, the geopolitical condition on the Southern and Eastern shores of the Mediterranean is highly divided. In the South several borders are still disputed and many conflicts are too deeply rooted and complicated to be solved in a across-Mediterranean frame work. After Cold War Era, several shapes of instability affecting the Southern Shore have change the direction attention of European Security Institution.

On the Southern Shore; the Maghreb countries are very sensitive to structural risks that weaken their domestic stability, such as state income, a high level of unemployment and growing social inequality. ³¹

The European Union and the Mediterranean World: The European Union is working on some changes in its list of preferences in the Middle East. Therefore, concerns about migration, terrorism and access to energy supplies are refocusing the European's concentration on improving relations with the nations of North Africa, which are appearing from political and economic unclearness. Libya is fast removing its status as a global exile, Morocco has reshape itself as a westernized like democracy and tourist magnet, and Algeria- now violet \$ 150 billion on an infrastructure- renovation program- is flow in petrodollars".

The EU and its member states are completely recognized of the importance of this energy rich region. The continuous, low-price and abundant supply of energy is of great concern for industrialized economies of Europe. In this area, work has already started. "Algeria is already Europe's third largest supplier of natural gas, after Russia and Norway. Plans are now in the process of development for a new gas pipe line that would bring supplies 4,3000 kilometers across the Sahara from Nigeria to a terminal on the Algerian Coast."

The developments in areas of energy and others, bringing the European Union closer to the Mediterranean world, are in the benefit of both sides. It is obvious the former colonial powers are stepping forward to be friend the countries of North Africa and the Middle East with new slogans. However, the basic objectives are not particular different from the ones of the colonial era-control over the natural resources of the developing world. ³²

North Africa and Middle East in the Eye of George W.Bush: The Middle East and North Africa will stay the world black sheep until 2030 (Terrorism, fanaticism,

grand corruption, dictatorship, illegal immigration, proliferation and constant threat for the civilized world).

"In many Middle Eastern countries, poverty is deep and it is spreading, women lack rights and are refusing educating. Whole societies remain stagnant while the world moves ahead. As long as the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of lack of progress, jealousy, and violence ready for export".

Anyway, we may opinion it that most of the countries benefit of oil selfish use. Of course, oil and gas showing huge economic assets in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States: 65% of the world proven oil reserves are located in this area and the average life of Saudi Arabia reserves is about 50 years (However, many oil fields are already empty). On the other hand, extra to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States, many countries also benefit of oil: Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Iran, Iraq and new oil fields could be drilled in future (especially in Sudan). What is more, the Gulf and Caspian oil is exported through countries disadvantage of large oil resources such as Syria. In spite of our wish to avoid stereo types and generalizations, it is clear that most countries benefit of good economic assets in link with energy. Unfortunately, they have badly managed these resources.

According to George W. Bush, North Africa and Middle East that one will not find any people in Japan eager to come back to feudal society. In Latin America, no people respect to set up again the Maya or Inca civilization. Even in Africa, there is no person wanting to re-establish human sacrifies. Surely, the Middle East and the North Africa is the merely region in the world where many people aim to come back to Bedouin society of seventh century. 33

The political changes has been started from Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and other countries of the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries which is continued.

Jasmine or Tunisian Revolution: The fall of the Presidency of Tunisia in Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in 1987; the Tunisian Revolution in that President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was forced out of the Presidency by popular opposition in late 2010/early 2011, called "the Jasmine Revolution" by way of many media organizations, and which was the cause of movement of the Arab spring. 34

The revolution began with the incident of Mohammed Bouazizi, who was a Tunisian street salesman. He set himself on fire on December 17, 2010, in complain against to taken away of his goods and humiliation that he reported was punished on him by a municipal official and her assistant. His act became a catalyst for the Tunisian Revolution, rousing demonstrations and violets throughout Tunisia in protest of social and political issues in the country. Anger and agited intensified following Bouazizi's death, Chief afterwards President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali to resign on January 14, 2011, after 23 years in power.35

The protests inspired similar violent throughout the Arab world, the Egyptian revolution began after the events in Tunisia and also cause to the ousting of Egypt's longtime President Hosni Mubarak, furthermore, uprising in Bahrain, Syria and Yemen and major protests have also taken place in Algeria, Jordon, Morocco, Israel's borders, Iraq, Mauritania, and also Libya - where a full-scale revolution has broken out as well as in the other places in the wider North Africa and Middle East. ³⁶

2011 Libyan Civil War: The 2011 Libyan civil war was a continuous armed conflict in the North African State of Libya being fought between forces loyal to the country's *de facto* ruler Muammar Al Gaddafi and those seeking to dismiss him. The situation started on 15 February 2011, as series of peaceful protests increased into an revolt that spread across the country, with the forces confronting Gaddafi setting a government based in Benghazi named the National Transitional Council whose goal is elections. The United Nations Security Councils passed an initial resolution freezing the assets of Gaddafi and group members of his inner circle, and restricting their travel. NATO Forces have intensified their operations in Libya and are applying attacked helicopters in addition to their original commitment of fighter jets and naval Ships, but NATO members defended that they will not put ground troops in Libya. ³⁷

2011 Egyptian Revolution: The 2011 Egyptian Revolution took place next the popular uprising that began on 25 January 2011. Millions of protesters from a variety of socio-economic and religions backgrounds demanded abolish of the regime of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. Complaint of Egyptian protesters were focused on law and political issues, including police cruelty, state of emergency laws, lack of free elections and freedom of speech, uncontrollable corruption, and economic issues including high unemployment, food price inflation, and lowest salary. The primary demands from protests planners were the end of the Hosni Mubarak regime and the end of appearance law; freedom of justice, a responsive-military government, and a claim in the supervision of Egypt's resources.

The uprising took place in Cairo, Alexandria, and other cities in Egypt, continuing the Tunisian Revolution that saw the overthrow of the long-time Tunisian President. On 11 February following weeks of decided famous protest and pressure, Mubarak resigned from the office. ³⁸

AN ARAB VIEW FOR BARCELONA DECLARATION

The Arab world geographically occupies the heart of ancient world and have two third (2/3) of the world's oil reserves, and has credit with the development of its peoples. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership initiative interfere during a period of regional and international disruption. The dualistic world order had been added by a monopolistic one that presented total aid to Israel and hard work for its merging within the regional Mediterranean environment (by means of multilateral and Eastern- Mediterranean bargaining), in the aim of reconfirm its unification and supremacy.

This has caused to the making of an image in the Arab memory of Europe of the crusades and Balfourists' Europe that created Israel and under competitive stress from its friendly rival, the USA, is looking once again to find a footing within the Arab

world. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership plan invited for the strong creation of Partnership based upon the strengthening of democracy and the honor for human rights, the two things that establish one of the fundamental causes in relation between Europe and its Mediterranean neighbors. The project adopted the declaration of fundamental law concerning issues of internal and external stability, for democracy, regional integration, peace and regional stability. 39

The partnership project aim to the fulfilled of development and creation of a Euro-Mediterranean space founded on free trade and the principle of market economy within the frame work of political, economic and social bilateral partnership agreements between the EU and its Mediterranean Partners, the free trade zone, economy reforms, and fitting to Europe economic system, (including the taking part of civil society in political, civil, and cultural, activities), form an essential factor of the Partnership. (40)

However, in fact, regional co-operation seems impossible, and this will continue to be true as long as Israel continues to occupy the Arab Territories. The Arab world was the cradle of civilization and saw the birth of the original human rights lawmaking over four thousand years ago, the Hammurabi Code. 41

This positive European opinion continued to develop to a point where the EU in the result of the Florence Summit (21-22 June 1996) and the Berlin Summit (24-25 March 1999), stated their support for the UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, 425 and to international terms of reference dedicated to a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

The European Summit clearly condemn the unlawfulness of Israeli occupation of the Arab territories and demanded Israel stop any enlargement of its settlements or construction of new settlements. It also demanded the recognition of the lawful and non-transferable rights of the Palestinians, including the right to self determination and establishment of an independent Palestinian State within Palestine. 42

The Declaration is peaceful of an introduction, a section of fundamental law, and of three lines of reference; political, economical and social. The principles of the Declaration match great importance to the principles of international law, to international conventions, and to the uniqueness of the states. The Declaration gives priority to a just and comprehension peace in the Middle East on the basis of international legality, the UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338,425, and the terms of reference of the Madrid Conference for peace in the Middle East, including the principle of land of peace.

The Mediterranean countries face real danger if a unexpected positive response or preference towards the economic requirement that the EU is trying to impose within the frame work of the Partnership. Therefore, a maximum number of limit steps are needed, attached with vigilance and lack of compromise when any economical decisions take place that may show strategic objectives of the country to danger without any doubt, the economic policies that the EU are pressing to impose desire endanger

the bankruptcy of Mediterranean industries and changing shape of the Mediterranean countries into non-producing import countries. They will be pulled into a strong circle of poverty, according development and economic and political dependence, carrying to serious cultural change and handful of final internal crises that will affect all aspects of life.

The European need to carry out economic change conforming to the European image is not the last aim of the EU. It is just another scheme amongst other means for political, social and cultural destruction of having being Mediterranean institutions with the aim of collapsing the Arab national building, its pillars and national foundations in order to reach its ideology and culture. Here, new Arab-Mediterranean political and cultural existence will be formed fashioned upon the Western European model.

The result was collapse of the Soviet Union and other Communist regimes, using either bloody or softly filled means. The USA and the EU are battling for the expanse of supremacy and power in order to reach China to the East, and expansion, the Arab World to the South. This verify to American and European competitive strategy of capturing zone or country according to opportunity and need.

If we admit that Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, Globalization and Civil Society are non essential show of a single appearance contributing to the transfer of technologies and communications between civilizations, this phenomenon poses the risk of being accompanied by a European move toward the enlargement of its power footing, predominance, and return to the past colonial era within the framework of these newly created name. However, the importance take a response in their satisfaction and its results.

The lessons taught by the history of Arab-European relations throughout ancient and modern era, UN just and UN equal Euro-Mediterranean Partnership endanger to turn the Arab Partners into a subordinate force incorporated from the main body to the partnership and continually rotating within the Western European Space that does not leave sufficient space for practice and adjustment. 43

The Project for Euro-Mediterranean Partnership appeared during a period of international and regional disruption that primarily concerned: the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Block, the collapse of the Berlin Wall; the 1991 Conference of Madrid for peace in the Middle East, the presentation of the Eastern-Mediterranean project in the draft invent by Israel and adopted by the USA, and the beginning of multilateral negotiation.

The objective of multilateral and Eastern-Mediterraneans negotiations was to avoid the reality of the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories, Rejection of the rights of the Palestinian and political, economic, social and cultural integration of Israel into the Arab World. 44

IMMIGRATION, SECULARIZATION AND EURO-ISLAM

Islam is the second religion in several European countries, not as a religion of Europeborn citizens; we can still speak of a European Islam. This was an unexpected situation, not only to European countries, but also to Islamic ones. However, with the assistance and promotion of European governments, Islamism in Europe is becoming 'Secularize', adapting itself to take part in European societies and to have a political voice. In spite of attacks like 9/11, commonly speaking, we can say that radical Islamism of the seventies has given way to a more support of freedom one. Islam has already become a part of Europe.

It is clear the most important question in Europe grow by Muslim minorities, with Islam becoming the "Second Religion" in several European Countries. As the Islam in Europe, is a religion of immigrants-Muslims are fewer and fewer immigrants from Maghreb (Turkey, Africa) and more and more the children and grand-children of former immigrants who came from these countries in past decades. These children are born and educated in Europe and agreed with European nationalities so, today there is a "European Islam". Islam has become a component part of Europe, built a part which belongs to political and public recognition is still difficult.

There are some radical Islamists who proclaim, for example, that Spain has been an "Islamic Land" for centuries, since then Muslim Andalusia, and that the Jihad is valid here to "free" it from Christian occupiers. In its extreme form, this vision can caused to link with terrorist actions, as seen in Madrid. But certainly, this refer only to an extremely narrow category it has upon the general perception of Islam in Europe is terrible. 45

At the end of seventies, with the failure of Soviet Army in Afghanistan, the Islamic revolution in Iran, the growing success of Islamism in Morocco, Algeria etc., and Islamism appeared to be an expanding wave, a political project that gained very big success in a number of Muslim countries. The electoral victory of the FIS at the beginning of nineties in Algeria was a large sexpression of that wave and of popular enthusiasm invested in Islamism. According to several researchers this is fundamental development of Islamism in the nineties, mainly clear in Turkey, but also in Morocco, Egypt, Algeria, and other countries. The peaceful reformist way is favored to the radical, revolutionary way. (46)

Migration is a central problem in Euro-Mediterranean relationship: Europe needs a qualified labor force; and risks not being able to alternative its population. North African countries are facing the "brain drain" phenomenon. Debating migration is willing it is to be seen as a stabilization factor and not as a cause of the worsening of European identity. A security policy of border controls is not sufficient and has reached its area, instead a cultural revolution should take place on both shores and the migration/crime/terrorism/Islamism equation should vanish from discussion.

A global geopolitical, access is needed in which co-development and burdensharing are the matrices. Migrations have always be live. Everyone agrees this is not a recent phenomenon. What is new? the fundamental challenges. They are numerous and enormous. They are of economic, social, and cultural type, and increasingly have a strategic guess. The migration issue has become an important challenge in the relationship between both coasts of Mediterranean; it is not just a technical or economical issue. It is a very complex issue currently understand by the decision makers.

Everyone can see the EU migration policies mainly based border controls and security adminstration, have reached their limits. The ever increasing number of boats reaching different EU shores and illegal immigrants crossing on regular flights show that nothing can stop such movement. Moreover, the Mexican example with the United States of America backs up the thought that another way must be found; there are 10 million illegal Mexican immigrants in USA. ⁴⁷

CONCLUSION

Barcelona Declaration in the Region is a new achievements for the both shore of Mediterranean Sea which tells the end of confrontation between the Christian Europe and Muslim World of southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries. They have long history of clashes since the dawn of Islam.

Europe and southern (Maghreb) region and eastern (Mashriq) Mediterranean Countries has long history relationships due to the geographically proximity. They ruled each others territories, since from pre-Christianity to Islam. Around the Mediterranean basin due to the occupation and attacks the society of the Mediterranean has had always be disturbed and migrated from one place to another, and crossed the Mediterranean sea during the different time of the history. Due to the migration and ruled their gens are still present in their communities which are living around Mediterranean basin. Therefore Mediterranean basin is called the theater of wars. After Second World War most of the southern and eastern Mediterranean Countries got independence from the Europe. Southern and eastern Mediterranean countries are less developed and prosperous than Europe, where social, political, and economical problems are still present. After 9/11 the confrontation between the west and Muslim world is again started. The war of terrorism is going on against the radical Islamist in different areas of Muslim world including southern and eastern Mediterranean countries. Now both region of the Mediterranean has the threat of terrorism and occupation according to the historical basis.

European Union provide the Mediterranean development aid to the southern and eastern Mediterranean countries for their development as they may be able to control the poverty, terrorism, illegal immigration to the Europe and bring political, social and economical reforms as both shore may live prosperous, secure, and stable. But due to the

emerging and interference of new contemporary powers in the region, is again going unstable and unsecured. Mediterranean Seas and Middle east has the very importance place in the world due to trade routes and hydrocarbon in the region. Gibraltar and Suez canal has a strategic and trade routes importance in the world. Barcelona Declaration provide the security, prosperity and stability in the both region. Trade between the European Union and southern and eastern Mediterranean is not sufficient, as they may be able to establish themselves properly, the unrest and civil wars in the region is present, sectarianism is an other problem in the region. The internal conflicts among the southern (Maghreb) region and eastern Mediterranean countries are also present in the region due to water resources, the other issue in the region is Fanaticism, which may cause the geopolitical changes, occupation and clashes in the region in future.

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