

**The EU's Foreign Policy Towards its
Southern Neighborhood:
From a Pro-Active to a Defense Position Towards its
Southern Border?**

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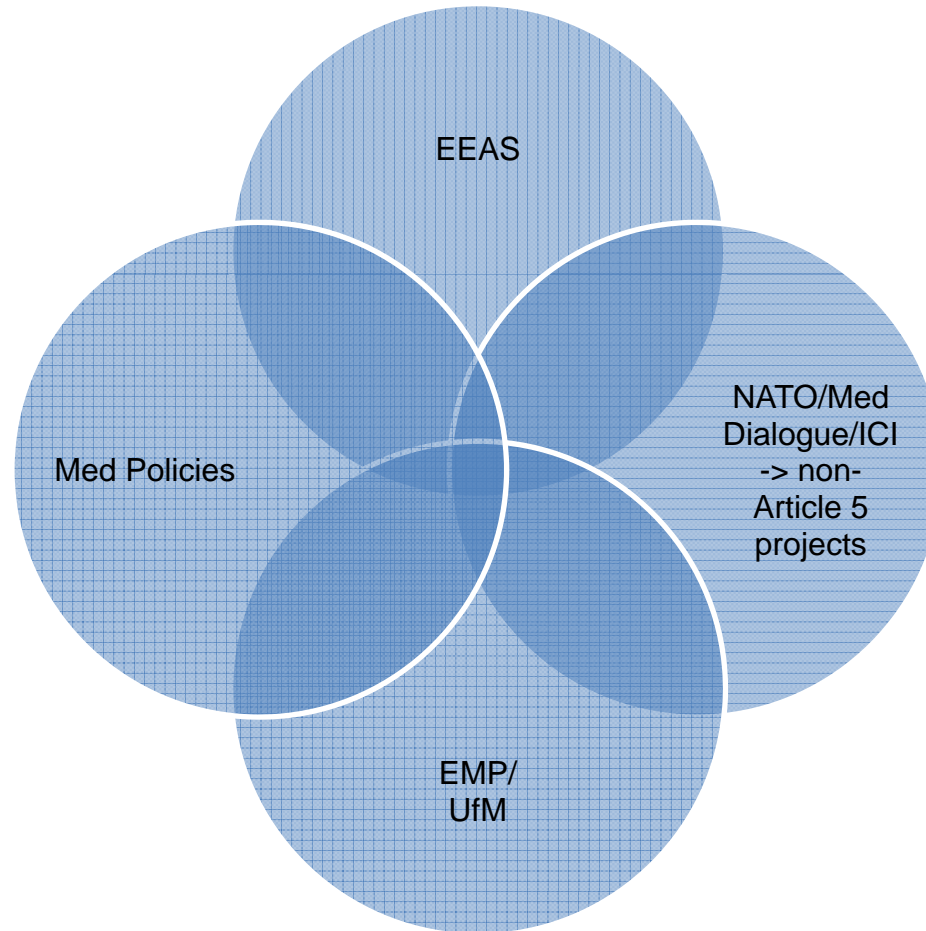
- A main thesis suggested, based on previous studies (e.g. Boening 2009, 2009) is that regional integration is taking place to the point of a nascent regional security complex among UfM-member countries (*i.e. states whose major security perceptions are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another*) (e.g. Aliboni, Deutsch etc.)
- > *internal dynamic plus inter-regional dynamics associated with Regional Security Complex Theory* (Buzan and Waever 2003)



-> IGOs in post-Cold War environment addressing security sectors (e.g. Libyan chemical warfare??) and levels (e.g. domestically, e.g. Gadhafi vs. own population, intra-regionally, inter-regionally) (Buzan, Waever and deWilde 1998):

- Union for the Mediterranean (as successor to the Euro-Med Partnership, embedded since 2004 in the ENP) to provide institutional framework to address Euro-Mediterranean regional threats *beyond military*, e.g.:
- environmental (Mediterranean clean up),
- social-cultural (e.g. region-wide examination of destructive effects of ideological extremism, e.g. Anna Lindh foundation,
- human security (e.g. food in light of high youth unemployment, or water)
- -> state- and non-state actors

Euro-Mediterranean Regional Security (Super) Complex



UfM: “Joint ownership”

Convergence of will

the empowerment of recipients to implement the common will via programs of UfM

(Aliboni et al. 2006)

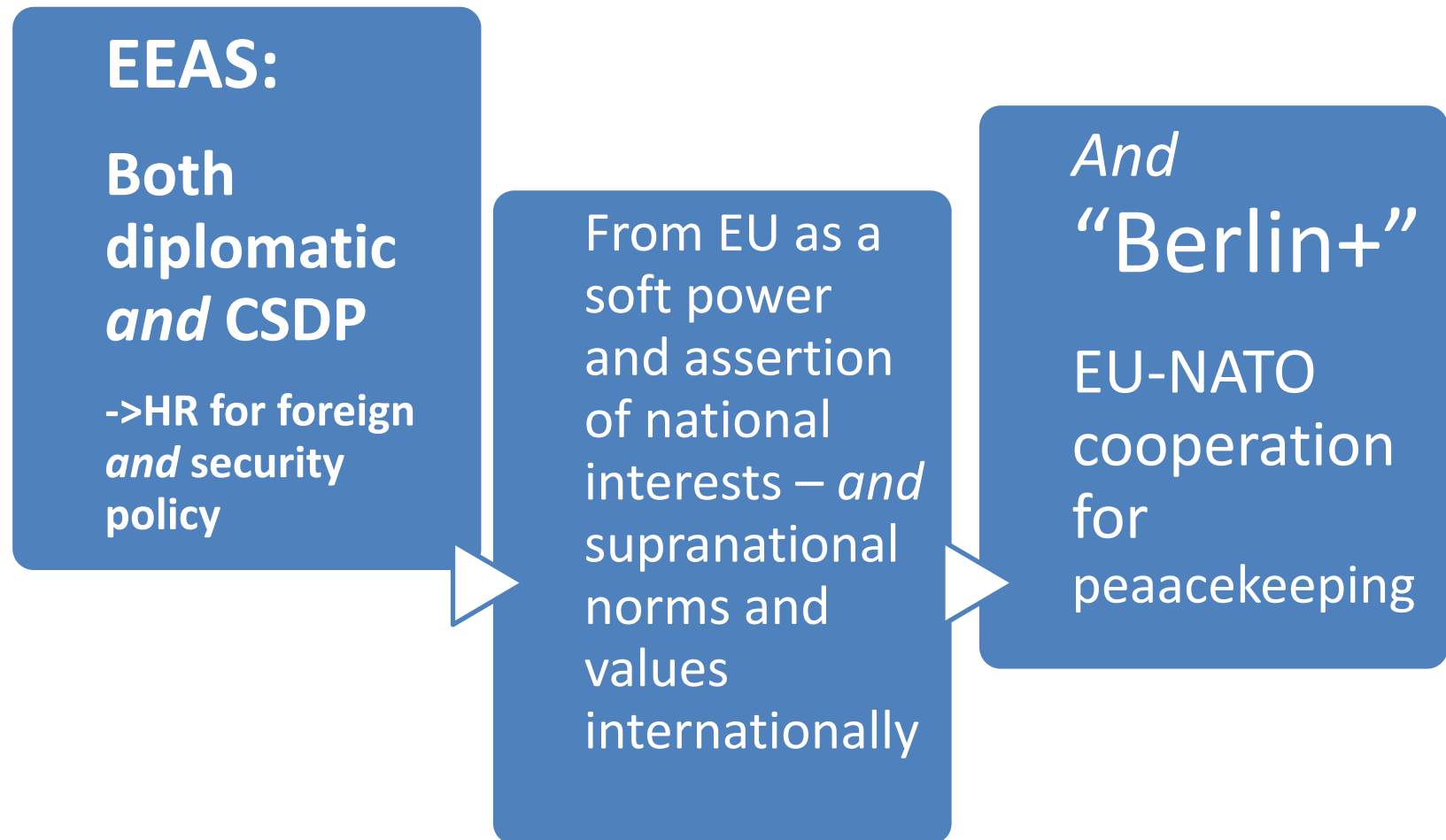
Shifting security balance in the Euro-Med:

Energy security

“re-positioning” of (inter-)regional(revisionist) hegemons: Iran?

Israel-Palestine conflict: Democratic Peace Theory or greater willingness to negotiate w/Arabic neighbors??

EU in the MENA during recent democratic transitions:



- Democratic Peace Theory (Kant) would predict that this is beneficial for Euro-Mediterranean regional stability, *but...* many question marks in terms of future *balance of power in the Euro-Mediterranean region* and *cost of security from southern border to the EU:*

While EMP programs continue within the ENP in BRU, the 2008 UfM not launched “completely:”

-> EU in mad rush to complete in a couple weeks all the “loose ends” of EMP/UfM, such as MENA access of produce to EU mkts, liberalized visa regimes for MENA citizens, economic assistance to expand MENA economies and create jobs for massive youth unemployment, and to create institutional capacity for democracy

- NOW: immense sense of urgency, as expressed by the non-stop declarations, visits, consultations between EU's (supranational) External Action Service (since Lisbon Treaty Dec. 2009), EU's inter-governmental Council and Parliament and affected MENA countries, NATO (e.g. at Munich security conference, or now in positioning ships off Libyan coast in case chemical weapons used by Ghadaffi etc.)

Regional Threats??

- **Euro-Mediterranean:** Current de-stabilization w/o guarantees about the successors to authoritarian regimes: “Turkish model” of military-religious checks-and-balances hybrid? Re-emergence of Muslim Brotherhood and affiliates??
- ***Intra-regional “dynamics”, e.g.:***
 - Turkey: EU-candidate and East-foreign policy (+ Israel)
 - Differences in national democratic transitions (certain popular support for royalty vs. lack of support for authoritarian rulers -> different post-revolution outcomes)
 - Israeli-Palestinian conflict: an opportunity??
 - Degree of “external” involvement (NATO in Libya?? EU/national support of rebels??)



Inter-Regional Dynamics, e.g.:

- Saudi-support for Baharaini royal family (Al Khalifa) (Sunni-Sunni alliances), but not Mubarak
- Iran -> Syria (-> Lebanon) = “Shia nemesis”
- Russia: Mid-East Quartet member, but surprisingly silent (busy cashing in on rising petroleum prices in order to strengthen national power -> revisionist plans??)

MENA democratic transitions, i.a.:

- Adding concrete substance to” the post-Lisbon EEAS projection in its southern neighborhood
- Appear to “thicken” the EU’s institutional frameworks towards its southern neighborhood (complementing UfM programs??)
- Leading to a strategic re-evaluation by the EEAS towards its intra- and inter-regional- as well as trans-Atlantic security dynamics

Thank you for your attention