About the Study
In partnership with the Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco in London, RUSI held an international conference in Rabat in March 2010 entitled ‘Euro-Mediterranean Security: Moroccan and British Perspectives’. Facilitating the exchange of ideas and expertise across countries of the Mediterranean, the conference was held under the auspices of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation and made possible thanks to the support of the OCP Foundation.

This study looks back on some of the conference’s key themes and the evolution of the debate.

Finally, particular thanks for this study are due to Her Highness Princess Lalla Joumala Alaoui, Moroccan Ambassador to the United Kingdom, whose personal involvement and support has been instrumental in the success of the Rabat conference, as well as the ongoing research focus of the Institute regarding Euro-Mediterranean affairs.

About the RUSI European Security Programme
The European Security Programme at RUSI is concerned with leading research projects, private discussion meetings and public conferences on all aspects of European Security and Defence.

The future development of European security and defence co-operation is a core concern of the programme, which explores some of its most pressing challenges including:

- Confronting national choices with the realities Europeans must face up to in the field of European security; and identifying answers to the difficult questions which must be asked of Europeans in terms of their defence commitment.
- Making sense of European collective efforts within the various political, security and defence organisations in which Europeans play a part; as well as unpicking institutional developments and military operations undertaken within NATO, the EU, and the OSCE.
- Engagement with the national foreign and security policies of other European countries; their bilateral relationships with the United Kingdom; and relations with neighbouring regions such as the CIS states, the Caucasus/Caspian Sea regions and the Mediterranean.

The European Security Programme thus seeks to actively engage in work on European defence co-operation and also the EU’s relations with neighbouring regions.

Front cover: The Hassan Tower in Rabat. *Photo courtesy of Alastair Cameron.*

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About RUSI
The Royal United Service Institute (RUSI) is an independent think tank engaged in cutting edge defence and security research. A unique institution, founded in 1831 by the Duke of Wellington, RUSI embodies nearly two centuries of forward thinking, free discussion and careful reflection on defence and security matters.

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Contents

Foreword
Keynote Address
His Excellency Taïb Fassi Fihri

1. The Evolving Mediterranean Security Environment: Regional and International Concerns
   Transborder Security Issues
   Major General Jonathan Shaw
   Assessing Morocco’s Security Landscape
   His Excellency Saad Hassar

2. Mediterranean Security Arrangements: Complementary or Competition?
   Making Sense of Europe’s Security Relations in the Mediterranean
   Alastair Cameron
   Current Security Arrangements in the Mediterranean
   Mohammed El-Katiri
   Mediterranean Regional Security Building: Pursuing Multilateralism
   Abdennour Benantar

3. Energy and Natural Resource Security: Challenges and Opportunities
   Energy Interdependence and the Building of Euro-Mediterranean Solidarity
   Her Excellency Dr Amina Benkhadra
   Euro-Mediterranean Energy: The End of Business as Usual?
   Francis Ghilès

   The Value of International Partnership
   Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean
   Prospects for a Mediterranean Security Community
   I William Zartman

Acronyms and Abbreviations
Contributor Biographies
In March 2010, the Royal United Services Institute, in partnership with the Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco in London, organised a high-level conference in Rabat to establish new thinking regarding Euro-Mediterranean security co-operation. Convening senior officials and subject matter experts from government and academia within Europe and the Maghreb, the conference looked at the emerging security environment in the Mediterranean, the future of European engagement with the Maghreb, and the challenges and opportunities facing the energy and natural resource sector across the region.

Providing fresh perspectives on emerging security issues, as well as encouraging a comprehensive approach amongst European and Maghreb states, the discussions provided a useful forum in which to examine the progress achieved thus far, and identify future avenues and mechanisms for strengthened security co-operation in the Mediterranean.

Taking the analysis further, this RUSI Occasional Paper suggests an array of strategies and approaches for promoting greater security and stability to the region, and highlights the speakers’ contributions during the conference. It further explores the potential for new collaborative mechanisms between nations on both sides of the Mediterranean by revisiting each of the conference’s key themes.

Each chapter begins with a summary of the conference session in order to highlight the pertinent points of discussion. There follows a number of papers within each chapter exploring these themes further, from both conference participants and RUSI analysts. Introduced below, these papers offer in many respects an extension to the analysis which took place during the conference and highlight the relevance of this study to a much wider audience.

The first analysis paper is thus from a British perspective, in which Major General Jonathan Shaw gives an introductory overview of the current state of transnational threats in the Maghreb and assesses the role of international peacekeeping in the years to come. Crucially, he poses the question of how Europe and the Maghreb can work together to tackle crime in the ungoverned spaces of the Sahel strip.

Contextualising the Kingdom of Morocco's structural approach towards a range of threats including illegal immigration, drugs smuggling, organised crime and terrorism, Mr Saad Hassar offers a Moroccan perspective and stresses the importance of adopting regional strategies in view of meeting transborder issues. Referring to the demanding security environment of the Sahel-Sahara region, Mr Hassar calls for ambitious proposals permitting the development, in time, of an effective form of ‘regional security governance’ in the Maghreb.

In the piece that follows, Alastair Cameron calls for further developments in EU-NATO co-operation in this strategically important region. As much as Europe’s own failings, Cameron attributes slow progress in establishing a deepened security co-operation across the region to varying standards of governance and a certain amount of political lethargy amongst Southern Mediterranean states in resolving long-standing disputes.

Mohammed El-Katiri also studies the ensemble of frameworks constituting the disjointed backbone of regional co-operation. He proffers some reasons for the multitude of forums, such as the diversity of actors and the evolving process of European integration. In an attempt to consolidate the partnership, this piece advocates the creation of a permanent body designed to bring regional actors together on an equal basis.

Conversely, Abdennour Benantar addresses the unfortunate predominance of a north-south approach and argues that the proliferation of partnerships in the region is enhancing structural relationships that are designed exclusively on
a bilateral dimension. This fragmentation is causing inter-state dependency and hindering horizontal co-operation. The paper offers some recommendations on how to reverse the damage.

Expanding the security dimension to include aspects of Euro-Mediterranean energy co-operation, Moroccan Energy Minister Amina Benkhadra’s article highlights the existing disparities between and amongst the northern and southern Mediterranean countries in terms of energy resources and supply. She argues that this energy interdependence must become a source of convergence towards sustainable development and the integration of Mediterranean economies as a whole, with solar power and water resource management providing ambitious programmes for the emerging Union for the Mediterranean.

Francis Ghilès expands the issue of energy co-operation still further, and provides a comprehensive discussion of energy resources including gas, oil, nuclear power and electricity. He argues against perfunctory measures, making the case that greater commercial links do not, in fact, amount to greater co-operation between Mediterranean states. His paper examines the situation across the Maghreb and assesses Europe’s energy needs.

Offering a personal view regarding the internal complexities of security co-operation in the Euro-Mediterranean area, Baroness Symons gives a British perspective on where the main threats lie and the state of regional security co-operation. She acknowledges good relationships across Europe and North Africa – both institutional and bilateral – and praises a partnership approach to counter-terrorism. With past experience as a minister in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Baroness promotes a co-ordinated approach to counter-proliferation, transnational organised crime, climate change, maritime security and cyber-security. Crucially, her paper puts forward the case for a more active political role for European and Arab League states in the Middle East Peace Process, and proposes the establishment of an ‘International Conflict Pool’ to be run jointly by European and Arab League states.

I William Zartman rounds off the study with a powerful exposé that positions intra-Maghreb relations as the main obstacle to effectively co-ordinated security. He cites the exclusive and competitive friendship treaties among North African states in the 1980s as evidence of a potentially precarious balance of power. Emphasising the importance of credible state structures, he argues that co-operation is possible, despite the regional prevalence of states fearing interaction with their own neighbours.
Keynote Address

Giving the keynote address for the 2010 Euro-Mediterranean Security Conference, His Excellency Minister Taïb Fassi Fihri, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco, provided, amongst others, a tour d’horizon of Morocco’s security concerns in the region.

His Excellency Fassi Fihri described the Maghreb as a region that faces cross-border threats, yet also one of great strategic and economic importance. In his view the re-invigoration and revitalisation of the MAU’s institutions are essential to bring about concrete and inclusive answers to economic and security challenges in the region. Regional security issues cannot simply be overlooked because of outdated political thinking or tactical calculations. Instead, all decision-makers in the region must focus on dealing with security challenges and socio-economic development issues, with countries of the north and the south jointly and equally taking advantage of the different available initiatives.

Mr Fassi Fihri then emphasised the need for a multi-dimensional approach and strategic consensus amongst all parties involved in the Mediterranean debate, wanting the region to be seen as a whole and not divided by north-south distinctions. A concerted response must be established and solidarity maintained in dealing with issues regarding security. Multilateral agreements and initiatives, synergy and joint ownership have to be exercised. The initiative and decision-making process, however, cannot belong solely to the north, and southern partners needed to express their views as well. Only a strong partnership based on solidarity and trust would be able to deal with the most pressing challenges and threats of the Mediterranean, such as religious misunderstandings, illegal immigration, organised crime, terrorist activities and lack of resources. With new challenges emerging every day, the minister remarked that the Euro-Mediterranean community of states needs to put more effort into defining and dealing with them efficiently.

Arguing that insecurity was defined as the globalisation of threats, with the attendant variations and the emergence of new non-state actors, the minister suggested that the Mediterranean area was strongly dependent on the stability of other neighbouring African regions — such as the Sahel-Sahara — as well as the resolution of ongoing conflicts in the Middle East. Pointing to the ever pressing need for peace in the Israel-Palestine conflict, Mr Fassi Fihri concluded that it was crucial to revitalise the peace process in order to reach a fair solution that secures the Palestinian people’s legitimate right to an independent, sovereign and viable state with Jerusalem as its capital. Morocco is committed to a two-state solution with Israelis and Palestinians living side by side in peace and security.
1. The Evolving Mediterranean Security Environment: Regional and International Concerns

The opening panel of the conference was chaired by Dr Jonathan Eyal, Director of International Security Studies at RUSI, and considered the following questions:

What is the current state of transnational terrorism, illegal immigration and international crime across the Mediterranean, and how are these trends impacting the security of the region – both in the immediate and long term?

What new political thinking is there on addressing some of the region’s long-standing conflicts, and what should be the role of international peacekeeping in supporting those efforts?

In what ways can Europe and the Maghreb region work together in order to stem the rise of transnational terrorism, illegal immigration and international crime throughout ungoverned spaces within the Sahel strip?

Major General Jonathan Shaw, Assistant Chief of the Defence Staff for International Security Policy at the UK Ministry of Defence, described the Mediterranean as a frontier zone between the developed and under-developed worlds, where co-operation between littoral states is essential. He believes that far greater economic co-operation in the region is needed in order to combat growing threats.

Since 2007, the spread of transnational violence through the Sahel and the Sahara has been a major concern, linking Africa with the Gulf and threatening Europe. Migration also presents a difficulty, as the Mediterranean is a southern gateway to Europe for thousands of illegal immigrants. It is true that the economic downturn has made emigration to the West less attractive, but it still remains a grave problem. The third major threat is organised crime, including the criminalisation of Al-Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). AQIM represents a broad jihadist agenda and operates from the Sahel-Sahara region. Potential terrorist links have been established in European countries, causing vulnerability across the continent. The UK’s counter-terrorism policies currently focus on Pakistan, but serious threats lie in the Maghreb.

It is crucial to assess the current and future impact of threats to the economy, security and stability of the region. These include water scarcity, unfair distribution of resources, ageing populations, drugs and weapons trade, radicalisation and terrorist attacks. The EU and its Mediterranean partners need to work more closely to tackle the threats and learn how to become better at maximising scarce resources. We must learn from key partners like Morocco how to fight terrorist groups such as AQIM. Furthermore we must learn to treat the root causes of these problems, setting ourselves realistic objectives and finding sustainable solutions.

Secretary of State of the Moroccan Ministry of the Interior, Mr Saad Hassar, also stressed the co-operation needed between countries on both sides of the Mediterranean to deal with security and stability challenges.

For Morocco, security is indeed a major stake. Committed to the international fight against terrorism, the kingdom has tried to develop a broader approach to the problem, encompassing its economic dimension. Mr Hassar underlined the need for socio-economic co-operation and intelligence exchange across the Mediterranean but also highlighted the importance of regional co-operation, both in North Africa and the Sahel.

John Casson, Deputy Director of the Near East and North Africa Directorate at the Foreign
and Commonwealth Office (FCO), suggested that Britain needed to actively engage with the Mediterranean region because of its strategic geographical location and importance regarding five essential security interests for the FCO: counter-terrorism, conflict prevention, countering proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and transborder crime and migration. Describing three key issues for the region – the Arab-Israeli dispute, countering AQIM and co-ordination between Maghreb states in preventing terrorist attacks – Mr Casson pressed for these topics to be considered within the wider context of human security.

Indeed human security and development is an important challenge for the region, with demographic challenges amongst the most pressing. Talking of the need to fight poverty and facilitate job creation across the region, Mr Casson also warned of the impact of desertification, scarcity of water and energy resources, as well as poor GDP growth and lack of economic diversity as likely to have distorting effects on politics and governments.

Pointing to a deficit of public participation in the Maghreb as potentially thwarting political development, John Casson suggested that the rule of law and respect for human rights become a top priority. Encouraging the EU to take a cross-regional approach and look beyond the Mediterranean region into Africa, he warned of the false choice between security and human development for the people in the region and encouraged the issue to be transcended.

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Transborder Security Issues

Major General Jonathan Shaw, UK Ministry of Defence

In the past, academics argued that during the Cold War the Mediterranean was viewed by Western states as NATO’s ‘southern flank’ – as a strategic dividing line between East and West, and a potential battleground between the fleets of the two opposing blocs. Despite the end of bipolarity, the Mediterranean appears to remain a strategic dividing line – no longer between east and west, but rather between north and south. It acts more as a line of separation between the highly industrialised, prosperous and stable countries of the north, and those of the south traditionally more vulnerable to poverty, demographic imbalances and various domestic and regional tensions.

Whatever one believes of the past, the region will continue to be strategically important in the future, especially in terms of trade, migration and energy security. Today it again faces significant security challenges, this time in the form of transnational terrorism, illegal immigration and international crime. These must be considered shared problems that demand a shared response from NATO, Morocco and across the region.

Transnational Terrorism

From a UK perspective, the terrorist threat in the Mediterranean region is widespread, varied and shared. We have much to learn from Morocco and other key partners in understanding its nature. In terms of identifying the main terrorist actor, we might all agree that Al-Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is most prevalent. It has expanded from its original Algerian base into the Sahel, taking advantage of the ungoverned spaces of Mali, Mauritania and Niger. If AQIM is not countered it may expand still further into North and West Africa.

Since its official incorporation into the Al-Qa’ida franchise in 2007, the group has acted to promote instability by engaging in bombing campaigns in Algeria and Mauritania, and kidnappings in the
Sahel. These actions have been accompanied by aggressive statements from its leadership, designed to achieve further global notoriety. It is suspected that it may try to take on a broader global jihadi agenda, either by sending home-grown operatives abroad or recruiting foreign-based extremists. The large presence of North African diaspora across Europe – particularly in the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, France and Italy – provides potential links to AQIM and therefore an obvious vulnerability. Morocco has been instrumental in drawing attention to AQIM’s current increase in kidnapping and hostage-taking, tactics it is believed are principally aimed at income generation. The UK’s stance on ransom payment is robust and the UK government tries to encourage others to adopt a similar approach, without which terrorist organisations worldwide will continue to secure such funding.

The UK’s counter-terrorist efforts remain largely focused on Pakistan (due to the nature of the potential threat and our inextricable links to that country), the Arabian Peninsula, East Africa and the Horn of Africa. However, the UK is very conscious that if emerging threats from AQIM in the Euro-Mediterranean region are not addressed by all major stakeholders, they will grow. A credible AQIM threat to the UK or European partners could emerge relatively quickly were the organisation allowed to prosper. Stretched as counter-terrorism efforts are, the UK must still contribute what it can. It must identify where it can add most value to shared regional efforts, de-conflict with European and other key partners such as Morocco, and ensure that all interested states contribute together as effectively as possible to contain and disrupt AQIM.

Legal and Illegal Migration
In terms of legal and illegal migration, the Mediterranean has traditionally been an economic and cultural crossroads. From the east it serves as a transit region for migrants travelling from the Middle East and Asia into Europe, while from the south it is a gateway to Europe for migrants from North and sub-Saharan Africa. According to the European border security agency, migration dropped 16 per cent in 2009, as a result of the international economic crisis which reduced the number of jobs on offer in Europe and thus made immigration less attractive. Despite this, eastern Mediterranean countries continue to receive and produce more refugees than any other region in the world. The large-scale migration of people, which is frequently facilitated by criminal trafficking networks, could also aid terrorist groups such as AQIM who aspire to conduct operations abroad. These challenges must be tackled through a regional and European-led approach.

International Crime
Estimated at between 2 and 25 per cent of the world’s gross domestic product (GDP), organised international crime represents a significant portion of world trade today. The Mediterranean is certainly not immune to it, and the future is bleak: worldwide, predictions are for an increase in volume, reach and profitability. This will present a major challenge to future governance, legal arrangements and international financial regulation. Following an international crackdown on Islamist terrorism’s original sources of funding, groups such as AQIM appear to be turning to international crime to provide their cash flow. If this is the case, it is a new and worrying development. Trade in illegal drugs and fundraising activities such as kidnapping for ransom used to offend the strict Qur’anic principles of such groups in the past. Now such methods are clearly considered legitimate by some groups. Closer links between international organised crime and transnational terrorist groups are likely to continue to grow. The more the international community succeeds in disrupting sources of terrorist financing, the greater impact combined security initiatives have on the operational activities of such groups.

Impacts on Regional Security
The impact of transnational terrorism, illegal immigration and international crime has considerable potential to undermine trade and investment, trust and confidence of the international community, national welfare systems, cultural or national identities and even domestic peace and stability. The challenges we
face in security terms now will only become more urgent. We have yet to grasp the potential regional impact of the demand for scarce resources (especially water), climate change, desertification, ageing populations in Europe and increasingly young populations in Africa.

The UK shares the concern that terrorist organisations across the globe may now be linking themselves to organised criminals and working closely together to bolster their capabilities. We may see increasing collaboration between these groups in order to facilitate weapons and drugs movement, and possibly violent attacks. It has also been suggested that there may be a surge in illegal drugs in the West as a result of these groups’ fundraising activities. In terms of hostage-taking and kidnapping, the UK would like to see a more robust international and regional stance to stop this from becoming a successful and lucrative modus operandi. Allegedly, in 2010 AQIM released a statement in support of the Nigerian Taliban following inter-religious fighting in Jos. Developments in relations between these two groups should be monitored closely by Europe and the Maghreb in partnership.

Both legal and illegal migration place a significant welfare and policing burden on the southern European states, but do so to an even greater extent on states being used as transit points such as Libya and – to a lesser extent – Morocco. Tighter EU immigration rules and policing of the Mediterranean could paradoxically increase this burden for North African states, which risks exacerbating existing socio-economic problems such as high unemployment, unequal distribution of wealth and burgeoning populations. Such trends fuel radicalisation, and could very well pose a long-term threat to stability.

Europe-Maghreb Co-operation
A key question is how Europe and the Maghreb region can work together to stem the rise of transnational terrorism, illegal immigration and international crime throughout ungoverned spaces within the Sahel strip.

The UN Secretary-General recently said that co-operation between governments has lagged behind co-operation between organised crime networks. He is correct. This is a shared problem and there must be a shared solution. To counter the security challenges of the Mediterranean region and beyond, we need to work more closely to develop effective partnerships between Europeans and the nations of the Maghreb and the Sahel. In pure security terms, we need to get better at using the scarce resources that nations have to offer. We need a deeper and more common understanding of specific countries and regional dynamics; and we must learn from our key international partners, like Morocco, who will enhance our perspective and knowledge through their expertise. In the Sahel we will need to work as partners to contain AQIM’s activities, deny ungoverned space to both terrorist and criminal organisations, and encourage regional governments to take a firm stance and lead on this issue. Part of the answer is to diminish the attractiveness of crime, illegal immigration and smuggling, but ultimately we must treat the root causes of instability, rather than just addressing the symptoms.

The Peacekeeping Contribution
It is also essential to make some brief observations on the future role of international peacekeeping in long-standing conflict resolution. Firstly, the UK’s experience has been that the most effective way to manage long-standing conflicts is through attention to the people of the country in which we are involved. The international community should not attempt to change the culture of a given nation; it must instead set objectives that are realistic and coherent within the extant culture. Above all, the international community must understand that the only enduring options are the ones that can be sustained within the framework of the local culture.

Secondly, the demand for peacekeepers is not likely to diminish. But the cost of retaining technologically advanced military forces during a global economic downturn will undoubtedly impact on nations’ ability to send troops for international peacekeeping operations. The UK is certainly no exception to this. However, this may compel NATO to examine the role of its militaries more closely in terms of what
they can contribute to conflict prevention in the first place – in other words, influence, access and training, or what is often called ‘soft power’.

Finally, in relation to the Sahara question, a just, lasting and mutually acceptable political solution to the dispute would promote far greater economic co-operation in the region. It would enable the development of a more effective regional co-ordination of efforts to combat terrorism, illegal immigration, smuggling and drug trafficking.

In conclusion, the Mediterranean will retain its strategic importance in the future, especially in terms of trade, migration and energy security. Transnational terrorism, illegal immigration and international crime all represent current, ongoing and serious threats to the region’s security. The UK is interested in developing more effective partnerships and working more closely with key regional friends, such as Morocco, to tackle these challenges. A first step will be to keep a watchful eye on AQIM and their relations with criminal organisations in the region, and to help the countries of the Sahel deny these groups continued freedom of movement in their ungoverned desert regions. Ultimately these are shared problems which necessitate co-operative and shared solutions.

Assessing Morocco’s Security Landscape
His Excellency Saad Hassar, Secretary of State, Moroccan Ministry of the Interior

It is an opportune time to discuss Euro-Mediterranean security, as Morocco and the European Union are redrawing and strengthening the contours of their partnership.

I would like to quote His Majesty King Mohammed VI who, in His message to the first EU-Morocco Summit held in Granada on 7 March 2010, gave a strategic vision for the co-operation in this region of the world:

The Kingdom of Morocco’s ambition to contribute to making the Mediterranean a viable, homogeneous space is second only to the urgent need it perceives to launch a truly strategic partnership between Africa and Europe, based on mutual interests, shared challenges and the need to build a common future.

The increasingly interlinked geopolitical and security interests of our two continents, coupled with their intense economic, human and cultural relations, call for an innovative partnership that takes into consideration the geopolitical specificities of each one of the African continent’s sub-regions.

More specifically, the security, political, human and economic agenda of the Sahel and Sahara region and of the Atlantic require common, concerted, solidarity-based approaches.

Moreover, for the Kingdom of Morocco, security and stability in the Euro-Mediterranean region represent a major stake.

Morocco is in fact being targeted by terrorist groups, on the one hand because of its firm commitment to the international fight against all forms of extremism and terrorism, and on the other hand because of the nation’s choice in favour of democracy and openness.

Morocco indeed evolves within a region grappling with major threats to its stability, most notably from within the Sahel-Sahara region, which for several years now has seen the emergence of new problems of illegal migration, organised crime and terrorism.

Comprehensively Meeting the Challenge
Beyond taking a strictly operational response to such threats, the Kingdom of Morocco has opted for a broader security strategy, whereby security and development are brought under a comprehensive policy.

In this sense, the National Human Development Initiative (Initiative Nationale de Développement Humain) implemented by Morocco constitutes an essential preventative mechanism in the fight...
against all forms of economic and social insecurity, with the objective of reducing vulnerabilities within those segments of the population that could otherwise constitute potential recruiting grounds for terrorists.

Similarly, in terms of local administration and democratic governance, priority is regularly being given to the socio-economic dimension, with community-led policies putting most emphasis on those efforts generating economic growth and employment.

The approach through which security was processed through sustainable development is strengthened by a dynamic of social, political and economic reforms, which immunizes the Moroccan society. It does so mainly through the consolidation of the rule of law, the strengthening fundamental freedoms and the democratic space, the protection of individual and collective freedoms, the strengthening of judicial independence, the revitalization of civil society, the restructuring of the religious field and territorial governance.

Of course, operational aspects of any security strategy are just as important. Thus, on an internal basis, priority is given to community-based intelligence collection, inter-services co-ordination, the disruption of money laundering and financing of terrorism, surveillance and protection of key strategic facilities, counter-radicalisation measures, as well as the prevention of cyber-crime.

Modernising the security services and police forces represents a key priority in this process, with emphasis placed on providing better equipment and technology, adapting police and intelligence training to evolving forms of criminal activity, as well as promoting fundamental principles of the rule of law within their training course. Budgets associated with the management of the security services have also been doubled and particular attention has been given to the co-ordination of inter-service operations in the field.

**Effectiveness within the Regional Environment**

Yet no national security strategy, irrespective of its own merits, can operate in isolation from the regional environment it operates in.

Such a regional strategy, to which Morocco adheres fully, has led our country to undertake and deploy a series of measures lending our efforts to those of our partners in the Sahel region, as well as fight criminal and terrorist networks which operate there.

Demonstrating regional solidarity, the Kingdom of Morocco’s efforts have also helped stem the flow of illegal migration towards Europe by 91 per cent, as well as dismantle more than 2,500 human trafficking networks, thus making our country the principal rampart against illegal migratory flows coming from sub-Saharan Africa towards Europe.

Another regional dimension is of course that of countering the scourge of drug smuggling, with our strategy in this sector having already had an impact on all segments of the drugs trade in terms of the offer, demand and trafficking: cannabis culture is down by 60 per cent, the seizure of cannabis resin up by 62 per cent, and more than 1,460 people have been arrested for international drugs trafficking offences.

Our hard work has been welcomed by international bodies such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, the International Narcotics Control Board, as well as in a report from the US State Department. Yet our efforts must still improve. International drugs smugglers are indeed most efficient in terms of adapting themselves to changing circumstances, and whilst cannabis trafficking is today severely constrained, criminals have increased other illegal trades, most especially cocaine coming in via West Africa, or the trafficking of cigarettes, today led by criminal networks with more and more sophisticated weaponry.

Confronting such challenges, and shaping our efforts to contain the growing threats affecting the region, requires us to adopt more multilateral and concerted strategies in terms of sharing
intelligence, establishing liaison officers within our respective organisations, and providing technical assistance to those states whose borders are most vulnerable to exploitation by criminal networks. Such a strategy cannot of course be undertaken without the voluntary and sincere involvement of all regional actors, thus explicitly rejecting any form of exclusion in the resolution of common threats.

Morocco argues therefore for a collective regional strategy. Only this collective approach will succeed in containing regional threats. The growing trend we have witnessed in which various types of criminal activities (such as racketeering, prostitution, or human trafficking) begin to take on a hybrid form known as ‘gang-terrorism’ – where terrorism and criminality merge for political and financial gain – is only set to reinforce this need for transborder co-operation.

Moreover, the regional on-the-field co-operation against terrorist and criminal networks should not become the object of political calculation. As such, regional initiatives, such as the meeting on the Sahel situation recently organised by Algeria, are deemed to fail in the absence of credible and vital regional partners such as Morocco.

The Sahel-Sahara Region
The most substantial threat within the region is AQIM, which has now become an umbrella organisation for large numbers of criminal and separatist mercenaries within the Sahel-Sahara region.

The ungoverned space in the Sahel-Sahara is rapidly turning into a hot spot and a platform for illicit trafficking and transborder crime of all kinds, and today represents the greatest threat to stability – not only for the region, but equally for the rest of the democratic world.

The security vacuum that persists in the region is further exacerbated by separatist movements such as the Polisario front, of which several members have been implicated in the abduction of Western tourists as well as other transborder crimes.

Conscious of the high cost of a ‘non-Maghreb’, the Kingdom of Morocco has therefore presented an audacious autonomy project for its southern provinces.

Beyond the Sahel-Sahara strip, one should also be mindful of the strategic importance of the Strait of Gibraltar and the potential disruption to international commerce that any form of criminality or terrorism could pose in that area.

Looking further than purely security-oriented strategies, one must finally be prepared to explore ambitious proposals which will allow, in time, for the creation of an effective form of ‘regional security governance’. Only structural and definitive solutions to the Mediterranean region’s many challenges will allow for the establishment of a prosperous and peaceful future.
2. Mediterranean Security Arrangements: Complementary or Competition?

Chaired by Professor George Joffé, Visiting Professor at King’s College London and Cambridge University, the second session examined the main achievements and contributions of the various co-existing security arrangements in the Mediterranean. Considering specifically the co-existence and potential overlap of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue and EU 5+5 Initiative, the panel was invited to comment as to whether these were complementary or competing frameworks.

Looking in turn to the aims and objectives of the fledgling Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), speakers were encouraged to identify its potential contribution towards Mediterranean security, albeit acknowledging its mainly political, economic and societal rationale.

Finally, speakers were invited to consider what the most appropriate political environment would be in terms of bringing Europe and the Maghreb closer together, in order to best address the future security challenges of the region.

In answering these questions, His Excellency Youssef Amrani, Secretary General of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, gave a Moroccan perspective, citing social and economic disparities across the region as aggravating factors in security maintenance. An appropriate response would be based, he said, on a mix of governmental and intergovernmental actions designed to address the root causes of the threat, in which he described the economic dimension as crucial.

Benefiting from ‘advanced status’ in its relationship with the EU, Morocco has been an enthusiastic actor in the promotion of initiatives. The NATO-Mediterranean Dialogue was originally introduced to fight terrorism. Morocco’s efforts in this include: strengthening political dialogues with NATO, co-ordinating various security agendas, trying to include the south in the decision-making process, developing a sense of mutual respect and non-discrimination and finally adopting a regional approach to security initiatives. While promoting the Mediterranean region as central to NATO’s agenda, Amrani argued for the inclusion of the Sahel zone.

Another key initiative for Morocco is the UfM. This provides a forum for the kingdom to seek stronger co-operation with the EU on issues such as migration, solar energy and security. Similarly, the 5+5 Initiative is essential for developing equality between Mediterranean partners.

Over the last ten years, Morocco has been working to implement reforms, but there are some factors that need to be supported by the West as well. Mr Amrani remarked finally that southern Mediterranean Arab countries should be treated as equal partners and not excluded from the real decision-making process.

Mohammed El-Katiri, Research Fellow at the Defence Academy of the UK, spoke of the overlapping security structures and fragmentation in southern Mediterranean countries. He commended the NATO-Mediterranean Dialogue and the 5+5 Initiative as good platforms for the exchange of ideas. While the whole region faces common security problems, it is crucial to bring countries together, build trust and establish personal relationships.

A phenomenon mentioned by other speakers, Mr El-Katiri noted the lack of a shared vision across the region and difficulty in building consensus. The establishment of a multilateral forum is essential, and the Euro-Mediterranean zone needs to develop its own intergovernmental structure.

Mr El-Katiri evaluated the various instruments for co-operation, and suggested that they in fact comprised a series of overlapping dialogues involving the same players each time and a similar discourse. The diversity of actors reflects the structural nature of the EU and the fragmentation of the South Mediterranean. Southern European states tended to emphasise their own national areas of interest, thus cutting across common
European initiatives, such as European Security and Defence Policy or the NATO Dialogue. El-Katiri considered the key initiatives to be NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue and the 5+5 forum, through which common threats could be established and delineated. Nevertheless, effective decision-making for Euro-Mediterranean security requires permanent intergovernmental structures.

According to Alexander Zafiriou, from the Mediterranean/Middle East Task Force within the EU Council Secretariat, security cannot be isolated from the wide spectrum of social and economic challenges in the Mediterranean region. Developed out of a habit of regular intergovernmental consultations, the Barcelona Process introduced a visionary element of an EU common foreign and security policy. However, since 9/11 security challenges have been developing more quickly than expected, with the spread of cultural misunderstandings and harmful stereotypes. Over the last two decades, the EU has been searching for the right solutions by developing a strategic partnership with the Middle East, working on a stabilisation process in the Balkans, and embarking on a pre-accession debate with Turkey.

Mr Zafiriou recognised the importance of non-state actors and emphasised the role of regional co-operation and the inclusion of extra-regional partners in the discussions.

The implementation of the Lisbon Treaty is a historic moment for the EU, as it encourages members to participate more actively in developing a shared foreign policy. In light of this objective, the establishment of the positions of President of the European Council and the High Representative for Foreign Affairs is an important step towards exercising a shared vision. The European Union is an ideal to which the Mediterranean can aspire.

Mr Zafiriou went on to describe UfM as an attempt to create a permanent structure built on the foundations laid by the security dimension of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) – itself an early consequence of the ambitions of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. However, although the EMP had successfully emphasised the collective nature of security in the Mediterranean, 9/11 led to the securitisation of EU policy. The UfM was an attempt to counteract this by giving a strategic dimension to the European Neighbourhood Policy. Sub-regional co-operation is now essential because the security community is so complex, comprising thirty-seven member countries and forty-three states.

Alexandre Knipperts, Director of the Maghreb Project from the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung für die Freiheit, acknowledged that many of the security and socio-economic problems in the region have an impact on Germany, which has significant economic ties to the Mediterranean. While there are no direct security challenges, terrorism and trafficking have the capacity to influence stability in northern European countries. There is not enough co-operation between governments, and there remains a genuine need for a broader concept of security. Echoing many other speakers, Knipperts called for a multilateral approach. The EU should engage more with civil society actors and establish many more complex human relationships based on trust and open communication channels. Multilateral agreements will only work if used in concert with human contact and dialogue with civil societies.

Knipperts concluded the session with some remarks on Germany’s multilateral view of Mediterranean security. Germany is particularly concerned with terrorism and trafficking, alongside its interests in trade and energy. Although these interests would mainly be articulated through intergovernmental contacts, there is also an acute awareness of the importance of non-governmental and civil society interaction. He noted that Germany has always encouraged initiatives by charitable foundations to engage with local actors.
Making Sense of Europe’s Security Relations in the Mediterranean

Alastair Cameron, RUSI

More than ten years down the road of current Euro-Mediterranean relations, Europe’s relationship with its southern neighbouring region has become an increasingly crowded affair. Yet Europe’s security relationships with the south are far less developed than could have been hoped for, despite both the EU and NATO having wooed Mediterranean countries into ever greater dialogues or partnerships. Although responsibility rests on both sides, Europeans would today do well to combine their efforts by rationalising EU-NATO co-operation within the Mediterranean security arena. Process and protocols inherent to the EU and NATO initiatives address only narrowly defined institutional needs: by taking a more consistent approach towards security outcomes, this next step should significantly enhance Euro-Mediterranean security co-operation across the region.

Strategic Importance of the Region
Whether for its sea lanes or wider political stability, security in the Mediterranean has always been of great strategic importance to the whole of Europe. At the junction of several major sea trading routes, the Mediterranean concentrates various countries along the coastline, all sharing a common, and at times violent, history. An imperial hub through the ages, many times reshaping the social fabric and political history of the European continent, the Mediterranean has long been connected to Europe’s own sense of identity. During the twentieth century, Europe’s former colonial enclaves – now independent countries of the southern Mediterranean – were crucial as one of the last staging grounds for continued operations against Hitler’s Germany during the Second World War, at a time when the rest of continental Europe had been all but lost.

The Mediterranean basin remains as crucial today, as demonstrated by the deployment of numerous maritime forces patrolling the region. The most prominent of these is Operation Active Endeavour, launched by NATO on 12 September 2001 in order to step up counter-terrorism measures in the region. The mission has successfully progressed ever since, and aims to identify every ship at sea, escort vessels and exercise surveillance over them in order to counter any suspect behaviour. NATO’s two standing naval forces (NATO Standing Maritime Groups 1 and 2) support each other on a three-month rotating basis, while NATO’s Maritime Component Commander Naples co-ordinates all the intelligence gathered.

In terms of border security, since 2005 the EU has conducted a string of maritime surveillance operations of its own under the aegis of Frontex. Principally dealing with illegal immigration, these multiple surveillance missions have split the Mediterranean Sea into different areas of operation and rely on member states’ contributions to patrol and enforce the EU’s coastlines.

A Mix of Co-existing Security Frameworks

NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue
The Mediterranean was viewed throughout the Cold War as the NATO Alliance’s ‘southern flank’ and in this manner perceived as a vital defensive area. The region has assumed an entirely new dimension during the 1990s as part of NATO’s drive to build partnerships in response to a new strategic environment. Along with its Partnership for Peace programme, Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the later Istanbul Co-operation Initiative, the Mediterranean Dialogue stems from the organisation’s desire to generate trust amongst contact countries, as well as to build effective working relationships with new strategic partners.

Initiated in 1994, the Dialogue comprises seven countries of the Mediterranean region (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia) plus NATO, and aims to contribute to regional security and stability through better mutual understanding. The Dialogue’s success is mitigated in view of the number of years and confidence building measures it has taken to build sufficient trust between the members before achieving any positive outcomes. On a political level for instance, the Dialogue has had little to show during its first ten years other than friendly consultations, with the first meetings of foreign ministers or chiefs of defence
staff not occurring until 2004 – and not until 2006 in the case of defence ministers. Practical co-operation has however been broadly more effective, with NATO and partner Mediterranean countries identifying a number of practical areas of collaboration, such as military training and education activities, border security, airspace management and civil emergency planning.

**Euro-Mediterranean Partnership**

As part of a much wider framework known as the Barcelona Process, the EU’s co-operation scheme in the Mediterranean extends to economic, financial and social areas, with such objectives as the establishment of a free trade area and greater cultural exchanges amongst Mediterranean populations. The policy and security dimension of the Barcelona Process, although enshrined in the Barcelona Declaration in 1995, has suffered during its early years from repeated political setbacks, and has by and large had to wait for the progression of the EU’s own fledging European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP).

The initiative, known as the ‘Euro-Mediterranean Charter for Peace and Stability’, envisaged institutionalising mechanisms for greater stability in the region, potentially paving the way for a collective security system. It was dropped from the Partnership’s co-operation agenda in 2000, and best symbolises some of the shortfalls faced in the early days by the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership within the security dimension.

**5+5 Initiative**

Launched in December 2004, albeit a decade after the start of the Barcelona Process, the 5+5 Initiative has demonstrated that a sub-regional approach, involving less ambitious aims and a greater sense of partnership between northern and southern Mediterranean countries, offers improved chances for success in the security field. Set up as an informal defence initiative based on tangible co-operation among participating countries, the 5+5 format brings together five countries of the greater Maghreb (Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia) with five individual member states of the European Union (France, Italy, Malta, Portugal and Spain).

Now in its sixth year of operation, the 2010 Action Plan builds on previous years’ practical achievements in the field of civil/military relations, maritime and air surveillance, the development of civilian response mechanisms and environmental security.

**Towards an Ever Closer Union?**

Speaking in Tangiers in October 2007, French President Nicolas Sarkozy outlined the format of his project for a Mediterranean Union, calling upon all Mediterranean governments and heads of state to support this ambitious endeavour.

Whilst his proposal attracted some degree of criticism on the basis that there had been little to no consultation prior to his speech, initial confusion amongst European and North African partners as to how this would fit in with pre-existing mechanisms has since been overcome (in theory) by designating the renamed UfM as a successor to the Barcelona Process. Jointly presided over by France and Egypt for the first two years, it has yet however to secure an operational budget, let alone define its legal status. Very few practical steps having been taken beyond the appointment of Jordanian diplomat Ahmad Masa’deh as its first secretary general.

Notwithstanding its current bottlenecks, President Sarkozy’s envisaged union should constitute a positive framework for Euro-Mediterranean co-operation based on sustainable development, energy and transport policy – modern day projects equivalent to the European Economic Community’s Coal and Steel Community of the early 1950s.

Although not strictly envisaged as a security framework, the UfM clearly intends peace and security within the region as its overlying ambition. Much like the EU, it has been born out of a political ideal based on the prevention of any future conflict.

**Conclusion**

Marked by international terrorism, organised crime, and human and drug trafficking, regional insecurity can be held to blame for much of the relative lack of progress in developing a common security framework in the Mediterranean. In turn, these problems have been further fuelled by the
EURO-MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY

persistence of a number of ongoing conflicts and unresolved tensions in the region such as the Israel-Palestine conflict, Greek-Turkish relations over Cyprus, Arab-Israeli tensions by way of Syria and Lebanon, and even the conflict in Western Sahara.

Such widely recognised and intractable challenges partly explain the time it has taken to generate sufficient trust in the security sector, whether this is within the context of the Mediterranean Dialogue or the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. However, this also conceals one of the most important issues facing Euro-Atlantic relations in the southern region: it is an association between widely different political actors, ranging from constitutional monarchies to autocratic regimes with widely different perceptions of good governance – where the ultimate security objective of some is simply to hold on to the exercise of power.

Notwithstanding the eventual outcome of the Mediterranean Union, regional difficulties and political lethargy have generally meant that bilateral schemes – as well as a small-scale practical approach to security co-operation – have produced the best results. In this respect, NATO’s Mediterranean Dialogue and the EU’s 5+5 Initiative have been developing largely parallel security arrangements since 2004, dealing with the common areas of maritime surveillance, airspace management, civilian crisis response mechanisms and border security.

In countries where EU and NATO initiatives overlap, much better co-ordination of these activities must now become the aim in order to reduce duplication and produce more tangible results. The solution to EU-NATO duplication is not to be found in the Mediterranean region, however, but back in Brussels and in the capitals of certain key member states. This unfortunately remains an elusive prospect.

NOTES

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1 Frontex is the European Agency for the Management of Operational Co-operation at the External Borders of the member states of the European Union. It was set up in October 2004 and is based in Warsaw. Immigration surveillance missions include Minerva, Hermes, Nautilus and Poseidon.

Current Security Arrangements in the Mediterranean

Mohammed El-Katiri, UK Defence Academy

Maintaining security in the Mediterranean region has always been an issue of pivotal importance for the littoral countries. However, it was only in the late 1980s that serious discussion of co-ordinated, multilateral policies began. Recent years have witnessed the proliferation of several different forums and initiatives, with Mediterranean security as a central point in each. The most important are the 5+5 Initiative, the Mediterranean Forum, UfM and the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue.

The multitude of security forums has been attributed to at least five factors. First and foremost, the diversity of interested parties plays a key role, as do their varying objectives and respective preferences for bilateral or multilateral dialogue. In addition, some of the actors involved are not necessarily geographically linked to the region, such as the US.

A second important factor is the evolving process of European integration. EU-related initiatives have been a reflection of the current security arrangements in the northern rim.

Third, Mediterranean security initiatives have catered for a myriad of different external relations
and interests of European countries, where engaging NATO and EU common security and defence policy is seen as vital for security.

A fourth element leading to the multitude of security forums is the fact that certain European countries see the Mediterranean region and its southern neighbours as historical areas of influence. For instance, Spain sees Mediterranean affairs as a fundamental part of its foreign policy, which has led to the development of a sense of ownership over initiatives and leadership in the region. The debate preceding the launch of the UfM is a product of such foreign policy aims by southern European countries.

A fifth factor is the state of fragmentation traditionally characterising the southern Mediterranean countries. Political and socio-economic realities – including forms of government and foreign policy objectives – vary greatly. A lack of healthy relations is an obstacle to any effective multilateral co-operation.

Aims and Achievements
The majority of Mediterranean dialogue initiatives have been motivated by a desire to enhance security. Prompting these desires has been a feeling of threats emanating from the southern countries. North Africa is seen as a volatile region and a potential source of instability caused by migratory pressures and religious extremism.

The achievements of many of these forums are difficult to quantify, not least because of the broad formulation of their goals. However, two initiatives are distinguishable from the rest by the practical dynamism they have brought to security co-operation.

5+5 Initiative
Though an initiative amongst a limited number of partners, the sub-regional forum of the 5+5 Western Mediterranean Initiative has had some very practical achievements. Since its launch in December 2004, several joint events have been organised. In October 2008, eight member parties attended the El-Med naval operation, and the Maritime security exercise (Seaborder 09) was a success in 2009. In the same year, a 5+5 Defence College was launched, which brings together high-ranking officers from member countries each year for a tailored course. The aim is to create a place for an active exchange of ideas and perceptions on security and defence issues. Through its flexibility in allowing multiple discussion forums, the 5+5 Initiative has fostered the exchange of ideas and views among the Euro-Mediterranean partners, who seem ready to engage in facing common security challenges.

NATO Mediterranean Dialogue
The second initiative is the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue which distinguishes itself by a pragmatic approach to dealing with the heterogeneous Middle East and North Africa region. Its ability to create both a multilateral forum for security as well as opening the door to bilateral dialogue is already a major achievement and promises to be the best approach for any future relations between Europe and the southern Mediterranean. Divergent goals and policies mean that intra-Maghreb dialogue requires multiple channels.

However, some very encouraging first results cannot conceal that a great deal more needs to be done to enhance the Dialogue. Despite the fact that all countries reiterate the importance of security in the region, there appears to remain a lack of shared vision about the nature of the risk and the threats to stability. The lack of consensus also holds true regarding the best solutions. Securitisation of the immigration issue is an example of diverging perspectives. As long as this is the case, the real achievements of these initiatives will remain limited.

A Qualitative Change of Approach
With a constantly changing security environment and an increasing number of internal and external threats, the Euro-Mediterranean partners are urged to strengthen their co-operation on the basis of a partnership of equals. An effective framework for this is more urgently required than ever before.

There are many internal and external incentives driving a change in the approach to co-operation. The change of politico-economic realities in the
southern Mediterranean has had a tangible impact. Another important geo-political factor that should bring countries together is the rise of Asian powers. What Kishore Mahbubani calls the ‘Asian Century’ will bring major challenges to the global political and economic order. Over the last few years, the world has witnessed a shift towards a multipolar international political system. Countries such as China, India and Russia are aspiring to be major players in world politics through their impact on both regional issues and strategic regions around the world. Competitive pressures from globalisation and inter-regional integration also require responses from the Mediterranean.

The centrality of regional security co-operation is beyond doubt. The argument that stability is a pre-condition for prosperity has been reiterated by many academics and policy-makers locally. There is also almost the same level of consensus regarding the factors that threaten stability. Now is a more critical time than ever for Euro-Mediterranean policy-makers to stop lamenting the existence of instability and to take effective steps to foster relations. Current defence budget cuts in many European countries should be an incentive for advanced co-operation.

The creation of a permanent body that brings members together on an egalitarian basis will foster trust-building efforts. The proposed structure would allow all members to engage in dialogue and to make decisions together. This approach would end the tradition of security dialogue and co-operation through the existing structures based in the northern rim, which excludes southern countries from the decision process. Institutionalised co-operation that allows all member countries to make decisions would create a feeling of responsibility and transparency. It would also decrease fears of a hidden agenda, particularly across North Africa. This permanent body would replace parallel monologues with genuine dialogue.

The call for the establishment of a permanent security structure is not a new idea. In 1990, the Spanish government asserted the need to form an agency on security and co-operation in the Mediterranean. The same year, the Spanish and Italian ministers of foreign affairs had aimed to launch the idea during a meeting of the Conference of Security and Co-operation in Europe in 1990. The project, however, never materialised.

What shape could this permanent framework take? A multilateral structure that allows for specific bilateral arrangements is deemed to be the most pragmatic response. However, the last two decades have shown that a multilateral approach is not always the most effective. Given the state of relations in the region and lack of homogenous visions for its future, bilateral frameworks may be valuable. The most appropriate option would be a multilateral structure with conditional but open membership. This structure would need to have the capacity to advance relations with countries that are reluctant to engage in an institutionalised security dialogue. Thus, the establishment of a permanent multilateral body could make a contribution to both north-south and south-south engagement.

A permanent intergovernmental structure for dealing with security issues in the Euro-Mediterranean region is indispensable at this crucial time, and it is not impossible to achieve. Institutional developments on the European side have brought new possibilities. Europeanisation of security and defence policy has put the EU in the spotlight as an essential security partner, and policy developments in Brussels have made it a more reliable partner for Maghreb countries.

The Mediterranean region has more to offer than the vulnerabilities so often highlighted in academic and political circles. Once a partnership can be established on a truly equal basis, positive developments are easily attainable.

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The Mediterranean has been the focus of enhanced regional activism through the launch of several initiatives – the 5+5 Initiative, Barcelona Process, NATO Mediterranean Dialogue, and the OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation initiative. Yet this reconsideration of the Mediterranean has had a negative impact on regional security building, with two principal obstacles: the proliferation of initiatives and the primacy of the vertical dimension of co-operation from north to south. The two are interlinked: the proliferation of regional initiatives – which are also a result of bilateral compromise – is consolidating the structural bilateral tracks. These two factors are weakening and even excluding the perspective of a multilateral security structure in the Mediterranean. The proliferation of initiatives in the region has had several negative impacts.

The first impact is the (social and political) construction (to use the constructive assumption) of pretexts and arguments to avoid dealing with the major sources of insecurity and instability in the region. It allows promoters of the initiatives to avoid dealing with the major unresolved conflicts: paramount among these is the Israel-Palestine issue. The promoters’ argument is the same: ‘our initiatives are complementary to the others and are supportive of the peace process’. In fact, these regional initiatives are powerless and are merely witnesses to the end of the peace process.

Pièces de Rechange
The proliferation of initiatives has created a culture of pièces de rechange (spare parts): if one initiative does not work, the actors neglect it or leave it for another framework. If any problems then arise, they move on to a new one or go back to the first one. The argument used to justify or to internalise a new regional initiative is to denigrate the old or preceding one.

This culture of pièces de rechange explains the process of linkage and de-linkage between the east and the west of the Mediterranean. The geopolitical balancing between the 5+5 framework and the Barcelona Process reflects the problem of restrained and enlarged concepts of regional co-operation, a kind of dialectic of regional/sub-regional dimensions. Indeed, the launching of new initiatives makes the major and local actors less serious and less committed to regional co-operation. This is because if a problem arises, they simply abandon one initiative in favour of another.

Primacy of Bilateralism
As for the primacy of bilateralism, this is a structural trend in the north-south relations of the Mediterranean that has been largely updated and consolidated by several initiatives. All the tools of implementation (Association Agreement of the Barcelona Process, Action Plan of the European Neighbourhood Policy, and Individual Co-operation Programme of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue) are bilateral. There is no multilateral execution tool at all. Indeed, the EU and NATO have applied the same bilateral approach to candidates for membership in the two institutions, but membership was designed as a tool of ‘multilateralisation’ at the conclusion of the process. In the Mediterranean case, however, the end result is still an advanced bilateral relationship.

Thus, the proliferation of partnerships in the Mediterranean is enhancing a structural relationship designed exclusively in the bilateral domain. This dynamic has two major consequences. On the one hand it links southern countries to northern ones (updating independency in economic and political matters) more than in the past. On the other, it hinders horizontal co-operation, which becomes more and more difficult because of institutional north-south links, and the variation in these links generated by the principle of self-differentiation. Initially, this principle was designed to take into account national specificities and to permit each country to participate in regional frameworks according to its interests, preferences and rhythm. But in practice it has become a source of growing vertical and horizontal fragmentation: vertical in the sense that it makes the southern states more dependent vis-à-vis the northern
states; fragmentation because greater linkage or dependency among foreign institutions and powers means more fragmentation at the regional and sub-regional level.

**Recommendations for Change**
Seven conditions are required to readjust the trajectories of regional initiatives and promote the bilateral structure of co-operation:

Principles of labour division and added value must be the guidelines for readjustment of regional initiatives to achieve real complementarities and efficiencies, according to the competencies of each framework.

The Arab-Israeli conflict must be the core issue of several initiatives. Normalisation is not a prerequisite to peace but it is one of its consolidation tools. No real regional framework can ignore the main conflict in the region, and hence the peace process needs the real support of regional initiatives – not just allusions to the problem in the framework documents.

Security in the Mediterranean cannot be achieved if its sub-regions remain unstable. Sub-regional stabilisation is a sine qua non condition of regional stability. Local (sub-regional) dynamics have their own determinants and are evolving independently from the regional context. Two things must be clearly distinguished in dealing with security issues in the Mediterranean: the transversal issues (such as initiative proliferation and the Arab-Israeli conflict) and the sub-regional dynamics. The improvement of the perceptual security climate in the Mediterranean at the vertical level is a positive factor for the region (in fact, it is the only successful aspect of the regional initiatives) but this positive evolution does not have a spillover effect on the multiple sub-regional contexts.

The future of security in the Mediterranean is to be constructed on its southern – not northern – side, thus the south-south dimension with its different levels (Arab-Israeli, inter-Arab, Maghreb, Balkans) is the most important dimension of security building in the Mediterranean.

The major players have to act on the perceptions of the southern actors in order to redefine interests in a new and co-operative manner.

The task of synergy and co-ordination between several regional initiatives is in some ways straightforward because it involves the major actors: it is a responsibility of the EU and NATO. However, the task of the multilateralisation of regional efforts is more difficult and requires the southern countries to co-operate more amongst themselves, including tackling the prevailing problems of the region.

The regional actors have to prioritise the south-south dimension. This must be the ‘strategic workshop’ of the Mediterranean countries in general, and in particular of the promoters of regional initiatives. These promoters must play the role of ‘security regime-builder’.

**The Importance of Regional Ownership**
The most appropriate means for preventing bilateral tracks from hindering the multilateral approach are stability and security at the sub-regional levels. Sub-regionalisation of security co-operation in the Mediterranean must be developed in a manner to avoid duplication. But how can this be done? To reconcile these two requirements, regional action must be reorganised in such a way as to focus on the added value of each regional initiative – the benefits of a division of labour – and to perceive the sub-regional approaches as tracks to facilitate and consolidate the regional multilateral track. Acting on sub-regional security dynamics will improve the south-south relationship and facilitate regional security building. Indeed, geographically restricted frameworks – such as the 5+5 Initiative limited to the Western Mediterranean – can be more efficient than global frameworks because of the limited number of actors. But some security issues, such as proliferation, are transversal and must be tackled at the regional level. The combination of the two co-operation levels, regional and sub-regional, is the most appropriate way to build confidence and security in the Mediterranean.
3. Energy and Natural Resource Security: Challenges and Opportunities

With the European Union importing 54 per cent of its energy resources – a substantial portion of it from North Africa – energy is a fundamental issue in Euro-Mediterranean relations. Its potential to create dependent or dominant relationships means that any discussion on security co-operation between the continents should first recognise its centrality. Stressing the importance of the energy issue, speakers in the third session offered suggestions ranging from intra-regional bilateral agreements to the creation of an internal energy market.

Throughout the remarks, a key theme of imbalance emerged – both between north and south, and between resources and populations – which should be redressed as far as possible by enhanced regional co-operation and the promotion of commercial relationships.

Chairied by Mr Mostafa Terrab, Chairman and CEO of the OCP Group, the session addressed some of the following issues:

What are the primary concerns about energy security and supply coming from both sides of the Mediterranean? How can regional energy economics provide a way forward for political interdependence?

What is the current state of national investment in the extraction of natural resources, and to what extent does a secure environment exist for encouraging international companies to invest and operate within North Africa?

What are the expected impacts on wider regional security as a result of the further depletion of North African natural resources, particularly water resources, as well as the potential security implications of climate change?

Her Excellency Dr Amina Benkhadra, Moroccan Minister of Energy, Water and Environment, spoke of the great imbalance in resource distribution between countries and populations. The world has become interdependent, and modern times require a new model of development. The huge potential of the Mediterranean region needs to be explored and north-south exchange encouraged.

There are clear differences in development between the continents. Dr Benkhadra sees a framework of networking with the south as a way to create added value and improve conditions for those living there. Mediterranean co-operation is needed to transform the education system and improve technology. It would apply pressure for internal reform allowing Mediterranean countries to become more competitive and would provide impetus to open up markets to agricultural produce of the north. Pressure is also required to ensure efficient use of natural resources. However, any new developments in the south will need to be financed.

Dr Benkhadra pointed to Moroccan success in one of its main objectives: developments in renewable energy, particularly solar power, with the creation of the Moroccan Agency for Solar Energy (MASEN). The solar energy project, worth $9 billion, was launched in November 2009 and is expected to account, by the time of its completion in 2010, for 38 per cent of Morocco’s installed power generation. The kingdom also emphasises investment in education and research. There is a great need for co-operation between those countries with resources, and those with the technological know-how.

The minister was not alone in predicting water scarcity (and increased pollution) as a future source of major conflict in the region. She emphasised the importance of recognising water and its use as a shared responsibility. All regional actors will need to participate in creating policies to bridge the continental gap. There needs to be an exchange of expertise: Morocco has developed policies in the field of agriculture and the prevention of deforestation, but it
needs a transfer of technology and know-how from the West to succeed. In order to achieve economic and social development, conservation of the environment must be at the forefront of discussions.

**Francis Ghilès**, Senior Research Fellow at the Barcelona Centre for International Studies, saw the Mediterranean inequality division to be as political as it is developmental: international crises of any kind focus on energy arguments. Energy agreements and co-operation can generate more stability in international relations. Europe sends confusing signals to its partners: on the one hand, it wants security of supply, but on the other it appears unwilling to engage in a broader strategic dialogue with suppliers such as Algeria, only demanding that it behave fairly.

According to Ghilès, North Africa does not have a voice on the international stage. If it wants one, it must use its potential. For example, fertilisers and petrochemical products are produced locally at a very low price – these industries could encourage investment and development of other industries. The need for qualified jobs in this part of the world is very great, and there is no better way of creating qualified employment.

He asked the question: why should EU taxpayers provide aid and subsidies for North Africa? There is no shortage of local capital, and North African diasporas in Europe could get more involved. However, diasporas will only participate and provide financial assistance when there is an enforced rule of law, transparency and the introduction of arbitration. He predicted that the diaspora will participate only when there is more competence in the political systems of North Africa.

**Dr Hakim Darbouche**, Research Fellow at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, refocused on a key player in energy supply to Europe, shedding light on Algeria’s role in Mediterranean energy policies. He began by citing the changing relationship between oil and gas, as oil markets experience fluidity and gas has become more attractive as a primary source of energy.

Algeria has the most plentiful gas resources in the region. Although Europe is the third largest market, it has relatively few local resources. Furthermore, gas resources in Norway and the UK are in decline.

While there have been significant developments in southern Europe, there is much interdependence between the EU and Algeria. Southern European countries such as Spain and Portugal are particularly dependent on North African sources.

Dr Darbouche pointed out that challenges and concerns abound on both sides of the Mediterranean. Nationalisation of resources in Algeria and the increasing sophistication of state-owned energy consortium Sonatrach pose a threat to the reliant EU.

Despite great potential, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership has yielded disappointing results. A better political framework for energy co-operation is needed, incorporating enhanced bilateral co-operation.

Dr Darbouche also discussed the question of a Euro-Mediterranean energy partnership as a specific and distinct dimension of the EMP and the ENP. It applies particularly to Europe’s largest supplier Algeria, as long as Libya avoids any institutional engagement with the EU. The Algerian government has been cautious as to the benefits of this however, rejecting the idea of a partnership ever since it was proposed in 2006. It has sought instead a co-operative model and insisted that co-operation should not be biased towards the EU. One of its main objections was over the insistence on convergence of the Algerian regulatory framework with the EU, raising concerns over EU interference with national economic sovereignty of natural resources, and its potential exploitation. It can be expected that the Libyan government would react in a similar fashion if such proposals were made to it.
Disparities at the Heart of Mediterranean Security

Peace and prosperity in the Mediterranean depends on the interaction of multiple avenues of exchange and the building of solidarity. The energy sector plays a major role in this process, both as a driver of economic activity and development, and thanks to the potential it represents in terms of creating useful strategic dependencies amongst ourselves.

From an economic and energy perspective, the Euro-Mediterranean is subject to wide disparities affecting security in the region, both in general terms and regarding energy supply. Economic and social disparities across the Mediterranean are also reflected through their respective energy needs.

In 2008, the European Union represented 15.3 per cent of the world’s energy consumption, roughly 3.45 tons of oil equivalent per person/per year. The EU’s total energy dependency is around 54 per cent, which can further be broken down to represent 83.6 per cent in terms of oil, 60.8 per cent in terms of gas and 58.5 per cent in coal. This situation is however compensated by the high level of integration and modern infrastructures of the EU having facilitated the establishment of an important energy market which is today both competitive and well regulated.

The southern Mediterranean rim, by contrast, and despite the progress already achieved, has insufficient infrastructures to allow for universal access to commercial energy markets. Interconnections, with the exception of the electricity grid, are not sufficiently developed between countries, resulting in smaller, isolated markets, with little harmonisation occurring in how they are run. Less interconnected, energy consumption is therefore low with only 1Ktoe per person, representing only a third compared with the EU.

Uneven Energy Resources: A Source of Convergence

Uneven energy consumption within the Mediterranean is mirrored by an unequal distribution of resources in hydrocarbons. Mostly concentrated within the south, oil and gas reserves within the region represented five per cent of the world’s proven assets in 2008. Yet these resources are unequally split within the south, with Algeria and Libya alone representing 87 per cent of oil reserves, and if one includes Egypt, then 93 per cent of natural gas reserves are found in these three countries alone. Despite contributing up to 5.4 per cent of the world’s production of oil and gas, the region only consumes 1.5 per cent and 2.3 per cent of these respectively.

In terms of energy flows, 25 per cent of the world’s oil and gas transits via the Mediterranean Sea. The European Union, which is a net importer of hydrofuels, imports 11.4 per cent of its oil and 22.7 per cent of its natural gas needs from Algeria, Libya and Egypt, compared to 48.3 per cent from Russia and 63.7 per cent from Norway. Mediterranean

Energy Interdependence and the Building of Euro-Mediterranean Solidarity

Dr Amina Benkhadra, Minister for Energy, Water and Environment, Morocco

Speaking as Ambassador, Head of the Delegation of the European Union in the Kingdom of Morocco, Eneko Landaburu acknowledged energy security and supply as a priority on the EU agenda. With the EU importing 54 per cent of its energy, and increased consumption causing both economic and political problems, there is a definite political awareness, he said, of the dependence on energy resources and supplies from countries such as Algeria.

Mr Landaburu therefore called for wider regional co-operation and the creation of an integrated and interconnected internal energy market, pointing nonetheless to the potential difficulties in this regard posed by internal problems within the EU.
producers account for barely 15 per cent of the EU’s supplies, despite 70 per cent of oil exports and 90 per cent of gas exports from North Africa destined for Europe. This translates into a stronger concentration for producing countries, and inversely, a greater diversification in the supply routes of European states.

The meeting point of these two trends, surplus in the south and deficit in the north, is expected to change in the next ten years as a result of the growing energy demands of southern Mediterranean countries as their economic development accelerates.

In terms of consumption, the north/south imbalance, which represented 72 per cent in the north compared to 28 per cent in the south in 2005, should fall to a 60/40 per cent split in 2020. Energy consumption in the region should also increase by 40 per cent, from 1,005 Mtoe in 2006 to reach 1,360 Mtoe in 2020. The rise in consumption of natural gas is expected to be even more important, with a rise of up to 80 per cent between 2005 and 2020, coming to represent 31 per cent of total demand. The proportion this represents in terms of oil will diminish from 44 to 40 per cent of total demand, whilst demand for coal is maintained at around 12 per cent in view of coal being used within the electricity sector and owing to the development of cleaner methods of extraction.

**The Need for New Relationships**

Pressures on the management of natural resources, as well as within the financial and environmental sectors, will increase within the southern region as a result of these trends. One of the main challenges of a strengthened Euro-Mediterranean partnership is to create a new dynamic that sees southern countries as more than just prospective markets, and envisages a new logic of co-operation.

Security of energy supply, which is at the heart of the EU’s energy strategy, depends in some measure on the development and sustainability of the relative abundance of resources in southern Mediterranean countries. They need the technical know-how and capital investment of their northern neighbours in order to develop further their potential in the production of fossil fuels and renewable energies. Only this way can they meet their own growing energy demand and continue to satisfy the energy demand of the Mediterranean basin.

This meeting of interests, particularly in the energy sector, calls on all parties to develop a larger, global and integrated strategic vision for the region, on the basis of principles of co-development and equitable partnerships. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to strengthen industrial partnerships where common interests and long-term integration between northern consumers and southern producers guarantee mutual advantage.

**A New Alliance**

The Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) may well become the structure through which the interests of consumers and those of producers come to converge.

Indeed, the Barcelona Process of 1995 – consolidated and strengthened on 13 July 2008 by the Union for the Mediterranean – represents a turning point in our acknowledgement that it is necessary to build a strategic and global partnership between the European Union and countries of the wider Mediterranean area and the Middle East, so as to foster shared prosperity, mutual understanding and peace. This imposes an urgent leveling-up of the institutions, markets and overall governance within South Mediterranean countries in order to ensure a harmonious and fruitful integration of the Euro-Mediterranean space.

One simply cannot envisage long-term co-operation and equitable exchange if development is not shared across all sides. The EU should therefore engage more efforts towards the transfer of technologies towards the south and allow greater market access to southern goods, notably from the agricultural sector where the south benefits from certain competitive advantages. Conversely, southern countries must adopt adequate strategies to foster their development and in turn integrate
Energy already plays a vital role in the integration of Mediterranean economies: the Algeria-Southern Europe gas pipeline, the Transmed via Tunisia, the GME via Morocco, the Medgaz and Galsi projects all enable transit of Algerian natural gas to Europe. Similarly, the Italy-Libya GreenStream and Egyptian gas pipe projects will link the eastern and northeastern coasts of the Mediterranean. Existing or forthcoming projects of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) will further contribute to the diversification of Europe’s gas supplies. Electricity connections, which are constantly reinforced, link Spain and Algeria to Morocco, extending beyond, across the Maghreb right up to Egypt, serving the Eastern Mediterranean and Southern Europe.

The Stakes Linked to Sustainable Development
A substantial issue in the energy sector will be the development of energy efficiency and renewable energies in order to ensure sustainable development, address climate change and protect the environment.

The Mediterranean is particularly vulnerable to climate change, which constitutes a growing concern for its rapidly developing southern region. As economic and social development accelerates, energy will be indispensable. The main question is how to meet the energy needs of rapidly growing Southern Mediterranean economies, prevent global warming and yet remain sufficiently competitive in the global market.

The inevitable depletion of fossil fuels forces one to consider the issue of long-term energy supplies for both northern and southern Mediterranean partners, and the importance of accelerating the availability of alternative renewable energies destined to replace them. This implies a profound technological transformation, as well as a radical change in our consumption and production models.

One of the first changes to be made to the system is reducing our traditional reliance on fossil fuels in energy consumption. A priority must therefore be to increase energy efficiency across a variety of domains with countries in the south putting their faith in efficient energy schemes to power their investment across a variety of infrastructures, from transportation networks to urban development schemes.

The involvement of the state, alongside international and regional Euro-Mediterranean co-operation are essential in making this step change in the running of our energy infrastructures and building better efficiency within a market sector that is becoming increasingly deregulated. Energy savings in the Mediterranean region could reach up to 20, or even 30 per cent within the 2030–50 time frame.

The second priority must be to develop renewable energies such as wind power, solar energy, hydro-electricity and biofuels. Clean and renewable, and well distributed on all continents, they are inevitably destined to take over from hydrocarbons, which are exhaustible and polluting. Notwithstanding the rapid growth which new energy sources have witnessed in recent years, their proportion as part of the global energy consumption remains dramatically below that of their real potential, particularly in developing countries. To massively increase their adoption, one must attempt to accelerate their technological development and reduce up-front installation costs to increase their affordability for consumers.

The Mediterranean Solar Plan, one of the UfM’s launch projects, constitutes an important instrument to better exploit the enormous potential of the Southern Mediterranean for renewable energies, namely solar and wind-based power, which are readily available in the region. The Mediterranean Solar Plan is the axis upon which regional co-operation can be built, thus answering the energy needs of the South, and the partial transfer of the electricity produced to European countries. Exporting green electricity to Europe, made possible by Article 9 of the European Union Renewables Directive, will furthermore contribute to the EU’s 3x20 objectives in reducing CO₂ emissions and the use of renewable energies.
The building of new energy capacity from renewable sources, namely wind polar and solar, as well as the enhancement of north/south and south/south electrical networks and interconnections, will allow the Southern Mediterranean to move in step with the north on the path towards sustainable development. By developing these inexhaustible and clean resources and by improving conventional energy supplies, they should also address possible water scarcity concerns through desalination projects, as well as the more efficient management of existing water resources.

Colossal investments will be required to build all the necessary energy infrastructures, as much as there will be a need to better integrate regional and international markets, and accelerate the real transfer of technologies from industrialised countries to developing ones.

The Kingdom of Morocco's energy strategy comes as part of a national strategic priority which is fully committed to sustainable development, as demonstrated by the clean energy projects envisaged in the wind-power sector and by the ambitious solar power scheme launched by His Majesty King Mohammed VI in November 2009, which is expected to generate 2,000 MW by 2020. Similarly, a Charter for the Environment and Sustainable Development was adopted in April 2010 following a lengthy consultation process throughout the Kingdom. This Charter was solemnly adopted on 22 April during the Earth Day celebrations held in Morocco.

**Water: A Great Political Priority**

Water management in the Maghreb represents a substantial challenge and should be elevated to the level of a strategic priority alongside the energy sector. Several elements justify this: the vital role which water resources play in economic and social development, the threat of water scarcity through the effects of climate change, and the potential for conflict within the region over access to water supplies.

Mobilising the Mediterranean on the challenge this represents is imperative in order to bring about a strategic response. When one considers the impact which water can have on agriculture, industry, human habitat, tourism, health, energy and the environment, the case for a co-ordinated transnational approach becomes clear.

Any Euro-Mediterranean water security strategy must therefore include a policy regarding the management of water supplies, to be arrived at through consultation and planning, the sharing of information, establishment of private-public partnerships, involvement of local authorities in the management of water resources, an improvement in the delivery of public services linked to water, the adoption of long-term pricing mechanisms and an integrated management of water supplies.

Finally, the ambitious project relating to cleaning up the Mediterranean Sea was tagged as a priority project during the summit that launched the Union for the Mediterranean, July 2009, and had already been identified by Environment Ministers as early as the tenth Euro-Mediterranean summit in 2005, under the ‘Horizon 2020’ scheme.

**Conclusion**

It is thanks to such a global vision for the transformation of our societies that the Kingdom of Morocco, under the enlightened leadership of His Majesty the King Mohammed VI, conceives what a modern, integrated economic and social development model should be.

Conscious that our region’s integration within a Euro-Mediterranean area constitutes a historical imperative, Morocco took the initiative to found the Union for the Arab Maghreb and was one of the first to subscribe to the Union for the Mediterranean. With its advanced status with the European Union, its solar energy plan and its sustainable energy programme, the Kingdom of Morocco is well positioned to play a major role in the establishment of a Euro-Mediterranean space. Thanks to its proximity with Europe and privileged position within the Arab world and Africa, Morocco represents a hub for dialogue, convergence, tolerance and peace in the Mediterranean.
The cacophony amongst Europeans in their external energy policy suggests there has been an abdication of any pretence of a long-term vision for the Mediterranean region. Europe has developed a habit of:

articulating a discourse, issuing documents, allocating money, creating bureaucracies that seem to lead a life of their own, beneath or above which the real issues of immediate concern are discussed [such as] migration controls, restrictions on free trade and counter-terrorism and co-ordinated responses (military, intelligence, information sharing, police cooperation). What is articulated in EU documents and discourse does not necessarily reflect the challenges the region confronts.

Since the 1980s, Europe has produced plan after plan setting the terms of its relations with the Mediterranean. These attempts culminated in the Barcelona Process in 1995 and the UfM in 2007. Meanwhile, the thicker the layers of plans and statements become, the higher the fences of Fortress Europe rise. Free movement of people is at the heart of the dilemma but where the Europeans talk of improving existing mechanisms and of acknowledging what has been gained, people from southern rim countries want visas to Europe for education, training and freedom. The idea of a Mediterranean common space is carried by the elites only – a few politicians, intellectuals and the business sector in southern European countries, people whose voices are weaker too since the EU expanded to twenty-seven members.

More than ever, southwest Mediterranean countries are recipients of a policy focused on security – the one area in which their leaders could be regarded as excelling. This trend was reinforced after 9/11 as Europe adopted an agenda on transnational terrorism already well-articulated in southern rim Mediterranean countries, to be further reinforced by greater US involvement in North Africa. The Arab states now co-operate in a broader manner with the EU and NATO. This broad consensus and the deep commitments of ruling elites to collaborate have made all other objectives subordinate to the security agenda.

Europe has no energy policy worthy of the name: the strategic interests of the member states diverge. The EU is thus in no position to meet the ‘two challenges which will define the world in which it lives in the twenty-first century: security and the reconciling of energy, climate change and economic development goals.’ A wrong – or indeed absent – long-term energy policy could create new enemies for Europe and new risks for its energy supply. No doubt current energy partnerships and co-operation, whose nature is overwhelmingly commercial, will continue in the Mediterranean and some agreements on developing renewable sources of energy will be added for good measure.

It is wishful thinking to imagine that a long-term policy of building co-operation upstream and downstream can be developed in a climate where southwest Mediterranean countries are simply viewed as sources of illegal immigrants, terrorism and hydrocarbons – in other words a climate in which trust is absent. The scale of the growing imbalances in the region, the huge investment needed to guarantee safe supplies of energy in the decades ahead, and the risk of irreversible warming from the world’s overdosing on fossil fuels should ‘dwarf Europe’s more traditional preoccupations with energy market structures and stable supply’, and convince even the most laissez-faire liberal that ‘business as usual’ is not a realistic option.

Disunity among southwest Mediterranean countries might suggest to some European policy-makers that business as usual remains an option, which it does not. Crisis tends to overturn established orders, and the financial and economic crisis of 2007-10 was no exception. The rise of the G20 to prominence is an historical watershed: for the first time since the industrial revolution,
economic power is no longer concentrated in Western hands. The quicker this is learnt in Europe, the better.

**The Mediterranean Energy Profile**

The region is both a consumer and supplier of gas, oil and electricity, and its interdependence with Europe is a significant factor in current relations.

**Gas**

Proven reserves of gas in the Mediterranean region are estimated at 8 trillion cubic metres (tcm) and amount to 4.6 per cent of the world’s gas reserves. Libya, however, remains largely unexplored, and the offshore coast is either unexplored or under-explored. Three countries – Algeria, Libya and Egypt – account for 95 per cent of gas reserves in the region. Total gas marketed has doubled over the last twenty years and is forecast to double again to 360 billion cubic metres (bcm) by 2030. The three aforementioned countries account for 87 per cent of this total; meanwhile the region’s share of world gas production has increased by half to 6 per cent.

Demand has increased twofold over the last decade or so and could be doubled again to exceed 500 bcm by 2030. Northern rim countries account for 60 per cent of regional demand, a proportion that will decline to 45 per cent in twenty years’ time. The EU currently imports 62 per cent of the gas it consumes, a proportion set to rise to 84 per cent by 2030. In Spain, power generation continues to be the largest gas consuming sector. Algeria is Europe’s third most important external supplier after Russia and Norway, but could well become its second most important by 2030.

Total net gas exports from Algeria, Libya and Egypt are set to rise from over 85 bcm in 2007 to 210 bcm by 2030. Algeria will continue to account for most of the exports, followed by Egypt and Libya. Other countries in the region will rely more on imports. The export and import infrastructure from pipelines to Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) plants and terminals will continue to expand quickly, and to be based on commercial contracts, unless a major shift in EU policy encourages deeper co-operation between government and enterprise.

The Enrico Mattei pipeline that links Algeria to Italy via Tunisia (capacity soon to be 32 bcm), the Pedro Duran Farrell pipeline from Algeria to Spain and Portugal via Morocco (capacity 8 bcm), and the GreenStream from Libya to Italy (capacity 8 bcm) have never experienced any transit issues as they boast good contractual/ownership structures. But the recent completion of two pipelines – Medgaz linking Algeria to Spain directly and carrying 8 bcm of gas annually, and Galsi, which will link Algeria directly to Italy and boast a similar capacity – conversely suggests that there is a growing preference for avoiding transit.

**Oil**

The Mediterranean region holds 61.5 billion barrels (bb) of oil, which amounts to 4.6 per cent of proven world oil reserves. Though Libya is the least explored country of the hydrocarbon producers, it holds over two-thirds of proven reserves, followed by Algeria and Egypt: together they account for 94 per cent of the region’s reserves. Oil demand in the Mediterranean region alone was 432 million tonnes of oil equivalent (Mtoe) in 2005, and is forecast to reach 522 Mtoe by 2030. By this time though, the proportion of demand catered for by the northern rim will have fallen by a seventh to 60 per cent. This is because 80 per cent of the increase in demand will come from southern rim countries.

About 100 Mtoe of refining capacity is forecast to be added in the region, 40 Mtoe of which should be built by 2015. Gasoline surpluses will rise and export markets – notably the US – may not be able to absorb the surplus, creating a further challenge for producers. The sustained demand for middle distillates will increase import dependence on Russia, which might not be able to satisfy the region’s diesel needs. The EU is becoming ever more dependent on diesel imports from Russia.

**Electricity**

The regional demand for electricity is set to increase by 80 per cent between 2010 and 2030, much of it coming from southern rim countries. There, consumption will increase from 1,862 kilowatt hours (kWh) in 2005 to 3,900 kWh by 2030. By then natural gas should be the main feedstock in the south
(50 per cent), and nuclear the main source in the north. Southwestern and eastern Mediterranean countries will have to invest an estimated $450 billion in the regional electricity infrastructure: 60 per cent for new generation plants, and the rest for transmission and distribution.

Developing cross-border interconnections is key to reinforcing system reliability. Southern Mediterranean stakeholders have begun to prepare for this with legislative and regulatory changes, and measures aimed at liberalising markets to attract private investors. However, the absence of high tension connections between many of these countries limits the efficiency of the ‘electric ring’. Meanwhile demand is sensitive to price, which will have to increase to reflect the huge investments required. But regular electric connections will not be able to function correctly without common rules. Some recent blackouts in the region have had detrimental reverse effects on the European network because of a lack of co-ordination.

Renewable Energy Sources
The share of renewable sources in the primary energy supply of the Mediterranean is expected to increase to 11 per cent by 2030 for a total output of 159 Mtoe. This appears rather modest when set against the potential for the region. The Nobel Prize winner Carlo Rubbia likes to remind us that ‘it “rains” every year in the Sahara desert the equivalent of one tonne of oil per square metre’. This share has slowly trebled over three decades to 2005 when renewable sources reached 7 per cent of primary supply. Non-hydro-renewable sources have been growing at an annual average rate of 26 per cent to reach 19 gigawatts (GW), most of which is accounted for by the spectacular rise in wind power capacity. Overall such sources contributed 17 per cent of the electricity produced in the region in 2005, a proportion that is expected to rise to 26 per cent by 2030.

Hydropower remains very important, but non-hydro sources are expected to grow faster in the next two decades. Northern rim countries account for 70 per cent of hydropower overall – a proportion which will not change markedly. The recently launched UfM Solar Plan is promising: time will tell whether it fulfils its drafters’ hopes. The interest in renewable energy must be set in the context of a region that will suffer from climate change. Water stress is already much in evidence and many sectors, not least agriculture, face stiff challenges.

Nuclear Power
In the decades ahead, energy produced from nuclear sources will be critical to France and the UK, and is likely to figure prominently in Germany, Italy and Spain. It is more difficult to argue the case for developing nuclear energy in western Mediterranean countries, however, especially in North Africa. With the possible exception of Libya, the economic incentive of the nuclear power option is not necessarily clear, as no North African state has the financial profile necessary for such a capital intensive industry. In addition, the local environmental conditions also need special consideration vis-à-vis the densely inhabited coastal areas (which are crucial in terms of providing better heat dispersion conditions); and an assessment on the potential negative impact on activities such as tourism. In addition, the potential for seismic activity in Algeria and Morocco may affect investment prospects, and hence may interrupt nuclear power initiatives. Greater insistence on national control would add to the cost of development and increase proliferation fears, although they would ‘probably not be an insurmountable obstacle, but could combine with other considerations in slowing down the process’.

Despite France’s offer to equip North African countries with a nuclear power capacity, the region’s democratic credentials need to be taken into account. No North African country currently offers a sufficiently strong industrial culture with serious guarantees of safety. Most of them face pressing social and economic challenges, so it seems all the more churlish to point out that spending vast sums of money to build nuclear civil plants hardly ranks as a priority. Promoting such plans might lead to a
backlash in European public opinion, which would hardly ease a dialogue already cast essentially in terms of European security. Indeed one could argue that it risks doing precisely the reverse. Furthermore French dominance is so great that its European neighbours can be expected to react negatively unless they find a way to participate in the benefits (which may be possible).

Moreover, for those countries rich in hydrocarbons the opportunity cost of burning gas for power generation is much lower than that of burning oil. The reason is very simply that the netback from gas exports is considerably lower than the netback of oil exports because of lower prices and much higher transportation costs. Therefore a country such as Algeria whose power generation is mostly reliant on gas (90 per cent) does not experience the same incentive for a shift to nuclear as a country that relies primarily on crude and oil products.

In the longer term, however, it could be argued that Europe has a strong incentive to promote the nuclear energy option in North Africa. Put very simply, nuclear energy development in countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia and even Libya is a way to increase the availability of gas for Europe. In a context in which electricity demand is bound to grow, less gas is available for Europe and therefore the dependence on Russia increases. It is thus not unreasonable to argue that nuclear energy development in North Africa is a better option from the European point of view than nuclear energy elsewhere in the world. Including a strong nuclear energy chapter in Mediterranean co-operation could facilitate its uptake in North Africa. The Mediterranean Union has pointed in the right direction, but the EU will have to be much bolder in the form of political and economic co-operation.

The Case for Euro-Mediterranean Energy Co-operation

North African energy sectors vary widely, whether one considers availability, consumption levels or the type of energy used. Differences in energy consumption between the two shores of the Western Mediterranean sea underline the stark contrast in economic development between the two.

In North Africa, average consumption stands at one tonne of oil equivalent (toe) per capita compared with three toe in southern European countries. Hydrocarbon reserves are spread very unevenly, despite being abundant overall. Energy flows between North African countries are virtually nonexistent, despite grids that allow exchanges of electricity between Algeria and its two neighbours.

Each country seems intent on ignoring its own neighbours, despite the proximity of their markets and the complementarities that could exist. In this respect, relations between Algeria and Tunisia display a greater degree of political, commercial and financial trust than those between Algeria and its eastern neighbour. But overall, the absence of a common approach and vision of development is striking.

The Trade Imbalance

North Africa boasts trade flows above $200 billion annually, 43 per cent of which is accounted for by hydrocarbon exports. However trade balances vary considerably. While Algeria and Libya enjoy surpluses as they benefit from their exports of hydrocarbons, the others suffer deficits. The disproportionate share of the trade balance held by energy underlines the potential impact of excessive dependence.

Increased Consumption Needs

The population of the region will probably exceed 100 million by 2020. This is equivalent to adding twice the population of Tunisia over the next twelve years. This increase and the growth it will bring will translate into greater energy consumption. Energy needs will be higher if gross national product (GNP) growth rates are stronger. A further factor is the growing water stress in all southwestern Mediterranean countries: as they turn to the desalination of sea water, it must be noted that this process is very energy intensive.

Overall, GNP rates of growth have remained modest in recent decades, some countries having done better than others. The GNP of the Maghreb could reach $324 billion by 2015 or 2020 and its
predicted rate of growth is forecast to be 3.5 to 4 per cent annually, which is modest given an annual population growth of 1.3 per cent and the arrival on the labour market of millions of young jobseekers. All these factors spell a strong increase in energy needs.

Consumption of primary energy could expand by more than 53 Mtoe, from 75 Mtoe in 2006 to 128 Mtoe in 2020. Demand for electricity is expected to rise very rapidly, requiring the construction of around fifty power stations with a capacity of 500 MW.

To satisfy their increased energy requirements, countries will need to invest considerably. High demands and high costs risk putting pressure on supply, which could lead to shortages in some countries. The question is whether each Maghreb country will be capable of mobilising the necessary means on its own. Given the economic conditions, narrow local markets, low solvency of demand, weak public finances and country risk premiums demanded by lenders, the answer is not clear.

**Options for Energy Development**

To face this challenge, the Maghreb has three options. The first is to establish an energy market. If countries in the region can muster the political will to encourage and accept cross-border flows, one can envisage a situation where 18 Mtoe could be traded (15 per cent of total consumption). Electricity constraints could be handled and solved by optimising the use of grid interconnections currently in place for emergencies. These hubs could be reinforced, as could those linking Morocco and Spain. Such measures would allow each country to profit from the complementarities of their resources and networks, and to optimise investment whilst lowering the cost. Furthermore, this approach ensures more security in energy supply for the whole region.

The second option is to promote sustainability in the energy sector in order to limit the impact of environmental constraints and strengthen the energy supply. Countries should implement voluntary policies to save energy and promote the use of renewable energies, notably wind and solar. Solar energy development could be encouraged by the European Union and the US in the broader context of climate change.

Alternatively, a global action plan would pull together the different elements of a puzzle that includes power plants, refineries, transport, distribution infrastructure and petrochemical plants. The third option is therefore to create joint ventures between North African, Maghrebi and international companies in Europe and beyond. Each north-south joint venture would also encourage exports of gas, electricity, and petrochemical products and fertilisers to Africa, Europe, Brazil, India and beyond. Such a policy makes ample sense in terms of economics of scale. Morocco boasts some of the largest reserves of phosphate rock in the world; sulphur and ammonia, both by-products of oil and gas, play a key role in transforming the rock into fertilisers. Thus, were politics to allow it, the scope for cooperation between Algeria and Morocco, the two largest countries of North Africa, is considerable. Fertilisers and energy are key factors in economic growth and increase in farming output.

**The Employment Incentive**

Reforms undertaken in each of the Maghreb countries in recent years have focused on opening markets to the private sector. Those reforms should be harmonised and made compatible. In the context of Euro-Mediterranean co-operation, Maghreb countries should not continue with their individual approaches. They should appreciate the benefits to be gained from a regional approach in terms of geo-strategy, economics, trade and finance, and, in particular, job creation across the region. Individual country approaches are expensive and self-defeating, and will offer far fewer jobs overall – jobs which the region desperately needs to avoid social unrest. North African leaders owe it to their children not to spoil their chances of greater skilled job opportunities in the decades ahead.

As the world grows more complex and as the question of energy security looms increasingly large in the words and policies of Western leaders, pulling
together North African countries and building hubs of mutual dependence with Europe, would offer unique opportunities to build trust and optimise rich energy resources. The alternative, whereby Maghreb states continue to pursue individual policies, paying no consideration to regional economies of scale, and potentially misallocating abundant natural resources, will instead preclude faster growth and job creation, thus bringing greater instability to the region.

It is in this context that the idea of building a pipeline from Nigeria to Algeria has been floated in both Algiers and Brussels. Such a project may look farfetched today but it is important to remember that the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan project in Central Asia was quickly dismissed when the idea was first floated in the early 1990s. Rather than building a new pipeline from Nigeria to Europe at an estimated cost of $10 billion, it would probably make more sense for Nigeria to sell gas to Algeria, which would then reinject and store it in the gas field of Hassi R'Mel in the south of the country. Algeria would then deliver the gas to Europe through two existing underwater pipelines to Italy and the Iberian Peninsula, and as LNG. Nearly completed, the new Medgaz pipeline would then carry gas directly from Algeria to the Spanish mainland. Still in the planning stage, the Galsi project will also carry Algerian gas directly to Italy via Sardinia.

**Conclusion**

The strategic interest of Europeans in building strong links with Mediterranean exporters is underscored by current projections which suggest that Europe’s energy deficit – particularly in gas – will keep on growing during the next few decades. Indeed the European Commission forecasts a decline in EU gas production from 239 bcm to 107 bcm between 2005 and 2030; whilst the Observatoire Méditerranéen de l’Energie is even more pessimistic, believing the figure could be as low as 66 bcm. In 2006 Europe imported 60 per cent of its gas requirements, a figure which could rise to 84 per cent by 2030 according to the European Commission. Notwithstanding such urgency, the EU still has no common energy policy, nor is it likely to evolve one easily in the years ahead. Although the cacophony may be reduced, powerful national interests articulated around ‘national industrial champions’ are very likely to remain, and those countries that do not boast such champions will have to make do as best they can.

For their part, southwest Mediterranean countries have a more complex regulatory and institutional framework and if the European experience is anything to go by, the region faces an excruciatingly long and painful process. Consensus is needed, yet in the present state of affairs it is difficult to imagine any bold steps being taken towards the establishment of a regional market. The Barcelona Process has not allowed much progress where energy co-operation between the two shores is concerned, and the jury is still out as to whether the UfM can improve matters very much in the absence of an EU recast of its foreign policy towards the region. Without a much deeper level of political trust, commercial agreements will be signed but broader and deeper co-operation – both between north-south and south-south – is likely to fail.

One cannot underestimate the scale of the energy challenge facing the Mediterranean. If one assumes that the scale of climate change does indeed dwarf Europe’s more traditional preoccupations with energy market structures and supply, then the solution is simple: the EU should consider integrating energy into its foreign policy more openly, and acknowledge that it must get its energy policy right if it is to entertain any hope of building closer relations with its southern and eastern neighbours. Such a policy might help the EU induce southern rim countries, not least Algeria and Morocco, to co-operate and use their abundant low-cost energy as feedstock to develop industries downstream. The question then is: what are the political, economic and social consequences if ‘business as usual’ prevails over the medium term? These considerations are all the more pertinent if one remembers that no pan-Mediterranean plan exists to counter the consequences of a major incident or terrorist attack affecting gas facilities on either shore of the *mare nostrum*. 

The last panel of the conference was designed to provide a forum for debate on the future of Mediterranean security. The conference would have been incomplete without some attempt at applying the alleged impact of transnational issues to a prognosis for continued co-operation. This opportunity was embraced by speakers, each of whom presented their case by reviewing the major threats and suggesting the most efficient way forward.

Following the ethos of the conference, a combination of officials and non-officials was convened to present individual and sometimes opposing views. In a carefully selected mix, delegates heard from a British former minister, a NATO official, a Moroccan diplomat and an American academic.

Chair by Dr Michael Willis, King Mohammed VI Fellow in Moroccan and Mediterranean Studies, St Anthony’s College, Oxford University, the panel considered the following questions:

What measures and approaches can be taken at the regional level to meet the emerging security challenges in the Mediterranean and Sahel region, particularly combating violent extremism, maritime insecurity, counter-proliferation, and tackling transnational crime and illegal immigration?

To what extent will the formation of ‘AFRICOM’ by US military leaders contribute to greater North African–Mediterranean security, and in what form will this contribution likely assume: a unilateral initiative, a joint US-African coalition, or an extension of NATO?

What lessons and recommendations can be derived from an assessment of past and current efforts for promoting Mediterranean security by European and North African states, and on this basis, what collaborative mechanisms should be pursued in order to provide for greater security in the Mediterranean—both immediate policy and long-term strategic thinking?

Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean, former Minister of State at the FCO, spoke of the importance of strengthening EU-Maghreb dialogue in achieving regional development and fighting security challenges. Co-operation in this respect is crucial, as is public participation. People need their governments to protect them, while at the same time preserving their freedom. Focus must be placed on the balance between security and human rights.

Al-Qa’ida and other terrorist groups are among the biggest threats that the Euro-Mediterranean region and the United States encounter today. If we are to fight this threat and foster international co-operation, we need to have better intelligence exchange and need to recognise that terrorism flourishes best when countries are weakened by instability and political crises. One needs to develop an approach based on partnership and work with civil society and governments.

NOTES
2 Le Cercle des Economistes and Hubert Védrine, 5+5=32 Feuille de Route pour une Union Mediterranéenne (Paris: Editions Perrin, 2007).
4 These arguments on nuclear power are drawn from Giacomo Luciani, ‘Nuclear Energy Developments in the Mediterranean and the Gulf’, The International Spectator, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Rome (Vol. 44, No. 1, March 2009).
Baroness Symons finally spoke of the centrality of the Middle East Peace Process, arguing that Europeans and the Arab League states should adopt political responsibility to resolve the crisis.

Dr Pierre Razoux, Senior Research Advisor for the Research Division of the NATO Defense College, introduced a strong note of realism into the discussion regarding the prospects for strengthened security co-operation in the Mediterranean, warning that despite real security threats in the region, it was not currently a high priority for NATO. Faced also with the prospect of financial cuts, the Mediterranean Dialogue was currently a subsidiary concern compared to ongoing operations.

Therefore, expansion of the Dialogue process will require Maghreb countries to take a lead in addressing and financing key issues. Dr Razoux proposed seven measures to address this situation; promote multilateral dialogue and bilateral co-operation; encourage confidence-building measures; include Libya in the Dialogue; ensure socio-cultural sensitivity within these exchanges; improve the understanding and visibility of NATO in these processes, whilst avoiding double standards in the behaviours of NATO members; increase the financial contributions of member states towards the Dialogue budget. In short, the south should take its rightful position as an equal partner in NATO’s future policy towards the region.

Her Excellency Dr Assia Bensalah Alaoui, Moroccan Ambassador at large of His Majesty the King, called for a comprehensive strategy and criticised the proliferation of frameworks and initiatives in the region as having marginalised the ultimate goal of security and peace.

Stating that one needed to develop new approaches and reach out to Eastern Europe, a region that requires more attention and encouragement to engage in Mediterranean affairs, Assia Bensalah Alaoui said that building trust was crucial to meaningful partnerships.

Alaoui then proposed a ‘Three C’ strategy focussing on coherence, co-operation and communication. Morocco and other Arab countries need a cultural revolution: amend the family code, fight corruption, reform the legal sector, empower women and remove Islam from notions of terrorism. Immigration should be removed from the agenda of national security. Instead, we should think how best to use immigrants and their valuable expertise. We also have to address grievances and integrate youth.

While the focus should change to human security, population grievances should also be addressed as social inequality lies at the root of so many problems. Stressing the need to harmonise contradictory priorities across North Africa and the EU, Alaoui finally echoed concerns regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Professor I William Zartman, Professor Emeritus of the Conflict Management Program at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, DC, reiterated the need for regional level co-operation. A security community is a community of states, where war is an unthinkable option. As well as implementing confidence and security building measures, there need to be open borders to facilitate exchange of trade, populations and ideas.

Security threats come from alienated fringes of society, and have little to do with sudden surges in religious feeling. They are symbols of the disengagement and lack of participation of the population from the political process, and extremists succeed only in capturing grievances where a government is perceived as incompetent. It is necessary therefore to develop a civil society capable of addressing these problems and build institutional solutions into states. Political parties may need help in producing effective strategies to enhance participation in the process.
The Value of International Partnership
Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean, UK House of Lords

The growth of the EU-Mediterranean Partnership and the strengthening of the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue over the last decade have both come with substantial benefits. One could argue, however, that not enough has been done to develop these relationships for the promotion of greater security and stability.

In this respect, it is a particularly good time for Europeans to consider these issues. The Lisbon Treaty and the European External Action Service (EEAS) present opportunities to change how European foreign policy is delivered, and reconsider relationships with Mediterranean neighbours.

Threats and challenges in the region are growing in complexity, and include terrorism, organised crime, piracy, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, cyber security and the instability of fragile states bordering the Maghreb. Common security challenges in the coming years will require a sense of urgency as we face a continuation of current threats such as illegal migration and human trafficking, and new threats such as climate change and resource competition.

Many of the challenges are interconnected and transnational. This transnational dimension raises the significance of inter-regional relationships, making cross-border security crucial.

Whilst Britain is perhaps good at recognising this process in theory, we may not always be ready to apply the relevant strategic thinking in practice. For instance, the UK has always jealously guarded its freedom to act independently from the EU on foreign policy. Nonetheless, the UK has often played its part in European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) initiatives and contributes its forces to joint actions wherever possible. It also supports the EEAS and has contributed a former minister, Baroness Ashton, as its head.

The UK recognises that internal tension may present the gravest challenges to intra-Mediterranean cooperation. For the success of inter-regional cooperation, it is important that relationships be strengthened, whether it is in the Gulf, the Maghreb, or the Arab League as a whole. It is therefore crucial that we use regional and sub-regional dialogue to make common cause and address some of the most pressing challenges.

Popular Expectations
Undeniably, one of these is the looming expectations dilemma. In the UK and Europe, the Maghreb and the wider Middle East, people have rising expectations about what government should be doing to protect its citizens. But whilst people want government and security forces to be vigilant and keep them safe, they also want freedom to live their lives as they wish – to travel, to meet friends and family, to have access to the media and international communications. They also want government to be transparent in how it deals with security and provides protection. It is a potent and often contradictory mix of expectations, requiring well-targeted responses. A dialogue about the balance between security and civil rights needs to be opened, both domestically and between regions.

Counter-Terrorism
For most people the issue of immediate urgency – if not long-term importance – is to know they can be safe from terrorism. Terrorism is an issue that touches everyone. Citizens in the US, UK and EU have had their own tragic experiences. As potent a threat as it remains, Al-Qa’ida is still just one of the threats facing the international community.

In the UK, a so-called ‘whole of government approach’ has been taken in order to ensure the nation is as well-equipped as possible to respond effectively, yet there is no avoiding the reality that fighting terrorism costs a great deal. In 2001 for instance, the British government spent over £1 billion on domestic counter-terrorism, with that spending increasing recently to £3 billion a year – having doubled the size of security services
and recruited thousands more counter-terrorism police. New electronic border controls covering 95 per cent of the UK should be in place by the end of 2010.

Alongside adequate resources and funding, an effective counter-terrorism strategy must be fostered through international co-operation. Adopting the maxim that one is only as safe as the weakest link in the chain, intelligence sharing remains a vital element in recognising threats. The UK’s Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (JTAC) monitors, for example, the increased activity of AQIM in the Western African region and on the Arabian Peninsula. It is a very useful tool at our disposal for adopting a variety of methods to respond to terrorism, such as changing the security regimes at airports, maintaining a watch list system and fostering agency-to-agency relationships.

Terrorism will flourish best though when states become weakened through instability in their economies or political systems. In the UK, a Conflict Pool has therefore been created to provide adequate resources to counter the threat, with the government having already spent £43 million on projects in Africa and £38 million in the Middle East, and currently providing financial assistance to South Asia, including Afghanistan. With further plans to provide £100 million for initiatives in Yemen in the next two years, the UK will be cooperating with the Yemeni government in order to build strong national institutions and disrupt Al-Qa’ida’s activities there. Similarly, £35 million will be spent in Somalia to both counter immediate threats within the country and promote longer-term stability.

It is this sort of partnership approach that works best: not putting up walls and hiding behind them for our own protection, but working with the grain of our society and other governments where we think we can make a positive difference. The creation of an International Conflict Pool – administered by a joint body of European and Arab League Countries – would thus be worth exploring in view of expanding Euro-Mediterranean security co-operation in this essential field.

Counter-Proliferation

When looking at the steps to be taken at a regional level for counter-proliferation issues, one must again recognise the key importance of intelligence gathering and sharing. Turning to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, we need an effective system of rules and institutions to facilitate our mutual security. Currently such systems are under pressure, in terms of both effectiveness and legitimacy. For example, the Non-Proliferation Treaty has served us well but is now under great strain. Clear action must be taken against countries that do not comply with the treaty, whilst at the same time we must provide access to nuclear technology – with proper safeguards – for those who need it. This is an issue of obvious regional importance, the significance of which goes well beyond the region itself. Only a firm hand will allow us to resolve the question of Iran’s nuclear programme and this must be done through dialogue – with the full engagement not only of Europe and the US, but also our partners in Russia and China.

Transnational Organised Crime: The UK Approach

In terms of tackling the challenge of international organised crime, the British government’s strategy has been described in a report entitled ‘Extending our Reach: A Comprehensive Approach to Tackling Serious Organised Crime.’ Recommendations – some of which have already been carried out – included shared risk assessment across the police and the intelligence agencies, as well as calls for the creation of a new strategic centre for organised crime within the Home Office to act alongside a new ministerial committee devoted specifically to tackling organised crime. Whilst it is undeniably important that the UK work more systematically with this model both at home and within the EU, it should also do so with other international partners such as Morocco.

Climate Change

Less visible perhaps, yet just as pernicious, climate change challenges our security by exacerbating existing weaknesses and tensions around the world. Western Europe, for example, has been experiencing more extreme weather trends and
faces tensions about energy supplies for the future. The Arab world, on the other hand, has expressed concerns over food and water supplies in the next decade or so. Within the EU, officials have agreed on a 20 per cent reduction on 1990 carbon emissions levels by 2020 – yet the figure could be as much as 30 per cent were countries to co-operate more. Responsibility must be shared across the region to reach this ambitious but achievable target.

Maritime Security
Meanwhile, the frequency of pirate attacks around the Horn of Africa, Somalia and the Indian coast around Mumbai has increased in recent years, and here again international co-operation is crucial. Last year the UK spent £40 million tackling piracy near Somalia and the Gulf of Aden. Kenya shouldered the responsibility for taking one hundred pirates into custody, and the government of the Seychelles is considering the establishment of a pirate prosecution centre to help tackle piracy in the Indian Ocean. This is exactly the sort of co-operation that would have been almost impossible twenty years ago, but has now become a model of a successful mechanism to deal with such threats. The example of the recently established Maritime Information Centre at the Ministry of Defence’s joint headquarters in the UK is likewise a useful new tool which others may wish to emulate.

Cyber Security
Concerns about cyber security have grown seriously over the last few years. A March 2010 report from the House of Lords reviews the work of the European Network and Information Security Agency set up in 2004. It acknowledges that while much good work has been done, there is much scope for criticism regarding the duplication of efforts between nation states, and also between the EU and NATO. The report finally stresses the importance of paying more attention to how cyber security could be developed on a global basis. Consideration needs to be given to the gradual development of international rules, which will effectively discourage the launching of proxy attacks from within the jurisdiction.

Europe
In view of such a wide breadth of issues, the EEAS is all the more to be encouraged in facilitating a change in the EU’s ability to make a valid contribution to security issues. The UK has already deployed in over twenty-three missions through the Common Security and Defence Policy, often mixing civil and military components in response to the complex security challenges of today’s world. Yet the EU can still do more in Afghanistan on institution building, in Haiti on civil security, and in Somalia by actively promoting stability through the tackling of piracy.

Whilst American foreign policy remains a crucial cornerstone in the Middle East Peace Process, the EU has also worked hard to persuade both Israel and Palestine to resume negotiations. Europeans hereby have an important political role to play in establishing a worthwhile and workable solution. In order to achieve that, one has to counter the threat of violent extremism and participate in preparing a viable Palestinian state. Having already contributed to developing physical infrastructure projects, the EU is also working towards building up robust institutional infrastructure which is so vital to a properly functioning independent state. More EU-Arab League direct discussion and active co-operation is needed because resolving the problem should not be left to the US, Israel and Palestine. The Middle East conflict is a potentially explosive security issue for all of us within the Euro-Mediterranean region. Morocco is to be widely commended for playing an important role in the Arab League by maintaining diplomatic ties with Israel and representing the voice of moderation and rational engagement, and Morocco and the UK should both encourage more EU-Arab League discussion on this crucial topic.

Conclusion
Much more can be done in terms of dealing with all the aforementioned security issues, not just through upgrading and sharing intelligence or strengthening immigration systems. Countries must nonetheless begin by recognising that partnership operates at many different levels and that poverty and international inequality must be
tackled in the round. Our responsibility is shared in terms of supporting those who cannot pull themselves out of the long-term challenges that drive insecurity within and between our nations. A sense of partnership – real partnership – is very important. Growing our institutions is also vital, as is our trust that we can work together for a safer, more secure world.

Prospects for a Mediterranean Security Community

I William Zartman, Johns Hopkins University

The answer to the broader matter of strengthened security co-operation lies in the question. Co-operating member states of the western Mediterranean basin and beyond need to put serious efforts into promoting co-operation among the states of the Arab Maghreb Union, whose poor security relations are the biggest obstacle to effectively meeting security challenges in the region. This is particularly true in relation to combating violent extremism, maritime insecurity, counter-proliferation, and transnational crime and migration. Curiously, for the states of the Maghreb, co-operation with their northern neighbours is less difficult than co-operation amongst themselves; and it is a challenge to the northern rim to try to find measures that can push the Maghrebi brothers to work together on security. Countries of the Maghreb now share intelligence, planning and action with NATO and EU countries – in other words, co-operation flows between the regional states via Washington, Stuttgart, London and Brussels. This is much as in colonial and postcolonial times, when it was necessary to fly from one Maghrebi capital to another via Paris.¹

What is needed are northern efforts to bring the North African partners together, using programmes such as joint training, an interstate information clearing house, and sharing of intelligence generation and reception. There doubtless will be resistance to such efforts. But sponsorship of these measures by NATO countries will, to some extent, help overcome the obstacles inherent in a purely North African initiative. Only through genuine intra-Maghreb co-operation will there be an effective policy against Al-Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM).

Such co-operation, however, must be pan-Maghreb. The area has known too well the use of selective security alliances to play the political balance-of-power in regional relations. The region has just seen such an attempt: the Sahara-Sahel Security Foreign and Defence Ministers’ Conference on 16 March 2010 (initiated by Algeria), followed by a meeting of army chiefs of staff on 12-13 April, and then by a formal security co-operation agreement on 22 April for setting up a joint military command in Tamanrasset.² So far the move is positive, but in fact not everyone in the region was invited: seven countries were invited to the initial meeting but only four countries signed the agreement (Algeria, Mali, Niger and Mauritania). Neither Morocco nor Tunisia was invited to either event, despite official statements of willingness to participate and contribute to the effort. The move echoes a similar and most divisive démarche (‘manoeuvre’) of Algeria a quarter of a century ago when it signed a treaty of friendship with Tunisia and Mauritania, again explicitly refusing membership to Morocco and Libya. At that time, Morocco and Libya responded with a friendship treaty of their own in 1984. The relations of heightened tension and hostility that ensued passed through a mutually injurious stalemate into a series of rapprochement meetings from

NOTES


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1987 to 1989, the last one ending in the creation of the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) that final year.

Of course a similar co-operative outcome is always possible three decades later, although it would first require a Moroccan counter-move and a further escalation of hostility, a development that is of no help in the current efforts to stem Sahel-Sahara terrorism. The best that could be done would be for Western embassies in the three lesser alliance members under Algeria’s umbrella to emphasise the importance of not turning the anti-AQIM alliance into an anti-Moroccan alliance. If Algeria will not co-operate with its Mediterranean neighbours, the three Sahelian countries could take up the challenge and work to turn the effort into something co-operative rather than divisive.

Security Community

The northern shore of the Western Mediterranean is a security community in itself, and one which extends from the western shores to the southern shore as well. A security community is a group of states for whom the use of violence among them is not a conceivable policy option. Thus, NATO and the Atlantic community are both overlapping security communities. Some parts of the world are not, particularly those torn by long and deep identity and/or territorial conflicts, such as Israel/Palestine or India/Pakistan. That is not the case of the Maghreb; its conflict is bitter (les Frères Ennemis) but the identity issues are artificial and the territorial issues are contrived too, having to do with rank and relations in the area. There is no eternal, durable, intractable reason for continued hostility, contrary to the cases noted above. The states of the Maghreb have no objective reason – if there is such a thing in international politics – to fear their neighbours, although the complex fears that they exhibit do go through several rounds of contortions.

In this situation, there is occasion for serious efforts by states of the northern Mediterranean to help the Maghreb states move closer to each other, overcome their irrational fears, and strengthen their security efforts through co-operation. Much can be done. Confidence and security building measures (CSBMs) such as advance notice of troop movements, arms purchases (with justification), and of security démarches (such as the Tamanrasset Agreement), universal invitations in the region, open borders, transportation links and military meetings are matters that can be pushed by external co-operating states, notably from across the Mediterranean.

After all, if rail lines can be restored, bus services established and border crossing points set up in the last two years in Kashmir between Pakistan and India, are Moroccan-Algerian relations that resistant to efforts to move toward a security community? It may validly be objected that this is not the whole story of India-Pakistan relations, but then these CSBMs have been undertaken despite other elements of tension, hostility and intractability. It may also be objected that these two neighbours are operating under the mutual threat of their nuclear weapons, an objection that is quite relevant. However, Morocco and Algeria often skate along the edge of conventional explosions in their relations, with a similar effect on the evolution of their conflict.

Supply Factor

Whilst significant attention is regularly devoted to what may be called the demand side of emerging security challenges (defence, co-operation and resources), far less consideration is given to what can be called the supply side. What feeds terrorism? Terrorism represents a threat to established states and societies from an alienated fringe of civil society and is a sign of deeper problems. Terrorists are not crazies, no matter how repulsive and uncivilised their methods; they are a cri de coeur (‘impassioned protest’) using extreme methods to gain attention for serious concerns from otherwise uninterested authorities. To recognise this does not mean endorsing their concerns, their demands or above all in their methods. But terrorism is an extreme symptom of non-participation and non-satisfaction in a polity, society and economy. Everywhere in the world, where Islamic jihadists have threatened or overthrown government, it is not because there has been a strong surge of deep religious
feelings but because the Islamist movement is the only credible spokesman for a protest movement against corrupt, ineffective government. This was true in Iran in 1979, the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria in 1991, the Islamic Courts Movement and successors in Somalia after 2000, the Afghan Taliban in 2002, Hamas in 2006, and arguably even the MTI in Tunisia in 1987 (although the threat was wildly exaggerated). For instance, a recent poll in Kandahar showed 53 to 84 per cent of the respondents cited government corruption as the reason for their openness to the Taliban, and 81 to 94 per cent looked forward to reconciliation with the Taliban.⁴

Regional co-operation strategies are worthless if the state is hollow or has no legs, or if it is ineffective and corrupt in the eyes of those it is to serve. Efforts to undercut the supply of those who constitute the region’s security threat (the internal disillusioned youth, and not the neighbouring states) need to focus on the development of state responsibility and civil society capacity: not the hardening of the state but the opening of the state, not an authoritarian state that reaches down into the people but a people that has the institutions to reach up into the state. We may recall that in the cases of attempted terrorist bombings in the United States – Pennsylania in 2001 and Chicago in 2009 – it was not the state security apparatus that foiled the attempts, but alert citizens; all of whom died in the 2001 incident, but ultimately saved the state’s institutions.

NOTES
# Abbreviations and Acronyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AQIM</td>
<td>Al-Qa’ida in the Islamic Maghreb</td>
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<tr>
<td>bb</td>
<td>Billion barrels</td>
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<tr>
<td>bcm</td>
<td>Billion cubic metres</td>
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<td>UFM</td>
<td>Union pour la Méditerranée/Union for the Mediterranean</td>
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<tr>
<td>BTC</td>
<td>Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSBMs</td>
<td>Confidence- and security-building measures</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSDP</td>
<td>Common Security and Defence Policy</td>
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<td>ECOVAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States</td>
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<td>EEAS</td>
<td>European External Action Service</td>
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<td>EMP</td>
<td>Euro-Mediterranean Partnership</td>
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<td>ENP</td>
<td>European Neighbourhood Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIS</td>
<td>Front Islamique du Salut / Islamic Salvation Front</td>
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<td>GALSI</td>
<td>Gasdotto Algeria Sardegna Italia</td>
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<tr>
<td>GECF</td>
<td>Gas Exporting Countries Forum</td>
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<td>GME</td>
<td>Gazoduc Maghreb Europe (gas pipeline)</td>
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<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross national product</td>
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<tr>
<td>GSPC</td>
<td>Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédiction et le Combat / Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gtoe</td>
<td>gigatonne (one billion tonnes of oil equivalent)</td>
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<td>GW</td>
<td>gigawatts</td>
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<tr>
<td>G20</td>
<td>Group of Twenty Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors</td>
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<td>JTAC</td>
<td>Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre (UK)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ktoe</td>
<td>Kiloton of oil equivalent</td>
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<td>KWh</td>
<td>Kilowatt hour</td>
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<tr>
<td>LNG</td>
<td>Liquefied Natural Gas</td>
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<td>MAU</td>
<td>Maghreb Arab Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>MENA</td>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mtoe</td>
<td>Million tonnes of oil equivalent</td>
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<td>MTI</td>
<td>Money Transfer International</td>
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<td>MW</td>
<td>Megawatts</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>OCP</td>
<td>Office Cherifien des Phosphates (Moroccan national phosphates company)</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSCE</td>
<td>Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEP</td>
<td>Strategic Energy Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>SMC</td>
<td>Small or medium sized company</td>
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<tr>
<td>tcm</td>
<td>Trillion cubic metres</td>
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<td>toe</td>
<td>Tonnes of oil equivalent</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UMA</td>
<td>L’Union du Maghreb Arabe/Arab Maghreb Union</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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Contributor Biographies

**Her Excellency Assia Bensalah Alaoui**

Assia Bensalah Alaoui is currently Ambassador at Large of his Majesty the King and Vice-President of the Association of Moroccan-Japanese Friendship. Dr Alaoui is also a member of the Board of Trustees of the Moroccan British Association. Dr Alaoui worked as Professor of International Law and Director of Studies at the Centre for Strategic Studies at the University Mohammed V in Rabat until 2006. She was also a member of the World Bank’s Council of Advisors for MENA and member of the Regional Bureau for Arab States’ Advisory Board at the UN. As an expert on food security, strategic studies and the Mediterranean area, Dr Alaoui is the author of several publications, such as: *European Economic Integration and the Arab Countries: Prospects and Problems of Arab Economic Development*, a chapter on the Maghreb in *Regional Approaches to Disarmament Security and Stability and Dialogue between Peoples and Cultures for a revisited Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in A Wider Middle East*.

**His Excellency Youssef Amrani**

Youssef Amrani was appointed Secretary General of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation in November 2008. Prior to that Mr Amrani served as Ambassador and Director General of Bilateral Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was also Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of Morocco to the Republic of Mexico, Republic of Chile and Republic of Colombia, and non resident to Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Belize, the Equator and Panama. He also served as Consul General of the Kingdom of Morocco to Barcelona. Mr Amrani obtained a High Degree in Management at the Management Institute of Boston, USA and a Bachelor’s degree in economics at the University of Mohammed V in Rabat. Mr Amrani has received various decorations, among them the Legion d’Honneur France, conceded by the President of the Republic of France.

**Abdennour Benantar**

Abdennour Benantar is a Research Fellow at the Centre for Research on Applied Economics for Development (CREAD) in Algiers and an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, University of Batna, Algeria. He is also a Research Fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome. His main areas of interest are security studies in International Relations and regional security in the Mediterranean. He has published many peer-reviewed books and articles in French and Arabic and occasionally in English. In addition to his individual work (*The Mediterranean Dimension of Algerian Security: Algeria, Europe and the Atlantic Alliance*), he has edited books at CREAD on the Maghreb and great powers, including titles such as *The US and the Maghreb: a Renewal Interest?*, and *Europe and Maghreb*.

**Her Excellency Dr Amina Benkhadra**

Her Excellency Dr Amina Benkhadra was appointed Moroccan Minister of Energy, Mines, Water and Environment in October 2008 to develop a national energy strategy focused on the supply security, regional integration and sustainable development. Dr Benkhadra is also Managing Director of the Office National des Hydrocarbures et des Mines (ONHYM) and Member of the National Council for Foreign Trade. She served as Secretary of State in charge of the Mining Sector Development, appointed by the late King His Majesty Hassan II. Dr Benkhadra graduated from the École Nationale Supérieure des Mines in Paris as Doctor Engineer in mineral sciences and techniques. Dr Benkhadra has participated in various international events and conferences such as oil and gas summits, Euro-Mediterranean energy forums and Africa Symposia organised by MIGA (World Bank Group) and other.

**Alastair Cameron**

Alastair Cameron is Head of the European Security Programme at the Royal United Services Institute. Prior to joining RUSI, Alastair worked as a Defence Consultant within Frost & Sullivan’s Aerospace and Defence Practice. From 2004 to 2006, he was Armed Forces Editor for Jane’s, responsible for the editorial overview of all Jane’s country-based military assessments. Whilst living in France, he worked as a Project Leader within the EU/NATO office of ‘Directorate for Strategic Affairs’ of the French Ministry of Defence co-ordinating European and NATO military exercises. In 2001, he was a Research Assistant at the Assembly of the Western European Union in Paris. Alastair has a Masters in International Relations, Conflict and Security from the Institut
d’Études Politiques de Paris Sciences Po, as well as a BA in European Studies from the University of London. He has dual French and British nationality.

Hakim Darbouche
Hakim Darbouche is a Research Fellow at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies (OIES). His research interests revolve around North African/Algerian gas issues, Euro-Mediterranean relations, and the political economy of the Maghreb. Prior to joining the OIES, Dr Darbouche served as an advisor to a NATO agency in Brussels, dealing with parliamentary diplomacy activities in Mediterranean and Middle East partner countries. He was notably in charge of the conception of high-profile visits and seminars, in addition to drafting specialised reports and speeches. Hakim Darbouche read International Relations at the universities of Liverpool and Sussex, and received diplomatic training at the Diplomatic Academies of London and Moscow. He has authored a number of book chapters and articles which have appeared in reputable peer reviewed journals. He is an associate of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels and Deputy Editor of the journal Mediterranean Politics.

Jonathan Eyal
Jonathan Eyal is the Director of International Security Studies at RUSI and Editor of the RUSI Newsbrief. Educated at Oxford and London universities, his initial training was in international law and relations. Having completed his doctorate at Oxford in 1987, he taught there for three years before being appointed a researcher at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies in London. Since 1990, Dr Eyal has been Director of Studies at the Institute. Dr Eyal has completed books on military expenditure in the former Warsaw Pact and published a study on military relations in the Balkans during the time of Communism. He is a regular commentator on Eastern European affairs for the media and has also given evidence to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee on the conduct of British foreign policy in Eastern Europe, and to the teams of experts which contributed to the peace plans for the former Yugoslavia. He has acted as an advisor to the European Union’s studies on the process of dividing the assets of the former Yugoslav state, and has published two studies on the errors committed by the West in handling the Balkan conflict since 1991.

His Excellency Taïb Fassi Fihri
His Excellency Taïb Fassi Fihri is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of the Kingdom of Morocco. He graduated from the University Panthéon-Sorbonne of Paris with a Master’s degree in Public Economics and Planning and holds a PhD in Analysis and Political Economy from the Institut d’Études Politiques, Paris. He worked as a professor in Microeconomics at the University of Paris VII and as a research fellow at the Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI). He was appointed Head of Division in charge of relations with the EEC within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation in 1986 and was actively involved in negotiations between Morocco and the EEC. After serving for some years as the Chief of Staff of the Minister of State in charge of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, Advisor at the Royal Cabinet of His Majesty the late King Hassan II and Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, Mr Fassi Fihri was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation by His Majesty the King Mohammed VI, on 15 October 2007.

Francis Ghilès
Francis Ghilès is a political scientist who, through eighteen years with the Financial Times, reporting on international capital markets and North Africa, has built up extensive experience and high level contacts throughout the Western Mediterranean, the UK, the US and Japan. He is currently a Senior Researcher at the Centre for International Relations and Development Studies in Barcelona where he analyses emerging security, political, economic and energy trends in the region and connects them to European, US and North African policy priorities. Mr Ghilès earned advanced degrees from St Antony’s College in Oxford and the University of Keele. He graduated from Science Po Grenoble with distinction. He worked as a Senior Fellow at the Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània (IEMed) in Barcelona and as a Senior Researcher at the Barcelona Centre for International Studies (CIDOB). Mr Ghilès has written for many international newspapers and magazines and has appeared in other media including the BBC and the RFI. He has given lectures at many international institutes.

Saad Hassar
Saad Hassar began his career as Head of General Inspectorate Services at the Moroccan Ministry of
Infrastructures, then becoming Head of the Planning and Programming Division. In 1986, he was nominated Chief Development Officer of the Ports Operation Agency, before becoming the General Manager of the Vocational and Professional Training Agency. Between 1991 and 1998 he was Special Advisor to His Majesty’s Special Cabinet working on a variety of projects (as Project Director for the Al Akhawayn University construction, Project Director for the Ifrane International Hospital and Ifrane Residential / Cultural Complex construction, and as General Manager of the Sala Al Jadida project). In January 1998, Mr Hassar was appointed Chief Executive Officer of the National Agency for Land Conservation, Land Registry and Mapping, and in December 2002 became Wali General Manager of the Local Authorities Department at the Ministry of the Interior. From March 2006 he was General Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior, and in November 2007 became Secretary of State to the Ministry of the Interior.

George Joffé
George Joffé is a research fellow and lecturer at the Centre of International Studies at Cambridge University. He also holds visiting professorships at the London School of Economics and King’s College London, where he teaches the geopolitics of the Middle East and North Africa. Until September 2009 he was a professorial fellow at the Global Policy Institute at the London Metropolitan University and held a visiting fellowship at the Centre of Islamic Studies at Oxford University. Previously, he was the deputy director of Chatham House (the Royal Institute of International Affairs) in London. Professor Joffé’s primary interests are in North African affairs and he is the co-founder and co-editor of the Journal of North African Studies. Professor Joffé also lectures and provides consultancy on the Middle East and North Africa to, amongst others, the Royal College of Defence Studies in London, the NATO Defense College in Rome and the Centre for Security Policy in Geneva. He is a Senior Research Associate at the Institute of Security Studies of the European Union in Paris, as well as being a Research Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security Studies in London and at the Instituto de Estudos Estratégicos e Internacionais in Lisbon.

Mohammed El-Katiri
Mohammed El-Katiri is a Research Fellow at the UK Defence Academy’s Research and Assessment Branch. His main academic focus is on the economic development strategies of the Arab Gulf region and North Africa. His further interests include energy security, food security and sovereign wealth funds in the GCC. Dr El-Katiri has worked extensively on Euro-Mediterranean relations, with a particular focus on Morocco-European Union relations. Aside from his PhD (University of Exeter – International Trade) he also holds an MPhil in International Law from the University of Seville, and has several years of experience working as a legal consultant.

Pierre Razoux
Pierre Razoux is a French senior civil servant and a Doctor of Military History currently working in the Research Division of the NATO Defense College in Rome. He previously served in the Delegation for Strategic Affairs of the French Ministry of Defence and was appointed for three years as an exchange officer in the Policy Division of the British Ministry of Defence. A specialist on the Middle East, he is a well known lecturer and researcher, and has published many books and academic articles including History of Georgia: The Key of the Caucasus and Tsahal: New History of the Israeli Armed Forces. He has practical experience in the field of international affairs and defence, particularly on Middle Eastern, Caucasian, NATO and European matters. He lectures regularly in the field of international affairs, contemporary defence and conflict issues, particularly regarding the Middle East. He gives regular interviews in the media.

Major General Jonathan Shaw
Major General Jonathan Shaw joined the Parachute Regiment in 1981, and was a platoon commander in 3 PARA through the Falklands War. Serving as adjutant and company commander in 3 and then 2 PARA, he saw service in Cyprus and Northern Ireland. From 2002, he commanded 12 Mechanised Brigade, including six months as Commander Multi-National Brigade in Pristina, Kosovo. On promotion to Major General he commanded Multi-National Division in Iraq in 2007, for which he was awarded the US Legion of Merit (Degree of Officer). Major General Shaw was a member of the Royal College of Defence Studies (2006). His staff appointments have been mainly in the Ministry of Defence, focusing on policy and operations on Military Assistance to Civil Authorities, including disaster relief,
Northern Ireland and global counter terrorism. He was Chief of Staff, Land Forces from September 2007 until March 2009. General Shaw assumed the appointment of Assistant Chief of the Defence Staff (International Security Policy) in the Ministry of Defence on 16 March 2009.

Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean
Baroness Symons of Vernham Dean is a senior Labour member of the House of Lords. Formerly Deputy Leader of the House of Lords, she was a Minister in the UK government from 1997 until stepping down in 2005. Among her government posts she was Minister for the Middle East, Minister for International Trade, Minister for Defence Procurement, and the Prime Minister’s envoy to the Gulf. Baroness Symons is involved with a number of commercial organisations, including roles as a non-executive director of both British Airways and Caparo, and as an advisor to DLA Piper, the CCC Group and Rio Tinto. She has a wide range of experience, in the Middle East in particular, and currently chairs the UK side of the Saudi-British Joint Business Council, the all party group on Qatar and the British Egyptian Society. She is also Vice-President of the Middle East Association and is a board member of British Expertise, the Arab British Chambers of Commerce and the Egyptian British Business Council.

Mostafa Terrab
Mostafa Terrab currently serves as the CEO of OCP Group (Office Chérifien des Phosphates). He holds a MS (1982) and a PhD in Operations Research (1990) from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He also received an engineering diploma from the École Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées, Paris, France (1979). Dr Terrab held positions with Bechtel Civil and Minerals Inc. (1983/85) in San Fransico, California, as an analyst in transportation systems, responsible for planning studies concerning the project to build the Damman international airport (Saudi Arabia) and a member of the team in charge of economic studies connected with the fixed link project across the Strait of Gibraltar. From September 1986 to August 1989, he was an assistant professor at MIT and, from September 1989 to July 1993, a consultant with the Draper Laboratory, Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1988, he received the Frederick C Hennie III Award for his outstanding contribution to the teaching programme of the MIT Department of Computer Science and Electrical Engineering. From 1990 to 1992, he was an assistant professor at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, in the Department of Decision Sciences and Engineering Systems and the Department of Civil and Environmental Engineering. In 1992, Dr Terrab was appointed Chargé de Mission in the Royal Cabinet. In 1995, he took up the position of Secretary General of the Executive Secretariat of the Middle East/North Africa Economic Summit. From April 1996 to July 1999, he was a member of the Think Tank set up by the late king HM Hassan II, and, on 9 February 1998, he was appointed Director General of the National Telecommunication Regulatory Agency, before leading the World Bank’s Information for Development programme and taking up the position of Lead Regulatory Specialist from April 2002 to February 2006.

Michael J Willis
Michael J Willis is a King Mohammed VI Fellow in Moroccan and Mediterranean Studies at the Middle East Centre at St Antony’s College, Oxford University. He holds degrees from the University of Reading, the London School of Economics and the University of Durham, where he obtained his PhD in 1996. From 1997 until 2004 he was an Assistant Professor at Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Morocco, where he taught courses on Moroccan foreign policy and diplomacy and North African government and politics. He has written widely on the politics, modern history and international relations of the Maghreb and his publications include The Islamist Challenge in Algeria: A Political History, ‘Analyzing Moroccan Foreign Policy and Relations with Europe’, ‘Containing Radicalism Through the Political Process in North Africa’ and ‘Algerian Terrorism: Domestic Origins and International Links’. He is currently writing a book on the comparative politics of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia.

Alexandre Zafiriou
Alexandre Zafiriou holds a degree in political science from the Institut d’Études Politiques in Aix-en-Provence and a Master’s degree in international relations from the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. Following an initial period at the General Secretariat of the European Parliament, he joined the General Secretariat of the Council of the European
Union, where he dealt successively with the Common Agricultural Policy and the External Common Fisheries Policy. Following an academic fellowship at the George Mason University, dedicated to EU decision-making, since 2000 as a Principal Administrator he has handled the relations of the European Union with Mediterranean countries in the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (Barcelona Process), the European Neighbourhood Policy and since 2008, the Union of the Mediterranean.

I William Zartman

I William Zartman is a Jacob Blaustein Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of the Johns Hopkins University in Washington, and member of the Steering Committee of the Processes of International Negotiation (PIN) Program. He has been a Distinguished Fellow of the United States Institute of Peace, Olin Professor at the US Naval Academy, Elie Halévy Professor at Sciences Po in Paris, and holder of the Bernheim Chair at the Free University of Bruxelles. He has received a lifetime achievement award from the International Association for Conflict Management. He is author of a number of books, including Negotiation and Conflict Management; Ripe for Resolution and Morocco: Problems of New Power. He is also president of the Tangier American Legation Institute for Moroccan Studies (TALIM), and was founding president of the American Institute for Maghreb Studies and President of the Middle East Studies Association.
EURO-MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY
Moroccan and British Perspectives

Edited by Alastair Cameron

In partnership with the Embassy of the Kingdom of Morocco in London, RUSI held an international conference in Rabat in March 2010 entitled ‘Euro-Mediterranean Security: Moroccan and British Perspectives’. Facilitating the exchange of ideas and expertise across countries of the Mediterranean, the conference was held under the auspices of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation, and made possible thanks to the support of the OCP Foundation.

Taking the analysis further, this RUSI European Security Programme study suggests an array of strategies and approaches for promoting greater security and stability in the region, and highlights the speakers’ contributions during the conference. It further explores the potential for new collaborative mechanisms between nations on both sides of the Mediterranean by revisiting each of the conference’s key themes.

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Offering maximum flexibility of breadth and depth of analysis, RUSI’s occasional papers draw mainly from conference papers, roundtable discussions or commissioned research.