The Mediterranean basin: a single security complex

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The Copenhagen school put in relief the theoretical framework of the security complex theory. The theory is linked to the new concept of security emerges after the Cold War era and the Collapse of Soviet Union as the result of the globalization process and the emergence of new security threats which require a cooperation in order to achieve peace and stability though the creation of a "security community" at international level.

Briefly, the key arguments of Copenhagen school theory are: security as multidimensional concept (including both military and non-military issues), new comprehensive and cooperative approach, regionalism as a way to achieve political and institutional order.

These aspects found their concrete application in the Mediterranean basin that constitutes a great example in which the Region-building process has took place, even if, subsequently, it was replaced or complemented by other cooperation policies. For instance, regionalism was the first step towards the cooperation framework in this area which starts with the EMP under the Barcellona Declaration in 1995.

To summarize, the Mediterranean can be regarded as a "single security complex" characterized by the presence of security interaction and security interdependence between Europe and the Mediterranean states. For instance, the theory of the New Regionalism is useful in order to explain the regional cooperation in the Mediterranean basin, perceived as a heterogeneous region.

Defining "*Mediterranean region[1]*", it is related on this interactions between countries which urge to find a cooperation in order to assure states with stability, people with security and guaranteeing economic growth and cultural protection. This desire is encompassed by the Barcellona Process (1995) which links all countries in cooperative patters and aims to institutionalizes these relations.

The EU plays a dominant role in the Mediterranean relations because it has always perceived the importance of MTCs as strategic partner identifying the instruments for cooperation in order to achieve collective security in the region under the initiatives of NATO, OSCE, ACRS. By the way, the Barcellona political program (EMP) was not the first European initiative, in fact the first bilateral agreement was stipulated by EU in the 1970 under actions and a set of policies under the name of "*Global Mediterranean Policy*", after, this was revised in 1990 showing the emergence of new forms of partnership and cooperation such for example: Euro- Maghreb partnership, the Conference on Security cooperation (CSCM) by which Mediterranean countries could express their security and development concern. Only in June 1994 the European Council asked to strengthen the Global Mediterranean policy and proposed a set of initiatives that were presented to discussion in the Barcellona Conference. In this light, the Barcellona Program institutionalized the interaction between the EU and the Mediterranean countries and examined themes related to the security aspects.

In that period, the influence of global changes and the emerging of security threats and conflicts appeared already clear in the Mediterranean area, so a solid cooperation framework was a necessary precondition in order to establish peace, stability and regional order. In this light, the CSBMs was instituted with the aim to create a *regional security system* that make the EMP more regionally integrated complex. In particular, the CSBMs proposed a range of initiatives for a *Mediterranean security charter* in 1996. The Action Plans were reinforced though cultural dialogue which

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[1] consists of two regions: the EU and the Middle East. Each region has diverging patterns and two different security complexes. See Haddadi (1999) who identify that Middle East has the lower level of security complex, while the EU has higher-level

required the following implementation of the Neighborhood Policy that has influenced the EMP with the creation of reforms and regulatory and legislative approximation. In this light, the ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) was linked to the Barcellona Process in order to enhance mutual trust for the management of conflicts.

To summarize, The EMP promotes a political dialogue[2] including in this area of dialogue: democracy, preventive diplomacy, confidence and security building measures (CSBMs), disarmament. The actors involved in the Action Plan's decision are the EU and individual governments together, so all governments have direct impact on issues but the EU has a real crucial role providing for specific reforms and cultural, economic and political projects. The instruments adopted by EMP in order to monitor the evolution of the policy and the outcomes deciding on common objectives and actions are the *"meetings"* in which Senior Officials are responsible for realization of actions.

In this light, the security dimension became the primary issue in the political agenda, and so cooperation program in the Mediterranean includes security concerns.

Specifically, we identify some security threats present in the Mediterranean region involving political, cultural and societal field[3]:

1- The middle East conflict and Migration in which the partners provide to the realization of a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East, stressed the creation of a democratic State of Palestina, underlined the refugee problem as a societal security concern, showing how the Middle East conflict has generated a migratory flow and the refugees seek asylum in Europe and in other Mediterranean countries.
In general, migration concern on human movement, illegal migration that as to do with the organized crime, drug trafficking. In this light, the partners provide to manage migratory flows facilitating the legal movement of persons and promoting social integration.

2- Terrorism is underlined as a serious threats in which partners have been victims of terrorism attacks, an important example was the September 11 attacks regarded as an attack against the entire international community. In this context, the EMP countries promote tolerance against any form of xenophobia, emphasize the political and cultural dialogue with comprehensive and cooperative approach.

In the EMP[4], states recognized the comprehensive understanding of security in the Barcellona Process under the international liberal principles of democracy, liberalism, human rights, rule of law, tolerance. So, States adhere on that goals which are declared in the Barcellona declaration (1995) including: *Political and Security Partnership, Economic and financial Partnership and Social Cultural and Human Partnership,* and more, cooperation goals for both military and non-military issues under the approach of soft security:

- *Strengthen cooperation in combating terrorism*
- *Fight together against the organized crime*
- *Take practical steps to prevent proliferation of weapons*
- *Promote conditions likely to develop good- neighborly relations*
- *Consider security-building measures to create an area of stability and peace in the Mediterranean including the long-term possibility of establishing a Euro-Med pact to that and*
- *Respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty equality*

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[2]Action Plan, May 1996
[3] For example: the ministerial Conference in Malta (1997), Conference in Stuttgart (1999), in Valencia (2002), in Naples (2003)
[4] including 15 EU Member states and 12 Mediterranean countries

In this respect, we underline the increasing securitization process in the Mediterranean and it is possible to identify following sector which require security intervention:

- *Military sector* is about military threats which are identified in term of "distance", that implies that military threats are difficult to be controlled, and "terrain", that can reduce or increase the vulnerability according to the landscape. This last is identified in the Mediterranean in which the geographical proximity of Europe and Med countries increase the threat. For this reason, the military concerns are the primary issues in the political agenda including also terrorism and organized crime;

- *Political sector* refers to the organization of social orders and political threats in the Mediterranean are identified stemming from the ideological and identity problems that are present in EMP, such as the ideological differences between the Islamic and Western;

- *Societal sector* underlines identity issues (i.e the issue of minorities), societal threats are present in the Mediterranean as a part of military and political threats, concerning for example the ethic differences of the rise of societal violence and migration;

- *Economic sector* identifies the relation between population and industry, the interaction between states face to global economic transition. The economic field is also linked to military one cause of financial resources could be used for military capabilities. Regarding to EMP, the economic security depends on the relation between EU and other Mediterranean countries which are asymmetric: in one hand Europe depends on MENA's oil and gas and so it have made investment in the energy sector, in the other hand the protectionism policy given by MENA's countries contributes to increase insecurity and deterioration of economic situation. As solution, the EMP promotes economic development in the regional states reinforcing the regionalist premise and promoting free trade area.