MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

„European Neighbourhood Policy – Development Plan or Security Strategy?"

verfasst von / submitted by

Konstantin Werner Weckenbrock

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2019 / Vienna 2019

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	A 066589
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:	Internationale Entwicklung UG2002
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Dr. Michael Obrovsky

ABSTRACT EN

Among other scholars in existing research on the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) it is widespread to pick a certain aspect of the policy and then argue on the basis of that one aspect that the policy is either security driven or development driven. However, what the debate is lacking is an overall observation of the general orientation of the ENP. The research at hand aims to close this research gap and approaches that task with the main research question: *What kind of policy is the ENP? Must it be considered as development plan directed to north African countries, or as security strategy with the European Union in the centre of interest?*

The method used in this paper is a deductively conducted latent content analysis. The indicators/analysers for the coding process were derived from the theories this research is based on, namely *World-System-Theory, Realism, Institutionalism,* and *Liberalism*. The coded documents were the bilateral Action Plans of the three countries observed – Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt – as well as the 2015 Review of the ENP, which does not only cover the three mentioned states, but the all countries associated with the EU through the ENP. Finally, the appearances of the previously defined indicators/analysers were counted throughout the coded texts and the results visualised.

Ultimately, this research finds that the distribution of security and development indicators/analysers throughout the texts is unequally distributed and represents 61 percent and 39 percent accordingly. Trends in appearances of indicators/analysers are comparable for all four texts for both security and development. According to the counts, the focus of the ENP lies on increasing *ownership and decentralisation*, decreasing *bad governance and clientelism*, *Institutionalisation*, and increasing *interdependence of states and economies*. The study finds that the ENP appears to be more of a security policy that supports the EU's position in the bilateral agreements.

ABSTRACT DE

Unter Forschern, die sich bereits mit der Europäischen Nachbarschaftspolitik (ENP) beschäftigt haben, ist es weit verbreitet einen einzelnen Aspekt der Politik aufzugreifen und auf Basis dessen zu argumentieren, dass die Politik sicherheits- oder entwicklungsorientiert sei. Der Debatte fehlt jedoch eine grundlegende Betrachtung der Ausrichtung der Politik. Die vorliegende Arbeit zielt darauf ab diese Forschungslücke zu schließen und nähert sich dieser Aufgabe mit folgender Untersuchungsfrage: *Wie ist die ENP einzuordnen? Ist sie ein Entwicklungsplan, der sich an nordafrikanische Länder richtet, oder eine Sicherheitsstrategie, bei der die Interessen der Europäischen Union im Mittelpunkt stehen?*

Die in dieser Arbeit verwendete Methode ist eine deduktiv durchgeführte latente Inhaltsanalyse. Die Indikatoren für den Kodierungsprozess wurden aus den angewandten Theorien – Weltsystemtheorie, Realismus, Institutionalismus, und Liberalismus – abgeleitet. Als zu kodierende Dokumente wurden die bilateralen Action Plans der drei beobachteten Staaten – Tunesien, Marokko, Ägypten – sowie die Review der ENP von 2015 ausgewählt. Letztere bezieht sich nicht explizit auf ein Land, sondern stellt eine Evaluation der gesamten ENP – einschließlich östlicher Partnerschaft – dar. In allen Texten wurden die bereits erstellten Indikatoren markiert, die Häufigkeit des Erscheinens gezählt und schließlich visualisiert.

Abschließend stellt die Studie fest, dass es sich bei der ENP eher um eine Sicherheitspolitik handelt, die die Position der EU in den bilateralen Abkommen unterstützt. Das Forschungsergebnis ist durch die Daten belegbar, da 61 Prozent der markierten Indikatoren der Sicherheitsdimension zuzurechnen waren und lediglich 39 Prozent der Entwicklungsdimension. Hinzu kommt, dass Verläufe und Trends bezüglich der Indikatoren in allen kodierten Texten vergleichbar sind. Laut der Anzahl der dokumentierten Vorkommen liegt der Fokus der ENP auf der Stärkung der *Eigenverantwortung und Dezentralisierung*, der Verringerung der *schlechten Regierungsführung und Klientelismus*, der *Institutionalisierung* und der *zunehmenden gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit von Staaten und Wirtschaftsräumen*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Action Plan	AP
African, Caribbean, and Pacific states	ACP states
Development dimension	DEV
Economic Partnership Agreement	EPA
European Development Fund	EDF
European External Action Service	EEAS
European Mediterranean Partnership	EMP
European Neighbourhood Policy	ENP
European Union	EU
Free Trade Area	FTA
Gross Domestic Product	GDP
International Atomic Energy Agency	IAEA
Least Developed Country	LDC
Non-Governmental Organisation	NGO
Non-Proliferation Treaty	NPT
Second World War	WWII
Security dimension	SEC
Semi-Periphery	SP
Sustainable Development Goals	SDGs
Treaty of Lisbon (also: Treaty of the Functioning of the EU)	TFEU
Union for the Mediterranean	UfM
World Trade Organisation	WTO
World-System-Theory	WST
UN Conference on Trade and Development statistics	UNCTADstat

1 INTRODUCTION

The general perception, actively shaped by the European Union (EU), is that "development policy is at the heart of the EU's external action" (Nogaj, 2013, p. 9). However, there are other voices in the scientific discourse that stipulated a self-centred imperialist security interest in the Union's external actions. For example, Marchetti (2006, 2012) sees EU external actions as a means to an end in order to pursue a hegemonic strategy with the final aim of building a buffer between the EU member states and the peripheral states that are shaped by social unrest and other non-desirable situations and conditions. Both positions receive support from Raik (2006) and Vogt (2006) who argue that the EU does have a responsibility to get involved in the development process of its neighbour states, whereas dependency scientists like Wallerstein (1988), Emmanuel (1972), or Prebisch (1955) and Singer (1950) support Marchetti's argument.

With the content evaluation of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) either aiming at development issues or rather at security issues, the purpose of this paper is to close a research gap. There are essays on the ENP that issue the underlying aims and effects of the policy, which differentiate into a development aspect and a security aspect, however, there was no research found that analysed the actual bilateral agreements and their focus.

Therefore, the aim of this research paper is to make a statement on the basic orientation of the European Neighbourhood Policy, thus, if it is either a development policy that primarily seeks to implement the interests of its neighbouring states or if it must be considered a security policy that focusses mainly on European interests including for example security of boarders, resource security, as well as institutional and military security.

It is not an aim of this paper to evaluate the European Neighbourhood Policy in the context of its effectiveness, thus the ability to achieve the aims that were set. Depending on which actor's view point is taken the aims would subjectively differ anyways. Besides, it will not even be possible to draw conclusions regarding the effectiveness of the policy from the data created in this study, as it describes a

fundamental orientation rather than an implementation measure. The exact description of the aims can be found at the end of chapter one, where the research question is formulated.

The public interest for the ENP in the context of European foreign policy increased throughout the last years. On the one hand, ENP partner states like Morocco or Tunisia got into the center of attention regarding the refugee and migration crisis and linked retention methods. On the other hand, the Cotonou agreement – the major trade agreement between the EU and the ACP countries – is expiring in 2020 (European Commission, 2000). Therefore, the current periode is decisive regarding the focus of the European Africa-politics for the follow-up policy. Presently, opinions on the future differ. Federina Mogherini (European External Action Service, 2016), the High representative of the EEAS, follows the idea of securitisation in foreign politics with the introduction of the *European Union Global Strategy* that puts Europe first in all foreign actions. A more development shaped proposal came from Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, during his *State of the Union Speech* in September 2018 (European Commission, 2018). Against this background the study at hand delivers a review of previous and current EU foreign cooperation and development agreements. It indicates the status quo, the split between security and development in foreign politics, namely the ENP, and it can help in finding answers concerning how the future orientation of EU foreign politics should be shaped.

The data analysed in this study derives from a latently conducted content analysis of the Action Plans, as well as the 2015 Review of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Based on the chosen theory two dimensions were created, namely a development dimension and a security dimension. The former – primarily shaped by insights from the World-System-Theory, the Prebisch-Singer hypothesis, and Emmanuel's theory of unequal exchange – includes measures necessary to make development work like countering symptoms of the *Dutch Disease*, unequal exchange of goods, and clientelism in the government, as well as increasing participation of all fractions of the population. The latter dimension is based on the three main schools of International Relations, namely *Realism, Liberalism,* and *Institutionalism*, and includes analysers like military

expansion, creation of a Free Trade Area, and the institutionalisation of bilateral relations. Answers to the stated research questions are finally given on basis of the number of counts of analysers and dimensions.

In the subsequent sections of chapter one the reader will find an overview of the history of EU-Africa relations and agreements. This section includes the question of responsibility and right of the EU to operate in its Neighbourhood, as well as the long way from first post-World War II cooperation, over the Lomé and Cotonou agreements, to the Barcelona Process and, finally, to the European Neighbourhood Policy. At the end, based on insights regarding the historical change of cooperation from development driven to value promoting, the formulation of the research question rounds up the first chapter. Chapter two represents the theory section. Based on the *Core, Periphery, Semi-Periphery* model, primarily shaped by Immanuel Wallerstein, the advantages and disadvantages for cooperation between states of the Global South and the Global North are highlighted. Additionally, in order to create a basis for the evaluation of the security dimension of this study the three main schools of International Relations, namely *Realism, Liberalism,* and *Institutionalism* were included in this section. The third chapter is committed to the methods of the research. Besides defining the research design and selecting the cases for the study this section includes the conceptualisation and measurement definition and the description of the analysis of the data. Chapter four is dedicated to the analysis and discussion of the findings of the content analysis. Based on the findings and the deductively applied theories this chapter also offers responses to the research questions stated. The visualisations in this section are easy to follow for the reader and serve as a conclusion of the data at a glance. Finally, the conclusion handles the overview of the research including the problem, results, and discussion of questions that could not be answered by the study.

1.1. BACKGROUND

> "The ENP can […] be considered to be just one element in an
> EU effort to pursue a 'hegemonic strategy' as it factually aims
> at establishing a 'semi-periphery', or privileged 'buffer',
> between the EU and the 'periphery'" (Marchetti, 2012, p. 404).

The above statement by Andreas Marchetti is a beautiful, but also very functional opener for this paper. On the one hand, it is a very straight forward conclusion that suggests that the European Union (EU) would act in self-interest, on the other hand, it is contrary to the officially communicated position of the European Union, which reads more like a big development plan for neighbouring countries. Since the arguments of both sides, namely the European Union and the critics are established and on the table the discussion could already start, however, for the sake of traceability and a clearly structured argument background information regarding the historical process is needed and shall be given. In the following this paper will give an overview of the topic of interest, including the political process leading to the European Neighbourhood Policy.

First, this paper seeks to show what the underlying intentions of the EU are to get engaged in the Global South and its neighbourhood and if there is a right or responsibility for the EU to act with and within other countries. For clarification, the two strands of policies discussed in the following, namely the agreements of Yaoundé, Lomé, Cotonou on the one side and the European Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), European Neighbourhood Policy, Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) on the other side, are not exactly superimposable. The former strand deals with countries that were European colonies until the end of the second World War (WWII), and African, Carribean, and Pacific (ACP) states[1], whereas the latter focusses exclusively on the neighbourhood of the EU.

---

[1] The ACP countries are: „Angola - Antigua and Barbuda - Belize - Cape Verde - Comoros - Bahamas - Barbados - Benin - Botswana - Burkina Faso - Burundi - Cameroon - Central African Republic - Chad - Congo (Brazzaville) - Congo (Kinshasa) - Cook Islands - Côte d'Ivoire - Cuba - Djibouti - Dominica - Dominican Republic - Eritrea - Ethiopia - Fiji - Gabon - Gambia - Ghana - Grenada - Republic of Guinea -

Thus, there is no direct connection between the two strands and one is not the clear follow-up to the other or vice versa. Still, both strands were designed by the EU based on experiences and the political environment. Therefore, it is important to include both strands in order to show the evolution of EU attitudes concerning development policies towards the Global South.

1.1.1 RESPONSIBILITY

Before this paper can look at the orientation of the ENP, it must be discussed how to see the EU, more precisely its mandate to act. Even though critics may argue that the EU follows selfish security intentions, Kristi Raik (2006) approached this topic objectively from a historical point of view. For her the *founding myth* of the European Union is decisive for the justification of the Union's responsibility to act outside its own borders. The *myth* builds on the establishment of "the predecessors of the current EU […] on the ruins of the Second World War […]" (Raik, 2006, p. 76). The aim was, after the tragic two World Wars and countless more wars before, not to repeat the history of nationalism and exclusion, therefore creating a climate of inclusion and "lasting peace among democratic European states" (Raik, 2006, pp. 76–77).

That underlying *myth* was primarily shaped by former French foreign minister Robert Schuman (1950) and his so-called *Schuman Declaration* from 9. Mai 1950. In his famous speech Schuman argues that peace among the European countries cannot be taken for granted and that creative efforts are necessary in order to establish and maintain lasting peace. He identifies the age-old archrivalry between France and Germany as the reason for ongoing tensions and wars on the European continent and in the world. Against that background

Guinea-Bissau - Equatorial Guinea - Guyana - Haiti - Jamaica - Kenya - Kiribati - Lesotho - Liberia - Madagascar - Malawi - Mali - Marshall Islands - Mauritania - Mauritius - Micronesia - Mozambique - Namibia - Nauru - Niger - Nigeria - Niue - Palau - Papua New Guinea - Rwanda - St. Kitts and Nevis - St. Lucia - St. Vincent and the Grenadines - Solomon Islands - Samoa - Sao Tome and Principe - Senegal - Seychelles - Sierra Leone - Somalia - South Africa - Sudan - Suriname - Swaziland - Tanzania – Timor-Leste - Togo - Tonga - Trinidad and Tobago - Tuvalu - Uganda - Vanuatu - Zambia - Zimbabwe" (ACP Group, 2011).

his proposal to pool the coal and steel production of France and Germany appears creative already, as the following quote shows:

> „The solidarity in production thus established will make it plain that any war between France and Germany becomes not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible. "
>
> – Robert Schuman (1950)

However, why does Kristi Raik now argue that "the EU does carry responsibility for extending […] its norms to the neighbouring countries […]" (Raik, 2006, p. 77)? Based on the *founding myth* argument she identifies four reasons why the European Unions has the above mentioned responsibility. Firstly, Schuman defined in his speech a "*community* with no fixed borders which is open to all European countries that share the common values" (Raik, 2006, p. 79) or in the words of Robert Schuman (1950): "[The] production of coal and steel […] within the framework of an organization open to the participation of the other countries of Europe. […]. This production will be offered to the world as a whole without distinction or exception, with the aim of contributing to raising living standards and to promoting peaceful achievements". Secondly, as shown by the last quote, the principle of *consent* is evoked by expressing the "intention to care about the wellbeing of that community (Raik, 2006, p. 79). As a third reason Raik offers the capacity argument that says that having the *capacity* to do something – in this case promoting "democracy, security and wellbeing beyond its borders (Raik, 2006, p. 79) – gives the EU the responsibility to do so. Ultimately, Raik argues that the combination of the three above mentioned reasons would create some kind of *legitimate expectations* in the neighbourhood of the EU to become part of that community. The expectations concerning the EU's regional role were increasing since the end of the Cold War already as its autonomy increased due to the fact that it was not overshadowed by two superpowers anymore, according to Raik (2006, p. 78). Additionally, supporting the last point, EU officials like former President of the European Commission, José Manuel Barroso, keep confirming the assumption of responsibility like in the quote below, which might even strengthen the expectations of the neighbours:

"We have the opportunity and a historic responsibility to build on the successful experience of our Partnership and Cooperation Agreements to the East and the Barcelona Process in the Mediterranean" (Raik, 2006, p. 77).

In comparison to Raik, Vogt (2006) agrees that there is something like European responsibility, however, he does not go back to the *founding myth* that ultimately leads to *legitimate expectations* by neighbouring states. Instead, Vogt argues that "responsibility was always […] based, almost in a metaphysical manner, on the historical and moral responsibility felt by the Europeans towards their former colonies" (Vogt, 2006, p. 162), which suggests that responsibility in this case is self-imposed. On the one hand, it does not matter if responsibility is self-imposed by oneself or expected by others, both can lead to equally benevolent actions and co-operation. On the other hand, expected responsibility may be a better starting point as responsibility is demanded by a player, who wants the other player to lead. Contrary, self-imposed responsibility does harbour the danger that one player is forced into a direction or pulled into a situation he or she does not want to be in by the player, who feels the responsibility towards the other.

Vogt names three trends in EU policymaking towards poorer countries that explicitly stand for a situation described in the latter sentence. While Raik only sees what has been said by Schumann in 1950, Vogt goes a step further and reflects on how alive the values publicised back then are today. In his opinion "ideals as democracy, human rights, good governance, and the rule of law" (Vogt, 2006, p. 163) are believed by EU policymakers, but not reflected anymore. Vogt argues that when Raik, or more precisely EU officials, speak about democracy it is forgotten that democracy "includes a great number of different elements and that people interpret it in different ways" (Vogt, 2006, p. 163). Explanations for the missing reflectivity can be found on two levels. Firstly, on the EU level, as the EU speaks for (still) 28 member states, which share a very homogenous concept of democracy. Thus, discussion and reflection on certain values is uncommon and not very intense. Secondly, Vogt (2006, p. 163) sees a crucial turning point in the 1980s, namely the introduction of structural

adjustment policies that follow W*estern*[2] principles like capitalism and democracy. According to Vogt (2006, p. 163) this step made Western countries believe that they are on the right way, since their ideas were now applied on a global level. Consequently, EU policies show a non-reflected view – since they are self-centred – on the values they are promoting. Furthermore, Vogt criticises Raik's argument that EU responsibility is coming from the intention to do good. For him, the starting point is the paradigm of dialogue, which radically changed the power relations in international relations. It may even be that dialogue was thought of as a mechanism to ensure that everyone's voice is heard at every moment of policy making and that every view on a certain issue may be implemented into a law. Thus, basically "to create an air of equality" (Vogt, 2006, p. 166). However, Vogt finds that the dialogue paradigm works pretty much the other way round, as dialog itself became a value. In reality, it turned out that more dialogue on more levels increases the hegemony of the stronger player as the context of the dialogue changed from a state-sovereign level to a level of globalisation (Vogt, 2006, p. 159; 166). Since hegemony and the lack of sovereignty are a good basis for conditionality approaches this is what the dialogue paradigm is often linked with. Henri Vogt (2006, p. 167) goes even a step further and describes the conditionality as imperialism the stronger player is imposing on the weaker player, who is damned to follow the dictated rules in order to not sink into insignificance. The third and last trend of EU policymaking, that might pull a player into a situation he or she does not want to be in, that Vogt (2006, p. 160) identified is that development policies are part of power politics nowadays. By that he points at the connection between security and development.

---

[2] Western, in the context of this paper, means a certain set of values and ideas spread by the European colonialism in the past. Territorially, the West is located in Europe and North America.

> "The logic […] this […] is based on is obvious: underdevelopment, poverty, and desperation tend to breed violence, in the worst case terrorism, and there can be no development without security and political stability. More importantly, it has also been realised that poverty not only contributes to local security problems; it may materialise as insecurity far away, also in Europe" (Vogt, 2006, p. 168).

Following his argumentation development aid must be seen as global security strategy of the EU, which shows that EU policies might be self-directed in a way to assure more security within its borders. However, "this may obscure the goals of the actual development efforts and thus be truly harmful from the perspective of the needy" (Vogt, 2006, p. 168). At this point one can go back to the initial point of discussion, namely if the responsibility of the EU is self-imposed or expected by others. Especially this last trend seems to counter Raik's argument of externally expected responsibility as "European leaders increasingly seem to justify their actions by emphasising their responsibility towards European citizens, too" (Vogt, 2006, p. 169).

However, one should see the whole picture here as especially the linkage of development and power politics can be the result of a general change of policymaking, namely multi-sectoral approaches or policy nexus. This certain approach is the political answer to an ever more complex world on the one hand, and the need for policy coherence and synergies in order to solve global tasks on the other hand[3]. It became more prominent in the last decades together with the application of the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable

---

[3] The most important criterion for multi-sectoral approaches is that policies are designed as an answer to a certain problem. The big advantage of this kind of approaches is that everyone who might be affected is included to the discussion, which creates a big pool of information, experience and views (Macqueen et al., 2014, p. 5). Consequently, unintended side-effects of policies are basically cancelled out, as everyone affected has the chance to shape the policy and raise his or her concern. Ultimately, since the approach is multi-sectoral the resulting coherence will also be multi-directional and not limited to one policy sector only (Mackie et al., 2017, pp. 15–16). The biggest disadvantages of this approach are probably that of diverging contexts a problem is seen in, as well as diverging administrative cultures on the international level, which make a one-size-fits-all measure impossible (Mackie et al., 2017, pp. 16–17).

Development Goals, which aim at cooperation between multiple political fields and were already designed as nexuses (Mackie, Ronceray, & Spierings, 2017, pp. 15–16).

Thus, it is obvious that the responsibility the EU has towards its neighbours, and linked to that the right to act in its neighbourhood, is highly ambivalent. Also, it should be kept in mind that both concepts are not exclusive and strictly separated. Even highly self-interested EU policymaking could lead to expectations of non-member state countries that the EU fulfills its responsibilities as the third country hopes to be better off even though the focus is not directly on them.

1.1.2 ENP AND PROGRESS

Examining the EU policymaking and the question about the source of responsibility to act in its neighbourhood brings us close to the core question of this paper, namely if the European Neighbourhood Policy is more of a self-directed security policy, as suggested by Marchetti (2012) and Vogt (2006), or more of an other-directed development policy, like Raik (2006) sees it. Yet, concerning neighbourhood co-operation the ENP is only the latest part of the puzzle and maybe not the only one that should be considered when talking about neighbourhood cooperation. For the purpose of deeper understanding, as well as to pick up the point from before that Vogt's and Raik's interpretation of responsibility may not be observed as alternatives, but indeed as two sides of the same medal, the historical progress of post-World War II neighbourhood cooperation will be traced back in the upcoming section.

Post-WWII, Yaoundé, Lomé, Cotonou and the ACP states
Isebill Gruhn (1976) states that 1949 was the year of first post-World War II cooperation between European and African countries. However, this cannot be interpreted as development aid or act to increase European security, but simply as a practical solution for the "European dollar shortage at the time [, which] served as an impetus for trade between Europe and Africa" (Gruhn, 1976, p.

243). Additionally, the "Strasbourg Plan of 1952 urged all member states to develop trade and aid relationships with their colonies" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 243), which primarily concerned France, but also Belgium. Germany lost its colonies after the defeat in World War II, the Netherlands did not have any African colonies at that time, and the amount of Italian colonies was simply insignificant compared to the French ones (Wimmer & Min, 2006). However, as the Strasbourg Plan includes the commitment to development aid it is "generally agreed that the issue for France was not merely trade preferences, but its desire to distribute the burden of overseas aid among the six European Community members" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 243; 246). Five years later, in 1957 the *Treaty of Rome* established the European Common Market. With the colonies in mind the treaty included a section – under Article 132 – regulating their status. This Article determines that the associated countries, thus the colonies, enjoy the same treatment and trade conditions as any other of the six founding countries of the European Economic Community (EEC six) – Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. Furthermore, it makes development aid by the EEC countries for African countries a requirement and mentiones the possible establishment of a Fund for development (Gruhn, 1976, p. 244).

Due to the independence of most of the associated countries a new agreement had to be concluded. Thus, as a follow-up to the Article 132 of the Treaty of Rome, the Yaoundé conference established the Yaoundé I agreement in 1963, which "set[s] out three possible forms of association with the EEC" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 244), namely the status as associated country with the most privileges, another form of association with less privileges, and limited trade agreement. The three forms of association were not least established due to the accusations of Ghanaian President Nkrumah, who saw "a new system of collective colonialism which will be stronger and more dangerous than the old evils we are striving to liquidate"[4] (Gruhn, 1976, p. 244; Nkrumah, 1962) in the Yaoundé conventions. Nkrumah's criticism was not unjustified, the Yaoundé conventions were primarily "designed by the Europeans and presented to the Africans on an

---

[4] His argument served later on for the formulation of the prominent development paradigm *neo-colonialism*.

acceptance or rejection basis" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 247) and left no room for participation in the decision-making for the associated African states. Specifically, "the inclusion of policies and measures which were clearly the product of demands from individual EU [sic!] states to protect the interests of nationally embedded blocs of capital" (Nunn & Price, 2004, p. 210) in the early Yaoundé framework led to the aforementioned characterisation. Essentially, Yaoundé I and II, which are substantially similar and comprise the period from 1963-1974, were built around the sections of *trade* and *technical and financial aid*. The most important clause here is the regulation of tariffs and taxes. According to the Yaoundé convention the EEC countries had to grant tariff preferences for the African associated countries, which in turn, did not have to grant tariff preferences for the EEC themselves – with exception of some agricultural products. Additionally, the agreement allowed associated states to "retain or introduce […] customs duties and charges […] necessary to meet their development needs […]" (Gruhn, 1976, pp. 245–246). The results of Yaoundé I and II were that the "earlier heavy dependence of the […] Associates on France" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 246) was reduced and distributed over the whole six EEC countries, and the unchanged trade pattern between African associated countries and the EEC six, which remained stable at around 71 per cent of exports from Africa to Europe (Gruhn, 1976, p. 246).

Lomé

The Lomé convention, after Yaoundé the second post-World War II economic agreement between the European community and African countries, was signed in February 1975 and "has been hailed as a breakthrough in North-South relations" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 241). In comparison to Yaoundé, under Lomé a higher number of stakeholders was involved as the EEC expanded from six to nine member states and through the inclusion of Caribbean, and Pacific states, additionally to the African states – in short: the ACP states –, a total of 46 states was at the negotiating table (Gruhn, 1976, p. 248). According to Gruhn, the ground-breaking success of the Lomé convention can be exemplified with five outcomes. Firstly, the confirmation of non-reciprocity concerning the access "to the European market for goods exported from the ACP" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 248;

Nunn & Price, 2004, p. 212). Reciprocity in trade tariffs was explicitly taken out of the convention with the recognition of pre-existing inequalities for ACP states, with only one exception, namely goods falling under the ECC's Joint Agricultural Policy, which, however, only accounts for less than one percent of goods (Gruhn, 1976, pp. 254–255). Secondly, the stabilization of export receipts (STABEX), which is a powerful tool to diminish consequences of economic crashes due to undiversified economies. STABEX provides financial help for ACP economies that are dependent on only one or a small number of their product's export revenues, whereby dependent is defined as 7.5 per cent of export revenues. In case the earnings from a certain good listed in the convention is falling under a defined level it is eligible for financial aid (Gruhn, 1976, p. 248; 255-256; Nunn & Price, 2004, p. 212). This mechanism is also very helpful to avoid that a country is experiencing a financial or economic crisis caused by the *Dutch-disease*, which was scientifically described in the Prebisch-Singer hypothesis. However, on the other hand it could motivate undiversified economies to remain with their status without the incentive to diversify the economy. Thirdly, indexing of prices, thus the linkage of a price of a certain product with a price index of the same product. In the case of Lomé the EEC committed "itself to buy up to 1.4 million tons of sugar from the ACP at a price indexed to the common agricultural policy price for beet sugar in the Community" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 256). On the one hand, this model gives security to ACP economies and could act as role-model for other resources, and on the other hand, raises awareness for and recognises the "dependency of LDC economies on industrial economies (Gruhn, 1976, p. 256). Fourthly, the "recognition of the link between agriculture and industry" including industrial cooperation (Gruhn, 1976, p. 257). As a result, it is possible for ACP countries to extend their value-chains and can keep more added value inside their countries. Lastly, aid money was increased by 3.7 times, compared to Yaoundé, which, however equals a real increase of only two times due to the "explosion of membership" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 257). Ten per cent of the total aid was reserved for regional projects, which increases the weight of regional cooperation and "perhaps even integration in certain areas" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 258). Additionally, EEC and ACP agreed on greater participation possibilities for ACP states in the European Development Fund (EDF), giving ACP states an "active part in various stages of

project definition and execution" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 257). Another point, not mentioned as ground-breaking by Gruhn, but still important when it comes to the question of this paper, namely the self-directedness or other-directedness of the ENP, is the establishment of joint institutions under Lomé. This point will be picked up later on when it comes to international relations and security strategies that are part of the European foreign policy (Gruhn, 1976, p. 248).

Since Lomé is considered to be ground-breaking compared to the forerunner Yaoundé, the question arises how that was possible or what lead the EEC to make such profound concessions. According to Gruhn there are two reasons explaining the situation, which are *know-how* and *resources*. For the know-how part ACP states had experienced "that skilled negotiators making proposals of their own rather than merely responding to EEC proposals presented to them" (Gruhn, 1976, p. 247) show great effect. Additionally, a working African bloc on international level contributed to the success as it produced skilled negotiators and internal processes. With regard to the latter reason Gruhn argues that Lomé was not at all as altruistic from the EEC side as it seems. She states that at the moment of the adoption of Lomé the recent energy crisis has left its imprint on EEC policymaker's thinking. Thus, concessions were probably made to procure resource security as many of the African countries were known to have rich reserves of oil and uranium (Gruhn, 1976, pp. 259–260; Nunn & Price, 2004, pp. 211–212). Therefore, Gruhn believes that from the EEC side "it was self-interest rather than charity or naiveté which produced the innovative aspects of the Lomé Convention" (Gruhn, 1976, pp. 259–260).

Cotonou

Whatever view one might have on the Lomé Convention, this particular framework was running out at a certain point. That certain point for the Lomé Convention was the *Uruguay Round* of the superordinate *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade* (GATT) – which led to the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) – that heavily influenced the trade practices of its members as it was incompatible with current trade practices, especially the concept of reciprocity, of Lomé. Consequently, a follow-up agreement to Lomé and its three extensions was necessary in order to comply to the internationally agreed trading regime (Flint, 2009, p. 83). Finally, the Cotonou Agreement, signed in June 2000, became the successor agreement (Hurt, 2003, p. 161). However, compared to the euphoric reactions to the Lomé Convention with all its achievements, the Cotonou Agreement is widely considered as a step backwards in the direction of neoliberalisation of international relations and the deprivation of the *special status* the ACP states held for decades (Flint, 2009, p. 83; Hurt, 2003, pp. 163–164).

> "[…] any new trade arrangement must be fully compatible with
> the rules of the World Trade Organization" (Hurt, 2003, p. 164).

To understand the EU's actions, Article 1 of the newly bargained GATT is decisive, as it states "that any trade concessions offered by one signatory to another must, in turn, be offered to all other signatories […] [and that] concessions cannot discriminate" (Flint, 2009, p. 81). Article 1 allows two exceptions, namely "one, [if] the concessions are motivated by development concerns and two, [if] the concessions relate to the functioning of free trade areas" (Flint, 2009, p. 81). In response to the new regulations, the EU, under the Cotonou Agreement, evaluates the contract partners, the ACP states, regarding their stage of development. Finally, the ACP group is not recognised as one group, but as two, namely the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and the rest, the slightly better performing countries (Hurt, 2003, p. 166) in order to have at least one group that falls under exception one of Article 1 of the GATT based on WTO criteria (Hurt, 2003, p. 166). For the 39 LDCs of the ACP group trade does not change too much as those countries are "entitled to maintain a trade

relationship with the EU based on non-reciprocity" (Hurt, 2003, p. 168) that even has the potential to turn out to be a better deal than under Lomé, as improvements regarding coverage of products and rules of origin are possible (Hurt, 2003, p. 168). In conclusion, "Article 37 of the Cotonou Agreement states that duty free access for the LDCs should include 'essentially all' products" (Hurt, 2003, p. 168), which translates into the *Everything But Arms* initiative, which deletes all tariff lines on LDC products in Europe, except weapons (Flint, 2009, p. 87). On the other side, the states not classified as LDCs are facing the strong decay of their Lomé privileges. They do not fall under the exceptions of Article 1 of the GATT and therefore, cannot be offered non-reciprocal tariff agreements, which would be "incompatible with the multilateral trading system" (Flint, 2009, p. 83), according to the WTO. Non-LDC ACP states have the choice, under the Cotonou Agreement, to conclude a reciprocal free trade agreement – so-called *Economic Partnership Agreement* (EPA) –, which is negotiated with the EU (Hurt, 2003, p. 168). Yet, Hurt (2003, p. 169) states that ACP states will not be very successful in negotiations concerning the EPAs due to regional institutional weakness, as well as the lack of administrative capacities and resources. The alternative for the non-LDC ACP states consists in joining the *Generalised System of Preferences* of the EU. However, not one ACP state chose the alternative due to its much worse initial situation compared to Lomé, as well as due to the fact that ACP states cannot have a word in negotiations (Hurt, 2003, p. 168).

Whereas the attempt from the European side to include human rights and conditionality as a requirement to receive aid money was blocked during the Lomé Convention, the Cotonou Agreement builds on this approach. The introduction of a conditionality approach on basis of values – the EU linked development aid to certain "ideas of human rights, good governance and democracy" (Hurt, 2003, p. 171) – is defended by the EU that the taxpayers want their money to be used in a wiser and more efficient way (Hurt, 2003, p. 171). On the other hand, it was argued that the *International Monetary Fund* and the *World Bank* demanded political and economic conditionality in development aid as reaction to the failed structural adjustment policies (Flint, 2009, p. 82). It is likely that the EU is interested in structural adjustment and therefore followed the

suggestions above in order to satisfy their citizens and maintain their economic and hegemonic position. Whatever strategy the EU tried to follow by introducing the concept of conditionality to development aid, it is well known that targeting of desired aid projects becomes easier and that sanctions on aid become possible. Consequently, aid can easily be suspended in case one of the principles – "respect for human rights as defined in international law, the promotion of universal democratic principles and the independent rule of law" (Hurt, 2003, p. 171) – is violated (Hurt, 2003, p. 171).

> "The ACP bloc is now simply one amongst many, no longer 'special'" (Flint, 2009, p. 83).

The Cotonou Agreement is a turning point in European development aid in many regards. On the one hand, the EU cannot be held fully responsible for the changes in the trade pillar of the Cotonou Agreement as it is reflecting the WTO framework that has to be followed by all WTO members, like the EU is one. On the other hand, the introduction of a conditionality approach in the aid pillar coupled with a focus on regional aid that overburdens and undermines the current regional institutions of ACP states can, for sure, not be called an ideal development policy (Flint, 2009, p. 87; 90; Hurt, 2003, p. 169). Furthermore, what the EU is for sure responsible for is the linkage of market-based principles with aid by introducing Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) as actors under Cotonou. The hopes the EU had by including NGOs was to strengthen the process of democratisation and the state in general in the partner countries (Hurt, 2003, pp. 172–173). However, the introduction of market principles in aid is highly controversial and was for example discussed in preparation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) between the two spokespersons Easterly (2006), favouring a market based approach, and Sachs (2005), who favoured a state-led development plan.

A last thing that has to be noted concerning the Cotonou Agreement is that it is the ongoing trade policy between the EU and the former ACP bloc, which is now divided into LDCs and non-LDCs. The policy will run out in 2020 (European Commission, 2000), which makes the current periode decisive regarding the

focus of European Africa-politics for the follow-up policy. It remains unclear who can carry his or her point in this question and if the follow-up will be security shaped   as demanded by Federica Mogherini (European External Action Service, 2016), the High representative of the EEAS, or more development shaped as proposed by Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, during his *State of the Union Speech* in September 2018 (European Commission, 2018).

EMP, ENP, UfM

Since the EU is often scolded to be too bureaucratic and too complicated in its framework and decision making the following is grist to the mill of EU critics. Indeed, the setup of the European Mediterranean Partnership by the Barcelona Process before the introduction of the ENP and finally the Union for the Mediterranean is, even by experts like Michael Emerson (2008, p. 1), described as "confusing". Especially in combination with the above presented evolution of trade relations between the EU and the Global South Emerson's description seems to hit the bull's-eye.

After a preceded dispute between the northern states of the EU and its southern states about the necessity of a European Mediterranean Partnership and the means of support towards the Mediterranean non-EU states – namely by free trade, which was favoured by the northern states, or classical development aid by money, which was favoured by the southern states – the time was right for the EU and twelve Mediterranean neighbours to meet in Barcelona in 1995 (Attinà, 2004, p. 140; Gillespie, 1997, pp. 66–67). The meeting in Barcelona resulted in the so-called Barcelona Declaration that provides the implementation framework for the EMP. It was argued that the EU recognised that "past programmes and policies were inappropriate for dealing with the economic and political problems of the post-Cold War era" (Attinà, 2004, p. 140). Consequently, the follow up question is how the EMP should look like then and how it compares to other EU-Foreign relations like the Lomé Convention, that was in place at the time of the adoption of the Barcelona Process.

According to the Barcelona Declaration the EMP should aim at the establishment of a Free Trade Area (FTA) between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbours (Attinà, 2004, p. 140; 142) – Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Joran, Palestine, and Turkey. Cyprus and Malta were initially member of the Mediterranean neighbourhood and became EU member states in 2004. The establishment of a Free Trade Area, thus reciprocal trade, can be brought into context with the Uruguay Round and the resulting update of the GATT, which prohibited non-reciprocal trade as it had been established throughout Yaoundé and Lomé. Consequently, the EU adapted the EMP to the new standards from the beginning for their neighbourhood, just like they did for the ACP states five years later with the Cotonou Agreement. The three pillars of the EMP were a security pillar, an economic pillar that was "by far the most defined outcome of the Conference" (Gillespie, 1997, p. 71), and a social, cultural and human affairs pillar (Attinà, 2004, pp. 140–141) that aimed at the establishment of an "area of peace, stability, and mutual prosperity" (Jünemann, 2005, p. 7) on both Mediterranean shores. One milestone of the EMP, and significant difference compared to agreements with the ACP states, was the institutionalisation of relations. A "new Euro-Mediterranean Committee was formed by the EU's troika and one representative from each Mediterranean partner" (Attinà, 2004, p. 143). Additionally, for each of the three pillars of the EMP fora were established in which state officials and experts could meet "periodically to conduct a political dialogue and to submit practical proposals" (Attinà, 2004, p. 143). Furthermore, the involvement of civil societies is recognised as a major innovation of the EMP, and the Economic and Social Committees from both shores were encouraged to "establish regular contacts so as to contribute to a better understanding of the major issues relevant to the [EMP]" (Attinà, 2004, pp. 144–145). Concerning the form of co-operation the EMP was designed and introduced as multilateral (Attinà, 2004, p. 142) and regional (Attinà, 2004, p. 141; 144; 146-147). Also the "insistence upon political liberalisation and human rights" (Gillespie, 1997, p. 71) is an indicator that conditionality plays a role under the EMP. Thus, the EMP is a policy of its day and corresponds with the region-building approach that was already pursued, and criticised because of its undermining effect, regarding the ACP states, as well as the introduction of conditionality that was planned to

include under Lomé but was finally implemented into the framework under Cotonou.

However, the EMP was criticised for not living up "to the expectations the initiative raised when it was launched […] [,which] also implies that the EMP's contribution to economic and social development and stability in the Mediterranean have been rather modest" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, pp. 17–18). The EU's solution to these shortcomings was to establish a further policy that should complement the EMP framework and "build on existing policies and arrangements" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, pp. 20–21). With this aim the European Commission proposed a *wider Europe scheme* that finally developed into the European Neighbourhood Policy (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 19).

> "According to the Commission, the declared aim of the ENP is 'to share the benefits of the EU's 2004 enlargement with neighbouring countries in strengthening stability, security, and well-being'" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 20).

The introduction of the ENP coincides with the eastern enlargement of 2004 that includes ten new member states to the Union and is to date the largest expansion in the history of the EU. Del Sarto and Schumacher (2005, p. 19;25;28) argue that the ENP is clearly shaped by the change of internal dynamics resulting from the eastern enlargement. Those internal dynamics enable the policy shift of the ENP, compared to the EMP, even though it supplements the EMP (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 19). According to del Sarto and Schumacher, the ENP differs substantially from the EMP in four points, that are: Firstly, the change of paradigms from the long standing *regionalism* to the new *differentiated bilateralism* (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 21). Although, regionalism has a long tradition that goes back to Yaoundé and before it was criticised for its complexity, the one-size-fits-all thinking, the overburdening of partner state's administrations and undermining of existing regional co-operations (Flint, 2009, p. 87; 90; Hurt, 2003, p. 169). On the other hand, regionalism limits over-performers and overburdens under-performers. Consequently, a differentiated bilateral approach enables the actors "to upgrade

relations to those neighbours that are politically and economically most advanced and/or show commitment to undertake serious political and economic reforms" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 21). The second fundamental change concerns the model of conditionality. Whereas the EMP introduced the principle of *negative conditionality*[5] on a theoretical basis, as it was never used, the ENP is based on the principle of *positive conditionality*[6]. As the EU states that it "does not seek to impose conditions or priorities on its partners" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 23) and "reform-willing states did not receive any significant incentives to proceed further in the reform process" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 22) under negative conditionality, the EU decided to choose the positive approach. Thus, the EU and their partner states established a benchmarking system consisting of bilaterally agreed so-called *Action Plans* (APs) that include specific goals for the partner state during a certain time period. When the periodic checks of fulfilment of the APs find fulfilments aid money is released or it is agreed on other advantages (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 23), like for example entry to the EU's internal market (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 19). Thirdly, the authors state that the EU is very clear about what genuine interest it pursues with the ENP, compared to the EMP. On the one hand, security aspects and economic interests were already addressed as common interest under the EMP. On the other hand the EU specifies those empty words by stating that its aim is to export "the EU's values to its immediate periphery" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 23). EU's values in this context means "democracy, liberty, rule of law, respect for human rights and human dignity" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 23). Furthermore, the EU defines the effective control of borders as common interest of the neighbourhood and states that it "has a clear interest in ensuring that

---

[5] „Negative conditionality means that the donor threatens to terminate, suspend or reduce aid flows, or actually does so, if pre-set conditions are not met by the recipient. In the view of many scholars, the concept of "conditionality" covers only negative conditionality [...]. When the mass media write of conditionality, what is generally meant and understood is this kind of negative conditionality" (Selbervik, 1999, p. 13).

[6] „[...] positive conditionality: the donor promises additional aid as a reward for "good behaviour", for the adoption of given policies or the achievement of certain goals set by the donor [...]. For example, additional aid resources can be earmarked for democracy and human rights measures, or given as a direct reward to a government, by increasing the general volume of aid or BoP support and debt relief" (Selbervik, 1999, p. 13).

these common challenges are addressed" (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 23). Considering the model of positive conditionality, from the latter point, and the one-sided definition of common values, under this point, the relation between the European Union and its neighbourhood "often correspond[s] more to a soft form of hegemony than to a partnership" (Bicchi, 2011, p. 9).

What Bicchi calls a soft form of hegemony here has been theoretically discussed as *Governance approach*. The ENP counts as a prime example for this kind of approach. The primary aims are to use norms and values as tools to influence others and to support these values beyond the own borders. Additionally, the *Governance approach* is a very loose concept that, in contrast to the nation state, lacks central authorities and focusses on a high plurality of actors from the public and private sector instead. Indeed, the rules and norms supported under the *Governance approach* are not binding in a legal sense, however, in combination with the already mentioned conditionality, which is applied under the ENP, it develops its strength by giving simple incentives (Raik, 2006, pp. 80–82). In conclusion, due to the value promoting character of the ENP Raik (2006, p. 82) states that "the ENP […] can be viewed as an 'external dimension of internal politics'".

Ultimately, del Sarto and Schumacher see the separation of EU-Mediterranean relations from the Middle East peace process as a further fundamental change of the ENP in comparison to the EMP. The EU Council was cited on this issue with a statement saying that the Middle East conflict should neither hamper "urgent reform challenges facing the countries of the region", nor be made a precondition for co-operation (Sarto & Schumacher, 2005, p. 24).

The last episode of EU-Mediterranean relations, namely the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM), was introduced in 2007 by former French President Sarkozy during a press conference in his election night (Emerson, 2008, p. 1). "Presented as something of strategic and historical importance" (Emerson, 2008, p. 1) Rosa Balfour finds:

> "[…] the story is one of a balloon that lost its air. The headline news that Sarkozy's project managed to grab was transformed by the politics and diplomacy of negotiation within the EU and with the southern Mediterranean states. The outcome has been a downsized project of much lesser impact, by and large representing a return to little more than 'business as usual' in the relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean, enhanced by stronger intergovernmental institutions and by a shared 'technical' Secretariat" (Balfour, 2009, pp. 99–100).

Her opinion is backed by Federica Bicchi, who states that "the political project of creating a region in the area is diluted and political ambitions downsized" (Bicchi, 2011, p. 16). However, she adds that the UfM with its bilateralism shifts even further away from the region-building strategy pursued by the EU und the EMP. Thus, the UfM was not only good for a change of names from Euro-Mediterranean Partnership to Union for the Mediterranean, but also brought the former EMP framework closer to the ENP (Bicchi, 2011, p. 17).

Since the terminology can be very confusing and the impact of the UfM is reportedly small, the former EMP framework, which was renamed to UfM, will be referred to as EUROMED standing for the relations between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbours. Thereby, following the EU's example.

On a final note, even though this paper deals with the ENP only, for reasons of integrity the 2016 *European Union Global Strategy* should be mentioned. The authors of the strategy find that the "Union is under threat" and that the "[i]nternal and external security are ever more intertwined" (European External Action Service, 2016, p. 7). With the aim of fostering the resilience (European External Action Service, 2016, p. 8) of its member states the *European External Action Service* (EEAS) designed the global strategy. Based on the Lisbon Treaty and designed with the aim to give the EU member states one signle voice in foreign politics the global strategy became the superordinate policy in foreign relations (European External Action Service, 2016, pp. 46–49), including the scope of the ENP.

"A more prosperous Union requires economic priorities to be set in relations with all countries and regions, and integrated into the external dimensions of all internal policies" (European External Action Service, 2016, p. 49)

However, the most important finding can be deduced from point three of the implementation plan, namely "[…] development policy will become more flexible and aligned with our [the EU's] strategic priorities" (European External Action Service, 2016, p. 48), which explicitly subordinates the ENP and any other EU development policy to the Union's security interest. Consequently, on the one hand, development aid from the European Union should be understood as self-interested foreign investment for European security. On the other hand, the EU forged a double-edged sword in view of the refugee and migration crisis. Since the crisis increases the bargaining power of neighbouring states, the EU might not be able to fully pursue their own security interest as consessions must be made to neighbouring states in order to minimise the migration from third countries. The significance of the global strategy with respect to the ENP and this research will be discussed in section 5.2 of this paper, the contributions and limitations of the research.

1.1.3 SUMMARY AND GETTING BACK TO THE BEGINNING

Two strands of EU policies have been discussed. There is one strand dealing generally with EU development and trade policies towards the Global South, represented by the ACP states. This strand, which basically started as a follow-up to former African colonial relations – which is also the reason why France was pushing this issue as France had the most colonies in Africa – became a symbol for the decay of reparation, partnership, and special status the EU aimed initially to grant the countries in question. However, after a start that was praised by the vast majority, especially regarding the Lomé Convention, the EU changed it tactics, also urged by the 1994 change of the GATTs, which forbid the former approach of non-reciprocal trade in favour of the ACP states. In fact, the Cotonou Agreement can be seen as a critical change in this strand as it split the

ACP states in LDCs and non-LDCs, introduced development aid based on conditionality, and took away all that could justify the use of the term partnership concerning the EU-ACP relations. The second stand is addressed exclusively to the neighbourhood of the EU, thus the states that share a direct border with the EU or that one's having a border with the Mediterranean Sea. This strand chose a slightly different approach, which also reflects the 1994 GATTs update. The initial point here was the Barcelona Declaration, the implementation framework for the EMP, that aimed primarily to establish a Free Trade Area between the EU and its neighbourhood – since the GATTs update this is the only way to offer trade advantages to a group of selected countries. The EMP, like Cotonou that was adopted only five years later, included conditionality in order to achieve its goals. The follow-up, the ENP, aimed at fixing weak points of the EMP by some ambivalent actions. Most notably, the multilateral regional approach pursued under the EMP was changed to a bilateral approach. Arguments for this change might be that regional approaches undermine and overburden African regional institutions. However, neighbour state's bargaining power significantly declines, and it is consequently easier for the EU to pursue its goals – or to impose their hegemony like some critics would say. Furthermore, the change from negative to positive conditionality and thus favouring reform-willing countries could even be a step to the right direction and reanimate the spirit of partnership. However, it is very likely that the partner states will most likely, due to the hegemonic pressure, converge to EU positions regarding policy making, values, and thinking. Both strands, the former more than the latter, changed from an almost generous framework to a *become-like-us-or-see-how-you-get-along* framework, which might have been the thought on Andreas Marchetti's mind when he wrote about the EU and that it is actively constructing its own semi-periphery.

Marchetti sees the basic motivation for EU involvement in its neighbourhood simply in generating advantages as "the EU endeavours to prevent developments in its geographic neighbourhood to negatively affect its security or prosperity" (Marchetti, 2006, p. 4). Yet, the EU, with the ENP and EUROMED framework, chose a co-operative way of generating advantages that has the potential ability to generate advantages for both sides of the co-operation, compared to the status quo. The root of the co-operative nature of the framework

can be seen in the fact "that the EU cannot have an interest in growing asymmetries because the costs of assuring the own benefits increase with a rise in asymmetries. The higher the differences are, the higher are the costs to maintain just these differences – the lesser the differences, the smaller the costs" (Marchetti, 2006, p. 26).

> " […] the EU has a vital interest in lessening the differences"
> (Marchetti, 2006, p. 26)

Consequently, Marchetti's argument could hold "that however ambitious, co-operative, and well-meant the ENP is designed, it certainly is far from altruistic" (Marchetti, 2006, p. 16) and that "the ENP can, therefore, be considered to be just one element in the EU effort to pursue a 'hegemonic strategy'" (Marchetti, 2012, p. 404).

However, what does it mean for the EU foreign and development politics when Marchetti states that it is aiming at establishing a semi-periphery around its territory? In the following chapters the underlying logic behind the neighbourhood framework will be discussed and analysed. What are characteristics of the world-system the EU is maintaining and establishing, according to Marchetti, and which security strategy did the EU link to it? How can the progress be assessed? Is it one sided, self-directed by the EU or other-directed, do or can both sides in the neighbourhood profit?

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTION

The underlying research question of this paper was already foreshadowed in the first chapter. The unit of observation shall be the orientation of the European Neighbourhood Policy on the status of the relation between the EU and north African partner states in the ENP framework. Since the focus will be on economic and security aspects the research question will be stated as follows,

> *"What kind of policy is the ENP? Must it be considered as development plan directed to north African countries, or as security strategy with the European Union in the centre of interest?".*

The main question is supplemented by further sub-questions that shall help to approach the answer of the main question step by step. The first sub-question is designed to cover the impact of the ENP on the involved economies, both EU and partner state. The wording will be,

> *"What impact does the ENP have on the economies of the north African partner states?".*

The second sub-question issues the security section and shall help finding out if and which security strategy is pursued by the EU under the ENP. Furthermore, since multiple scenarios are possible, this sub-question aims to answer who benefits from the chosen security strategy,

> *"What security strategy does the EU pursue with the ENP, and how must it be assessed? Does the strategy generate one-sided or two-sided benefits?".*

A third sub-question deals with the main criticism of the ENP, namely being imperialist. As this paper aims to critically review the ENP it is necessary to consider the whole process from policy making to implementation, as an

approach in which the end justifies the means cannot be the basis for a liberal development policy.

> *"Why does the ENP have the reputation of being imperialist, and would it be beneficial for the EU to pursue an imperialist policy with the aims set under the ENP?".*

2   THEORY

In this section an overview of the underlying theoretical framework of this paper shall be provided. With special regard to the research question and Marchetti's assumption that the EU would build its own *Semi-Periphery* (SP) with the ENP, the first step will be to focus on the development part of the research question. Especially the World-System-Theory (WST) will play a major role in this consideration. In a second section the security aspect will be viewed from the theoretical point of view.

2.1   THE WORLD-SYSTEM-THEORY

2.1.1   CORE, PERIPHERY, AND SEMI-PERIPHERY

The World-System-Theory in its basic form is a unique development theory in a certain way. Development approaches until the 1970s were broadly limited to one single community like it is the case in *Modernisation theories* like *Rostow's five stages*. Such approaches aimed at *developing* countries with money, as it was assumed that a big influx of money will give the economy a push to the next level (Rostow, 1960). Far from it, the World-System-Theory can better be described as a historical analysis of inter-community relations, a historical transformation process from a feudalistic society to a capitalist world-economy going out from Europe (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 271). The WST is part of the *Dependency theories* that are based on the core-periphery paradigm, which was shaped by Raúl Prebisch (Kay, 1989, p. 26). The "system continues to exist today and includes the entire world including the sates ideologically committed to socialism" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 271), as well as the peripheral states (Frank, 1966, p. 151). Due to the association to *Dependence* theories it is a basic assumption under the WST that development and underdevelopment are not separated ways a state chose, but that they are the result of one singular process, thus the development of the one group is linked to the underdevelopment of the other group (Franke & Kumitz, 2016, p. 45).

According to Heinze (2009, pp. 11–16), the WST is based on four pillars. The first pillar is the abolition of scientific disciplinary boundaries, as the WST includes sociological, historical, economic and political aspects. Secondly, as mentioned above, the *Dependence-theory* as theoretical basis of the WST. Thus, the assumption that differences in development progress are not linked to culture, but dependency and exploitation. As a third pillar Heinze sees the influence of the *Annales-Schule* and Fernand Braudels. Especially, the concept of the *longue durée* that assumes that certain structures can influence the world for centuries, which is why the plead for a historical analysis of current phenomena is visible in the basic structure of the WST. Additionally, Braudel's concept of the *économie monde* in the world-system adds even more complexity by highlighting the interconnectedness of national economies. Under this concept it is assumed that the development of a single region can only be explained by including all regions of a certain space. The underlying awareness is that all regions are interacting in the same world-system and therefore have an impact on each other. Finally, the WST denies that nation states represent a society that develops autonomously. Therefore, the analysis cannot stop at national borders, but has to overcome *methodological nationalism* in order to focus on the economic entity of the modern capitalist world-system.

> "Core and the periphery do not exist in isolation. Core and periphery are regions that stand at opposite ends of a core-peripheral relation to each other. This relation is characterized by unequal exchange" (Terlouw, 1992, p. 143).

Having these four pillars in mind there are some questions left, especially concerning the *Dependency* from pillar one. The world-system "operates through a geographical division of labor between rich and poor regions" (Terlouw, 1992, p. 16) that can be roughly divided into *Core*-regions and *peripheral*-regions. The underlying dynamic of the world-system is that goods produced in the *Periphery* are exchanged with goods that are produced in the *Core*-region, but have less value, which can be enforced by the *Core* as "their organization is stronger" (Terlouw, 1992, p. 16). Yet, there is not only a *Core* and a *Periphery*. The

theorist Immanuel Wallerstein introduced the idea of a tripartite world-system consisting of a *Core*, a *Periphery*, and a *Semi-Periphery*, which fits as intermediate category or *Restkategorie* – thus as category including all states that can neither be allocated to the *Core*, nor to the *Periphery* – between the two others (Heinze, 2009, p. 23; Terlouw, 1992, p. 16). How can a region be categorised then and what are the characteristics of the three categories?

> "[…] the push to endless accumulation of capital becomes and remains dominant. Production tends always to be for profit rather than for use" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 272).

The *Core* states are characterised by core activities – thus everything belonging to the ultimate section of a value chain, which is often distinguished by a high capital intensity and high profit margins (Heinze, 2009, p. 20; Terlouw, 1992, p. 144) – and the fact that they "have achieved the most efficacious state structures relative to other states" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 274). All this can be considered as the result of the increased wealth of the *Core* that enables states to establish a welfare system, which keeps class conflicts in particular and conflicts in general at a minimum and gives the regime legitimacy. Other points that give the *Core* a strong initial position are a strong bureaucracy and military apparatus (Terlouw, 1992, pp. 143–144), even though a strong military is not a necessary condition (Heinze, 2009, p. 20). Therefore, the main task of *Core*-states is described as establishing the best possible climate for capital accumulation as more accumulated capital results in higher tax revenues, which finally strengthen the position of the state (Heinze, 2009, p. 20).

Contrary, states located in the *Periphery* show weak state structures and "are weakened by the very process of economic peripheralization" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 274). Peripheral economies are distinguished by labour intensive, thus less capital intensive value production. Due to the low entry barriers for labour intensive production the competition on the market is high and the profit margin small (Heinze, 2009, p. 22). Additionally, the *Periphery* exports raw materials or unfinished goods that are affected by a higher impairment than the finished

goods produced by the *Core* (Terlouw, 1992, p. 73; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2005, p. 85).

Between the two mentioned extremes – *Core* and *Periphery* – the *Semi-Periphery*, the third category of the tripartite world-system, fits in. As mentioned before the *Semi-Periphery* is an intermediate category that includes all countries that cannot be clearly assigned to the winner side – thus *Core* – or loser side – thus *Periphery* – within the world-system. Consequently, *core* and *peripheral* activities mix in this category. On the one hand, this region is exploited by the *Core* as it exports peripheral goods to it. On the other hand, it exploits the *Periphery* itself by exporting core goods to it. Even though labour- and capital-intensive goods are balanced in semi-peripheral economies "links between core and the semiperiphery are […] much stronger than the links between the semiperiphery and the periphery" (Terlouw, 1992, p. 145). Concerning the role of the state it was argued that semi-peripheral state actions are most visible and have the highest impact as these countries hang in the balance and each decision can impact the future economic organisation (Terlouw, 1992, p. 145; Wallerstein, 1991, p. 274). Finally, Heinze (2009, p. 23) adds that the *Semi-Periphery* stabilises the world-system by separating the *Periphery* and the *Core* geographically – which was not always and everywhere correct, as the borders between the USA and Mexico (Terlouw, 1992, p. 33; 38; 40; 43) or central Europe and eastern Europe (Terlouw, 1992, p. 33) show in older mappings. Due to the separation, Heinze (2009, p. 23) argues that social contrasts would not clash directly and, therefore, limit the danger of class conflicts flaring up (Schmalz, 2016, p. 58). For a graphical elaboration of the comparison between *Core* and *Periphery* see ANNEX A.

Diving a bit deeper into the academic argument related to the WST one quickly notices that there are several assumptions and differences made by authors that sometimes even contradict each other. One of the most prominent academic disputes related to the WST is the so-called *Wallerstein-Frank Debate* between André Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein. For Frank, the core-periphery paradigm becomes the *Metropolis-Satellite-Relation*. According to him a world-

metropolis exists that is superior to different local and national Satellites (Frank, 1966, pp. 152–153). The author argues that the system would sustain itself as each Metropolis aims to keep up the exploitation towards its Satellites, which finally leads to developed Metropolises and undeveloped Satellites (Frank, 1966, p. 150). Indeed, Wallerstein builds up on the same core-periphery paradigm, however, he adds the *Semi-Periphery* as buffer between the core and the periphery (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 173). For him, the world-system developed since the 16th century, namely when integrated value chains were established and communities were able to monopolise certain parts of value chains or even whole value chains (Wallerstein, 1988, pp. 170–171). He argues that through the establishment of value chains some communities assemble and finish the product – typically the communities or states that managed to monopolise the last section of a value chain – whereas others – namely the *Periphery* and *Semi-Periphery* – are degraded to supply components for the final product, which in turn makes it impossible for the supplying states to keep the generated surplus (Wallerstein, 1988, p. 174). Further differences between the two authors perceptions of the world-system is the universality of the system assumed by Frank that becomes evident in the assumption that there is a world Metropolis superordinate to all other local and national Metropolises (Frank, 1966, pp. 152–153; Peet & Hartwick, 2009, pp. 150–151). On the other hand, Wallerstein believes that the world-system consists of dualities, thus, the possibility of more than one mutually coequal core-region. Each region has its *Core, Semi-Periphery* and *Periphery* (Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 173). However, both authors share the assumption of the existence of certain economic core-regions, as well as, that the development – thus the ascent from periphery to semi-periphery or from Satellite to Metropolis – of one region always means the descent of another region to the lower level (Frank, 1966, p. 150; Kay, 1989, p. 26; Peet & Hartwick, 2009, p. 172; Wallerstein, 1988, p. 185).

For the outside spectator the differences Wallerstein and Frank disagreed about might appear very marginal and unimportant. Since this study focusses explicitly on the European Union and the surrounding states, thus a limited region, Wallerstein's assumption about the duality of world-systems seems to be more

suitable. On the one hand, the duality allows to consider the core region of the observed area as the highest entity that is not influenced by others. In Frank's model one would have to guess what the world Metropolis is and in case it is not the EU itself the final argument would always be that the EU acts the way it does due to the hegemonic actions of the Metropolis it is a Satellite of. On the other hand, this paper was opened by a quote from Andreas Marchetti, who states that the EU is building its own *Semi-Periphery* with the ENP. Thus, for the sake of coherence and clear argumentation the Wallerstein model, whose unique feature is the introduction of the *Semi-Periphery*, will be meant when the WST is mentioned throughout this paper.

It was already pointed out in an earlier chapter, dealing with the background of this paper, how the history of trade between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbours was developed. Additionally, the last section highlighted the characteristics of the regions in the capitalistic world-system and thereby did not fall short of issuing the unequal exchange of goods between the *Core* and the *Periphery*. However, actions, effects, and how they are linked were not explained in detail before. Therefore, this section shall serve as a subsequent clarification of the terms and contexts used.

Focussing on the unequal exchange of goods and the disadvantages peripheral states have to face concerning the capture of produced surplus the so-called *paradox of plenty* gives an academically well accepted insight. The term emerged in 1993 and tries to highlight links between abundance of resources and poorly performing economies from a political as well as economic point of view (Auty, 1993, p. 1).

From the economic point of view, the *Dutch Disease* is the most interesting mechanism, which, according to Robert Kappel, would lead to increased exports of resources by resource abundant countries. As a consequence, the national currency appreciates, which puts non-expanding sectors of the economy at disadvantage. The reasoning is bipartite. On the one hand, the appreciated national currency increases the prices of all goods exported by the country,

which makes the exports less attractive and less competitive on the world market. On the other hand, prices for imports decrease at the same time for the same reason, thus domestic products lose their competitiveness even on the domestic market. Kappel adds that this mechanism primarily affects economies that are not diversified, as those economies are not able to compensate the occurring fluctuation of prices (Gilpin & Downie, 2009, p. 2; Kappel, 1999, p. 46; Terlouw, 1992, p. 144). Additionally, the thesis developed by Prebisch and Singer aggravates the situation of peripheral states. Prebisch and Singer state that primary goods, compared to industrial goods, experience a much higher value loss (Kay, 1989, p. 32; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2005, p. 85), which further increases the profit-loss gap between the Global North and the Global South.

From a political point of view, abundance of resources is often related to bad governance, clientelism, and the lack of welfare systems (Gilpin & Downie, 2009, p. 2; Terlouw, 1992, pp. 143–144). In this context, bad governance and clientelism obviously stands for the tendency that (mainly) autocratic rulers, favoured by the lack of judicial and political control mechanisms, try to enrich themselves and their cadres. Since money in the resource sector can be made comparably quick and easy, thus labour-intensive and with low capital use, rulers tend to expand the resource sector massively, while other sectors are neglected. The basis for a veritable *Dutch Disease* is established.

2.1.2 IMPLICATIONS AND DOWNWARD SPIRALS OF THE WORLD-SYSTEM

The Barcelona Declaration, which is the starting point of the ENP, aims at establishing a Free-Trade Area in the Mediterranean, precisely between the EU and its neighbourhood (Attinà, 2004, pp. 140–142). The arising question is: What are the underlying theoretical considerations for establishing a Free-Trade Area and what are the implications?

In the *Ricardian-Model* two economies are compared, which both can produce the same two goods. However, each economy has a comparative advantage in one of the goods compared to the other economy. Therefore, Ricardo concludes that both countries should specialise on the good they have the lower opportunity-costs in and should trade it in a perfectly competitive free-trade market to increase overall productivity. In a second step labour costs must be decreased to a point where the domestic product is the most competitive on the world market compared to economies producing a similar good. Consequently, the newly competitive economy earns money that can be reinvested in the economy or that can be used to strengthen the state (Heinze, 2009, p. 25; Krugman, Obstfeld, & Melitz, 2009).

However, the *Ricardian-Model* suppresses what was described as *Prebisch-Singer hypothesis* in the last section of this paper, namely that primary goods, typically produced by peripheral states, devalue much faster and have a much smaller profit margin than industrial goods that are produced by core states. Additionally, the concentration on only one good per country and the shift towards inflexible monocropping results in large overproduction of certain goods – mainly agricultural products or raw material – on the world market (Heinze, 2009, p. 26). Therefore, Arghiri Emmanuel (1972) developed a counter position to Ricardo by taking a different angle at production of goods – which was shared by Wallerstein as he considered the relation between *Core* and *Periphery* as "a relation of unequal exchange between entrepreneurs" (Terlouw, 1992, p. 143). Emmanuel uses the labour intensity of producing a good as the reference point. Since the *Core* produces with high capital intensity, but low labour intensity, and exchanges its goods with the *Periphery* that produces with low capital intensity and high labour intensity the exchange is unequal. The unequal exchange is complemented by the fact that labour intensive goods are usually abundant, whereas capital intensive production generates scarce products. Consequently, core states can demand higher prices for their scarce products than peripheral states for their abundant products, which widens the gap between both sides as core states can reinvest their profit and expand their technological advantage or even their advantage in science and knowledge (Heinze, 2009, pp. 26–28). According to Heinze (2009, p. 29) the system is stabilised by unequal practises

in favour of the *Core*, which acts protectionist, while it hinders peripheral states to do so by "political, economic, and military means" (Heinze, 2009, p. 29; Terlouw, 1992, p. 146) like for example Free-Trade Agreements.

> "Internationalism has always been a fig leave of imperialism" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 281).

Others go even further and link the establishment of free trade to imperialism by saying that "a period of hegemony is […] a period of relatively free trade" and that "during a period of hegemony, semi-peripheral states have consequently little opportunity to improve their position in the world-system" (Terlouw, 1992, p. 21; 146). Thus, from this point of view it seems arguable that the EU is pursuing an imperialistic plan that aims at stabilising the own economy, rather than giving peripheral states the opportunity to develop economies that are capable of creating prosperity and a stable state. On the other hand, with explicit focus on the north African states under the ENP, the policy could still be an advantage. As a result of the expansion of the world-system or at least the expansion of the *Core* – as it was done by the EU enlargements and the partial inclusion of the EU neighbourhood to the EU market – the area of the *Periphery* is relocated. It can be expected that the economic performance of the old and the new EU member states harmonises in the long run, which pushes the *Semi-Periphery* beyond the EU border. In turn, former peripheral states could become *Semi-Periphery*. What would be bad for the majority of African states would be an advantage for the north African states of the ENP as they are pushed into *Semi-Periphery* due to the strong links to the EU, and their position is fostered at the same time as the already peripheral African states are confronted with new bigger economies in the north of the continent (Terlouw, 1992, p. 22; 145).

2.2   DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY

Since the research question asks for the nature of the ENP, split into development and security policy, the second part of this research is dealing with the security aspect. Therefore, the three main theoretical concepts in international relations regarding security and peace, namely *Realism*, *Institutionalism*, and *Liberalism* will be reflected in this section. It is foreseeable that the ENP will fall in one of the three categories, which at the same time does not mean that the policy must be considered as a self-directed security policy – at least regarding the categories *Institutionalism* and *Liberalism*. The detailed discussion of the meaning of classification for the nature of the ENP will take place in the Methods and the Analysis section of this paper. This section only aims at giving the reader a comprehensive overview of the dominant concepts concerning peace strategies.

2.2.1   REALISM IN THE ANARCHY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

In *Realism*, there is the awareness that there are no supranational actors who could pass binding decisions which is why intergovernmental anarchy prevails (Kahl & Rinke, 2011; Maersheimer, 1990, p. 12). The fact that states always have their own interests in mind would lead to a security dilemma, which would not automatically lead to war, but would increase inter-state tensions (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 72–73; 79).

> "Whoever shoots first, dies second!"
>
> – anonymous

On the one hand, one can identify peace through deterrence, which can be seen especially in the confrontation of two major powers during the Cold War in a bipolar system. It is well known that after the end of WWII, the ideologies of the United States and the Soviet Union clashed. Both aimed to safeguard their respective world view. In other words, the pursuit of "security for the sake of one's own survival" (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 73) became crucial, since the enforcement of one ideology would automatically mean inferiority and thus the defeat of the second. This struggle for survival was reflected in the Cold War

context by the armament and equipment of the two bloc powers with nuclear weapons (see ANNEX B). However, in the bipolar context of the Cold War, this armament, characterized by individual state interest, does not show the expected military activity. Contrariwise, Maersheimer (1990, p. 11) argues that the armament was the reason for the continuing peace since 1945. The author even believes that war and peace are independent of theoretical schools, because they depend on the structure of the international system, so that Realism in a bipolar system, as it existed in the Cold War, is a guarantee of peace and security with well-balanced major powers (Maersheimer, 1990, p. 12). However, it remains to be noted that this peace cannot contribute to a subjective sense of security, since theoretically there is always the chance of an outbreak of war.

> "There are times when it is not only morally justified but even necessary to consider the war [...]."
>
> – (Fukuyama, Huntington, Etzioni, & Walzer, 2002)

On the other hand, there is a non-bipolar system with asymmetrical power relations and states that act in self-interest. As an example, the second Iraq war illustrates the theoretical foundations of Realism very well. Viehring (2008, p. 135; 142) states that the attacks in New York on September 11, 2001 were taken as an opportunity by the US government to proclaim the *war on terror* in order to restore security in the country. While the first step, the Operation *Enduring Freedom*, could still be based on a United Nations (UN) mandate, especially the second Operation *Iraqi Freedom* shows clear features of a Realism-driven strategy. Firstly, Iraq has been constructed as a threat by suggesting co-operation between Iraq and the terrorist militia *Al Qaeda* (Viehrig, 2008, pp. 145–146). Secondly, the threat posed by the assertion that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction finally led to the introduction of the option of a pre-emptive strike (Viehrig, 2008, p. 143; 146). Additionally, *Iraqi Freedom* was not covered by an UN mandate. UN Security Council Resolution 1441 was interpreted as an attack permission, which was made possible by a unipolar distribution of power in favour of the USA, which did not require co-operation partners (Viehrig, 2008, p. 136). The interpretation of the UN mandate as attack permission shows the

assumption of the Realism school that intergovernmental anarchy prevails without a supranational actor - in addition, this assumption is underlined by the fact that nation states, primarily the USA, but also Britain and a *coalition of the willing*, behave as actors instead of supranational associations (Deutsche Welle, 2013; Viehrig, 2008, p. 135). The consideration, and eventually the execution, of a preventive strike is about pursue of the own individual advantage, since non-action would result in a threat of weapons of mass destruction.

Despite the attacks, the occupation period following the war is to be regarded retrospectively as a peace of deterrence, which include free elections. After the withdrawal of the occupying powers, old conflicts broke up and the so-called *Islamic State* spreads in Iraq (Korge, 2011), which underlines the unsustainable nature of the understanding of peace in Realism.

2.2.2 INSTITUTIONALISM - SUPRANATIONALITY & SECURITY REGIMES

In contrast to Realism, *Institutionalism* assumes that there are supranational units – or that they can be established –, which can be assigned state sovereignty and thus have the power to take decisions. From the authors' point of view, Institutionalism is the answer to the increased complexity of international relations, which should be mastered by creating certainty for what can be expected – *Erwartungssicherheit* – from other state players based on norms and rules. It is particularly important that Institutionalism is able to regulate the behavior of states over a long period of time, so that the juridification of international relations contributes to the reduction of anarchy and the likelihood of violent interstate conflicts, through increasing interdependence in the international system (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 79).

> "The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones."
>
> – (Haas, 1986, p. 16)

"Peacekeeping through co-operation" (Brühl, 2011, p. 235) and juridification is the mission statement of *Institutionalism*, as the cost of violence – due to the

interdependence of states – is increased and state structures – that are seen as an obstacle to coping with problems and fulfilment of societal needs – could be dissolved in the long term (Brühl, 2011, p. 236; Conzelmann, 2010, p. 160).

The latter can be attributed to neo-functionalism, whose classification – *Liberalism* (Conzelmann, 2010, p. 157) or *Institutionalism* (Brühl, 2011, pp. 235–240) – is controversial in the scientific literature. For the sake of the argument, and especially the underlying concept of co-operation in neo-functionalism, it will be attributed to *Institutionalism* in the following. It is striking that the concept of co-operation, supranational institutions and integration of fields of action as peace strategy, as represented by *Institutionalism* can be linked to the European Union. The EU is commonly used as a prime example of functioning *Institutionalism* and the establishment of *Ordnungsfrieden*, which is easily comprehensible as war conflicts within the EU have not occurred since 1945. According to Haas the key to success would be to start inter-state co-operation on an economic level[7], as this area offers little room for political controversy (Conzelmann, 2010, pp. 165–166). Kahl and Rinke (2011, p. 79) state that the highest level of *Institutionalism* is integration. With regard to the EU, it can be stated that with the Treaty of Lisbon (TFEU), this stage has been reached, as the Treaty regulates the legal competences of the Union and the Member States in TFEU Articles 3-6, so that, for example, trade, agriculture and energy politics have been fully integrated. However, the EU is still far from integration in all areas, or even in the process of having a supranational body for coordination in all political areas, not to mention integration or at least institutionalisation of relations with non-member states.

Yet, *Institutionalism* does not always have to come in the form of an inter-agency actor, like in the case of the EU, but can also be limited to a single sub-area and adopt the function of a risk managing mechanism (Brühl, 2011, p. 228). One of the best known representatives of this strategy – called *security regime* – is the

---

[7] Indeed, the view point Haas choses can better be assigned to *Liberalism*, however, I want to focus less on the economic aspects here and more on that what the EU is in the context of *Institutionalism*, namely a framework for integrated policy making. Even though the EU has its exclusive competences mainly in the field of economics it also has shared competences in the field of energy, social politics, consumer protection etc. (TFEU Art. 4-6).

Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which is the only binding multilateral treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, weapons technologies, advocacy of (nuclear) disarmament, and the peaceful use of nuclear energy (N.A., 1968; UNODA, n.d.). Since the indefinite extension of the 1995 NPT, an evaluation of the contract has been conducted every five years (Wan, 2015). The 2010 evaluation found that much progress was visible in NPT related areas until 1991, but then the regime lost traction and had its greatest success in revealing loose nukes, and recent achievements were accomplished bilaterally rather than through organizations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). In addition, incidents such as the North Korean nuclear tests, the early leaving of the Egyptian Delegation from a NPT preparatory Conference (International Instituions and Global Governance Program, 2013), the stagnation of nuclear disarmament since 2005 as well as Iran's disregard of the obligation to report to the IAEA (Thränert, 2006) show that security regimes are not an universal remedy. It should also be noted that the 2015 evaluation was left completely open as no agreement could be reached (Wan, 2015). One reason for the regime's disintegration may be the sanction mechanisms that are available to the IAEA which are perceived as inadequate (International Instituions and Global Governance Program, 2013). Ultimately, it is argued that the stability of the regime is threatened by benefit calculations of neighboring states of new nuclear powers (Thränert, 2006).

In order come back to the foreign policy actions taken by the EU it should be brought to mind that *Institutionalism* is part of the EU policy toolkit since the establishment of the Lomé agreement, when joint institutions were established for the first time between the European Community and states from the Global South (Gruhn, 1976, p. 248).

2.2.3 LIBERALISM & RESOURCE CONFLICTS

Liberalism builds on the assumption that the prosperity achieved through interdependent economic systems would be jeopardised by conflicts (Bonacker & Imbusch, 1999, p. 112; Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 77), which would make a (military) conflict highly unpopular. In addition, trade would make the domestic society more homogeneous, so that class conflicts would become rare events, which would also secure the power of trade and the peace-promoting elites doing trade (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 77). Proponents of *Liberalism* are convinced that democracy is the optimal form of government for pursuing the liberal peace strategy, since democratic states are more peaceful among themselves than states in which conflict parties are not democratic (Brühl, 2011, p. 241), which is especially due to the accountability of politicians, the time intensive decision-making processes and the externalization of non-violent conflict resolution that are characteristic for democracies. Based on this insight, the theory of the *Engelskreis* (engl.: circle of angels) emerged at the beginning of the 2000s, when the idea was formulated that rather a democratic state, compared to a non-democratic one, would pursue foreign trade and join international organisations. The *Engelskreis* would work in such a way that the economy strengthened by trade would raise the standard of living, which in turn would be a condition for stable democracies and lead to the regulation of international relations (Brühl, 2011, p. 242). Thus, – like in *Institutionalism* – it can be said that shared norms and values that finally create a common identity and democratic peace, take a central position in *Liberalism* as well (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 78). The effectiveness of this approach has been demonstrated by the European Union (EU) – or, at the outset, by the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) - insofar as the initial idea of pacification was fulfilled by merging production processes over seven decades (Ruf, 2014, p. 52).

Dangers are obvious and are described by the authors as ambivalent, since on the one hand, democratic states could pursue an aggressive and violent strategy to spread their own state form – described by Tanja Brühl (2011, pp. 242–243) as In-group/Out-group-formation –, which, on the other hand, would promote peace at the same time, because a condition for functioning *Liberalism* and a

peaceful environment would be a democratic community of states (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, pp. 78–79). Generally, the chance of the establishment of democratic peace through world trade and regional zones of sustainable peace is assessed very optimistically by the authors and holds valid for inter-democratic relations (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 79).

However, the liberalization of the economy as a concept of peace promotion in non-democratic states can be a fallacy – which can result in the *Dutch Disease* as discussed in one of the last sections – as the example of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) shows (Kübelböck & Grohs, 2017). Kübelböck and Grohs (2017, p. 8) start by stating that the exploitation of resources in the DRC already started at the end of the 19th century and intensified at the beginning of the 20th century when deposits of copper, gold, diamonds, cobalt, and other highly demanded natural resources were found. After the 1960 independence of the DRC events – which are, according to scientists in development studies and economics, typical for resource abundant colonies – are condensing. The authors state that a military coup in 1965 made General Mobutu head of government. Following the coup, Mobutu nationalised the mining sector and increased the mining output, even though copper exports were already at 70% of total Congolese exports five years before (Kübelböck & Grohs, 2017, p. 9). One natural resource standing for more than 70% of overall exports suggests that the DRC did not have a diversified economy at that time and was running into the arms of the *Dutch Disease* with the further expansion of the resource sector.

The theoreticians make clear that the liberalization of the economy alone does not lead to the desired goal of *Liberalism* as a theory of international relations, but rather promotes and intensifies social conflicts. The manifestation of peace in societies based on liberal principles can therefore only take the form of a second step in a process, with the first step always being the democratization of a state in order to minimize corruption and bad governance.

2.3   REMARKS AND SUMMARY

One should keep in mind that development and security aspects cannot always be separated in a clean way. How security and development can mix up can be observed in the following example, where Terry O'Shaughnessy (2006) illustrates the linkage using the example of trade dispute settlement. The focus here is especially on the security paradigms of *Liberalism* and *Institutionalism*, as well as a development approach shaped primarily by the establishment of free-trade. The author writes that since the *Uruguay Round* and the subsequent changes in the GATT Agreement 1994 an institutionalised trade dispute settlement procedure was in place. He presents a study that indicates that the USA and the EU are the main users of that mechanism and that especially "the EU is playing a very active – even a disproportionally active – role in the WTO's disputes settlement mechanism" (O'Shaughnessy, 2006, p. 187). Beyond that, O'Shaughnessy's analysis shows that "disputes settlement under the WTO is more effective for developed countries but no better for developing ones" (O'Shaughnessy, 2006, p. 189), as the timing of legal intervention in a dispute settlement process proved to be crucial. Indeed, core states provide legal resources to peripheral states, however that happens at a later stage of the process than core states themselves intervene legally at the WTO. Since earlier interventions tend to be more effective one can say that an institutionalised settlement process will not correct imbalances as long as peripheral states lack well trained and experienced work force (O'Shaughnessy, 2006, p. 189).

Thus, one could conclude the situation with the words of Franke and Kumitz (2016, p. 46), who say that structural dependence in the sense of the WST describes the institutionalisation of the relations between core and peripheral states. According to the authors the institutional relations are aligned with the needs and in favour of the *Core*.

3   METHODS

When starting a research, it should always be one of the top priorities to know what one is actually researching, and what the right tools are for the specific undertaking. In order to become aware what one is researching and what the tools available are, it is recommendable to follow a certain structure. The initial point is always to find a topic of interest with the aim of formulating a (preliminary) research question, which already happened with regard to this paper. As a short reminder, the overall research question of this paper was formulated as,

> *"What kind of policy is the ENP? Must it be considered as development plan directed to North African countries, or as security strategy with the European Union in the centre of interest?".*

In the next step the purpose of the research has to be formulated. Generally, there are three purposes a research can have. Exploratory research that is usually used for research gaps or when the subject of study is new and there is a general lack of academic work. Consequently, exploratory research is mainly done to formulate a problem or to find the most appropriate methods for subsequent studies in the same field. Second, descriptive research. This type is used to describe situations and events, whereby, the researcher takes the role of the observer and reporter. The aim is to find and point out patterns and links between conditions of the observed situation. The third purpose, explanatory research, is used to explain distinctive features like patterns found in a preceded descriptive research (Babbie, 2013, pp. 90–92). As a rule of thumb, exploratory research answers research questions asking for *who, where, how, why,* and *when*, whereas research questions asking for *what* are descriptive, and questions asking for *why* are explanatory. However, a "study can have more than one of these purposes […]" (Babbie, 2013, p. 90). Regarding the research at hand the second purpose, thus descriptive research, seems appropriate, as the topic was already object of extensive researches, and the primary aim of this research is to deliver a detailed description of security and development aspects

of the ENP. However, due to the theoretical basis of this paper, it would be possible to conclude this paper with some theoretical explanations for the analytical findings that are offered.

Having clarified what the interest, question, and purpose is, the next step is setting up the research design, which primarily includes the units of analysis and observation, as well as the research method that will be applied.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research question is clear on the point that the aim of this study is to make a statement about the positioning of the ENP on a spectrum reaching from *self-directed EU security policy* to *other-directed development policy*. Thus, the unit of analysis is the European Neighbourhood Policy as the overarching policy complex the EU and the partner states organise their relations in. Consequently, as the quasi-operationalisation of the ENP, the individual Action Plans, that are concluded between EU and neighbour states, are the unit of observation.

The actual research method will be a mix of *content analysis* and *existing data research*. It is noteworthy that both methods are deductive and guided by the theoretical framework given in chapter two of this paper, which also makes the operationalisation of the two poles, namely *security policy* and *development policy* a lot easier. This will be done later in this paper.

Going back to the *content analysis*. First of all, it should be mentioned that, even though a content analysis can be very time consuming and hard to realise for a single person in the context of a Master's thesis, it is basically the method that was left after considering the available options. Every form of experimental set-up would require a manipulation of the ENP framework, as well as a test group of countries that is comparable to the EUROMED members. Both requirements seem to be utopian, as the former is completely out of league, and the latter should be impossible to find, especially when arguing in the context of the WST. Surveys and interviews equally drop out the options of realisable methods, as it

would only make sense to survey or interview experts in the field of development, economy, or security. Both, the access to relevant people, and the most likely subjective view of the participants would be a problem for this research. Consequently, the content analysis remained as the most suitable method to research the stated question. The advantages are unobtrusiveness and availability of sources that can be used including almost every form of human communication as there are "books, magazines, web pages, poems, newspapers, songs, paintings, speeches, letters, e-mail messages, bulletin board postings on the Internet […]" (Babbie, 2013, p. 296) and most important for this research relevant laws, agreements, and strategic frameworks. Content analyses, as process of coding, differentiate in manifest coding and latent coding, whereby the manifest version equals counting words and attaching importance to the frequency a word appeared. On the other hand, latent coding checks for the underlying meaning of the pure words (Babbie, 2013, pp. 300–301). In other words, – taking into consideration that especially in politics, words do not always resemble the honest intentions – this research will be based on the latent coding version of content analysis. On the one hand, this approach enables to give a more profound statement on the ENP than just telling if the agreement is written in harsh or decent language. Furthermore, it could be that one pole of the spectrum *development-security* needs a higher degree of explanation or consists of more *typical* words, which would skew the final results. On the other hand, the theoretical background of this paper simply allows for the latent form of coding, which is of course object to interpretation, but also more reliable than the manifest version.

Thus, the content analysis appears to be the most appropriate method to use in this case. According to Deutschmann (2014, pp. 95–97), the characteristics of a scientific content analysis are the theory-based approach, and the analysis of manifest texts that lead the researcher to latent conclusions. Furthermore, there are three types of content analysis, namely, thematic analysis, category development, and typological analysis. Since the second type, the category development, can be conducted in a deductive way, thus based on existing theories, this type fits best to the research at hand (Deutschmann, 2014, p. 98).

The *existing data research* is, in this case, limited to an economic dimension and serves as provider of *hard* data. This might be foreshadowing of the operationalisation section, however, the development side of this research will, amongst others, be measured in welfare gains.

To summarize, this research is a qualitative descriptive study with explanatory elements. The design is based on a *content analysis* and supplemented with *existing data research*. The operationalisation of the dimensions, case selection, and methods of data collection, as well as data analysis will be explained in the next sections.

3.1.1 CONCEPTUALISATION AND MEASUREMENT

Babbie (2013, p. 166) states that the conceptualisation is "the mental process whereby fuzzy and imprecise notions (concepts) are made more specific and precise". It includes a detailed description of the unit of observation that implies the identification of dimensions, as well as, the measurement for those dimensions.

As mentioned in an earlier section, the unit of observation of this paper is the bilaterally agreed Action Plan between the EU and the respective partner state. Since the aim of this paper is to make a statement about the nature of the ENP along the spectrum *security – development*, there are two obvious dimensions, namely the *security dimension* and the *development dimension*. However, this is where the easy part of the conceptualisation stops already, as the dimensions have to be defined now in order to make the study transparent and give everyone the opportunity to get the same concept of the dimensions. Normally, one would have to define the dimensions, but what is *development*? What is *security*? Whose point of view should be adopted? Luckily this paper pursues a deductive approach, which enables us to simply review the theory chapter and make a list of indicators[8] – also measures or analysers – for each dimension.

---

[8] Indicators are finally used to measure a certain variable, or in this case dimension. The name of the measurement unit can diverge. Deutschmann, for example, calls it analyser (Deutschmann, 2014, p. 102).

However, since dimensions have to be clearly defined (Babbie, 2013, p. 170), indicators cannot be the same in both dimensions. Thus, indicators like trade that could fit in both dimensions have to be split in sub-indicators, for example *free trade* and *trade gains*, that clearly identify one of the dimensions, based on the theory.

The *development dimension* is primarily shaped by the World-System-Theory, but also by implied theories like the paradox of plenty or the Prebisch-Singer hypothesis. Consequently, the choice of analysers will be skewed to the economic aspect of development. The table below shows the analysers for *development* on the left-hand side with an explanation of each on the right-hand side. The code below each analyser (for example DEV001) represents the analysers in the *codebook*, which can be found in the ANNEX.

ANALYSER	EXPLANATION
Building up a welfare state (DEV001)	Throughout the literature a welfare system is considered as one characteristic of a developed state, as the conflict potential is minimised and redistribution from wealthy to poor is the aim (Gilpin & Downie, 2009, p. 2; Terlouw, 1992, pp. 143–144).
Coping with lack of ownership and civil society involvement (DEV002)	It was argued that development policies were designed top-down for a long time, which essentially resulted in the failure of these policies as the targeted population did not develop a sense of ownership. Thus, a bottom-up and decentralising approach would qualify as development policy (Attinà, 2004, pp. 144–145).
Coping with bad governance and clientelism (DEV003)	Bad governance and clientelism, in most cases, favours the position of an autocratic ruler and its cadres. Since bad governance and clientelism strengthen elite building and are likely to contradict redistribution of income, a development policy would include measures against these impact (Gilpin & Downie, 2009, p. 2; Kübelböck & Grohs, 2017; Terlouw, 1992, pp. 143–144).

Analyser	Explanation
Coping with paradox of plenty (DEV004)	An undiversified economy suggests the paradox of plenty. An economic shock could cause the standstill of the economy. Not giving incentives for diversification would, therefore, contradict the development character of a policy (Auty, 1993, p. 1; Kappel, 1999, p. 46).
Coping with unequal exchange (DEV005)	Unequal exchange hinders peripheral states from developing into functioning economies and welfare states. Thus, non-action would sustain or widen the gap between *Core* and *Periphery*, but would not help peripheral states (Emmanuel, 1972; Heinze, 2009, pp. 26–28; Terlouw, 1992, p. 143).
Trade gains (DEV006)	Free-Trade-Areas do make inter-state trade much more attractive than with tariffs. It might happen that one trade partner cannot export as much as the other, but still improved its position. Also reciprocity in tariffs does play a role here (Gruhn, 1976, p. 254–255; 248; Hurt, 2003, p. 168).

The *security dimension* is shaped by the three dominant streams in international relations regarding peace strategies, namely *Realism, Institutionalism,* and *Liberalism*.

ANALYSER	EXPLANATION
Democratisation (SEC001)	Under *Liberalism* democracy is considered the optimal form of government to achieve peace, as democracies are very peaceful among each other. Since *Liberalism* also argues that conflicts would be avoided by having trade elites as decision makers, democratisation does not qualify as aim of a development policy in this case (Bonacker & Imbusch, 1999, p. 112; Brühl, 2011, p. 241; Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 77).
Free-Trade (SEC002)	Free-trade was always considered as a development strategy between equal partners that decreases tariffs and increases exports and consequently income. However, O'Shaughnessy showed that under the current WTO framework developed countries profit disproportionately more often from dispute decisions regarding free-trade than developing countries. Therefore, free-trade must be considered as a tool of the *Core* to secure their position rather than a tool to develop an economy in developing countries (O'Shaughnessy, 2006, p. 189).
Homogeneity of population (SEC003)	One aim of *Liberalism* is to create a homogenous society, as class conflicts would become rare events, which, at the same time, would secure the position of trade elites (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 77). Homogeneity of population could easily be an analyser for the development dimension, however, since the coding in this paper will be latent the focus will be on homogeneity with the aim of security. Furthermore, homogeneity through dialogue as mentioned by Vogt (Vogt, 2006, p. 159; 166) is part of this indicator. Homogeneity with the aim of development is covered under the development analyser *building up a welfare state*.

Analyser	Explanation
Institutionalisation (SEC004)	Franke and Kumitz (2016, p. 46) state that the institutionalisation of the relations between *Core* and *Periphery* leads to structural dependence of the latter on the former. The same holds true for security-regimes, only the policy area is limited. Definitely, institutionalisation and *Institutionalism* can overburden administrations of developing states due to missing structures or lack of education (Flint, 2009, p. 87; Hurt, 2003, p. 169).
Interdependence of states and economies (SEC005)	Not only *Liberalism*, but especially also *Institutionalism* aims at inter-state anarchy reduction and, thus, increasing interdependence of states through juridification (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 79). In the context of interdependence hegemony cannot be neglected. According to Terlouw (1992, p. 146), the group with the highest bargaining power imposes their hegemony on the other groups or partners, which would disable semi-peripheral states to improve their position. Consequently, it can be argued that interdependence does at least not hinder security intentions of the *Core*, whereas interdependence as development approach is not promising based on the literature.
Expansion of security personnel (SEC006)	The school of *Realism* assumes that the intergovernmental anarchy leads to a security dilemma for the state (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 72–73; 79; Maersheimer, 1990, p. 12). As *the war on terror* or even the Cold War shows, one way of facing the anarchy is strengthening the state's position by expansion of security personnel. Be it military, be it in form of police trainings (Viehrig, 2008, p. 135; 142).

ANALYSER	EXPLANATION
Value and norm sharing as aim (SEC007)	Certain values and norms as such can surely be considered as beneficial for a development policy. However, the problem is that the promoted values and norms are not originally common, but European values and norms that are made a shared value by a conditionality approach. Furthermore, values like democracy or an institutionalised rule of law would primarily be useful for developed states instead of the developing ones, as was shown above. Since *Institutionalism* and *Liberalism* are considered to be norm and value based, such an approach must be considered as security approach (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 78).

Some analysers were difficult to assign to one of the dimensions, which is why this study is not exclusively based on coding, but also on existing data. This second step fulfils, therefore, the function of a control mechanism. One could ask why the focus is not exclusively and directly on the existing data research. Firstly, the existing data research does not give any space for redefinition of the dimensions and therefore delivers a blurred concept. An example could be made through the *Freedom House Freedom Index*, which aims at measuring Freedom through several indicators including democracy. The point is that democracy, of course, increases the personal freedom and could also be considered as part of the development dimension, however, according to the theory – *Liberalism* – democracy and the democratisation processes are also a crucial part in security theories. Whereas the content analysis allows to create sub-analysers in cases like these, the existing data analysis is quite rigid. However, since the content analysis lacks what people like to call hard data and a misconception can happen to every scientist, this approach could be considered potentially blurry as well. Thus, one can only hope that supplementing a content analysis with an existing data approach balances most of the potential downfalls. Secondly, data does not tell as good stories as texts. Reconsidering the assumption of Marchetti, stating that the EU is building a *Semi-Periphery* around its territory,

one comes to a point where data alone cannot give an answer. Undoubtably, data can help to observe trade flows and traded goods and based on that it might be possible to conclude if the neighbouring states of the EU are *Semi-Periphery* or not. However, the gathered data, especially concerning economic performances, are total accumulations that are not solely shaped by the ENP and are, therefore, pretty vague. Finally, the question had another ambition. Thus, a content analysis is needed to focus on the published communication between the EU and its neighbouring states in order to find out if the semi-periphery was actively constructed by the EU, or if it, so to speak, *just happened*.

Regarding the existing data research this paper considers the social welfare and the GINI-coefficient as control variables for the *development dimension*. For the *security dimension* trade shares between the EU and a particular partner state and the degree of democratisation were selected. Selection happened randomly on basis of above justified and assigned measures for each dimension and the knowledge of the author.

3.2   CASE SELECTION

As stated in the research question this paper deals with the relation between the EU and North African states under the framework of the ENP. Therefore, the first limitations for being considered a potential case in this study are the location in North Africa and the full-membership in the EUROMED. Libya is therefore excluded from the selection as the state only has observer status in the EUROMED. The cases left are Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Egypt.

The so-called *Arab spring*, a series of protests and revolutions against authoritarian regimes, marks a major event within the last ten years in the whole Mediterranean region. The spectrum of consequences in the four states named above reaches from protests, over government transformation, to overturning the government.

The Arab spring started in December 2010, when a 26-year-old protestor set himself alight in Tunisia. Following this event, Tunisia's former head of state, Ben Ali, hastily left the country after the military defected to the protestor's side. Finally, the prime minister appointed a new head of state in February 2011 (n.A., 2011b; Schraeder & Redissi, 2011).

In *Morocco* the consequences of the Arab spring were not as drastic for the head of state as in Tunisia. Still, the monarch Mohammed VI. managed to stay in office by concessions that comprised political reforms. The new constitution was accepted by 98% of the voters in a referendum in 2011 (Thurner, 2011).

Algeria played a minor role in the Arab spring and the accomplished changes were very limited. Protests were widely considered as not centrally organised and triggered by specific events. However, as consequence of the protests the Algerian government lifted the 19-year-old state of emergency (dapd, 2011).

The North African state struggling most with the Arab Spring was probably *Egypt*. After the demonstrations accomplished the resignation of former President Mubarak, a military council resumed (n.A., 2011a). The election of Mohammed Mursi as new President and a religiously shaped constitution led to new unrests, which stopped after a military coup (Kingsley & Chulov, 2013). Reelections were set for 2014 (Grillmeier, 2013).

In a situation of internal conflicts like the Arab spring it is arguable that a state is self-absorbed and most likely not in the position to fulfil bilateral agreements like the ENP. For the sake of analysis this paper prefers stable political conditions in its cases, as only then a continuous implementation of bilateral agreements can be assumed. It shall not be argued that a revolution does not have a transforming character or that protests cannot be successful, however, in view of the unit of observation, which are the APs, it is more likely to get reliable results from APs concluded with a stable and legitimate government, than with a government that was recently overthrown. Considering the latter, it is unfortunate that out of the four presented cases Algeria does not have an AP that could be

reviewed and analysed. Thus, Egypt cannot be cancelled from the list of cases without losing the level of comparability of three cases. Consequently, the cases for the study at hand are Morocco, Egypt, and Tunisia. Due to the lack of an AP in Algeria the focus cannot be on the Maghreb region only, which could have been interesting, as the region describes itself as having a common background, which finally could have led to more coherence in the analysis outcomes in this study. Furthermore, the Maghreb region would have been representative for the three courses of the Arab spring, namely, protests only, as seen in Algeria, transformation of the government, as seen in Morocco, and the complete overthrow of the government, as seen in Tunisia. However, since Algeria does not have an AP yet, the Maghreb region remains an objective for further research. This study focusses on Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

The data for the main part of the analysis, namely the content analysis, will come from the Action Plans of the selected states. Thus, the 2005 AP for Tunisia, the 2006 AP for Morocco, and the 2007 AP for Egypt. Further, only the chapter two "Actions" of the APs will be used for data collection, as the first and the last chapter refer to the second chapter, which is the most detailed one. The adoption of those plans is already some time ago, however, they are the foundation of adjustments that followed and, therefore, are trendsetting. Additionally, in order to increase the data and to include shifts in direction over the years, the latest review, from 2015, of the ENP will be analysed. Furthermore, the 2015 Review was chosen as last document before the adoption of the 2016 *EU Global Strategy*, which subordinated development aspects to security interests. All of the documents are provided by the *European External Action Service* (2018).

For the existing data analysis basic data like the average income or the GINI value are delivered by the World Bank database (The World Bank Group, 2018). Data for the trade shares will come from the UN Conference on trade and development database (UNCTADSTAT, 2018b), which is a trade register listing imports and exports. Finally, the *Economist Democracy Index* will deliver the

data for democratisation. The index is zero to ten scale that is measured by 60 pre-defined indicators (The Economicst Intelligence Unit, 2018, pp. 63–64).

3.4 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Since this paper pursues a twostep based approach the data analysis will take place in two stages as well. In a first step the selected data is screened line by line in order to check for the defined analysers – also called coding, which is why this method is called latent coding. When a text passage is found that can be assigned to an analyser it will be written down in the *codebook*. The codebook consists of one entry per coded text, which will be sub-grouped in the above defined analysers. On basis of the number of passages per dimension it is possible to answer the stated research question, which will be done in the last part of the analysis, namely the discussion and interpretation (Deutschmann, 2014, p. 99–100; 108).

In a second step, the existing data analysis will be conducted, which includes foremost the visualisation of the collected data, as the purpose of this step is only to deliver a quick control of the actual research, the latent content coding. Therefore, it is the aim of this study to give information as direct as possible under this step. However, since exceptions prove the rule, there is one thing for the researcher to do. Most of the data in the existing data research is directly observable or collectable from a data base, which is not the case for the social welfare that is used as an indicator for the *development dimension*. The original idea to use a social welfare function in order to identify the nature of a policy comes from O'Shaughnessy, who proposed doing so in one of his publications (O'Shaughnessy, 2006, pp. 184–185). For the purpose of this paper a welfare function has been chosen that includes data relevant for the *development dimension* rather than the *security dimension*. Therefore, the calculated welfare will be based on average income per capita and the GINI coefficient score.

$$W = \bar{Y}(1 - G)$$

Whereby Welfare (W) is equal to the average per capita income ($\bar{Y}$) multiplied with 1 minus the respective GINI score (G) of the country observed (Sen, 1976). It remains to mention that an increased value for democracy, as well as an increased value for trade shares with the EU – due to creation of a free trade area – among the existing data research hardens the case of the ENP being a security policy, whereas a higher GINI score and increased social welfare support the argument that the ENP should be seen as development policy.

3.5 SUMMARY

This section carved out what was already mentioned in the section on the underlying theory, namely that development and security seem to be very different fields, but when it comes to measuring both it is difficult to define a clean cut. However, this section presents clear indicators in the context of a latent content analysis, which adds more certainty in analysing as the author can check for the latent meaning of a sentence. Furthermore, shortcomings of the content analysis are countered with a subsequent existing data analysis. The double approach, consisting of content analysis as lead method and the existing data research as control method, increases the reliability of the research drastically.

4   ANALYSIS

This section aims at presenting the findings of the content analysis, which was conducted as latent coding based on the analysers identified deductively in section three of this paper. In a first step the data of each of texts will be presented and characteristics will be highlighted. In a second step the focus will shift away from a specific text towards the totality of coded texts, which will give a good overview of the overall approach of the EU regarding the European Neighbourhood Policy. At the same time outliers of counted analysers can be identified and classified as such. Subsequently, the given data analysis will be conducted in order to check the reliability of the latent coding.

4.1   CONTENT ANALYSIS FINDINGS

4.1.1   COUNTRY SPECIFIC FINDINGS

In this first step the overall counts of analysers for the two dimensions – development (DEV) and security (SEC) – are presented. The following graphs show a circle diagram with an orange and blue part, whereby blue stands for the DEV dimension and orange for the SEC dimension. Further explanation is needed for the absolute number, which shows the total count of analysers of the respective dimension and the percentage, which indicates the share of the latter based on the total count of analysers irrespective of belonging.

The first circle diagram shows the values coming from the Tunisian Action Plan. Overall there have been marked 158 analysers, whereof 96 belong to the SEC dimension and 62 to the DEV dimension, which corresponds to 61% and 39% of marked analysers respectively.

Graph 1: Overall count of DEV and SEC analysers in the Tunisian AP
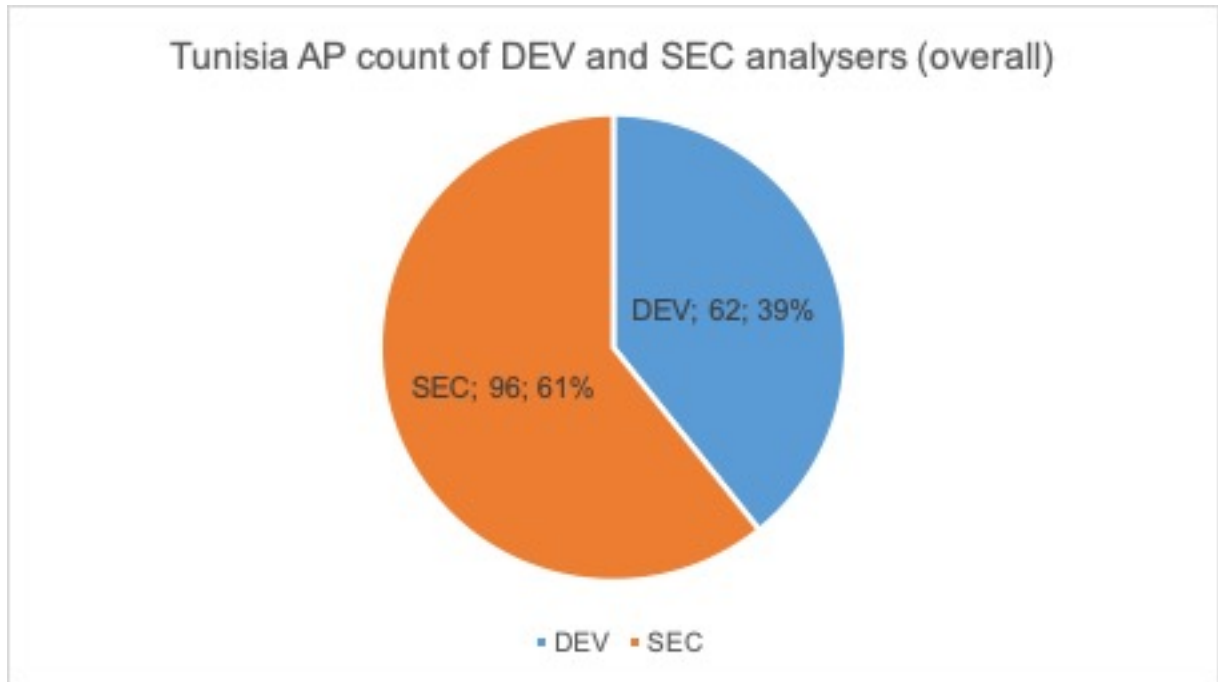
Taking a look at the same table for the other three coded texts it is quite surprising that the absolute numbers differ drastically, but the shares of SEC and DEV analysers remain stable. Especially the three Action Plans from 2005 (Tunisia), 2006 (Morocco), and 2007 (Egypt) show great similarities in the mentioned respect. For Morocco the shares are SEC 62% and DEV 38%, thus only one per cent difference compared to Tunisia, even though the absolute count of analysers, with 292, is almost double the count of analysers in the Tunisian AP. However, the absolute count of analysers should not be given too much attention as the length of each AP and the Review are diverging. The Egyptian AP has an overall count of analysers of 229, which split into 90 analysers (39%) belonging to the DEV dimension and 139 analysers (61%) belonging to the SEC dimension.

The only exception regarding the similarity of shares is the Review of the ENP, which, however, was done after a period of almost 10 years after the Action Plans. Regarding the 2015 Review the total count is 123, which splits into 54 analysers (44%) belonging to the DEV dimension and 69 analysers (56%)

belonging to the SEC dimension. Thus, the shares are much more balanced than among the AP's.

Graph 2: Overall count of DEV and SEC analysers in the Moroccan AP
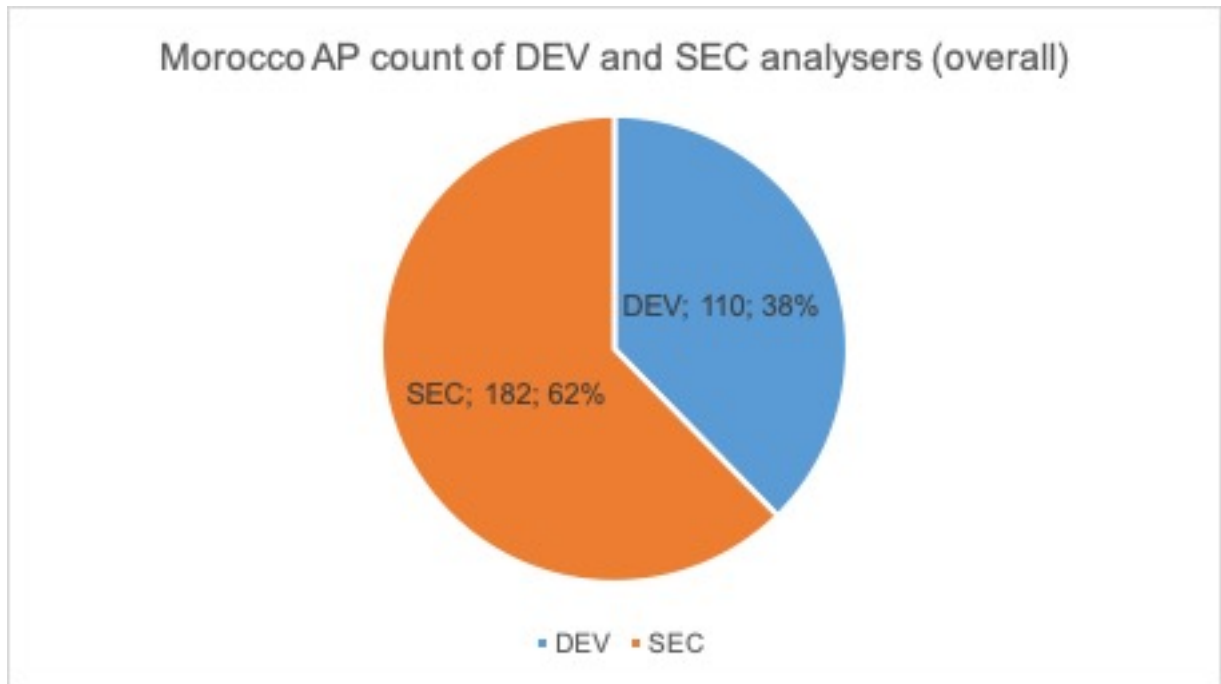
Graph 3: Overall count of DEV and SEC analysers in the Egyptian AP
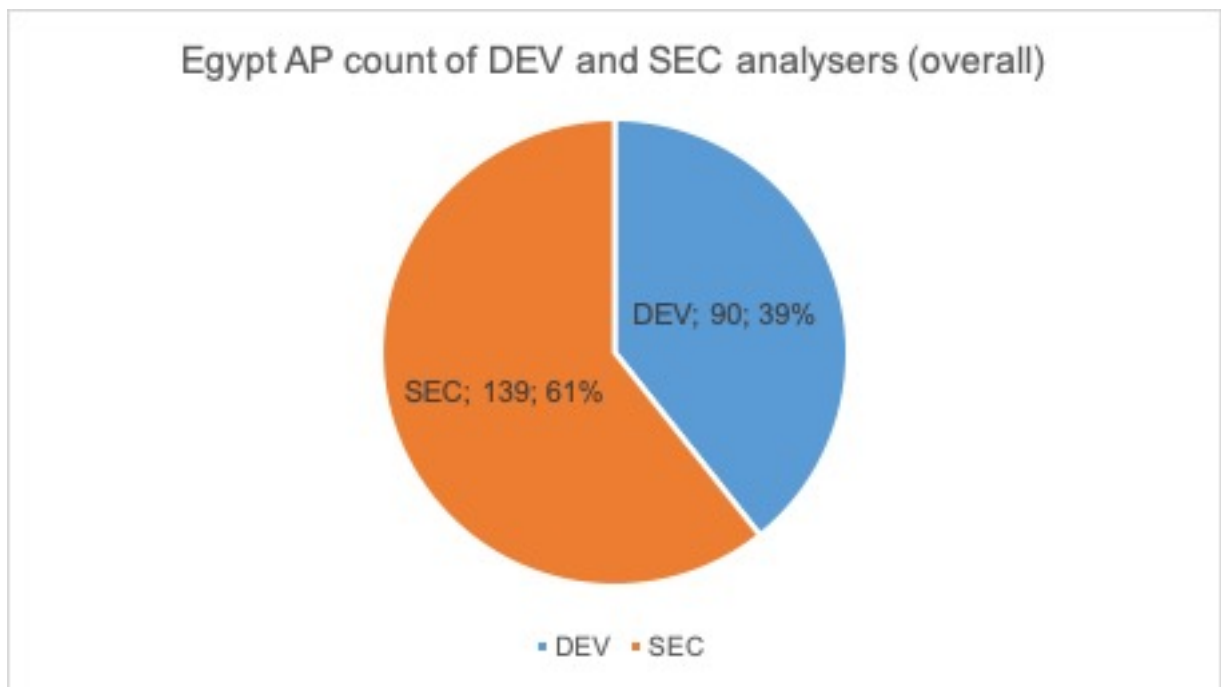
Graph 4: Overall count of DEV and SEC analysers in the 2015 ENP Review
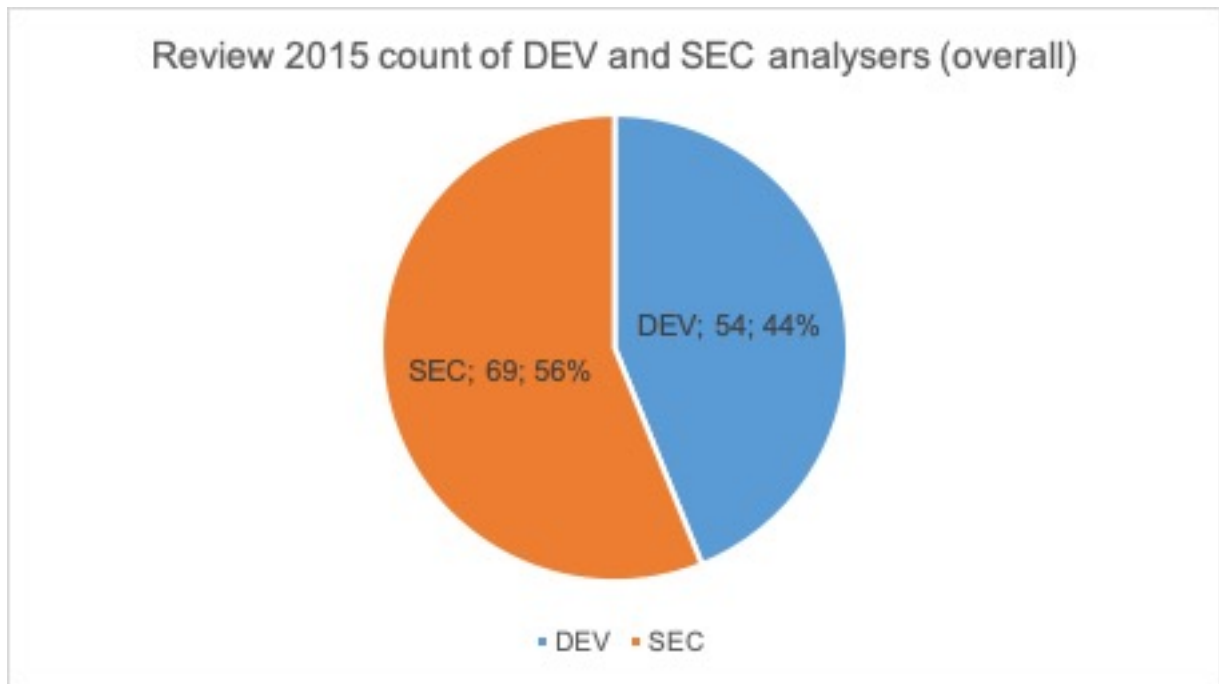
One key finding is that the analysers belonging to the SEC dimension are in the majority in all of the four coded texts. Consequently, the opening quote of this paper by Marchetti – stating that the EU "pursue[s] a 'hegemonic strategy' as it factually aims at establishing a 'semi-periphery', or privileged 'buffer', between the EU and the 'periphery'" (Marchetti, 2012, p. 404) – cannot be dismissed as the imbalance of analysers belonging to the SEC and DEV dimension shows. However, it should also be considered that the SEC dimension consists of seven analysers, which is one analyser more compared to the DEV dimension that consists of only six. Additionally, it showed that especially analyser SEC007 could be applied to much more passages of the text than any other analyser from either dimension. Therefore, the imbalance of counts, or at least a part of it, can be attributed to the imbalanced of analysers.

Graph 5: Overall count of DEV and SEC analysers including all texts
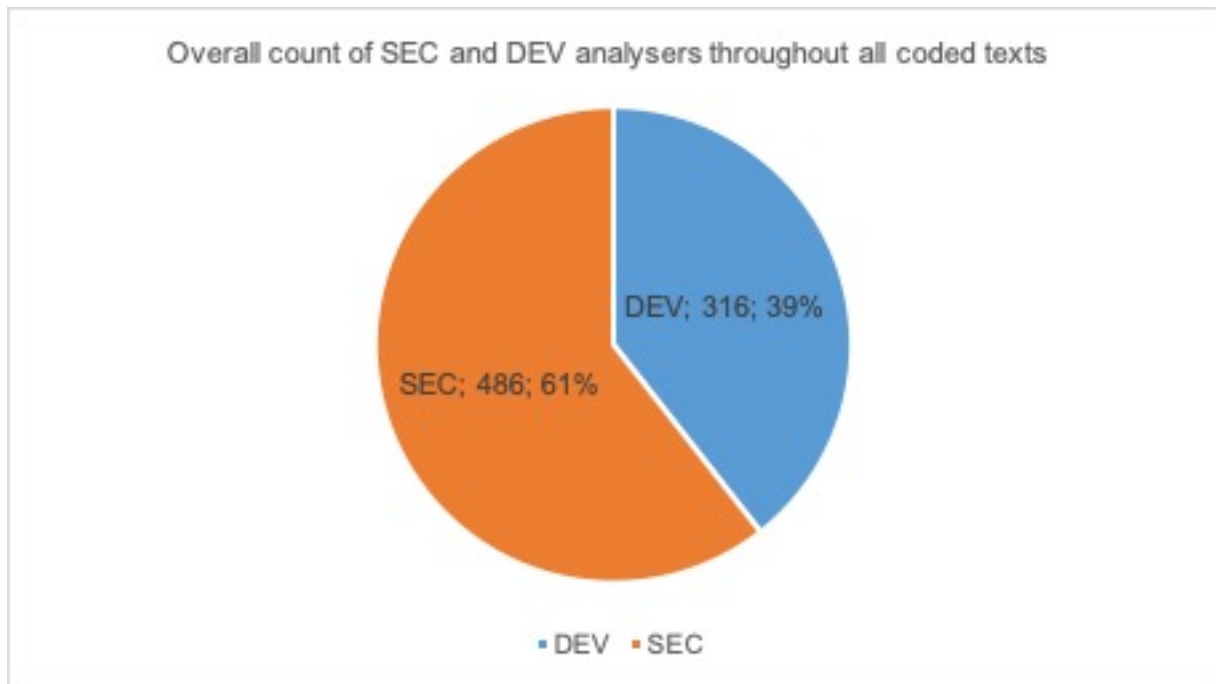
4.1.2 INDICATOR SPECIFIC FINDINGS

The indicator specific findings will be presented in two tables, one for the DEV dimension with its analysers and another for the SEC dimensions with its analysers. Based on what was written in chapter three this visualisation gives precious insight into what the ENP stands for and what it aims to achieve. In the previous step this paper found that the security aspect in the European Neighbourhood is bigger than the development aspect. The upcoming examination now shows what the driving analysers behind the DEV and SEC dimensions are.

The x-axis of Graph 6 shows the analysers belonging to the DEV dimension ranging from DEV001 to DEV006, whereas the y-axis displays their occurrence. Again, the coherence among the texts is eye-catching. Whereas in the previous step the shares of SEC- and DEV dimension were very similar throughout the texts this visualisation shows the same for the distribution of the analysers. The three Action Plans share basically the same pattern with a peak of counts in *coping with bad governance and clientelism* (DEV003), followed by *coping with lack of ownership and civil society involvement* (DEV002). *Trade gains* (DEV006)

has slightly more counts than *building up a welfare state* (DEV001) and *coping with unequal exchange* (DEV005). The analyser with the lowest counts throughout all texts is *coping with paradox of plenty* (DEV004).

The 2015 Review is the exception again. Here the DEV002 analyser is dominant, followed by DEV003 and DEV006. However, comparable to the Action Plans, DEV001, DEV004, and DEV005 remain low in counts.

Graph 6: Count of DEV analysers by distribution for all texts
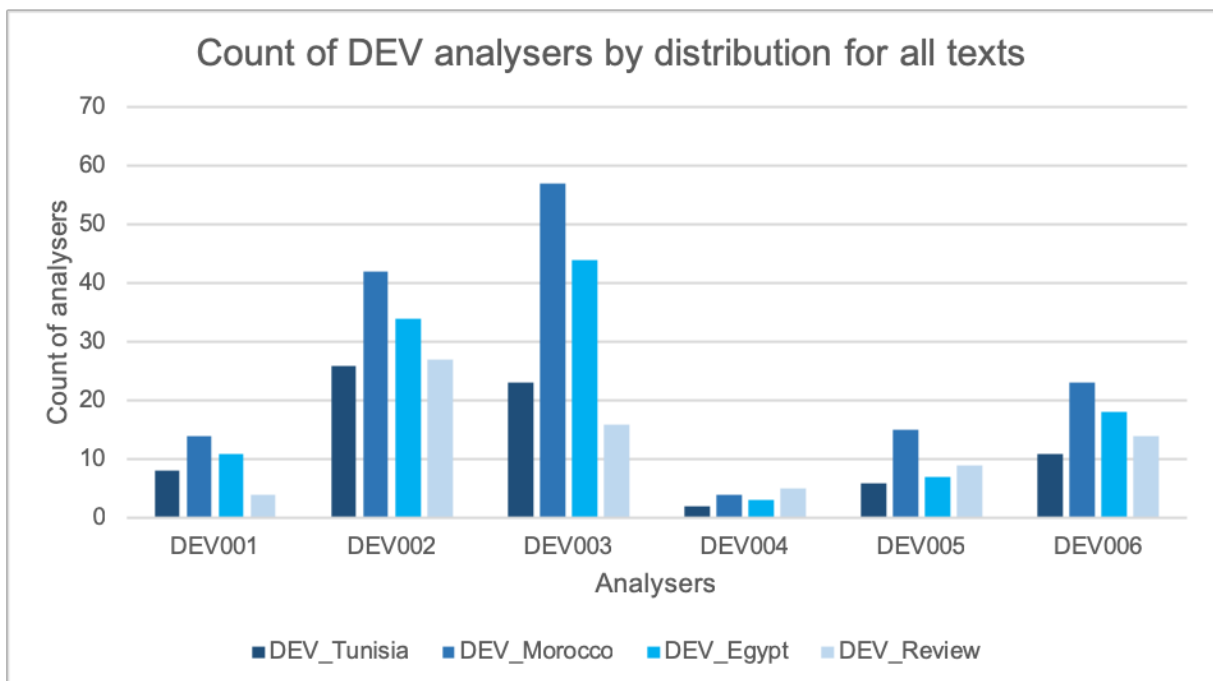
The set-up of *Graph 7* is similar to the previous one. Analysers belonging to the SEC dimension, ranging from SEC001 to SEC007, can be found on the x-axis, whereas the y-axis displays their occurrence. The peak of counts for every text can be found in *value and norm sharing as aim* (SEC007). However, as explained in section 4.1 it appears that SEC007 is defined very broadly, thus leaving room for interpretation. Consequently, the high amount of counts for this analyser can be reduced to the broad definition of it and should, therefore, be regarded with suspicion. Apart from that, *institutionalisation* (SEC004) and *interdependence of states and economies* (SEC005) are top performers in terms of counts, followed by *Free-Trade* (SEC002) and *homogeneity of population*

(SEC003). The lowest counts throughout all texts can be found among *democratisation* (SEC001) and *expansion of security personnel* (SEC006).

Graph 7: Count of SEC analysers by distribution for all texts
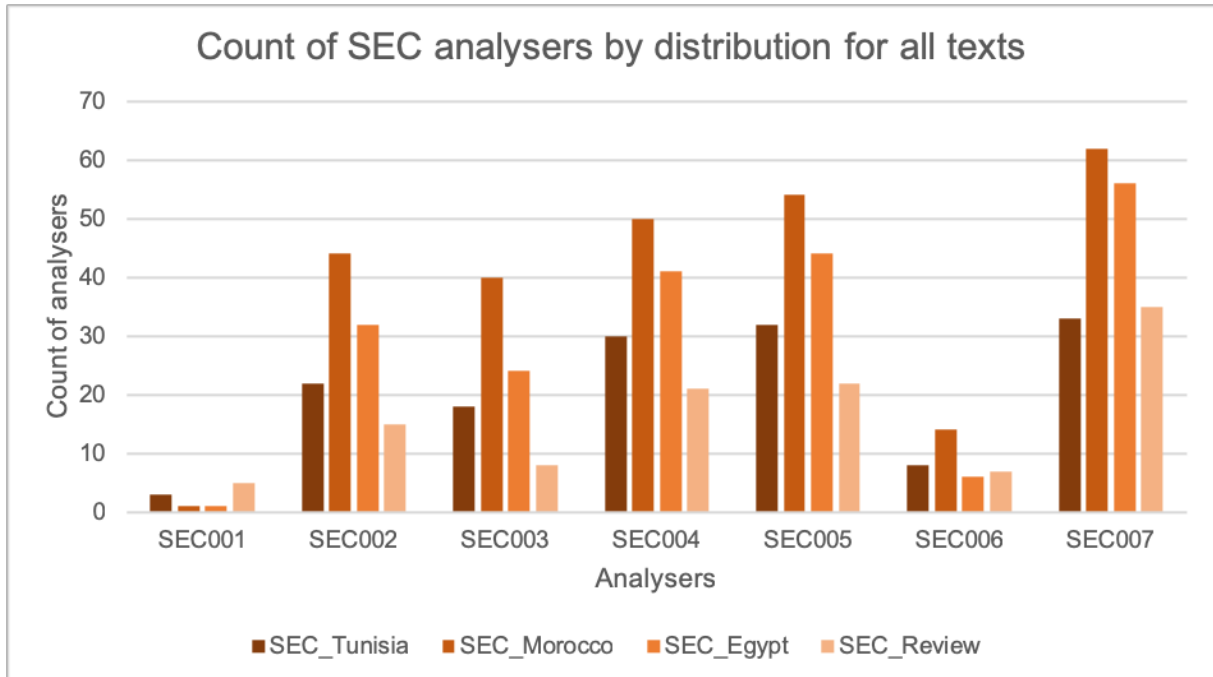
For now, the main insight of this first section of the analysis should be the observed difference of dimensions shares between the Action Plans and the 2015 Review, which gave the ENP a more developmental appearance compared to the Action Plans. The key here seems to be the stronger emphasis on civil society involvement (DEV002), the diversification of the economy (DEV004) and the tackling of an unequal exchange of goods (DEV005), which of course, finally, results in the amount of surplus that can be kept inside the state's economy (DEV006). Regarding the SEC dimension, the counts for the 2015 Review show a similar trend like the counts for the Action Plans. Thus, it was indeed the changes and shifts in the DEV dimension that caused the higher count of DEV analysers and not for example a decrease of aspects belonging to the SEC dimension.

Further discussion of this data and the application of the findings in order to answer the stated research questions will be done in section 4.3, after conducting the existing data research.

4.2   EXISTING DATA ANALYSIS

What do the analysed numbers and their distribution tell about the ENP? At this point a preliminary finding could be that the ENP is an EU security policy with a special focus on institutionalisation, value promotion, and free trade. However, one has to keep in mind that, firstly, the world is seldom black and white and, secondly, the two dimensions cannot be observed apart from each other as they do not suspend each other. Democracy and Democratisation (SEC001) might not be promoted very explicitly as *Graph 7* shows, but society involvement (DEV002) and coping with clientelism (DEV003) can equally contribute to the development of democratic conditions in a state. Social welfare equally can have two ultimate purposes, namely improving life conditions of the people (DEV001) or making the population homogenous (SEC003) and thus bringing it closer to European standards in order to lessening differences, which would decrease costs of maintaining those differences (Marchetti, 2006, p. 26). The purpose of this paragraph is to remind the reader of the problem of rigidity of existing data analyses as mentioned in chapter 3.1.1. Therefore, the hereinafter chosen measures might not always be fully appropriate if used as a stand-alone method. However, as mentioned in chapter three, this existing data analysis fulfils merely a control task and will therefore be conducted as described.

4.2.1   DEMOCRACY INDEX

The democracy index data clearly indicates that Tunisia experienced the biggest boost in terms of democratisation, followed by Morocco. In Egypt, however, the situation regarding democracy even worsened in the same time period. A clear cut for Egypt is visible in 2013, which is most likely due to the military coup after the first free election following the dismissal of former President Mubarak (Kingsley & Chulov, 2013). It is likely that the ENP was not able to gain ground regarding democratisation in Egypt as the time and the situation was simply too

sensitive as too many interested parties tried to gain influence on the Egyptian political system. On the other hand, probably due to the quick settlement of the disputes of the Arab Spring, Tunisia and Morocco seem to have been able to work off their ENP APs, which resulted in becoming ever more democratic. On the one hand, the findings match the conclusion of *Liberalism* or more specifically the *Engelskreis-theory*, which will become even clearer when turning to the trade shares (Brühl, 2011, p. 242). On the other hand, the existing data supports the latent coding, as democracy, which belongs to the SEC dimension obviously increased in the countries observed – with exception of Egypt that had to deal much longer with the aftermath of the Arab Spring. However, in the chosen time frame from 2006 to 2012 democracy increased in Egypt, too, even faster than in Morocco.

Table 1: The Economist Democracy Index scores 2006-2017

	2006	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Tunisia	3.06	2.96	2.79	5.53	5.67	5.76	6.31	6.72	6.40	6.32
Morocco	3.90	3.88	3.79	3.83	4.07	4.07	4.00	4.66	4.77	4.87
Egypt	3.90	3.89	3.07	3.95	4.56	3.27	3.16	3.18	3.31	3.36

(The Economicst Intelligence Unit, 2018, p. 16)

4.2.2 TRADE SHARES

According to statistical data by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTADSTAT), displayed in Graph 8, the trade volume between the European Union and the three countries observed in this study rose generally. Especially, Moroccan imports from and exports to the EU, as well as Egyptian imports from the EU increased significantly. But also Egyptian exports increased slightly. Only Tunisian imports and exports are almost back at 2006 level after a slight increase between 2007 and 2016. Looking back at Graph 7 on the distribution of occurrences of analysers throughout the texts, it can be observed that Egypt and Morocco, the two countries whose trade volume with the EU rose most are also the two countries with the most occurrences of analysers in SEC002, thus free trade creation. Graph 8 impressively shows that

all three countries increased their trade volume with the EU after the adoption of the Action Plan. Additionally, the increase of democracy in all three countries – in Egypt at least until 2012 – is a hint for the effect of the *Engelskreis-theory*. Furthermore, the existing data supports the latent coding, as the trade volume with the EU, which corresponds to analyser SEC002, increased in most of the cases.

Graph 8: Imports from and Exports to the EU28 (in thousands of US $)
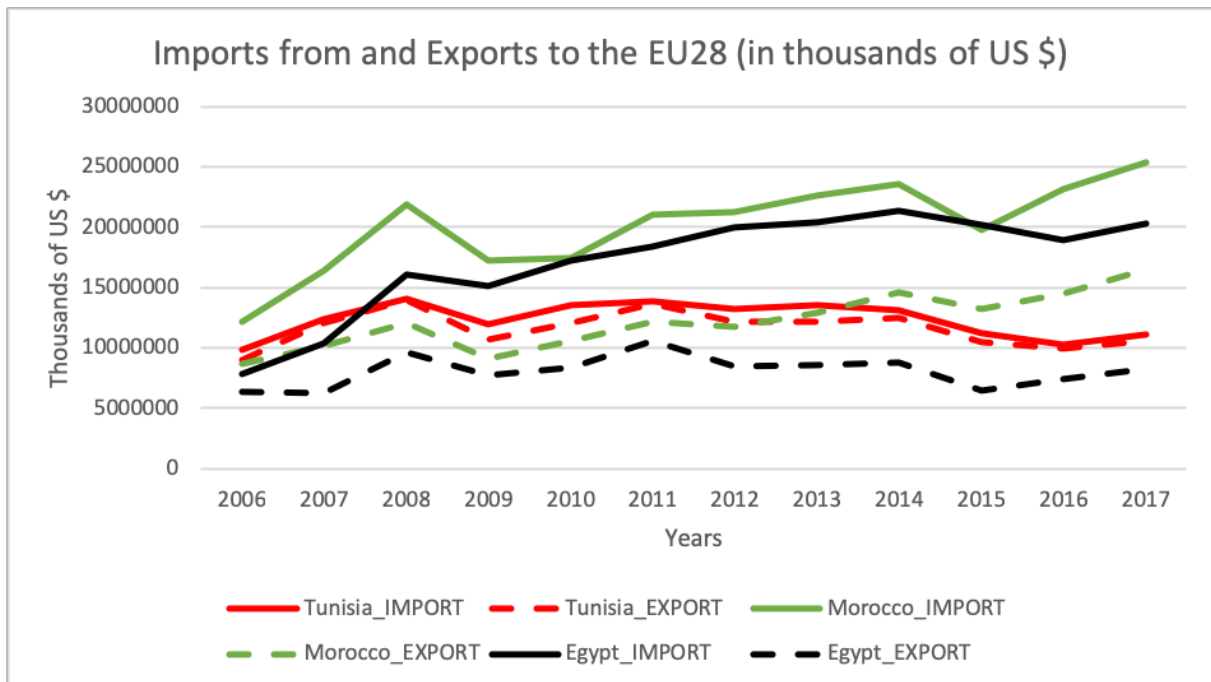
The raw data for Graph 8 can be found in ANNEX G.

4.2.3 GINI INDEX AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Regarding the GINI Index, and linked to that the calculation of the social welfare, it turned out that there is neither a national nor an international institution or source that calculates or publishes the values on an annual basis. Additionally, values for Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt were not published for the same years, which is why the data is not suitable to be presented in a single Graph. However, since this paper is only interested in the trend that might be affected by the introduction of the ENP each country is visualized in an individual Graph

representing points in time that lie before or at the introduction of the ENP, as well as later on when an effect could have taken place.

For Tunisia two points in time are available, namely 2005, when the GINI score was 0.377, and 2010, when the GINI score was 0.358. Since the GINI score decreased and the average Tunisian income rose the social welfare increased as displayed in Graph 9.

Graph 9: Social welfare Tunisia
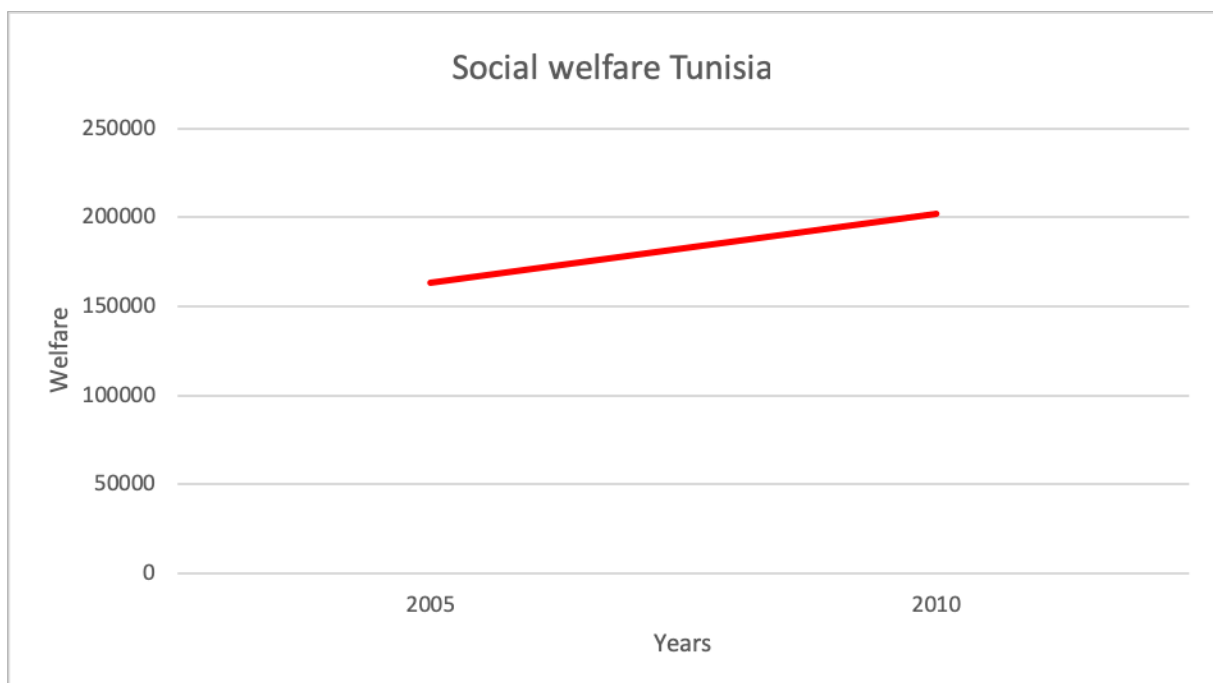
The same holds true for Morocco and Egypt. Morocco's points in time are 2006 and 2013, with a GINI score of 40.7 and 39.5 respectively. Again, the average income increased, which results in the increase of social welfare in Morocco.

Graph 10: Social welfare Morocco
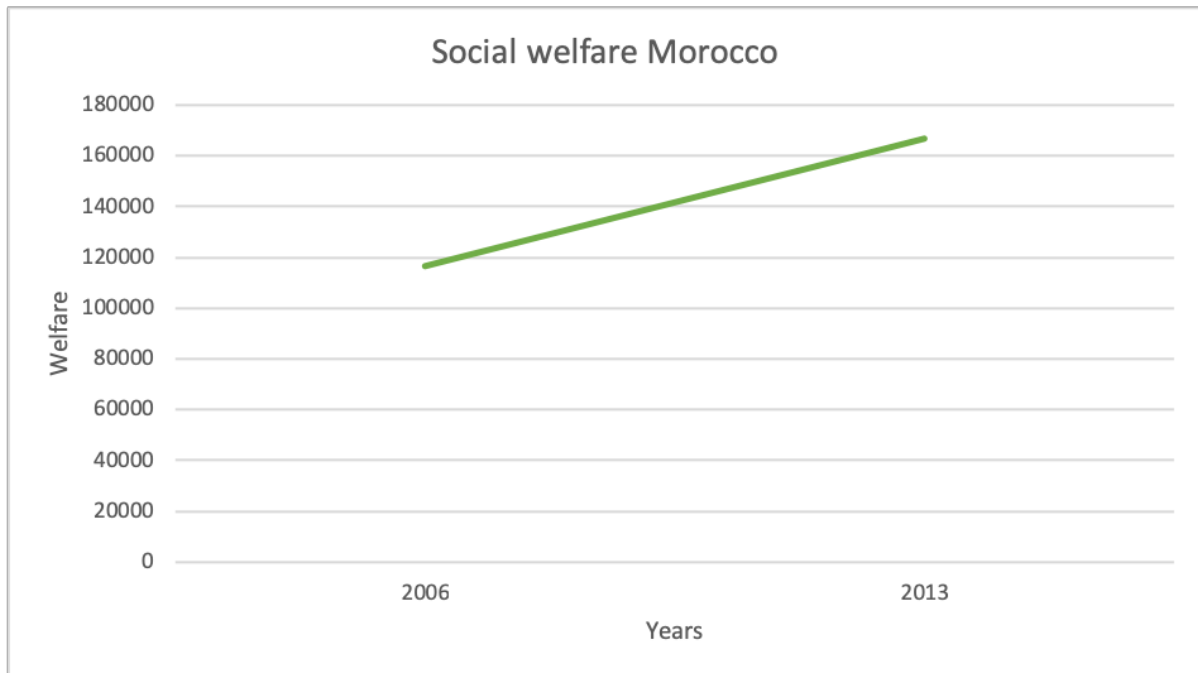
Egypt is the only country with three points in time that are relevant for this analysis, namely in 2004 with a GINI score of 31.8, 2008 with 31.1, and 2010 with 31.5. Egypt is also the only country with a GINI score that is not steadily decreasing. However, since the Egyptian average income increased strongly the social welfare for Egypt increased, too.

Graph 11: Social welfare Egypt
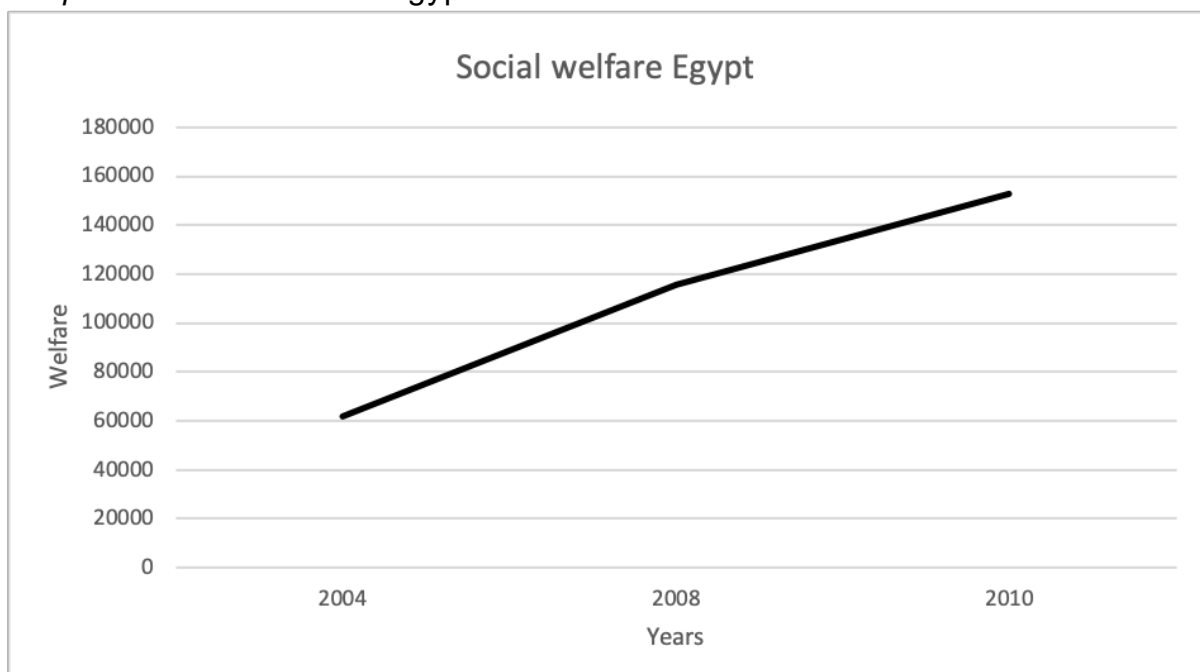
An increasing social welfare was linked to the DEV dimension in chapter three as both components in the formula, namely an increasing average income and a decreasing GINI score – standing for more equality in distribution of financial means –, are primarily linked to DEV analyser DEV003, thus coping with bad governance and clientelism. From this point of view the social welfare Graphs support the data from the content analysis as DEV003 was the most frequently marked analyser throughout the Action Plans.

4.2.4 ADDITIONAL BENEFIT OF THE EXISTING DATA ANALYSIS

The existing data analysis had the aim of giving more reliability to the findings of the latent content analysis, as latent coding always includes the risk of wrong or bad definition of analysers. Therefore, a control mechanism for the results of the coding was necessary in order to assure that the qualitative research has been conducted correctly, as described in detail in chapter three. Finally, the existing data analysis supported the findings from the content analysis in every regard, thus giving this research high reliability.

5   CONCLUSION

5.1   ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The remaining question is: what does the data tell about the orientation of the ENP and the answering of the stated research question? In the following, the questions to be answered will be restated in the same order as in chapter one. The answers to each question will be found directly below.

> *"What kind of policy is the ENP? Must it be considered as development plan directed to north African countries, or as security strategy with the European Union in the centre of interest?".*

As so often in social research the answer is neither the one option nor the other. Going back to the roots of the ENP, namely the Yaoundé and Lomé Agreements, the clear developmental background cannot be overseen. Especially regulations like the agreement on non-reciprocal trade tariffs, the STABEX mechanism, and the indexing of prices for certain products were considered as ground-breaking (Gruhn, 1976, pp. 254–256) and delivered a framework in favour of the Global South, thus setting the frame for healthy development without a fundamental involvement of the Global North and far away from the conditionality approaches of the actual ENP. Graph 5 showed that the developmental heritage of the forerunner policies did not completely disappear under the ENP, however, it took a back seat over the years compared to the security aspect of the policy.

It is also important to stress that even analysers belonging to the security dimension can influence the development of a state positively. One example can be SEC001, thus democratisation, which of course increases the freedom of the people as well as their rights. Thus, on the one hand, democratisation supports elite building and sustainment, according to *Liberalism*, but on the other hand, the situation could still be better compared to before. Yet, that improvement is hard to measure by a deductive content analysis as it was conducted in this study. This study only tried to make a statement on the general set up of the

ENP. Further research, in the style of an interrupted time series or similar, is needed to make a statement on the actual effect of the ENP and if democracy really led to the outcomes expected by the quoted theories.

To answer the question, the research found that the design of the European Neighbourhood Policy is biased towards the security dimension, which is especially underlined by the distribution of counts on the SEC and DEV dimensions. But also the imperialist acting of the EU, for example by pursuing a free-trade and institutional approach coupled with the wording in the Action Plans and the conditionality approach, lets little room for interpretation about who is in control in the framework of the ENP.

> *"What impact does the ENP have on the economies of the north African partner states?"*.

An answer to this question can only be twofold, namely based on the theory, on the one hand, and based on the existing data analysis, on the other hand. Graph 8 showed that trade volumes with the EU increased in almost all of the countries, which suggests that the observed countries benefit from the circumstances created by the ENP in terms of economic gains. Additionally, the social welfare curves in graphs 9, 10, and 11 are also all increasing due to the increasing average income in all of the observed countries. Thus, looking at existing data one could conclude that the ENP has a beneficial impact on the partner states' economies. However, this has a price paid by the partner states, which requires a cost-benefit analysis to determine whether the trade-off is worth it. However, the second answer to this question focusses on the price that is paid by the partner states for economic benefits and it suggests that the trade-off might not be worth it.

Looking at the pure numbers, interesting for the economy, from graph 6 and 7 one notices that much attention was paid to the construction of a Free Trade Area (SEC002), but little attention towards the diversification (DEV004) of and unequal exchange (DEV005) with partner states' economies. Making use of the

second chapter of this research reveals that the price paid for better economic performance is the loss of autonomy in economic and political decision making. What sounds very drastic can be well argued with the help of the underlying theory. First of all, the Prebisch-Singer argument states famously that primary goods, typically produced by peripheral states, devalue much faster and have a much smaller profit margin than industrial goods that are produced by core states (Kay, 1989, p. 32; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2005, p. 85). Consequently, the profit-loss gap between the two increases. Furthermore, a not diversified economy runs the risk of an economic crash as formulated in the description of the *Dutch Disease* (Gilpin & Downie, 2009, p. 2; Kappel, 1999, p. 46; Terlouw, 1992, p. 144). Finally, the creation of a Free Trade Area between the EU and its North African partner states is argued to be the expression of European hegemony, thus imperial behaviour of the EU, which leads to dependency of the partner states on the EU (Terlouw, 1992, p. 146; Wallerstein, 1991, p. 281).

Thus, the short answer to the stated question is that the economies of Tunisia, Morocco, and Egypt benefitted under the ENP, but under the condition of increase dependency on the EU.

> *"What security strategy does the EU pursue with the ENP, and how must it be assessed? Does the strategy generate one-sided or two-sided benefits?".*

The answer to this question is given in Graph 7, namely by analysers DEV002, DEV004, DEV005, and DEV006. Since DEV006 is the second lowest scoring analyser in the whole SEC dimension a security approach based on *Realism* can be excluded from the start. Military expansion does not play an important role in the Action Plans either in the 2015 Review, which is not really surprising as an agreement like the Action Plans would, most likely, not have been concluded under *Realism* in the first place. Thus, there are only *Liberalism* and *Institutionalism* left among the considered security strategies. On the one hand, one could believe that the case is clear as the framework agreement for the

ENP, the Barcelona Declaration, aims explicitly at the establishment of a Free Trade Area between the EU and its Mediterranean neighbours (Attinà, 2004, p. 140; 142). Furthermore, the creation of a Free Trade Area, thus SEC002, is one of the top scoring analysers in this study. Additionally, SEC005, regulating the standardisation of production, transport, and customs controls, which are necessary conditions for a Free Trade Area, is scoring even higher. On the other hand, SEC004 – the analyser labelled *Institutionalism* – is also among the top scoring analysers in this study.

The answer coming closest to the findings of this paper is that the EU pursues a mix of *Liberalism* and *Institutionalism* by combining an enormous effort in highlighting the importance of institution building, institutional capacity, and the urge to adopt UN Conventions that are not adopted yet, with the introduction of a Free Trade Area.

Considering what Tanja Brühl (2011, p. 242) wrote about the *Engelskreis*, *Liberalism* is anyway linked with *Institutionalism* as liberal states would, sooner or later, join international organisations with the aim of identity creation through norms and values (Kahl & Rinke, 2011, p. 78), which is obviously the latent plan of the EU for its neighbourhood.

Concerning the one-sidedness or two-sidedness of the strategy there is to say that probably both sides benefit. According to the theory of *Liberalism* the economic and security situation improves for both sides and *Institutionalism* contributes to decreased bad governance and corruption. However, – even though this paper did not aim to prove this – it is likely that the EU benefits more than the partner states, which is due to the intimacy with the system that shall be set up. Two examples suggesting that assumption are the overburdening of partner states administrations due to lack of workforce or know-how (Flint, 2009, p. 87; 90; Hurt, 2003, p. 169), as well as what O'Shaughnessy (2006, p. 186) wrote about the economic dispute settlement that favours the EU in this comparison due to the imbalance of well trained and experienced work force.

"Why does the ENP have the reputation of being imperialist, and would it be beneficial for the EU to pursue an imperialist policy with the aims set under the ENP?".

There are two strands of argument that could make the ENP appear in an imperialist light. The first is the historical responsibility of the member states of the European Union, especially regarding the colonial past and the extractivist ties that connect the European and the African continent. According to Vogt (2006, p. 162) that past leads to a feeling of responsibility from the EU side towards the partner states. However, that responsibility is self-imposed and follows a European mindset. The second strand is directed at the ENP itself. After Yaoundé and Lomé were glorified as a break-through in developmental relations between the EU and its former colonies, Contonou and finally the ENP turned the trend around by emphasising the EU's own interest ever stronger. This criticism was affirmed by this study and visualised in graph 5. The graph indicates that the security interest in the ENP is much higher than the development interest. Graph 7 delivers further arguments for the stance that the ENP is imperialist, as SEC007 – thus the aim of norm and value promotion – is the analyser with the highest counts in every text coded in this study. Sentences like "develop a short- and medium-term strategy for harmonisation with European standards […]" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 17) or "negotiate an agreement on conformity assessment and the acceptance of industrial products (ACAA) in sectors of common interest where the legislation is applied to the same standards as in the European Union" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13), with a clear latent or manifest imperialist intention were found throughout the Action Plans and the 2015 Review. Furthermore, the pursued conditionality approach lets the ENP appear in a negative imperialist light, even though the conditionality approach was changed from a negative to a positive conditionality. Finally, the 1994 GATTs update stands for the imposition of values shaped by the Global North on the Global South. The EU as an institution that adopted and ratified the update is becoming the executor of Global Northern values over the Global South in this case. In the view of

Immanuel Wallerstein "Internationalism has always been a fig leave of imperialism" (Wallerstein, 1991, p. 281).

Is it beneficial for the EU? First of all, the chosen approach of positive conditionality is convenient for the EU as it does not have to reduce or suspend aid flows actively, but rather gives the responsibility for the amount of aid back to the countries that apply for the aid. Secondly, the fact that DEV004 and DEV005 are the analysers with the lowest counts in the DEV dimension shows that least attention is paid to economic diversification and equal exchange, giving the EU a good position to achieve resource security for its industry. On the other hand, the inclusion of actions belonging to analysers DEV002 and DEV003 could have negative consequences for the EU economy as the partner states could become more plural and democratic, which endangers the resource security. However, on a political level it could be beneficial again as tensions, according to liberalism, are less likely to escalate between democracies. Thus, it matters which primary goals should be achieved by the policy. Finally, the institutionalisation and general approximation towards EU values by the partner states pursued under the ENP is without a doubt beneficial for the EU. As O'Shaughnessy has pointed out about trade dispute settlement, these cases are mostly won by strong bureaucracies from the Global North (O'Shaughnessy, 2006, p. 189), but also partner state's administrations are overburdened by the new tasks and due to a lack of knowledge of the new framework.

5.2   CONTRIBUTION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

One of the main contributions of this study is that it is the first content analysis of the ENP regarding the orientation of the policy in North African partner states. The study gives in depth insight into the focus issues in EU foreign policy-making on a deductive basis. Thanks to the latent coding it was possible to carve out the underlying meaning of political diplomatic verbiage. Additionally, the method of measuring proved to be very reliable when counterchecked with the existing data analysis. Another contribution this paper provides is that the discourse related to development aid is steered back to multilateral actions. The continuous decline of multilateral agencies in development aid for the benefit of national bilateral agents contains the dangers of inefficiencies caused by double-spending, contradicting policies, and national interest. However, this study – even though the European system cannot be called purely multilateral – puts multilateral approaches at the centre of the research. Setting this topic at the top of the research agenda is a good basis to discuss the possibilities of rebuilding a multilateral aid structure that contributes to avoiding the above-mentioned inefficiencies and coordinates donors to act in concert.

On the other hand, it should be mentioned that this study cannot make a statement on the effectivity of the ENP, as only the Action Plans and the 2015 Review have been coded on the basis of the presented theory. Due to the same reason, the fact that the 2016 *EU Global Strategy* superordinated EU security interest to third country development interest cannot be considered. In order to make a statement on the effectivity an interrupted-time-series study would be necessary, or at least a more extensive existing data analysis than this paper offers. Additionally, as mentioned in chapter three, due to the time consuming method that was chosen, the study can only offer an indication for a part of the ENP, namely the southern neighbourhood. In order to get a whole picture of the orientation of the ENP further research could focus on the eastern neighbourhood and more documents like, for example, the annual reviews of the national Action Plans or further EU communications regarding foreign politics could be analysed. However, this paper can serve as a starting point for further research on the effectiveness of the ENP. The identified and theory based

analysers from this study can help future research find data that should be compared over time.

5.3 PERSONAL ASSESSMENT

Marking the policy as imperialist is something I am not so sure about, as arguments by Raik (2006), or the 2015 Review as well, show that the interest for cooperation – or joint European intervention – can be and is wanted by the partner states. On the one hand, intervention and promotion of the own values and norms will remain imperialist, but on the other hand, a distinction should be made between joint or even demanded intervention and violent oppression.

However, in conclusion this study delivers a comprehensive examination of an instrument of the European aid and foreign policies. The first chapter manages to provide background information regarding the development of common European foreign policy-making since 1945 to the reader and arouses interest for the topic, leading to a relevant and reliable statement regarding the basic orientation of the EU foreign policy-making, especially the ENP. Indeed, the analysers of the content analysis show some fuzziness in the delimitation to each other within and across the borders of the dimensions, but that could be a general weakness latently conducted content analyses have. Since all texts were coded with the same set of analysers overlaps are the same for all texts, which makes the results still valid. This paper concludes the analytical findings in Graphs that are easily comprehensible, displaying key findings at a glance.

Finally, this paper provides scientific results to lable EU foreign politics either security driven or development driven. The negotiations on the future approach for EU foreign politics after the Cotonou agreement runs out in 2020 already started. This paper and its methodology are capable of delivering strong arguments that a stronger focus on development efforts in foreign politics is necessary.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACP Group. (2011). African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States. Retrieved 22 August 2018, from http://www.acp.int/content/secretariat-acp

Attinà, F. (2004). The Barcelona Process, the Role of the European Union and the Lesson of the Western Mediterranean. *The Journal of North African Studies*, *9*(2), 140–152.

Auty, R. (1993). *Sustaining Development in Mineral Economies: the Resource Curse Thesis*. London: Routledge.

Babbie, E. (2013). *The Practise of Social Research* (13th ed.). Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.

Balfour, R. (2009). The Transformation of the Union for the Mediterranean. *Mediterranean Politics*, *14*(1), 99–105.

Bicchi, F. (2011). The Union for the Mediterranean, or the Changing Context of Euro-Mediterranean Relations. *Mediterranean Politics*, *16*(01), 3–19.

Bonacker, T., & Imbusch, P. (1999). Begriffe der Friedens- und Konfliktforschung: Konflikt, Gewalt, Krieg, Frieden. In P. Imbusch & R. Zoll (Eds.), *Friedens- und Konfliktforschung: Eine Einführung* (pp. 73–116). Opladen: Leske + Budrich.

Brühl, T. (2011). Internationale Organisationen, Regime und Verrechtlichung. In P. Schlotter & S. Wisotzki (Eds.), *Friedens- und Konfliktforschung* (pp. 225–251). Baden-Baden: Nomos-Verlag.

Conzelmann, T. (2010). Neofunktionalismus. In S. Schieder & M. Spindler (Eds.), *Theorien der Internationalen Beziehungen* (3. Auflage, pp. 157–187). Stuttgart/Opladen.

dapd. (2011). Ausnahmezustand offiziell aufgehoben. Retrieved 8 October 2018, from http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/algerien-ausnahmezustand-offiziell-aufgehoben-1596133.html

Deutsche Welle. (2013). Kriegseinsätze ohne UN-Mandat. Retrieved 20 February 2018, from http://www.dw.com/de/kriegseinsätze-ohne-un-mandat/a-17050460

Deutschmann, A. (2014). Inhaltsanalyse: Qualitative Verfahren der Textanalyse

und Textinterpretation. In P. Dannecker & B. Englert (Eds.), *Qualitative Methoden in der Entwicklungsforschung* (1st ed., pp. 94–110). Wien: Mandelbaum.

Easterly, W. (2006). *The White Man's Burden*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Emerson, M. (2008). Making sense of Sarkozy's Union for the Mediterranean. *Centre for European Policy Studies*, *155*.

Emmanuel, A. (1972). *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade. Monthly Review Press*. New York/London.

European Commission. (2000). Abkommen von Cotonou. Retrieved 3 December 2018, from https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/DE/TXT/?uri=LEGISSUM%3Ar12101

European Commission. (2015). JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS - Review of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

European Commission. (2018). State of the Union 2018: Towards a new 'Africa - Europe Alliance' to deepen economic relations and boost investment and jobs. Retrieved 8 January 2019, from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-18-5702_en.htm

European External Action Service. (2005). EU/TUNISIA ACTION PLAN.

European External Action Service. (2006). EU/MOROCCO ACTION PLAN.

European External Action Service. (2007). EU/EGYPT ACTION PLAN.

European External Action Service. (2016). Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe: A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy.

European External Action Service. (2018). ENP Action Plans.

Flint, A. (2009). The End of a 'Special Relationship'? The New EU-ACP Economic Partnership Agreements. *Review of African Political Economy*, *36*(119), 79–92.

Frank, A. G. (1966). Die Entwicklung der Unterentwicklung. In K. Fischer, G. Hödl, & W. Sievers (Eds.), *Klassiker der Entwicklungstheorie: Von Modernisierung bis Post-Development* (pp. 147–167). Wien.

Franke, Y., & Kumitz, D. (2016). Entwicklung und Dependenz. In K. Fischer, G. Hauck, & M. Boatca (Eds.), *Handbuch Entwicklungsforschung* (pp. 41–54). Springer VS.

Fukuyama, F., Huntington, S. P., Etzioni, A., & Walzer, M. (2002). Nächstenliebe verlangt Gewaltanwendung. Retrieved 6 February 2018, from http://www.ag-friedensforschung.de/regionen/USA/intellektuelle1.html

Gillespie, R. (1997). Northern European Perceptions of the Barcelona Process. *Afers Internacionals*, *37*(ESTABILIDAD Y CONFLICTOS EN EL MEDITERRÁNEO), 65–75.

Gilpin, R., & Downie, R. (2009). *Conflict-Business Dynamics in the Democratic Republic of Congo*. Washington, DC.

Grillmeier, F. (2013). Adli Mansur, ein Mubarak-Beamter an der Spitze. Retrieved 8 October 2018, from https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article117719019/Adli-Mansur-ein-Mubarak-Beamter-an-der-Spitze.html

Gruhn, I. V. (1976). The Lomé Convention: Inching Towards Interdependence. *International Organization*, *30*(2), 241–262.

Haas, E. B. (1986). The Unity of Europe. In *The Unity of Europe* (2. Auflage). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Heinze, E. (2009). *Einführung in die Welt-System Analyse von Immanuel Wallerstein*. Bremen: Universität Bremen.

Hurt, S. R. (2003). Co-operation and coercion? The Cotonou Agreement between the European Union and ACP states and the end of the Lomé Convention. *Third World Quarterly*, *24*(1), 161–176.

International Instituions and Global Governance Program. (2013). The Global Nuclear Nonproliferation Regime. Retrieved 21 February 2018, from https://www.cfr.org/report/global-nuclear-nonproliferation-regime

Jünemann, A. (2005). Zehn Jahre Barcelona-Prozess: eine gemischte Bilanz. *Aus Politik Und Zeitgeschichte*, *45*, 7–13.

Kahl, M., & Rinke, B. (2011). Frieden in den Theorien der Internationalen Beziehungen. In H. Gießmann & B. Rinke (Eds.), *Handbuch Frieden* (pp. 70–85). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Kappel, R. (1999). *Die anhaltende Unterentwicklung Afrikas*. *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*.

Kay, C. (1989). The Structuralist School of Development. In *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment.* (pp. 25–57). London und New York.

Kingsley, P., & Chulov, M. (2013). Mohamed Morsi ousted in Egypt's second revolution in two years.

Korge, J. (2011). Amerika geht, das Chaos kommt. Retrieved 20 February 2018, from http://www.spiegel.de/politik/ausland/irak-nach-dem-us-abzug-amerika-geht-das-chaos-kommt-a-805102.html

Kristensen, H. M., & Norris, R. S. (2017). Status of World Nuclear Forces. Retrieved 5 February 2018, from https://fas.org/issues/nuclear-weapons/status-world-nuclear-forces/

Krugman, P. R., Obstfeld, M., & Melitz, M. J. (2009). Arbeitsproduktivität und komparativer Vorteil: Das Ricardo-Modell. In *Internationale Wirtschaft: Theorie und Politik der Außenwirtschaft* (pp. 57–90). München: Pearson.

Kübelböck, K., & Grohs, H. (2017). *Konfliktmineralien: Auswirkungen der bisherigen Regulierungsinitiativen und Schlussfolgerungen für die Implementierung der EU-Verordnung*. Wien.

Mackie, J., Ronceray, M., & Spierings, E. (2017). *Policy coherence and the 2030 Agenda: Building on the PCD experience* (No. 210). Maastricht, Brussels.

Macqueen, D., Zapata, J., Compbell, J. Y., Baral, S., Camara, K., Chavez, L., … Rodas, O. (2014). *Multi-Sectoral Platforms for Planning and Implementation How they might better serve forest and farm producers* (No. 2). Rome.

Maersheimer, J. J. (1990). Back to the Future: Instability in Europe After the Cold War. *International Security*, *15*(1), 5–56.

Marchetti, A. (2006). *The European Neighbourhood Policy: Foreign Policy at the EU's Periphery*. Bonn.

Marchetti, A. (2012). The EU's relations with its Mediterranean neighbours in a regional perspective. In S. Calleya & M. Wohlfeld (Eds.), *Change and opportunities in the emerging Mediterranean* (pp. 1–16).

n.A. (2011a). AT A GLANCE: Egypt's Mubarak Steps Down; Military Takes Over.

n.A. (2011b). Tunisia suicide protester Mohammed Bouazizi dies. Retrieved 8 October 2018, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12120228

N.A. (1968). Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Retrieved 21 February 2018, from https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/141503.pdf

Nkrumah, K. (1962). Africa Fights the Common Market. *Labour Monthly*, 421–422.

Nogaj, M. (2013). The Cost of Non-Europe in Development Policy: Incrasing coordination between EU donors.

Nunn, A., & Price, S. (2004). Managing Development: EU and African Relations through the Evolution of the Lomé and Cotonou Agreements. *Historical Materialism*, *12*(4), 203–230.

O'Shaughnessy, T. (2006). The European Union - A Responsible Trading Partner? In H. Mayer & H. Vogt (Eds.), *A Responsible Europe?: Ethical Foundations of EU External Affairs* (pp. 181–196). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Peet, R., & Hartwick, E. (2009). Development as Modernization. In *Theories of development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives* (pp. 121–134). New York/London.

Prebisch, R. (1955). Revista de la Comision Economica Para America Latina.

Raik, K. (2006). The EU as a Regional Power: Extended Governance and Historical Responsibility. In H. Mayer & H. Vogt (Eds.), *A Responsible Europe?: Ethical Foundations of EU External Affairs* (pp. 76–93). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rostow, W. W. (1960). Die fünf Wachstumsstadien - Eine Zusammenfassung. In L. Schmidt & S. Schröder (Eds.), *Entwicklungstheorien: Klassiker, Kritik und Alternativen (2016)* (pp. 45–54). Wien: Mandelbaum.

Ruf, W. (2014). Freidenspolitisches Plädoyer für eine andere Gemeinsame Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik der EU. In T. Roithner, J. Frank, & E. Huber (Eds.), *Werte, Waffen, Wirtschaftsmacht: Wohin steuert die EU-Friednes- und Sicherheitspolitik?* (pp. 52–65).

Sachs, J. D. (2005). *The End of Poverty*. New York: The Penguin Press.

Sarto, R. A. Del, & Schumacher, T. (2005). From EMP to ENP: What's at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean? *European Foreign Affairs Review2*, *10*, 17–38.

Schmalz, S. (2016). Weltsystemansatz. In Y. Franke, G. Hauck, & M. Boatca (Eds.), *Handbuch Entwicklungsforschung* (pp. 55–66). Springer VS.

Schraeder, P. J., & Redissi, H. (2011). Ben Ali's Fall. *Journal of Democracy*, *22*(3), 5–19.

Schuman, R. (1950). The Schuman Declaration - 9 May 1950. Retrieved 16 May 2017, from https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/europe-day/schuman-declaration_en

Selbervik, H. (1999). *Aid and conditionality: The role of the bilateral donor: A case study of Norwegian-Tanzanian aid relationship*.

Sen, A. (1976). Real National Income. *Review of Economic Studies*, *43*(1), 19–39.

Singer, H. W. (1950). The Distribution of Gains between Investing and Borrowing Countries. *The American Economic Review*, *40*(2), 473–485.

Terlouw, C. P. (1992). The regional geography of the world-system: External arena, periphery, semiperiphery, core. *Netherlands Geographical Studies*, *144*.

The Economicst Intelligence Unit. (2018). *Democracy Index 2017: Free speech under attack*. London/New York/Hong Kong.

The World Bank Group. (2018). World Bank Open Data.

Thränert, O. (2006). Die nukleare Nichtverbreitungspolitik in der Krise. Retrieved 21 February 2018, from http://www.bpb.de/apuz/29458/die-nukleare-nichtverbreitungspolitik-in-der-krise?p=all

Thurner, I. (2011). Marokkanischer Herbst. *International*, 11–15.

UNCTADSTAT. (2018a). Merchandise trade matrix - product groups, exports in thousands of United States dollars, annual.

UNCTADSTAT. (2018b). Merchandise trade matrix - product groups, imports in thousands of United States dollars, annual. Retrieved 23 October 2018, from http://unctadstat.unctad.org/wds/TableViewer/tableView.aspx

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. (2005). *Trade and*

Development Report, 2005. Genf.

UNODA. (n.d.). Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT).

Viehrig, H. (2008). Die öffentliche Kommunikation der Entscheidung zum Irakkrieg in den USA. In T. Jäger & H. Viehrig (Eds.), *Die amerikanische Regierung gegen die Weltöffentlichkeit?* (pp. 135–159). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Vogt, H. (2006). Coping with Historical Responsibility: Trends and Images of the EU's Development Policy. In H. Mayer & H. Vogt (Eds.), *A Responsible Europe?: Ethical Foundations of EU External Affairs* (pp. 159–177). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wallerstein, I. (1988). Entwicklung: Leitstern oder Illusion? In K. Fischer, G. Hödl, & W. Sievers (Eds.), *Klassiker der Entwicklungstheorie: Von Modernisierung bis Post-Development* (pp. 168–193). Wien.

Wallerstein, I. (1991). An historical perspective on the emergence of the new international order: economic, political, cultural aspects. In *The Capitalist World-Economy* (pp. 269–282). New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press & Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme.

Wan, W. (2015). Why the 2015 NPT Review Conference Fell Apart.

Wimmer, & Min. (2006). From Empire to Nation-State (Replication Data) (1816-2001).

ANNEX

ANNEX A

The ideal typical contrast between *Core* and *Periphery*

	Core	Periphery
Unequal exchange	Profits from it	Suffers from it
Trade	Central position	Peripheral position
Intraregional trade	Large	Very small
Military power	Great	Small
Social harmony	Great	Small
State finance	Strong	Weak
Bureaucratic efficiency	Great	Small
Production level	High	Low
Profit level	High	Low
Wealth	Great	Small
Semiproletariat	Few	Many
Wage levels	High	Low
Technological level of production	High	Low
Skill level labor force	High	Low
Diversification of production	High	Low
Market	Large	Small

(Terlouw, 1992, p. 144)

ANNEX B

Estimated global nuclear warhead inventories in the USA and Russia between 1945 and 2017
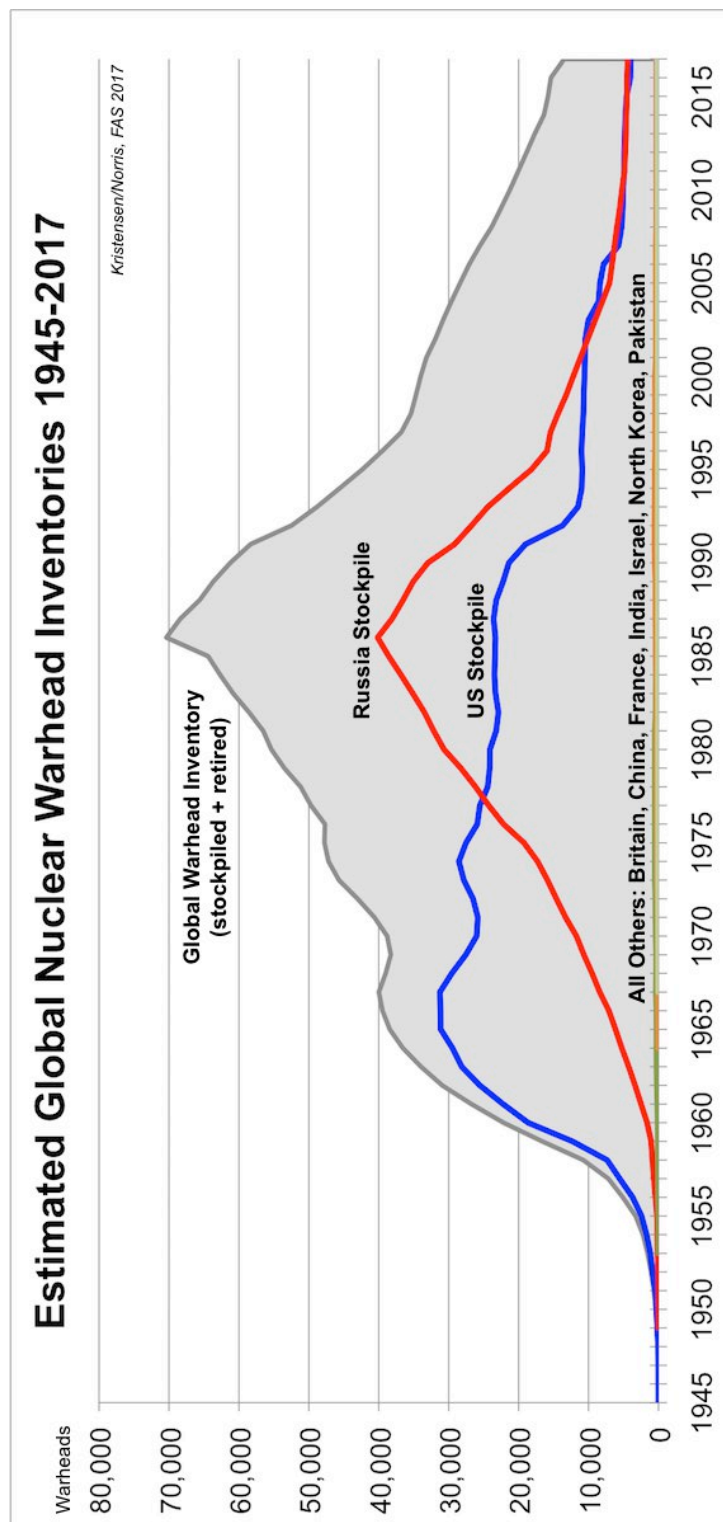
(Kristensen & Norris, 2017)

ANNEX C

CODEBOOK TUNISIA

EU/TUNISIA ACTION PLAN
Development dimension
DEV001

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - "Initiate dialogue on fundamental social rights and labour standards so as to provide a situation analysis and identify potential challenges and measures" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
- 2.2 Economic and social reforms and development
  - "[…] including support for Tunisian policies on reducing social inequalities (in education, health, social housing) and combating poverty and vulnerability" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 8).
  - "Foster cooperation on social security (exchange experience, support reforms to health insurance and pension schemes, extension of social protection coverage to categories and branches of social security where no coverage exists), including social security institution-building" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
  - "Approximation of Tunisian legislation to Community laws in common interest social and labour sectors" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
- 2.3.4 Movement of persons, particularly workers, and coordination of social security systems
  - "Ensure full application of the clause on non-discrimination in the area of social security for workers and members of their family via the coordination of social security schemes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
  - "Adopt a Decision in the Association Council concerning the implementation of Article 65 on the coordination of social security systems" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
  - "Implement the provisions on coordinating EU and Tunisian social security systems in accordance with Article 67 […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - "Continue to encourage electrification of rural areas" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 24).

DEV002

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - "Further increase participation by all sections of Tunisian society in political life" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - "Further develop the role of civil society" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4)
  - "Continue support to political parties so as to further strengthen their involvement in the democratic process" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - "Foster exchanges and cooperation between the Tunisian and EU voluntary sectors" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Encourage cooperation initiatives in the Association Agreement framework designed to promote human rights and civil society" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Strengthen the role of women in social and economic progress" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Continue action on combating discrimination against women in line with the relevant international conventions" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
- 2.2 Economic and social reforms and development
  - "Pursue the dialogue on employment and social policy so as to develop a joint analysis of the situation and identify challenges and possible measures to deal with them (social and civil dialogue, labour law, gender equality, health and safety at work, employment policy, social protection and inclusion) […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 8).
  - "Initiate a dialogue with a view to exchanging information on existing programmes and initiatives to facilitate social inclusion, the integration of vulnerable groups in the labour market and combating discrimination, racism and xenophobia" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 8).
  - "Strengthen social dialogue at all levels (bipartite and tripartite)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
- 2.3.2. Right of establishment, company law and services
  - "Identify national priorities and draw up an appropriate schedule of negotiations in the service sector with the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - "Introduce a system of appeals against rulings by public procurement committees" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 17).
  - "Exchange experience and know-how on the possibility of independent/judicial review in the event of disputes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 17).
- 2.4 Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - "(49) Develop methods to combat trafficking in human beings and to reintegrate victims of trafficking" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
  - "Initiate a dialogue to agree a common approach on tackling

trafficking targeting recruiters, transporters, exploiters, other intermediaries, clients and beneficiaries" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
- o "Improve support to the most vulnerable groups (women and children)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
- o "Development and implementation of prevention, treatment and rehabilitation programmes for drug addicts" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).

- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - o "Promote the use of new communication technologies by business, public administrations, citizens and in the health and education sectors (e-business, e-government, e-health, e-learning) through the introduction of pilot projects, the establishment of advanced infrastructures and the development of content (e.g. thematic sites on the economy, research, culture)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 25).
  - o "Improve the use of Internet and online services by citizens via public computer training programmes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 25).
  - o "Adopt a common strategy for the ten sectoral and regional technology parks with a view to organising a dialogue between all those involved in research and end-users (industry, SMEs) and implementing interaction mechanisms between research and industry, public-private sector" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).

- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Promote exchanges between young people and cooperation in the field of non-formal education" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).
  - o "Establish triangular cooperation with the countries bordering Tunisia" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).
  - o "Exchange of experience and know-how to promote culture as a vector of development" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).
  - o "(77) Intensify and facilitate cross-border cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).
  - o "Encourage local and regional initiatives to develop international cooperation activities" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).
  - o "Encourage further empowerment of consumer associations and strengthen their role in the protection of consumers' economic rights" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).

DEV003

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - "Support the efforts of the Tunisian authorities in the area of administrative reform, with a view in particular to greater transparency" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - "Strengthen the efficiency of judicial procedures and the right of defence" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - "Continue action on combating discrimination against women in line with the relevant international conventions" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Cooperate to make multilateral institutions and conventions more effective, so as to reinforce global governance, strengthen coordination on initiatives for combating security threats and address related development issues" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6)
- 2.2 Economic and social reforms and development
  - "[…] including support for Tunisian policies on reducing social inequalities (in education, health, social housing) and combating poverty and vulnerability" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 8).
- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - "Strengthen administrative cooperation to combat irregularities and fraud in customs and related matters" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
- 2.3.4 Movement of persons, particularly workers, and coordination of social security systems
  - "Ensure full application of the clause on equal treatment irrespective of nationality as regards working conditions, remuneration and dismissal" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - "Assess the current Tunisian legislative framework and its implementation, in particular respect for the principles of non-discrimination, transparency and procedural fairness" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 15).
  - "Establish full transparency as regards State aid […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 15).
  - "Improve the functioning of the current system through increased transparency, information and training, and appropriate legislative adjustments" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 16).
  - "Introduce a strategy for the gradual adoption of goal-oriented budget management" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 17).
  - "Promote the development of sufficient administrative capacity to prevent and combat fraud and other irregularities affecting national and international funds" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 17).
- 2.4 Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - "(43) Promote legislation based on international principles and

standards on asylum and refugees and implement the relevant UN Conventions" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 18).

- o "(51) Strengthen efforts and cooperation in the fight against money laundering and other financial crimes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
- o "Implement legislation on money laundering […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
- o "Sign the 2003 UN Convention on Corruption and apply the measures therein" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
- o "Exchange of best practices on combating corruption and developing cooperation in the area" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).

- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - o "Introduce a transparent regulatory process for the issue of licences (for both goods and passenger transport) and access to the occupation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "Continue implementation of the railway company restructuring policy and reorganise the administration to separate regulatory responsibilities from operational interest" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "(67) Promote good environmental governance" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 25).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "(77) Intensify and facilitate cross-border cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).
  - o "Encourage local and regional initiatives to develop international cooperation activities" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).
  - o "Encourage further empowerment of consumer associations and strengthen their role in the protection of consumers' economic rights" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).

DEV004

- 2.2 Economic and social reforms and development
  - o "Continue the strategy for bringing public debt under control by ensuring a primary balance surplus" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 8).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Establish triangular cooperation with the countries bordering Tunisia" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).

DEV005

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Support the implementation of integration projects and initiatives within the region and between the Maghreb countries" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
  - o "Foster south-south economic and trade integration, notably within the Maghreb region" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
  - o "Support implementation of the Agadir Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
  - o "Step up and support regional initiatives […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Support implementation of the Arab-Mediterranean Free Trade Agreement (Agadir Agreement) and its extension to other Mediterranean partners" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Establish triangular cooperation with the countries bordering Tunisia" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).

DEV006

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Support the implementation of integration projects and initiatives within the region and between the Maghreb countries" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
  - o "Foster south-south economic and trade integration, notably within the Maghreb region" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
  - o "Support implementation of the Agadir Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Support implementation of the Arab-Mediterranean Free Trade Agreement (Agadir Agreement) and its extension to other Mediterranean partners" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - o "Adopt a sustainable national transport policy for the development of all modes of transport, particularly with a view to security and safety (all modes of transport)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
  - o "Contribute to the identification of priority regional infrastructure projects (trans-Maghreb multimodal corridor)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "Develop the capacity of the bodies responsible for social and technical standards in the sector" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).

- o "Explore the benefits of regional cooperation in order to improve the safety, speed and effectiveness (interoperability) of rail services" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "Implement a national aviation policy for the development of the sector […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "Implement a national maritime policy for the development of the maritime sector which would make it more competitive […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 23).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Establish triangular cooperation with the countries bordering Tunisia" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).

Security dimension

SEC001

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "(1) Strengthen institutions guaranteeing democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - o "Set up a subcommittee under Article 5 of the Association Agreement with a view to developing structured political dialogue on democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - o "Continue support to political parties so as to further strengthen their involvement in the democratic process" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).

SEC002

- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Continue applying all undertakings made under Article II of the Association Agreement (free movement of goods)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
  - o "(17) Ensure completion of a free trade area between the EU and all its Mediterranean partners" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
  - o "Conclude and implement free trade agreements with the Mediterranean partners at regional, subregional and bilateral level" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
  - o "Adopt procedural rules for the settlement of trade disputes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
  - o "Increase support to the Committee for the Facilitation of Procedures (COFPRO), chaired by a representative of the private sector, and to the administrative bodies responsible for facilitation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
  - o "Step up customs controls on imports and exports of pirated and counterfeit goods" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
  - o "(22) Facilitate market access for industrial products, including

through the conclusion of a conformity assessment agreement" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
- o "Implement the action plan on the free movement of industrial products […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
- o "(23) Facilitate the movement of goods and improve administrative cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
- o "Regulate and, if necessary, ban the sale of certain substances, including phytopharmaceuticals, and guarantee the monitoring of the residues of these substances in animals, products of animal origin, plant products, food products and animal feed, without creating unnecessary barriers to trade" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
- 2.3.2. Rights of establishment, company law and services
  - o "(26) Gradually eliminate restrictions on trade in services between the EU and Tunisia in a significant number of services and negotiate an agreement to liberalise trade in services in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).
  - o "Launch bilateral negotiations on the conclusion of a free trade area in services in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).
- 2.3.3 Capital movements and current payments
  - o "Speed up implementation of Title IV of the Association Agreement (current payments and movements of capital) in order to move gradually towards the full liberalisation of capital movements (Article 34(2))" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
  - o "Complete the free movement of capital in accordance with Article 34 of the Association Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "(35) For Tunisia to participate in a specific sector of the internal market, it must introduce a State aid control regime and legislation compatible with that of the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 16).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - o "Adopt a sustainable national transport policy for the development of all modes of transport, particularly with a view to security and safety (all modes of transport)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
  - o "Take part in the planning exercise in the context of the Euro-Mediterranean regional transport project under MEDA" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "(56) Implement selected measures and reforms in the road transport sector" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
  - o "Explore the benefits of regional cooperation in order to improve the safety, speed and effectiveness (interoperability) of rail services" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).

- o "Promote closer cooperation between the national regulatory authority in the rail sector, international organisations and the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
- o "Implement a national aviation policy for the development of the sector […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
- o "Implement a national maritime policy […] and promote short-sea shipping and multimodal transport" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 23).

SEC003

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Pursue and extend dialogue on human rights issues, particularly in the context of the UN Commission on Human Rights" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - o "Support training measures in the human rights field aimed at law enforcement agents" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - o "Foster exchanges and cooperation between the Tunisian and EU voluntary sectors" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - o "Promote political and security dialogue on the basis of open exchanges on bilateral and multilateral level" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
  - o "Participate actively in the Euro-Mediterranean dialogue on the ESDP at the PSC and Senior Officials Group level […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
  - o "Establish points of contact and conduct open exchanges of information on the ESDP with the Council Secretariat and the Commission" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
  - o "Extend Tunisian participation in the OSCE's Mediterranean partnership through the contact group and bilateral links" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
- 2.2 Economic and social reform and development
  - o "Strengthen social dialogue at all levels (bipartite and tripartite)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Initiate EU-Tunisia dialogue with regard to risk-based customs controls and define standards for the certification of operators" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
- 2.3.2. Rights of establishment, company law and services
  - o "Implement the key principles of accountancy laid down in international and EU rules and standards and ensure their effective application" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).
  - o "(26) Gradually eliminate restrictions on trade in services between the EU and Tunisia in a significant number of services and negotiate an agreement to liberalise trade in services in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).

- o "Launch bilateral negotiations on the conclusion of a free trade area in services in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).
- 2.3.3 Capital movements and current payments
  - o "Speed up implementation of Title IV of the Association Agreement (current payments and movements of capital) in order to move gradually towards the full liberalisation of capital movements (Article 34(2))" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Progress towards the adoption of bilateral agreements with EU Member States on avoidance of double taxation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Bring the Tunisian education system into line with those in the EU, taking into consideration the Lisbon strategy" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).
  - o "Improve the higher education system and the institutional and legislative framework in line with the principles of the Bologna process" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).
  - o "Implement the system for recognition of academic credits (ECTS) with support from the TEMPUS programme and step up the introduction of common courses and common degree programmes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).
  - o "Promote cooperation between higher education establishments" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).

SEC004

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "(1) Strengthen institutions guaranteeing democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - o "Set up a subcommittee under Article 5 of the Association Agreement with a view to developing structured political dialogue on democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - o "Take part in training activities on conflict prevention, crisis management and civil protection and discussions on possible involvement in EU-led peacekeeping operations under UN auspices" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
  - o "Participate in the Euro-Mediterranean Peace and Stability Charter […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
  - o "Extend Tunisian participation in the OSCE's Mediterranean partnership through the contact group and bilateral links" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
  - o "Cooperate to make multilateral institutions and conventions more effective […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
- 2.2 Economic and social reform and development
  - o "Step up the collection of employment data, on productivity in

particular" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 8).

- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Build the capacity of the authorities responsible for information and enforcement of the legislation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
  - o "Step up customs controls on imports and exports of pirated and counterfeit goods" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
  - o "Build institutional capacity, in particular the human resources for implementing the harmonisation programme" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - o "Gradually implement EU animal and plant health rules relating to imports of live animals, products of animal origin, plants and plant products. Ensure controls at production level, not just on the finished product" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - o "Introduce an animal traceability system" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - o "Develop a strategy on institution-building, including laboratories" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - o "Regulate and, if necessary, ban the sale of certain substances, including phytopharmaceuticals, and guarantee the monitoring of the residues of these substances in animals, products of animal origin, plant products, food products and animal feed, without creating unnecessary barriers to trade" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
- 2.3.2. Rights of establishment, company law and services
  - o "Implement the key principles of accountancy laid down in international and EU rules and standards and ensure their effective application" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).
- 2.3.4 Movement of persons, particularly workers, and coordination of social security systems
  - o "Adopt a Decision in the Association Council concerning the implementation of Article 65 on the coordination of social security systems" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Ensure specialist training for judges dealing with competition cases" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 15).
  - o "Establish full transparency as regards State aid, in particular by […] (c) creating a national mechanism for centralising information on State aid granted in Tunisia […]" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 15).
  - o "(35) For Tunisia to participate in a specific sector of the internal market, it must introduce a State aid control regime and legislation compatible with that of the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 16).
  - o "(38) Adopt statistical methods fully compatible with European standards in relevant statistical areas, implementation of Article 60 of the Association Agreement and continue to strengthen institution building of the Tunisian Statistical System" (European

External Action Service, 2005, p. 17).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - "Build organisational and institutional capacity for border control and surveillance of entry and exit areas" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
  - "Set up a Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - "Develop the capacity of the bodies responsible for social and technical standards in the sector" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - "Strengthen institutional structures of maritime administration to enable it to take on its responsibilities in the areas of safety, security and maritime pollution prevention and control" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 23).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - "Bring the Tunisian education system into line with those in the EU, taking into consideration the Lisbon strategy" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).
  - "Improve the higher education system and the institutional and legislative framework in line with the principles of the Bologna process" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).
  - "Develop methods for monitoring and assessing policies and programmes, in particular indicators and decision-making aids" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).
  - "Encourage Tunisia's participation as an observer in the network of competent authorities […] and take measures to integrate Tunisia into that system (EUPHIN)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).
  - "Exchange information and know-how on health indicators and the collection of data, in particular for the 50 priority indicators selected by the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).
  - "(79) Build capacity for treating non-transmissible diseases in accordance with WHO strategy" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).

SEC005

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - "Develop EU-Tunisia cooperation on the fight against and prevention of terrorism, including through full implementation of UNSC Resolutions 1267/99 and 1373/01 and through the ratification and implementation of all appropriate international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism; exchange views, information and experience on combating terrorism and on the ways and means, inter alia with a view to improving the capacity to combat terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2005, p.

6).

- o "Cooperation on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, their means of delivery and ballistic missiles, including through implementing UNSC resolution 1540/04, ensuring full compliance with and national implementation of existing international obligations and promoting the accession to and compliance with other relevant international instruments and export control regimes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 7).
- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - o "(21) Develop and implement customs legislation aligned with international and EU standards" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - o "Acquire expertise on Community law in the areas of technical rules, standardisation and conformity assessment […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - o "Adopt a national programme of legislative harmonisation, including detailed technical assistance requirements" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - o "Approximate the legislation on liability for faulty products and general product safety" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - o "bring national standards into line with EU and international standards for industrial products" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - o "Screen Tunisian legislation on product composition, labelling, manufacture and description to bring it into line with the existing EU general rules" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - o "Continue implementation of requirements under the WTO agreement on sanitary and phytosanitary measures and agreements with other relevant international bodies (OIE, IPPC, Codes Alimentarius)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - o "Gradually implement EU animal and plant health rules relating to imports of live animals, products of animal origin, plants and plant products. Ensure controls at production level, not just on the finished product" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - o "Progressively apply the EU's food safety rules for the production of agricultural and food products and for production level controls" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - o "Regulate and, if necessary, ban the sale of certain substances, including phytopharmaceuticals, and guarantee the monitoring of the residues of these substances in animals, products of animal origin, plant products, food products and animal feed, without creating unnecessary barriers to trade" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
- 2.3.3 Capital movements and current payments
  - o "Speed up implementation of Title IV of the Association Agreement (current payments and movements of capital) in order

to move gradually towards the full liberalisation of capital movements (Article 34(2))" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).

- o "Complete the free movement of capital in accordance with Article 34 of the Association Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.3.4 Movement of persons, particularly workers, and coordination of social security systems
  - o "Adopt a Decision in the Association Council concerning the implementation of Article 65 on the coordination of social security systems" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Progress towards the adoption of bilateral agreements with EU Member States on avoidance of double taxation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
  - o "Develop a short- and medium-term strategy for harmonisation with European standards on economic, social and environmental statistics" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 17).
  - o "Establish dialogue on aspects relating to the promotion of investment and industrial partnerships" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 18).
  - o "Involve Tunisia in European initiatives for stimulating competitiveness and innovation, including sectoral dialogue in the sensitive areas of tourism and textiles/clothing" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 18).
  - o "Support the development of partnerships between Tunisian and EU enterprises and networks of SME and investment support structures" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 18).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "Promote active cooperation on legal migration" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 19).
  - o "Build operational and intervention capacity of land and sea border surveillance and control units, including in the context of improved regional and sub-regional cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 19).
  - o "Signature and implementation of the main international conventions" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
  - o "Support implementation of measures contained in UN Conventions" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - o "Promote closer cooperation between the national regulatory authority in the rail sector, international organisations and the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "Cooperate on safety and security" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 22).
  - o "Step up cooperation on maritime security with a view to combating terrorism, in the context of implementing the SOLAS/ISPS code" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 23).

- o "Step up energy policy dialogue, including aspects relating to Tunisia's gradual integration into the EU's internal energy market" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 24).
  - o "implement and reinforce mutual information systems, in particular as regards reciprocal cooperation opportunities" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 26).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Implement the system for recognition of academic credits (ECTS) with support from the TEMPUS programme and step up the introduction of common courses and common degree programmes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).
  - o "Promote cooperation between higher education establishments" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 28).
  - o "Encourage Tunisia's participation as an observer in the network of competent authorities […] and take measures to integrate Tunisia into that system (EUPHIN)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).

SEC006

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Develop EU-Tunisia cooperation on the fight against and prevention of terrorism, including through full implementation of UNSC Resolutions 1267/99 and 1373/01 and through the ratification and implementation of all appropriate international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism; exchange views, information and experience on combating terrorism and on the ways and means, inter alia with a view to improving the capacity to combat terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "Build operational and intervention capacity of land and sea border surveillance and control units, including in the context of improved regional and sub-regional cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 19).
  - o "Build organisational and institutional capacity for border control and surveillance of entry and exit areas" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
  - o "Develop regional cooperation between authorities dealing with border management (police, border police, migration and asylum services/authorities and customs)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
  - o "Improve the administrative capacity of the Tunisian border police by improving equipment and facilities at border checkpoints" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
  - o "Strengthen police cooperation by all appropriate and necessary means, including cooperation with EUROPOL" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
  - o "Cooperation between Tunisian and EU police training academies

and schools and with CEPOL" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).

- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment and science and technology
  - "Step up cooperation on maritime security with a view to combating terrorism, in the context of implementing the SOLAS/ISPS code" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 23).

SEC007

- 2.1 Political dialogue and reforms
  - "(1) Strengthen institutions guaranteeing democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - "Improve detention and prison conditions, in particular for the holding of minors, and ensure prisoners' rights; train prison staff; develop alternatives to incarceration; training and reintegration into society" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 4).
  - "Ensure that national legislation complies with international law on human rights and with UN recommendations" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Support training measures in the human rights field aimed at law enforcement agents" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Continue the process of liberalising the information industry, including the distribution of foreign media" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Develop information and communication media and further promote the use of and access to the Internet" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Foster exchanges and cooperation between the Tunisian and EU voluntary sectors" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Encourage cooperation initiatives in the Association Agreement framework designed to promote human rights and civil society" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 5).
  - "Take part in training activities on conflict prevention, crisis management and civil protection and discussions on possible involvement in EU-led peacekeeping operations under UN auspices" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
  - "Cooperate to make multilateral institutions and conventions more effective […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 6).
- 2.2 Economic and social reform and development
  - "Continue the programme of privatisation and disengagement of the State" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 8).
  - "Strengthen social dialogue at all levels (bipartite and tripartite)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).
  - "Continue to integrate environmental considerations into other policy sectors: industry, energy, transport, agriculture and regional policies" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 9).

- 2.3.1. Movement of goods
  - "Revise the Customs Code and implementing provisions on the basis of the results of consultations with users and bring them into line with international standards and the Community Customs Code" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
  - "Initiate EU-Tunisia dialogue with regard to risk-based customs controls and define standards for the certification of operators" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 10).
  - "(21) Develop and implement customs legislation aligned with international and EU standards" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - "Acquire expertise on Community law in the areas of technical rules, standardisation and conformity assessment […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - "Adopt a national programme of legislative harmonisation, including detailed technical assistance requirements" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - "Introduce, adapt if necessary and improve through training, equipment, etc. the national bodies responsible for implementing EU legislation […]"(European External Action Service, 2005, p. 11).
  - "Screen Tunisian legislation on product composition, labelling, manufacture and description to bring it into line with the existing EU general rules" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - "Continue implementation of requirements under the WTO agreement on Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures and agreements with other relevant international bodies (OIE, IPPC, Codes Alimentarius)" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - "Gradually implement EU animal and plant health rules relating to imports of live animals, products of animal origin, plants and plant products. Ensure controls at production level, not just on the finished product" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
  - "Progressively apply the EU's food safety rules for the production of agricultural and food products and for production level controls" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 12).
- 2.3.2. Rights of establishment, company law and services
  - "(26) Gradually eliminate restrictions on trade in services between the EU and Tunisia in a significant number of services and negotiate an agreement to liberalise trade in services in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).
  - "Launch bilateral negotiations on the conclusion of a free trade area in services in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 13).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - "Progress towards the adoption of bilateral agreements with EU Member States on avoidance of double taxation" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).

- o "Undertake a detailed and exhaustive study of the tax system in order to identify improvements required, increase its competitiveness and efficiency and align it as much as possible on international standards" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 14).
  - o "(35) For Tunisia to participate in a specific sector of the internal market, it must introduce a State aid control regime and legislation compatible with that of the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 16).
  - o "Establish dialogue on aspects relating to the promotion of investment and industrial partnerships" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 18).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "Exchange information and experience of border management systems between all competent structures and provide European experience and expertise" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 20).
  - o "Signature and implementation of the main international conventions" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 21).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Implement the system for recognition of academic credits (ECTS) with support from the TEMPUS programme and step up the introduction of common courses and common degree programmes" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 27).
  - o "Exchange information and know-how on health indicators and the collection of data, in particular for the 50 priority indicators selected by the EU" (European External Action Service, 2005, p. 29).

ANNEX D

CODEBOOK MOROCCO

EU/MOROCCO ACTION PLAN
Development dimension
DEV001

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - "(71) Implement fundamental social rights and core labour standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - "Initiate dialogue on fundamental social rights and core labour standards so as to provide a situation analysis and identify potential challenges and measures, in particular in the light of the 1998 ILO Declaration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - "Continue to modernise the financial system, particularly the public banks, and reinforce the non-bank sector (insurance, pensions)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "introduction of socio-economic measures to accompany the various reforms" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - "(16) Implement Articles 69 to 72 of the Association Agreement and align Moroccan legislation with EU standards and practices in the social and employment sectors" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - "Pursue the dialogue on employment and social policy with a view to developing a joint analysis of the situation and identifying challenges and possible responses […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - "Pursue the dialogue on living conditions of Moroccan workers and their families legally resident in the EU with a view to identifying ways and means of achieving progress on equal treatment and improving social integration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - "Foster cooperation on social security schemes […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - "Pursue social dialogue at all levels (bipartite and tripartite)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - "(17) Ensure more harmonious development and a better distribution of resources in the various regions of the country and combat poverty in urban and rural areas" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - "Support the implementation of policies for the reduction of social inequalities and to combat poverty and vulnerability" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - "Cooperate on combating poverty and support improvements to the living conditions of disadvantaged groups by developing basic social and economic infrastructures, including population

stabilisation measures in areas of migration potential" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- o "Strengthen safety nets by funding local projects" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- 2.3.4 Movement of persons, particularly workers, and coordination of social security
  - o "Adopt a decision in the Association Council concerning the implementation of Article 65 on the coordination of social security systems" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).

DEV002

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Continue efforts towards decentralisation and enhancing the powers of local authorities through support for the new National Planning Charter ("Charte sur l'Aménagement du Territoire")" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 4).
  - o "(2) Step up efforts to facilitate access to justice and the law" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Simplify judicial procedures, including shortening the length of procedures, trials and the enforcement of judgements and improving legal assistance" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Strengthen dialogue on human rights at all levels, including in the Fairness and Reconciliation Commission" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Promote cultural and linguistic rights of all peoples of the Moroccan nation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Ensure implementation of the law on freedom of association and of assembly in accordance with the relevant clauses of the UN International Convenant on Civil and Political Rights" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Support the new law liberalising the audiovisual sector and cooperation in the sector" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Combat discrimination and violence against women pursuant to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Promote the role of women in social and economic progress (Art. 71 A A)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - o "develop and improve rural infrastructure" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "Pursue the dialogue on living conditions of Moroccan workers and their families legally resident in the EU with a view to identifying ways and means of achieving progress on equal treatment and improving social integration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).

- o "Pursue the dialogue on improving the exchange of information on programmes and initiatives to facilitate social inclusion, the integration of disadvantaged groups in the labour market and combating discrimination and xenophobia" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
- o "Ensure equality for men and women, including in the field of employment; promote the role of women in social and economic progress; cooperate on combating child labour" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
- o "Pursue social dialogue at all levels (bipartite and tripartite)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- o "Continue work on implementation of the new Decentralisation Charter" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- o "Cooperate on combating poverty and support improvements to the living conditions of disadvantaged groups by developing basic social and economic infrastructures, including population stabilisation measures in areas of migration potential" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- o "Strengthen safety nets by funding local projects" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - o "Prevent discriminatory measures and ensure that interested parties have an opportunity to raise identified problems" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- 2.3.4 Movement of persons, particularly workers, and coordination of social security
  - o "Ensure full application of the clause on equal treatment irrespective of nationality as regards working conditions, remuneration and dismissal" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
  - o "Ensure full application of the clause on non-discrimination in the area of social security for workers and members of their families" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
  - o "Adopt a decision in the Association Council concerning the implementation of Article 65 on the coordination of social security systems" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Assess the implementation of the current Moroccan legislative framework, including respect for the principles of non-discrimination, transparency and procedural fairness" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - o "Take as much account as possible of the principle of non-discrimination with a view to reciprocal and gradual liberalisation in accordance with Article 41 of the Association Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
  - o "(44) Reform of the postal sector to ensure that the post office can continue to play its role as a means of communication and exchange promoting economic and social progress" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
  - o "Integrate information technologies into the postal service and

use the service as a means of spreading such technology to Moroccan society" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).

- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "Development and implementation of prevention, treatment and rehabilitation programmes for drug addicts" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "Improve citizens' access to and knowledge of information technology to help overcome the digital divide" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28).
  - o "Support the implementation of the pilot projects and the development of content for on-line services […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28).
  - o "Establish procedures concerning access to information and public participation, also with regard to environmental impact assessment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 29).
  - o "Develop and implement communication strategies on the environment and natural resource management; support the various civil society actors and local authorities" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 29).
  - o "Organise dialogue between all those involved in research and end-users (industry, SMEs)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
  - o "Implement interaction mechanisms between research and industry, public-private sector (technology parks, for a, etc.)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Encourage access to education, including technical training, higher education and vocational training, for disadvantaged or vulnerable groups […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
  - o "Implement policies to eradicate illiteracy" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Strengthen the process of devolving and decentralising education services and the decentralisation of higher education" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Promote distant-learning" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 32).
  - o "Pursue the implementation of the new legislation on association, in order to strengthen civil society" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 32).
  - o "Encourage organisations for the defence of citizens' social, political and economic rights, and those campaigning for a better environment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).
  - o "Encourage local and regional initiatives to develop international cooperation activities" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).
  - o "Promote projects designed to facilitate the access of civil society,

in particular youth groups and clubs, to new information and communication technologies" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).

- o "Improve basic health care at regional level" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).
- o "Pursue decentralisation of the treatment of cancer sufferers, in particular to the newly created centres" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).

DEV003

- • 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Strengthen and support the implementation of a national anti-corruption strategy, including training expert anti-corruption services, applying a code of conduct and public awareness-raising campaigns" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Continue the reform of criminal law with a view to introduction of a definition of torture in line with that of the UN Convention against Torture" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Ensure implementation of the law on freedom of association and of assembly in accordance with the relevant clauses of the UN International Convenant on Civil and Political Rights" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Exchange experience and know-how in relation to development of the Press Code" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Support the new law liberalising the audiovisual sector and cooperation in the sector" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Apply the recent reforms of the Family Code" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Combat discrimination and violence against women pursuant to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Consolidate children's rights pursuant to the Convention on the rights of the child" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Promote the role of women in social and economic progress (Art. 71 A A)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Protection of pregnant women in the workplace" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Initiate dialogue on fundamental social rights and core labour standards so as to provide a situation analysis and identify potential challenges and measures, in particular in the light of the 1998 ILO Declaration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Cooperate to make multilateral institutions and conventions more effective, so as to reinforce global governance, strengthen coordination on initiatives for combating security threats and

address related development issues" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).

- o "Implementation of the legislation on the fight against financing of terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - o "support land tenure reform" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "(16) Implement Articles 69 to 72 of the Association Agreement and align Moroccan legislation with EU standards and practices in the social and employment sectors" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "Pursue the dialogue on employment and social policy with a view to developing a joint analysis of the situation and identifying challenges and possible responses [...]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "Pursue the dialogue on improving the exchange of information on programmes and initiatives to facilitate social inclusion, the integration of disadvantaged groups in the labour market and combating discrimination and xenophobia" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "Ensure equality for men and women, including in the field of employment; promote the role of women in social and economic progress; cooperate on combating child labour" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "Health and safety in the workplace: prevention of occupational risks: extension of occupational health services in line with new legislation; support for the implementation of ILO Conventions on the use of benzene and asbestos" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "Labour law: support the implementation of the new provisions of the Labour Code. [...]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "(17) Ensure more harmonious development and a better distribution of resources in the various regions of the country and combat poverty in urban and rural areas" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - o "Support the implementation of policies for the reduction of social inequalities and to combat poverty and vulnerability" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - o "Continue work on implementation of the new Decentralisation Charter" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - o "Support activities that generate revenue and create opportunities for permanent jobs via economic projects for vulnerable groups that find it difficult to integrate in working life" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - o "Develop mutual administrative assistance to combat irregularities and fraud in the customs field" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - o "Prevent discriminatory measures and ensure that interested

parties have an opportunity to raise identified problems"
(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).

- 2.3.4 Movement of persons, particularly workers, and coordination of social security
  - "Ensure full application of the clause on equal treatment irrespective of nationality as regards working conditions, remuneration and dismissal" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
  - "Ensure full application of the clause on non-discrimination in the area of social security for workers and members of their families" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
  - "Adopt a decision in the Association Council concerning the implementation of Article 65 on the coordination of social security systems" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - "Assess the implementation of the current Moroccan legislative framework, including respect for the principles of non-discrimination, transparency and procedural fairness" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - "Exchange information on State aid, based on a jointly agreed definition, with a view to implementing Article 36(4)(b) of the Association Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - "Exchange experience and know-how on the conditions to be met with reference to State aid distorting competition" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - "Consolidate […] the process of reforms guaranteeing openness, transparency, information for the parties concerned and competition" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
  - "Take as much account as possible of the principle of non-discrimination with a view to reciprocal and gradual liberalisation in accordance with Article 41 of the Association Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
  - "Develop information systems on the management of public expenditure" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 19).
  - "Exchange experience and know-how with a view to gradual approximation to international standards and methodologies (IFAC,IIA, INTOSAI) and EU best practices in the area of control and audit of public revenue and expenditure" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 19).
  - "Develop financial and accounting transparency, exchange experience and know-how" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 19).
  - "Introduce legislation on the accountability of management (authorising officers), controllers and accountants in the public sector" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 19).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - "(56) Strengthen cooperation efforts to combat money laundering" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
  - "Implement Article 61 of the Association Agreement" (European

External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
- o "Exchange information on European legislation and international instruments (particularly the FATF recommendations) and Moroccan legislation on money laundering and the financing of terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
- o "Continue the development of an effective legal framework in the field of money laundering and the financing of terrorism in accordance with FATF recommendations. Identify administrative/technical support and training requirements" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 24).
- o "Improve the system of financial information on money laundering" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 24).
- o "Develop a training programme for judges, prosecutors and any other administration concerned" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 24).
- o "Step up cooperation between police agencies and cooperation with international organisations, e.g. OECD-FATF and the Council of Europe, and with the corresponding services in the Member States of the EU" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 24).
- o "Introduce a transparent regulatory process for the issue of licences (for both goods and passenger transport) and access to the profession" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "Implementation of an energy policy based on sustainable development and integrating the objectives of supply security, competitiveness and protecting the environment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
  - o "Encourage gradual liberalisation of the fixed telephony market" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28)
  - o "Continue liberalisation of the mobile telephony market" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28)
  - o "(72) Promote good environmental governance" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28)
  - o "Establish procedures concerning access to information and public participation, also with regard to environmental impact assessment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 29).
  - o "Draw up regular reports on the state of the environment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 29).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Strengthen the process of devolving and decentralising education services and the decentralisation of higher education" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Strengthen the autonomy and improve the capacity for governance of universities" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Develop new regulatory strategies for the higher education sector, in particular through the establishment of a national evaluation agency" (European External Action Service, 2006, p.

32).
- o "Encourage organisations for the defence of citizens' social, political and economic rights, and those campaigning for a better environment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).
- o "Encourage local and regional initiatives to develop international cooperation activities" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).

DEV004

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Further develop cooperation in the prevention of and fight against the illicit trafficking of WMD-related materials" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
- Economic and social reform and development
  - o "diversification of rural economic activities" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "development and promotion of quality products" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Involve Morocco in EU guidelines and initiatives in order to boost competitiveness and innovation, including in the tourism and crafts sectors" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).

DEV005

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Further develop cooperation in the prevention of and fight against the illicit trafficking of WMD-related materials" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
  - o "Promote intra-regional economic and trade integration, particularly within the Agadir process" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
  - o "Step up cooperation within the Maghreb regional institutions, the 5+5 Forum, the Mediterranean Forum and the Africa-Europe Summit" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - o "development and promotion of quality products" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - o "Conclude and implement free trade agreements with the Mediterranean partners at regional intra-regional or bilateral level" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Explore enhanced interaction with other Euromed partners" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "(59) Continue implementation of the national transport policy,

- including infrastructure development" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Continue implementation of the national sustainable transport policy for the development of all modes of transport and related infrastructure, focusing in particular on strengthening safety and security (all modes of transport)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "[…] increase trade and improve transport sector performance between Morocco, Maghreb countries and EU Member States" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Take part in the planning exercise in the context of the Euro-Mediterranean regional transport project under MEDA, aimed at proposing an action plan for transport in the countries of the Mediterranean, a basic priority network in the 12 Mediterranean countries and interconnection of this network with the trans-European transport network" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Contribute to the identification of priority regional infrastructure projects (e.g. trans-Maghreb multimodal corridor)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Contribute to the strengthening of transport network interconnections at regional level, in particular as regards road and rail networks […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Accelerate the development of the Moroccan motorway network with a view to completion of the North-South and East-West links by 2010" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "(65) Strengthen Morocco's role in regional energy supply security" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
  - o "Reinforce energy interconnections, including transit infrastructures" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).

DEV006

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Further develop cooperation in the prevention of and fight against the illicit trafficking of WMD-related materials" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
  - o "Promote intra-regional economic and trade integration, particularly within the Agadir process" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
  - o "Step up cooperation within the Maghreb regional institutions, the 5+5 Forum, the Mediterranean Forum and the Africa-Europe Summit" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - o "Health and safety in the workplace: prevention of occupational risks: extension of occupational health services in line with new legislation; support for the implementation of ILO Conventions on the use of benzene and asbestos" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).

- o "Support activities that generate revenue and create opportunities for permanent jobs via economic projects for vulnerable groups that find it difficult to integrate in working life" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - o "Conclude and implement free trade agreements with the Mediterranean partners at regional intra-regional or bilateral level" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- 2.3.2. Right of establishment, company law and services
  - o "Modernise the business register and the system of publicity in the official gazette for informing third parties" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Explore enhanced interaction with other Euromed partners" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "(59) Continue implementation of the national transport policy, including infrastructure development" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Continue implementation of the national sustainable transport policy for the development of all modes of transport and related infrastructure, focusing in particular on strengthening safety and security (all modes of transport)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "[…] increase trade and improve transport sector performance between Morocco, Maghreb countries and EU Member States" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Take part in the planning exercise in the context of the Euro-Mediterranean regional transport project under MEDA, aimed at proposing an action plan for transport in the countries of the Mediterranean, a basic priority network in the 12 Mediterranean countries and interconnection of this network with the trans-European transport network" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Contribute to the identification of priority regional infrastructure projects (e.g. trans-Maghreb multimodal corridor)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Contribute to the strengthening of transport network interconnections at regional level, in particular as regards road and rail networks […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Implement the Government's strategic integrated action plan on road safety adopted in November 2003" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Reinforce the bodies responsible for applying standards in the sector" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Accelerate the development of the Moroccan motorway network with a view to completion of the North-South and East-West links by 2010" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).

- o "Speed up development of the railway network to encourage multimodal links" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
- o "Explore the benefits of regional cooperation in order to improve the safety, speed and effectiveness (interoperability) of rail services" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
- o "Continue implementation of the national aviation policy for development of the sector; continue to strengthen administrative capacity" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
- o "Implement the national maritime policy to increase the competitiveness of the maritime sector; promote short-sea shipping and introduce competition and private participation in port services" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
- o "(65) Strengthen Morocco's role in regional energy supply security" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
- o "Reinforce energy interconnections, including transit infrastructures" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).

Security dimension

SEC001

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "(1) Consolidate the administrative bodies responsible for reinforcing respect for democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 4).

SEC002

- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - o "(13) Consolidate progress made with a view to improving macroeconomic indicators to promote growth and development" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "Exchange views on the advisability of more flexible exchange-rate rules to accompany the process of gradual capital account liberalisation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "(15) Ensure the introduction of a coherent agricultural policy […] with the aim of convergence towards the necessary conditions for establishment of a Morocco-EU free trade area" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "Improve agricultural structures and marketing chains" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o Develop and improve rural infrastructure" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - o "(19) Implementation of the undertakings in the AA, Title II (Free movement of goods)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - o "Monitor issues concerned with the trade sector of the EU-Morocco Association Agreement, in particular regarding tariff and

non-tariff aspects of the reciprocal elimination of restrictions on the import and export of industrial products" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Continue and extend liberalisation of trade in goods" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Train staff and build administrative capacity in international trade" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "(20) Contribute to the creation of the Euro-Mediterranean free trade area" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Initiate discussions on tightening procedural rules for settling trade disputes" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Continue the liberalisation of agricultural products and processed agricultural products in accordance with reform policies […]" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Initiate talks on the gradual liberalisation of fishery products" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "(21) Modernisation and capacity-building of customs services, alignment of customs legislation with international and EU standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Continue implementation of the recommendations on trade facilitation adopted by Trade Ministers at the Euro-Mediterranean conference in Palermo, July 2003" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "(22) Cooperation on securing the international supply chain" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "(23) Facilitate access to the market for industrial products. Bring Moroccan legislation on industrial products further into line with international and European rules and practices" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "(24) Facilitate the movement of goods and improve administrative cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "Facilitate trade by eliminating existing non-tariff barriers" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- o "(25) Improve the health safety of food for consumers and facilitate trade in agricultural products with the EU" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- o "Regulate and, if necessary, ban the sale of certain substances, including phytopharmaceuticals, without creating unnecessary barriers to trade, and introduce schemes to monitor residues of pharmaceuticals in animals, products of animal origin, plant products, food products and animal feed" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- 2.3.2. Right of establishment, company law and services
  - o "(26) Continue efforts to liberalise establishment and foreign investment […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
  - o "Extend the scope of the Association Agreement to include companies' right of establishment in the territory of the other party on the basis of the review clause in Article 31 AA" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).

- o "(27) Gradual liberalisation of trade in services between Morocco and the European Union" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
- 2.3.3 Capital movements and current payments
  - o "Pursue consultations on facilitating full liberalisation of capital movements once the necessary conditions are met according to Article 34 of the Association Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Complete the system of judicial review by means of a system of amicable settlement of disputes relating to contract implementation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
  - o "introduce amicable dispute settlement procedures" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "(59) Continue implementation of the national transport policy, including infrastructure development" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Continue implementation of the national sustainable transport policy for the development of all modes of transport and related infrastructure, focusing in particular on strengthening safety and security (all modes of transport)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Identify and implement the necessary measures, including the development of infrastructure to improve transport capacity […]" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Contribute to the strengthening of transport network interconnections […] and the project of a direct link through the Gibraltar Strait" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Speed up development of the railway network to encourage multimodal links" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Promote closer collaboration in the rail sector between the national regulatory authority, international organisations and the EU" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Continue implementation of the national aviation policy for development of the sector; continue to strengthen administrative capacity" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Start negotiations on an EU-Morocco aviation agreement once the negotiating mandate is given" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Assess and examine the possibility of extending to other airports the open competition in ground-handling services currently applicable at the Casablanca-Mohammed V, Marrakech-Menara and Agadir-Al Massira airports" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Under the new policy of liberalisation in the air transport sector which came into force in February 2004, reinforce the current level of liberalisation of charter and scheduled flights, including the development of new Morocco-EU links" (European External

Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
- o "Implement the national maritime policy to increase the competitiveness of the maritime sector; promote short-sea shipping and introduce competition and private participation in port services" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
- o "Take part in regional cooperation on maritime policy, ports and short-sea shipping" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
- o "(64) Implementation of an energy policy based on sustainable development and integrating the objectives of supply security, competitiveness and protecting the environment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
- o "(67) Gradual integration of the Moroccan electricity market into the European electricity market, pursuant to the Memorandum of Understanding […] on the gradual integration of the electricity markets of the Maghreb countries into the EU's internal electricity market" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
- o "Restructure the electricity sector and implement the conditions for its gradual liberalisation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
- o "Encourage gradual liberalisation of the fixed telephony market" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28).
- o "Continue liberalisation of the mobile telephony market" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28).

SEC003

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Training of judges and other staff" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Follow-up the conclusions of the "justice and security" sub-committee" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "(4) Ensure the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms according to international standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Start discussions within the sub-committee on human rights, democratisation and governance" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Examine the possibility of reviewing the opt-outs within regards to international human rights conventions" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Pursue legislative reforms with a view to implementation of international human rights legislation, including the basic UN conventions and their optional protocols" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Examine the possibility of accession to the optional protocols to the international human rights conventions to which Morocco is party" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Finalise the national human rights action plan and support its implementation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).

- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - "(13) Consolidate progress made with a view to improving macroeconomic indicators to promote growth and development" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "Consolidate the stability of the macroeconomic framework" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "Control the budget deficit at sustainable levels" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - "Initiate discussions on tightening procedural rules for settling trade disputes" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - "(21) Modernisation and capacity-building of customs services, alignment of customs legislation with international and EU standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - "Discuss the definition of criteria for the certification of operators (exporters and transporters)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- 2.3.2. Right of establishment, company law and services
  - "Open bilateral negotiations on services aon the basis of Article 31 of the Association Agreement in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - "Exchange experience to promote the development of e-commerce" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - "Develop the EU-Morocco dialogue on enterprise policy and exchange of best practices" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 19).
  - "Develop the dialogue on industrial policy, in relation in particular to the textiles/clothing sector" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
  - "Implement the Euro-Mediterranean Enterprise Charter" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
  - "Continue implementation of the national programme for the development of industrial infrastructure zoning and identify possible cooperation initiatives […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
  - "Rationalisation and simplification of administrative procedures. Establishment of a business-friendly environment and appropriate legal guarantees for investments" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - "(46) Develop legislation in accordance with international principles and standards on asylum and refugees. Implementation of the relevant UN Conventions" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
  - "Continue the exchange of information on legal migration in the context of existing structures, in particular in the Working Party on Social Affairs and Migration: inventory of existing routes and commitments made by Member States; ways of managing legal migration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).

- o "Information campaigns in Morocco on legal migration opportunities to the EU (including family reunification, equal treatment for and integration of migrants) and on the risks of illicit migration and, in Europe, information campaigns on the positive aspects of migration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "Transit migration: discussions on the opportunities for cooperation with countries of origin and transit; information campaigns in the countries of origin; accompanying measures; trilateral and multilateral projects with a view to synergies between migration and development, including through application of Article 13 of the Cotonou Agreement" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "EU support for effective management of migration flows paying attention to the human dimension, socioeconomic aspects and accompanying measures" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "Support implementation of counter-terrorism legislation and related UN resolutions" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Bring the Moroccan education system into line with those in the EU, taking into consideration the Lisbon strategy" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
  - o "Improve the higher education system and the institutional and legislative framework in line with the principles of the Bologna process" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
  - o "Implement the system for recognition of academic credits (ECTS) to facilitate student mobility with support from the TEMPUS programme" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
  - o "Develop education programmes in the area of human rights and citizenship which Morocco has undertaken to provide" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Develop vocationally-oriented training to improve graduate employability" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Promote cooperation between higher education establishments" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Develop Morocco's human capital and promote higher education reform. In this context increase Morocco's human capital and promote higher education reform. In this context increase Morocco's involvement in the Tempus programme" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Encourage the participation of Moroccan students and universities in the Erasmus-Mundus programme" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Promote Euro-Mediterranean study centre networks" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Strengthen intercultural dialogue, in particular by promoting language teaching and disseminating Moroccan culture in the EU" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 32).

- o "Foster the creation of Morocco-EU cultural areas" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 32).
- o "Intensify Morocco's participation in the Euromed cultural cooperation programmes […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 32).
- o "Training on the collection, management and use of indicators in decision-making" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).

SEC004

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "(1) Consolidate the administrative bodies responsible for reinforcing respect for democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 4).
  - o "Finalise the national human rights action plan and support its implementation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "(8) Strengthen political dialogue and cooperation on foreign and security policy and other subjects of common interest" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - o "Pursue enhanced, structured and regular Morocco-EU strategic policy dialogue covering internal developments in both parties, Mediterranean, African, regional and international issues and other matters of common interest" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - o "Strengthen EU-Moroccan cooperation in the fight against and prevention of terrorism, in particular through implementation of the initiatives identified in this Action Plan which will be discussed in the relevant subcommittees" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - o "Develop EU-Moroccan cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism, including through the full implementation of UNSC Resolutions 1267/99 and 1373/01 and through the ratification and implementation of all relevant international conventions and protocols on terrorism. Exchange views, information and experience on combating terrorism with a view to improving the capacity to combat terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, pp. 7–8).
  - o "Implement the new statute of the Central Bank and strengthen its supervisory role in the context of a more integrated financial system" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "[…] Continue the adoption of implementing decrees for the new Labour Code and support implementation of the Code, with the assistance of training, information and communication programmes and institutional capacity-building in the labour inspectorate" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - o "Complete the establishment of administrative structures and procedures to ensure strategic planning of sustainable development and coordination between the various actors" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).

- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - "Train staff and build administrative capacity in international trade" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - "Initiate discussions on tightening procedural rules for settling trade disputes" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - "(21) Modernisation and capacity-building of customs services, alignment of customs legislation with international and EU standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - "Exchange experience and know-how with a view to the possible development of customs controls on imports and exports of pirated or counterfeit goods" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - "Develop cooperation with regard to customs controls based on risk analysis to ensure the safety and security of import ,export and transit flows" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - "Discuss the definition of criteria for the certification of operators (exporters and transporters)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - "Adopt a programme for the harmonisation of conformity assessment legislation and procedures and implement the necessary framework and sectoral legislation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - "(24) Facilitate the movement of goods and improve administrative cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - "Ensure there is a contact point dealing with implementation of the movement of goods who could also facilitate information flows and exchanges of information with operators" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - "Cooperation with a view to strengthening animal, plant and food health supervisory structures, including laboratories" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
  - "Regulate and, if necessary, ban the sale of certain substances, including phytopharmaceuticals, without creating unnecessary barriers to trade, and introduce schemes to monitor residues of pharmaceuticals in animals, products of animal origin, plant products, food products and animal feed" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
  - "Establish a phytosanitary statute with regard to the organisms mentioned in Directive 2000/29/EC. Implement equivalent control measures , if necessary" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
  - "Establish and develop a national institute of food safety" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
  - "Step up epidemio-surveillance of emerging animal diseases […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- 2.3.2. Right of establishment, company law and services
  - "Exchange experience and know-how in order to build capacity for evaluating trade in services" (European External Action

Service, 2006, p. 15).
- o "Develop a regulatory framework for the supervision of financial markets converging towards the EU's" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
- o "Reinforce the prerogatives of the financial market supervisory authorities in accordance with international standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "(30) Define and implement a tax system and its institutions based on international and European standards as part of the tax reform programme" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
  - o "building administrative capacity for the enforcement of competition law […]" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - o "Ensure the right of appeal to independent courts against anti-trust decisions and ensure the specialised training of judges dealing with competition cases" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - o "Cooperate on reinforcing competition bodies, particularly as regards their administrative capacity and decision-making powers" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - o "[…] establishment and strengthening of administrative capacity for the implementation of consumer protection rules, and the scope for encouraging Moroccan consumer protection organisations to integrate with European networks in this field" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - o "Accede to the main international agreements […] and apply the highest international standards (Article 39)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
  - o "Build up the capacity of the relevant bodies, e.g. the Moroccan Industrial and Commercial Property Office and the Moroccan Copyright Bureau" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
  - o "Develop the EU-Morocco dialogue on enterprise policy and exchange of best practices" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 19).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "Develop of appropriate administrative infrastructure to process and follow up asylum applications through cooperation, in particular as regards training for the staff concerned" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "Strengthen organisational and institutional capacity for border control and surveillance of entry and exit areas" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "Accelerate implementation of the four strands of the MEDA programme for the management of border controls […] a) institutional support for strengthening the national strategy […](European External Action Service, 2006, p. 22).
  - o "Improve knowledge of the phenomenon by improving the

collection of data and exchange of information on the respective anti-drug strategies" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).

- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "Improve national flag administration, increase administrative surveillance of compliance with the obligations of third parties in the area of maritime safety" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Exchange experience and know-how with a view to building technical capacity in the Ministry of Energy and Mining's energy laboratory, particularly with regard to hydrocarbon quality control" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 28).
  - o "Complete the establishment of administrative structures responsible for environment protection and water management at central and local level and of procedures to ensure strategic planning in these areas, including financial strategies. […]" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 29).
  - o "Strengthen the administrative capacity of the authorities responsible for environment protection and water management […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 29).
  - o "(76) Develop research and technological development capacity for the benefit of the economy and society" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
  - o "Strengthen human, material and institutional resources in order to improve the capacities of RDT-I operators" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Develop education programmes in the area of human rights and citizenship which Morocco has undertaken to provide" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Improve the quality and develop the capacity of the public supply of general education, vocational training and higher education" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 31).
  - o "Develop new regulatory strategies for the higher education sector, in particular through the establishment of a national evaluation strategy" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 32).
  - o "Strengthen the regional epidemiological observatories and border health inspection services" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).
  - o "Develop health watch and alert systems through the establishment of a national specialist unit in the Health Ministry" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).
  - o "Encourage establishment of the Food Health and Quality Control Agency (ACQSA) with the support of the CSER (Scientific Council of Risk Evaluation)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).

SEC005

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
    - o "Exchange information on respective laws and international instruments (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
    - o "Assistance in the application of the measures provided for in the UN Convention; international cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
    - o "Start discussions within the sub-committee on human rights, democratisation and governance" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
    - o "Pursue legislative reforms with a view to implementation of international human rights legislation, including the basic UN conventions and their optional protocols" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
    - o "Examine the possibility of accession to the optional protocols to the international human rights conventions to which Morocco is party" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
    - o "(8) Strengthen political dialogue and cooperation on foreign and security policy and other subjects of common interest" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
    - o "Pursue enhanced, structured and regular Morocco-EU strategic policy dialogue covering internal developments in both parties, Mediterranean, African, regional and international issues and other matters of common interest" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
    - o "Develop and enhance this bilateral policy dialogue with a view to strengthening ties based on active solidarity between the two parties and allowing their position and reciprocal interests to be taken into account" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
    - o "(9) Strengthen cooperation on regional and international cooperation issues, conflict prevention and crisis management" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
    - o "Participate actively in political dialogue and the Euro-Mediterranean exchange of information on the ESDP at the level of the PSC and the Senior Officials Group for political and security cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean partnership" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
    - o "Take part, as appropriate, in training and activities relating to conflict prevention, management of crises and natural disasters, civil protection and possible participation in EU-led civil and military peacekeeping exercises and operations" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
    - o "(10) Continue to develop cooperation on combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
    - o "Strengthen EU-Moroccan cooperation in the fight against and prevention of terrorism, in particular through implementation of the initiatives identified in this Action Plan which will be discussed in the relevant subcommittees" (European External Action

Service, 2006, p. 7).
- o "Improve overall coordination in the non-proliferation area […]" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
- o "Identify and actively promote joint projects in technical fields such as energy, transport, IT and migration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - o "(13) Consolidate progress made with a view to improving macroeconomic indicators to promote growth and development" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "Consolidate the stability of the macroeconomic framework" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "Exchange views on the advisability of more flexible exchange-rate rules to accompany the process of gradual capital account liberalisation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - o "Complete the establishment of administrative structures and procedures to ensure strategic planning of sustainable development and coordination between the various actors" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - o "Promote measures to integrate environmental considerations into other policy sectors: industry, energy, transport, agriculture and regional policies" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - o "Develop mutual administrative assistance […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - o "Legislative alignment of customs controls on psychotropic substances, dual-use goods and cultural goods" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
  - o "(22) Cooperation on securing the international supply chain" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - o "(23) Facilitate access to the market for industrial products. Bring Moroccan legislation on industrial products further into line with international and European rules and practices" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - o "Pursue implementation of the Palermo action plan for the approximation of legislation on standards, technical regulation and conformity assessment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - o "Strengthen the institutions responsible for standardisation, conformity assessment, metrology and market supervision by […] incorporation into European and international structures" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - o "Negotiate an agreement on conformity assessment and the acceptance of industrial products (ACAA)in sectors of common interest where the legislation is applied to the same standards as in the European Union" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
  - o "(24) Facilitate the movement of goods and improve administrative cooperation" (European External Action Service,

2006, p. 13).
- o "Cooperation with a view to strengthening animal, plant and food health supervisory structures, including laboratories" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- o "Pursue implementation of the obligations arising from the WTO agreement on the application of sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) measures and active participation in the work of the corresponding international organisations (IOE,IPPC/EPPO, Codex Alimentarius)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- o "Progressive approximation to EU veterinary and phytosanitary rules […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- o "Establish a phytosanitary statute with regard to the organisms mentioned in Directive 2000/29/EC. Implement equivalent control measures , if necessary" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- o "Examine the possibility of cooperation under the early warning system […](European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- 2.3.2. Right of establishment, company law and services
  - o "Extend the scope of the Association Agreement to include companies' right of establishment in the territory of the other party on the basis of the review clause in Article 31 AA" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "Work towards convergence with key principles of international and EU rules and standards in company law" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "(27) Gradual liberalisation of trade in services between Morocco and the European Union" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "Screen Moroccan legislation with a view to conclusion of an agreement on trade in services" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Complete, where appropriate, the network of bilateral agreements between Morocco and EU Member States on avoidance of double taxation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
  - o "Pursue consolidation of tax legislation and its alignment on international standards, with a particular view to avoiding double taxation in the VAT system" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
  - o "Reinforce administrative cooperation between relevant Moroccan and third country authorities" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
  - o "Accede to the main international agreements […] and apply the highest international standards (Article 39)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
  - o "Pursue technical cooperation by reference to the methodological developments necessary for the introduction of a system of foreign trade statistics aligned on the EU's" (European External

Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
- o "Continue implementation of the national programme for the development of industrial infrastructure zoning and identify possible cooperation initiatives […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
- o "Rationalisation and simplification of administrative procedures. Establishment of a business-friendly environment and appropriate legal guarantees for investments" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).

- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "(46) Develop legislation in accordance with international principles and standards on asylum and refugees. Implementation of the relevant UN Conventions" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
  - o "Strengthen cooperation on measures to tackle the financing of terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
  - o "Develop cooperation between counter-terrorism agencies" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
  - o "Develop judicial cooperation on combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
  - o "Consider negotiation of a Morocco-EUROPOL agreement, including action on combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 24).

- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "Implement the international conventions, notably on dangerous goods" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 25).
  - o "Under the new policy of liberalisation in the air transport sector which came into force in February 2004, reinforce the current level of liberalisation of charter and scheduled flights, including the development of new Morocco-EU links" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "(75) Speed up Morocco's integration in the European research area and the Community framework programmes" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).

- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Implement the system for recognition of academic credits (ECTS) to facilitate student mobility with support from the TEMPUS programme" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
  - o "Take measures to integrate Morocco into the EU health information system" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).

SEC006

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "Take part, as appropriate, in training and activities relating to conflict prevention, management of crises and natural disasters,

civil protection and possible participation in EU-led civil and military peacekeeping exercises and operations" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).

- o "(10) Continue to develop cooperation on combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
- o "Develop EU-Moroccan cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism, including through the full implementation of UNSC Resolutions 1267/99 and 1373/01 and through the ratification and implementation of all relevant international conventions and protocols on terrorism. Exchange views, information and experience on combating terrorism with a view to improving the capacity to combat terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, pp. 7–8).

- 2.3.5 Other key areas
  - o "Increase resources dedicated to enforcement, in particular for the customs authorities and the judicial system" (European External Action Service, 2006, pp. 17–18).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "Assistance in implementing the strategy to combat illegal immigration, in particular through cooperation with the Migration and Border Surveillance Directorate" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "Strengthen organisational and institutional capacity for border control and surveillance of entry and exit areas" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "Accelerate implementation of the four strands of the MEDA programme for the management of border controls […] b) support to staff training […](European External Action Service, 2006, p. 22).
  - o "Special training" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
  - o "Launch specialised training schemes for drug law enforcement agencies" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
  - o "Consider negotiation of a Morocco-EUROPOL agreement, including action on combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 24).
  - o "Participation in implementation of the EUROMED police training project (CEPOL)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 24).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "Strengthen the powers of the maritime authorities and the training of seafarers with regard to safety and the prevention of sea pollution" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Improve national flag administration, increase administrative surveillance of compliance with the obligations of third parties in the area of maritime safety" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Maritime safety: take part in improving the Euromed framework for cooperation within the IMO; take part in the new MEDA

regional project on maritime safety (SAFEMED)" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).

SEC007

- 2.1. Political dialogue and reforms
  - o "(1) Consolidate the administrative bodies responsible for reinforcing respect for democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 4).
  - o "Pursue the national plan for modernising the prison administration, in particular the elements dealing with training, reintegration and protection of prisoners' rights (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Training of judges and other court staff" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Follow-up the conclusions of the "justice and security" sub-committee" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Examine the possibility of reviewing the opt-outs within regards to international human rights conventions" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "(4) Ensure the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms according to international standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 5).
  - o "Pursue legislative reforms with a view to implementation of international human rights legislation, including the basic UN conventions and their optional protocols" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Examine the possibility of accession to the optional protocols to the international human rights conventions to which Morocco is party" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Finalise the national human rights action plan and support its implementation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "Continue the reform of criminal law with a view to introduction of a definition of torture in line with that of the UN Convention against Torture" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 6).
  - o "(8) Strengthen political dialogue and cooperation on foreign and security policy and other subjects of common interest" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - o "Take part, as appropriate, in training and activities relating to conflict prevention, management of crises and natural disasters, civil protection and possible participation in EU-led civil and military peacekeeping exercises and operations" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - o "Pursue enhanced, structured and regular Morocco-EU strategic policy dialogue covering internal developments in both parties, Mediterranean, African, regional and international issues and other matters of common interest" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - o "Promote a regular political dialogue on the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery"

- (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - "(10) Continue to develop cooperation on combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - "Strengthen EU-Moroccan cooperation in the fight against and prevention of terrorism, in particular through implementation of the initiatives identified in this Action Plan which will be discussed in the relevant subcommittees" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 7).
  - "Develop EU-Moroccan cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism, including through the full implementation of UNSC Resolutions 1267/99 and 1373/01 and through the ratification and implementation of all relevant international conventions and protocols on terrorism. Exchange views, information and experience on combating terrorism with a view to improving the capacity to combat terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, pp. 7–8).
  - "Ensure for human rights when combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
  - "Identify and actively promote joint projects in technical fields such as energy, transport, IT and migration" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 8).
- 2.2. Economic and social reform and development
  - "(13) Consolidate progress made with a view to improving macroeconomic indicators to promote growth and development" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "Consolidate the stability of the macroeconomic framework" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "Exchange views on the advisability of more flexible exchange-rate rules to accompany the process of gradual capital account liberalisation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "Continue to modernise the financial system, particularly the public banks […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "Implement the new statute of the Central Bank and strengthen its supervisory role in the context of a more integrated financial system" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 9).
  - "(16) […] align Moroccan legislation with EU standards and practices […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 10).
  - "Approximation of Moroccan legislation to the extent possible with Community standards in the social sector" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
  - "Complete the establishment of administrative structures and procedures to ensure strategic planning of sustainable development and coordination between the various actors" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 11).
- 2.3.1 Movement of goods
  - "Monitor issues concerned with the trade sector of the EU-Morocco Association Agreement, in particular regarding tariff and non-tariff aspects of the reciprocal elimination of restrictions on the import and export of industrial products" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).

- o "Initiate discussions on tightening procedural rules for settling trade disputes" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "(21) Modernisation and capacity-building of customs services, alignment of customs legislation with international and EU standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Continue implementation of the recommendations on trade facilitation adopted by Trade Ministers at the Euro-Mediterranean conference in Palermo, July 2003" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "Develop mutual administrative assistance […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 12).
- o "(22) Cooperation on securing the international supply chain" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "(23) Facilitate access to the market for industrial products. Bring Moroccan legislation on industrial products further into line with international and European rules and practices" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "Pursue implementation of the Palermo action plan for the approximation of legislation on standards, technical regulation and conformity assessment" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "Bring national standards into line with European and international standards for industrial products and abolish national standards that are at odds with them" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "Carry out the requisite reforms of national structures" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 13).
- o "Progressive approximation to EU veterinary and phytosanitary rules […]"(European External Action Service, 2006, p. 14).
- • 2.3.2. Right of establishment, company law and services
  - o "Extend the scope of the Association Agreement to include companies' right of establishment in the territory of the other party on the basis of the review clause in Article 31 AA" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "Work towards convergence with key principles of international and EU rules and standards in company law" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "Open bilateral negotiations on services aon the basis of Article 31 of the Association Agreement in accordance with Article V GATS" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "Exchange experience and know-how on general or sectoral legislation with a view to convergence with the EU's regulatory framework" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "Develop a regulatory framework for the supervision of financial markets converging towards the EU's" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
  - o "Reinforce the prerogatives of the financial market supervisory authorities in accordance with international standards" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 15).
- • 2.3.5 Other key areas

- o "(30) Define and implement a tax system and its institutions based on international and European standards as part of the tax reform programme" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 16).
- o "(36) Ensure a level of protection similar to that of the EU and strengthen the effective application of these provisions […]" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 17).
- o "(38) Pursue the approximation of statistical methods to bring them fully into line with European standards […]" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 18).
- o "Implement the strategy approved in Rome in October 2003 by the Euro-Med industrial cooperation working party" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 19).
- o "Develop the dialogue on industrial policy, in relation in particular to the textiles/clothing sector" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 20).
- 2.4. Cooperation on justice and home affairs
  - o "EU support for effective management of migration flows paying attention to the human dimension, socioeconomic aspects and accompanying measures" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "In order to facilitate the movement of persons, examine, within the existing structure, the possibilities for facilitating, simplifying and speeding up procedures for the issue of visas in line with the acquis" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 21).
  - o "Progressive implementation of Article 62(3) AA" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
  - o "Sign, ratify and implement the main international conventions" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 23).
- 2.5. Transport, energy, information society, the environment, science and technology, research and development
  - o "Promote closer collaboration in the rail sector between the national regulatory authority, international organisations and the EU" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Under the new policy of liberalisation in the air transport sector which came into force in February 2004, reinforce the current level of liberalisation of charter and scheduled flights, including the development of new Morocco-EU links" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Implement the relevant international conventions and continue alignment of maritime legislation on the EU's" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 26).
  - o "Restructure the electricity sector and implement the conditions for its gradual liberalisation" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 27).
  - o "Adopt the framework legislation, implementing texts and basic procedures in the main environmental sectors identified in the NEAP. Promote gradual approximation of the Moroccan legislative framework with the EU's" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 29).

- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
    - "Bring the Moroccan education system into line with those in the EU, taking into consideration the Lisbon strategy" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
    - "Improve the higher education system and the institutional and legislative framework in line with the principles of the Bologna process" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
    - "Implement the system for recognition of academic credits (ECTS) to facilitate student mobility with support from the TEMPUS programme" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 30).
    - "Organise seminars and meetings to exchange information in the field of health safety" (European External Action Service, 2006, p. 33).

ANNEX E

CODEBOOK EGYPT

EU/EGYPT ACTION PLAN
Development dimension
DEV001

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - "Foster the role of civil society and enhance its capacity to contribute more effectively to the democratic and political process as well as to the economic and social progress in accordance with national legislation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - "Pursue and support the Government of Egypt in the further modernization and development of public services rendered to citizens, promoting accountability, transparency and contestability" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - "Develop a dialogue on fundamental social rights and core labour standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
  - "Enhance the effective implementation of core labour standards as defined in the 1998 ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work and related ILO Conventions" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - "Work to reduce gradually economic distortions as well as to better target subsidies to eligible groups of the population and upgrade the social safety net" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
- 2.1.3. Social development
  - "Strengthen measures for poverty alleviation through the Poverty Reduction Strategy and anti-poverty action plan" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - "Engage in a dialogue on employment and social issues including the social consequences of economic reforms with a view to develop a joint analysis of the situation and identify possible measures in this field" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - "Strengthen the efficiency, targeting and coverage of social expenditures with a particular attention to the enlargement of the base of the targeted groups and to the improvement of social statistics" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - "Promote exchanges of experiences, dialogue and cooperation on matters of social security, notably on issues such as the reform of pension systems, the introduction of new instruments and the extension of the coverage of social protection and the improvement and enforcement of social security institutions" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
  - "elaborate a system for Social Health Insurance covering the

whole population" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
  - o "strengthen family health models, including maternal mortality and reproductive health issues" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).

DEV002

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - o "Strengthen participation in political life, including the promotion of public awareness and participation in elections" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 5).
  - o "Foster the role of civil society and enhance its capacity to contribute more effectively to the democratic and political process as well as to the economic and social progress in accordance with national legislation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Pursue and support the efforts Government of Egypt towards decentralization and the reform of local administration" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Pursue and support the Government of Egypt in the further modernization and development of public services rendered to citizens, promoting accountability, transparency and contestability" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Further develop measures to increase […] access to justice […]" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Support Egypt's efforts to promote gender equality and reinforce the fight against discrimination and gender-based violence, including strengthening the activities of the National Council for Women including its periodic review of the relevant existing legislation and recommendations for new legislation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
  - o "Assert freedom of expression and independence of the media by facilitating the work of independent information providers including through appropriate legislative actions" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
  - o "Pursue the liberalisation process in the information sector and further increase access to information for all citizens including by reviewing the legal and administrative frameworks" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - o "Work to reduce gradually economic distortions as well as to better target subsidies to eligible groups of the population and upgrade the social safety net" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
- 2.1.3. Social development
  - o "Strengthen measures for poverty alleviation through the Poverty Reduction Strategy and anti-poverty action plan" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).

- o "Strengthen the social dialogue at all levels (bipartite and tripartite)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
- o "Engage in a dialogue on programmes and initiatives aimed at fostering social inclusion on the basis of the principle of non discrimination, with particular attention to the integration of disadvantaged, the disabled groups, the marginalised groups and people with special needs" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
- o "Ensure equal opportunities for women and men, including in the field of employment. Further enhance the role of women in economic and social progress" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
- o "Strengthen the regional development management structures. Implement the decentralisation of programme of services delivery and management at governorates level" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
- o "Support policies that aim at ensuring access to basic health, education and social services for all" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
- o "Combat illiteracy and achieve education for all, especially for women and girls, by continuing the reform of the education systems, and pre-school education aiming at early childhood development" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
- o "Continue to reform primary and secondary education to improve quality, especially through continuing decentralization and community involvement and human resources development for teachers and professors, as well as technical vocational education and training (TVET) to make it more responsive to market needs in the context of the Egyptian national educational standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
- o "Take steps to increase the involvement of civil society stakeholders and social partners in higher and adult education and TVET reform" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- o "implement re-organization and decentralization of the health sector" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- o "improve accessibility and affordability including in rural areas and with a focus on women/children including those with disabilities" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - o "Increase awareness at both public and private level and encourage the establishment and effective functioning of associations of rights holders and consumers" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
  - o "Support Small and Medium enterprises (SMEs) […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - o "Further develop electricity networks in rural areas" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).
  - o "Establish procedures regarding access to environmental

information and public participation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 26).
- o "Support civil society actors and local authorities, in order to implement the decentralised environmental management policy" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 26).
- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - o "Develop international cooperation in fight against trafficking narcotics and drug addiction, in particular prevention of drugs abuse, treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 30).
  - o "Support national efforts in the fight against trafficking and smuggling of narcotics and drug addiction as well as enhancing the capacity of the Egyptian Fund for the control and treatment of addiction, and supporting civil society organisation in this field" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).
- 2.5. Science and technology, research and development, information society and audio-visual cooperation
  - o "Promote the access of Egyptian scientists to European scientific databases" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 32).
  - o "Promote the participation of Egyptian scientists in European research groups also in the field of innovation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 32).
  - o "Pursue and support the development of a comprehensive regulatory framework that would fulfil effectively all aspects of its mandate. Areas of interest would include: number portability, privacy protection and information security, a state-of-art cost accounting system and subsequent cost-orientation of tariffs, users' rights, and universal service obligations and management" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).
  - o "Continue broadband development in order to increase internet penetration" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).
  - o "Reinforce the skills of citizens and their access to ICT in order to overcome the digital divide" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).
  - o "Encourage the different stakeholders to contribute efficiently to the implementation of the Information Society in Egypt" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Provide the best practices in establishing national councils for youth in EU Member States and on drafting youth policies" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 34).

DEV003

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - o "Strengthen participation in political life, including the promotion of public awareness and participation in elections" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 5).

- o "Pursue and support the efforts Government of Egypt towards decentralization and the reform of local administration" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
- o "Pursue and support the Government of Egypt in the further modernization and development of public services rendered to citizens, promoting accountability, transparency and contestability" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
- o "In the context of political and democratic reform, continue the ongoing process of strengthening, maintaining and ensuring the independence of the judiciary" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
- o "Further develop measures to increase […] access to justice […]" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
- o "Promote the enhancement of women's participation in political, economic and social life as well as their role in the political decision-making process by supporting the formulation and implementation of Egypt's government policies and programmes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
- o "Support Egypt's efforts to promote gender equality and reinforce the fight against discrimination and gender-based violence, including strengthening the activities of the National Council for Women including its periodic review of the relevant existing legislation and recommendations for new legislation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
- o "Implement measures that promote the right of assembly and association in accordance with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- o "Assert freedom of expression and independence of the media by facilitating the work of independent information providers including through appropriate legislative actions" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- o "Cooperate to combat all forms of discrimination, intolerance, racism and xenophobia and in particular hate or defamatory discourse based on religion, beliefs, race or origin, inter alia through exchange of best practices and legislative action, as required" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- o "Strengthen the role of media in combating xenophobia and discrimination on the grounds of religious belief or culture and assume its responsibilities in this regard" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- o "Develop a dialogue on fundamental social rights and core labour standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- o "[…] dissemination and ensuring the respect of international humanitarian law at the regional and international levels" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
- o "Ensure respect for human rights in the fight against terrorism in accordance with international law" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).

- o "Cooperate to reinforce the role of the UN in the fight against terrorism through the full implementation of the UNSC resolution 1373 (2001) and through the ratification and implementation of the 13 UN conventions and protocols on terrorism including the recently agreed Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
  - o "Cooperate to ensure the implementation of the standards laid down in the FATF's recommendations on terrorist financing" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - o "Complete the preparations for the new monetary policy strategy based on inflation targeting and representative price indicators and further strengthen central bank independence […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "Continue efforts for further progress in transparency and accountability of governments finances, by publishing complete and timely information on the budget, fiscal outcomes and audit reports. Improve further the public finance management system, in particular by ensuring the comprehensiveness of the budget, by introducing a medium-term budget planning and a single treasury account" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
- 2.1.3. Social development
  - o "Ensure equal opportunities for women and men, including in the field of employment. Further enhance the role of women in economic and social progress" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
- 2.2.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Increase transparency of customs rules and tariffs and promote further public access to customs-related information and complaint procedures" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
  - o "Strengthen administrative co-operation with the EU to combat irregularities and fraud in customs and related matters" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
  - o "Take steps to adopt and implement a Customs Ethics Policy" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- 2.2.2. Right of establishment, Company law and services
  - o "Establish a qualified and independent audit profession and work towards the adoption of international standards on auditing for all statutory audits" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
  - o "implement a code of corporate governance" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
  - o "Establish a list of EU Member States contact points on services to provide information to the Egyptian services suppliers/providers who seek to access the European market" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
  - o "Develop the capacity building of independent authorities to ensure effective supervision including through training" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).

- 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - "Support the Egyptian efforts to modernise and improve the general sales tax system currently in force with a view to moving, in the medium term, towards a standard VAT system. Initiate a dialogue on international and EU tax standard including the principles related to transparency and exchange of information for tax purposes and to OECD principles on harmful tax practices" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
  - "Agree on a definition of state aid and develop a national mechanism for collecting information on state aid in order to ensure implementation of article 34.3 of the Association Agreement by exchanging with the Euan annual report on the total amount of distribution of State aid" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
  - "Increase awareness at both public and private level and encourage the establishment and effective functioning of associations of rights holders and consumers" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
  - "Initiate a process of gradual approximation with, and implementation of key international principles, transparency, competition and access to legal recourse. In order to help enhance access to each other's public procurement markets, and to ensure effective communication, task the relevant sub-committee to identify obstacles hindering public procurement access inter alia through dialogue with relevant operators and authorities" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
  - "Improve the functioning of the current system through increased transparency, information and training" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
  - "Create a dialogue between business, administration and academic institutions for the identification of priority actions for business improvement and the exchange of best practice" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - "Introduce a transparent regulatory process for the issuing of freight and passenger transport licences and for granting access to the profession" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - "Develop and implement the railway sector restructuring policy and reorganise the administration to separate regulatory responsibilities from operational interest" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - "Continue reform of the ports sector with a view to introduction of an independent port authority responsible for regulation and control and adoption of the "Land Lord" management system" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - "Implement the existing national aviation policy […] (including the foreseen separation of regulatory and management functions of the ECAA)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).

- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - "Develop dialogue, exchange information and strengthen cooperation between law enforcement agencies on fighting corruption and further promote transparency, including exchanges on best practices, methods and standards in these areas" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - "Strengthen measures against corruption through preventive anti-corruption policies and practices in accordance with the UN Convention against Corruption" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - "Intensify co-operation and promote exchange of information among law enforcement agencies and co-operation between Egypt and international organisations, such as FATF, as well as with corresponding services of EU Member States" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).
  - "Exchange information on the existing European structures (Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU)) and the existing system in Egypt as regards money laundering" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).
  - "Identify administrative/technical support and training requirements especially for the Egyptian Unit on combating money laundering" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).
  - "Strengthen cooperation on measures to tackle the financing of terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).
- 2.5. Science and technology, research and development, information society and audio-visual cooperation
  - "Pursue and support the development of a comprehensive regulatory framework that would fulfil effectively all aspects of its mandate. Areas of interest would include: number portability, privacy protection and information security, a state-of-art cost accounting system and subsequent cost-orientation of tariffs, users' rights, and universal service obligations and management" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).
  - "Work towards the development of a transparent, efficient and predictable regulatory system including through the establishment of an independent regulatory authority in the audio-visual sector" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).

DEV004

- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - "identify and adopt measures in the sector of rural development, and at the level of the development of quality production (local products, food safety, organic products, geographical indications, etc., within the scope of the national rules), which would encourage the diversification of activity and the creation of new remunerative and sustainable trade flows and enhance the efficiency of water use" (European External Action Service, 2007,

p. 12).
- 2.2.2. Right of establishment, Company law and services
  - "Establish a list of EU Member States contact points on services to provide information to the Egyptian services suppliers/providers who seek to access the European market" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
- 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - "Support Small and Medium enterprises (SMEs) […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).

DEV005

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - "Dialogue and cooperation on regional issues (advancement of the Middle East Peace Process, the stability and territorial integrity of Iraq and Sudan, other regional initiatives aimed at economic and social development particularly in Africa, NEPAD, Nile Basin Initiative)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
- 2.2.1 Movement of goods
  - "Enhance Egypt's participation in and capacity to benefit from regional and sub regional trade arrangements including conclusion and implementation of Free Trade Agreements" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
- 2.2.3. Regional co-operation
  - "Further develop existing regional cooperation arrangements and support the development of new initiatives and policies promoting regional integration and cooperation, based on the priorities of the relevant regional partners" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
  - "Develop south-south trade including support for the implementation of the Agadir agreement, and promote trade and investment among the regional partners" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - "Explore the benefits of regional cooperation in order to improve the safety, speed and effectiveness (interoperability) of rail services" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - "Establish an infrastructure and services development policies and strategies to activate the inland water transport role in freight transport as potential cheaper and environmentally friendlier mode of transport that could provide access to other African countries" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).
  - "Further develop regional energy infrastructure including upgrading the electricity link with Jordan and Libya" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).

DEV006

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - o "Dialogue and cooperation on regional issues (advancement of the Middle East Peace Process, the stability and territorial integrity of Iraq and Sudan, other regional initiatives aimed at economic and social development particularly in Africa, NEPAD, Nile Basin Initiative)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - o "Continue to pursue macroeconomic stability by reducing the inflation rate and gradually achieving price stability" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- 2.1.3. Social development
  - o "Ensure equal opportunities for women and men, including in the field of employment. Further enhance the role of women in economic and social progress" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
- 2.2.1 Movement of goods
  - o "Enhance Egypt's participation in and capacity to benefit from regional and sub regional trade arrangements including conclusion and implementation of Free Trade Agreements" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
- 2.2.2. Right of establishment, Company law and services
  - o "Establish a list of EU Member States contact points on services to provide information to the Egyptian services suppliers/providers who seek to access the European market" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
- 2.2.3. Regional co-operation
  - o "Further develop existing regional cooperation arrangements and support the development of new initiatives and policies promoting regional integration and cooperation, based on the priorities of the relevant regional partners" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
  - o "Develop south-south trade including support for the implementation of the Agadir agreement, and promote trade and investment among the regional partners" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
- 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - o "Support Small and Medium enterprises (SMEs) […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - o "Cooperation in the transport sector (maritime, aviation, road, rail and inland waterway" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
  - o "Support the development and implementation of the national sustainable transport policy for the development of all modes of

transport and related infrastructure, focusing in particular on strengthening safety and security; integration of environmental considerations in transport; as well as intermodality" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).

- o "Develop an integrated action plan on road safety including the technical control/road worthiness testing of vehicles" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
- o "Improve efficiency of rail freight transport services which might eventually lead the Egyptian rail system to be utilised as a gateway to Africa" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
- o "Explore the benefits of regional cooperation in order to improve the safety, speed and effectiveness (interoperability) of rail services" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
- o "Establish an infrastructure and services development policies and strategies to activate the inland water transport role in freight transport as potential cheaper and environmentally friendlier mode of transport that could provide access to other African countries" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).
- o "Further develop regional energy infrastructure including upgrading the electricity link with Jordan and Libya" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).
- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - o "Develop dialogue, exchange information and strengthen cooperation between law enforcement agencies on fighting corruption and further promote transparency, including exchanges on best practices, methods and standards in these areas" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - o "Strengthen measures against corruption through preventive anti-corruption policies and practices in accordance with the UN Convention against Corruption" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
- 2.5. Science and technology, research and development, information society and audio-visual cooperation
  - o "Disseminate research results to all potential users, develop a "patent culture" and set up intellectual property offices in technology parks and universities, including support for the introduction of a doctoral level programme in intellectual property law in the framework of the Agreement on Scientific and Technological Cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 32).

Security dimension

SEC001

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - "Enhance the effectiveness of institutions entrusted with strengthening democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 5).

SEC002

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - "Support measures that enhance the development and independence of trade unions and their role in economic and social life" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - "Continue to pursue macroeconomic stability by reducing the inflation rate and gradually achieving price stability" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - "Develop co-operation in promoting and developing dispute resolution and exchange of expertise in the arbitration of commercial disputes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - "identify and adopt accompanying measures providing for the structural, institutional, legal and administrative support necessary in order to ease access to export markets, inter alia, by approximation of technical legislation; and in particular increase co-operation in the field of international marketing standards for all agricultural and processed agricultural products" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 12).
  - "Undertake necessary marketing infrastructure upgrading to cope with market demands and standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - "Encourage cooperation between EU Member States and Egypt to develop the mineral resources sector including through the establishment of a database on mineral resources, promoting relevant investment in Egypt and building human resources capacity" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
- 2.2.1. Movement of goods
  - "Identify areas with export potential to the EU and further enhance Egypt's export capability by increasing quality of Egyptian products and their competitiveness on international markets" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
  - "Reduce substantially non tariff barriers of a regulatory and bureaucratic nature to trade and investments" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
  - "Establish rules of procedure to ensure the effective implementation of dispute settlement provisions under the Association Agreement on economic/trade matters based on the

principles of the dispute settlement understanding of the WTO" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).

- o "Continue liberalisation of trade in agricultural, processed agricultural and fishery products as developed in the agricultural roadmap taking into account the conclusions of the Luxembourg Ministerial Meeting of May 2005" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
- o "Exchange experience and know-how with a view to strengthening measures against pirated or counterfeit goods through the reinforcement of customs controls" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- o "Develop EU- Egypt co-operation with regard to risk based customs control ensuring safety and security of goods imported, exported or in transit, and define standards for certification of operators (exporters and transporters) intervening in commercial exchanges" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- o "Continuation of work on the implementation of the Palermo Action Plan for the Free Movement of Industrial Products […]. Take the necessary steps, with the support of continuing assistance, to complete and upgrade the quality infrastructure and to start negotiating an Agreement on Conformity Assessment and Acceptance of Industrial Products (ACAA)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- o "Harmonize the remaining national standards with European and international standards for industrial products" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- o "Analyse legislation and administrative procedures with a view to identifying and progressively removing discrimination and restrictions against imported products" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).

- 2.2.2. Right of establishment, Company law and services
    - o "Facilitate the supply of services according to the parties' commitments under GATS including by the development of the necessary administrative structures and the removal of identified barriers" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
    - o "Prepare for negotiating progressive liberalization of trade in services and right of establishment taking into account the Euromed Framework Protocol […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).

- 2.2.4. Other key areas
    - o "Agree on a definition of state aid and develop a national mechanism for collecting information on state aid in order to ensure implementation of article 34.3 of the Association Agreement by exchanging with the Euan annual report on the total amount of distribution of State aid" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
    - o "Exchange experience and know how at the appropriate time on the conditions to be met with reference to state aid control regimes in order to prepare Egypt's participation in the internal market" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).

- o "Reinforce the fight against piracy and counterfeiting and promote cooperation between the authorities involved, police, judiciary and customs. Significantly reduce circulation and trafficking of counterfeit/pirated goods" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- o "Improve the business environment including through the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Charter for Enterprise" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 21).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - o "Cooperation in the transport sector (maritime, aviation, road, rail and inland waterway" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
  - o "Support the development and implementation of the national sustainable transport policy for the development of all modes of transport and related infrastructure, focusing in particular on strengthening safety and security; integration of environmental considerations in transport; as well as intermodality" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
  - o "Develop procedures to identify and help implement priority infrastructure projects. Such procedures should address financing strategies focusing on activating and promoting the participation of the private sector in transport projects; capacity constraints; lack of inter-modal equipment and missing link infrastructure" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
  - o "Participate in the regional transport planning activities, including the Euro-Med cooperation aimed at proposing an action plan for transport in the Mediterranean region, as well as a basic regional infrastructure network and interconnection of this network with the trans-European transport network" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
  - o "Develop and implement the existing comprehensive national maritime policy aiming at promoting and developing the maritime industry increasing its competitiveness and promoting the participation of private sector in all aspects of maritime industry, including ports and port activities; strengthen maritime safety and develop the fleet; continue to implement the relevant international conventions; and when possible approximate standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - o "Ensure, in the context of the up-coming negotiations on liberalization of trade in services, on the basis of the Marrakech ministerial declaration in March 2006, the elimination of discriminatory treatment to Community vessels in Egyptian Ports." (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - o "Explore the possibility of extending to all airports open competition in ground-handling services" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).
  - o "Assess the possibility of extending to all airports the liberalization of charter flights and examine the specific situation of Cairo airport" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).

- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - "Cooperate in the field of improving the movement of persons, including to facilitate the uniform visa issuing procedures for certain agreed categories of persons as stated in the Association Agreement and in accordance with the acquis" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 30).
- 2.5. Science and technology, research and development, information society and audio-visual cooperation
  - "Liberalise the fixed telephony market and continue the liberalisation of the mobile telephony market according to national priorities" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).
  - "Improve the efficiency of the National Telecommunications Regulatory Authority by providing capacity building in areas of competition and regulation to ensure fair competition in a de-regulated market" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 33).

SEC003

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - "Enhance the ongoing political dialogue between the Egyptian and the European Parliaments" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - "Establish a formal and regular dialogue on Human Rights and Democracy in the framework of the Association Agreement in the context of the relevant sub-committee" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - "Co-operate to promote the achievement of the right to development in bilateral and multilateral fora" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
  - "Cooperation aiming at strengthening the application of international law and of principles of the UN Charter and cooperation for the promotion […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
- 2.1.3. Social development
  - "Engage in a dialogue with a view to promote equal treatment of Egyptian and Community nationals who are legally residing and working in the territory of the Community or Egypt" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
  - "Support the reduction of regional disparities in social and economic development, in particular in rural areas" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
  - "Reform higher education in line with the principles of Bologna process to improve internal and external efficiency. Foster the development of human resources and human capital, and promote the reform of higher education through the TEMPUS programme; ensure the integration of the social dimension in education planning and programmes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).

- o "Promote the use of ICT in education" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- o "Encourage participation in the TEMPUS programme" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- o "Encourage participation in the Erasmus Mundus programme" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- o "Encourage the participation of Egyptian students in the forthcoming EC scholarship programme and in similar schemes of EU Member States" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- o "Initiate a process of gradual approximation with, and implementation of key international principles, transparency, competition and access to legal recourse. In order to help enhance access to each other's public procurement markets, and to ensure effective communication, task the relevant sub-committee to identify obstacles hindering public procurement access inter alia through dialogue with relevant operators and authorities" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).

- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - o "Exchange information on ratification as well as implementation of relevant international conventions related to co-operation in criminal and civil matters to which either side is party" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - o "Develop further judicial cooperation on criminal, commercial and civil matters" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - o "Develop co-operation between relevant law enforcement bodies in Egypt and in the EU, and initiate appropriate technical contacts with FRONTEX (European Border Agency)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - o "Develop a comprehensive and balanced dialogue with Egypt on various migration-related issues, including legal migration, seasonal migration, status of Egyptian migrants and workers residing legally in Europe, brain drain, asylum, movement of people, control of illegal migration and return, visa" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 29).
  - o "Pursue and support effort to prevent and counter illegal migration into Egypt and the European Union" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 29).
  - o "Cooperate in the field of improving the movement of persons, including to facilitate the uniform visa issuing procedures for certain agreed categories of persons as stated in the Association Agreement and in accordance with the acquis" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 30).
  - o "Exchange information and best practices in the field of asylum policy, refugee status determination, and legislation, and cooperate on the inter-linkages between migration and asylum" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 30).

- 2.5. Science and technology, research and development, information society and audio-visual cooperation
  - "Reinforce Egypt's participation in international exchange and mobility programmes, in particular the Marie Curie scholarships; foresee appropriate mechanisms for return and integration to Egypt" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 32).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - "Enhance dialogue between cultures, taking into consideration the principles embodied in the Action Programme for the Dialogue between Cultures and Civilizations, adopted by the Valencia Ministerial Meeting in April 2002 and taking advantage of Egypt's hosting Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the dialogue between cultures" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 34).
  - "Promote initiatives aiming at bringing closer cultures and civilizations" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 34).
  - "Enhance youth exchanges and co-operation in the field of non-formal education and intercultural dialogue" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 34).
  - "Promote mutual knowledge among Egyptian and European youths of their respective cultures and fostering tolerance" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 34).

SEC004

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - "Enhance the effectiveness of institutions entrusted with strengthening democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 5).
  - "Enhance the ongoing political dialogue between the Egyptian and the European Parliaments" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - "Establish a formal and regular dialogue on Human Rights and Democracy in the framework of the Association Agreement in the context of the relevant sub-committee" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - "Further develop measures to increase the capacity and efficiency of the justice administration […] including capacity building of bodies entrusted with the implementation of the law" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - "Enhance political dialogue and cooperation in jointly agreed areas of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) through the current frameworks or through new mutually agreed frameworks" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).

- o "Cooperate on developing effective systems of national export control, controlling export and transit of WMD-related materials, including WMD end-use control on dual use of technologies, and effective sanctions for breaches of these export controls" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - o "Increase the capacity to create sustainable growth and employment by further improving the conditions of private sector development, enhancing the investment climate, and accelerating the privatisation programme. These measures should be accompanied by improving education and training including through EU support" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "Develop co-operation in promoting and developing dispute resolution and exchange of expertise in the arbitration of commercial disputes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "Take steps to prepare a comprehensive national sustainable development strategy and to complete administrative structures and procedures to ensure strategic planning of sustainable development at the central level, as co-ordinated by the Ministry of Environment including through EU support where appropriate" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "Take steps to strengthen and develop the institutional setup for the integration of sustainable development considerations into other sectoral policies and plans, such as industry, energy, transport, regional development and agriculture" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "identify and adopt accompanying measures providing for the structural, institutional, legal and administrative support necessary in order to ease access to export markets, inter alia, by approximation of technical legislation; and in particular increase co-operation in the field of international marketing standards for all agricultural and processed agricultural products" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 12).
  - o "Take steps to promote further the creation of fishermen association with a view of implementing responsible fisheries and improve their capacity to be represented into international and multilateral organisations" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 12).
  - o "Increase the scientific and technical capacity to monitoring fisheries and evaluate the state of the exploited marine resources and marine environment" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - o "Encourage cooperation between EU Member States and Egypt to develop the mineral resources sector including through the establishment of a database on mineral resources, promoting relevant investment in Egypt and building human resources capacity" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).

- 2.1.3. Social development
  - "Support the implementation of the new labour code including through institutional capacity building. Continue the adoption of implementing regulations and build enforcement capacity" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - "Ensure and develop the institutional capacity building of the social partners to take the suitable measures according to the international Labour conventions" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - "Reform higher education in line with the principles of Bologna process to improve internal and external efficiency. Foster the development of human resources and human capital, and promote the reform of higher education through the TEMPUS programme; ensure the integration of the social dimension in education planning and programmes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 14).
  - "Enhance the quality and the capacity of institutions and organisations involved in the quality assurance of education and training provision, in particular Egyptian Agency for Quality Assurance and Accreditation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
  - "enhance human resources capacity" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
  - "Participation in Communicable Disease Networks and dedicated surveillance networks" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- 2.2.1. Movement of goods
  - "Strengthen the capacity building in the Egyptian administration on international trade relations" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
  - "Adopt and implement the new protocol on Pan-Euro-Mediterranean cumulation of origin and exchange experience and information on the smooth implementation of the new protocol and consult on the future development of rules of origin, including systems of cumulation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
  - "Strengthen the capacity building of the customs administration by providing further training to customs officials, including in the areas of origin and custom valuation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
  - "Adapt the Egyptian institutions in charge of implementing product legislation and train the various stakeholders" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
  - "Cooperate on modalities to develop animal and plant identification and traceability systems in Egypt" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
- 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - "Enforce the competition law in line with that of the EU and establish an independent and adequately-resourced competition authority" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).

- o "Agree on a definition of state aid and develop a national mechanism for collecting information on state aid in order to ensure implementation of article 34.3 of the Association Agreement by exchanging with the Euan annual report on the total amount of distribution of State aid" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
- o "Accede to the conventions within the timeframe stipulated in the Association Agreement and apply the standards of protection stated in such conventions or other conventions and agreements to which Egypt is party. Strengthen enforcements of IPR legislation within TRIPS requirements" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- o "Strengthen the administrative capacity of the Central Complaints Resolution Office at the Ministry of Finance" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 21).
- o "Exchange of expertise and cooperation in order to upgrade the institutional capacity of the public internal control system to internationally agreed standards and methodologies as well as EU best practices in the area of internal control and internal audit, covering all income, expenditure, assets and liabilities, of the general Government and budget entities and economic authorities" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 21).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
    - o "Continue the development of a comprehensive regulatory framework" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
    - o "Continue with the reform of the transport sector including institutional building, organizational restructuring; capacity building; Strengthen and if necessary establish strategic planning units and develop better asset management procedures for different sectors" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
    - o "Take steps to prepare […] an overall Egyptian energy strategy converging towards EU energy policy objectives […] and covering, inter alia, all subsectors, the strengthening of institutions and financing" (European External Action Service, 2007, pp. 24–25).
    - o "Cooperate to develop an oil and gas Regulatory Agency" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).
    - o "Implement national priorities in the field of environment protection […], with particular attention to the establishment of administrative structures and procedures to ensure strategic planning of environment issues by the Ministry of State for Environmental Affairs" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 26).
    - o "Reinforce structures and procedures to carry out environmental impact assessments" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 26).
- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
    - o "Promote judicial cooperation through strengthening the capacity of law enforcement and assistant bodies as well as through the

- training of judges and prosecutors" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - o "Support the institutional capacity building and the development of human resources and technological capabilities of law enforcement institutions" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).
- 2.5. Science and technology, research and development, information society and audio-visual cooperation
  - o "Strengthen human, material and institutional resources in order to improve the capacities of RDT-I operators, including quality evaluation and management processes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 32).
  - o "Strengthen human resource capacities and exchange of experience in the domains of audiovisual" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 34).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Examine the scope for further improving the legal and administrative framework for the operation of civil society organizations" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 35).

SEC005

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - o "Examine the possibility of accession to the optional protocols to international human rights conventions to which Egypt is party" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
  - o "Enhance political dialogue and cooperation in jointly agreed areas of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) through the current frameworks or through new mutually agreed frameworks" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
  - o "Cooperation in conflict prevention and crisis management, including cooperating with the Cairo Centre for Training on Conflict Prevention and Peacekeeping in Africa and within the framework of the Bridge Project for the creation of Euro-Mediterranean system of mitigation, prevention and management of natural and man-made disasters" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
  - o "Co-operate on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction as well as their means of delivery including through implementing UNSC Resolution 1540/04, ensuring full compliance with and national implementation of existing international obligations and consider promoting the accession to and implementation of other relevant international instruments" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
  - o "Further develop cooperation in the prevention of the fight against the illicit trafficking of WMD-related materials" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).

- o "Cooperate on developing effective systems of national export control, controlling export and transit of WMD-related materials, including WMD end-use control on dual use of technologies, and effective sanctions for breaches of these export controls" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- o "Improve overall coordination in the non-proliferation area and examine specific threats related to WMD which undermine regional security and the scope of cooperation in addressing them" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - o "Develop co-operation in promoting and developing dispute resolution and exchange of expertise in the arbitration of commercial disputes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "Take steps to prepare a comprehensive national sustainable development strategy and to complete administrative structures and procedures to ensure strategic planning of sustainable development at the central level, as co-ordinated by the Ministry of Environment including through EU support where appropriate" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "identify and adopt accompanying measures providing for the structural, institutional, legal and administrative support necessary in order to ease access to export markets, inter alia, by approximation of technical legislation; and in particular increase co-operation in the field of international marketing standards for all agricultural and processed agricultural products" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 12).
  - o "Improve scientific cooperation with the Regional Fisheries Body and in particular the GFCM with a view to strengthening a concerted and regional approach suited to the needs of sustainable fisheries and based on dialogue and coordination" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - o "Encourage cooperation between EU Member States and Egypt to develop the mineral resources sector including through the establishment of a database on mineral resources, promoting relevant investment in Egypt and building human resources capacity" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
- 2.2.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Adopt and implement the new protocol on Pan-Euro-Mediterranean cumulation of origin and exchange experience and information on the smooth implementation of the new protocol and consult on the future development of rules of origin, including systems of cumulation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 16).
  - o "Develop EU- Egypt co-operation with regard to risk based customs control ensuring safety and security of goods imported, exported or in transit, and define standards for certification of operators (exporters and transporters) intervening in commercial exchanges" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).

- o "Harmonize the remaining national standards with European and international standards for industrial products" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- o "Pursue efforts towards full implementation of the WTO agreement on the application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures and active participation in relevant international bodies such as OIE, IPPC, Codex Alimentarius" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- o "Enhance cooperation between Egypt and the EU in the field of sanitary and phytosanitary issues and explore possible areas of cooperation (e.g. legislation, implementing practices), while taking into account the different conditions prevailing on both sides" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 18).
- • 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - o "Support on-going efforts to complete the network of bilateral agreements between Egypt and EU Member States on avoidance of double taxation including the improvement of transparency and the exchange of information in accordance with international standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
  - o "Adoption of implementing rules on competition (Association Agreement, article 34.2), for which the deadline is five years after the entry into force of the Association Agreement (1/6/2009)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
  - o "Enforce the competition law in line with that of the EU and establish an independent and adequately-resourced competition authority" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
  - o "Accede to the conventions within the timeframe stipulated in the Association Agreement and apply the standards of protection stated in such conventions or other conventions and agreements to which Egypt is party. Strengthen enforcements of IPR legislation within TRIPS requirements" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
  - o "Initiate a process of gradual approximation with, and implementation of key international principles, transparency, competition and access to legal recourse. In order to help enhance access to each other's public procurement markets, and to ensure effective communication, task the relevant sub-committee to identify obstacles hindering public procurement access inter alia through dialogue with relevant operators and authorities" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
  - o "Improve the business environment including through the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Charter for Enterprise" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 21).
  - o "Work towards implementation of the October 2004 Euro-Mediterranean Work Programme on Industrial Cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 21).
  - o "Ensure effective cooperation with the relevant EU Institutions and bodies in the case of on-the-spot checks, audits and investigations related to the management and control of EU funds" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).

- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - "Continue the development of a comprehensive regulatory framework" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
  - "Implement the relevant international conventions, notably on dangerous goods transport" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - "Effectively enforce maritime safety standards and ensure effective enforcement in the areas of Port State Control and Flag State implementation. Step up cooperation on maritime security with a view to combating terrorism, in the context of implementing the SOLAS/ISPS code" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - "Enhance administrative and technical capacity to fully implement jointly agreed JAA standards. Explore possibilities to involve Egypt in the work of EASA and for involvement in the Single European Sky" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).
  - "Co-operate on aviation security matters […] in accordance with international conventions to which Egypt and the EU Member States are party" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).
  - "Take steps to prepare […] an overall Egyptian energy strategy converging towards EU energy policy objectives […] and covering, inter alia, all subsectors, the strengthening of institutions and financing" (European External Action Service, 2007, pp. 24–25).
  - "Enhance energy policy cooperation through information exchange […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).
  - "Continue energy policy cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).
  - "Develop modalities for co-operation with the EU to implement multilateral environmental agreements with particular emphasis on climate change, desertification, biodiversity and waste management" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 27).
  - "Enhance co-operation to achieve the commitments by the parties with regard provisions under the Kyoto Protocol and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 27).
  - "Complete the ratification process of the new Emergency Protocol and the amendments to the Land-Based Sources Protocol of Barcelona Convention" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 27).
  - "Identify possibilities to enhance regional cooperation in the field of environment" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 27).
  - "Enhance Euromed co-operation regarding the integrated coastal zone management" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 27).
- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - "Explore the possibilities for co-operation between Egyptian and EU law enforcement agencies, in particular Europol and Eurojust" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).

- o "Develop co-operation between relevant law enforcement bodies in Egypt and in the EU, and initiate appropriate technical contacts with FRONTEX (European Border Agency)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
- o "Develop a comprehensive and balanced dialogue with Egypt on various migration-related issues, including legal migration, seasonal migration, status of Egyptian migrants and workers residing legally in Europe, brain drain, asylum, movement of people, control of illegal migration and return, visa" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 29).
- o "Work together to fight cyber crime" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 30).
- o "Develop cooperation between Egypt and EU Member States counter-terrorism and law enforcement agencies including through effective measures to preclude the access of terrorist elements to Egypt and EU Member States" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).
- o "Develop judicial cooperation on combating terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 31).

SEC006

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - o "Exchange views on means and methods used to counter terrorism, including in technical fields and training, and by exchange of experiences in respect of terrorism prevention" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - o "Reinforce the fight against piracy and counterfeiting and promote cooperation between the authorities involved, police, judiciary and customs. Significantly reduce circulation and trafficking of counterfeit/pirated goods" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - o "Effectively enforce maritime safety standards and ensure effective enforcement in the areas of Port State Control and Flag State implementation. Step up cooperation on maritime security with a view to combating terrorism, in the context of implementing the SOLAS/ISPS code" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - o "Explore the possibilities for co-operation between Egyptian and EU law enforcement agencies, in particular Europol and Eurojust" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).
  - o "Develop co-operation between relevant law enforcement bodies in Egypt and in the EU, and initiate appropriate technical contacts with FRONTEX (European Border Agency)" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).

- o "Cooperation in reinforcing organisational capacities of controlling and surveillance of entry and exit points, including ad hoc training" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 28).

SEC007

- 2.1.1. Enhanced political dialogue and reform
  - o "Enhance the effectiveness of institutions entrusted with strengthening democracy and the rule of law" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 5).
  - o "Exchange experience in the field of elections and jointly develop cooperation in areas of shared interest including through providing assistance on registering electors and capacity building" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Enhance the ongoing political dialogue between the Egyptian and the European Parliaments" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Establish a formal and regular dialogue on Human Rights and Democracy in the framework of the Association Agreement in the context of the relevant sub-committee" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Further develop measures to increase the capacity and efficiency of the justice administration […] including capacity building of bodies entrusted with the implementation of the law" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Support Egyptian government efforts to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms in line with international conventions to which Egypt is party and to elaborate a human rights strategy in partnership with the NCHR and with appropriate consultation of other relevant organizations" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Strengthen the culture of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in Egypt and in the EU" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Continue the review of respective national legislations to further align their laws and practices with international human rights instruments to which they are party and taking into account relevant UN recommendations" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 6).
  - o "Examine the possibility of accession to the optional protocols to international human rights conventions to which Egypt is party" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
  - o "Continue and enhance cooperation with UN and African human rights treaty mechanisms, as well as with the newly established UN Human Rights Council" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
  - o "Engage in a dialogue on the death penalty" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).

- o "Co-operate to promote the achievement of the right to development in bilateral and multilateral fora" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 7).
- o "Enhance political dialogue and cooperation in jointly agreed areas of Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) through the current frameworks or through new mutually agreed frameworks" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 8).
- o "Cooperation aiming at strengthening the application of international law and of principles of the UN Charter and cooperation for the promotion […]" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
- o "Ensure respect for human rights in the fight against terrorism in accordance with international law" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
- o "Cooperate to reinforce the role of the UN in the fight against terrorism through the full implementation of the UNSC resolution 1373 (2001) and through the ratification and implementation of the 13 UN conventions and protocols on terrorism including the recently agreed Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 9).
- o "Cooperate to ensure the implementation of the standards laid down in the FATF's recommendations on terrorist financing" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- o "Promote the relevant provisions on the political and security partnership of the Barcelona Declaration with the objective to pursue a mutually and effectively verifiable Middle East zone free of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems […]" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
- 2.1.2. Economic development and reform
  - o "Continue to pursue macroeconomic stability by reducing the inflation rate and gradually achieving price stability" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 10).
  - o "[…] Continue efforts to achieve sustainable public finances by reducing the central government deficit and the consolidated public deficit. Examine the scope for an increase of public investment in key budget areas – such as education and key infrastructure projects – through further rationalization of current government spending" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "Increase the capacity to create sustainable growth and employment by further improving the conditions of private sector development, enhancing the investment climate, and accelerating the privatisation programme. These measures should be accompanied by improving education and training including through EU support" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
  - o "Accelerate the reform of the financial sector, the restructuring and the privatisation of state banks and the introduction of strong

financial market supervision" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
- o "Develop co-operation in promoting and developing dispute resolution and exchange of expertise in the arbitration of commercial disputes" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 11).
- o "Promote the distribution and exchange of information on the agricultural policies and contribute to the transfer of expertise and experiences" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 12).
- o "Improve scientific cooperation with the Regional Fisheries Body and in particular the GFCM with a view to strengthening a concerted and regional approach suited to the needs of sustainable fisheries and based on dialogue and coordination" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
- 2.1.3. Social development
  - o "Develop and implement market driven strategies for addressing the problem of unemployment; modernize the Public Employment Services" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - o "Ensure and develop the institutional capacity building of the social partners to take the suitable measures according to the international Labour conventions" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 13).
  - o "Promote the use of ICT in education" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
  - o "Encourage participation in the TEMPUS programme" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
  - o "Encourage participation in the Erasmus Mundus programme" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 15).
- 2.2.1. Movement of goods
  - o "Develop EU- Egypt co-operation with regard to risk based customs control ensuring safety and security of goods imported, exported or in transit, and define standards for certification of operators (exporters and transporters) intervening in commercial exchanges" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
  - o "Examine possibility of further convergence of customs related legislation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
  - o "Harmonize the remaining national standards with European and international standards for industrial products" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
  - o "Pursue efforts towards full implementation of the WTO agreement on the application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary measures and active participation in relevant international bodies such as OIE, IPPC, Codex Alimentarius" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 17).
- 2.2.4. Other key areas
  - o "Support on-going efforts to complete the network of bilateral agreements between Egypt and EU Member States on avoidance of double taxation including the improvement of transparency and the exchange of information in accordance with international standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).

- o "Enforce the competition law in line with that of the EU and establish an independent and adequately-resourced competition authority" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 19).
- o "Reinforce the fight against piracy and counterfeiting and promote cooperation between the authorities involved, police, judiciary and customs. Significantly reduce circulation and trafficking of counterfeit/pirated goods" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- o "Accede to the conventions within the timeframe stipulated in the Association Agreement and apply the standards of protection stated in such conventions or other conventions and agreements to which Egypt is party. Strengthen enforcements of IPR legislation within TRIPS requirements" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- o "Elaborate a short and middle term development strategy for harmonisation with European and international standards in the relevant statistical areas covered by this Action Plan" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- o "First steps to develop economic, environmental and social statistics in conformity with European and international standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- o "Initiate a process of gradual approximation with, and implementation of key international principles, transparency, competition and access to legal recourse. In order to help enhance access to each other's public procurement markets, and to ensure effective communication, task the relevant sub-committee to identify obstacles hindering public procurement access inter alia through dialogue with relevant operators and authorities" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 20).
- o "Improve the business environment including through the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Charter for Enterprise" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 21).
- o "Work towards implementation of the October 2004 Euro-Mediterranean Work Programme on Industrial Cooperation" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 21).
- 2.3. Transport, energy and environment
  - o "Continue the development of a comprehensive regulatory framework" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 22).
  - o "Implement the relevant international conventions, notably on dangerous goods transport" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).
  - o "Develop and implement the existing comprehensive national maritime policy aiming at promoting and developing the maritime industry increasing its competitiveness and promoting the participation of private sector in all aspects of maritime industry, including ports and port activities; strengthen maritime safety and develop the fleet; continue to implement the relevant international conventions; and when possible approximate standards" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 23).

- o "Enhance administrative and technical capacity to fully implement jointly agreed JAA standards. Explore possibilities to involve Egypt in the work of EASA and for involvement in the Single European Sky" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).
- o "Co-operate on aviation security matters […] in accordance with international conventions to which Egypt and the EU Member States are party" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 24).
- o "Take steps to prepare […] an overall Egyptian energy strategy converging towards EU energy policy objectives […] and covering, inter alia, all subsectors, the strengthening of institutions and financing" (European External Action Service, 2007, pp. 24–25).
- o "Enhance energy policy cooperation through information exchange […]"(European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).
- o "Explore possibilities for gradual legal and regulatory convergence towards the principles of the EU internal electricity and gas markets" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 25).
- 2.4. Migration, social integration, justice and security
  - o "Exchange of information and experiences on legal migration, entry and stay, integration, reunification of family, inventory of existing routes and commitments made by Member States" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 29).
  - o "Cooperate in the field of improving the movement of persons, including to facilitate the uniform visa issuing procedures for certain agreed categories of persons as stated in the Association Agreement and in accordance with the acquis" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 30).
  - o "Exchange information and best practices in the field of asylum policy, refugee status determination, and legislation, and cooperate on the inter-linkages between migration and asylum" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 30).
- 2.5. Science and technology, research and development, information society and audio-visual cooperation
  - o "Pursue EU-Egypt cooperation in RDT-I, identifying the priority sectors of mutual interest, the instruments and means of cooperation and implementation policies and strategies, including the promotion of links between centers of excellence on both sides" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 32).
- 2.6. People-to-people contacts
  - o "Enhance youth exchanges and co-operation in the field of non-formal education and intercultural dialogue" (European External Action Service, 2007, p. 34).

ANNEX F

CODEBOOK 2015 REVIEW

JOINT COMMUNICATION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE COUNCIL, THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMITTEE AND THE COMMITTEE OF THE REGIONS – Review of the European Neighbourhood Policy
Development dimension

DEV001

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - "The causes of instability often lie outside the security domain alone. The EU's approach will seek to comprehensively address sources of instability across sectors. Poverty, inequality, a perceived sense of injustice, corruption, weak economic and social development and lack of opportunity, particularly for young people, can be roots of instability, increasing vulnerability to radicalisation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- IV. GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
  - "Ensuring the rule of law and independent and effective justice systems will remain priorities for the EU. They are crucial to social and economic stability […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - "[…] empowerment of women and girls, their access to justice, education, health care and other social services, strengthening their voice and political participation and shifting the institutional culture to deliver on these commitments" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION
  - "Economic and social development should be at the heart of the EU's contribution to stabilising the neighbourhood and building partnerships" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).

DEV002

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - "The causes of instability often lie outside the security domain alone. The EU's approach will seek to comprehensively address sources of instability across sectors. Poverty, inequality, a perceived sense of injustice, corruption, weak economic and social development and lack of opportunity, particularly for young people, can be roots of instability, increasing vulnerability to radicalisation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- III. STRONGER NEIGHBOURHOOD, STRONGER PARTNERSHIP
  - "Our partners have different aspirations: our relations should

reflect this more fully" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).

- o "The ENP should reflect EU interests and the interest of our partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- o "Ownership by the partners should be enhanced" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- o "However there was a clear demand for change, with more tailor-made, more differentiated partnerships between the EU and each of its neighbouring partners to reflect different ambitions, abilities and interests" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- o "The EU will work with those partners to further develop their relations and to maximise the benefits for both parties to those agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- o "The EU proposes to start a new phase of engagement with partners in 2016, consulting on the future nature and focus of the partnership. The expectation is that different patterns of relations will emerge, allowing a greater sense of ownership by both sides" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- o "In these cases, the EU will explore more effective ways […] including through engagement with civil, economic and social actors" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
- o "These reports will contain the elements required under the Regulation on the European Neighbourhood Instrument, including information on fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, gender equality and human rights issues" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
- IV. GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
  - o "The EU will do more to support civil society" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - o "develop local and regional authorities" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "Effective anti-corruption measures, mostly on the preventive side, should be implemented in relation to large-scale public procurement, (re)privatisations, reform of state-owned/controlled companies or similar areas where vulnerabilities to corruption are high, including by supporting the key role of civil society" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "Support will be provided to civil society fora" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "Particular attention will be paid to implementing the EU Gender Action Plan 2016-2020" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "The EU should support developing the capacities of civil society professionals and leadership in the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "During the public consultation, stakeholders referred to these factors and asked the EU to allow more co-ownership. The EU should therefore expand outreach to relevant members of civil society in its broadest sense as well as social partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION

- o "Support growth through support to SMEs" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
- o "It will also focus on supporting the small and medium enterprises (SME) sector which is primary creator of employment (and is already supported under the DCFTA facility, notably by working to improve access to finance and information. Reforms to underpin economic and social development (such as skill development, social protection, education, water and health) should be encouraged and supported" (European Commission, 2015, pp. 8–9).
- o "The EU can help improve the employability of the local workforce, and help to focus efforts on the development of skills and competences and creation of opportunities particularly for young men and women. This should range from support for fostering out-of-school education ('non-formal learning') to facilitating access to primary and secondary education, and fighting illiteracy, to ensuring the development of skills, apprenticeships and work-based training" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
- o "The EU will support sub-regional cooperation as appropriate in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Maghreb and the Southern Caucasus" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
- V.2. THE SECURITY DIMENSION
  - o "**Security sector reform:** the EU intends to step up outreach to partner countries' authorities who deal with matters related to security. Interested partner countries should be supported in their reform of the civilian and military security. Such cooperation may include […] dialogues with civil society […]" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
- V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  - o "Encourage recognition of qualification" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
  - o "The EU intends to promote better tools in order to identify skill gaps in the European labour market and encourage the recognition of qualifications of third country nationals working in the EU" (European Commission, 2015, p. 16).
  - o "The EU should facilitate the extension of academic mobility and improve the legal framework for conditions of entry and residence in the EU applicable to ENP nationals for the purpose of research, studies, pupil exchange, training and voluntary service" (European Commission, 2015, p. 16).
  - o "The EU will cooperate with ENP countries to encourage and make progress on facilitating recognition of skills and qualifications" (European Commission, 2015, p. 16).
  - o "In the same vein, more effective ways of building links with diaspora communities of reinforcing regional mobility schemes, including South-South mobility, and of working on circular migration will be sought […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 16).

- VI. THE REGIONAL DIMENSION
  - "Civil society and private sector organisations will be invited where appropriate" (European Commission, 2015, p. 18).

DEV003

- III. STRONGER NEIGHBOURHOOD, STRONGER PARTNERSHIP
  - "The EU will work with those partners to further develop their relations and to maximise the benefits for both parties to those agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
  - "The incentive-based approach ("More for More") has been successful in supporting reforms in the field of good governance […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
- IV. GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
  - "The EU is committed to promoting good governance […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - "An independent, transparent and impartial judicial system free from political influence which guarantees equal access to justice, protection of human rights, gender equality and non-discrimination, and full application of the law will continue to be a goal of the EU with all its partners" (European Commission, 2015, pp. 5–6).
  - "[…] increase institutional transparency and accountability" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - "Effective anti-corruption measures, mostly on the preventive side, should be implemented in relation to large-scale public procurement, (re)privatisations, reform of state-owned/controlled companies or similar areas where vulnerabilities to corruption are high, including by supporting the key role of civil society" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - "The EU will look to support citizens' ability to hold governments accountable and will work to improve the pluralism, independence, and professionalism of the local media, helping it to act as a forum for public debate and as the catalyst for change in partner countries. An open and free internet should also be promoted" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - "Sub-national, national and intra-regional civil society should be supported further, both through direct means and through facilitating other organisations' involvement" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - "The EU should support developing the capacities of civil society professionals and leadership in the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION
  - "Support growth through modernisation of existing sectors and diversification into new ones" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - "[…]the modernisation and diversification of economies should be encouraged by facilitating increased participation of

- neighbourhood countries in EU initiatives, such as the Enterprise Europe Network, Horizon 2020 and COSME EU programmes, connection to GÉANT and by promoting the concept of 'smart specialisation' as developed in the EU's regional policy for the design of research and innovation strategies" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
  - o "Agriculture is a major source of jobs in many partner countries and the EU should continue to support sustainable and inclusive policies and investment in modernisation of the sector, and diversification to other income creating activities in rural areas where necessary" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
- V.2. THE SECURITY DIMENSION
  - o "[…] The EU will therefore step up work with partners on counter-terrorism, including […] countering and suppressing the financing of terrorism via appropriate anti-money laundering frameworks" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - o The existing Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) and its recently established Centre of Excellence will be a crucial platform for exchange and cooperation. Tackling broader issues such as ineffective justice, gender inequality, hate speech, youth unemployment, and illiteracy will all also be part of a wider de-radicalisation effort. Cross-cultural dialogue, such as that promoted by the Anna Lindh foundation, will be key" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
- VI. THE REGIONAL DIMENSION
  - o "Civil society and private sector organisations will be invited where appropriate" (European Commission, 2015, p. 18).
- VII.1 FLEXIBILITY OF FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS
  - o "The EU and the partner countries will continue to work together to ensure that the EU financial assistance reaches the intended beneficiaries and is not diverted by fraud" (European Commission, 2015, p. 19).

DEV004

- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION
  - o Support growth through modernisation of existing sectors and diversification into new ones" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - o "[…]the modernisation and diversification of economies should be encouraged by facilitating increased participation of neighbourhood countries in EU initiatives, such as the Enterprise Europe Network, Horizon 2020 and COSME EU programmes, connection to GÉANT and by promoting the concept of 'smart specialisation' as developed in the EU's regional policy for the design of research and innovation strategies" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
  - o "Agriculture is a major source of jobs in many partner countries and the EU should continue to support sustainable and inclusive policies and investment in modernisation of the sector, and

diversification to other income creating activities in rural areas where necessary" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
- o "Support greater energy independence through support to diversification of energy sources, better cooperation on energy efficiency, and transit to the low carbon economy" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
- • V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  - o "We will create a new start-up (Startback) fund to provide capital to promote "brain circulation". This Fund will support migrants returning to their countries of origin after their stay in the European Union, so they can reintegrate and contribute, with the acquired skills and knowledge, to local economic and societal development" (European Commission, 2015, p. 16).

DEV005

- • V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION
  - o "Lighter, more flexible trade agreements for those who do not [aim for creation of an economic area]" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - o "However, a number of partners do not currently wish to pursue such a model. For those who do not wish to engage in negotiations for a DCFTA, we will seek to jointly determine attractive and realistic alternatives to promote integration and strengthen trade and investment relations that reflect mutual interests. The EU will offer more flexibility where possible, with lighter options, going beyond existing preferential or non-preferential trade agreements for those who choose not to engage across all sectors at the outset" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - o "Support growth through modernisation of existing sectors and diversification into new ones" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - o "[…]the modernisation and diversification of economies should be encouraged by facilitating increased participation of neighbourhood countries in EU initiatives, such as the Enterprise Europe Network, Horizon 2020 and COSME EU programmes, connection to GÉANT and by promoting the concept of 'smart specialisation' as developed in the EU's regional policy for the design of research and innovation strategies" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
  - o "Agriculture is a major source of jobs in many partner countries and the EU should continue to support sustainable and inclusive policies and investment in modernisation of the sector, and diversification to other income creating activities in rural areas where necessary" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
  - o "[…] diversifying their economic activity" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - o "Cooperation on transport connectivity and telecommunications contributes to the economic development of partners and can be a means to foster dialogue and a starting point for regional co-

operation between them" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - o "The EU will support sub-regional cooperation as appropriate in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Maghreb and the Southern Caucasus" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
- V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  - o "Issues related to efficient transfer of remittances should also be addressed" (European Commission, 2015, p. 16).

DEV006

- III. STRONGER NEIGHBOURHOOD, STRONGER PARTNERSHIP
  - o "The EU will work with those partners to further develop their relations and to maximise the benefits for both parties to those agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION
  - o "Economic and social development should be at the heart of the EU's contribution to stabilising the neighbourhood and building partnerships" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - o "Lighter, more flexible trade agreements for those who do not [aim for creation of an economic area]" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - o "However, a number of partners do not currently wish to pursue such a model. For those who do not wish to engage in negotiations for a DCFTA, we will seek to jointly determine attractive and realistic alternatives to promote integration and strengthen trade and investment relations that reflect mutual interests. The EU will offer more flexibility where possible, with lighter options, going beyond existing preferential or non-preferential trade agreements for those who choose not to engage across all sectors at the outset" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - o "The EU remains committed to encouraging trade between the EU, ENP partner countries and their trading partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - o "Similarly, the EU should also contribute to developing maritime economies […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
  - o "Develop partnerships to support investment and economic modernisation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - o "[…] diversifying their economic activity" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - o "Cooperation on transport connectivity and telecommunications contributes to the economic development of partners and can be a means to foster dialogue and a starting point for regional co-operation between them" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - o "The EU should also help its partners' ability to benefit from the Motorways of the Seas with improved port infrastructure and related services" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - o "Some of our partners have significant or potentially significant income from their energy resources or from their position as

transit countries. However all partners' economic stability depends to a greater or lesser extend on a sustainable balance between their energy consumption and the profile of their energy supplies or production" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).

- o "The EU will support sub-regional cooperation as appropriate in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Maghreb and the Southern Caucasus" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
- V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  - o "Issues related to efficient transfer of remittances should also be addressed" (European Commission, 2015, p. 16).
  - o "We will create a new start-up (Startback) fund to provide capital to promote "brain circulation". This Fund will support migrants returning to their countries of origin after their stay in the European Union, so they can reintegrate and contribute, with the acquired skills and knowledge, to local economic and societal development" (European Commission, 2015, p. 16).

Security dimension

SEC001

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - o "The incentive-based approach ("More for More") has been successful in supporting reforms in the fields of […] democracy, the rule of law and human rights, where there is a commitment by partners to such reforms" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
- IV. GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
  - o "The EU is committed to promoting […] democracy, rule of law and human rights" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - o "This includes strengthening democratic and independent institutions" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "The EU will continue to work with partner governments, civil society and citizens on human rights and democracy related issues, including electoral processes, as laid down in the Treaty on European Union and the EU's Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy. We will promote and defend the universality and indivisibility of all human rights both at home and in partnerships with countries from all regions" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "The EU will engage with all partners in an inclusive dialogue on human rights and democracy issues, including on areas where experiences may differ" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).

SEC002

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - o "The new ENP will make a determined effort to support economies and improve prospects for the local population"

(European Commission, 2015, p. 4).

- III. STRONGER NEIGHBOURHOOD, STRONGER PARTNERSHIP
  - "The EU will work with those partners to further develop their relations and to maximise the benefits for both parties to those agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION
  - "Economic and social development should be at the heart of the EU's contribution to stabilising the neighbourhood and building partnerships" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - "Macroeconomic stability and economic reform in the neighbourhood are a priority and the EU will continue to provide support notably through Macro-Financial Assistance operations" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - "Aim for creation of an economic area with those who enter DCFTA" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - "In the Southern neighbourhood, one DCFTA is under negotiation (with Morocco), while negotiations with Tunisia have just been launched. The EU will support the on-going negotiations with Southern Mediterranean partners, including through a differentiated, progressive and asymmetric approach based on mutual priorities. The EU will support the neighbours' domestic reforms conducive to the implementation of AA/DCFTAs and other bilateral agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - "This will lead to the gradual economic integration of partners in the EU internal market and therefore to the creation of an economic area" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - "The EU remains committed to encouraging trade between the EU, ENP partner countries and their trading partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
  - "Develop partnerships to support investment and economic modernisation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - "Greater involvement of the private sector to boost investment and reform" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - "New alliances of private sector, EU, Member States and IFIs supporting strategies for growth, jobs or youth" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - "In particular, the EU will encourage entrepreneurs to engage directly with partners in the Neighbourhood. Economic diplomacy missions to ENP partners need to be undertaken more systematically mobilising European business more effectively to promote trade and investment in the Neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - "Furthermore, the EU will pursue convergence on telecommunications with our partners through regional groups of regulators in the East and South respectively and further space cooperation with interested partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - With the goal of building a resilient Energy Union, with an ambitious climate policy at its core, the EU is committed to strengthen its energy dialogue with neighbourhood countries in

energy security, energy market reforms and the promotion of sustainable energy" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - o "The EU will work to share best practice […] including in the longer term, emission trading systems, which would be linked to the EU emission trading system as they become ready" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).

SEC003

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - o "[…] The policy should help make partner countries places where people want to build their future, and help tackle uncontrolled movement of people" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
  - o "The EU will also support the mobility of European and neighbouring countries' trainees seeking to have a work experience abroad" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
- V.2. THE SECURITY DIMENSION
  - o **"Tackling terrorism and preventing radicalisation:** The threat of terrorism and radicalisation is affecting both Europe and its neighbours. The EU will therefore step up work with partners on counter-terrorism, including preventing radicalisation, countering violent extremism, supporting criminal justice responses to counter terrorism […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - o "In line with the EU's Comprehensive approach to external conflict and crises, all means available will be used, including – where necessary, CSDP missions and operations or the EU' Special Representatives – to support the management of crises and the settlement of protracted conflicts in the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 14).
- V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  - o "Increase cooperation with partners beyond the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
  - o "Increase support for those receiving and assisting refugees and IDPS" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
  - o "In order to foster reforms and reinforce the commitment of our partner countries to work in closer partnership, differentiation between partner countries will be developed, working more closely on visa and mobility issues with those that are willing to engage with the EU, including visa liberalisation and facilitation dialogues with partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
- VII.2. VISIBILITY, COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH
  - o "Outreach activities are also necessary inside the EU to explain to our citizens why stable, secure and prosperous countries in our near vicinity are key to the EU's own stability and security" (European Commission, 2015, p. 21).

SEC004

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - "In the next three to five years, the most urgent challenges in many parts of the neighbourhood is stabilisation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 3).
  - "The new ENP aims to work on conflict prevention through early warning, coupled with early preventive measures, and enhance partners' capacity in this regard" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
  - "The incentive-based approach ("More for More") has been successful in supporting reforms in the fields of […] democracy, the rule of law and human rights, where there is a commitment by partners to such reforms" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - "These reports will be timed to provide the basis for a political exchange of views in the relevant high-level meetings with partner countries, such as Association/Cooperation Councils" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - "It offers partners more when using its resources in a strategic and will-coordinated way" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
- IV. GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
  - "The EU is committed to promoting […] democracy, rule of law and human rights" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - "They are crucial to […] economic stability, to create trust in state institutions and to provide legal certainty" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - "Therefore public administration reform is essential" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILISATION
  - "The EU should promote capacity building and new opportunities for training to help development a new generation of public administrators capable of delivering effective and inclusive economic management and sustainable social outcomes" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - "The EU will significantly step up the scope for engagement of neighbourhood partners in Erasmus+, including a higher level of funding" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
  - "The EU will also support the mobility of European and neighbouring countries' trainees seeking to have a work experience abroad" (European Commission, 2015, p. 10).
  - "New framework for cooperation with partners beyond the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - "The EU will work to share best practice […] including in the longer term, emission trading systems, which would be linked to the EU emission trading system as they become ready" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
  - "When the conditions are right, the EU could consider reframing the energy relationship with Russia, on the basis of international and European law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).

- V.2. THE SECURITY DIMENSION
  - "[…] the European Council restated the need to empower and enable partners to prevent and manage crises, including through concrete projects of capacity building with a flexible geographic scope" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
  - "[…] the new ENP will prioritise tackling terrorism and preventing radicalisation; disrupting serious and organised cross-border crime and corruption; improving judicial cooperation in criminal matters, and fighting cybercrime, in full compliance with the rule of law, including international human rights law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
  - "[…] information-sharing and capacity building to tackle cross-border threats should be stepped up" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - "Where necessary, the EU will seek to improve the legal framework for judicial and police cooperation with partner countries and work towards its implementation. With Interpol, the need should be examined to build further law enforcement capacity in neighbouring countries and work on facilitating information exchanges with EU Member States and Europol" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - "The EU should offer assistance for capacity building on cybersecurity and resilient information infrastructures, on the fight against cybercrime and cyber terrorism, including through threat analysis, fostering specialisation in law enforcement, judicial training and supporting the creation of relevant national policies, strategies and institutions in third countries" (European Commission, 2015, p. 14).
- V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  - "Proactive engagement with partners in the neighbourhood in the field of border management is necessary to better manage migratory pressures. Together with interested partner countries, the EU will further intensify work on information exchange, administrative capacity and operational and technical cooperation. This could be done via training, research, capacity-building projects and pilot projects with partner countries, notably working through relevant EU Agencies, including FRONTEX and EUROPOL" (European Commission, 2015, p. 17).
- VI. THE REGIONAL DIMENSION
  - "Regional cooperation in the Southern neighbourhood has seen progress through the Union for the Mediterranean. The organisation has proved to be a valuable forum for political and economic discussion, providing a framework for cooperation on issues of common interest and on operational projects in the region. Many in the public consultation recommended deepening that cooperation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 18).

SEC005

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - "In the next three to five years, the most urgent challenges in many parts of the neighbourhood is stabilisation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 3).
  - "[…] the EU should increase its engagement with partners in the security sector. As in other areas, the revised ENP will offer a tailor-made approach to cooperating on security-related matters, and will actively ensure that our overall engagement is conflict-sensitive, and fully compliant with international law, including international human rights law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- III. STRONGER NEIGHBOURHOOD, STRONGER PARTNERSHIP
  - "The EU will work with those partners to further develop their relations and to maximise the benefits for both parties to those agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
  - "The incentive-based approach ("More for More") has been successful in supporting reforms in the fields of […] democracy, the rule of law and human rights, where there is a commitment by partners to such reforms" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILASATION
  - "In the South, regulatory convergence and harmonisation should be sought in line with the Regional Transport Action Plan 2014-2020 addressing maritime, aviation, rail, road and urban transport. At the same time the EU should identify priority regional infrastructure projects and prepare the indicative maps of the future Trans-Mediterranean Transport Network" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - "A Common Aviation Area will be promoted by implementing agreements signed so far with Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Moldova, and Morocco (and close to finalisation with Ukraine) and negotiating new agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - "New framework for cooperation with partners beyond the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - "Increase cooperation on energy efficiency, renewable energy sources, on demand management and on action to mitigate and adapt to climate change will help to develop economies that are more efficient, competitive, resilient and stable while increasing energy sovereignty and reducing emissions" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
  - "The EU will work to share best practice […] including in the longer term, emission trading systems, which would be linked to the EU emission trading system as they become ready" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
  - "When the conditions are right, the EU could consider reframing the energy relationship with Russia, on the basis of international and European law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).

- V.2. THE SECURITY DIMENSION
  - Given the specific security challenges partners are facing, the EU should focus on enhancing cooperation on security sector reform" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
  - "[…] the new ENP will prioritise tackling terrorism and preventing radicalisation; disrupting serious and organised cross-border crime and corruption; improving judicial cooperation in criminal matters, and fighting cybercrime, in full compliance with the rule of law, including international human rights law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
  - "**Security sector reform:** the EU intends to step up outreach to partner countries' authorities who deal with matters related to security. Interested partner countries should be supported in their reform of the civilian and military security. Such cooperation may include strategic and policy advice, institution and capacity building activities, […] and support for community security programmes" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - **"Tackling terrorism and preventing radicalisation:** The threat of terrorism and radicalisation is affecting both Europe and its neighbours. The EU will therefore step up work with partners on counter-terrorism, including preventing radicalisation, countering violent extremism, supporting criminal justice responses to counter terrorism […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - **"The existing Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) and its recently established Centre of Excellence will be a crucial platform for exchange and cooperation. Tackling broader issues such as ineffective justice, gender inequality, hate speech, youth unemployment, and illiteracy will all also be part of a wider de-radicalisation effort. Cross-cultural dialogue, such as that promoted by the Anna Lindh foundation, will be key" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - "Where necessary, the EU will seek to improve the legal framework for judicial and police cooperation with partner countries and work towards its implementation. With Interpol, the need should be examined to build further law enforcement capacity in neighbouring countries and work on facilitating information exchanges with EU Member States and Europol" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - "[…] involvement of EU Member States and EU agencies will be key both in the design and implementation of support in the security sector" "In line with the EU's Comprehensive approach to external conflict and crises, all means available will be used, including – where necessary, CSDP missions and operations or the EU' Special Representatives – to support the management of crises and the settlement of protracted conflicts in the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
- V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  - "Increase cooperation on root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement" "Increase cooperation with partners beyond the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).

- o "In order to foster reforms and reinforce the commitment of our partner countries to work in closer partnership, differentiation between partner countries will be developed, working more closely on visa and mobility issues with those that are willing to engage with the EU, including visa liberalisation and facilitation dialogues with partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
  - o "The EU should increase support for efforts to devise national and regional strategies addressing migrant smuggling and to build integrated border management standards, working with relevant EU agencies" (European Commission, 2015, p. 17).
  - o "Proactive engagement with partners in the neighbourhood in the field of border management is necessary to better manage migratory pressures. Together with interested partner countries, the EU will further intensify work on information exchange, administrative capacity and operational and technical cooperation. This could be done via training, research, capacity-building projects and pilot projects with partner countries, notably working through relevant EU Agencies, including FRONTEX and EUROPOL" (European Commission, 2015, p. 17).
- VII.2. VISIBILITY, COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH
  - o "These partnerships will promote people to people contacts and networks for young people of all ages in the EU and neighbouring countries, to foster mutual respect, understanding and open societies. It should include a substantial increase in exchanges between schools and universities, including the potential for a pilot-project of a European School in the neighbourhood." (European Commission, 2015, p. 21).

SEC006

- V.2. THE SECURITY DIMENSION
  - o "[…] the new ENP will prioritise tackling terrorism and preventing radicalisation; disrupting serious and organised cross-border crime and corruption; improving judicial cooperation in criminal matters, and fighting cybercrime, in full compliance with the rule of law, including international human rights law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
  - o "**Security sector reform:** the EU intends to step up outreach to partner countries' authorities who deal with matters related to security. Interested partner countries should be supported in their reform of the civilian and military security. Such cooperation may include strategic and policy advice, institution and capacity building activities, […] and support for community security programmes" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - o "To this end, European Agenda on Security committed to extending the work of the 'Policy Cycle' (on serious and organised crime) to neighbouring countries" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - o "Where necessary, the EU will seek to improve the legal framework for judicial and police cooperation with partner

countries and work towards its implementation. With Interpol, the need should be examined to build further law enforcement capacity in neighbouring countries and work on facilitating information exchanges with EU Member States and Europol" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).

- o "In order to foster a spirit of partnership and of shared responsibilities – on a case by case basis – the participation of partner countries should be promoted in CSDP missions and operations, EU Battlegroups, and their association to relevant programmes and agencies such as the European Defence Agency and the European Security and Defence College" (European Commission, 2015, p. 14).
- o "In line with the EU's Comprehensive approach to external conflict and crises, all means available will be used, including – where necessary, CSDP missions and operations or the EU' Special Representatives – to support the management of crises and the settlement of protracted conflicts in the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 14).
- o "Proactive engagement with partners in the neighbourhood in the field of border management is necessary to better manage migratory pressures. Together with interested partner countries, the EU will further intensify work on information exchange, administrative capacity and operational and technical cooperation. This could be done via training, research, capacity-building projects and pilot projects with partner countries, notably working through relevant EU Agencies, including FRONTEX and EUROPOL" (European Commission, 2015, p. 17).

SEC007

- II. STABILISING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
  - o "In the next three to five years, the most urgent challenges in many parts of the neighbourhood is stabilisation" (European Commission, 2015, p. 3).
  - o "[…] the EU should increase its engagement with partners in the security sector. As in other areas, the revised ENP will offer a tailor-made approach to cooperating on security-related matters, and will actively ensure that our overall engagement is conflict-sensitive, and fully compliant with international law, including international human rights law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
- III. STRONGER NEIGHBOURHOOD, STRONGER PARTNERSHIP
  - o "The EU will work with those partners to further develop their relations and to maximise the benefits for both parties to those agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
  - o "The EU is ready to discuss the possibility to jointly set new partnership priorities, which would focus each relationship more clearly on commonly identified shared interests" (European Commission, 2015, p. 4).
  - o "The incentive-based approach ("More for More") has been

successful in supporting reforms in the fields of […] democracy, the rule of law and human rights, where there is a commitment by partners to such reforms" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).

- o "In these cases, the EU will explore more effective ways to make its case for fundamental reforms with partners, including through engagement […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
- o "These reports will contain the elements required under the Regulation on the European Neighbourhood Instrument, including information on fundamental freedoms, the rule of law, gender equality and human rights issues" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).

- IV. GOOD GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
  - o "The consultation confirmed the very strongly held view that the EU should uphold and promote universal values through the ENP" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - o "The EU is committed to promoting […] democracy, rule of law and human rights" (European Commission, 2015, p. 5).
  - o "Therefore public administration reform is essential" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "The EU will continue to work with partner governments, civil society and citizens on human rights and democracy related issues, including electoral processes, as laid down in the Treaty on European Union and the EU's Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy. We will promote and defend the universality and indivisibility of all human rights both at home and in partnerships with countries from all regions" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
  - o "The EU will engage with all partners in an inclusive dialogue on human rights and democracy issues, including on areas where experiences may differ" (European Commission, 2015, p. 6).
- V.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR STABILASATION
  - o "Macroeconomic stability and economic reform in the neighbourhood are a priority and the EU will continue to provide support notably through Macro-Financial Assistance operations" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - o "The EU should step up cooperation with the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), notably the European Investment Bank (EIB), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and relevant international organisations on private sector development and initiatives" (European Commission, 2015, p. 7).
  - o "In the Southern neighbourhood, one DCFTA is under negotiation (with Morocco), while negotiations with Tunisia have just been launched. The EU will support the on-going negotiations with Southern Mediterranean partners, including through a differentiated, progressive and asymmetric approach based on mutual priorities. The EU will support the neighbours' domestic reforms conducive to the implementation of AA/DCFTAs and

other bilateral agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).

- o "[…] the implementation of AA/DCFTAs, accompanied by reforms, will result in the partners' comprehensive approximation with international standards and EU legislation and standards." (European Commission, 2015, p. 8).
- o "[…] working together towards a common vision for the sustainable use of shared seas" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
- o "The EU will significantly step up the scope for engagement of neighbourhood partners in Erasmus+, including a higher level of funding" (European Commission, 2015, p. 9).
- o "In the South, regulatory convergence and harmonisation should be sought in line with the Regional Transport Action Plan 2014-2020 addressing maritime, aviation, rail, road and urban transport. At the same time the EU should identify priority regional infrastructure projects and prepare the indicative maps of the future Trans-Mediterranean Transport Network" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
- o "A Common Aviation Area will be promoted by implementing agreements signed so far with Georgia, Israel, Jordan, Moldova, and Morocco (and close to finalisation with Ukraine) and negotiating new agreements" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
- o With the goal of building a resilient Energy Union, with an ambitious climate policy at its core, the EU is committed to strengthen its energy dialogue with neighbourhood countries in energy security, energy market reforms and the promotion of sustainable energy" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
- o "Increase cooperation on energy efficiency, renewable energy sources, on demand management and on action to mitigate and adapt to climate change will help to develop economies that are more efficient, competitive, resilient and stable while increasing energy sovereignty and reducing emissions" (European Commission, 2015, p. 11).
- o "The EU will work to share best practice […] including in the longer term, emission trading systems, which would be linked to the EU emission trading system as they become ready" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
- o "When the conditions are right, the EU could consider reframing the energy relationship with Russia, on the basis of international and European law" (European Commission, 2015, p. 12).
- • V.2. THE SECURITY DIMENSION
  - o "[…] information-sharing and capacity building to tackle cross-border threats should be stepped up" (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  - o **"Tackling terrorism and preventing radicalisation:** The threat of terrorism and radicalisation is affecting both Europe and its neighbours. The EU will therefore step up work with partners on counter-terrorism, including preventing radicalisation, countering violent extremism, supporting criminal justice responses to

counter terrorism […]"(European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  o **"The existing Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) and its recently established Centre of Excellence will be a crucial platform for exchange and cooperation. Tackling broader issues such as ineffective justice, gender inequality, hate speech, youth unemployment, and illiteracy will all also be part of a wider de-radicalisation effort. Cross-cultural dialogue, such as that promoted by the Anna Lindh foundation, will be key"** (European Commission, 2015, p. 13).
  o "The EU should offer assistance for capacity building on cybersecurity and resilient information infrastructures, on the fight against cybercrime and cyber terrorism, including through threat analysis, fostering specialisation in law enforcement, judicial training and supporting the creation of relevant national policies, strategies and institutions in third countries" (European Commission, 2015, p. 14).
  o "[…] involvement of EU Member States and EU agencies will be key both in the design and implementation of support in the security sector" "In line with the EU's Comprehensive approach to external conflict and crises, all means available will be used, including – where necessary, CSDP missions and operations or the EU' Special Representatives – to support the management of crises and the settlement of protracted conflicts in the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
- V.3. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY
  o "Increase cooperation with partners beyond the neighbourhood" (European Commission, 2015, p. 15).
- VII.1. FLEXIBILITY OF FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS
  o "Improved donor coordination is essential to maximise resources, but also to make the EU's contribution more visible. Wherever possible a joint EU response in the region should be shaped around the EU brand enhancing the use of joint programming with EU Member States on and of shared analysis from all EU sources […]" (European Commission, 2015, p. 20).
- VII.2. VISIBILITY, COMMUNICATION AND OUTREACH
  o "Visibility for the EU should be made a condition of working with implementing partners" (European Commission, 2015, p. 20).
  o "Support will help promote independent, reliable and credible media. The EU could also support strategic communication capacity within governments for better understanding of public opinion, to plan and adapt campaigns communication the benefits of reform" (European Commission, 2015, p. 21).
  o "Outreach activities are also necessary inside the EU to explain to our citizens why stable, secure and prosperous countries in our near vicinity are key to the EU's own stability and security" (European Commission, 2015, p. 21).
  o "These partnerships will promote people to people contacts and networks for young people of all ages in the EU and neighbouring countries, to foster mutual respect, understanding and open societies. It should include a substantial increase in exchanges

between schools and universities, including the potential for a pilot-project of a European School in the neighbourhood." (European Commission, 2015, p. 21).

ANNEX G

Raw data for imports and exports between the EU28 and the three countries observed in thousands of US $

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Tunisia_IMPORT	9869131,819	12409745,64	14128927,01	11940891,97	13600701,88	13830355,4	13198871,26	13552356,61	13147238,04	11275276,96	10325923,28	11136466,4
Tunisia_EXPORT	9032632,564	12027157,71	13922671,77	10663553,09	12032901,28	13636072,12	12149347,4	12168991,35	12453539,46	10496874,62	10005931,71	10553412,82
Morocco_IMPORT	12198853,99	16436198,49	21928044,17	17221031	17419715,21	21081345,15	21224919,29	22683831,48	23633864,22	19799116,66	23172145,72	25404521,72
Morocco_EXPORT	8709536,339	12069414,18	9081355,03	10541730,48	12180114,6	11792619,04	12956126,07	14600330,54	13196540,54	13196540,7	14450848,13	16558699,33
Egypt_IMPORT	7828301,126	10354809,41	16128983,02	15171442,75	17282354,7	18381111,71	20002702,51	20415134,13	21408551,37	20160225,48	18908256,48	20270498,45
Egypt_EXPORT	6405483,868	6230177,594	7731856,237	8327800,731	10636690,731	8476883,002	8563769,95	8818747,574	6471754,574	6471754,698	7455467,535	8243005,855

(UNCTADSTAT, 2018b, 2018a)

EIDESSTATTLICHE ERKLÄRUNG

Hiermit erkläre ich an Eides Statt, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbstständig und nur unter Zuhilfenahme der ausgewiesenen Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe. Sämtliche Stellen der Arbeit, die im Wortlaut oder dem Sinn nach anderen gedruckten oder im Internet verfügbaren Werken entnommen sind, habe ich durch genaue Quellenangaben kenntlich gemacht.

Berlin, 23.12.2018

K. Weckenbrodt