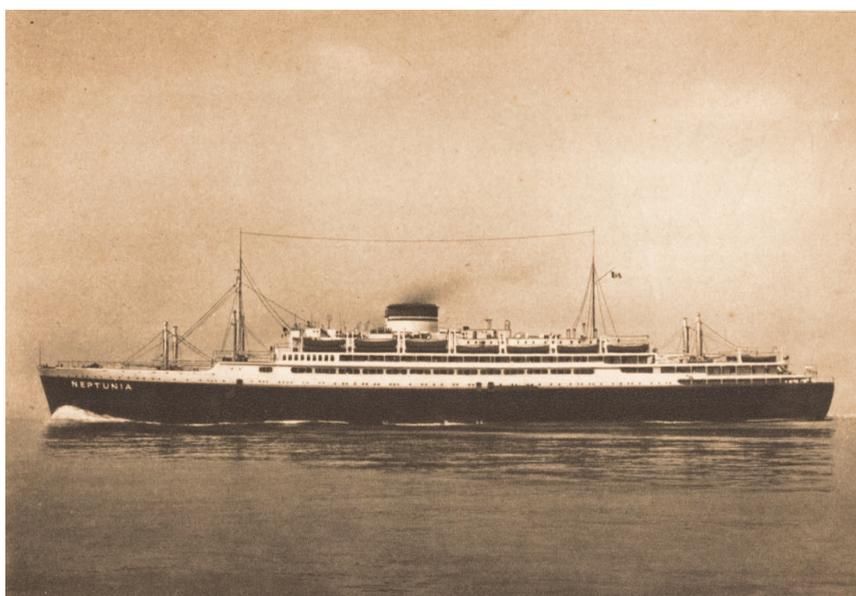


PAIX ET SÉCURITÉ INTERNATIONALES

05

2017



REVUE MAROCO-ESPAGNOLE
DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL ET RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES
(NOUVELLE SÉRIE- VERSION ÉLECTRONIQUE)



THE REGIONAL INTEGRATION AS A SOLUTION TO FACE THE MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY CHALLENGES

MARIA DOLORES ALGORA WEBER¹

I. THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION IN A GLOBALISED WORLD – II. REASONS FOR THE EXPANSION OF THE RISKS AND THE THREATS – III. A RENEWED “SECURITY ARCHITECTURE” TO TACKLE THE MEDITERRANEAN POLICY. IV.- THE IMPACT OF A REGIONAL INTEGRATION FOR SECURITY – V. 5+5 INITIATIVE OF DEFENCE AS A WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN MODEL FOR A REGIONAL INTEGRATION – VI. FINAL BALANCE.

ABSTRACT: The aim of this analysis is to do a short review of the Mediterranean Region situation in terms of Security. The regional integration will be tackled as the unique solution to face risks, threats and conflicts inside its frame. The multilateral initiatives which constitute the called “Architecture of Security” offer models to achieve this aim. The present contribution will be focused on the often unknown 5+5 Initiative of Defense. The scientific intention is not to point out a final solution to the troubling scene of the Mediterranean basin; it is just an approach to highlight the state of art on this issue.

KEY WORDS: Mediterranean region, Security Policy Architecture, regional integration and cooperation, 5+5 Initiative of Defence.

LA INTEGRACIÓN REGIONAL COMO SOLUCIÓN PARA HACER FRENTE A LOS DESAFÍOS DE LA SEGURIDAD EN EL MEDITERRÁNEO

RESUMEN: Este análisis tiene como objetivo una breve revisión de la situación de seguridad en la región del Mediterráneo. Entendiendo la integración regional como la única solución factible para hacer frente a los riesgos, amenazas y conflictos que tienen lugar en este espacio. Las iniciativas multilaterales, conocidas como la “Arquitectura de Seguridad” constituyen diferentes modelos para alcanzar este objetivo. Dentro de ellas este estudio se centrará en la Iniciativa 5+5 Defensa, que con frecuencia es poco conocida. La intención científica de esta contribución no es la aportación de una solución definitiva para el escenario conflictivo del Mediterráneo, sino ofrecer una visión general sobre cómo se encuentra esta situación en el presente.

PALABRAS CLAVE: región mediterránea, arquitectura de política de seguridad, cooperación e integración regional, Iniciativa de Defensa 5+5.

¹ Prof. Doctora – PhD, Senior Lecturer in Contemporary History and International Relations Universidad CEU San Pablo, Madrid. The following research has been developed on the framework of the I+D+i Project: “La Dimensión internacional de las transformaciones políticas en el mundo árabe” (CSO2014-52998-C3-3-P). <<http://www.gresam.net/proyecto-transformacionespoliticas/>>. Other contributions could be consulted at <<http://www.mariadoloresalgora.es>>.

L'INTEGRATION RÉGIONALE COMME SOLUTION AUX DÉFIS DE LA SÉCURITÉ MÉDITERRANÉENNE

RÉSUMÉ: Cette analyse vise à un bref examen de la situation de sécurité dans la région méditerranéenne. Entendue la intégration régionale comme la seule solution possible pour faire face aux risques, menaces et conflits qui se déroulent dans cet espace. Initiatives multilatérales, connues comme « architecture de sécurité », constituent des modèles différents pour atteindre cet objectif. De façon particulière cet étude metra l'accent sur l'initiative 5 + 5 Défense, souvent peu connue. L'intention scientifique de cette contribution n'est pas l'apport d'une solution définitive pour le scénario conflictuel de la Méditerranée, mais donner une vue d'ensemble de la situation au présent.

MOTS CLÉS: région méditerranéenne, architecture de politique de sécurité, intégration et coopération régionale, Initiative 5+5 Défense.

I. THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

The strategic role of the whole Mediterranean region is extremely relevant to global peace and stability in terms of collective security, economic development and cultural values. Inside this region there are many unresolved questions that should be answered in the near future to avoid or to solve the current critical weakness that involves this strategic area. These challenges concern not only those countries sharing its shores. All European Union countries and the whole international order in a globalised world could be affected by these challenges. The importance of the Mediterranean Basin has been historically linked to the convergence of interests of the most important region of the world: Europe, Africa, Middle East and Asia. Thus, this sea represents the maritime border of the four geopolitical areas.

In order to understand the Mediterranean policy, it is crucial to underline that those countries of the so called “South” are not waiting for solutions based in the old colonial scheme as a frame of relations. Times have changed. The solutions for their challenges need to be conceived under an equal and a fair relationship. It means that the Arab World strategic perception has to be taken in consideration to achieve a successful management of the regional crisis and conflicts.

Finally, it should be remarked that the Mediterranean area is one of the major principles of action of the Spanish Foreign Policy. The Spain's geographical proximity to Africa makes it, compared to other European countries, the main point of access to Europe for the whole African continent. Spain has played a central role inside the cooperation initiatives between Eu-

rope and the rest of the Mediterranean countries. Spanish Foreign Policy in the area definitely combines both lines of action: on the one hand, it works as a regional unique body, through the European Union, NATO and the 5+5 Initiative; and on the other hand, it maintains strong bilateral relations with each country of the area.

II. REASONS FOR THE EXPANSION OF THE RISKS AND THE THREATS

The Mediterranean as a strategic region is endangered by multitude of risks and threats affecting its security. They are considered by the riparian countries like “shared challenges” because their trans-national consequences need of a multilateral and multidimensional action to face them. European Security Strategy documents highlight a list of complex challenges which cannot be tackled by a single nation. They need a close cooperation to deal with Islamic terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failed states and organised crime. They are global threats to which should be added an asymmetrical development, an unbalanced demographic growth, an environmental degradation and clandestine and illegal migration flows in the case of the Mediterranean region.

The Mediterranean basin is really a turmoil area from the Eastern to the Western side. There are old unfinished conflicts that have limited relationships for a long time. On the Eastern side, the Arab-Israeli conflict was the context for several wars and very often attacks and crisis focused on Palestine. The frequent collapse of Oslo’s Agreements and the explosion of new Middle East crisis did never permitted the real launch of the Barcelona Process. It was one of the most important factors that explain its failure. On the opposite side, on the Western, the unfinished conflict of the Western Sahara has also important strategic connotations. This situation involves not only the countries in the area by its territorial borders, further away many other energetic and political factors have a strategic weight. The still currently tensions between Algeria and Morocco prevented the political regional understanding for years. It has a great negative impact on the regional integration with clear political, social and economic aftermaths. Both areas of conflicts, Eastern and Western, promote the implication of the European Union and the other the international powers into the regional policy development to fight against its permanent lack of stability.

On 2011 the North of Africa was the scenery where Arab uprising took place starting in Tunisia and Egypt with a very fast wide spreading. It was unexpected situation even in the case that there were many elements which could move the situation in that direction, but nobody thought it will happen. The balance of the called “Arab Spring” should be considered taking into account each different situation. In any case, a failed balance of its results very far from it was expected has to be unfortunately admitted. From the beginning it has converted the change of the Mediterranean policy strategy into a mandatory international issue². This process has caused complex situations or conflicts with very difficult domestic solutions and with a questionable international response.

These risks and threats, including the possible territorially decomposition of states, were aggravated and expanded beyond the area of the Maghreb. The Arab uprising has negative effects on the area of the Sahel. The result of the Libya’s war, a new unfinished conflict, was the creation of a failed state that has upset the balance of the whole area. This situation has set off the alarm in neighbouring countries like Tunisia and Algeria. But the worse scenery, after the war of Libya, has taken place on the Sahel fringe. This is a strategic zone characterised by poor countries and crossed routes of which organised crime (linked to arms, drugs or human traffics), insurgents or terrorist groups used to take advantage of its instability. There are countries, for instance Mali (179 HDI)³, Niger (188 HDI) or Chad (185 HDI), where there is a lack of security in a whole sense. It means food safety, nature safety and good governance safety and so on.

Thus the Sahel is full of non-state actors who exercise their own power and cross freely the regional porous borders. These risks and threats are not actually new. They exemplify the usual and the natural “modus operandi” inside the fringe. The really new situation is the fragility of the Maghreb states expose to these risks further more than ever. On the other hand, the instability of the North of Africa could upset directly the stability and security of

² BALFOUR, R, “The Arab Spring, the changing Mediterranean, and the EU: tools as a substitute for strategy?”, *Policy Brief*, European Policy Center, June 2011.

³ UNITED NATIONS: *Human Development Index*, 2015.

the European Union in a near future⁴. It needs an effectively and multilateral response.

On the Eastern side of the Mediterranean the war of Syria is still in process after five years. It is a terrible human drama which spread the worst humanity crisis living along the region for years. The most degrading exhibition of it is the illegal immigrant flow. The number of refugees running away is sharply growing daily. The international community has not submitted a proper response and solution to this tragedy. The European Union has shown its lack of capacity to arrange a common and credibility Migration Policy.

The war of Syria has a very complex solution because the international (United State and Russia) and regional Muslim Great Powers (Iran and Saudi Arabia) are involved in a proxy war where each one is defending their own strategic interests on the Middle East region. There are two opposing blocks using governments and non-state actors as tools of war.

In the framework of the traditional troubling context in the Middle East, beyond the war of Syria, the situation of Iraq and Turkey has become more unstable. Palestine crisis has got a second regional place in the list of the international interests, but it is still alive waiting for answers. It has not finished yet. The relation between Israel and the rest of the regional governments still moves towards crisis without solutions.

As it is well-known, the primary beneficiaries of this regional war context were terrorist groups who have been active for years. Al-Qaeda is still alive and operative but currently the focus is on ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham). Its aim is to promote a Great Caliphate affecting directly the internal situation of every mentioned region. It is the most important threat not only to the Mediterranean countries, moreover to the whole international order. This terrorist group has developed a military capability. Attacks of ISIS are increasing in many countries around the world but European Union significantly has become a very relevant target to them. A European Union proper response to counter this threat requires a formulating strategy⁵.

⁴ SIMON, L.; MATTELAER, A. & HADFIELD, A.: "A coherent EU Strategy for the Sahel" Directorate-General for External Policies of the Union (EU), Study, 2012. Pg.10.

⁵ ARTEAGA, F.: "The European Union's role in the fight against ISIS", European Leadership Network, 30 September, 2014.

III. A RENEWED “SECURITY ARCHITECTURE” TO TACKLE THE MEDITERRANEAN POLICY

Perhaps the elements mentioned in the former paragraph let us understand that security is usually linked to development factors and prosperity, but it is not really enough. Many security situations cannot be solved under this principle. It is the reason why the “Security Architecture” is a permanent changing domain currently adapting to the new scenery.

During the 90s in order to tackle the Mediterranean risks and threats and build up an area of peace and shared prosperity the European Union focused its action on the economic and social development inside the region and it launched several initiatives. Those were based on the principle of an economic international cooperation as a tool for the stability. They tackled them convinced to achieve the regional security. For instance, the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (The Barcelona Process) was the master framework to the new multilateral relations. The Barcelona Process included a Policy and Security basket but it was relegated and it was in a lower state of development. On the other hand, beside those European initiatives, the NATO Dialogue was also a pillar to develop a context of security, but it was not actually very active.

Unfortunately, many factors made that the foreseen prosperity and stability were not achieved or, at least, it had not given the expected results. However, there was a learned lesson: common problems and challenges needed common solutions.

On 2001, September 11th attacks turned the Security into a priority. It means that without Security cannot be achieved the stability, neither the economic development. This change of perception brought new concepts on which relies the currently international order. Security means multidimensional domains all of them linked. Security has to be understood under a global perception, this is well-known as a comprehensive approach. Since then it brought about a shift in the Western policy stance which concerned directly the Euro-Mediterranean Policy.

The current strategic situation link to the crisis theatres is characterised by its complexity, uncertainty and instability. Conflicts are the result of an extremely complex configuration that makes its resolution impossible only with using political, diplomatic and economic means or simply by using the force.

For years international security experience has enhanced and has been strengthened so that it could be tackled a renewed “Security Architecture” based on this advanced previous long way.

The reshaping of the Mediterranean security is a difficult endeavor because of a number of constraints. First of all because the situation in the Middle East is still troubled and very complex; second, there is some reluctance from North Africa countries to engage themselves in security cooperation with the European Union within the established regional framework; and third, there are difference of security nomenclatures in the Arab World and the European Union⁶.

Nowadays solutions for conflicts should be characterised by several essential requirements:

- 1) Integrated actions gathering security and cooperation fields are needed. The mentioned above comprehensive approach should be the main profile of any crisis management operation.
- 2) International intervention should be led under a multidimensional and multilateral response.
- 3) A common concept of security should be a priority. It means a sharing perception of the risk and threats. This common vision is the greatest difficulty that often stops activities within International or Regional Organisations.

European Union and NATO have a remarkable back ground on their international strategic documents which were recently updated following the above guidelines. The renewed “Architecture of Security” has been designed by several strategic paper works. The EU current approach to it has its deepest roots on the master lines drew on the European Security Strategy (2003) titled “A Secure Europe in a Better World” under the authority of the EU’s High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) Javier Solana and adopted by the European Council. Its main goal was the security response to the new international scenery following the 11-S attacks. Since then, as it was written in its pages, dangers and opportunities were new ones in the new context of a globalised world. The effective multilateralism

⁶ Report of Euromesco Annual Conference 2016: “Towards a Security Architecture for the Mediterranean: a challenge for Euro-Mediterranean relations”. Pgs. 12-14.

approach became the focus of the European Union Foreign Policy. It meant new strategic concepts, new availability of capabilities and new means.

This new approach has promoted a Security Sector Reform prone to emphasizing its technical aspects and to depoliticizing it⁷. Security is far to be associated only with the development of the Defense domain, but the military field, as a specific sector inside this framework, reflects well the mentioned change.

Beside the conflict prevention and the management crisis operations, the Petersberg tasks sharing civilian and military assets on peacekeeping operations remained as the core of the new Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Since they were incorporated into the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999, Petersberg Operations increased the links between European Union and NATO. For many year the European Union encouraged itself to deal with the implementation of the CFSP and the CSDP included under its domain. Since 2007 EU was able to carry out rapid-response operations with two concurrent battle-groups with could be launched simultaneously if it is necessary.

In 2009 the Treaty of Lisbon strengthened this policy converting the European Union in a reliable security provider. EU has not a standing Army; its Defense is based on the Armed Forces contribution by the EU country members. This European Union Forces are able to joint disarmament operations, to face humanitarian and rescue tasks, to offer military advice and assistance, to carry out with a conflict prevention presence, crisis management and peacekeeping missions and post-conflict stabilisation.

In 2010 NATO launched its New Strategic Concept under the title of "Active Engagement, Modern Defence". The document gathered as the three core tasks of the Organisation: the collective defence, the crisis management and the cooperative security. The main innovation was focused on the admission and development of the above mentioned "comprehensive approach" as the guideline for security. It was the fruit of a decade of experience on the ground of conflicts where Armed Forces were involved in new tasks further than the conventional defence and deterrence. NATO committed itself on a continue renewal of the Alliance to address the 21st Century security challenges including strengthen of its Mediterranean Partnership.

⁷ SAYIGH, Y.: "Security Sector Reform in the Arab Region: Challenges to Developing an Indigenous Agenda", *Arab Reform Initiative*, Thematic Papers n°2, 2007. Pg. 3.

On 2012, during the informal meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Copenhagen, the idea to undertake a European strategic rethinking arose⁸. The main argument was the lack of connexion between threats, ends and means and the vague definition of the common interests and European Union ambitions. On the other hand, new non-states actors are gaining importance beside the state ones.

On June 2016 a Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy was launched under the title of "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe". It is the European version of the NATO "comprehensive approach". The Strategy calls clearly to go ahead from a vision to an action looking for a credible Union. About the new "Security Architecture" on the Defense domain states: "the voluntary approach to Defence cooperation must translate into real commitment. An annual coordinated review process at EU level to discuss Member States' military spending plans could instil greater coherence in defence planning and capability development. This should take place in full coherence with NATO's defence planning process. (...) Defence cooperation between Member States will be systematically encouraged"⁹.

European Union and NATO are involved in a deep reform of their security policies, operational planning and institutional structures. Both organisations have common guidelines to design their new "Security Architecture": to build closer connection between military and civilian structures and to enhance military cooperation among the state members.

The new global strategy detailed its lines of action fostering a peaceful and prosperous Mediterranean, Middle East and Africa. The diplomacy of Defence is a useful instrument to achieve this goal.

IV. THE IMPACT OF A REGIONAL INTEGRATION FOR SECURITY

For many years the evolution of the mentioned strategic perception looking for a proper "Security Architecture" has been led toward the develop-

⁸ DRENT, M.& LANDMAN, L.: "Why Europe needs a new Security Strategy", *Clingendael Policy Brief*, n°9, 2012, pp.1-2.

⁹ European Union Global Strategy: "Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe", 2016. Pgs.50-51.

ment of several Initiatives of Defence which attended complementary tasks inside the region.

In order to ensure that the Mediterranean risks and threats do not favour the outbreak of conflicts, these initiatives have displayed all the instruments and necessary resources. However, a deep debate about how could be them more and better exploited in a strong step forward to the shared peace which the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership proposes is on the floor.

Southern and Northern riparian countries feature the different initiative membership. They management their activities in different ways, but all of them have the common aim looking for stability though a shared security. They are the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue (Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Mauritania), European Union-PESD (EU, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestinian National Authority, Syria, Turkey, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Mauritania) and the New European Neighbourhood Policy –ENP- (Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Israel, the Palestinian Authority and Syria), the 5+5 Initiative of Defence (Algeria, France, Italy, Libya, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco, Portugal, Spain and Tunisia), OSCE (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Morocco y Tunisia) and UpM (EU and 15 countries from the Southern and Eastern shores).

The above network of relations inside the Mediterranean region created the framework for multilateral operations like they are Active Endeavour- NATO fight against terrorism, Active Fence – NATO Turkish Protection of Syrian ballistic missiles, Task Force Besmayah- USA (NATO / UE) Military Training Operation in Iraq, EUCAP Nestor and Ocean Shield - EU Comprehensive Approach against piracy in the Horn of Africa, EUNAVFORMED Sophia- EU Prevent Human Traffics in front Coast of Libya or FPNUL in Lebanon.

All these international operations have contributed to enhance and to strengthen the Mediterranean security, however they are not development under a real regional integration criterion. Indeed they draw a Western model of security shared with the Southern Mediterranean countries. This is the main difficulty to achieve the confidence measures needed inside the region to face the common security. NATO shed a model as a new project but actually repeating the traditional scheme of the Westphalian approach based on the state-center interests and its international dimension. ENP not very far

from NATO model is really a mean to maintain the regional Europeanisation and to promulgate the European values without offering direct membership to the third countries. EU strives to make an ideological and moral difference on the world promoting values like democracy, human rights, common markets and even common security to face risks and threats in order to create a regional community¹⁰.

The 5+5 Initiative of Defence has promoted a network of relations based on the mutual confidence which represents an exception regarding to the conventional relationships inside the framework of the security initiatives. It is neither address towards a re-territoriality position but it is focused on a regional integration under equal criteria among its members. It works under the rule of law and democracy which guide the principle of consensus. All members have been founder members and it is not taking into account an enlargement of the Initiative. It clearly means they share a real field of common interests and training for joint operations. On the other hand, they make an effort towards a common strategic vision. In order to achieve this goal a willing of a mutual knowledge which represents a deep challenge is truly promoted. Finally, its vocation is to keep an informal dialogue far from the idea of a structural international organization which increases the annual committed budget of its financial and human resources and brings complex political decisions. These are the key elements that explain its successful.

The 5+5 Initiative of Defence drive wide advantages to tackle a deep reform of the security sector for the Southern members. First of all, it promotes a further motivation to imply the domestic actors of the Arab World into the security needed inside the Mediterranean region. There is a feeling of local ownership. It improves the government-society relationship about Security and Defence issue by increasing the civil society support; second, it favours relations among 5+5 Arab members which are not so easy at political level because Policy decision makers are only engaged endorsing the Defence planing at the most top level; and third it contributes to limit the military field to the Defence domain separating it from the security sector as a whole. The patterns of a very practical training within the Initiative suggest the distance between external defence and internal security, even more the military and

¹⁰ WESLEY SCOTT, J.: "Bordering and ordering the European Neighbourhood: a critical perspective on Eu territoriality and geopolitics", *Trames*, Vol. 13 / 3, 2009. Pg.233 y 238.

other political affairs concerning regional security. This is especially important in the case of Southern countries.

V. 5+5 INITIATIVE OF DEFENCE AS A WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN MODEL FOR A REGIONAL INTEGRATION

The 5+5 Initiative of Defence is not very well-known. This Initiative is not still operative to carry out international operations but perhaps it could be possible in a near future. Since it started its tasks within the domain of Defence, it has been characterised by its permanent development and progress bringing a successful cooperation during its period of training. It avoids the gap between Western rhetoric and practice towards the Arab region.

The Initiative concerns the ten countries of the Western Mediterranean basin: Algeria, France, Italy, Libya, Malta, Mauritania, Morocco Portugal, Spain and Tunisia.

The idea of grouping the countries of the Western Mediterranean in a dialogue forum began at the 80s but it was strengthened in the Ministerial Conference of Foreign Affairs at Rome in 1990. On this year, the 5+5 Dialogue launched its activity as an informal subregional forum to reinforce Mediterranean cooperation on social, political and economic fields.

As it was said before during the 90s it was not very active. Then other partnerships like the Barcelona Process represented the new deal of the new emerging global order. It was based on the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation and it required all the efforts. The imposed sanctions to Libya by the United Nation Security Council after the “Lockerbie Issue (UK)” damaged the regional cooperation. For many years, Libya was isolated and didn't participate in the regional process of decisions.

The terrorist attacks of September 11th highlighted one of the most important faults of the Barcelona Process as it was the lack of attention on the Policy and Security basket. In this context the 5+5 Initiative was re-launched as an alternative in the Western Mediterranean.

On the 21st December of 2004 the first Ministers of Defence Meeting took place in Paris. The countries of the 5+5 Initiative of Defence¹¹ signed the Declaration on cooperation in the field of Security. On this domain the Initiative has been very active from the beginning without any interruption

¹¹ <<https://www.5plus5defence.org/fr>>.

on its progress. During the Spanish Presidency it was celebrated its 10th Anniversary in 2014.

In order to promote security in the Western Mediterranean, the 5 +5 Initiative of Defence encourages itself to look for the mutual confidence among its member countries, to enhance the mutual understanding and knowledge and to develop a multilateral cooperation. Thus, it is maintained under three Principles of Action: Diplomacy, Multiculturalism and Civil-Military Profile.

Three major domains of action were endorsed by Ministers of Defence at the Declaration of Paris in December of 2004: Maritime Security, Air Security and Cooperation for civil protection in case of natural disasters or humanitarian crisis. Later on, a fourth chapter was included regarding the Training and Researching of civilians and military in the above mentioned domains. This chapter promotes a permanent and large human network inside the 5+5 area.

The Initiative is structured in three levels of work which represent three levels of decision makers: a Ministers of Defence Meeting, a Steering Committee and Working Groups linked to the different projects.

Each cycle is defined through the annual Ministers of Defence Meeting in which the activities carried out along that period are evaluated and the Plan of Action for the following year is approved.

The Steering Committee is composed by two representatives of the Defence Ministers of each country who meet twice a year. Rotating in accordance with an English alphabetical order, each participant nation held the annual committee's chairmanship. The Steering Committee meetings have become an outstanding innovation of 5+5 Initiative of Defence. They are essential consulting forums that permit the development of a high level relationship between the Armed Forces of the member countries. These are really a military training for decision makers going further than other similar meetings in other international originations.

The core task of the Steering Committee is to debate and design the proposal for the mentioned Annual Plan of Action where multilateral cooperation on Defence is organised through joint training military exercises and other kind of activities focused on an academic approach. The offered activities have increased so much that they have to be restricted to allow a regular and equal participation of every member. The Annual Plan of 2017 includes

38 activities offered by the ten country members. Few examples of them are the following ones: a Seminar on “Cross-border crime and its impact on public security” leads by Algeria; a Seminar and Exercise on “Improvised explosive devices “(IEDs) leads by Spain; an Exercise on “Survival in the desert” leads by Tunisia; the 3rd Simulation Exercise (CPX) of the Non-Permanent Operative Coordination and Planning Center leads by Morocco; the 1st Workshop in the field of Special Forces leads by Italy and others more lead by France, Libya, Malta, Mauritania and Portugal.

The largest joint military exercises are aimed to achieve a shared training on of Maritime Security (Seaborder) and Air Security (Circaete). In both cases there were an enlargement of participant countries and they have been repeated every year. A new annual exercise on Special Forces Cooperation and another one on an Air System of Drones by Remote Control Cooperation will be held in a near future.

Beside the Annual Plan of Action, there are also developed projects which contribute to the core tasks of the initiative. They are the Regional Virtual Centre for Maritime Traffic control (V-RMTC 5+5) leads by Italy (2007); the 5+5 School of Defence leads by France (2007)¹²; the Center Euro-Maghrebi for Strategic Researches and Studies leads by Tunisia –CEMRES- (2009)¹³; the Naval Coordination Group leads by Spain (2013) and a Non-Permanent Operative Coordination and Planning Center –OCPC- leads by France (2014).

There are another future projects which development is in different level of progress: Training Centre for humanitarian demining leads by Libya, a network for Cooperation in Search and Rescue issues (SAR) leads by Malta, a network for Marine Pollutions Response leads by Morocco and Spain.

Tunisia, which chaired the Initiative on 2015, suggested a new focus on strengthening the capabilities of Western Mediterranean Armed Forces to guarantee secure borders of the 5+5 Initiative of Defence space, to increase

¹² It is worth to mention that the balance of results on 2016 reports that almost 500 auditors have been involved at the three different level modules (Junior, Intermediate and Senior) at the School of Defence.

¹³ 6 Research Projects have been finished at CEMRES. On 2016 the research was on “DAESH: rapid expansion factors seen from the 5+5 space” led by Morocco and on 2017 the current project is on “Security issues related to climate change in the 5+5 space: What implications on defense policies?” leads by France.

the cooperation to combat terrorism and smuggling on the country's borders, to ensure air and maritime control, to manage crises and to intervene in relief and rescue operations. On March of 2017, under the France Presidency, the Steering Committee has remarked the former mentioned aims and the Climate Change defense issues and Cyber Defense were also presented as key areas to be addressed within the Initiative.

Finally, within the framework of external relations of the 5+5 Initiative of Defence with other actors and multinational entities, it stated out the informal meeting of the UE Ministers of Defence with the initiative's Ministers of Defence celebrated in Évora (Portugal) on September 2007. At this meeting Spain stood up the 5+5 model as an instrument of maximum usefulness for the Western Mediterranean. However, taking into consideration the vital importance of the Mediterranean area as a whole and that the 5+5 did not cover all PCSD needs, Spain proposed that the 5+5 Initiative would complement those already existing on PCSD.

VI. FINAL BALANCE

The Mediterranean Basin is a critical strategic area whose security concerns the international stability as a whole. Common risks and threats inside the Mediterranean region need a shared security policy and instruments to achieve a permanent stability.

The security policy has to be planned under a strategic concept result of a common perception that includes the Northern and Southern dimension of the regional security. The 21st Century security challenges inside this region should be tackled on the base of common values and objectives fruits of the mutual confidence. These aspects constitute a key pillar to achieve a regional integration that allows a joint action among the Mediterranean countries.

Whitin the Mediterranean Basin the different institutional initiatives have promoted a positive environment to enhance the regional relationships by the establishment of dialogues, mechanism of conflict mediation and resolution. They have contribute to a wider political links by which a new international cooperation perspective for countries is a real option. Hence, once again, mutual confidence and shared development of strategy plans represent important factors to re-built a proper "Security Architecture".

In order to fulfil this goal is absolutely necessary an effective multilateralism through the deeper development of the renewed “Security Architecture” as a framework based on the above mentioned common strategic concept. Joint security services and capabilities should be carried out among the Mediterranean countries. Beside it, Armed Forces Joint Operations should played a substantial role within the Security Field.

The different Initiatives of Defence play a complementary role one to another. EU Security and Defence Policy is dealing with a process of progress on this domain. It is expected an improvement on the regional security through the implementation of the recent approved Strategy of Security (June 2016) but the bases for a regional integration between EU and non European Mediterranean countries are not included on it. The NATO Mediterranean Dialogue has achieved important goals on the Armed Forces dialogue and training but still demanding of strengthen mutual confidence measures.

The 5+5 Initiative has awakened form its lack of progress by years. Now it illustrates a pro-active mean to renew the “Security Architecture”. New domains which work as independent fora ones to another have been tackled under its framework. Since 2004 the 5+5 Initiative of Defence has experimented a permanent and quick increase of its activities. It represents a step forward inside the region. It is an exceptional network for strengthening the “Diplomacy of Defence”. It could lead towards an integration model for the Mediterranean region whose effects on security could go further than the ones achieve through the political level. Even in the case that progress on this field is always under the Foreign Affairs Policy of each country member, the Annual Ministers of Defence Meeting promotes essential guielines towards a solid common strategic vision and a willness to mantain training on joint operations.

On the other hand, this human network represents a measure to bring closer the civilian sectors in charge for Security and Defence affairs inside the initiative. Hence, the ten members of 5+5 Initiative of Defence are actually engaged in contructive dialogue and practical integration relating to security in the Western Mediterranean region.

The 5+5 Initiative of Defence has enlarged its frame of action following the Mediterranean necessities on security according to the regional risks and threats. It is a model of mutual confidence and training on Armed Forces

Joint Operations under the criteria of shared service and capabilities. These operations drive towards a real motivation of the domestic actors to imply themselves into the security sector reform in its aspects linked to the military domain.

There are opposing arguments to 5+5 Initiative of Defence by its informal dialogue largely based on the mutual transfer of expertise through training not under a structural political frame. Perhaps it could be a future risk of regression, but it is not clear at all. The real point is that it works and it works surprising well. The main problem about it is its implementation in real military operations further than training inside the Western Mediterranean region but it is indeed a real challenge to tackle at Foreign Affairs Policies level.

It could be very wellcome the experience on Defence bringing new skills through training relationship if it could address the same values to higher level to promote a whole version of the regional security. Each government takes its own decision according its hitorical legacies, cultural value systems and political or economic position but the 5+5 Initiative shows there is a regional integration chance for willful open minds.

PAIX ET SÉCURITÉ INTERNATIONALES

05
2017

REVUE MAROCO-ESPAGNOLE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL ET RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES
NOUVELLE SÉRIE - VERSION ÉLECTRONIQUE

SOMMAIRE / Janvier -Décembre 2017 / N° 5

EDITORIAL

Antonio REMIRO BROTONS
Sobre la libertad e independencia académicas

ÉTUDES

Adam SMITH
Uncertainty, Alert and Distress: The Precarious Position of NGO Search and Rescue Operations in the Central Mediterranean

Rachid EL HOUDAÏGUI – Anass GOUYEZ BEN ALLAL
Rivalité et quête de leadership au Moyen-Orient à la lumière de l'accord sur le programme nucléaire iranien

Francina ESTEVE
The Search and Rescue Tasks Coordinated by the European Border and Coast Guard Agency (Frontex) Regarding the Surveillance of External Maritime Borders

Belén SÁNCHEZ RAMOS
Places of Refuge for Ships in Need of Assistance. Looking for the Best Response

Mamadou NIENTAO
La gestion intégrée des ressources en eau au Mali : le regard du Droit international

F. Saverio ANGIO
Islamic State's Qutbist Statehood: a Systemic Threat to the Concept of Sovereignty as a Primary Institution in the English School of International Relations

NOTES

María Dolores ALGORA WEBER
The Regional Integration as a Solution to Face the Mediterranean Security Challenges

Abdelhamid BAKKALI
OTAN et contre-asymétrie: Ambiguïté et difficulté d'adaptation

DOCUMENTATION

Déclaration Conjointe établissant un Partenariat de mobilité entre le Royaume du Maroc et l'Union Européenne et ses États membres

BIBLIOGRAPHIE CRITIQUE

ECHEVERRÍA, J., Las claves de seguridad del desafío migratorio actual para España y para la Unión Europea (EU), Cuadernos de Estudios Europeos n.º 6, Universidad Francisco de Vitoria, Madrid, 2017. Par L. CALVO MARISCAL

GOUYEZ BEN ALLAL, A., *La prolifération nucléaire et les défis géopolitiques de sécurité : analyse des programmes nucléaires de la Corée du Nord, du Pakistan et l'Iran*, Editorial Académica Española, Madrid, 2017. Par A. P ADIMI

NOURI, M., *Conflits, pouvoir et médiation: conceptions, trajectoires et enjeux*. Éditions Universitaires Européennes, Bruxelles, 2016. Par B. MOLINA RUEDA

TABLEAU D'ÉQUIVALENCE DES POSTES UNIVERSITAIRES

Tableau d'équivalence des postes Universitaires – Tabla de equivalencia de cargos académicos – Academic Ranks