

### I Region-Building and Contested State Identities

1. The EMP originally included the EU and Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Malta, Cyprus, and the Palestinian Authority. Malta and Cyprus entered the EU in May 2004, and Turkey officially became an EU candidate country in December 2004. Moreover, after the lifting of international sanctions, Libya was granted observer status to the EMP and may become a full member in the future.
2. In the present study, the terms “Islamism” and “Islamist” will be used to refer to political Islam and its proponents.
3. Although Islamist terrorism is real and serious, the portrayed threat of “Islam” does generally not imply any deeper understanding of the religion *per se*, let alone a differentiation between religion and the politically motivated, fundamentalist versions. These undifferentiated perceptions obviously grew stronger after 9/11.
4. The attempts to deal with military security resulted in two distinct proposals on a “Stability Pact” in the Mediterranean (Tanner 1994, 2000), which, however, did not materialize thus far.
5. If the perception of sharing common values grows stronger, a security region may well develop into a security community in the long term. On the other hand, a “security complex,” referring to the “interdependence of rivalry and shared interests” (Buzan 1991: 190) among a group of states, is a purely instrumental concept that does not permit consideration of perceptions, values, and identity themes.
6. For this reason, it seems unlikely that the EU’s current attempts to develop a common ESDP will considerably change the EU’s distinctive foreign policy identity, precisely because the EC/EU has been defining itself through the particular traits of a civilian power over the last decades.
7. The EU publications *Euromed*, *Euromed Special Feature* and *Euromed Synopsis* are available at <[http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/med\\_mideast/euro\\_med\\_partnership/euromed\\_info.htm](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/med_mideast/euro_med_partnership/euromed_info.htm)>, last accessed throughout February 2005.
8. MEDA differs from previous bilateral financial protocols in not having fixed country allocations. The priority of specific areas of cooperation is agreed between the EU and each Mediterranean partner for a period of three years,

and may be reviewed on a yearly basis. MEDA provides two types of financial assistance, the first one supporting economic transition, and the second covering the social and cultural sphere. Furthermore, MEDA allows financial support for regional projects, which are undertaken by at least two EU member states and two EMP partners.

9. Tunisia concluded the negotiations on a new bilateral agreement in June 1995, Israel in September 1995, and Morocco in November 1995.
10. The agreement with Tunisia already entered into force in 1998, the agreement with both Morocco and Israel in 2000, and the interim agreement with the PLO in 1997. The agreement with Egypt was signed in June 2001 and entered into force in 2004. Lebanon has signed a Euro-Mediterranean Association agreement in June 2002, and an interim agreement has been in force since 2003. The EU's negotiations with Algeria were concluded in December 2001, but the agreement is not yet in force. Syria concluded the negotiations only in 2004. Turkey's economic relations with the EU, on the other hand, are regulated through a customs union agreement of which the last phase entered into force in 1995.
11. Updated information and official figures related to the EMP are available at [http://europa.eu.int/comm/external\\_relations/euromed](http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/euromed), last accessed February 10, 2005.
12. The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, commonly called Oslo II, was signed on September 28, 1995 in Washington.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

1. However, some realist scholars disagree with the orthodox systemic view of neo-realism. For example, Barry Buzan (1991: 96–107) treats the degree of socio-political cohesion as a variable affecting foreign-policy outcome. Other scholars shifted their focus of attention on perceptions (and misperceptions) in foreign-policy making from the mid-1970s onwards (Jervis 1976; Vertzberger 1990).
2. The Oxford Dictionary of Science defines positivism as the “philosophy of Comte, holding that the highest or only form of knowledge is the description of sensory phenomena. Comte held that there were three stages of human belief: the theological, the metaphysical, and finally the Positive, so-called because it confined itself to what is positively known, avoiding all speculation” (Blackburn 1994: 294).
3. During the “Third Debate,” however, mainstream IR theory did not take the propositions of critical theory all too serious. One reason was that the critique was not backed up by conceptual elaborations and empirical research. Moreover, at that time, the Soviet Union and the cold war still existed, which apparently spared mainstream IR scholarship the test of theory verification and predictability. Some scholars even argued that the “Third Debate” was actually no debate at all (Kubáľková et al. 1998a: 13).
4. In fact, the advent of positivism marked the end of the traditional philosophy of knowledge and cognition. In contrast to previous philosophers, such as Kant and Hegel, positivism did not ask about the conditions of cognition, but rather

defined them through the achievements of science and empirical research. With it, the *subject* of cognition was no longer problematized, and a neat distinction between subject and object was stipulated (Habermas 1994: 88–92).

5. In the words of Martin Hollis (1994: 49), generalizations “are projected forwards for purposes of prediction and backwards for purposes of explanation.”
6. However, some constructivist scholars (Wendt 1999; Searle 1995; Dessler 1999) maintain that a subjective (or intersubjective) ontology is compatible with an objective (or positivist) epistemology. Yet in light of our discussion, this position is not fully convincing.
7. The early defenders of pragmatism, however, were still under the spell of positivism (Habermas 1994: 116–143). Pragmatism as used in the present context relies on later developments within this school of thought that includes a departure from positivism.
8. However, the assumption of liberal theory that identities are constant and intrinsic, along with liberalism’s negligence of the state-level in its analyses, is rejected.
9. This study will not deal with personal identity, which designates the intrinsic and deeply rooted qualities of an actor’s individuality, and which is prior to social interaction.
10. In fact, the concept of the “nation-state” is as fictive as the concept of “nation” itself. The classical “nation-states,” such as France and England, were not really constituted by a culturally homogeneous “nation” (Llobera 1993; Anderson 1991). Until the present, true “nation-states” are extremely rare.
11. Factors that potentially trigger a rather peaceful *transformation* of state identities have been identified by different authors (Barnett 1996, 1999; Gross-Stein 1999; Berger 1996; Kowert and Legro 1996; Wendt 1999), although not systematically.

### 3 Historical Background and Regional Perspective

1. The various agreements notably differed from each other. Unlimited association agreements were signed with Greece (1961) and Turkey (1963), suggesting future EC membership. Limited association agreements were signed with Tunisia and Morocco in 1969, Malta (1970) and Cyprus (1972). Nonpreferential trade agreements were signed with Israel (1964), Lebanon (1965), and Yugoslavia (1970). A preferential agreement (i.e. involving unilateral trade concessions) was signed with Egypt (1972). The second agreement with Israel (1970) involved reciprocal trade concessions, comparable to the agreement signed with Spain in 1970 (Grilli 1993: chapter 5).
2. In this period, cooperation agreements were signed with Israel in 1975; Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia in 1976; Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria in 1977; and Yugoslavia in 1980.
3. In 1979, after four meetings, the Euro-Arab Dialogue was suspended upon request of the League of Arab States. Egypt’s return to the Arab League permitted

- the reopening of the dialogue in December 1989, followed by a conference in June 1990. In the meantime, the dialogue has once more been suspended.
4. Syria requested a full Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights to the June 4, 1967 borders, while Israel insisted on Syria's prior commitment to full normalization of relations, security arrangements, and open borders. It is not clear whether Rabin had in principle agreed to a full withdrawal in exchange for a "full peace" with Syria, as the Syrian chief negotiator in the peace talks with Israel, Walid Al-Moualem (1997), maintains.
  5. In the aftermath of the strong earthquake that hit Turkey in August 1999, the international community, and particularly Greece, provided material assistance and support. Turkey reciprocated when an earthquake struck Greece a couple of months later. The "seismic diplomacy" laid the foundations for the improvement of relations between the two countries.
  6. Written correspondence with the First Secretary of the EU Delegation to Algeria, June 18, 2001.
  7. Written correspondence with the First Secretary of the EU Delegation to Algeria, June 18, 2001.
  8. Interview with senior EU officials, April 2001.
  9. Interview with senior EU officials, April 2001.
  10. Interviews with Israeli Finance Ministry and Foreign Ministry officials, January 2001.
  11. Egypt witnessed public protests in 1977, 1981, and 1986; Jordan in 1988; Morocco in the early 1980s and at the end of the 1990s; Tunisia in 1983, 1984, and 1988; and Algeria in 1988. Libya witnessed significant unrest throughout the 1990s, particularly after the UN imposed economic sanctions in 1992 due to the Libyan involvement in international terrorism.
  12. In the early 1980s, oil prices rose to approximately U.S.-\$ 40 per barrel, plunged to below 10 U.S.-\$ a barrel from 1982 on, and stabilized around U.S.-\$ 18 at the end of the 1980s (Sela 1998: 218).
  13. Before the first multiparty elections were held, several new electoral codes were passed, which were manipulative and aimed at ensuring the victory of the ruling party FLN (*Front de Libération Nationale*). However, the Islamist FIS won the elections. The army called for the president's resignation, which followed suit, the Constitutional Council headed by General Nezzar took power, and the country was put under martial law (Zoubir 1999c).

## 4 Israel

1. For an earlier and much shorter version of this chapter see Del Sarto 2003, see also Del Sarto 2006.
2. A minority of secular Zionists, most notably Herzl himself, supported the founding of Israel in Uganda, but during the 1903 Zionist Congress, Palestine became the focus of Zionist aspirations.
3. The most important narratives are the Maccabees' revolt against the Macedonian rulers of Syria, Bar Kochva's revolt against the Romans, and the collective suicide at Massada as expression of resistance against the Romans.

In the 1920 battle of Tel Hai, the Jewish settlement defended itself against Palestinian aggressors.

4. The Maccabees could not resist the Greek rulers in the long run; Bar Kochva actually lost the war against the Romans; and after the collective suicide, Massada fell to the Romans. As for Tel Hai, the Jewish settlers lost the battle.
5. Israel's immigration law (the 1950 "Law of Return" and its 1971 amendment) grants Israeli citizenship to any Jewish immigrant interested in receiving it, as well as to his or her spouse, children, grandchildren and the spouses of the latter. Converts can also receive Israeli citizenship, along with their spouses.
6. The pattern of conflict is commemorated in the official holiday cycle in form of nonchronological historic events. Thus, "Hanukka commemorates the Maccabean revolt against the oppression of the Greeks . . . , Purim revolves around the threat to the Jews of Persia, Passover marks the Jews' liberation from bondage in Egypt, and Israel's Independence Day commemorates the war against Arab forces. Fast days and memorial days further reinforce this emphasis on conflicts: Tish'a be-Av relates to the destruction of the First and Second Temples by the Babylonians and Romans, respectively . . . and the Holocaust and Heroism Remembrance Day commemorates the Nazi atrocities" (Zerubavel 1995: 219).
7. The terms "Jewish state" and "state of the Jews" are often used as synonyms. However, a "state of the Jews" may be secular and democratic, in which the majority of its inhabitants are Jewish. But the concept of a "Jewish state" implies the institutionalization of Jewish religion, and may thus contradict secular and democratic values. Moreover, in a "Jewish state," the definition of the state depends on the religious definition of Jewishness, thus putting religious authority over secular state authority (Evron 1995). Finally, a "Jewish state" entails the preferential treatment of the Jewish collective over non-Jewish citizens (Kimmerling 1993; Smootha 1993). Israel's immigration law that encourages Jewish immigration from all over the world, but does not grant the same rights to non-Jewish Israeli citizens is a concrete case in point.
8. However, some groups among "the Arabs" became Israel's allies, such as the Druze inside the Green Line, who fought on Israel's side and are being drafted into the Israeli Army until present. Yet this does not mean that they are considered as full members of the "we-group."
9. While criticism of Israeli policy sometimes has anti-Semitic undertones, not every criticism of Israel is necessarily anti-Semitic. Generally speaking, a far greater sensitivity to the difference between criticism of Israel's policy (which may or may not be justified) and anti-Semitic arguments would be beneficial to both Israel and its critics.
10. Of course there have always been Jewish communities in Palestine through the ages, but the majority of Jews did not—and still does not—live in this area.
11. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics of Israel (2004, Table 2.1), the breakdown of Israel's average population of 6.748 million according to religion gives the following approximate figures: 76.5% Jewish, 15.9% Muslim, 2.1% Christian (subdivided into 1.7% "Arab Christians" and 0.4% "Other Christians"), and 1.6% Druze. The remaining 3.8% of the average population are not classified by religion. The breakdown according to "population

- groups” states that “Jews and others” (including Jews, non-Arab Christians and unclassified) account for 80.7% and the “Arab population” for 19.3% of Israel’s total population.
12. An independent commission of inquiry (the so-called Or Commission) subsequently criticized the police’s inappropriate use of force in the October riots (*Ha’aretz* August 22, 2001: 3).
  13. In a 1988 survey, 74% of the Jewish respondents said that the state should prefer Jews to Arabs, and 43% supported the denial of the right to vote to Israeli Arab citizens. 45% unconditionally supported a state policy encouraging Arab Israelis to leave the country, 37% had reservations, and 23% objected to such a policy (Smootha 1993).
  14. Israel’s withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula in the framework of the 1979 peace treaty with Egypt under Begin did not contradict the concept of *Eretz Israel*, since Sinai is not part of “biblical Israel.”
  15. According to a 1995 survey of 1200 Jewish and Arab Israelis conducted by the University of Haifa, 81% of the Arab respondents supported the option of a bi-national state including full autonomy for Arab Israelis (while 91% of Jewish respondents disagreed). 40% of the Arab respondents agreed with the dominance of an Israeli identity if they could retain secondary identities (95% of the Jewish respondents disagreed). Interestingly, 65% of the Arab respondents agreed with a Jewish democracy, provided that the state gives them limited autonomy and full individual equality. Moreover, 31% of the Arab respondents favored the establishment of a Palestinian state in all of Palestine according to *shari’a* law (Ghanem 1997: 59–61).
  16. Secular *Eretz Israel* supporters roughly comprised the *Likud*, the National Union, and *Israel Beiteinu*, a smaller ultra-nationalistic party representing Russian immigrants. Together, they held 27 out of 120 seats in the 15th Knesset. Supporters of *Medinat Israel* comprised Labour/One Israel with 26 seats, *Meretz* with 10 seats, (the now defunct) Center Party and *Shinui* (now in decline) with six seats each, and the two seats of a trade union-affiliated party.
  17. *Israel B’Aliyah* merged with the *Likud* in 2003.
  18. Interview with a senior official of the EU Delegation to Israel, February 14, 2001.
  19. Discussions with Israeli Finance Ministry officials, January 30, 2001.
  20. Discussions with Israeli Finance Ministry officials, January 30, 2001.
  21. The diagonal cumulation of origin rules among two countries permits the processing of products in the first country, for which materials originating in the second country are used, and vice versa. The final product would still be considered as originating in the country of production and thus enjoy duty-free access to the EU.
  22. Discussions with Israeli Foreign Ministry officials, January 31, 2001 and May 30, 2001.
  23. Discussions with Israeli Foreign Ministry officials, January 31, 2001, May 30, 2001, and June 13, 2001.
  24. Discussion with Israeli Foreign Ministry officials, May 30, 2001, and June 13, 2001.
  25. Discussions with Israeli Finance Ministry officials, January 30, 2001.

26. The Foreign Minister portfolio has mostly been occupied by politicians of either the *Likud* or the Labour Party, and rarely of smaller secular parties that split from the latter. The religious parties never held this portfolio. The Arab parties were always excluded from government, and thus never held any portfolio at all.
27. I owe this observation to Sharon Lev.

## 5 Egypt

1. In the chapter on Egypt, the transcription of Arabic names follows the Egyptian pronunciation, i.e., *Gumburiya* instead of *Jumburiya*, *Gamal* instead of *Jamal*, etc. For the names of persons and places, this and the following chapters employ the spelling which is most common in the English-language literature (e.g. Nasser instead of Nasir or Nasr).
2. The name derives from the Egyptian delegation that traveled to Paris to request Egypt's independence at the Versailles conference after World War I.
3. The *Salafi* reformist movement (or *Salafiyya*), which emerged in the late nineteenth century, advocated a purification of Islam from allegedly heretic elements, and called for social justice and the solidarity of the Muslim community of believers. Although the movement was originally sympathetic to modernity, it strictly opposed the extensive influence of the "West" in Muslim countries.
4. Initiated by Britain and the United States, the Baghdad Pact aimed at providing NATO a basis in the Middle East in the context of cold-war politics. Eventually, Iraq was the only Middle Eastern country that entered the Pact.
5. Britain, the United States, the IBDR and, separately, the USSR had offered loans to finance the planned Aswan High Dam, Egypt's largest development project at that time. In July 1956, the Western powers redrew their offer because of Nasser's strong opposition against the planned Baghdad Pact. A week later, Nasser announced that the British-French Suez Canal Company had been nationalized and that revenues from the Canal would serve to finance the High Dam.
6. At present, Egypt's Copts are estimated at between 6 and 10 million in the literature, precise figures are not available. As Ajami (1999: 203) notes, "[t]he demographic weight of the Copts is one of the great riddles of Egypt."
7. Referring to the October 1973 war, the expression *tishreen*—the Arabic name for the months October and November—acquired a positive meaning. While numerous public buildings, streets and places in Egypt are named *tishreen*, a national holiday celebrates the Egyptian "victory" until the present. Similarly, the regime, such as Mubarak's chief political advisor Osama El-Baz (1998), regularly stresses the importance of the October War for Egypt's pride and development.
8. New parties must differ from existing parties, while parties based on region, class, or religion are forbidden. Insufficient difference from existing parties is the most common reason for refusing recognition.
9. In 2001 a military court sentenced Ibrahim to seven years of hard labor on the charges of defaming Egypt, accepting foreign funding without government approval, and embezzling funds. Ibrahim had infuriated the regime with

- remarks on the discrimination of the Copts, electoral fraud, and the question of Mubarak's succession (Weaver 2001). The Court of Cassation annulled the verdict on procedural grounds, but a retrial confirmed it at the end of July 2002. Eventually, Said Eddin was released from jail, but he is forbidden to leave the country.
10. Nour, a former *Wafd* member, is accused of having forged signatures. His party *Al-Ghad* was admitted in November 2004 following a court ruling, after the recognition had been denied three times. In the parliamentary elections of November–December 2005, *Al-Ghad* obtained only one seat. In the presidential elections of September 2005, Nour gained 7.6% of the votes, thus coming in second after Mubarak.
  11. *Al-bizb at-tagammu' al-watani at-taqaddumi al-wahdi*, or National-Progressive Unionist Party, comprises Nasserists and Marxists, and Left-leaning moderate Islamist (Ramsès 1997).
  12. In addition to the Islamists, the Catholic Pope, along with the leader of Egypt's Coptic Church, opposed the provisions on abortion and other gender-related issues.
  13. *Hisba*, an ambiguous principle of *shari'a* law from the ninth century permits Muslims to sue if they believe that Islam is being harmed. Following the conviction, Abu Zayd and his wife preferred to leave the country for the Netherlands.
  14. It is telling that *Al-Ghad's* former party secretary, Mona Makram-Ebeid, is a Coptic woman.
  15. The main sources of Egypt's foreign aid was first "the West," then the USSR, then the Gulf monarchies (and in particularly Saudi Arabia), and after Camp David, the United States (Dessouki 1991).
  16. Egypt's macro-economic indicators considerably improved during the 1990s, following the cancellation of nearly two thirds of Egypt's foreign debts after the 1991 Gulf War. Moreover, IMF-sponsored reforms triggered an investment boom and the repatriation of an estimated U.S.-\$ 60 billion in foreign savings of Egyptians. Hence, the World Bank reclassified Egypt as a middle-income developing country with a per capita income of \$1,500. However, Egypt continues to be "crowded and poor," as *The Economist* (January 5, 2001) has put it, with unofficial unemployment rates at 20%, poverty, large income gaps, and a scarce education system. Moreover, corruption and economic mismanagement cast doubts on the reliability of official economic data. Thus, it is widely believed that the government figures on Egypt's economic growth in 2001 and 2002 were over-optimistic since they did not consider the global recession of these years (Siddiqi 2000; UNDP 2003).
  17. Interview with former Egyptian government official, July 17, 2002.
  18. Interview with Egyptian diplomat, September 18, 2002.
  19. Interview with Egyptian diplomats, July 17–18, 2002.
  20. Egypt became the largest recipient of MEDA funds. EU concessions in agriculture particularly regard Egyptian exports of new potatoes, flowers, peas, beans, and oranges. However, the off-season quota of new potatoes is much higher than Egypt's actual production, so that, paradoxically, Egypt will start cultivating potatoes for exporting them to the EU (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* March 21, 2000).



21. Interview with EU officials, February 14, 2001.
22. The strong presence of Egyptian nationals among the *Al-Qaeda* leadership includes one of the primary organizers of the 9/11 attacks, Mohammed Atta, and two top leaders of *Al-Qaeda*, Mohammed Atef and Ayman Al-Zawahiri, an exile leader of the Egyptian *Gihad*.
23. In June 2005, Egypt and Israel signed a long-delayed U.S.-\$ 2.5 billion agreement on sales of Egyptian natural gas to Israel (*Ha'aretz* June 30, 2005).
24. Interview with Egyptian diplomat, September 20, 2002.
25. Interview with Egyptian diplomats, September 18, 2002 and July 17, 2002.
26. Interview with Egyptian diplomat, September 20, 2002.
27. In Arabic, the term for "Mediterranean" in the sense of "Mediterranean Sea" is as *al-bahar al-abyad al-mutawassat* (the "White Middle Sea"), while the adjective "Mediterranean" is usually translated as *mutawassat* ("middle"). These terms do of course not convey the same romantic image as in English or French.
28. Discussion with former Egyptian government official, July 17, 2002; interview with Egyptian diplomats, 18 and September 20, 2002; discussions with Egyptian journalist and several businessmen, throughout October 2000.

## 6 Morocco

1. When Morocco became a French protectorate in 1912 (parts of the countryside stayed outside of French and Spanish colonial control until 1933), neighboring Algeria had been a French colony for more than eight decades and Tunisia for more than three.
2. The sayings of God in the Qur'an and those of his messenger Mohammed are believed to be the ultimate source of *baraka*. The concept of *baraka* is also embedded in the veneration of saints, which was and remains an important aspect of the *Sufi* tradition of Moroccan Islam.
3. Morocco thus notably differs from the Egyptian case, where the king sided with the British colonialists. This fact deprived the Egyptian king of his legitimacy in the eyes of the population.
4. The Lower House of Representatives, *Majlis an-Nuwab*, comprises 325 representatives that are directly elected for a five-year term. The Upper House, *Majlis al-Mustasharin*, comprises 270 deputies, which are indirectly elected by leaders of regional and municipal councils and professional groups.
5. The word *makhzan* derives from the verb *khazana*, which means to store up goods, money, and supplies, and thus conveys the image of the state as a storage of treasures and benefits.
6. If not indicated otherwise, this and the following translations of the official speeches from the French are the author's translations.
7. Moroccan NGO activists in discussions with the author, Rabat, 4–5 December 2004.
8. In the 2002 elections, the major pro-royal parties lost seats. Thus, the RNI gained 41 seats and the parties that make up the explicitly pro-royal alliance *Wifaq* only 55 (out of a total of 325).

9. In the 1997 elections, the *Istiqlal* won only 10% of parliamentary seats, partly due to the Palace's intervention.
10. The USFP held 60 seats in parliament between 1997 and 2002, and is now represented with 50 seats.
11. Moroccan NGO activists in discussions with the author, Rabat, 4–5 December 2004.
12. *Le Journal / As-Sabifa* reappeared shortly afterwards, whereas the imprisoned editor-in-chief of *Demain*, Ali Mrabet, was only released in 2004.
13. The document was initially available at the Sheikh's website at <<http://www.yassineonline.net>>, but was then taken off the Internet.
14. Under Hassan II, the mosques were closed except for prayer time, since the Islamists had used them for political propaganda.
15. U.S.–Moroccan relations at least date back to World War II. With the help of the sultan, and later King Mohammed V, American troops landed on the coast of Morocco in November 1942 in order to prevent that Morocco, most of it already controlled by Vichy France, would fall to Nazi Germany. From the mid-1970s, the United States became the most important source of weapon supply for the Moroccan army, followed by France (Pennell 2000: 259–345).
16. The agricultural products of importance to Morocco were covered by the CAP and they were thus granted tariff preferences that reflected the self-sufficiency ratio prevailing in the EC (Grilli 1993: 194–195).
17. According to Lister (1997: 91), Brussels treated the 1984 application “as a joke, much to the mortification of the Moroccans.” On Morocco's 1987 application, she remarks that officials in Brussels did not know whether “to laugh or cry.”
18. The first financial protocol (1978–1981) granted ECU 130 million in grants and loans, the second protocol (1982–1986) ECU 199 million, the third (1987–1991) ECU 324 million, and the fourth (1992–1995) ECU 472 million (Grilli 1993: 196; Damis 1998: 94).
19. The fisheries dispute concerns the livelihood of some 30,000 people working in fishing and fish processing industries in Spain, Portugal, and the Canary Islands. Under the former agreement, European fishing fleets could catch 82,000 tons of fish in Moroccan territorial waters a year, for which Morocco yearly received U.S.-\$ 135 million. Rabat claimed that this agreement was signed before Morocco developed its own fishing industry. In addition, Morocco accused the European fleets of over-fishing (*The Economist* September 9, 1995: 47–48).
20. These provisions take into account the sensitiveness of the respective products for Morocco's economy that will gradually be exposed to EU competition. According to the complex annex to the agreement, trade barriers that are eliminated within 3 years apply to approximately 900 and 300 items respectively. According to Annex 4, approximately 800 items are subject to the elimination of customs duties within 12 years. Annex 6 lists the exceptions to these rules, which apply to approximately 30 items (Commission 1995b).
21. In 1999–2000, Morocco had a population of 28.7 million, a GDP per capita of U.S.-\$ 1,180, and an external debt of 48 % of GDP. The unemployment rate was 21.7%, 20% of the population live under the poverty line, and the

- illiteracy rate is at 52% of the population (and 80% among rural women). The Human Development Index (HDI) ranks Morocco on place 112 among 174 countries (Commission 2001).
22. Written correspondence with Moroccan foreign ministry official, May 8, 2002.
  23. Egypt also claims to be the mentor of the sub-regional Agadir process which involves Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and Jordan.
  24. Spain and Morocco signed a bilateral agreement in July 2001 on the regulation of legal Moroccan workforce, which also establishes a Spanish-Moroccan commission in charge of setting annual quota for the hiring of Moroccan workers, depending on the demand in Spain. Similarly, the agreement regulates the labor rights of Moroccan workers.
  25. According to Moroccan official figures, the area of cannabis cultivation grew from 11,500 hectares in 1986 to 50,000 hectares in 1997 and to 134,000 hectares in 2003 (*The Economist* August 10, 2000: 40; UNODC 2003: 5).
  26. Written correspondence with Moroccan foreign ministry official, May 18, 2002.
  27. In the meantime, the Ministry of Prevision and Economic Planning has been integrated into the Ministry of Finances and Privatization.
  28. Written correspondence with Moroccan foreign ministry official, April 20, 2002.
  29. Interestingly, in the French version of the official speeches, the term *espace* is used more often than the term *region*. Designating both “area” and “space,” the image conveyed by the term *espace* thus goes beyond territory and geography.
  30. In the original French text, Mohammed VI (2001c) stated: “*Pour les Occidentaux, le Maroc, c’est l’Orient, pour les Orientaux, le Maroc, c’est l’Occident. Nous sommes la zone tampon, le sas. Nous sommes un véritable buvard.*”
  31. Discussion with Moroccan diplomats and journalists, Paris July 18, 2002 and Brussels, September 19, 2002.
  32. Written correspondence with Moroccan foreign ministry official, April 8, 2002.
  33. In 1970, the Polisario Front declared the independence of the Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara, which was admitted to the Organization of African States (OAS) in 1985. As a result, Morocco left the OAS.
  34. This moderation has a long history. Mohammed V for instance refused to apply the racial discrimination of the Vichy regime to Moroccan Jews. Yet after his death, and in view of the persisting Arab–Israeli conflict, the situation of Morocco’s Jews became more uncertain, and many left to Israel or France. From the late 1970s on, Hassan II adopted a “pro-Jewish” policy, and invited emigrated Moroccan Jews to return (Malka 1978). A few Jewish Moroccans played, and still play, an important political role in Morocco, such as the financial advisor to the king, André Azoulay, or Abraham Serfaty, the former exiled dissident, who was appointed advisor to the state hydrocarbon authority after his return to Morocco in the late 1990s.
  35. For instance, in December 2001 the USFP’s publication *Al-Ittihad al-Ishtiraki* named the late Palestinian president Yasser Arafat “man of the year.”
  36. Moroccan diplomats in discussions with the author, Paris July 18, 2002.

37. A similar argument can be made for Michail Gorbatchev's dramatic reform process under the banner of *Glasnost* and *Perestroijka* that eventually led to the end of the Soviet Union—and of his own political career.
38. In 1992, women's groups collected a million signatures for reforming the family code in order to abolish the validity of *shari'a* law regarding marriage, divorce, polygamy, and heritage, which clearly put women at a disadvantage. Some minor changes were made over the years, but due to a large domestic resistance, the reform was on hold until 2003.
39. Moroccan NGO activists in discussions with the author, Rabat, 4–5 December 2004.

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# Index

(Page numbers in *italics* indicate figures.)

- 4 + 5 Dialogue, 59  
5 + 5 Dialogue, 59  
9/11, 4, 9, 231–232, 235, 243  
  Egypt and, 142, 159, 166, 170  
  Euro-Mediterranean relations and  
    the EMP since, 71–73  
  international relations and,  
    17–20, 84  
  Israel and, 126–129  
  Morocco and, 188, 197, 202,  
    205, 210, 216–217  
  regional security and, 27–28  
  “war on terror” and, 81–82
- Abbas, Mahmoud. *See* Abu Mazen  
Abu Mazen, 63–64  
Abu Zayd, Nasr Hamid, 145,  
  149–150, 242  
ACRS (Arms Control and Regional  
  Security), 60, 137  
  *See also* Madrid peace process  
Agadir Declaration, 65, 70, 169,  
  197, 203, 206  
Agadir Process. *See* Agadir  
  Declaration  
Ajami, Fouad, 22–23, 62, 75, 78,  
  134, 136–138, 143, 145, 151,  
  163, 168, 212, 241  
AKP, 22, 79  
*Al-Abram Weekly*, 66, 137, 147, 151,  
  155–158, 162–165, 167, 170–171  
Alaoui, Mohamed Ben El Hassan.  
  *See* King Mohammed VI
- Al-Ashmawy, Mohammed Said, 22,  
  148–149  
Al-Banna’, Hassan, 137, 143  
Al-Baz, Osama, 157, 165  
Algeria  
  CSCM and, 59–60  
  EU and, 17, 199  
  Morocco and, 181–182, 188, 194,  
    203, 206–207, 218  
  Oslo peace process and, 62  
  political reform and, 19–20,  
    67–68, 74, 76, 170  
  regional relations, 227,  
    235–238, 243  
  UMA initiative and, 64–65  
*Al-Ghad* party, 141, 144, 147, 149,  
  170–171  
Al-Fassi, Abbas, 184, 212, 215  
Al-Jabri, Mohammed ‘Abed, 145,  
  171, 186–188, 213–214, 216  
Al-Qaeda, 81, 147, 159  
Al-Sadawi, Nawal, 145  
*Amazigh*, 182, 186  
  *See also* Berbers  
Anna Lindh Foundation, 17, 71  
Arab–Israeli conflict, 10, 14, 20, 62,  
  64, 96, 119, 131, 153, 169,  
  174, 192, 207–208, 226  
Arab–Israeli peace process, 30, 82  
  *See also* Madrid peace process;  
  ACRS  
  *See also* Oslo peace process;  
  Oslo accords

- Arab Mediterranean states  
 domestic politics, 73–82  
 Islamism and, 75–78  
 political liberalization efforts,  
 73–75
- Arafat, Yasser, 62–63, 75, 77,  
 113, 231
- Arms Control and Regional Security.  
*See* ACRS
- Ashkenazim*, 93, 101–102, 124
- Avineri, Shlomo, 92, 94, 97, 101, 118
- Baghdad Pact, 133
- Baker, James, 207
- Barak, Ehud, 63, 99, 104, 119, 121  
*baraka*, 178–179, 189, 243
- Barcelona Conference, 9, 60, 107,  
 154, 195
- Barcelona Process, 1–2, 4, 11,  
 14–17, 19, 28, 60, 65–66,  
 68–69, 82–83, 105, 107–108,  
 111, 113, 117, 124, 155, 172,  
 196, 200, 205, 222–224, 227  
*See also* EMP
- Basri, Driss, 182
- Bassim, Wafa'a, 157
- Bayoumi, Gamal, 158
- Begin, Menachem, 90, 94–95, 97
- Beilin, Yossi, 121
- Belarbi, Aïcha, 198, 201
- Benaïssa, Mohamed, 68, 70, 196,  
 198–199, 204
- Ben-Ami, Shlomo, 119–121
- Ben-Barka, Mehdi, 182, 184
- Ben-Gurion, David, 89–90
- Benikrane, Abdelillah, 209, 214
- Berbers, 76, 81, 179, 182–183, 187,  
 189  
*See also* *Amazigh*
- Berlusconi, Silvio, 3, 166
- Bloom, William, 24, 44–46, 51
- Bourguiba, Habib, 74
- Bourqia, Rahma, 178, 182
- Bush, George W., 3, 34, 42, 72, 210
- Camp David accords, 58, 136–137,  
 150, 152, 161, 163–164, 168
- Campbell, David, 24, 34, 47
- censorship, 78, 145, 170
- Chekrouni, Nouzha, 205
- Chirac, Jacques, 209, 217
- cold war, 3, 10–11, 21, 23, 25, 27,  
 29–30, 34, 56, 64, 66, 153,  
 191, 236  
 Mediterranean politics after,  
 59–61  
 collective identities, 43–45, 53
- Common Agricultural Policy (CAP),  
 193–194
- Common Foreign and Security  
 Policy (CFSP), 60
- Conference on Security and  
 Co-operation in Europe. *See* CSCE  
*See also* Helsinki Final Act
- Conference on Security and  
 Co-operation in the  
 Mediterranean. *See* CSCM
- constructivism, 31, 33–34, 38–41,  
 53, 222, 229–230, 237
- contested state identities, 48–52  
 alleviating factors and, 50, 52  
 foreign policy, regional security,  
 and, 50–52  
 “triggering” developments and,  
 49, 52  
 variables affecting, 48–50
- critical theory, 34, 236
- CSCE (Conference on Security and  
 Co-operation in Europe), 10,  
 21, 56, 59
- CSCM (Conference on Security and  
 Co-operation in the  
 Mediterranean), 59–60  
 4 + 5 Dialogue, 59  
 5 + 5 Dialogue, 59
- Cyprus, 19, 64, 69, 117, 160
- Delors, Jacques, 201
- De Michelis, Gianni, 59



- democratization, 18, 20, 68, 70, 74,  
 107, 111–12, 118, 159–161,  
 172, 174, 211–214, 227  
*See also* reform, political
- Dessouki, Ali Hillal, 135–137, 150, 152
- domestic identity conflicts, 3, 25–27,  
 49–52, 54, 87, 102, 114, 126,  
 129, 145, 150, 163, 174–175,  
 177, 224–225, 227–228, 231
- domestic politics  
 Arab Mediterranean states, 73–82  
 Israel, 78–79  
 Turkey, 79–80
- Durkheim, Emile, 43–44
- Eban, Abba, 90–91
- EC (European Community), 10, 13,  
 52, 55–59, 66, 105–106, 119,  
 152–153, 193–194, 201  
*See also* EU
- economic liberalization, 20, 68, 74,  
 79, 135, 137, 166, 170.  
*See also* *infitah* policy
- Egypt  
 domestic reforms, 169–172  
 economic policies, 147–148  
 EMP and, 161–172  
 EU and, 165–167  
 independence movement, 132–133  
 institutional factors and identity,  
 139–142  
 as Islamic state, 148–151  
 Islamization of, 144–145  
 Israel and, 161–165  
 launching of EMP and, 153–155  
 Mubarak era, 136–138  
 Nasser era, 133–134  
 pan-Arabism and, 138–139  
 “place in the region,” 167–169  
 politics and, 142–144  
 regional relations, 137–139,  
 167–169  
 relations with Europe, 151–153,  
 155–160  
 Sadat era, 134–136  
 state identity of, 131–151  
*umma, qawm*, and “Egypt first”,  
 146–147  
 “Egypt first”, 135, 146–147, 150,  
 153, 163, 166
- EIB (European Investment Bank),  
 12, 18, 58, 197
- EMP (Euro-Mediterranean  
 Partnership)  
 approach to Mediterranean  
 security, 10–20  
 cold war era, 55–56  
 Egypt and, 161–172
- Euro-Mediterranean Association  
 Agreements, 16, 67, 70, 108,  
 157, 195
- EU and, 66–73: post-9/11, 71–73  
 “identity manipulation” and,  
 5, 46, 52, 115, 129, 150,  
 161, 233
- Israel and, 105–113  
 launching of, 107–108
- MEDA (*Mesures  
 d’accompagnement*), 16, 18,  
 68, 157, 159, 195, 197–199,  
 202, 235–236, 242
- MEDA II, 18
- Morocco and, 195–200,  
 216–217  
 post-cold war era, 59–61  
 security region, 2, 13, 25, 31, 40,  
 51, 82, 129, 221, 223,  
 230–232, 235
- setbacks, 20–23: *See also*  
 Barcelona Process
- ENP. *See* European Neighbourhood  
 Policy
- Entelis, John, 177, 179, 183–184,  
 186, 189, 191
- Eretz Israel*, 90, 94, 96–97, 100,  
 102–105, 116–117, 123
- Erdogan, Recep Tayyip, 79
- Essen Declaration, 106, 108

- EU (European Union)  
 and EMP partners, 66–73:  
   post-9/11, 71–73  
 Egypt and, 165–167  
 ENP, 4, 9, 16, 19, 61, 221, 232  
 ESDP, 112, 157  
 Israel and, 108–112, 119–123  
 Mediterranean policy, 10, 13, 17,  
   25, 55–56, 60, 72–73, 109,  
   111, 152, 194, 203  
 Morocco and, 192–195, 196–200,  
   208–210, 216–217  
 normative power and the EMP,  
   15–17  
*See also* EC
- EU Commission, 10, 17–18, 60, 71,  
 111, 159–60, 168, 195, 201
- Euro-Arab Dialogue, 57, 59, 237
- Euro-Mediterranean Association  
 Agreements, 16, 67, 70, 108,  
 157, 195
- Euro-Mediterranean Partnership.  
*See* EMP
- EuroMeSCo (Euro-Mediterranean  
 Study Commission), 17, 65, 109
- European Community. *See* EC
- European Investment Bank. *See* EIB
- European Neighbourhood Policy  
 (ENP), 4, 9, 16, 19, 61, 221, 232
- European Union. *See* EU
- Ezrahi, Yaron, 80, 89
- Foda, Farrag, 143, 145
- fragmentation, domestic, 9, 22, 33,  
 51, 80–83, 191, 228
- free trade, 11–12, 16–17, 57, 65, 68,  
 70, 105–106, 108, 111, 158,  
 193, 195, 197
- Gaza, withdrawal from, 61, 94–95,  
 99, 104, 127, 161, 225
- Ghessous, Azeddine, 193
- Gibran, Khalil, 145
- Global Mediterranean Policy.  
*See* GMP
- globalization, 2, 11, 23, 81, 117
- GMP (Global Mediterranean  
 Policy), 57–58, 152
- Goweili, Ahmad, 158, 165
- Greater Middle East Initiative, 21
- Greece, 19, 56, 58, 64, 69, 237–238
- Gulf War, 59, 63, 137, 185, 192,  
 242
- Haidar, Haidar, 145
- Hamas*, 64, 77
- Hammoudi, Abdallah, 178–179,  
 181, 213
- Hanna, Milad, 168, 171
- Hassan II. *See* King Hassan II
- Helsinki Final Act, 56  
*See also* CSCE
- Herzl, Theodor, 89
- Hizballah*, 75, 77
- Holocaust, 87–90, 92, 121,  
 128, 222
- human-rights issues, 11–12, 16–19,  
 67–69, 75, 78, 110, 113, 118,  
 123, 127, 141, 154, 159, 161,  
 171, 181, 189, 199, 209  
*See also* democratization;  
 women's rights
- Huntington, Samuel, 3, 19
- Husayn, Taha, 167–168
- Hussain, 'Adel, 148
- Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, 159–160
- Ikbwan al-Muslimun*. *See* Muslim  
 Brotherhood
- infithab* policy, 74, 135, 138, 140,  
 144, 147–148, 150, 164, 167,  
 170, 174  
*See also* economic liberalization
- international law, 12, 15, 110, 127
- International Monetary Fund (IMF),  
 73, 140, 185, 194
- international relations theory  
 constructivist approach, 33–34  
 contested foundations of, 35–39  
 critical theory, 34

- culture, identity, and, 34–35  
 liberal approach, 31–32  
 liberal constructivism, 222  
 neo-liberalism, 30–32, 34  
 positivism, 34–35, 37–40, 53,  
 236–237  
 realism and neo-realism, 29–32, 34  
 pragmatism, and, 38–39  
 scientific realism, and, 36–37
- Intifada*, 3–4, 9, 63–65, 67, 72, 74, 78,  
 91, 94–95, 104, 106, 114,  
 126–128, 137–138, 151, 161,  
 164, 167, 173, 207–208, 210, 225
- Iran, 58, 81, 185, 231
- Iraq, 3, 21, 58–59, 72, 210, 232, 241
- Islamism, 3, 11, 19, 22–23,  
 71–72, 75–77, 79, 81, 83, 101,  
 142–145, 147–151, 188–192,  
 213–217
- Israel  
 9/11 and, 126–127  
 contested state identity of,  
 87–105: EMP and,  
 114–116  
 domestic policies, 78–79  
 EMP, and, 105–113  
*Eretz Israel*, 90, 94, 96–97, 100,  
 102–105, 116–117, 123  
 EU and, 87, 105, 107, 111, 114,  
 117, 119–123, 127, 129  
 “Europeanist” foreign policy, 119,  
 122  
 Holocaust, 87–90, 92, 121, 128,  
 222  
*Medinat Israel*, 96, 99, 103, 122  
*Medinat kol ezraheih*, 100  
 “place in the region”, 116–119  
 political parties, 97–99, 100–105  
 quest for unity, 123–26  
 religion, role of, 97–99  
 relations to EU, 119–123  
 regional relations, 113–122  
 Zionism, 87–89, 91–100, 102–103,  
 115, 124, 128, 133–135,  
 146–147, 163, 192, 222
- Istiqlal*, 184, 187, 190–191, 212,  
 214–216
- Jabotinsky, Zeev, 92
- Jettou, Driss, 191
- jihad*, 77, 149, 208, 211
- Jordan  
 domestic politics, 74, 77, 80  
 EMP and, 65, 70  
 EU and, 66–67  
 Israel and, 62, 63, 91, 111, 137
- Justice and Development Party.  
*See* PJD
- Karim, Khalil ‘Abd-el, 148
- Katzenstein, Peter, 24, 28, 34, 45
- Keohane, Robert, 30–31, 34
- Kimmerling, Baruch, 22, 78, 89,  
 93–94, 101, 125
- King Hassan II, 178, 180–183, 185,  
 189, 201, 204–207, 209, 212
- King Hussein, 62, 137
- King Mohammed V, 179, 181
- King Mohammed VI, 70, 74,  
 182–183, 190–191, 196,  
 199–211, 215–216, 228
- Kurds, 19, 23, 64, 78–81
- Laffan, Brigid, 50, 124
- Labour party (Israel), 88–90, 92–94,  
 99, 102–104, 117, 119–122
- Lebanon, 63, 65–66, 75, 77–78, 80,  
 91, 105, 107, 109, 156
- Lebanon War, 95
- Levy, David, 119
- liberal IR theory, 31–32  
 objections to, 32
- Libya, 19–20, 56, 59, 62, 64–65, 74,  
 76–77, 146, 235, 238
- Likud* party, 94, 97, 102–104, 117,  
 119–121, 123
- Madrid peace process, 10, 21,  
 59–62, 106–107, 137–138, 153  
*See also* Arab–Israeli peace process

- Maghreb countries, 21, 58, 60, 65–66, 81, 107, 152–153, 178, 183, 194, 198, 201, 204–206, 227
- Maher, Ahmed, 155–156
- Mahfuz, Naguib, 143, 164
- Manners, Ian, 15
- Martín-Muñoz, Gema, 75–76, 149, 182, 185, 187
- Mashreq countries, 58, 60, 152
- MEDA (*Mesures d'accompagnement*), 16, 18, 68, 157, 159, 195, 197–199, 202, 235–236, 242
- MEDA II, 18
- Mediterranean Action Plan (MAP), 56
- MENA (Middle East and North Africa) conferences, 154
- Mernissi, Fatima, 187
- Misr al-fattah*, 143
- Mizrabim*, 93, 101–102
- Moratinos, Miguel Ángel, 106, 120
- Moravcsik, Andrew, 24, 31–32
- Morgenthau, Hans, 30
- Morocco
- Arab–Israeli conflict and, 192, 207–208
  - cannabis production, 200–201
  - consensus, 182–192
  - domestic politics, 210–213
  - EMP and, 195–200, 216–217
  - EU and, 192–95, 196–200, 208–210, 216–217
  - foreign policy, 200–203
  - historical background, 178–179
  - Islam and, 215–216
  - “place in the region”, 204–206
  - political parties, 186–190
  - reform process, 181–182
  - regional relations, 206–208
  - royalty and identity, 182–183
  - state identity of, 177–192
  - symbolic politics, 179–181
  - tradition vs. modernity, 213–215
  - United States and, 210
- Moussa, Amr, 67, 70, 138, 154–158, 169
- Mubarak, Gamal, 138
- Mubarak, Hosni, 62, 77, 132, 136–143, 145, 150–151, 153–155, 159, 162, 165, 168, 172–173, 225–226, 228
- Munson, Henry, 178, 181, 184
- Mursi, Mohammed, 170
- Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan al-Muslimun*), 77, 134, 140–141, 143–144, 148, 164
- Nasser, Gamal ‘Abd-el, 131–140, 143–144, 150, 152, 173–174, 225
- Nasserists, 134, 136–138, 140, 144, 146–148, 163–164, 166, 174
- NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 2, 56, 60, 241
- National-Democratic Party. *See* NDP
- NDP (National-Democratic Party), 138–142, 144, 149, 163, 168, 171, 181
- neo-liberalism, 30–32, 34
- neo-realism, 30–31, 37, 236
- Netanyahu, Binyamin, 62–63, 67, 97, 104, 110, 120–122, 125–126, 161
- Neturei Kharta*, 96
- NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), 68, 109, 123, 140, 186–187, 197, 217
- Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), 62, 137, 155
- Nour, Ayman, 141–142, 172
- Öcalan, Abdallah, 64
- October War, 57, 91, 94, 135–136, 241
- See also* Yom Kippur/October War
- Ohana, David, 124

- OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), 56
- Oslo accords, 18, 60–63, 78, 95, 104–107, 112, 119, 128, 154, 156, 164, 174, 236
- Oslo peace process. *See* Arab–Israeli peace process; Oslo accords
- Oz, Amos, 124
- Özal, Turgut, 79
- Palestine Liberation Organization. *See* PLO
- Palestinian Authority (PA), 61, 63, 67, 72, 75, 77
- pan-Arabism, 23, 81, 132–135, 138–139, 143–144, 146
- Peres, Shimon, 71, 83, 104, 106–107, 116–117, 119–121, 123, 126, 129, 153, 162–163, 192
- Peri, Zohar, 111
- PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), 18, 61, 63, 75, 91, 105, 113, 236
- Parti de la Justice et du Développement*. *See* PJD
- Patten, Chris, 11, 16, 61, 72, 196
- PJD (*Parti de la Justice et du Développement*, Justice and Development Party), 188, 190–191, 209–210, 214, 216
- PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), 64
- Polisario Front, 181, 207
- See also* Western Sahara
- positivism, 34–35, 37–40, 53, 236–237
- Powell, Colin, 210
- Prodi, Romano, 17
- Putnam, Hilary, 37
- qawm*, 132–133, 146, 150, 166
- Rabin, Itzhak, 59, 62, 78, 89, 91, 95, 98–99, 104, 106–107, 115–116, 121, 125, 129, 231
- realism, 29–32, 34, 36–39
- reform, economic. *See* economic liberalization; *infitah* policy
- reform, political, 20, 67, 69, 74, 77, 82, 160, 170–172, 174, 181, 185, 196, 202, 211, 213–214, 216, 221, 227, 233
- See also* democratization
- region-building, EMP and, 1–4, 9–10, 12–16, 21, 24–26, 40, 53, 55, 87, 113, 127–129, 131, 175, 221–222, 226, 229–233, 235
- regional hegemony, 133–134, 138, 146, 154, 223–224
- religious fundamentalism, 11, 25, 58, 64, 77, 81, 143, 214, 235
- Ruggie, John, 33–35, 46
- Sadat, Anwar, 132, 134–137, 139–140, 143, 147, 150, 152, 163–164, 166–167, 173–174, 225
- Sadiki, Larbi, 22, 73, 185
- Said, Mohammed El-Sayed, 171
- Said, Rif'at, 151
- Salafi* tradition, 133, 184, 186–187, 189, 214, 216
- Salamé, Ghassam, 58, 74, 81, 138
- scientific realism, 36–37
- Searle, John, 35–36, 237
- security, Mediterranean, 1, 3, 10, 12, 14–15, 20, 55–56, 59, 61, 82, 129, 223, 230–131
- security region, 2, 13, 25, 31, 40, 51, 82, 129, 221, 223, 230–232, 235
- Seda, Hafez Abu, 141, 172
- Sela, Avraham, 23, 73, 81, 134, 136–137, 139, 144, 154, 163
- Selim, Mohammed El-Sayed, 18, 60, 66, 152–153, 155, 157–158, 166, 169
- Serfaty, Abraham, 182, 207
- Shamir, Itzhak, 91, 104, 106, 122

- shari'a*, 135, 138, 143–144,  
148–149, 171, 180, 214, 216
- sharifian* rule, 178, 180, 181
- Sharon, Ariel, 63, 67, 79, 90, 97,  
104–105, 110, 120–122, 126–127
- Shas* party, 98, 102–104
- Sherif, Muzafer, 44–46, 50
- Shinui* party, 100, 102
- Shoukri, Ibrahim, 168
- Six-Day War, 91
- socialism, 22, 75–76, 88–89, 124,  
133, 135, 139, 143–144,  
147–148, 151, 166–167,  
173–174, 184, 187–189
- Solana, Javier, 120, 196
- Southern Mediterranean states  
domestic politics, 73–82  
relations among, 61–66: outside  
EMP, 65–66; within EMP,  
61–65
- Spain, 19, 56, 58–60, 72, 193–195,  
199, 201, 237, 244–245
- Springborn, Robert, 136–137,  
142–144, 148
- state identities  
between nations and international  
politics, 45–48  
collective identities and, 43–45  
contested, 48–52  
definition of, 42–43  
foreign policy, and, 47–48, 50–52  
intervening variables, 48–50  
functions of, 47–48, 48  
liberal-constructivist approach to,  
39–43  
regional security, and, 50–52
- Suez Canal, 132–133
- suicide bombings, 3, 63, 126  
*See also* terrorism
- Sunnis, 79–80
- Syria  
domestic politics, 74–76, 80  
Egypt and, 134, 145, 156  
EMP and, 17, 19, 65–66  
EU and, 68
- Israel and, 91, 107, 109  
regional relations, 59, 62–66
- Tagammu'*, 142–144, 146–149, 151,  
163–164, 166
- Tantawi, Sheikh Mohammed  
Sayed, 161
- terrorism, 3, 221, 231, 233  
effects on peace process, 62, 64  
Egypt and, 142–143, 147, 159, 166  
EMP and, 18–20, 71–72  
Islamist movements and, 76–77,  
81–82  
Israel and, 95, 126–128  
Morocco and, 199, 202, 210, 215  
war against, 12  
*See also* Al-Qaeda; *Hamas*
- Tovias, Alfred, 11, 18, 20, 57–58,  
67, 102, 118, 193
- Tozy, Mohamed, 178–180, 186,  
188–190, 211, 214
- Tunisia  
domestic politics, 74–76, 80  
EC and, 56, 58–60  
EMP and, 16  
Morocco and, 193, 195, 197  
regional relations, 62–66
- Turkey  
AKP, 22, 79  
domestic policies, 79–81, 83  
EMP and, 66  
EU and, 68–69, 160  
Islamism and, 22–23  
Israel and, 19, 62–64, 111,  
117–118  
PKK, 64
- UMA (Arab Maghreb Union), 21,  
64–65, 203, 206
- umma*, 133, 146–147, 150, 160, 166
- United Nations (UN), 64–65, 91–93,  
110, 207
- United Nations Environment  
Programme (UNEP), 56
- United States, 3, 83, 232–233

- Egypt and, 137–138, 146–47,  
150, 152–153, 160,  
166, 173
- EU and, 15
- foreign policy and, 33, 35
- Greater Middle East Initiative  
and, 21
- Gulf War and, 59
- invasion of Iraq, 72–73
- Israel and, 87, 97, 106–108, 117,  
120, 127
- Morocco and, 185, 192, 201,  
207, 210
- USFP (*Union Socialiste des Forces  
Populaires*), 187, 189–191,  
212, 215–216
- Venice Declaration, 105
- Wafd*, 132, 143–144, 147–148,  
150, 162–164, 166–167,  
171
- Wali, Yusuf, 164
- Waltz, Kenneth, 30, 32
- watan*, 132, 138
- Weber, Max, 38–39
- Weidenfeld, Werner, 101, 118
- Weissbrod, Lili, 23, 78, 88,  
93, 117
- Western Sahara, 64–65, 180–181,  
188, 206–207, 218, 227  
*See also* Polisario Front
- Wendt, Alexander, 26, 33–35,  
41–43, 45, 47, 237
- WEU (West European Union), 60
- WMDs (weapons of mass  
destruction), 11–12, 18,  
58, 138
- women's rights, 144, 149, 182,  
187, 214  
*See also* democratization;  
human-rights issues
- World Bank, 185
- Yassine, Abdessalam, 207, 209,  
214–215
- Yassine, Nadia, 185, 189
- Yom Kippur/October War, 57, 91,  
94, 105, 135–136
- Yousoufi, Abderahman, 74, 187,  
201–215, 207–210, 212
- Zaghlul, Sa'ad, 132, 137
- Zartman, I. William, 23, 138, 140,  
182, 184, 186, 192
- Zionism, 87–89, 91–94, 96–100,  
102–103, 115, 124, 128,  
133–135, 146–147, 163, 192, 222