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شبكة المعلومات الجامعية



شبكة المعلومات الجامعية

التوثيق الالكتروني والميكرو فيلم

جامعة عين شمس

التوثيق الالكتروني والميكرو فيلم

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بالرسالة صفحات
لم ترد بالأصل

Cairo University
Faculty of Economics and Political Science
Euro-Med Masters Program

**Political Reform As A Determinant
Of Foreign Policy**

European Foreign Policy Towards Egypt

**Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Masters Degree
In Political Science**

By

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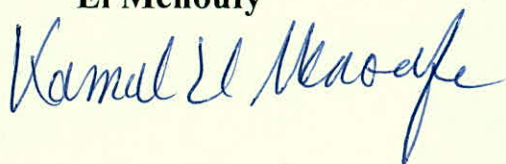
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Summary:

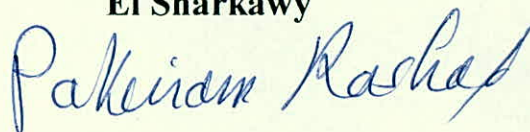
The study aims at exploring the European Union discourse on political reform in Egypt throughout the partnership that sprang from the Barcelona process (1995-2004) The European Union discourse has usually stressed concepts as human rights respect, civil society, good governance and rule of law as key shared values upon which cooperation is to be established, and even though the process of reform in Egypt has been sluggish, economic and security partnership ensued and developed, raising the question whether political reform is a determinant of European foreign policy towards the latter. The paper takes the objective of setting a model of analysis that contains the European institutional framework: the council, commission, parliament, member states and others together with the structure of the Euro-Egyptian partnership to test the driven hypotheses which state that the Euro-Egyptian partnership has been mainly concerned with inter-state cooperation in order to enhance Egyptian state capacity rather than committing the partnership to democratic forms of political reform, and this is attested to by the lack of conditionality in the course of relations between the two parties.

Signatories:

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Abstract

This study explores the European Union foreign policy discourse regarding political reform in Egypt aiming at testing the position of concepts as rule of law, good governance, civil society and human rights respect in the course of the Euro-Egyptian relation within the framework of the Barcelona process (1995-2005)

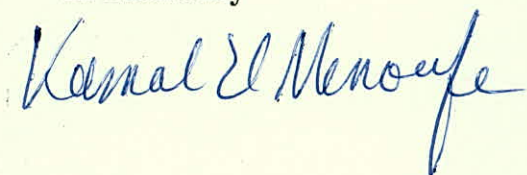
Several questions are raised concerning the role of inter-state cooperation in forming the European perspective regarding reform in Egypt, the economic and neo-liberal nature of the partnership as well as the emphasis put on the efficiency of state institutions versus democratic reform aiming eventually at answering the main question: Is Political reform a determinant of the EU foreign policy towards Egypt?

Key Words

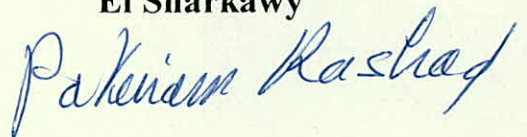
Foreign policy discourse
Discourse analysis
Centers of discourse production and (re) production
Barcelona Partnership
Civil society
Rule of law
Human rights respect
Good governance
Neo-liberal reforms

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
قَالُوا سُبْحَانَكَ لَا عِلْمَ لَنَا إِلَّا مَا عَلَّمْتَنَا إِنَّكَ
أَنْتَ الْعَلِيمُ الْحَكِيمُ

صدق الله العظيم

سورة البقرة - الآية (٣١)

To Father and Family

Preface

After nearly 10 years of the launching of the Barcelona process as a framework of comprehensive cooperation between the EU and southern Mediterranean partners, a general review and evaluation is required to be furnished. This humble paper is among the first academic endeavors that aim at evaluating and analyzing the European foreign policy discourse on political reform in Egypt. It comes within the context of intensive political fluidity in the internal synchronizing with increasing international demands raised by international powers, trade partners, and donors among which the European Union and its member states lay.

The study tends to explore the core concepts that formulate the European foreign policy discourse on political reform in Egypt (1995-2005) such as human rights respect, good governance, rule of law and civil society empowerment adopting a threefold analytical levels model: the conceptual, the policy formulation and the implementation ones. We attempt to scope and analyze the major paradoxes and contradiction that dominate the process of discourse production and (re)production availing us the probability of following the lines of continuation and points of rupture in the European discourse on reform.

The whole work is a tentative to analyze the European position on political reform vis-à-vis Egypt. Thus, despite its preliminary nature, it can constitute a threshold of further comprehensive efforts to be introduced into the Egyptian academia.

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Introduction and Conceptual framework

The Barcelona declaration launched a comprehensive process of cooperation including political, security, economic and cultural aspects between Europe and southern Mediterranean countries, among the objectives of which is the promotion of democratization through enhancing civil society freedom, rule of law and good governance aiming to establish a democratic neighborhood that could curb extremism and fight illegal migration. Within this framework, complex relations have been developing between Egypt and the European Union politically, economically and culturally that took the form of several agreements which tackled topics of political transition and democratic reform like the Egyptian-EU association agreement (went into effect in 2004) together with a set of initiatives and processes as MEDA I (1996-2000) and MEDA II (2001-2006), the Wider Europe initiative (2003), the New Neighborhood Policy (2004), the Franco-German initiative (2004) in addition to the European participation in the Greater Middle East declaration with the USA.

In analysis of the European discourse on political reform in Egypt (1995-2005) we can observe the following:

- 1- As a process, the Barcelona declaration took a technical approach providing convenient socio-economic conditions for democratic transition, while supporting the civil society from beneath the state. On the background, the European side sought democratic partners and fearing, at the same time, the alternation of autocratic regimes by Islamist fundamentalist ones through democratic procedures as in the case of Algeria (1989-1992). Besides, Europe tried to foster the Arab-Israeli settlement through a parallel track to the American fostered peace process.
- 2- After September 11th attacks, Europe started partly reformulating its position towards political reform in Egypt amongst other Arab countries, as security and democracy became increasingly intertwined. And in this context, the wider Europe Initiative stressed reform, human rights and democracy in a more vigorous way. This implied a new tendency of pressuring political regimes to introduce more tangible reforms and measures, the tendency attested to by the European contribution in the Greater Middle East initiative in June 2004 within the framework of the G-8, which raises questions about the likelihood of promoting tangible reform measures through the traditional European channels of inter-state dialogue, technical and economic cooperation.

The significance of studying the Euro-Egyptian partnership and the European rhetoric on political reform in the latter is attested to by several points: Firstly: The Euro-Egyptian process of cooperation is a clear example of North-South eco-political arrangement which is to have a profound impact on the internal process of transition through tools of trade, aid, investment inflows and conditionality. Secondly: The European interest in accommodating political and economic transition in Egypt, as in other Arab countries, raises the question of the role of international actors mainly donors and creditors in promoting democratic