The Arab vision versus the European vision for security in the western Mediterranean

الرؤية العربية في مقابل الرؤية الأوروبية للأمن في غرب حوض المتوسط

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Abstract:

This article aims to shed light on the Arab vision of security in the western Mediterranean in contrast to the European vision, as the study relied on several indicators in the comparison process that relied on the perspectives of terrorism, immigration, and crime versus democracy, freedom, and development

Key words: Arab vision, European vision, security, Western Mediterranean.

Introduction:

After the end of the Cold War, security risks became more complex and intertwined, especially those that do not represent a direct threat to the entity of the state (asymmetric threats), which are threats that come through the inequality of power, for example between a state and a terrorist organization, so that the state uses the means of regular military force. At the same time, the second party depends on the method of guerrilla warfare. However, it undermines some of the sovereign characteristics of the state, reduces its ability to control the penetration of its borders, and increases its instability. In terms of the input of threats and interests, on the other hand, as an apparent response to the repercussions of the new security situation, the latter has formed a European awareness of the seriousness of the asymmetric pattern of the threats of the new era, which requires seeking to develop the necessary structures and mechanisms to deal with the new risks beyond its objectives merely deterring or destroying the threat, to Dealing with it in order to modify the terms of the interaction to become more positive.(1)

For the Europeans, the end of the Cold War did not put an end to the dangers that could threaten the security of Europe, despite the decrease in the possibilities of its exposure to the threat of large-scale conventional wars, as new dangers appeared that required confronting them to formulate a new security perspective. The end of the Cold War also did not end the roles of

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NATO. As a security organization in the first place, it reviewed its roles in response to the political changes taking place as the scope of the European Union's membership expanded to include countries in Eastern Europe. The military threats coming from the continent's east changed from the "front line" to the south, increasing the importance of the position occupied by the Mediterranean. In the strategy of building European security, from this perspective, the Alliance has sought since 1994 to establish the Mediterranean Dialogue as a mechanism for cooperation with the countries of the southern shores of the Mediterranean in the security field(2)

On the other side of the equation, the countries of the southern shores of the Mediterranean are trying to present themselves as a partner in the path of building security in the Mediterranean basin. They see in the course of security cooperation between the two sides an opportunity for joint action through which they work to change the stereotypical view of them as a source of threats and dangers in their various forms and an opportunity to gain experience and obtain Technical assistance for the modernization of defense capabilities (3). This reality raises a question based on the extent to which both the European and Arab visions of the security premises in the Western Mediterranean coincide or collide, and this is what we are trying to find an answer to in the following parts, as well as referring to a future vision for security in the Mediterranean basin.

1- The European perspective on security in the western Mediterranean

Europe believes its security and stability are closely linked to the stability and security of the Mediterranean basin. Therefore, it does not want to turn a blind eye to anything that happens in the region, especially if it is related to the security and progress of its societies. In short, it does not want to be overtaken by events and developments but instead wants to control all small and large and directs them according to its will to serve its interests.(4)

The European concept of security is complex as it is not limited to achieving stability and peace but also includes an interest in other issues such as partnership, armament, diplomatic crisis management, conflict reduction, peaceful dispute resolution, combating terrorism, organized crime, and drugs (5). if the Western European countries believe in the hypothesis that the greater the cycle of underdevelopment and poverty in southern societies, the more they produce instability and violence for us to export to them. Changing the existing situation to a new one in which European countries may lose many of the traditional advantages they acquire from the existing situation.(6)

Based on the previous, the European vision of the security situation in the Mediterranean includes the following risks:

1.1- International Terrorism:

International terrorism represents a new type of terrorism that belongs to the third generation in the development of the terrorist phenomenon, which was initiated with what Europe knew in the late 19th century in the form of waves of extremist nationalist violence, then what swept Europe, Latin America, and the Arab region to varying degrees during the seventies and the past eighties as a second pattern in the development of the terrorist phenomenon. As for the third pattern, it appeared at the beginning of the nineties of the last century. The southern

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Mediterranean region is considered a fertile ground for what is known as "international terrorism," as this region was one of the first areas affected by it for a whole decade (7). The events of September 11, 2001, constituted a qualitative leap in the pattern of international terrorism, especially regarding its indication of the upward trend in the scope and scale of terrorist operations and their destructive effects. The idea of acquiring weapons of mass destruction is attractive for such terrorist organizations, and the Mediterranean region appears among the targets most targeted by them, given its economic weight and strategic location. I come (8).

1.2- Illegal immigration:

Today, the human movement is characterized by a series of technical, cultural, and social complexities, which interact with each other to form the new European security concern. Statistics indicate that about 42% of irregular migrants travel from Africa, the Sahel, and the Sahara through Algeria to the northern bank of the Mediterranean. The statistics also indicate that About 24,000 immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa arrive in Europe annually through the Algerian and Moroccan coasts towards the Italian city of Sicily and from there to other European countries.

This enormous flow of migration from the south of the Mediterranean to the north threatens the value system of the countries of the diaspora. It even threatens the future the superiority of the number of those who profess Islam over those who convert to Christianity in those countries, so the French newspaper "Le Figaro" appeared in it an article entitled "Will we be French in 2025" "Serons-nous Français en 2025" presenting the image of a French woman wearing the veil (9), in addition to the popularization of some terms such as L'invasion or Le Retour des barbares (10).

1.3- Failed states:

The more advanced countries are no longer the only actors threatening the security and stability of the Mediterranean basin, as they were during the Cold War period. However, this time the weakest and backward countries that suffer from turmoil in various fields have become an active factor in threatening the stability of many regions of the world, including the Mediterranean, so that it is possible to monitor the essential threats embodied by these failed states in illegal mass migration and organized crimes, in addition to separatist wars, all of which push thousands of displaced persons, migrants, and refugees to migrate towards safer areas, which increases the instability of those areas (11).

1.4- Stalled political reform and lack of respect for human rights:

The issue of political reform in the countries of the southern Mediterranean basin is a fundamental issue for the European side, which accuses the Arab Mediterranean countries of lacking the political will to achieve the required reform, which led to an increase in violence and terrorism rates in general and its spread to some European countries such as Spain and Britain France, in particular.

Hence, by adopting new strategies, the European countries seek to convince the southern bank's countries of their determination to help them so that they do not ask for the help of other countries from outside the region. Problems concern the peoples and countries of this region alone, and these strategies can be translated into the following dimensions:(12)

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1 .Orientation to link European security with Mediterranean security, whether for the countries of the southern Mediterranean or the countries of the Arab Mashreq.

2 .The European Union seeks to include Arab countries in NATO to increase strategic ties, especially within the Greater Middle East Project (Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain).

3 .The European Union seeks to expand the circle of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership by concluding more agreements to link European interests with those of the region.

4 .The insistence on finding a European role alongside the American role in the region, especially in the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflict.(13)

5 .Interest in strengthening political dialogue between the two shores of the Mediterranean and providing all available information on all suspicious activities and clandestine migration to reduce the risk of spreading terrorism and clandestine migration.(14)

6 .The necessity of imitating the West in their political and economic system is to keep religion away from politics because they consider the Islamic religion a significant reason for the spread of terrorism.(15) .

We conclude from these European strategies in the southern Mediterranean region several points as follows(16) :

✓ Europe is intensely interested in the region, its problems, and its challenges. It wants to control the turbulent conditions in the region so that it does not turn into chaos that negatively affects stability in the northern Mediterranean.

✓ It considers the various problems and disturbances the region knows, as its economic and social cause can be controlled with only a regional effort (it does not want other countries outside the region to have a prominent role in its events).

✓ It prefers diplomatic and political solutions (soft means) instead of other means, such as war, because Europe does not prefer complex tools.

✓ Europe believes that the countries of the southern bank still do not have much confidence in their intentions, especially after the accession of most of the eastern European countries to the European Union, where the most significant interest of the European Union countries is focused on how to develop and rehabilitate the economic system of these countries so that it becomes in line with the standards in force within the Union and thus does not It becomes a heavy burden on the rest of the members. This new interest in these countries came at the expense of the countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean.

✓ The lived reality confirms that these European strategies remain limited in effectiveness, as the region is still turbulent and the challenges of poverty and underdevelopment prevail in most countries of the South, as well as the two phenomena of terrorism, and clandestine immigration still threaten the security and stability of all countries in the region.

Accordingly, the pillars of the European security vision in the Mediterranean basin can be summarized in the following elements:

A- Common European Law:*

The European Union is a unique political and economic partnership among most democratic European countries. It aims at peace, prosperity, and freedom for its 500 million citizens in a more equitable and secure world. Treaties signed between member states are the

primary source of legislation for the European Union. These treaties define the European Union's basic policies and establish its institutions' structure. Among the main treaties is the Treaty of Rome of the European Economic Community (1957), the Single European Law (1986), the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the Amsterdam Treaty (1997), and the Lisbon Treaty (2007). It is noted that the Single European Law promulgated in 1986 determined the institutions and formulas of the decision for European political cooperation within the framework of the European General Security Policy, thus perpetuating a new tradition that departs to some extent from previous diplomatic practices as was the case in the text of the Treaty of the European Community. In this regard, we find that the radical amendments introduced by the Common European Law to the Treaty of Rome led to the expansion of the European Community and the multiplicity of its developmental, cultural, and political activities(17) .

It is known that the countries of southwestern Europe are the primary victims of security threats in the Mediterranean basin. Here the importance of the common European law in the European security vision for security in the western Mediterranean is evident in that it was able to unify European security orientations towards threats and share the burdens posed by these threats.

It is noted that there is a close relationship between the typical European law and the European security policy by emphasizing the need to develop a standard European foreign policy, calling for a commitment to the exchange of information and consultation between member states in order to ensure that their influence is used in the most effective ways, through consultation, unifying positions and carrying out joint operations. The law also established the institutional basis for this cooperation through the Council of Foreign Ministers and the European Commission about political issues.

B- Geopolitical Effects:

The Mediterranean region represents an essential strategic bet due to its critical maritime features (field, mobility, flexibility of use) and the distinctive advantage of a unique location at the intersection points of three continents, namely Asia, Africa, and Europe, as well as the intersection of the north-south axis, and as a link point between the Atlantic and Indian oceans. Moreover, it is the birthplace of three monotheistic religions.

From here, the American researcher Morton Kaplan said that the future of global politics would depend at least in the next decade and possibly in the next generation on the development of the region surrounding the Mediterranean basin. The southeastern quadrant possesses vast sources of energy whose permanent and continuous flow is imperative for the economies and prosperity of Western countries(18) :

The end of the political colonization of the countries of the Maghreb - (Morocco and Tunisia in 1956 and then Algeria in 1962) - did not mean the end of economic hegemony, especially since European economic interests, especially French, were and still are primarily permeated in vital sectors such as banking, transport, mines, and foreign trade. Moreover, agricultural and real estate activity is how France sought to place any future cooperation with any of the Maghreb countries within a broader framework that includes the European Common Market as a whole, and it has received a response to this since the early sixties of the last century, especially from Morocco and Tunisia. Moreover, all of this will culminate in the signing of the first two "Association" agreements with Morocco and Tunisia in 1969, which stipulated the opening of the two countries' markets for the European product and the export of agricultural and industrial products from the two countries to the European market. The two agreements had a limited validity in terms of time, as they expired in 1974. At that time, the European Common

Market began negotiations with the two countries again, as well as with Algeria, which ended with the signing of cooperation agreements "Coopération" separately with each of the three countries in 1976. These agreements focused on cooperation in regional economic and social development(19)

Although these agreements were not limited in time, since the mid-eighties, they have not lived up to what the Arab Maghreb countries aspire to, especially Morocco and Tunisia, whose agricultural exports were subjected to varying damage due to competition in products - mainly agricultural - Spanish and Portuguese after the two countries entered the market in 1986. Although negotiations continued, and despite the signing of some agreements in specific areas, cooperation between the two regions continued to be subject to the 1976 agreements until the mid-1990s, when new agreements were signed that pushed commercial relations to higher levels.

It is noted that European investments rose during the nineties when part of the European debts was converted into investments. Adequate guarantees for the European Investment Bank to grant loans to the three countries based on their exploitation in the areas of development (infrastructure, industry, energy, transportation, and drinking water) (20), but the importance of these loans remains modest. Besides, several European business people are making investments in the fields of industry, but the size of these investments also remains limited. Bureaucratic barriers and the lack of facilities regarding tax fees, as well as the absence of democracy and the extension of fundamentalism in the three countries, are considered among the most significant obstacles that prevent the flow of European investments to the countries of the Maghreb. Arabic(21).

C - the economic factor

However, we can say that Europe is the number one customer in the Maghreb region, especially in the energy field. The result of cooperation between it and the countries of the Maghreb has achieved several results, most notably the European countries benefiting from raw materials in the countries of the Maghreb with the opening of new markets for European products, as well as the use of cheap labor in Europe, and the opening of new investments within the Maghreb countries(22) .

D- The impact of immigration and the political-religious context:

Europeans usually view the southern shore of the Mediterranean as not only a sectoral or fragmentary threat, but the region is treated as bearing comprehensive and complex threats. To clarify this trend in the perceptions of the European Union towards the threats that come from the southern shore of the Mediterranean, it is sufficient only to cite these two overlapping contexts, namely the migration context, as well as the political-religious context. The negative impact of migration, especially illegal immigration, on Euro-Mediterranean relations has been discussed without further discussion. The digression, therefore, we point out that in the political-religious context, Europe fears the phenomenon of political Islam and the role of extremist religious movements or the most radical political-religious movements, as it fears the expansion of the field of instability if the extension of the fundamentalist tide continues to neighboring countries, especially in the phenomenon of international terrorism continues to grow.

The stability of about more than six million Muslims in Europe, or about 3% of the total population of Europe, who work in the economic, cultural, and political fields, made the Europeans look at Islam as not only a religious representation but a political representation, and here lies the danger according to Their belief and sensing this danger, the Europeans call this political-religious context the name of Islamic "terrorism".

2- The Arab Perspective of Security in the Western Mediterranean

For years, the Mediterranean has been searching for a regional security structure. However, despite the presence of security organizations in the north and around the Mediterranean, there is no Mediterranean security structure in the true sense of the word, as the Middle Western space lacks a specialized organization, and this is due to the mutual mistrust between the Arab countries that transformed the Arab League and the Arab Maghreb Union into two systems It is ineffective and therefore various initiatives have been launched to fill this void in the field of security construction regionally in the Mediterranean.(23)

We can say that the Arab Mediterranean countries see that fundamental issues prevent the establishment of security in their regions, namely (24).

2.1- The Arab-Israeli conflict:

The Arab countries stress the principle of a peaceful settlement of all problems that threaten the security of the region, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian issue. Therefore, solving the Palestinian issue is a prerequisite for ensuring the security and stability of the region.

2.2- The Western Sahara issue:

It is a product of the Euro-Mediterranean geographical complexities, considering that it is a legacy of Spanish colonialism. It is a point of contention between Algeria and Morocco, as Algeria says that the issue of Western Sahara is an issue of decolonization. It must be resolved at the level of the United Nations, and that it is essentially committed to "the UN settlement scheme ratified by all Member States of the United Nations, including the Kingdom of Morocco", and that Algeria is with the Houston Agreement signed by the Polisario Front and the Kingdom of Morocco, seeking a final settlement of this issue by the UN scheme. Algeria adds that the issue of settling the Western Sahara issue has been on the table since 1965 at the United Nations, under the item of decolonization, and it is not a product of 1975, the date Morocco declared its right to it after the Spanish colonizer left it.

As the Kingdom of Morocco views Western Sahara as part of Moroccan territory and that European colonialism had carved it out of its lands. Therefore the Sahara belongs to Morocco, and Algeria has no right to support the demand of the Polisario Front to control Western Sahara, which Morocco considers an interference in its internal affairs.

2.3- Sovereignty over the cities of Ceuta and Melilla:

Spain considers the cities of Ceuta and Melilla to be Spanish cities, while Morocco claims them as two Moroccan regions not far from the shores of Morocco.

The Kingdom of Morocco currently refuses to recognize the legitimacy of the Spanish rule over the cities of Ceuta and Melilla and considers them an integral part of Moroccan territory. Its inhabitants of Moroccan origin enjoy full rights within Morocco as Moroccan citizens. Morocco calls on Spain to enter into direct negotiations with it; to get them back. It also considers them one of the last strongholds of colonialism in Africa. However, the United Nations has not classified the region among the occupied areas that must be liberated.

Despite Morocco's repeated demands during the reign of King Hassan II to recover Ceuta and Melilla within a negotiated framework, Spain continued to impose a fait accompli that culminated in 1995, granting the two cities autonomy as independent regions under Spanish sovereignty. Moreover, the visits of former Spanish King Juan Carlos to Ceuta constituted political signs of Madrid's adherence to its sovereignty over the two cities, which was met with official and widespread Moroccan condemnation.

What is noted in this regard is that Moroccan policy lacks a pressure mechanism, and the insufficiency of intellectuals and politicians in highlighting the objectives of Moroccan policy, as well as Morocco's preoccupation with the Sahara file, all of these issues led to the freezing of the file of the two cities. It should also be noted that the Moroccan position was defensive in the first place and did not. On the contrary, he was initiated as if he had no room for action due to the Spanish economic influence in Morocco, starting with the volume of trade exchanges, Spanish investments in Morocco, and foreign debt.

2.4- The danger of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the region:

The signing of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons by 172 countries indicates that this Treaty enjoys almost universal support today and that the international community attaches great importance to it, as any violation of the non-proliferation regime is considered a violation of international law, based on a declaration made by the President of the Council Security in 1992 considered that the proliferation of nuclear weapons constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Therefore, this declaration reinforces the prevailing belief that any violation of the principles of the Non-Proliferation Treaty constitutes a flagrant violation of international law.

Here, the danger of the Israeli nuclear monopoly emerges, which poses a blatant threat to all Arab countries, whether bordering the Mediterranean or not.

2.5- European policy towards the flow of migration waves to the European continent through the Mediterranean (26).

The Arab countries criticize the double policy of Europe, which opens the door to the immigration of Eastern Europeans and closes it to the citizens of the southern Mediterranean. The same vision also criticizes the Western media that plays an inciting role against Muslim immigrants and promotes the wrong mental image crystallized in the West about Islam and Muslims, which describes them as terrorism and religious extremism. At the same time, terrorism and extremism are not limited to a particular religion or state, as Western societies contain neo-Nazi movements and the extreme right, which are anti-immigrant movements, and Eastern Europe witnessed the worst forms of ethnic cleansing against Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina (27).

2.6- Stigmatizing Islamists as terrorism:

It is noteworthy that the prominent position of Western society after September 11, 2001, showed hostility to Islam and Muslims. First, that humanity can reach, and the rest of the world has nothing but to join it (28). The second is Samuel Huntington, the author of the theory of the

clash of civilizations, in which he sees that the clash of civilizations will be the primary source of conflicts in the new world order. This conflict will be limited to Western culture on the one hand and Islamic culture on the one hand. And Confucianism (in China and Korea), on the other hand. Accordingly, according to his conviction, these two cultures pose a threat to Western culture because they do not want or cannot join the West (29).

2.7- Imposing the Western democratic model:

On the other hand, some analysts believe that the issue of supporting democracy and political reform in the Arab Mediterranean countries is one of the priorities of these countries, which is what the European Union called for, starting with the Barcelona process and ending with the Union for the Mediterranean. However, their stumbling in these (Arab Mediterranean) countries came as a result of neglecting the fact that the real reform is the one that stems from the inside according to the privacy and culture of each people. In addition to the above, the call of the European Union to respect human rights did not enjoy credibility with the Arab peoples and governments in the Mediterranean countries. While the European Union talks about respect for human rights, it has not taken action to stop the Israeli violations against the Palestinians.(30)

In sum, the difference of views in the field of security between the countries on the two shores of the Mediterranean suggests that each of them has its own security culture, as the security culture of European countries has been affected by three factors (31) the first of which are: the strategy of nuclear deterrence, negotiations to limit arms in the era of the Cold War, and the experiences of the policy of reconciliation And the second: the Helsinki process, in which security plans were crystallized over three decades, and were formed to achieve comprehensive security and cooperation on the European continent, and the third: the formulation of national and multilateral policies to limit the increase in weapons of mass destruction in states and non-state actors who do not enjoy a rational consensus. So it should be in military strategy when deciding to resort to weapons of mass destruction.

The security culture of the Arab (Mediterranean) countries was founded on two points of view: the national view, which stresses the importance of Arab unity to achieve security, peace, and prosperity and to defend against any external aggression. Moreover, the security viewpoint, which is not enthusiastic too much about the goal of Arab unity, but at the same time focuses on the importance of establishing close Arab relations in the fields of economy and culture mainly because politics may have different requirements for each country, in addition to that the dominance of the Qatari discourse at present, which exalts the interests of the state over what was called in the past Arab interests.

Perhaps what confirms this is that the dominance of the Qatari discourse led to fundamental changes in the Arab security culture, and these changes took two main directions:(32)

The first trend: Arab countries such as Egypt and Jordan signed peace treaties with Israel, which is the most important qualitative change in the course of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The second trend: the alliance of almost all the Arab Gulf states with NATO by implementing the Istanbul Initiative, which was issued in 2004, which stipulated that the alliance

in its new form seeks to expand the scope of its work to lead the security process in the Arab world, not only that, but it also extended the scope of its attention to the process of political reform and democratization in the Arab world and its integration into the framework of the global economy.

Here it can be said that in the field of security culture in the West and the East, there are no permanent constants. Instead, changes can affect them and change their direction, wholly or partially, according to the changes that affect the structure of the global community and the regional system.

In conclusion, we can summarize the Arab and European visions of security in the Mediterranean through the following points(33) :

1 .Emphasizing that the security of the Mediterranean region is closely linked to European security and international peace and security.

2 .Work to remove all causes of tension in the region and find just and lasting solutions to the continuing problems in the region by peaceful means while respecting the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of all countries of the Mediterranean region and the right of peoples to self-determination, as well as total adherence to the principle of non-interference in any form, and non-interference The use or threat of force and the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by force by the Charter of the United Nations and its relevant resolutions.

3 .Transforming the Mediterranean region into a base for cooperation between its parties ensures peace, stability, and prosperity.

4 .Eliminating economic and social disparities in levels of development, with respect and more understanding between the different cultures in the Mediterranean region.

5. Encouraging the countries of the Mediterranean region to increase their cooperation in combating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, international crime, the transfer of illegal weapons, and the illegal production, consumption, and trade of drugs.

3- The future of security in the Western Mediterranean:

The security challenges experienced by the Mediterranean region transcend all borders as it affects the international arena. The horror that America has experienced since September 11, 2001, the manifestations of violence that many European countries have known, and what happened in Iraq and Afghanistan are all linked. Moreover, some have a direct relationship with the countries on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, and this means that the various parties need a great effort, a clear political vision, and an effective strategy in order to control the growing terrorism and the undesirable behavior that follows, and this is not an easy matter.(34)

In light of the dynamics that the Mediterranean region is known for and the overlapping behaviors of its countries in the north and south, we find ourselves in front of the multiplicity and complexity of future scenes, especially at a stage where three characteristics are most important(35) :

1 -Temporary: meaning that it is a phase that is not characterized by the length of time.

2 -Acceleration: meaning the succession of events very quickly and in a short time.

3 -Turbulence: where the confrontation rages between the forces defending the status quo and the forces of change.

In light of what has been mentioned, Europe has adopted three strategies to establish peace and security in the Mediterranean basin, which are (36):

3.1- Contributing to the stability of neighboring countries:

To build a security zone around Europe, through the role that Europe can play in resolving the conflicts of neighboring countries and helping with their stability, the countries of the Mediterranean basin must be stable in a way that the European Union can expand its cooperation relations with.

It is impossible to talk about a safe environment for Europe without finding a just and lasting solution to the conflict in the Middle East. Therefore, Europe seeks to contribute to efforts to revive the Middle East's peace process." The settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict is a strategic priority for Europe.

3.2- Strengthening the international system:

By emphasizing the need for a multilateral international system and building international institutions that work within international laws and legitimacy frameworks. It is also essential to work on encouraging the entry of new countries into critical institutions for the international system, such as the World Trade Organization, as well as respecting the Charter of the United Nations and strengthening the rule of law and respect for the rights of Human rights and the promotion of good governance are among the foundations that would support the international system according to the European conception.

3.3- Facing the dangers:

Which threatens security and stability in Europe and is characterized by being located outside the borders of the continent, which calls for movement in areas outside Europe to stand against them, or reduce them, as well as these dangers no longer have only military dimensions in a way that does not necessarily require reliance on military force, the current trend today It is that which is based on what is known as preventive solutions to contain the sources of the threat. Moreover, facing these challenges requires a multi-mechanism and working outside Europe with partners in the Mediterranean basin.

Regarding the possibility of implementing these three strategies, several scenarios are presented, the most important of which are the following(37) :

A) Common development scenario :

This scenario is based on the idea of joint development based on the idea of solidarity and overlapping interests between the European Union and the countries of the southern Mediterranean, as their economies are closely linked within the framework of what is known as the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, and it is a comprehensive and new project, different from the European Mediterranean policy of three Reasons, first: that the Europeans consider that they

have today a future strategic vision for the Mediterranean Basin based on the establishment of a free trade area, and second: that the financial budget allocated to this project is much larger than the financial aid that was in the past, and third: expanding the scope of cooperation to include new issues such as security and communications.

On the other hand, the Euro-Mediterranean track is the result of a set of fears arising from the security concern due to the deepening of differences between the two banks of the Mediterranean in all fields. At the same time, the geo-economic transformation (which resulted from the phenomenon of globalization of the economy that coincided with a vast technological revolution in the field of information and transportation) played a role. Therefore, he considered that the Euro-Mediterranean initiative came to remedy the European lag compared to the United States and Japan(38) .

b) The scenario of failure of security strategies in the Mediterranean Basin:

This scenario is a contradiction to the previous one. However, it remains based on several possibilities, the most important of which is the failure of the Barcelona process by the failure of the integration path between the two shores of the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the European conception of arms control in the Mediterranean region has excluded Israel from this field, as it enjoys an essential strategic position in the eastern sector of the Mediterranean, which indicates that the European Union, like the United States of America, was keen to maintain the Israeli military superiority, both quantitatively and qualitatively, over the Arab countries combined, which is what the latter rejects.(39)

c) directional scenario:

By the directional scenario, we mean "the continuation of the status quo and its optimism or pessimism, and with our focus on the security aspect of the relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean, it is not possible to drop a certain aspect of security threats such as illegal immigration, terrorism and organized crime according to the directional scenario," i.e., these threats in European security policy will remain As it is." Moreover, this is given the various European projects between the different national levels and the regional and regional administration within the framework of the policy of the external dimension. For this reason, the diagnosis of the phenomenon will remain practically limited to the security aspect in isolation from the rest of the economic, social, and political aspects. Therefore, with the exact mechanisms and capabilities that remain the same in the same security nature, The criminalization of these threats will remain a motif in European security discourses(40)

Conclusion:

After this presentation, it becomes clear that:

Ultimately, if we evaluate the course of the Euro-Maghreb partnership, and despite some of the achieved results, it did not live up to the aspirations of the Moroccan partners due to objective reasons, and this is the recognition of the European partners themselves. The goals of democracy and political dialogue have been lost due to a new world situation characterized by the globalization of violence. As well as at the level of economic cooperation and trade

exchange, they remained the same, and the Europeans held the countries of the Maghreb - and the southern Mediterranean in general - responsible on the pretext that these countries did not adopt the reforms required to attract investments and bring about the required level of growth. In contrast, the Moroccan countries defended themselves by not receiving sufficient aid from the Nordic countries to enable them to improve and develop their productive structures and support their economies.

So it can be said that the path of the Euro-Maghreb partnership was dominated by the European approach to the expanded concept of European security, in the absence of a Maghreb approach or even approaches stemming from an awareness of the Maghreb security reality in particular and the Mediterranean in general.

For this reason, the European Neighborhood Policy came as a strategy that provides solutions to new threats and risks by thinking of creating a safe, stable and prosperous space around the European Union by taking measures to eliminate the roots of political instability, economic fragility, institutional weakness, conflicts, poverty and marginalization at the level of the countries of the southern region of the sea basin The Mediterranean in order to create a safety belt in which Europe guarantees the safety of its borders, and at the same time creating a space of security, stability, and prosperity that has a primary reference represented in the European desire to transfer European standards through aid and work programs based on the principles of negative conditionality and positive conditionality, and he means negative conditionality. If the Maghreb countries do not make progress in political and economic reform, they will be deprived of the advantages and benefits they obtain. As for the positive conditionality, it is intended to maximize the benefits and incentives obtained by the Maghreb countries that are making progress in political and economic reform.

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