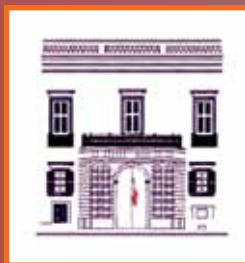


Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC)

Arraiolos Malta 2017 13th Meeting of the Heads of State of the Arraiolos Group



Med Agenda — Special Issue

MEDAC Publications in Mediterranean IR and Diplomacy

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Malta, December 2017

Med Agenda — Special Issue

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Table Of Contents

- 3 **Keynote Welcome Address**
HE Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, President of Malta,
14th September 2017
- 9 *Photo inset: Opening, Group photo and Signing the Visitors
Book at the Grandmaster's Palace, Valletta*
- 17 **Reclaiming Social Europe in the Shadows of a Global
Predatory Economy**
Prof. Carmel Borg, University of Malta,
14th September 2017
- 31 *Photo inset: First Working Session*
- 35 **Managing Security Challenges in the
Euro-Mediterranean Area**
Prof. Stephen Calleya, Director, Mediterranean Academy of
Diplomatic Studies (MEDAC), University of Malta,
15th September 2017
- 41 *Photo inset: Second Working Session at the Mediterranean
Conference Centre, Valletta*
- 62 Participants: List of Presidents
- 63 *Photo inset: Activities - Valletta Cultural Tour, Dinner at
Verdala Palace, Visit to School Children Project,
Concluding Press Conference.*

Keynote Welcome Address

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HE Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca

President of Malta

Grandmaster's Palace, Valletta,
14th September 2017

It is a pleasure and an honour for Malta to host the 13th Meeting of the Arraiolos Group. I am also pleased to welcome the largest Arraiolos gathering of non-executive Presidents of the European Union, which includes, for the very first time, three female European Heads of State.

*Dear colleagues,
Your Excellencies,
Distinguished guests,
Dear friends,*

Let me take this opportunity to welcome you to the Maltese Islands.

Malta's geo-strategic position, in the middle of the Mediterranean, means that we have always been at the crossroads of civilisations and continents, and a melting pot of peoples and cultures.

For this reason, the importance of dialogue and the building of mutual peace are values of essential importance, both to our way of life and to our vision for the future of our European Union.

I am confident that this meeting is an opportunity for us to deepen this sense of dialogue, and the discovery of shared opportunities for peace, while focusing on issues of pressing importance in our regions and across our Union.

This year also happens to mark the 60th Anniversary of the signing of the important Treaties of Rome, which laid the foundations for the European Union as we know it today.

At a time when our Union is prioritising its attention on the promotion of a European Pillar of Social Rights, I believe that it is essential for us to discuss the social dimension of our Union.

I believe that it is also our responsibility, as Heads of State, to ensure that questions of social justice, of socio-economic inclusion, and of democratic participation are kept high on the agenda of our respective countries, and across our family of nations.

Furthermore, this year's Arraiolos Meeting will also be, as our previous meetings were, an opportunity for us to increase the visibility of the particular challenges and opportunities within our regions, with a special emphasis on the situation being faced in the Euro-Mediterranean area.

Excellencies, dear colleagues,

I augur that our deliberations, throughout the Arraiolos Meeting, shall be guided by our universal values of positive peace and holistic wellbeing, for the benefit of our communities, our societies, and our European family of nations.

The theme for this year's meeting, "**Crossing Borders**", is an invitation for all of us to reflect on how Europe can rediscover its core social

values, reclaim its social model, and achieve higher levels of solidarity and inclusion.

During our deliberations, I am confident that social justice will feature prominently, as a basic condition for European prosperity and Euro-Mediterranean security.

Let us ensure that our deliberations will emphasise the need for Europe to be a global leader, once again, on issues that affect the quality of life of all peoples.

The decision to focus on such a complex and intriguing theme will, I am sure, help us to create an important dialogue, bridging our diverse opinions, while also creating opportunities for connection and mutual enrichment.

I sincerely believe that creating such opportunities for dialogue is especially necessary, in particular, at this important juncture in the history of our world. We must admit, that unfortunately, many of our nations are currently facing social and political tensions and uncertainties.

In response to these tensions and uncertainties, it is my firmly held belief that we cannot implement economic globalisation, without a parallel investment in strategies for social justice.

We cannot be afraid to tackle pressing questions of poverty, social exclusion, and economic precarity, which are of such direct impact on the communities and societies of our nations.

Let us therefore use this platform to promote closer collaborations, across the borders of our nations, to face some of the major challenges of the twenty-first century.

Many of the important issues we face today are global in their reach. These include questions of economic globalisation; processes of migration; social uncertainties; the threat of transnational crime; and the promotion of global peace and security.

Such challenges can only be addressed with a united approach. Meeting these challenges requires that we all work together, to transcend our borders, as one human family.

First of all, I believe that we need to address the harmful effects of climate change, which are being felt across our world, with a holistic and united approach.

I am pleased to note that, even in yesterday's State of the Union speech, His Excellency Jean-Claude Juncker, European Commission President, highlighted the critical issue of climate change.

"Europe will ensure we make our planet great again. It is the shared heritage of all of humanity."

For this reason, we must act now to do more, to reduce greenhouse gas emissions across our nations.

We must make the necessary progress towards a low carbon energy future, for all.

We must learn from the good practices of our neighbours, some of whom are present here as stakeholders in the Arraiolos meeting, and share our knowledge in pursuit of one common goal for a better world.

We must work together to find innovative ways for our nations to produce and to use clean and renewable energy.

For this reason, our holistic endeavours and collaborations are important, to implement the mandate of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, and the United Nations' Agenda 2030, with its seventeen Sustainable Development Goals.

We all know what must be done, as these Sustainable Development Goals offer us a global strategy, which promotes shared prosperity for the building of peace, and a global social solidarity approach.

It is so important for us to focus our attention on the values which promote a universal culture of respect, to ensure that the intrinsic dignity of each and every individual is celebrated.

I am confident that our discussions shall be effectively guided, along these lines, by the expert contributions of our two academic facilitators.

Professor Carmel Borg shall focus on the idea of reclaiming Europe's social mandate, and Professor Stephen Calleya shall tackle the management of security challenges in the Euro-Mediterranean region.

It is my hope that, throughout this meeting, we shall become more sensitive and more aware of the particular nature of our respective situations.

Moreover, I hope that, by sitting around the same table and engaging in frank discussions, we shall find new ways of working together to meet our shared challenges and maximise our shared opportunities.

Each and every one of us has the potential to spread a strong message of solidarity, of peace, and of social justice, within our nations and across Europe.

On concluding, let me once again quote yesterday's State of the Union address, delivered by the President of the European Commission, who said:

"Now is the time to build a more united, stronger and more democratic Europe for 2025."

In this spirit, I urge us all to endeavour to ensure that no citizens or residents in our countries are left behind.

We must continue building stronger processes of democratic participation within our societies, so that the citizens of Europe will feel a sense of ownership over our European Union.

Finally, let us ensure that the outcomes of our deliberations will have a positive effect in the lives of all our peoples, across our communities, and for the ultimate benefit of our entire European family of nations.



Inaugural Session of the Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017 at the Grandmaster's Palace, Valletta



Inaugural Session of the Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017 at the Grandmaster's Palace, Valletta



Inaugural Session of the Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017: The Presidents of Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Austria and Estonia (L to R).



Keynote Welcome Address by H.E. Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, the President of Malta



H.E. Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, the President of Malta delivering the Keynote Welcome Address.



Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017



H.E. Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, the President of Malta welcoming H.E. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the President of Germany



H.E. Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, the President of Malta welcoming H.E. Borut Pahur, the President of Slovenia



H.E. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović, President of Croatia signing the Official Visitors Book, Tapestry Chamber, The Palace, Valletta.



H.E. János Áder, President of Hungary, signing the Official Visitors Book, Tapestry Chamber, The Palace, Valletta.



A view to the Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017, the Palace, Valletta.



Group photo – the Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017
13th Meeting of the Arraiolos Group – 13 Heads of State.



H.E. Sergio Mattarella, President of Italy, signing the Official Visitors book in the Tapestry Chamber, The Palace, Valletta.



The First Working Session at the Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017 addressed by Professor Carmel Borg, University of Malta.

Reclaiming Social Europe in the Shadows of a Global Predatory Economy

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Prof. Carmel Borg
University of Malta

Grandmaster's Palace, Valletta,
14th September 2017

As the third millenium approaches the end of its second decade, the ideal of equality continues to be threatened by a global value system that is soft on the accumulation and concentration of wealth and power to the detriment of the collective good and to the sustainability of communities in general. Europe is not immune to the encroachment of a global, predatory economic model that has eaten into the ideal of solidarity and the common good.

Two years from the signing of the UN's Agenda 2030, my work-in-progress, entitled 'Conversations with the Poor in Europe', and other evidence-based research projects, indicate that democracy continues to distance itself from social justice, diluting its strength as an ideal space for the affirmation of human-rights-based quality of life. Increasingly, the apparata of the state - parliaments, political parties and the corporate media in particular - are popularly perceived as dragging their feet in championing the plight of the most vulnerable while generating consent around political processes and legal frameworks that favour trans-national capital, wealth and power. The social contract that many European states had negotiated and renegotiated with their peoples, starting soon after the second world war and successfully sustained for three decades, has been substantially eroded by a world economic order, officialised, on the European front, by a political leader

who in October 1987 declared that “there is no such thing as a society”. While generating unimaginable wealth, such a world economic order has weakened social cohesion and the value system that had supported it, sacrificing the dignity and humanity of millions of European and international citizens and workers on the alter of competitiveness, flexibility, growth at all cost, balanced and surplus budgets, austerity measures and stability (read labour pacification). In the process, partially as a result of their softness and appeasement when faced by the ruthlessness of such an economic order, European states, to varying degrees, are facing a legitimacy crisis marked by increasing citizen frustration, exhaustion, distrust, antipathy, indifference towards politics and politicians, and a shift to far-right politics with strong, nationalist, nativist and xenophobic content.

The Erosion of Solidarity

Social justice is premised on solidarity among citizens operating within institutions of civil society that constitute the state. Solidarity implies communion with the other, mutual support stemming from genuine care for the other and a social ecology that is defined by the common good. Informed by economic relations where growth is heavily dependent on rates of individual consumption, increasing numbers of Europeans are becoming ever more alienated from their neighbour, worker, homeless, precarious, poor ‘other’. Spaces, meant to be communal and collective, are becoming ever more atomised into micro-habitats which are reduced to private zones of delusory or real consumption. Within such ecologies, consumption dictates the value of people. Citizens reduced to private consumers, competing with the known or ‘unknown other’ for visibility through consumption rates and patterns, and the commodification of anything ranging from education and health to relationships and one’s own body and identity that is open to theft and compromise. Such a context, characterised by multi-directional and omni-present bombardment of perceived needs and consumables as objects of desire, defies solidarity by emotionally and physically distancing human beings from one another, turning vulnerability into a distant spectacle that at best ends with momentary acts of charity that do nothing to challenge the asymmetrical status quo fuelled by

individualism, competition, short-term gratification, liquidity and disposability.

In his book *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor*, the late Zygmunt Bauman, from whom I earlier borrowed the term liquidity, remarks that to be poor in a consumer society is to be totally unnecessary. I also identify with Bauman's assertion that this construction of the 'poor other' as a burden is exacerbated by the fact that social-class consciousness and international solidarity have largely evaporated on many fronts, psychologically, ideologically, culturally and organisationally. The poor are there, out on their own, frozen in material, emotional, psychological and social wilderness.

Unfit for the consumer treadmill, as cynically described by the Polish sociologist and public intellectual, the humanity of the poor becomes disposable, bureaucratised and invisible to many. As the poor are dehumanised, in the political theorist Hannah Arendt's words, quoted in Bauman, they become the responsibility of no one. Forty years ago, eight boys from Barbiana and their teacher Don Lorenzo Milani, claimed that the poor have few friends in parliament. I would dare say that such a bold statement by a priest, then marginalised by both the political as well as the ecclesiastical establishment, is still relevant to this very day (Borg, Cardona and Caruana, 2013; Borg and Grech, 2014).

What is eroding solidarity even further, in Europe and beyond, is that neoliberalism (euphemism for savage capitalism) has not only made many poor poorer but has also simultaneously declassed vast numbers of middle-class families. Many traditionally-comfortable, middle-class individuals are consumed by the possibility of falling into the precarious trap. Promised dreams, based on the mantra "education, education and education", and glamorised lives reinforced by the corporate media, are shattered, on a daily basis, by a life of uncertainty, a career of definite contracts, programmed redundancy and the inability to visualise one's life on a long-term basis; existential uncertainty that divides the sufferer and turns life in an ongoing, pay-check to pay-check struggle for survival. To give one indication of how aspirations and hard work are not matched by a fulfilling life is the statistic that emerged from the

latest issue of the 2015 European Working Conditions Survey, where an average of 28% of employees in Europe are overqualified for their work, and if international trends are followed, these numbers are bound to increase as more and more youth respond to the mantra.

Social and political solitude is further exacerbated by fragmentation, single-issue politics and the fact that there is no real international movement of solidarity left to inspire, to organise, to conscientise, to resist, to subvert and to act consciously and collectively to counter the hegemony of savage forms of capitalism. As Peter McLaren (2006), the Canadian critical pedagogue would declare (paraphrasing him) – we have lost the ability to dream of and visualise a world that can be, let alone transform the savage, decadent and wasteful world that is. A world where investment in football transfers and boxing vs kickboxing contests overshadows social investments.

While millions are struggling, solidarity at source continues to be depleted through extremely generous tax regimes and through a complex, multi-layered and largely out-of-sight financial highway that allows for fast mobility of finances and capital, leading to billions of Euros lost to tax evasion. This immoral financial infrastructure, together with the largely unethical, albeit legal, pre-distributive promotion of the concepts of flexibility, simplification and efficiency in the recruitment and dismissal of workers, production practices that prey on depressed salaries and income gaps, the privatisation of public services and cuts on social and community services, largely absencing the state from its core ethical responsibility, forms part of a global formula that is disguised as competitiveness; a global recipe that is meant to ease economic invasion and the intensification of neo-colonialism that characterises this latest chapter of capitalism. In this context, reclaiming social Europe implies reclaiming humanity first and assuming moral responsibility for structurally-induced poverty.

A Mutated State

In a global reality where power is transnational and less transparent, the state has mutated from its status as promoter of personal and

collective well-being to a prime strategic partner in the movement of private capital. As a result, less state, sold and indexed universally, as less bureaucracy, is seen, promoted and assessed as good governance and as an important indicator of competitiveness. The invisible hand of the market has transformed the state from an ethics-inspired state into a market and for-profit-investment-oriented state that is intermittently called to pacify and stabilise industrial relations, recalibrate competitiveness and make good for private crises like the financial crisis. The state which fails not only at the level of distribution but also at the level of production of wealth by institutionalising practices such as the so-called 'activation policies' which force the unemployed into precarious work, for which the recommodified worker is often overqualified, in exchange for the receipt of benefits, allowing management practices that divide and isolate workers into outsourced, multiple, micro and loosely-connected production spaces, to mention one intentionally propagated and internationally diffused practice of maximisation of profit, at the producers' expense, and allowing the common citizen to absorb long-term the blast of the financial and job crises.

Precarious Employment

While employment opportunities are on the increase, Europe is experiencing a shift in employment patterns and mobility. An economic scenario which is characterised by ever-increasing polarisation of job opportunities. Of particular interest to economists and social activists operating from a social justice perspective is the shift from poor unemployed to working-poor, with households reproducing poverty despite the fact that they are economically active, and the shift from stable working environments to digital, quasi-anonymous working environments which are isolationist, mobile, unstable, unpredictable, with frequent periods of unemployment, running multiple jobs at the same time, and which are mostly devoid of any social solidarity.

Europe is still enduring one of the longest phases of wage inequality, both in relative (difference between richer people, regions and countries as a multiple of that of poorer ones) and in absolute (differences between

highest income and lowest income) terms. Wage inequality has not improved since 2009 and, in absolute terms, it has degenerated since the aforementioned date. In a report published this year, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), describes the situation as stable but absolutely alarming. In the regions worst hit by the the economic recession, only the top quintile was 'highly protected'.

Automation. What Future?

Like the rest of the world, Europe is facing further and accelerated automation of work. Such a predicament presents grave and urgent ethical, moral and political challenges in the context of the discourse on solidarity and social justice. Different scenarios have been simulated including a massive loss of both middle- and working-class employment, particularly jobs in logistics, transport and warehousing with a very recent 2017 report by Citi and the Oxford Martin School indicating that 80% of jobs in retail transportation, warehousing, and logistics are at risk as a result of recent technological developments.

While simulated scenarios disagree on the extent of unemployment that will be created through the intensification of automation, most converge on the probable scenario characterised by the creation of massive surplus labour, partially reskilled, retooled and employed by the market for low wages.

Such simulations generate pertinent questions regarding employment prospects, levels of reskilling, quality of employment, industrial relations, worker conditions in competition with robots that do not engage in struggles for better conditions of work, work tirelessly, are not entitled to benefits, do not distinguish between private and public time, do not seek work-family balance and are gender neutral.

Automation also raises questions regarding the mass movement of workers to zones of wealth creation, predictably urban in nature. Such areas could be the scenes of racial and social-class tensions as the history of high-density living has instructed us. What I would refer to as the Grenfell syndrome could expand and intensify into a severe and dramatic urban crisis.

Other questions that stem from the intensification of automation, and which are directly relevant to social justice regard solidarity at source through taxation and compensation. Will robots be taxed? Will their wealth creation be taxed? Will their invention be considered as primary resource, private wealth leading to further distancing of societies and nations or common wealth of resources? How will the unemployed be compensated? Is a basic income to all, distributed universally and irrespective of one's relationship to production, a viable proposal? Do the discussions, initial experiments, such as the B-MINCOME in Barcelona and the basic income experiment in Finland, and political activism, such as the Basic Income European Network, constitute a prelude to concrete, multi-varied and permanent forms of liveable compensation to a new world economic order? Who will benefit from a basic income? Will it be extended to non-citizens living permanently or temporarily in Europe? How will it be financed and how will the pension phase look like? Will it be financed locally, regionally, nationally or trans-nationally? Will work-related benefits linked to job guarantees be a better solution? Can the basic income approach be counterproductive?

While the basic income debate has made inroads into several international fora, such as the United Nations and OECD, with the latter releasing its first policy brief on the subject, unfortunately several initiatives and potentially great ideas for a socially and economically-just Europe are still marginal by virtue of their high technical content. Visibility and endorsement of potentially socially-viable ideas require a popular movement of alternative visualisers and actors which is very present within the institutions of civil society and in the geographic spaces of ideas, power and actions.

Social Justice in Crisis

In terms of hard facts, evidence produced in the context of Europe's Agenda 2020 indicates that while progress has been registered in certain aspects of social justice like employment rates and lowering of monetary poverty, millions in Europe are still not experiencing social

justice. The Social Justice index of 2016, quoting Eurostat, reveals that nearly a quarter of all EU citizens (23.7%) is currently at risk of poverty or social exclusion. This percentage translates into approximately 118 million human beings whose basic human rights are being denied on a daily basis.

Also, while Eurostat figures for December 2016 reveal that around 20 million EU citizens are unemployed, the 2016 Social Justice index indicates that 7.8% of the at-risk population is working poor. Analysed critically, this particular statistic means that despite their economic engagement people, in large numbers and across the European Union, are working precariously, indefinitely, unprotected by unions and poorly covered by social insurance; economic practices that are structurally stacked against workers' rights, dignity, humanity and well-being. Furthermore, Eurostat statistics (key messages) indicate that:

- Of all groups examined based on their employment status, the unemployed faced the greatest risk of poverty or social exclusion, at 66.6 % in 2015.
- Almost 50 % of all single parents were at risk of poverty or social inclusion in 2015. This was double the average and higher than for any other household type analysed.
- 34.7 % of adults with at most lower secondary educational attainment was at risk of poverty or social exclusion in 2015.
- 65.6 % of children of parents with at most pre-primary and lower secondary education were at risk.
- In 2015, 40.2 % of adults born in a country outside the EU and 25.2 % of those born in a different EU country than the reporting one were at risk of poverty or social exclusion. In comparison, for native citizens, only 21.7 % of the population were at risk.
- EU citizens in rural areas were on average slightly more likely to live in poverty or social exclusion than those living in urban areas (25.5 % compared with 24.0 %) in 2015.
- Although the overall EU share of people living in households with very low work intensity has remained relatively stable at 10.6 % since 2010, the country-specific levels and developments

have differed widely. Moreover, being in work does not necessarily protect against poverty: in 2015, 7.7 % of the working EU population was at risk of poverty even though they were working full time.

The differences between EU countries are dramatic. For example, the Social Justice Index of 2016 reveals a stark North-South divide in the number of children living in poverty and at risk of material deprivation and social exclusion, and a similar divide in the distribution of youth unemployment.

Education and Well-being

While acknowledging that education is not a panacea to the economic, social, and cultural ills of society, the role of education in addressing social justice is unquestionable. PISA 2015 results, like those of Finland and Estonia, two EU countries, represented in the 'Arraiolos Group', reveal that educational systems can successfully intervene in helping children and youth transcend their socio-economic status, confirming that it is possible to provide both quality and quantity education to children from socially disadvantaged backgrounds, with tangible positive results in terms of educational achievement and further education. However, PISA 2015 results also reveal that socio-economic status is still a barrier to educational success in a number of countries in Europe, including countries represented here in the 'Arraiolos Group' and, ultimately to an upwardly mobile, productive social and economic life. In some EU countries, as illustrated by the PISA results, the reproduction of the socio-economic status of one's family remains a formidable roadblock to access to quality education as stipulated by the United Nations Sustainable Goal 4, highlighting the structural nature of socio-economic marginalisation, with low socio-economic status children and youth consistently registering over-representation in statistics dealing with educational failure.

Quantitative and qualitative research conducted by the National Observatory for Living with Dignity, on behalf of the (Maltese) President's Foundation for the Well-being of Society, between 2015

and this year, reveals the human suffering - physical, social, moral and emotional - of materially deprived and socially-excluded youths. What impressed me most in my encounter with marginalised youth is the precarious state of their mental health. Quantitative analysis of big data which includes surveys like the European Mental Health Survey, confirm that mental health issues feature prominently among materially deprived and socially excluded youth who feel 'so down in the dumps that nothing could cheer them up'. Consumption of antidepressants is dramatically high with, according to the same survey, 10% of youth leaving education before age 16 in EU countries reporting taking antidepressants more frequently than people who left formal education later (6% in EU countries), with the most frequent reason for taking this medication for approximately half of both groups was anxiety and depression.

In the area of workers' education, given the rhetoric of lifelong learning, what emerges from the Euro student survey of 2016 is that, on average, workers in Europe who decide to further their learning while working, work an average of 68 hours a week, excluding commuting. This explains the relatively low rate in workers continuing their education. Research also shows that there is a strong positive correlation between education-friendly working environments, social support, flexibility of learning provision by service providers, non-traditional forms of learning, and active, union promotion of learning and workers' take-up of lifelong learning. Access to further learning, like compulsory education is structural and unless it is incentivised, the structural gulf that exists between social classes and their access to wealth and power will be reproduced on a lifelong basis.

The Siege Mentality and the Scorge of Populism

Populism is perhaps one of the obvious symptoms of an estranged citizenship. People responding to calls by opportunist politicians, for an anti-intellectual, anti-media, isolationist and nativist, populist revolts are asking questions that cannot be ignored. Why has Europe, in different ways and in varying degrees, failed the moral and ethical

test of social justice? Why has Europe fallen behind in promoting social solidarity and communal understanding? Why social Europe seems incapable of providing an alternative model to the destructive ideology of profit first dignity and wellbeing later? Why has Europe abandoned social class as a point of reference and allowed itself to fragment and to turn common interests into specialised interests, dividing society into irreconcilable groups? Why has Europe softened its stance on the politics of redistribution? Why are people losing faith in politicians? Why do people feel that corruption is widespread? Why so many people believe that politics is inherently corrupt? Why do many people are convinced that the economy is stacked against them, that the economy is rigged against them? Why has collective action become such a dangerous word? Why is it becoming ever more difficult in Europe and elsewhere to build majority coalitions/movements of solidarity and win elections? Can predatory economic practices such as the outsourcing of precarious work be challenged and reversed?

Meanwhile, the global disorder, the apparent helplessness, ineffective strategising or direct military involvement of the West with regard to growing international conflicts, is leading to humanitarian catastrophes in Syria, Middle East, South Sudan, Yemen and Libya to mention a few examples. Simultaneously, while these dramatic humanitarian events unfold before us, the migrant other, particularly the Islamic other, is being constructed and targeted as a potential terrorist, rapist, wage depresser and parasite.

Walls, barbed wire, calls for push backs, deportations and resettlements are symptomatic of a paranoia that has gripped Europe in relation to the most vulnerable of its citizens and residents, the most materially deprived and socially excluded other within the European Union. Hate speech is becoming routine and largely unchecked.

As the favourite scapegoat, the migrant 'Other' is perceived and projected as the root cause of the malaise that defines contemporary European societies. In its simplistic narratives and emotionally-manipulative communications, populism often blames migrants for anything ranging from depressed economies and limited job

opportunities to the islamisation of Europe and the threat to liberal democracy. The return to fortified European states and to inter-state squabbling over who should shoulder the responsibility and carry the perceived burden of migration, is a realistic predicament which threatens to erode the concept of a politically-, economically-, culturally- and socially-inclusive and integrated Europe.

No Peace without Social Justice

In an age where official and sponsored violence are becoming normalised and conceived of as legitimate tools of peace keeping, the distinction between genuine peace, based on revisualised social relations and transformational struggles, and false peace or pacification is urgent. Real peace emerges from an understanding that power operates out of the concrete and historical realities of individuals and groups situated in asymmetrical social and political locations. Such a view prompted Borg and Grech (2017) to ask ethically and politically loaded questions like: who is benefiting from peace arrangements? is peace always desirable? is stability a sign of peace? can peace be imposed? whose peace is being legitimized? How can we best educate for peace?

In the course of answering such questions, we need to emphatically reject dysfunctional peace processes; oppressive and dehumanizing practices employed in the name of stability. Such peace processes contrast heavily with peace initiatives that are informed by cognitive, social, economic and ecological justice, the core message of the UN's resolution on Sustainable Development. Europe is aware that it is failing millions of its citizens and residents, that taken-for-granted rights are not available to a great many EU citizens. The commendable European Pillar of Social rights proposes a concrete road map that reflects my critique of the concrete effects of a predatory economic system; a social model that reclaims social rights for all. Measures that are meant to re/connect European citizens and residents to the equity and accessibility grid - (quoting from the European Pillar of Social Rights) equal access to education, gender equality, equal opportunities, fair working conditions, fair wages, secure employment, dialogue with

workers, work-life balance, decent accommodation, unemployment benefits and minimum income.

Europe lacks a coherent strategy in protecting its citizens. At this stage, and by way of concluding my intervention, I ask: can a sovereign state achieve equity on its own? Is predistributive justice which, in the process of achieving good results involves tackling vested interests mentioned earlier in my presentation possible on a sovereign case-by-sovereign case basis? Can the most vulnerable achieve what is theirs by right if countries continue to interpret resolutions as colonizing and invasive? Can a sovereign state protect its citizens from massive financial crises, local and international, on its own? Can the huge discrepancies in economic development and social protection be solved in isolation? Finally, can we act individually when the root causes of social and economic inequity are global in nature? In other words, can we truly reclaim social Europe while acting outside European and international solidarity?

In my reflection I argued that one cannot expect a more social Europe without seriously interrogating and challenging the global economic model which is exploitative, divisive and polarising. The challenge that Europe is facing in protecting its most vulnerable citizens and residents is essentially moral, ethical and ideological in nature. What I have advocated for in my essay is a Europe that is desipherable to its citizens. An ethical Europe that is steeped in the practice of truth, justice, inclusion and fairness. A Europe that cannot be selective with solidarity. A Europe that, in the footsteps of Lorenzo Milani, and in the words of Pope Francis, gives back the word to the poor, because without the word there is neither dignity nor freedom and justice.

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Her Excellency Marie-Louise Coleiro-Preca, President of Malta, addressing the First Working Session.



Round Table on 'Reclaiming Social Europe in the Shadows of a Global Predatory Economy' at the Arraiolos Meeting 2017.



Introductory Remarks to the First Working Session of the Arraiolos Meeting 2017 by Professor Carmel Borg on the theme 'Reclaiming Social Europe in the Shadows of a Global Predatory Economy'.



A view to the Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017 in session on the First day at the Grandmaster's Palace, Valletta.



H.E. Alexander Van der Bellen, President of Austria and H.E. Rumen Radev, President of Bulgaria in discussion following the First Working Group Session.



Discussion following the Introductory Remarks of the Guest Speaker Prof. Carmel Borg by H.E. Kersti Kaljulaid, President of Estonia.



H.E. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, President of GERMANY and
H.E. Prokopios Pavlopoulos, President of GREECE.



H.E. Raimonds Vējonis, President of LATVIA and
H.E. Andrzej Duda, President of POLAND.

Managing Security Challenges in the Euro-Mediterranean Area

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Mediterranean Conference Centre, Valletta,
15th September 2017

Throughout history the Mediterranean has continuously been at the centre of international relations. The end of the Cold War led some pundits to believe that the Mediterranean would be marginalized in global relations. The enlargement of the European Union towards the east, the rise of China in Asia and the emergence of India and Brazil as leading economic developing countries further cemented this perception.

Yet the process of globalization has not shifted international attention away from the Mediterranean. Three decades since the end of the Cold War it is clear that the Mediterranean remains an essential strategic theatre of operation linking Europe, North Africa, the Balkans, the Middle East and the Black Sea together.

Anyone questioning the strategic relevance of the Mediterranean in contemporary international relations must be careful not to confuse the rise of China and the Asia Pacific in general with a diminishment of the Euro-Mediterranean sphere of influence. While the East-West dynamic pattern of relations and the North-South dynamic pattern of relations continue to shift in different directions, the physical importance of the Mediterranean as a geo-strategic waterway remains a constant.

The Mediterranean continues to be a region of instability in international relations. It is the location of the more than six decade old conflict between Israel and Palestine. In addition to the continuous hostilities between these two peoples, this conflict also attracts the attention of Euro-Mediterranean regional actors and international great powers. The Arab Spring of 2011 has also unleashed a moment of upheaval that is resulting in a realignment of strategic interests across the Mediterranean.*1

The post Cold War Mediterranean is a geographical area where the majority of contemporary soft and hard security challenges are present including ongoing conflicts in each sub region of the basin primarily over territorial claims, the proliferation of weapons, terrorist activities, illegal migration, ethnic tensions, human rights abuses, climate change, natural resources disputes especially concerning energy and water, and environmental degradation.

The long list of threats and risks that need to be addressed and managed in a more coherent manner requires an institutional design that can cope with such serious demands. The absence of a regional security arrangement in the Mediterranean that includes all riparian states continues to be a major handicap prohibiting the effective management of contemporary security challenges. With no Mediterranean regional security arrangement on the horizon, better coordination between the multitude of sub regional groupings across the basin through a security dialogue is a prerequisite to achieving a more stable security environment across the Mediterranean.

The absence of a security dialogue in the Mediterranean has facilitated the emergence of a security vacuum in this geo-strategically sensitive part of the world. As Henry Kissinger pointed out during an international lecture 'nature is against vacuums and will seek to correct such a situation'.*2

A security vacuum in the Mediterranean is therefore a conducive context within which forces of instability can upset co-operative relations and enhance power shifts that could trigger further rounds of arms races

in an area where military procurement is already one of the highest in the world.

The main factor that should move European and Mediterranean states closer together in future are the mutual security interests they share: common Euro-Mediterranean political, economic and cultural interests must form the basis of any eventual security dialogue if stability is to be secured.

Given the indivisibility of security in Europe and the Mediterranean and the transitory times that are resulting in a realignment of geo-strategic interests across the Mediterranean, the EU must continue to adopt a more proactive stance when it comes to influencing and managing the international relations of the Mediterranean area.

Geographical proximity and increasing instability in the Mediterranean dictates that the EU needs to try and influence regional dynamics in the Middle East more systematically than it has been in recent years. Failure to do so will continue to stifle attempts to strengthen Euro-Mediterranean relations through the Euro-Neighborhood Policy agenda that now also encompasses the Union for the Mediterranean.

The time has come for a new Euro-Mediterranean declaration to be announced to build upon the co-operative perspective that was put forward in the Barcelona Declaration of November 1995. A new Euro-Mediterranean narrative that focuses on a common Euro-Mediterranean agenda must address real time urgent issues that are undermining the fabric of every country across the Mediterranean. Priority issues should include youth unemployment, education reform, counter radicalization and better management of the migration phenomenon. A new Euro-Mediterranean declaration must also consist of a Marshall Plan type model of development that provides economic support to each developing country across the southern shore of the Mediterranean carrying out such reforms.

All extra regional actors, with an interest in ensuring that future Euro-Mediterranean relations become more peaceful and more prosperous,

including the United States, must act to ensure that the Middle East is not left to collapse as a result of an attitude of indifference. International organizations must guard against adopting a complacent attitude when it comes to addressing the multitude of security challenges present across the Mediterranean. *3

The outcome of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and other regional conflicts across the Middle East will have a major bearing on the future direction of twenty-first century international relations, including of course, those of the Mediterranean. One cannot over emphasize the strategic significance of this region when providing an assessment of the sources of insecurity in post cold war relations.

When it comes to identifying a way forward to enhancing regional cooperation in the Mediterranean both the European Union and the Arab world would benefit from a Euro-Mediterranean security dialogue mechanism to identify a common Euro-Mediterranean agenda. Regional cooperation is not an aim in itself. It has to be pursued with a clear strategy, clearly defined objectives and instruments to advance long-term objectives, and a clear sense of priorities. A Euro-Mediterranean security dialogue will enable regional and international actors to identify more clearly what sort of regional cooperation makes sense and where there is a chance of advancing?

A plan of action that stipulates short, medium, and long-term phases of region-building is necessary if progress is to be registered in establishing a Euro-Mediterranean community of values. All international institutions with a Mediterranean dimension should provide their support to establish a Euro-Mediterranean security dialogue that focuses on addressing the urgent issues of youth unemployment, education reform, counter radicalization and the better management of the migration phenomenon.

As the third decade of the new millennium beckons, the Mediterranean must avoid becoming a permanent fault-line between the prosperous North and an impoverished South. The key development to watch in the emerging Mediterranean in the next decade will be to see whether

the phase of cooperation between Europe and the Arab world that has taken place since the end of the Cold War is consolidated by tangible measures to enhance political and economic reform that is underway as a result of the Arab Spring of 2011. If such an opportunity is not grasped, political paralysis coupled by economic stagnation could lead to a scenario where a clash of cultures takes hold and disorder dominates Mediterranean relations. Such a scenario of instability and uncertainty will stifle the economic growth and political stability that is necessary to improve the standard of living of all peoples across the Mediterranean.

The only way this negative future can be avoided is if the European Union's external policy towards the Mediterranean succeeds in attracting the interest of international institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the OECD, and the IMF. Collectively the international community needs to urgently launch a Marshall Plan type model of development that addresses in a meticulous manner the urgent issues of youth unemployment, education reform, radicalization and the management of migration. International financial institutions need to put their money where their mouth and become more altruistic in their dealings with the region if economic growth is to be registered on a sustainable basis. The Mediterranean countries themselves must also adopt more of a self-help mentality. Rather than undermine or diminish the significance of the EU in the Mediterranean, the growing socio-economic disparities across the Mediterranean underlines further the important role that the EU and other international actors should play to promote a more stable Mediterranean.

A New Euro-Mediterranean Dialogue

The heterogeneous nature of the Mediterranean represents a great challenge when it comes to managing the security challenges present in contemporary international relations. The Mediterranean Sea connects three continents. In the words of Fernand Braudel: The Mediterranean is not even a single sea, it is a complex of seas; and these seas are broken up by islands, interrupted by peninsulas, ringed by intricate coastlines.*4

From a strategic perspective one notes at least four different “seas”: the western Mediterranean from Gibraltar to the Gulf of Sirte, linking southern Europe to the Maghreb; the Adriatic Sea, linking Italy to the Balkans; the Aegean Sea connecting Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus; and the eastern Mediterranean basin also in the vicinity of the Israeli-Arab conflict. *5

An analysis of the pattern of relations in the different sub regions of the Mediterranean a decade into the new millennium reveals that while Southern Europe states have become more deeply integrated into the European sphere of influence, similar to their counterparts in Eastern Europe since the end of the Cold War, no similar pattern of unity is noticeable across the other Mediterranean sub regions. Actually several Arab states in the Maghreb and Mashreq resisted the option of embracing the global trends of democracy and liberal values until the Arab Spring of 2011 changed the equation completely. It remains to be seen if most states along the southern shore of the Mediterranean opt for a process of political and economic reform that includes guaranteeing freedom of expression and gender equality.

The struggle of radical Islamists against the powerful forces of modernization, capitalism and globalization is not a new phenomenon. Resistance to change has taken place at regular intervals. However, even the Chinese have understood that while it is possible to have capitalism without political liberalization, it is much more difficult to have capitalism without cultural liberalization. This is a lesson that all southern shore Mediterranean states would be wise to grasp.*6

The very fluid nature of international relations since the start of new millennium has resulted in an ever-changing global security landscape. Perceptual changes taking place in the Euro-Mediterranean security environment demand a strategic re-think when it comes to addressing and managing more effectively sources of instability. The continuous emergence of different sources of insecurity demands a more flexible modality of regional security management as states in the international system seek to limit the ramifications from the permanent insecurity landscape we find ourselves in.



The Second Working Group Session on 'Managing Security Challenges in the Euro-Mediterranean Area' at the Malta, Arraiolos Meeting 2017, Mediterranean Conference Centre, Valletta.



Introductory Remarks to the Second Working Session delivered by Prof. Stephen Calleya on the theme 'Managing Security Challenges in the Euro-Mediterranean Area'.



Discussion following the Introductory Remarks by Professor Stephen Calleya addressed by H.E. János Áder, President of Hungary.



Round Table discussion following the Introductory Remarks by Professor Stephen Calleya addressed by H.E. Andrzej Duda, President of Poland.



Round Table discussion following the Second Working Group Session addressed by H.E. Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, President of Portugal.



Round Table discussion following the Introductory Remarks by Professor Stephen Calleya addressed by H.E. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, President of Germany.



H.E. Marie Louise Coleiro-Preca, the President of Malta, addressing the Second Working Group discussion.



Professor Stephen Calleya addressing the Second Working Group Session discussion on Managing Euro-Mediterranean Security Challenges, Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017.

Successive EU enlargements, the expansion of NATO and the evolution of America's security doctrine in the aftermath of the September 11th 2001 terror attacks dictate that a more coordinated approach towards contemporary security challenges in the Mediterranean should be adopted if sources of insecurity are to be more effectively addressed in future.

Three decades since the end of the Cold War the concept of security is also under review. In the post-Cold War world there has been a gradual shift away from traditional security concerns that focus exclusively on military threats to so-called soft security risks and threats. This category of security challenges includes organized crime, drug trafficking, illegal migration, terrorism and climate change.

Given the fluid nature of security after the first decade of the new millennium what strategic policy needs to be implemented to minimize the level of turbulence between different states across the Mediterranean area? Can a regional Mediterranean security dialogue be established to address security challenges in a more consistent and coherent manner? Given the heterogeneous nature of the Mediterranean system of states is it more feasible to address security challenges through smaller sub regional groupings of states? Does the diversity of security interests especially along the north-south axis of Mediterranean relations dictate that security issues can only be contained effectively through the active engagement of extra regional actors such as the United States, European Union, the United Nations and the Group of 20?

In the post-Cold War the main actor that has sought to increase its influence in the security agenda of the Mediterranean is the European Union. Since the launching of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in November 1995 the participating European and Mediterranean states have consistently agreed to introduce and develop confidence building measures in an effort to reduce already existing tensions and especially as a mechanism to prevent additional clashes from emerging. While recognizing the different perceptions that exist due to ongoing conflicts

in the region, in particular the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the process of Euro-Mediterranean dialogue has yet to result in the emergence of a common security culture that focuses on preventing an escalation of hostilities.

Ongoing conflicts in the Mediterranean in particular the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, have not allowed the political will necessary to advance such a security blueprint from being nurtured. In the absence of a dramatic breakthrough in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, rather unlikely given the hardening of extreme positions over the past decade, a more short-term Mediterranean security management framework should be sought. A new Euro-Mediterranean declaration that focuses on urgent contemporary issues such as youth unemployment, education reform, counter radicalization and the better management of migration offers such an opportunity.

Such a regional security mechanism would seek the establishment of an enhanced political dialogue in an appropriate institutional framework and seek to introduce on an on-going basis partnership building measures, good neighborly relations, sub-regional co-operation and preventive diplomacy measures.

The absence of a security arrangement to address the long list of security challenges in the Mediterranean is certainly a recipe for an increase of sources of insecurity as this strategic waterway becomes further identified as a zone where illicit activity can take place unchecked. It is quite ironic that the more interdependent the global security theatre of operations has become, the less connected security mechanisms in the Mediterranean have become. If such a trend continues it is clear the Mediterranean will be an area where a security vacuum becomes more dominant.

The setting up of a regional security dialogue will also dispel perceptions that the Mediterranean has largely been neglected by the international community since the end of the Cold War. The risk that such a perception becomes further entrenched is particularly high at the start of the second decade of the twenty-first century given that post-Cold war

great powers have continued to upgrade their attention towards other regions adjacent to the Mediterranean such as the Balkans, the Arabian Gulf and sub-Sahara Africa, but not the Mediterranean basin itself.

One of the post-Cold War lessons that is already clear is that it is a strategic error to concentrate your security forces in one region at the expense of securing stability in others. International attention on the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Eastern Europe during the past decades seems to have taken place at the expense of developing a comprehensive security structure in the Mediterranean. The resultant security vacuum has witnessed a multiplication of sources of insecurity thrive across the Mediterranean including illegal migration, drug trafficking and other types of organized crime.

Foreign policy strategists that are seeking to establish peace and security around the Euro-Mediterranean area should introduce policies that seek to balance sub-regional interests and not turn regional security into a zero-sum game where sub-regions compete for attention.

When addressing the plethora of security issues in the Mediterranean international actors such as the European Union must guard against promising more than they can deliver. The post-Lisbon Treaty implementation process, the management of the global recession's impact on the Euro, and the continuation of the EU enlargement process means that the EU plate will remain very full for most of the decade leading to 2030. The EU must therefore be prepared to work more closely with other security institutions and states such as NATO, the OSCE and the United States and China, to develop a functioning security framework in the Mediterranean.

If such an exercise is to be successful it is essential that all Euro-Mediterranean countries become more vocal, transparent and engaged in the post-Cold War security environment that is evolving around them. Otherwise they will have no one to blame but themselves for becoming further marginalized from the wider security framework that is emerging globally.

Political will must of course be coupled with further economic cooperation between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, including a sustained effort to strengthen further south-south cooperation. The establishment of a free trade area between the so-called Agadir Group of countries, namely Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt and Jordan provides a common ground upon which further south-south cooperation can be encouraged. All four countries are also members of NATO's Mediterranean Partnership. The Agadir initiative should facilitate the task of enhancing further integration between North African states and provide a conducive context within which reactivating the moribund Arab Maghreb Union (UMA) that was created in 1989, and seeks to create a common market between Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, and Libya can take place.

Since the so-called 'Arab Spring' in 2011, when a number of countries in the Arab world, including Tunisia, Egypt and Libya experienced revolutions that saw the removal of regimes that had been in power for decades, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has been politically and economically more unstable. This has resulted in the emergence of a weak economic outlook in all of the countries with very high unemployment registered throughout. In fact, in the last six years unemployment has increased among the youth (18 years old to 30 years old) in every Arab country in the MENA region. *7

If the goal of fostering economic development is to take place across the MENA region then a 'Marshall Plan' type of policy framework should be created. This Investment and Development fund which will require tens of billions of dollars to be effective and could be financed by the G20 countries and also include the rich Gulf States, would be geared towards restoring ailing Arab economies over a period of five to ten years.

Such a Development and Investment Fund would provide vital support for Arab states to undertake the necessary reforms in a socially sustainable manner and ultimately help in stimulating economic growth and job creation. Development of the hinterland vis-à-vis the coast in all of the Arab countries along the southern shore of the Mediterranean is essential as the living conditions will become more unbearable by

2025. It is imperative to develop the hinterland by upgrading the infrastructure in general, building schools, hospitals and housing for millions of people every year. Funds would be allocated only to those countries that sign up to a rigorous process of international monitoring that ensures transparency and accountability in all reform projects undertaken. One country that has taken significant strides since 2011 to reform its public and private sectors and should be considered as a primary candidate in such an endeavour is Tunisia.

As Malta has consistently advocated, the indivisibility of security in Europe and the Mediterranean, dictates that the EU should adopt a more proactive stance when it comes to influencing and managing the international relations of the Mediterranean area if it wants to successfully project stability in the area. While the intensity of political and economic relations across Europe has resulted in it becoming one of the most advanced regionally integrated areas of the world, the Mediterranean remains the least integrated.

The upheavals in the Arab world since 2011 have resulted in a period of tremendous uncertainty that has impacted negatively in political and economic terms all of the Arab countries concerned. While the Mediterranean EU member states, including Malta, have so far been able to largely avoid being negatively influenced by developments in the MENA region, it is clear that the volatility being experienced is undermining any potential to promote economic ties with neighbouring countries in the MENA region. Instability in Libya and uncertainty in Egypt and Tunisia has undermined completely economic relations with all EU countries and prohibited any outlook that envisages closer political and economic relations between the EU and the MENA region.

Malta's geographical proximity to the Middle East and North Africa and Malta's foreign policy track record as a promoter of peace and stability in the Mediterranean as witnessed through such historical milestones as the CSCE Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and the Barcelona Declaration of 1995, positions Malta well to be an active partner in any future political, economic and cultural relationships between the international community and the MENA region.

As a member of the European Union Malta is in an advantageous position to work with other EU members and its Mediterranean southern neighbours to champion political and economic initiatives that promote regional cooperation between Europe and the Arab world. Specific sectors where Malta can play a significant role could include economic initiatives taken to upgrade the education sector, the youth employment sector and the migration sector in each respective country.

A robust Development and Investment Fund will assist in attracting the necessary resources to stimulate economic growth and create productive jobs in the MENA region by facilitating the necessary transfer of technology required and providing long-term financing to start ups and public and private projects. One example where immediate action should be taken is in the education sector. The target should be to ensure that all children have access to primary education. A concerted effort also needs to take place to reduce the number of secondary school leavers in all Euro-Mediterranean countries. This can only happen if massive investment in teacher training programmes takes place. Malta can certainly contribute to such an undertaking. Other areas where cooperation can take place include initiatives that champion addressing youth unemployment, counter radicalization, better management of migration, women empowerment and cross-cultural exchanges. Malta can also partner with others in the EU when it comes to realizing the creation of an integrated Euro-Mediterranean energy market and transport regional network as envisaged by the EU Commission.

At this moment of turbulence and transition across the Euro-Mediterranean region it is essential that the European Union and all other international actors with a capability to influence Euro-Mediterranean regional dynamics seek to steer relations in a cooperative direction instead of a clash that some are seeking. Navigating relations requires an effort to influence them and not just assume an observer status stance. The arc of instability that has emerged in the Mediterranean demands a strategic re-think that seeks to suppress forces of instability.

More than six years since the revolutions swept across the Arab world in 2011 the EU must come to terms with the fact that it has so far not succeeded in putting forward a Euro-Med strategy that offers the Arab world an opportunity to cooperate more closely with Europe. Failure to propose a collective security paradigm that reflects the interdependent and indivisible nature of Euro-Mediterranean relations is resulting in a return to fragmentation of embryonic regional relations nurtured since the 1990s and the emergence of a number of failed states as seen in Libya and Syria.

Twenty years after it launched the Barcelona Process the European Union must realise that if it is serious about wanting to contribute towards restoring stability in the Mediterranean it is imperative that it adopts a holistic approach towards security along the lines it had when launching the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in 1995.

Rekindling a comprehensive strategy that offers political, economic and socio-cultural support to neighbouring countries across the southern Mediterranean would provide the European Union with precisely the type of narrative that has been absent since 2011. The EU should adopt a more visible approach towards the Mediterranean and unequivocally support political and economic reforms that are based on a functioning rule of law system of governance. Such a modality must be inclusive in nature and integrate civil society into the fabric of decision-making. While such a strategy could form part of an over-arching Neighbourhood Policy the time has come to admit that the security challenges facing the EU on its eastern and southern borders require separate and more intensive mechanisms that are able to address the fast changing realities on the ground. Adopting a Euro-Med strategy that focuses on socio-economic trends in the region is essential if the European Union wants to be a credible actor in the Mediterranean.

Euro-Mediterranean Scenarios 2030

Looking ahead towards 2030 the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) will remain an important geopolitical location due to the large oil deposits in this region of the world and the region's potential as a source of instability. The MENA's near future will be determined by how the leaders of these countries decide to manage political reform, energy profits, demographic changes, and open conflicts.

The first major immediate challenge Arab states in transition are facing is of achieving growth rates above six per cent annually to absorb the new workforce generation and provide a completely different narrative to the high number experiencing youth unemployment. *8

If serious economic, educational, social and legal reforms are implemented and law and order are restored then international investors will be prepared to invest in these states. This process must include integrating moderate Islamic political parties that are certain to multiply during the next two decades.

A ring of failed states in this part of the Mediterranean area would severely undermine the stability necessary to attract foreign direct investment on a large scale and to ensure the safe passage of commodities through the global supply routes of the Red Sea and the Straits of Hormuz. The emergence of an arc of crisis across the southern Mediterranean will ultimately impinge upon all states across the Mediterranean and undermine their position in the global political economy of the twenty-first century.

Since the end of the Cold War the global economy has drawn the majority of states in the international system closer together. Yet growing interdependence has not affected all parts of the globe to the same extent. In fact, while the intensity of political and economic relations across Europe has resulted in it becoming one of the most advanced regionally integrated areas of the world, the Mediterranean remains the least integrated.

The European Union's Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) launched more than twenty years ago in November 1995 and EMP Barcelona Declaration held great promise of creating a more peaceful, stable and prosperous Euro-Mediterranean region in the twenty first century. Instead the opposite has happened. The time has come to reflect upon the Barcelona Declaration of 1995 and refocus the EU's energy on specific short-term oriented goals that were already highlighted in the Declaration.

In many ways the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) has diluted the EU's focus towards the Mediterranean. The time has come for the European Union to shift from being a passive observer of the historical moment taking place in the Mediterranean since 2011 and to become an

active player that nurtures confidence across the Mediterranean and supports seriously a Euro-Mediterranean cooperative security agenda.

It is also important for the European Union to recognize its limitations. The EU on its own lacks the political and economic means to correct the socio-economic and political disparities in the Mediterranean. This is even more the case now that the EU is confronted by the challenge of managing the exit of its first member state from the Union after the Brexit vote of June 2016.

The United States can certainly help make up for some of Europe's shortcomings along its southern periphery. After all, co-operating with Europe in the Mediterranean could be a decisive foreign policy mechanism that assists in strengthening the transatlantic partnership at a stage in history when its entire *raison d'être* is being questioned.

After the tragic events of September 11th 2001 and subsequent wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, it is in the international community's interest to avoid the emergence of new fault-lines such as the one that is settling between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean. Improving the livelihood of the millions of people along the southern shores of the Mediterranean must emerge as a concerted transatlantic foreign policy goal if such a division is not to become a permanent feature of the Mediterranean region.

If the 'clash of civilisations' scenario is not to attract tens of thousands of recruits in the years ahead the West must find ways of opening further channels of communication with all governments in the Mediterranean, including possible Islamic regimes. Otherwise the slow process of democracy building in the Maghreb and the Mashreq will come to a halt and the wave of anti-Western radicalization may increase. *9

Some estimates envisage as many as twenty million people in North Africa opting for emigration into Europe in the coming few years, where salaries are anything between eight to ten times higher than in the South. The emergence of a "Fortress like Europe" where borders are sealed in an effort to discourage possible migrants would only exacerbate this problem further. European policy-makers should recall

that large communities of workers originating in the sub region of the Mediterranean namely the Maghreb, have already made a significant contribution to the success of European industry.*10

While the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership and the subsequent Union for the Mediterranean have sought to arrest the process of polarisation between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, the post-Cold War era has so far not seen a significant reversal of this trend. This structural development is what is stifling the establishment of a co-operative Mediterranean region.

It is also worth noting that political will on its own will not be enough to influence geopolitical relations on such a large scale. Economic support must also be forthcoming. The Americans had spent the equivalent of 125 billion euros in the Marshall Plan towards western Europe between 1947 and 1951 compared to the 20 billion that Brussels had devoted to the Euro-Med Partnership between 1995 and 2005.*11

If the goal of fostering economic development is to take place across the MENA region then an 'Arab Marshal Plan' should be created. This fund which will require tens of billions of dollars to be effective could be financed by the rich Gulf States and would be geared towards restoring ailing Arab economies over a period of five year. Such a Fund would provide vital support for Arab states to undertake the necessary reforms in a socially sustainable manner and ultimately help in economic growth and job creation. *12

A quarter of century into the post-Cold War era there are clearer signs that the East-West divide of the past is being replaced by an international security system where North-South divisions are becoming the dominant feature. Unlike the European continent where the fall of the Iron Curtain ushered in a period of reconciliation, the Mediterranean remains a frontier area of divisions. European and Middle East economic disparities and political differences continue to be the hallmark of Mediterranean interchange.*13

A number of indicators extant today can be used to project the strategic environment in the Mediterranean to 2030. Unless these indicators change significantly, the environment for during the next two decade can already be identified. The United States and Europe will continue to depend on the Gulf and Maghreb for much of their energy supplies. They will however be joined by the likes of China and India that will need to satisfy their growing energy demands and therefore access to these areas will remain a high foreign policy priority.

If European Union efforts to foster inter-Mediterranean political and economic co-operation are to succeed they must be complemented by initiatives that Mediterranean states themselves initiate as part of a process that aims to create a transnational network upon which cross-border types of economic and financial interaction can take place. To date, the Mediterranean has not succeeded in creating an environment where people, products, ideas and services are allowed to flow freely. A Marshall Plan for the Mediterranean provides an opportunity that will allow the Mediterranean to compete and prosper in the global village of tomorrow.

In the Mediterranean the EU is already seeking to project prosperity and resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict but much more needs to be done if a more effective Mediterranean policy is to be achieved. The main challenge for international organisations is to match their policy statements with action on the ground. Given the fact that Europe's security is indivisible from that of the Mediterranean, the EU must continue to adopt a more proactive stance when it comes to influencing and managing relations in the Mediterranean area.

As the sole superpower, the United States continues to play a leadership role in the Middle East. But it is in the EU's interest to adopt a more active diplomatic role in seeking to restore stability in the Middle East. An external relations policy that focuses on trying to help Israel and the Palestinians forge a common ground despite their clear differences should be the driving force of such a re-think.

Geographical proximity and stability in the region dictates that the EU needs to try and influence regional dynamics in the Middle East more systematically than has been the case in recent years. Failure to do so will stifle attempts to strengthen Euro-Mediterranean cooperative relations. The Middle East cannot be left to collapse as the outcome of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will have a major bearing on both Mediterranean and international relations of the 21st century. *14

The EU must also recognize that the transatlantic relationship is irreplaceable. Acting together the EU and U.S. will be a formidable force of security in world affairs. The convergence of American and European interests in the Mediterranean and the fact that both the United States and Europe have significant resources in the area could lead to a more cooperative approach between the transatlantic partners when it comes to Mediterranean security in future.

Numerous other trends also point towards an improved climate within which an enhanced Euro-American strategic partnership in the Mediterranean in forthcoming decades should take place. The much improved relationship between the United States and France and the latter's rapprochement towards NATO, the mutual interest in promoting south-south integration across the Mediterranean, and shared interests in the future of Turkey are all factors underlining the relevance of such a trend. Mutual concerns when it comes to the plethora of security risks and threats in the Mediterranean, and the more multi-polar strategic scene that is emerging in international relations further cement such a scenario.

The launching of an enhanced political and economic dialogue in the Mediterranean would provide the EU with an excellent opportunity to introduce two basic features that have been absent from the EMP: responsibility and accountability. Responsibility and accountability will provide the Mediterranean with a sense of ownership of cooperation with the international community.

Given the state of international relations in the Mediterranean and the more multilateral shift in the international system since 2011, the EU

must become more aware that it cannot influence relations significantly in the Mediterranean without dedicating more resources, both human and financial, to the area and also be being more prepared to forge strategic partnerships with other international actors with an interest in the region.

In the post-Cold War world there is also a tendency for the process of globalisation to focus too exclusively on economic growth at the expense of the sacrifices that have to be made at a social level. International financial organisations are more often than not showing no pity with the poor sectors of society.

As successive G8 summits have highlighted, especially since the Gleneagles summit of 2005, very little attention is also being dedicated to the quality and quantity of international assistance that is being offered. International assistance, including that being offered within the Euro-Mediterranean process, needs to focus more on the human dimension of this equation. It is ridiculous to blame the victim for shortcomings of the economic model that is being established.

The age of globalisation has brought a fifteen-fold increase in world trade, a fourfold increase in production, and a doubling of per capita income. Such economic benefits have yet to be realised in the Mediterranean area. The Barcelona Process followed by the European Neighborhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean projects were expected to assist in improving the Mediterranean socio-economic outlook. In reality, the EU's Mediterranean policy has yet to achieve such an objective.

The Arab uprisings of 2011 highlight that no programme will be sustainable in the long-term unless it is based on consensus, legitimacy and pays attention to the limits of tolerance of society. Policymakers need to pay more attention to what people want and what is preventing them from obtaining their goals. It is not really a question of time limits but which policies are required to achieve the goals being sought. A gradualist approach is perhaps a better option as it will allow reasonable time for society to be able to adapt and cope with the changes that are

being proposed and introduced. It is crucial for policy-makers to create win-win situations where all sectors of society are able to benefit.

More than two decades have passed since the signing of the Barcelona Declaration in November 1995, when the Foreign Ministers of the EU and their counterparts from twelve Mediterranean countries pledged to progressively establish a Euro-Mediterranean area of peace, stability and prosperity at the horizon of 2020. Since then, profoundly asymmetrical developments in the EU and the Mediterranean have taken place: an EU frantically struggling to keep up with the constraints of globalisation, a Mediterranean falling further behind.

The concept of regionalism in international relations denotes an intensity in the pattern of relations between states that are geographically proximate to one another. Such a pattern of interaction can take place at different levels including the political, economic or cultural level.

In the Mediterranean such patterns of interaction have largely taken place at a sub-regional level, that is, not across the Mediterranean basin but in different pockets of this geographical space. Thus while an increase in the intensity of interaction has been evident in southern Europe, the Balkans, the Maghreb and the Mashreq, there has been no major trend towards an intensity of interaction between the sub regions of the Mediterranean.

Before closing the gap between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean can be successfully implemented there is thus a necessity to build and nurture both a mental conceptual blueprint and physical infrastructure of regionalism in the Mediterranean. In other words, the peoples of the Mediterranean need to believe that they share more than a common history, but that they also share a common destiny, be it at a political, economic or cultural level of analysis. To date, this is not the case.

If more attention towards the Mediterranean is to be forthcoming it is crucial that more awareness is raised about the reality that there can be no security and stability in Europe if there is no security and stability

along the southern shores of the Mediterranean. If the European Union cannot successfully project policies of stability in its immediate neighbourhood across the Mediterranean, its more ambitious goal of becoming a global source of stability will remain a fallacy.

Economic development as envisaged by a Marshall Plan type model of development will only take place if investors believe they are committing themselves to a strategic environment where the rule of law and security are guaranteed. The re-launching of a political and economic dialogue that seeks to build a common security platform to address the long list of security risks and threats including terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, drug trafficking, organised crime, and environmental degradation, will create a more conducive strategic context within which UfM goals can be pursued and achieved.

If the EU wants to increase security in the Mediterranean at a human level its needs to decide whether it is going to export more jobs to its southern neighbours or whether it is prepared to absorb some of the excess employment capacity that is due to grow further in the next decade. Current projections estimate that the population of North Africa and the Middle East is due to grow from 200 million to 300 million by 2030.

Unless the countries along the southern shores of the Mediterranean are able to significantly increase their economic growth to above six per cent per annum, unemployment figures in this part of the world are scheduled to increase rapidly in the next ten years. This demographic time-bomb is therefore certain to be a source of instability in the Euro-Mediterranean area if not addressed in a concerted manner in the near future.

A new Euro-Mediterranean declaration that champions a robust political and economic dialogue and action plan towards the Mediterranean will introduce a very important perspective that to date has largely been absent when it comes to promoting regional integration in the Mediterranean. The political, economic and socio-cultural driven initiative

will enhance Euro-Mediterranean interdependence, a prerequisite to being able to encourage confidence and eventual trust between states in the area. The raising of political and economic interests and stakes will serve as an insurance policy against self-centred and myopic policy making that for too long has hindered trans-Mediterranean integration. Looking ahead to 2030, integrating the Mediterranean into the global political economy is the ultimate challenge facing the international community.

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Valletta Cultural Tour. Walk through Valletta – Merchants Street.



H.E. Sergio Mattarella, President of Italy together with H.E. Ambassador Giovanni Umberto De Vito, Ambassador of Italy, being greeted by the Italian community in Valletta.



Valletta Cultural Tour - In front of Auberge de Castille, the office of the Prime Minister of Malta.



Upper Barrakka Gardens – panoramic view to the Grand Harbour and Three Cities.



H.E. Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, President of Malta, welcoming the distinguished guests at the Official Dinner at Verdala Palace.



Verdala Palace, Buskett Gardens.



Visit to School Children Project. H.E. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović with children displaying their poster about Croatia.



H.E. Marie-Louise Coleiro Preca, President of Malta and H.E. Rumen Radev, President of Bulgaria with school teachers and students.



H.E. Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, President of Portugal interacting with Maltese students displaying their poster about Portugal.



H.E. Alexander Van der Bellen with students sporting Austrian flag hats.



Malta Arraiolos Meeting 2017 – Concluding Press Conference.



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