



:

...

:



:

1025229:

.. :

2006 – 2005



...

.

-

2006



...

2006/5/31

-

.

-

.

-

.

-

2006



...

2006/5/31

— .

.....

— . — .

.....

—

2006

5-6	
7	
8-9	
10-11	Abstract
12-16	
17-25	
26-27	
28-30	() -
30-33	
33-36	
37-38	-
38-42	-
42-49	
50-53	
54-58	
59-65	
65-67	-) : (
67-72	*

73-81		
81-83		:
83-86		*
86-98	: 2005 ()
99-101		*
102-106		
107-108		
109-118		
119		:
119		- *
120	-	*
121		*

:

—

—

.

...

:

" "

....

:

2010

Abstract

The Barcelona Declaration ten years on: A critical evaluation of its results

This thesis deals with the Barcelona Declaration involving the EU states and their Mediterranean non-member partners and offers a critical evaluation of results obtained thusfar.

What cannot be denied is that the partnership, the Declaration established had a strong effect on the discourse concerning the Mediterranean region, one going well beyond the immediate area and affecting regional and global relationships.

It is also a case study of the ongoing relationship between Europe and the Middle East, focusing on the various aspects of the relationship, political, economic and social, and the bearing of the this experiment on matters of security, prosperity and prospects for development.

One of the main problems confronting the implementation of the program offered in 1995 in Barcelona has been the ongoing Palestinian-Israeli conflict, with its implications for the Arab world and the Middle East.

Politically speaking, the situation has stagnated, largely because of the accentuation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (for which Europe's rival, the United States of America, bears a great deal of responsibility).

On the economic front, things have gone somewhat better; as for the social and cultural aspects, more time is needed to deal with issues such as the effects of immigration from south to north, and the complex question of 'terrorism'.

This study includes four main Chapters:

- The first chapter describes the Barcelona Declaration, and explains its background, why it was adopted, and its goals at the time of its adoption.

- The second chapter describes the three dimensions of the E.U Mediterranean Partnership.
- The third chapter traces the steps taken to implement the goals of the Declaration: successive conferences of the parties, and the interaction between the process and conflicts in the area, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
- The fourth chapter sums up the challenges and obstacles in the way of the ongoing Barcelona process, and evaluates its failures and successes, and the extent to which its agenda was carried out, including for example the quest for a free trade zone in 2010, the improvement of the civil rights situation around the Mediterranean, the intensification of cultural exchanges, and the improvement of security.

The thesis concludes that the Barcelona Declaration did not achieve its stated goals in any particular field, but that it is important to keep it alive for the day when conditions will be more favorable and a natural process, the reunification of the Mediterranean basin, can take place.

:

-

1995/11/ 28-27

:

-

()

2010

. (<http://hem.bredband.net> - 2 2004)

(13 2000)

" -
:
12)
... (
% 95 % 36)
(
- : -
- -
:
% 66 6

([http:// hem.bredband.net](http://hem.bredband.net) - 2 2004) .

2005

"

.

.

-

.

.

-

.

.

.

-

... ..

-

.

.

.

.

.

-

"

"

.

:

. () -

(58 1997)

. (3 1995)

:

. ([http:// www.eu-delegation.org.eg](http://www.eu-delegation.org.eg) - 1 2005)

) .

. (92 2000

) .

(5 - 4 1995

" .

1990

()

)

. (

)

(

)

(

)

.
(13 -12 2000)" . (

1973 ()

/
()

/ 338 / / 242 /
1973 / /

.. /
/ / 1995 / /

. (129 - 128 ، 2000 صارم) ()
/

1973 ()

. /
/

1978

. (122 2000) ..

-

-

1973 /

5 + 12

5 + 5

"

"

(96 1996) .

" " 1973

(خضر 1993 ، 127 - 128)

()

" :
(9 - 8 1995)

. (10 1995)

2001 / 11
. (-)

(ترکمانی 2004، 1 - <http://hem.bredband.net>)

1991 () 6

() 31

43

(حجازی 1995، 19) .

/

(1991)

(1993)

(1995) .

(1994)

-

-

-

(1997 59 - 60) .

1995

13 () . 1993 (حجازي 1995 ،

(21

()

2005

()

()

()

(-)

. (178 - 177 1997)

%70

1992

Renewed Mediterranean "

1996 1992

Policy

%50

1992

1995

Cannes

1994

Essen

1994

"

-

"

"

"

"

"

. (13 2000)

:

25

1957 /

" 1990 -
 " / " "
 : (5 + 5)
 / 6 5
 2003
 " 1991 /
 / " "
) 1995 " " . 1994
 . (<http://hem.bredband.net> - 1 2004
 . 12 () "
 1994 ()
 1994
 1994
 Cannes
 (38 2002) ".

— . 1995 28-27 —
:

European Commission

"
" .
" .
" .

1989
1995 .
" " " —
" "

. (12 -11 2000) "
1992
" 1990
" .
2000) .

(8

/

.... (/) ()

So , the Barcelona Process was , from the outset , as . (210 2000)
much an attempt to address substantive political and security issues , as
economic and financial ones . Indeed some of the most complex and
sensitive matters have been addressed under the political and security
umbrella-political dialogue and peaceful resolution of disputes ; a Middle
East free , and verifiably free , from weapons of mass destruction ,
democracy and human rights , and ultimately the establishment of a Euro-
Mediterranean Stability Pact which would embody both a crisis prevention
and crisis diffusion mechanism . (Miller and Mishrif 2005 , 2)

. ...

"

(211-210 2000) " . /

() : -

1995 28-27

-

-

the 12 southern and eastern Mediterranean . (5 2000)
Partners : Algeria , Cyprus , Egypt , Israel , Jordan , Lebanon , Malta ,
Morocco , The Palestinian Authority , Syria , Tunisia and Turkey (Katz
1999 , 46) .

:

15

. (<http://www.eu-del.org.il> - 1 2004 -)

So , the Barcelona Process is a unique and . (87 1997)
ambitious initiative , which laid the foundations of a new regional
relationship and which represents a turning point in Euro-Mediterranean
relations . (Solera 2004 , 1)

The latest EU enlargement, on 1st May 2004, has brought two
Mediterranean Partners (Cyprus and Malta) into the European Union, while
adding a total of 10 to the number of Member States. The Euro-
Mediterranean Partnership thus comprises 35 members, 25 EU Member
States and 10 Mediterranean Partners (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan,
Lebanon, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia and Turkey). Libya
has observer status since 1999. (Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona
Process 2006 , 1 - http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/euromed/)

” . : -

. 2010

(<http://www.eu-del.org.il> – 1 2004 –)

” .

” . (–)

- - : - -

(2000 6) .

"

K.Ramazani "

(2002 40) .

Thus , " the Euro - Mediterranean Partnership is one of the most ambitious socio-economic programs the Mediterranean region has ever witnessed . It promises to rekindle the close economic and cultural ties that historically flourished between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean Sea . Yet the term " Euro - Mediterranean Partnership " is scarcely known outside of the offices of the Governmental bureaucrats responsible for overseeing the initiative's implementation . While the Euro-Med Partnership , as it is known , is likely to fall short of its lofty goals of establishing " a common area of peace ... and shared prosperity ," it is likely to have a profound impact on Mediterranean societies and environment . (Katz 1999 , 46)

أسباب عقد مؤتمر برشلونة :

%64

%50

%10

- 7 1995)

. (8

. (<http://arabic.tharwaproject.com/Aff-Sec/Blint - 1 2005>)
Traditionally , European relations with the Arab world have been based on oil . This was the aim of the EU's only attempt to deal with the Arab world in a global way which resulted in the EU - Arab dialogue which was initiated on the 14th December 1973 at the Council of Copenhagen . The main mission of the dialogue was to establish communication channels with oil - producing countries , although it also served the purpose of drawing together the various political stances held by the different European countries themselves as well as their diverging political stances vis a' vis the Arab countries . (Barcelona Declaration : Effects of Medditerranean Integration on Regional Banking and Financial Institutions (Workshop) 1997 , 1)

(8 1995) .

1948

1995

—
83 2002)

.(

()

"

1991

"

(39 2002) .

:

In general , . (165 1997)

The Barcelona Declaration that the document signed by the foreign ministers of each partner country officially initiating the Partnership in 1995 , outlines the Partnership 's main goals :

1.[Promoting] a common area of peace and stability through [reinforcing] political dialogue and security .

2. [Engendering] a rapprochement between people through social , cultural and human partnerships .
3. [Constructing] a zone of (shared prosperity) and gradually establishing the region as a free trade zone , to be fully functional by the year 2010 . (Katz 1999 , 46)

:

. .1
 . .2
 . .3
 . .4
 (166 -165 1997) .

:

. .1
 . .2
 . .3
 2010 .4
 .(166 1997)

-

. 2010

(9 2000)

-

.

"

. (116 2002)

"

: 12

. (9 - 8 2000)

.

"

-

"

"

1999

"

(117 - 116 2002)

" .

)

.(

.(118 2002) "

. (60 1997)

So , the General objective of turning the Mediterranean basin into an area of dialogue , exchange and cooperation guaranteeing peace , stability and prosperity requires a strengthening of democracy and respect of human rights , sustainable and balanced economic and social development , measures to combat poverty and promomtion of greater understanding between cultures , which are all important aspects of partnership .(Barcelona decleration 2006 . 2 - <http://www.euromedrights.net/english/barcelona>)

"

" .

-

.

"

-

) .

"

(14 2000

:

: -

:

. (115 2002)

"

(12 2000) " . -

K.Ramazani " "

-

. (41 2002) -

(<http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/> - 1 2005)

: .

1975

- .1

.2

.3

. (12 2000) 2010

(41 - 40 2002) .

:

"

."

:

":

"

2000) . (17 2000)

-

(12

:

-

.

-

.

-

.

-

(18 2000) .

.

.

)

. (18 2000

- 3 2006) .
(" " -

- " .

) "

. (60 - 59 1997

(<http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/> - 1 2005).

1997

" 242 "
) 1991

" 338 "

. (83 2002

- :

:

-

-

-

-

-

-

" " " "

(<http://hem.bredband.net> - 4 2004)

)

"

(

- -
(-) 2000
:

"
. (<http://hem.bredband.net> - 4 2004)

) .

(43 - 42 2002

-
:
:
"
"

)

•

(

2010

The establishment of a Euro- . (88 2001)
 Mediterranean Free Trade Area by 2010 is undoubtedly the
 most ambitious economic objective undertaken through the
 Barcelona Process . It is also central to the attempt to
 increase the pace of sustainable economic and social
 development in the Arab region . (Miller and Mishrif 2005
 , 5)

•

•

•

•

•

) .

(88 2001

300

)

. (:
 -
 (<http://hem.bredband.net> - 5 - 4 2004)
 2010
 1996
 1995 " "
 2001 1996
 "
 ...
 . (<http://hem.bredband.net> - 5 2004) "
 :
 . (2002,44) 2010
 " 1 "
 - 1996
 :
 .
 .
)
 (" 2 " .

Thus , The . (<http://hem.bredband.net> - 5 2004)
 MEDA programme constitutes the main financial instrument used by the

EU for the implementation of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. MEDA I (1995-1999) , Over 85% per cent of the funds were allocated on a bilateral basis, the rest for financing regional activities. Funds were committed in four areas: support for structural adjustment (16%); support for economic transition and private sector development (30%); development projects to support a strengthening of the socio-economic equilibrium (40%); and regional projects (14%). While , MEDA II, which will run from 2000 to 2006 has an increased budget . It will focus more on preparing the Mediterranean partners for implementing the free trade area agreements and ‘South-South’ regional integration. The Mediterranean countries and the Community draw up three-year National Indicative Programmes (as with MEDA I) containing priorities for bilateral aid. A Regional Indicative Programme (RIP), as under MEDA) covers the multilateral dimensions of MEDA II. The MEDA II programme is currently making its way through the European Parliament. The European Parliament has been concerned with seeking the simplification of the implementation process of MEDA II and proposed amendment to the programme to support national sustainable development plans in the assisted countries. (Whitman 2001 , 14 – 15 - <http://www.isanet.org/archive/whitman.html>)

Association Agreement –

Regional Indicative MEDA Programme :

) National Indicative MEDA Programmes

. (15 2000

4 685

1999 – 1995

2006 2000

5 35

:

:

*

:

*

:

*

- 2 2005)

(<http://www.rezgar.com/debat/show.art.asp?aid=12571>

" MEDA "

MEDA

-) (EIB)

(<http://www.eu-del.org.il> - 1 2004

: -

Financial Cooperation Figures :

1995 – 1999 MEDA € 3,435 million	2000-2006 MEDA €5,350million
1995-1999 European Investment Bank (EIB) €4,808 million	2000-2007 European Investment Bank (EIB) €6,400 million
	2000-2007 EIB + €1million for transnational projects
	2003 committed MEDA funds €600,3 million

(Financial Cooperation / MEDA Programme 2006 ,1-
http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/euromed/meda.htm#1)

So , the European Financial aid to the Mediterranean (MEDA) is the second biggest external relations program of the EU budget and almost one-third of the EU funds specified for MEDA programs are devoted to industrialization . Egypt , which has the largest industrial sector of any Arab state , recieves 30 percent of MEDA funding . The Egyptian Industrialization Program received ECU 250 million from MEDA 1 , which totaled ECU 675 million between 1997 and 1999 . (Miller and Mishrif 2005 , 8)

" .

50

2006

) "

. (<http://www.eu-delegation.org.eg>- 3 2005

(60 1997) .

-

"

"

"

"

"

.

-

-

:

%20

"

-

-

)" .

(14 2000

:

:

).

(46 2002

"

"

:

-

-

-

-

/

-

:

(20 - 19 2000) .

. (..)

. (..)

)

. (20 -19 2000

-

- 3 2006) .

(" " -

(47 2002) .

- -

.
-

:

/ 28

"

1995

...

"

"

(<http://hem.bredband.net> - 5 2004)".

. (60 1997)

) .

(13 2000

-

:

http://hem.bredband.net - 5 2004) .

(

" - - 3 2006)
." ("

(48 47 2002) .

:

:

-

...

1970 ()

/ /

/ /

...

. (205 2000)

.
.

(11 2002) .

/

:

1973

/

:

. () .. 1973

..

/

:

. () 1995

/

%40

. %4
 / 975/ 1981 / 639 /
 / 1991 / 1908
 (206 - 205 2000) .
 1995 / / " :
 / 27 /
 " 2010
 / /
 . (207 - 206 2000) 1976
 1976
)
 (
 (14 2002) .
 1992

/

. ...

.. /

"

"

. (207 2000)

H.Kissenger

.

(16 2002) .

1994

/

1995 – 1973

1969

.. _____

1976

1977

1969

" . 1973 ()

() 13

..

1973

()

.. / 242 /

(208 -207 2000)" . 1967 ()

1988 : _____

/

..

..

/

/

.

(209 - 208 2000)

()

. (16 2002)

/

:

1995

1969

.1

1976

.2

1977

1987 - 1979

%3

1988

.3

/

1990

.4

/ 5,7/ 1996 - 1992

1995

/ MEDA

()

1994

.5

1994 ()

(210 - 209 2000) .

:

":

."

: 1995

. 1997 16 15

. 1998 4 3

) . 1999 16 15

•

•

•

(75 2000

:

-

1997 / / 16-15

"

"

"

"

. (216 - 215 2000)

2000) .

(77

() 4 - 3

:

"

..

1998

/

. (216 2000)

":

".

(77 2000)

()

1999 ()

16-15

:

-

(216 2000) .

:

2010

/

.1

.2

.3

(217 2000) .

.4

/

.5

.6

()

.7

.8

.9

EIB

MEDA

(218 -217 2000) .

.10

/

/

1998 /

/

/

)

8-7

/

1999 (

/

/

(218 2000) . /

(78 2000) .

13-12

/ /
: 1998 ()

/

1999 ()

/

-

-

(219 - 218 2000) .

"

:

MEDA11

-
-
-
-
-

. " (....)

- 219 2000) .

(220

18

64

“ ”

”

(77 - 75 2000) . ”

”

”

”

”

(77 2000) .

:(-)

1995

-

. (7 1999)

1991

(94 2000) .

. (15 2000)

) .

-
(40 2002

) : " (-
-
" "

" "
(8 - 7 1999) .

27 .
() -
)
(
1999) . /
(8

"
-
()

()

. ()

1998

. (9 1999) "

- 10 2005) .

. (http://albadil.net/fsmed/attack_fsmed.htm

-

1995 / 28

"

"

" . (14 1995)

(

()

- 8 2004

)

. (<http://arabic.tharwaproject.com/Main-Sec/NetWatch/NW>

1995

. () 1996

)

()

(

.

-

1995

-

(10 - 9 1999) .

:

/

— " "

(158 2004) .

—

"

"

"

"

. (159 - 158 2004)

"

"

-

-

.

"

"

(13036 - 24 2005).

-

-

.

"

.

"

(159 - 158 2004)

:

.1

. (338) (242)

"

(Miguel A. Moratinos) "

.2

(89 2002)

.3

.8

(91 2002) .

2010

(159 2004) .

(159 2004) .

" 1992

"

"

"

"

" 1992

:

1991

1989

-

-

-

"

"

-

(26 1999) .

/

)

(

)

.(

)

(

)

(

"

"

."

"

"

"

-

"

“ — ”

(73 1996) .

()

”

”

”

”

”

”

/

/

. (13106

- 11 2006 ” -) ()

()

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

"

" ."

"

"

(<http://www.islamonline.net/arabic/mafaheem> - 1 2004)

:

:

-

: -

: -

: -

. (230 - 229 2000)

:

"

"

...

)

(

-

-

:

/

.. " ...

/

"

2000) .

(231 - 230

:

. ...

..

. (231 2000)

(55 2001) .

...

. (232 2000)

... ..

...

/

1995

..

(233 - 232 2000)..

:

..

.

()

.

.

.

-

-

.

)

. (234 -233 2000

.

-

/

:

.

.	.1
.	.2
" "	.3
.	.4
:	
.	.1
.	.2
.	.3
.	.4

1995

..

(235 -234 2000)

2005 ... ()

(220 2000) .

1995 /

:

(18 -17 1999) .

(2005 - 1995)

2005

28 27

1995

" (40 2005) "

"

)

"

. (<http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/DA227905-76E0> - 1 2005

In addition , It was decided to name 2005 - the tenth anniversary of the Barcelona Process - the " Year of the Mediterranean " . Also , during the next 5 years the main priority of the Barcelona Process will be to promote democratisation and Human Rights respect . In order to achieve this , the Commission proposes creating a "Democracy Credit Facility "that would start working in 2007 , aimed at rewarding those countries that make further progress achieving democratic reforms , including technical assistance .

(Euro-M editerranean **Partnership - Barcelona Process** 10 years later ... 2006, 2- www.hlsp.org/files/page/14357/EUROMED_HLSP_10May05.pdf)

25

35

% 6,5

% 6,5

"

25

"

..

: . (41 2005)
% 6.5

:

.

.

:

:

(41 2005)

). .

"

"

. (

-

. (12 - 11 1995)

" " ()
()

" "

" " " "

.

-

.

.

" :

"

.

-

(41 2005) " .

) 11 .

(

()

)

It should be known that , On 11 March 2003 , the . (42 – 41 2005 European Commission published a communique' on its new " neighbourhood policy for an expanded Europe ". This new policy commits the Union's member countries to a more ambitious redefinition of their relations with their immediate neighbours in the east and south of Europe . The neighbourhood policy is more contract based because it is in fact the Union's response to the worries expressed by its neighbours when it was

enlarged to twenty five countries . At the same time , its enlargement was doomed to failure if its immediate neighbours did not enjoy the benefits of peace , well being , security and stability too . " History will not wait , and enlargement must not create new division " . stated European Commissioner Verheugen on an official visit to Morocco on 4 February 2002. (Morin 2006 , 11 - 12 - www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/IMG/pdf/0103Morin_gb.pdf)

(<http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/> - 3 2005)

60

)

(

(42 2005) .



)
()

"
(43 2005)

-

(13098 - 16 2006)

-

. 2010 (-)

(43 2005) .

-

2005

– 16 2005

) " .

(13033

(حديث القدس 2005، 16 – صحيفة القدس ، العدد 13033)

-

(13033 - 16 2005) .

-

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

-

.

.

(13034 - 20 2005)

" (13034 - 20 2005) "

(13034 - 20 2005)

(13036 - 24 2005)

" " " " " " -) .

(13033 - 13 2005

:

.

. (32 - 31 1995)

).

(106 2002

(106 2002) .

-

. (79 2001)

) . -

(30 1996

/

...

...

. (386 - 385 2000)

:

-

(223 - 222 1999) .

"

"

. (30 – 29 1999)

(<http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/> - 3 2005)

% 6.5

"

"

:

2010

" 1981

(حجازي 1995 ، 23 - 24)

1997

1995

2005

"

"

...

.

—

:

:

•

•

(50 2001) .

On November 95 , The Barcelona meeting took place with the presence of 27 foreign ministers . The Barcelona declaration focused on the following :

- 1- to establish a common area of peace
- 2- to create an area of shared prosperity
- 3- to develop human rights and promote understanding between the cultures in the Mediterranean and Europe
- 4- to establish a free trade area by the year 2010 , within the basis of which free trade agreements were concluded between Europe and the individual countries of the Middle East (Shtayyeh 1999 , 166) .

2010

-

•

-

•

- :
- :
- () . 1993 . -
- :
- : - . 1995. . -
- .
- Shtayyeh , Mohammed . 2000 . Palestine and the European - Union : A Partnership for Peace and Economic Development . Al-Bireh : The Palestinian center for regional studies .
 - Shtayyeh , Mohammed . 1999 . Palestine and the European Union : A Partnership for Peace and Economic Development . Al-Bireh : The Palestinian center for regional studies .
- 2000 . Arabic Translation -
- :
-
- .
- . 1997 . -
-
- :
- . 2000 . -
- :
-
- . 2002 . -
- :
- .
- :
- . 2001 . -
- :
- . 2002 . -
- :
- . 2020

: . 2000 . -
:
. ()

:

: . 2004 . -
:
:
:
()
:
() .

:

- Barcelona Declaration : Effects of Mediterranean Integration on Regional Banking and Financial Institutions (Workshop) . 1997 . Amman: The Arab Academy for Banking and Financial Sciences Seventh Annual Conference .

- Solera, Gianluca. 2004. Europe and its Mediterranean Neighbors : The State of the debate in the European Union . The Greens / EFA in the European Parliament.

" . : " . 1999 . -
 . 15-7 : 82
 " . 2004 . -
 . 161-158 : 155 " .
 - " . 1996 . -
 : 205 " . ()
 . 100-88
 " . 1995 . -
 "
 . 24-3 : 1
 " . 2002 . -
 " .
 . 92-80 : 275
 " . 1996 . -
 -22 : 87 " . :
 . 34
 " . 1997 . -
 . 73-36 : 4 " .
 : % 6.5 " . 2005 . -
 43 - 40 : 749 "
 : " . 1999 . -
 . 223-219 : 137 " .
 " . 2000 . -
 . 94-92 : 173 " .
 " . " . 1999 . -
 . 30-25 : 82

" . 1997 . -
. 168-165 : 129 " . :
" . " . 1999 . -
. 23-17 : 82
" . 2001 . -
. 94-79 : 272 " .
: / " . 1996 . -
. 84-71 : 49 " .
: " . 1997 . -
: 215 " .
. 73-58

- Miller, Roy, and Mishrif , Ashraf . 2005 ." Barcelona Process and Euro-Arab economic relations : 1995-2005. " Meria Journal V.9 , N.2 : 1-19 .

- Katz , David . 1999 . The Mediterranean Free Trade Zone : Duty Free Enviromental Degradation . Middle East Report 213 : 46 - 48

) .2005 / -
.(

< http://www.albadil.net/fsmed/attack_fsmed.htm

(2005/9/19)

() . 2006 . -

< <http://www.delwbg.cec.eu.int/ar/euromed/barcelona.htm>

(2005/10/2)

- Barcelona declaration . 2006 .

<[http://www.euromedrights.net/english/barcelona
process/barcelona_declaration.html](http://www.euromedrights.net/english/barcelona_process/barcelona_declaration.html)

(2006/5/14)

. - . 2005 . -

< <http://www.eu-delegation.org.eg/AR/docs/news20.asp><

(2005/9/10)

. 2004/1/8 . -

< <http://www.arabrenewal.com/index.php?rd=AI&AI0=2830>

(2005/9/15)

- . 2004 . -

< http://www.eu-del.org.il/arabic/content/eu_and_country/3.asp

(2004/4/25)

: " " . 2004 . -
.3 - 2004 .

< http://arabic.tharwaproject.com/Main-Sec/NetWatch/NW_09_14_04/Perthes.htm

(2005/9/ 15)

) . 2004 . -

. (-
< <http://hem.bredband.net/dccls2/s202.htm>

(2004/9/15)

.. . 2004/6/2 . -

< <http://www.islamonline.net/arabic/mafaheem/2004/06/article01.shtml>

(2006/4/15)

- . 2005 . -

2003/12/14 – 682 :

< <http://www.rezgar.com/debat/show.art.asp?aid=12571>

(2005/9/15)

. 2005 .

< <http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/D8BADAFA-7C8D-40F1-B315->

(2005/11/ 25)

. 2005 .

<<http://www.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/DA227905-76E0-4817-9E35-8D3E649CC05D.htm>

(2005/11/27)

. 2005 .

< http://arabic.tharwaproject.com/Aff-Sec/Blint/blint_5_5_05.htm

(2005/9/15)

. 2005 .

< http://www.eu-delegation.org.eg/AR/docs/EU_Egy4.asp

(2005/10/26)

- Euro-M editerranean **Partnership - Barcelona Process** 10 years later ...
2006 .

< www.hlsp.org/files/page/14357/EUROMED_HLSP_10May05.pdf

(2006/5/14)

- Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona Process . 2006.
External Relations .
<http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/euromed/

(2006/5/10)

- Financial Cooperation / MEDA Programme 2006 . External
Relations .

< http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/euromed/meda.htm#1

(2006/5/27)

- Morin , Olivier . 2006 . The Euro – Mediterranean Partnership Tries to
Find its Second Wind . (Translated by David Nacey)

< www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/IMG/pdf/0103Morin_gb.pdf

(2006/5/10)

- Whitman , Richard G . 2001 . Five years of the EU's Euro – Mediterranean
Partnership : Progress without partnership ?

< <http://www.isanet.org/archive/whitman.html>

(2006/5/10)

:

". 2005 . - -

". ()

- 1426 27 - 2005 29 - . 13032

": ". 2005 . () - () -

".

- 1426 27 - 2005 29 - . 13032

". 2005 . - () - -

".

- 1426 28 - 2005 30 - . 13033

. 2006 ". : " -

":

".

. 13098 - 1427 7 - 2006 6 -

". 2006 . -

": ". 2005 . -

- 1426 28 - 2005 30 - . 13033

".

". 2005 . -

- 1426 29 - 2005 1 - . 13034

	" .		" . 2005 .	-
- 1426	31	- 2005	3	-
				. 13036

			" . 2006 . () -	-
- 1427	16	- 2006	" . ()	
			14	-
				. 13106

		" .	" . 2006 .	-
"	"	-		:

			:	
	(-)	•
		:		
16-15	:	-	: 1	-
			: 2	-
			. () 1997	
4-3	:	-	: 3	-
			. () 1998	
)	-	: 4	-
			(1999 16-15	
			: 5	-
. 1995	1	29 :	: 6	-
. 1997	16-15		: 7	-
		"	: 8	-
		. 1999 16-15 :	"	
28-27	:	-	: 9	-
			. () 1998	
29	976	()	: 10	-
			. 1999	
			:	
. 2000	. Arabic Translation			-
	:	.	-	

-

●

:

-

-

"

"

"

"

-

"

"

"

"

-

:

. 2006 "

:

" -

.

"

-

:

5-4

:

•

:

". 2000 .

-

. 94-92 : 173

".