

The Discourse of EU's Power and its Mediterranean Policy

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Abstract: The argument that the EU is a civilian, military, or normative power has gained considerable attention. Discussions about recent developments in the international system portray the EU as a smart power. The EU's Mediterranean Policy is in many ways a suitable test case for the portrayal of the EU as a smart power. The study of the constitute power structure to the EU's foreign policy may be a better starting point for examining whether the EU's power dimension is comprehensible as well as justifiable to shape EU's profile in the world stage. However, much remains to be done in terms of finding a satisfactory theoretical basis to examine this argument.

Key words: European Union Smart power ENP EMP

Introduction

The evolution of the European Union (EU) from a regional economic bloc among six neighboring states in 1951 to today's highly supranational entity of 27 countries across the European continent stands as an unprecedented phenomenon in the annals of history. In the past decades, EU has created a series of values and principles which have both unique and universal application. EU is acting follow these standards in international society and imposing its own impact during the process of disseminating these norms in order to reset international norms in its own image. More and more scholars develop this argument, build standards and investigate how normative power run. However, the EU has many limits to practice this power as militarization of the EU may lead to the erosion of the EU's normative power.

One of the keys to advancing knowledge in this subject will be what is the EU's power structure , as conflicts driven by EU' development is about whether EU could be a more attractive normative model or not . It is interesting from a conceptual viewpoint to note that the enlarged EU has found it in name of smart power, should combine soft power and hard power ,rest on inducements ('carrots')and threat or coercion ('sticks') and an indirect or co-optive power behavior.

Firstly I will introduce a brief historical review of the concept of civilian and military power. Secondly, I will compare the concept of civilian and military powers with the concept normative and institutional power in a theoretical dimension, referring to the construction of new European mode as a smart power. Thirdly, I will argue that the characteristic of the European Union in the international relations reflects civil power and military power through institutional dimensions which have disempowered the EU's unique role as a global actor. EU has formed a power's structure like a

tetrahedron from four dimensions of civilian power, military power, normative power and institutional power. In order to demonstrate my consideration, I will look at the case of EU's Mediterranean Policy; Finally I will conclude by arguing that EU should act as a smart power to improve the peace and prosperity of the continent.

I the Genealogy of Concepts: from civilian power to smart power

The image of the EC /EU as a relatively benign actor has been commonplace among academic in the early 1970s, it is hotly debated on what the EU is capable of doing and what it ought to leave to others. The result partly is the enlargement in which the major European powers (France, Great Britain) would coexist in a common political framework and European Political Cooperation (EPC) regime is established. The other is the energy crisis confronted Europe which is the first major test of cohesion reflected the difficulty of Europeans could have a common strategy .Since Duchêne's comments on the EC's civilian form of action that was "long on economic power and relatively short on armed force".¹ Then Twitchett defined civilian power as such key features, a preference for peaceful conflict settlement and the use of a binding multilateral framework to organize the international system..² .Johan Galtung suggested that the international profile of the EC should be one of "a nonmilitary superpower".³ His main assertion contrasted sharply to that of Duchêne, in that he commented on the EC as a superpower in the making. According to Duchêne, the axis of European power can only be one of a civil power; Europe can not be a military power because such a perspective is so entirely antithetical to the project of its founders. The debate, articulated in the Cold War context, allowed for a definite conception of the 'West' determined by the US as one of the superpowers –considering EU as a civilian power.

In the early 1980s, it was an article by Hedley Bull – the pre-eminent writer of "English School" of international relations theory, rekindled the debate. In Bull's mind, to talk about civilian power is a contradiction in terms, for there can be no power without military power, he dismissed the suggestion that the European community represented as a civilian power.⁴ The timing of Bull's critique, at the height of the Cold War, Europe once again became a sensitive issue in East-West rivalry due to the deployment of Euro missiles, which may explain why he inferred that European actress was only possible once Europe managed to acquire military capabilities that would be capable of preventing an American withdrawal and neutralizing the continent.

¹ Duchêne, F. (1972) 'Europe's role in world peace', in R. Mayne (ed.), *Europe Tomorrow: Sixteen Europeans Look Ahead*. London: Fontana, pp. 32–47.

² Twitchett, K. (ed.) (1976) *Europe and the world : The External Relations of the Common Market* (New York: St. Martin's Press), pp.1-2.

³ Lister, M. (1997) *The European Union and the South: Relations with Developing Countries* (London: Routledge).p.20.

⁴ Bull, H., "Civilian power Europe: a contradiction in terms?", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 1982 , 21(2): 149–164

The development after 1989 in international relations leads us to consider both notions of military power and civilian power in world politics. When the 'West' no longer faced a common enemy and the EC started to open up to a large number of neighbors, some scholars suggested that the EU should advance a broader international profile through its 'civilian power'.⁵ The debate on civilian power Europe asserted that democratic control and an ethical foreign policy should form the basis of the EC/EU's global reach.⁶

At the same time, the question of the EC develop a military dimension had attracted scholars attention as the agreement of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) in 1991. As the development of a common foreign and security policy was eventually to include defense policy, the single-pillar structure of the EC turns to the three-pillar structure of the EU, which was regarded as a fundamental trend from civilian power to military power. So the shift towards military power Europe is also evident by a 60,000 person rapid reaction force(RRF) EU have, Which all weakened the EU's 'distinct profile' of having a civilian international identity .Some scholars emphasized that EU should advance a broader international profile through its civilian power, even return to power politics. ⁷But others argued that which still within the dimension of a civilian power as defense and nuclear capability still under the concern of NATO. ⁸ Larsen further argues that the discourse that the EU uses to describe itself is one of a civilian power, even though it has now acquired military capabilities.⁹

Ian Manners' article on normative power published in 2002 that rekindled the academic debate at the third time. Manners' initial consideration of the EU's normative power was primarily on cognitive processes.¹⁰ .In his reconsideration of normative power in 2006, Manners suggests that 'militarization of the EU need not necessarily lead to the diminution of the EU's normative power'.¹¹ His discussion of EU as a normative power adds a new dimension of conception and value to identify EU as a global actor.

However, till now this debate is that the distinction of civilian, military and normative power has not been clearly defined. For a long time little research was done on external EU action and the EU's political role as a global actor with regard to the

⁵ Gourlay, C. and Remacle, E. (1998) 'The 1996 IGC: The Actors and Their Interaction'. In Eliassen, K. (ed.), p90.

⁶ Smith, H. (2002) *European Union Foreign Policy: What It Is and What It Does* (London:Pluto Press).p2.

⁷ Zielonka,J.(1998) *Explaining Euro-paralysis: Why Europe is Unable to Act in International politics*(Basingstoke:Macmillan)p.229

⁸ Smith.K, "The End of Civilian Power EU: A Welcome Demise or Cause for Concern?" *International Spectator* , 2000,Vol .23,No .2, p27.

⁹ Larsen, H. (2002) 'A Global Military Actor'? *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 37, No. 3,pp. 283-302.

¹⁰ Manners, I. (2002) 'Normative Power Europe: A Contradiction in Terms'? *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2, pp. 235-258.

¹¹ Manners, I. (2006) 'Normative power Europe reconsidered: beyond the crossroads'.*Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, p. 182.

immense body of literature devoted to the integration of Europe. More specifically, scholars have touched three main clusters of elements that make some place more clearly identified to these conceptions than others. (See Table1)

Table 1: Civilian, Military and Normative powers

	Civilian	Military	Normative
Carr	Economic	Military	Opinion
Galtung	Remunerative	Punitive	Ideological
Manners	Ability to use civilian instruments	Ability to use military instruments	Ability to shape conceptions of “normal”
SongLilei	Pay little attention to the justice of aim	Pay little attention to the justice of aim	Pay attention to the justice of aim
	Including all topics	Including certain topics	Including all topics
	Construction of regional norms	Without consideration of constituting of norms	Construction of global norms

Source: Song Lilei based on Manners (2002.p240)

In this present article, I try to get a grip on the notion of institutional power. Let me focus on the term ‘institution’, which is used here in a restricted sense .Its meaning refers to organizations with a complex and relatively stable internal structure, which is designed to integrate the constitutive members of the institution and such organizations are expected to rely on formalized and rational procedure to come to decisions and determine policies. Some or all members of the institution performed a certain action. The institutional power is the capabilities to ascribe as: perception, decision-making, deliberation, display a series of important characteristics that share with individual agents and so on. Neoliberals have argued how states with convergent interests create international institutions and arrangements that effectively tame state! Power, highlighting processes of social choice and leaving the impression that institutions are the antidote to power¹².institutional power is actors’ control of others in indirect ways. Specifically, the conceptual focus here is on the formal and informal

¹² Keohane, Robert, and Lisa Martin(1995)The Promise of Institutional Theory, *International Security* 20 (1) p.39.

institutions that mediate between A and B, as A, working through the rules and procedures that define those institutions, guides, steers, and constrains the actions (or nonactions) and conditions of existence of others¹³ I assume EU as an institutional power ,to find that potential power outside of the EU and power generally influence support by its three of the most important institutions of the European Union- the Commission, the Council of Ministers, and the European Parliament.

Recently , Joseph S.Nye argues that the United states seems to have lost its ability to employ soft power as once it did this effectively during the cold war and Bush administration's policies in the Middle East have opted for hard power over soft power , he regards soft and hard power can complement each other and advises the US administration to recognize its benefits and necessity to align its values with foreign policies, The ability to combine the two into an effective strategy is "smart power".¹⁴ Of course, it should go without saying that these discussions do not constitute the final word on this tremendously complex subject, it will endless with the EU's integration process.

II the types of power

The concept of power is a central and essentially contested concept in international relations. Power is the production, in and through social relations, of effects that shape the capacities of actors to determine their circumstances and fate.¹⁵ Scholars make great efforts to understand how global outcomes are produced and what kind of resources global actors to use to control the behavior of others and how actors are differentially enabled and constrained to determine their actions.

Hard power, according to the Karl Deutsch's definition, is "willful power" as the ability to impose one's goals without regard to others", "the ability to talk instead of listen and to afford not to learn".¹⁶ By contrast , Soft power, is attracting others to want the same outcomes that you want .According to the concept's founder, American political scientist Joseph S.Nye, there are two ways of using power: first, direct or commanding method of exercising power, the ability to change what other's do ,which rest on inducements ('carrots')and threat or coercion ('sticks') ,second, an indirect or co-optive power behavior , the ability to shape when others want, which rest on attraction of one's ideas or on the ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preference that others express. The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as culture ideology and institution. This dimension can be thought of as soft power in contrast to hard power

¹³ Michael Barnett and Raymond Duval, "Power in International Politics", *International Organization*, Vol. 59, No.1, 2005, p. 51.

¹⁴ Joseph S.Nye,Jr. soft power and Smart power ,The United States has forgotten how to use soft power *International Politic* ,Summer 2006 ,p. 10.

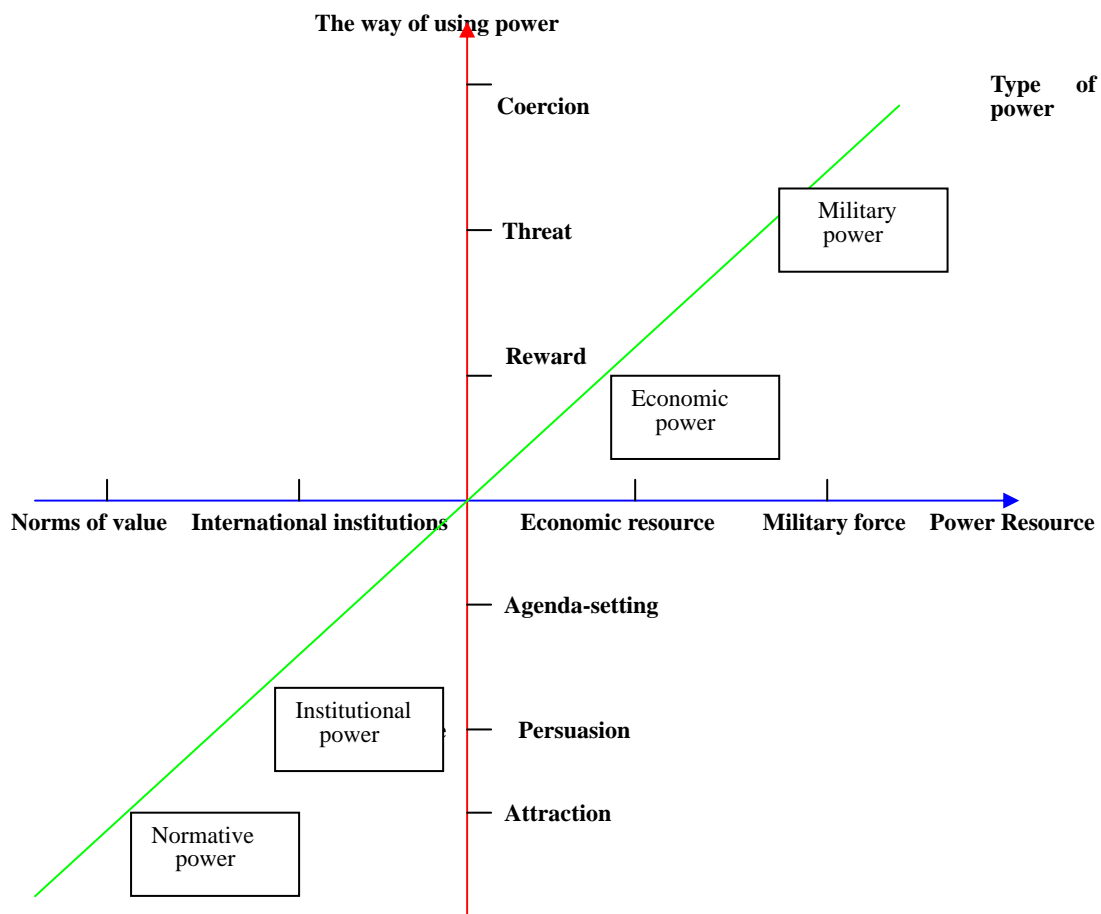
¹⁵ Michael Barnett and Raymond Duval, "Power in International Politics", p.39.

¹⁶ Deutsch, K.W. (1963) *The Nerves of Government* (New York: Free Press).p.111.

associated with tangible resources like military and economic strength. The distinction between hard power and soft power resources is one of degree, both in the nature of the behavior and the in the tangibility of resources .both types are aspects of the ability to achieve one’s purpose by controlling the behavior of others.¹⁷

In the international political research filed, power is the ability of to influence and control the other actors, at the level of world politics; nations can attract others through the strength of their values and culture. When a country can induce others to follow by employing soft power, it saves a lot of carrots and sticks. Soft power is based on the allure for political ideas, policies and culture to prompt certain internal reforms in target states. As this concept introduced over decades ago, it has been expanded and included a range of “nonmilitary” mechanisms especially emphasize on democratic change.

Diagram 1 .distributing of power



Blue line : Power resource

Red line: The way of using power

Green line: Type of power

The existing literature gives us a running start at developing a framework for analyzing the way of using power. I will try to show that an international actor can use

¹⁷ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., “The Changing Nature of World Power”, Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 105, No. 2, 1990, pp. 181-182.

four resources such as military force, economic resource, international institutions (based on control of international rules and political topic) and norms of value to influence others through six ways as coercion, threat, giving reward, agenda-setting, persuasion and attraction. In this process, the actor possesses four types of power which form the power's structure: military power, economic power, institutional power and normative .The first two kinds are hard power and the last two kinds are soft power.(see Diagram 1 : the distributing of power) . Military power pays a lot of attention to coercion, threat, Economic power depends on giving reward or some degree of treat. Institutional power through institution to reach to agenda-setting and persuasion, normative power has attraction and persuasion naturally.

In brief, we can use coordinate axis to show the comparatively location of different types of power. (see diagram 1)The transverse axis denote power resources ,which the materialization of power is strengthened from left to right and the vertical axis express the way of using power, which the degree of constraint is enhanced form bottom to top. Power limited in the first quadrant is 'hard command power' and in the third quadrant is 'soft co-optive power'.

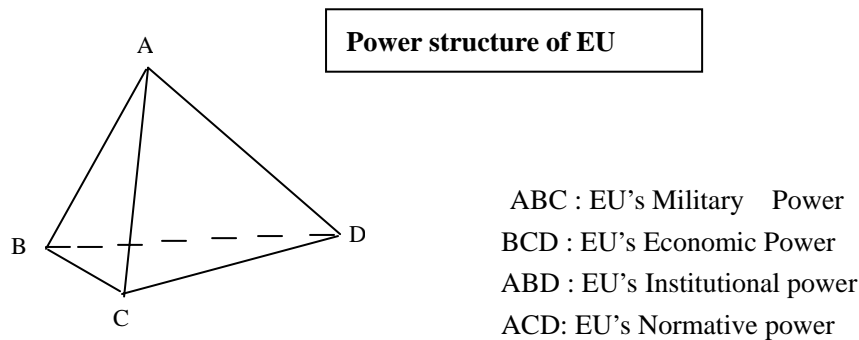
III Measuring EU: power structure as an unsymmetrical tetrahedron.

In Nye's view –provoking contributions, soft power can explain the European Union and the way it has facilitated far-reaching reform in its immediate neighborhood as EU membership is the top prize.¹⁸ In short, the universalism of EU's value and its ability to establish a set of favorable rules and institutions that governing areas of international activity are structure of power. The structure of power is being more and more important in shaping the EU's profile in the world stage.

With the development of capacity to act internationally, EU has the power as an international actor which has four dimensions such as civilian power, military power, normative power and institutional power. As a result, EU has formed a power's structure like an unsymmetrical tetrahedron.(see diagram 2) the economic power is the most important parts and foundation of EU's power structure. Meanwhile , the lateral wing of EU's institutional power EU's military power is strengthening ,which is the result of the EU's integration and enlargement. The influence of normative power is indirect ,which induce others by its combine with others. Such as its norm diffusion also include hard powers, the coercion , and the threat of punishment as well as deployment of military force in its efforts to promote human rights and democracy.

¹⁸ Joseph S.Nye (2004) *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs Press).p.32.

Diagram 2 :



EU is above all an Economic power, the growing economic presence of the EU has ensured that it has developed from a custom union of six nations to a single market of 27. In many respects, it can be regarded as a great power, rivaling even exercising a form of trade with United States. In the field of trade relation , EU has developed its role as gatekeeper and negotiator of access to the market of others, as the large number of states that rely on trading access to the single market, the foundation of such capacity legally provided by the Treaty of Rome, under General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)rules, was to create of a customs union with a Common Commercial Tariff.(CCT), This continues to provide the basis for the manifestation of EU as an actor accompany the evolution of the Common Commercial Policy. The EU 's approach has been characterized as “speak softly and carry a big carrot”¹⁹ giving reward and some threat are the two main ways of it using economic power. Trade and aid conditionality provided are hard instruments with very specific political objectives and they are still pre-eminent. Trade inducement and penalties are available through the manipulation of agreements ,quotas and preferential arrangements ,and sanctions are deployable under Article 301 of the TEC.

In the areas such as services, investment and monetary affairs, EU finds some way of representing itself externally. The creation of EURO had an immediate impact on the rest of the world as providing an alternative reserve and international currency to the dollars, which also empower to EU on the international stage and raise its stature in global economic diplomacy. In short, EU aims to bolster Europe's trade position and its economic power.

Secondly, EU's acquisition of military capability has raised the question of whether its civilian identity is now fundamentally challenged. The humiliating events of the Balkan wars of the 1990s and EU's inability to provide an effective solution contributed to the pressure for the development of an EU defense dimension. Thus the EU recognize and response to the external security environment in the post-cold war era .The significant developments from the late 1990s through to the first deployment of force under the European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP) in 2003 can be regarded as a transformation in which the Union acquired not only an unprecedented

¹⁹ Charlotte Bretherton, John Vogler, *The European Union as a Global Actor*, London: Routledge, 2005, p74.

military capability but also a security strategy ,Which was clearly evident by 1999 and formally endorsed by the June Meeting of THE European Council in Cologne .At the end of the following year, an ambitious ‘headline goal’ of 60,000 troops deployable by 2003 was agreed at the Helsinki Council. Even as the EU expands the Petersberg tasks, commentators still insist it is a civilian power, because military instruments are only one of several the EU could use.

However, from EU’s original conception in the form of the European Coal and Steel Community, providing security is in its business and its role derived from its presence. EU’s active anti-terrorism role ,stimulated not only by the events of September 2001 but also by the Madrid railway bombings of March 2004 and attacks on London the July 2005. And the new interfere role in external crisis ,such as EU Policy Mission in Afghanistan from July 2007 till now and EU Military operation in Democratic Republic of Congo in 2003, which all depended on its ability of coercion and threat.

Thirdly, the concept of EU as a normative power is limited in category of the soft power, the way of using power is persuasion and attraction. This view regards that the EU is re-setting international norms in its own image and acting follow these standards in international society, meanwhile imposing its own impact during the process of disseminating these norms .In the past 50 years, the EU has created a series of values and principles which are both unique and universal application. The EU’s normative value is depended on the universal nature of the principle which advocated. The EU’s pursuing a different policy is re-definition of what is an integral part of norms in the context of international relations. Therefore the constitution of The EU beyond the economic and security community level, as a value of the Community has largely occurred as an elite-driven, treaty based , legal order. For this reason its constitutional norms represent crucial values and principles determining its international identity.

The principles of democracy , rule of law, social justice and respect for human rights were first made clearly in the 1973 Copenhagen declaration on European identity, and the centrality of many of these norms was also constitutionalized in the TEU and the treaty of Lisbon restate them again:²⁰

“The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.”(Article 1a)

“The Union’s aim is to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples.” (Article 2)

“The Union’s action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and

²⁰ *Official Journal of the European Union*, C306, Volume 50, 17 December 2007.

respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.” (Article 10a) The quote from treaty of Lisbon illustrates the extent to which EU come into being a European model .

Last but not the least ,EU, as a kind of robust and independent institutional agency, has identified itself as such an institution power unambiguously. The European Community’s development policy fights against poverty, promotes democracy and human rights. Similarly, the Common Foreign and Security Policy(CFSP) aim at develop and consolidate democracy ,the rule of law and respect for human rights, and more specially at ‘contributing to the prevention and settlement of conflicts , and to more effective , internal coordination of emergency situations’ and at ‘promoting good government’ - as for instance stated in the June 1992 declaration by foreign ministers of EU member countries.²¹ It is found that a given institution are better suited to discharge certain kinds of duties than individuals countries ,as EU possesses certain unique capability in a given area. EU is described as taking action against immigration or intervening in Macedonia, the decision-makers of the EU, the specific member states ,individual members of the Council of Ministers and the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy all of these people in combination as an institution of the EU , who act to carry out decisions, which all on behalf the EU’s institutional power.

Besides that , EU clearly shares some responsibility with the UN, NATO as well as several other organizations, EEA,G8, Gulf Cooperation, Mercosur and so on ,which are also the resource of institutional power. EU take part in these institutions though three approach: first, the member states of EU assort with each other and act consistently to exert infection as EU is a unique actor rather than a formal member status in most institutions. Second, EU directly participates in some multilateral institution’s activities. As itself negotiate on the expending and controversial trade agenda of the World Trade Organization(WTO). Third, EU throws itself into building some new multilateral dialogue and cooperate regime to pursue of European interests. A case in point is EU promotes the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process between these two regions.

Without question, EU benefits from manipulating free trade agreements , patent laws and agricultural regulations to its own advantage when dealing with the developing countries of the Third World. The task of completing the single market has been put on the EU’s agenda and the move from one market to one currency has been gathering more supporting. The Stabilization and Association Agreements (SAA) as the chief instrument of EU’s soft power and their policies of conditionality in southeastern Europe meanwhile the so-called Europe Agreements that had been offered to the central and eastern Europeans.

²¹ Smith ,E. Karen, (2003) ‘EU external relations’, in Michelle Cini(ed.), European Union Politics(Oxford :Oxford University Press, pp240-241.

Of course , the different parts of EU's power structure are engaged with each other rather than isolated. In order to shape its 'near abroad' in ways amenable to the long-term strategic and economic interests of EU ,the launch of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) in 2003 is an attempt to provide an overarching framework for EU's relation with Southern and Eastern non-candidate' neighbors. The instruments employed by the EU in order to shape its external environment based on both the soft power (diplomacy persuasion, value attraction and institutional restriction) and 'hard power', in order to impose its vision of political and economic order on these neighbors. The latter involved coercive economic statecraft, primarily in the form of 'conditionality clauses' through using power in a variety of forms: political partnership ; economic carrots and sticks; the promise of membership or the threat of exclusion. Now the task ahead is to use this smart power of Europe to combine the soft power and hard power together to continue to improve the peace and prosperity of the continent . EU does not act as a smart power whose international role is shaped not by what it does or what it says, but what it is.

IV Case Study : from EMP to ENP

In terms of the EU's Mediterranean partners, necessarily talks to background of EMP (Euro and the difficulty to move ahead of the Barcelona Process(based on Barcelona Declaration)launched in November 1995, the Barcelona Process or EMP involves most countries on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean sea. The partnership including Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the Palestinian Authority and Israel and with(originally) Cyprus ,Malta and Turkey. Libya has an observer status while Mauritania is considered as a marginal state although it has been mentioned as a potential future EMP partner. the EMP covers different aspects of regional and bilateral cooperation , comprised by three chapters of Barcelona Declaration, political and security , economic and financial (including establishment of a Free Trade Area by 2010) ²²In short, the EMP, aims to create an area of peace, prosperity and stability in the EU-Mediterranean area, however, the EMP does not live up to the expectations it raised, EU's ability to exert influence has been limited whether in economic sphere or beyond that .

Until now, the world affairs were very different in 1995 when with an EU of 15 member states ,the challenges facing the EMP today more risky after 9/11, EU, has being focused on issues of terrorism and Islamist extremism .With its largest enlargement process of May 2004, the EU now includes Malta and Cyprus with Turkey awaiting for its membership permission, the composition of the EMP's Southern partners has changed since 1995. As a result , the relation between EU and Mediterranean Non-member Countries(MNC) is a high priority in EU's foreign policy. Considering the German is irritated about the French President Nicolas Sarkozy's

²² Barcelona Declaration, 1995

<http://www.wicklow.ie/publications/CDB/Barcelona%20Dec%20Project%20Final%20Plan.pdf>

initial idea of Mediterranean Union, EU will continue the Barcelona process

The European Neighborhood Policy puts a greater emphasis on the need for step by step political, economic and institutional reforms among its neighbors. The ENP is a novelty in EU-neighborhood relations, it is a first attempt by the EU to create a single overarching framework for engaging in dialogue and co-operation with a set of widely different neighboring countries. According to the Commission, the declared aim of the ENP is 'to share the benefits of the EU's 2004 enlargement with neighboring countries in strengthening stability, security and well-being' The Commission also stresses that the ENP is 'designed to prevent the emergence of new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbors', while offering them the 'chance to participate in various EU activities, through greater political, security, economic and cultural cooperation'.²³ Whether these aims to come true or not all rest with EU 's exertion to its different types of power.

The EMP was mainly a region-building exercise while the ENP is a policy built on the idea of bilateralism.²⁴ In theory, the EMP was based on the principle of 'negative conditionality'. In the framework of the Barcelona Process, Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements included a clause whereby an agreement will be suspended if the Mediterranean partner violates the respect for human rights. In contrast, the ENP, through a differentiated policy approach, is based on the principle of 'positive conditionality'.²⁵ Although the Commission states that 'the EU does not seek to impose conditions or priorities on its partners',²⁶ EU has a policy which relies on only those neighbors who share the EU's political and economic values and commit themselves to engage in reforms will have anything to gain from the ENP. This EU announcement may be characterized as a move from 'passive engagement' of the EU (within the context of the EMP and PCAs) to 'active engagement' with the ENP.²⁷ Four factors are particularly important in this regard.

At first , the economic preponderance of the EU and the bilateral dependence is still strong today to most Mediterranean partners. In Barcelona in 1995 it was hoped that this asymmetric relationship could be somewhat rectified by the gradual development of the FTA, although in the end this has not been the case. the majority of EU's southern Mediterranean neighbors still have a long way to go in terms of implementing the economic and financial aims of the Barcelona Declaration ,in spite of relative macroeconomic stability and some moves towards the 2010 FTA, such a stimulus would seem be EU's economic carrots and sticks .

²³ European Council, COM(2004) 373 final, 12 May 2004.p. 3. http://europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/document_en.htm

²⁴ Michelle Pace The European Neighbourhood Policy: A Statement about the EU's Identity? Internationaler Dialog (12/2005)P8

²⁵ Ibid.p9.

²⁶ COM(2004) 373 final, p. 8.

²⁷ Emerson, Michael, 2004. *The wider Europe Matrix*. Brussels: CEPS, pp. 69-75.

Secondly, The new neighborhood policy also responds to a logic of wanting to create what come to be known as a 'ring of friends' in the EU's near abroad. The 'ring of friends' a preferably share EU values. Hence, the ENP emphasizes that relations with neighbors will be paraded by EU's value attraction or normative power, as progress is demonstrated on issues related to a serious of principles and opinions such as democracy, respect for human rights , the rule of law and so on. Consideration EU's aim of adopting a far more active role and of exporting its values A set of documents has been reinforced on these issues as May 2003 Commission document on Reinforcing EU Actions on Human Rights and Democratization with Mediterranean Partners (COM(2003) 294 final).

Thirdly, EU 's role in conflict prevention and crisis management is an urgency for EU's military power as mentioned to the Middle East conflict and the dispute over Western Sahara. As EU-Israeli relations develop and with Israel's eventual integration into the EU's internal market, the future of EU-Mediterranean bilateral relations are most likely to be stabilized by the fate of Middle East peacemaking.

Finally, the new neighborhood policy recognize the existing situation of a multiple-speed Mediterranean, and it is constitute a new flexible institution that is hoped will revive Euro-Mediterranean relations as other attempts have failed. Without having to wait for progress among their neighbors (a factor which has made the lead up to the 2010 free trade area (FTA) excruciatingly slow).which promise the prospect for closer economic integration with the EU, which will exclusively depend on the southern Mediterranean countries' individual capacity to reform.²⁸ Also the EU's institutional restriction is a decisive impetus.

The ENP will clearly boost bilateral relations and consequently allow for greater flexibility in the different southern Mediterranean countries 'relations with the Union compared to the status quo. Since the 'golden carrot' of a membership perspective is without expectation, EU shoulder specific responsibilities as a smart power to combine the soft power and hard power together offering a brand new dynamic in Euro-Mediterranean relations. However, Given that the ENP is based on existing association agreements which include democracy and human rights clauses, there is the possibility of EU' s suspending an agreement unilaterally on the grounds of non-compliance by the other side. Thus, it seems to be a degree of resort to a 'big stick' of EU approach.

V Conclusion

²⁸ Elisabeth Johansson-Nogue's A 'Ring of Friends'?The Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy for the Mediterranean *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol.9, No.2 (Summer 2004), pp.243.

This article has argued that the EU tend to be a smart power; instead of finding itself as almost other international actors on the planet , with a spectrum between the two ideal-types of soft and hard power. EU faces moral dilemmas between carrying out duties which are particularly in terms of the kinds of goals -the balance between order and justice . Such dilemmas cannot be resolved , if EU foreign policy activities apply beyond its ideal-type conceptions ,turn to its four power dimensions as civilian power, military power, normative power and institutional power.

Given all literatures consideration, it is not a premature debate, and we should move on from classifying or categorizing of EU and admiring its distinctiveness , to debating what it actually does and what it should do in international relations. This is not to deny that the EU is indeed a unique international actor – it is, if anything because it is 27 states trying to act collectively in international relations, sometimes succeeding and sometimes not, through a relatively highly institutionalized process. So we can describe the EU as a singular actor with foreign policies, and thus judge and compare it accordingly.

As for Euro-Mediterranean relations, the ENP's existence may correct some of the shortcomings of the EMP , reveals the generally frustration in Europe as how little merits in the Barcelona Process bilateral and regional co-operation initiatives have produced in the past decade. There is an earnest hope that the ENP will serve to construct the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership with a new dynamic with EU's ambitions to act as a smart power combine the soft power (diplomacy persuasion, value attraction and institutional restriction) and hard power to impose its vision of political and economic order on these neighbors.

The ENP itself emphasis on political reforms (democracy, human rights, etc.), which is essential for long-term political stability in the Euro-Mediterranean region. The EU relies on the principle of exerting influence in world politics and achieving peaceful change through the export of norms and values, all of which highlighted in ENP documentation. However, Union's preoccupation concerns issues are about poverty, immigration, conflicts in its periphery which all related to the short-term stability (border management). The dilemma is how ENP will be able to change this negative dynamic only depending on a Smart power to continue to improve the peace and prosperity of the continent. In short, much more work needs to be done.

In a long run, the establishment of hard power, such as military capabilities is often seen as signaling the EU developing towards a state-like entity. As a result, EU is possibly losing some of particularities that are assumed to make it as a smart power. Furthermore, EU is certain as a promoter of its internal values, even as a counterweight to the USA, however, is it the other kind of soft -imperialism in its Mediterranean partners evaluation? EU is much stronger economically and politically , the relation between them is unequal .As EU' s soft and hard power depends heavily on the EU's policy goals and interests, as the neighbors having freedom to choose is

quite deceptive, as EU does set conditions , the closeness and depth of relations depends on the extent to which neighbours adopt EU norms. From the negative view point, EU may be approach to be a new kind superpower in the world stage or so called “normative empire” rather than a “normative model” for others based on its own positive image.