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Europe and the Mediterranean Neighbourhood: a Historical Perspective on Power, Development and Integration

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Europe and the Mediterranean region by Piri Reis, 16th century book Kitab-ı Bahriye. (Source: Library of Istanbul University, no 6605).



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Useful Concepts out of Historical Practice

Orders and Transitions: P. Pombeni (2016)

- Political Orders: a set of ideas, categories which translate into institutions aiming at the discipline of the collective social groups
- Political Transitions: the historical moment in which material, social and political conditions do coalesce to allow new ideas and new categories of «order» to transform into institutions.

Orders and Transitions are processes on a constant state of never-ending change, always contended by rivals, often embedding elements of previous orders

Hegemonic Power: Gramsci

The capacity and capability to impose one's will over the other (that is, power), both by force and consent.

Two parallel, mutually reinforcing elements of Hegemonic Power:

- Domination: the threat and the actual capacity to enforce organized violence on rivals.
- Consent: the capacity to exert the moral and intellectual leadership over allies and partners.

Integration:

The convergence on a common set of ideas, categories and institutions (order): by consent and/or dominion



Useful Concepts born out of Historical Practice

The «Value of the Mediterranean Space»:

- Hub for global connections: Asia-Europe-Africa leading to the «Enlarged Mediterranean» (Gibraltar-Aden)
- Transit for Energy to Industrial Societies (Europe and Asia)
- Major Consumption Market for Weaponry: long-standing armed conflicts; Recycling Energy-Exp Revenues
- Original site of Monotheistic Religions: Judaism, Christianity, Islam; Shaping and Legitimizing Ideas and Categories

Control o the Mediterranean as instrument of power on a global scale

Thesis:

Since XIX Century, European Powers have tried to shape orders in the Mediterranean space (South and East) along their basic preferences:

1. Free access to markets
2. Control over the flow of resources

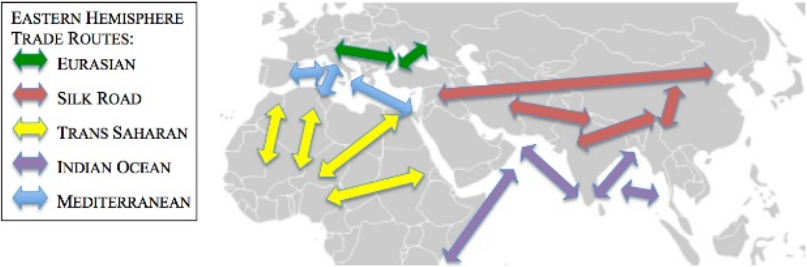
Resistance to Subalternity based on Indigeneous Factors + Emulation

Cooperation or Confrontation Depended on the Balance of Power: IR out of Economic and Military Capacities

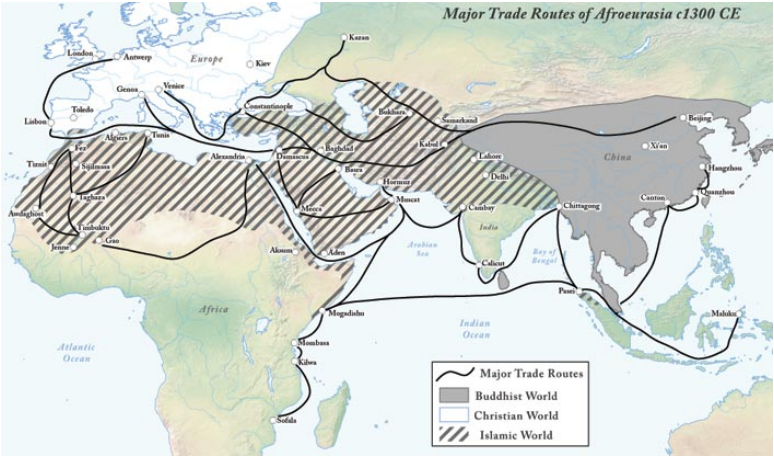
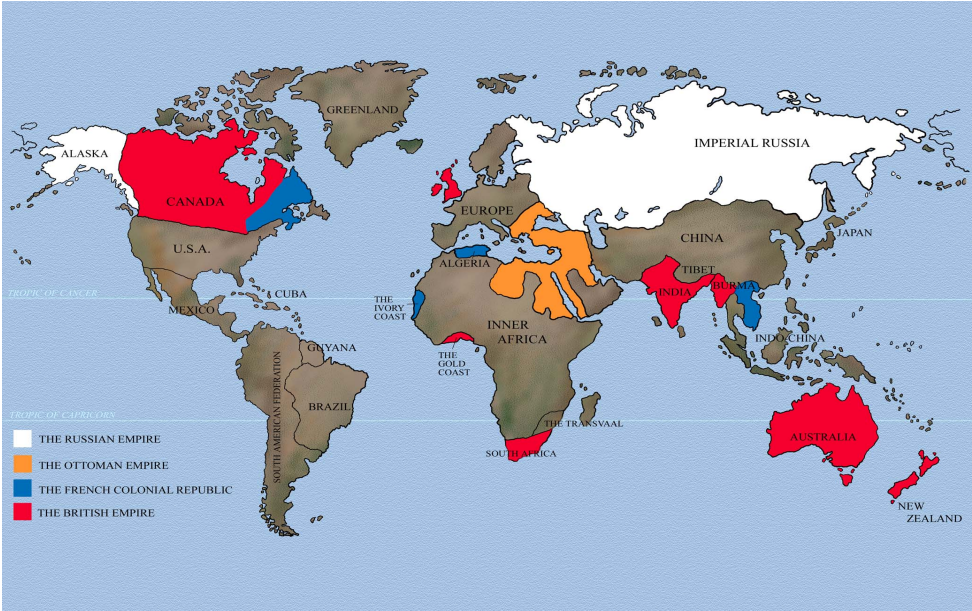


The Wealth of the Mediterranean: Space of Transit for Long-Distance Exchanges

Existing Trade Routes



Red:
British Empire
in 1800



Great Game:
British Empire vs. Tsarist Russia
1840s-1880s



Europe and the Mediterranean

1. Actors Involved in Imperial Times

European, Imperial States:

- States with national communities on the making, and global projections through colonialism: from Americas (1500s-1700s) to Asia (1700s-1800s)
- Military and Technological Predominance
- Capitalist «ever-ending» Accumulation: from finance to trade to production by industrialization (D-D' + D-M-D')

Ottoman Empire and its Provinces

- Self-Sustaining (Production-Consumption)+ Transit Trade Economy
- Focus on Balkans, North vs. Tsarist Empires and domestic revolts (Egypt, Arabian Peninsula)

2. Actors involved in Postcolonial Times

- European National States + European Communities (1950-1990s), later European Union (2000)
- Cold War Superpowers: USA, USSR (1945-1991)
- Territorial and National States in Middle East and North Africa: ex. Syria, Lebanon, Iraq Jordan - Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey (Multiple Identities as the Rule)



Europeans-led Integration: the Levantine Mediterranean, 1800-1945

Trajectories of Change

Transformation of Ottoman Caliphate and Morocco into Subaltern Peripheries of Europeans-led Modern Globalization/British-led Hegemonic Cycle: Penetration, Expansion, Integration (Hopkins, Arrighi)

By Domination:

- Territorial Conquests and Military Predominance (Organization, Technology and Strategy) 1798-WWI
- Access to Markets (Balta Liman 1838), Production for Export (Cotton, Silk, Cereals, 1860s), Public Finances (External Debts, Defaults, 1880s), Land Property (1920s) (Pamuk)

By Consent:

- Free Trade and State Power for Europeans vs. Dismantling of Economic and Political Institutions in South/East Med (Arrighi)
- Emulation (Selective Translation to local needs) of Effective Ideas and Institutions (Gelvin)

Geography of Integration:

- Inclusion: Coastal, Urban Centres; Merchants and Land-Owners as Intermediaries and Clients, the Levantines (Laurens)
- Exclusion: Agrarian Countryside; Peasantry as further marginalized (

Patterns of Resistance: (Chalcraft)

- Indigeneous (1800-1830s)
- Indigeneous + Emulation of European Modern Ideas and Institutions (1840s-1940s)



Balance of Power: a Mediterranean of «Sovereignties», 1946-1986

Trajectories of Change

Fragmentation and Re-Construction of the Mediterranean Space by CW Europe and Postcolonial MENA

- Decolonization and Postcolonial Independence: from Liberal Moment to Populist Nationalism and Regionalization; CW Non-Alignment (1955-1961) (Hinnebusch)
- From CW Division of Europe to Integration: Continental Focus (1948-Today) (Berendt)
- Expansion of State Power in Politics, Economics and Society: Developmentalist State (Ayubi)

Cooperation out of Necessity and Will: Proximity

- Primacy of Europe-MENA Economic Relationship: Ambiguity of Commodities for Subalternity/Sovereignty and Development (Fueling West Europe; Oil Shocks, 1969-1986; Petro\$ Recycling) (Garavini)
- Spill-over of Armed Conflicts: Arab-Israeli Conflict (1948-Today), Terrorism (1970s-1980s)
- Emulation of «Mixed Economies» and «Developmental State»: Planning, Welfare, Infitah (Bourgey, Vitalis)
- From Imperial Preferences to Liberalism to "Embedded Liberalism": Suez (1956), Bilateral trade, EC Single External Tariff (1957-1967), GMP (1972), Euro-Arab Dialogue (1974-1984), Cooperation Agreements (1976-1978) (Trentin)

Geography of Integration:

Inclusion: Agrarian Peripheries + Urban Centres; Popular and «Plebeian» Constituencies, Fixed-Wage Labour, Infitahi (Hinnebusch)

Patterns of Resistance: (Hinnebusch, Khalidi, Mark)

- Political Fragmentation: Struggle for MENA Leadership (from Arab-Med to Gulf);
- CW Militarization of IR Diversification



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Northern Africa and the Middle East

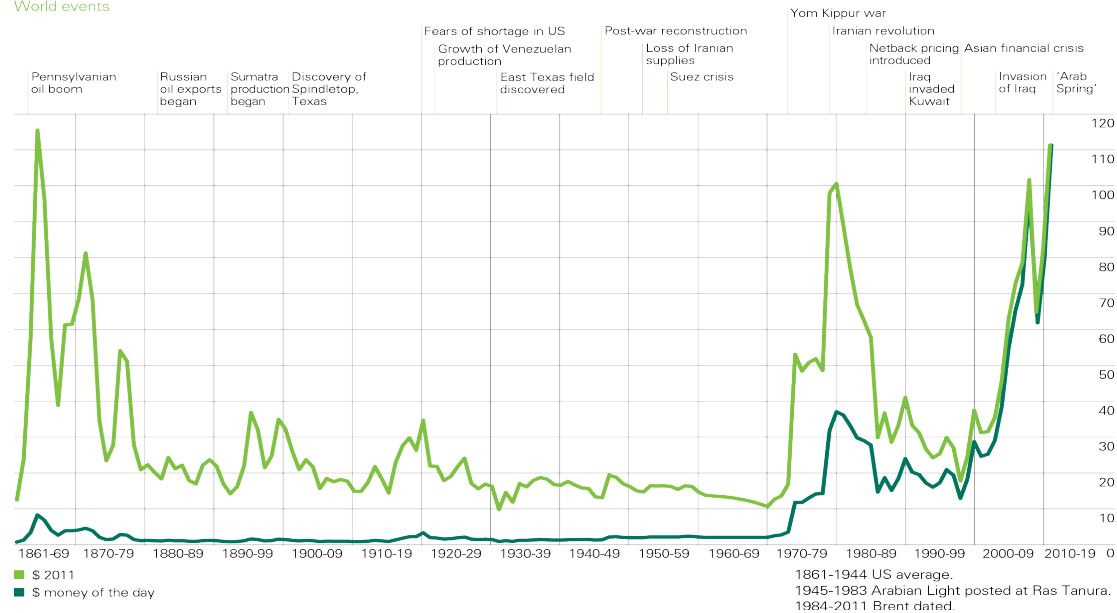


Political Epicentres in Postcolonial Mena:
Red: Secular Nationalism, MED, 1920s-1960s
Green: Religious Nationalism, Gulf, 1970s-2000s
Black: Uprisings and Wars, 2010s-Today

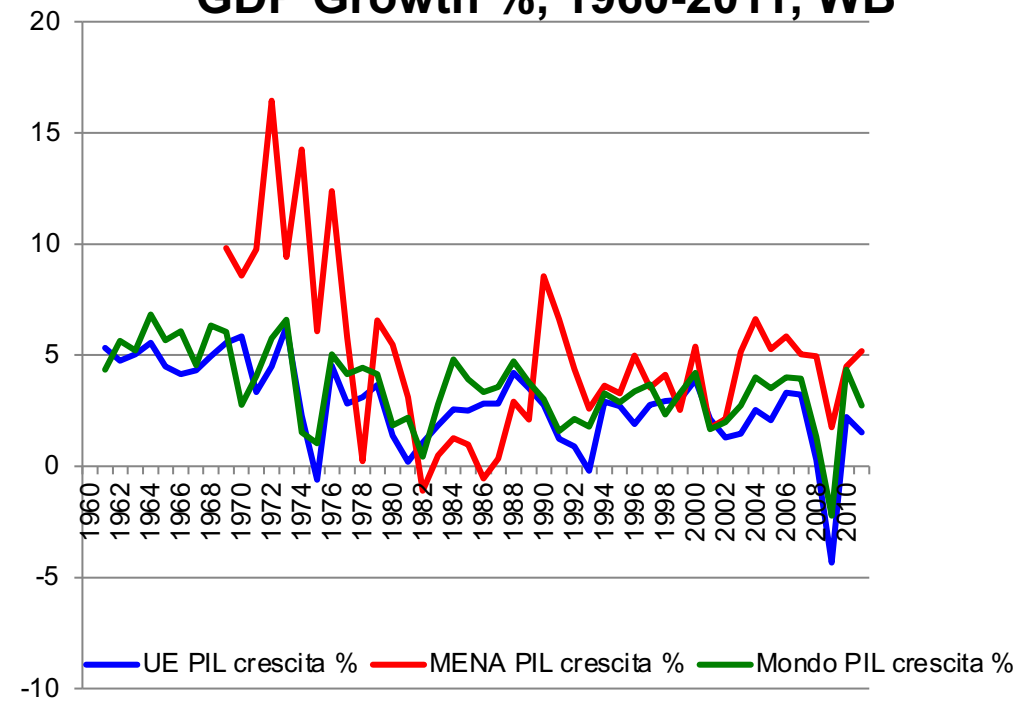
Crude oil prices 1861-2011

US dollars per barrel

World events

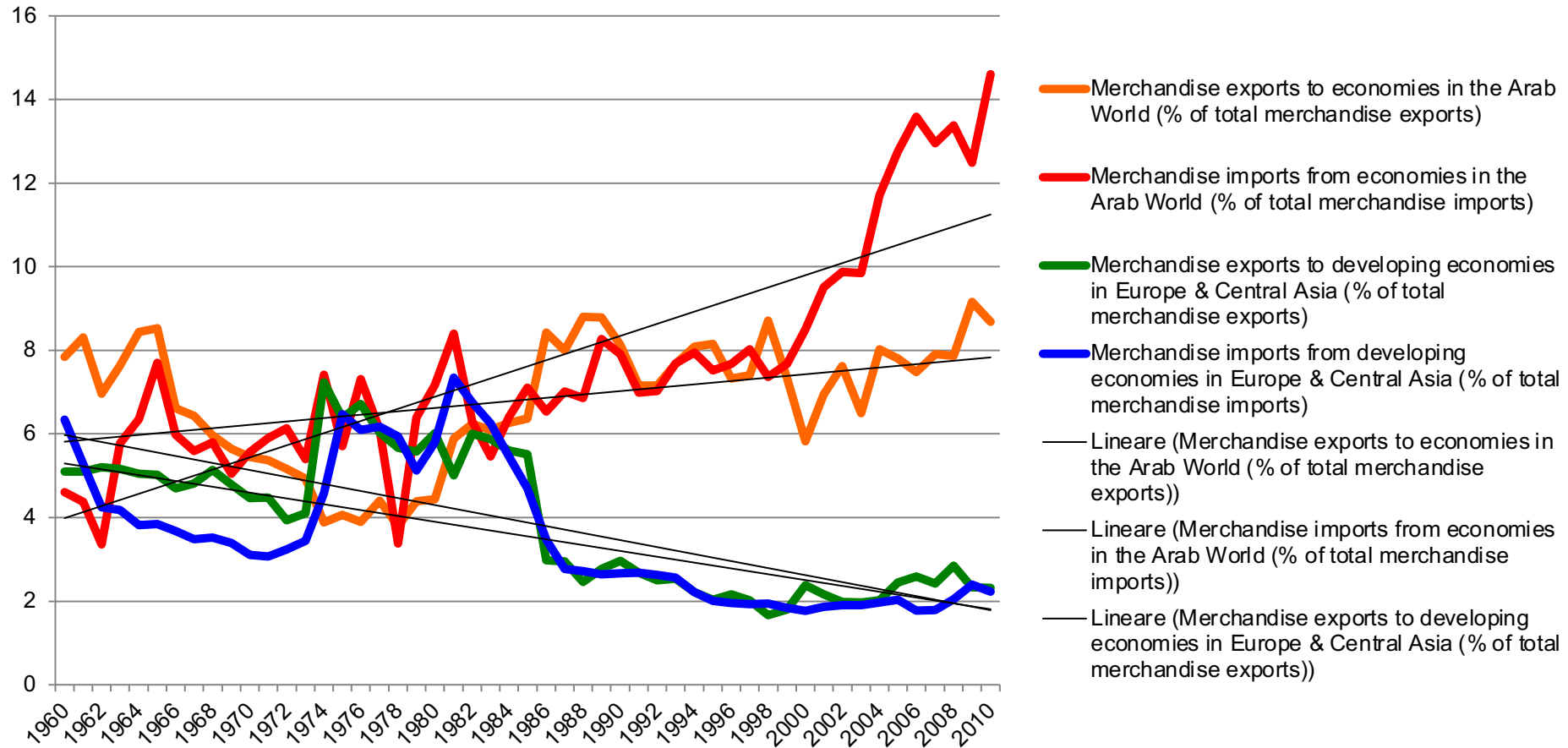


GDP Growth %, 1960-2011, WB



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Merchandise Exports and Imports within the Arab Countries (% of total merchandise exports) 1960-2010



Western-led Integration: the Neoliberal Mediterranean, 1985s-2003

Trajectories of Change:

Enforcing «the discipline of the markets» in US Hegemonic Cycle (US Moment)

- From «Embedded» Liberalism to the Neoliberal «Magics of the markets» or TNA (There's No Alternative) (
- From Developmentalist State to Patrimonial «Mameluk State» (Filiu)

By Domination

The Lever of Debt for Neoliberal Reforms: Plans of Structural Adjustment, 1980s-1990s (Pfeifer, Trentin)

II Gulf War – «Dual Containment» of Rivals in the Gulf

By Consent

Education (MBAs), Int.-Reg. Organisations: Spreading Ideas and Categories on «Magics of the Markets»; Emulation of Asian Tigers (Arrighi, Mark) vs. Developmentalist State

Free-Trade Areas: Euro-Med Programme (1995-2000); European Neighbourhood Programme (ENP, 2003)

Geography of Integration:

Inclusion: Coastal Areas of the Mediterranean; Urban Centres; Imp-Exp. Intermediaries

Exclusion: Agrarian Provinces in Interiors; Peasantry and Fixed-Wage Labour (Beinin)

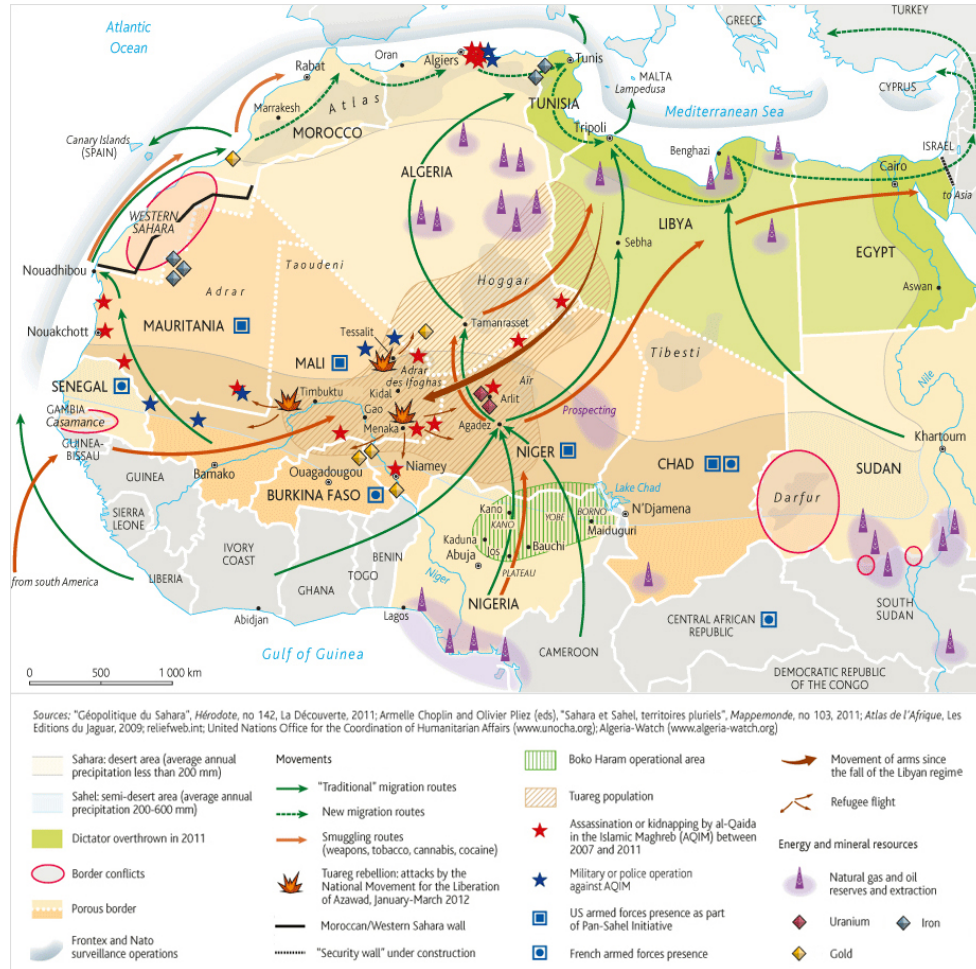
Patterns of Resistance:

OK to IMF Austerity, Caution to Liberalization and Privatization (1980s-mid 1990s) (Ayubi)

Adjusting Alliances between Power and Wealth (Hinnebusch, Pioppi-Guazzone)



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The Wealth of the Mediterranean: Space of Transit for Long-Distance Exchanges



Regional-led Mediterranean in a Multipolar World, 2003-2010s

Trajectories of Change

From EU-MED to EU-MENA MED: Unleashing Competition and Rivalries

- From US Moment to Multipolar World: Diversification of Power and Wealth
- Regional Domestication of Neoliberalism («Accumulation by Dispossession», Harvey) and Regional Rivalries in MED (Libya and Gulf of Sirte; East MED oil and routes)

By Domination

- Decline of US Hegemonic Power: «War on Terror», Iraq 2003; Lebanon 2006
- Sanctions, Humanitarian Aid and Post-Conflict Reconstruction (Syria, Yemen, Libya, 2011-Today)
- Military Interventions (Turkey, Iran, Arab Gulf)

By Consent

- «Dubai Consensus» (Hanieh), «Market Islam» (AKP-Turkey, Arab Gulf) (Haenni); «Beijing Consensus» (State Primacy) (Arrighi)
- Union for the Mediterranean (2006); New ENP (2011-2013): Bilateral; Political Conditionalities, Failure

Geography of Integration:

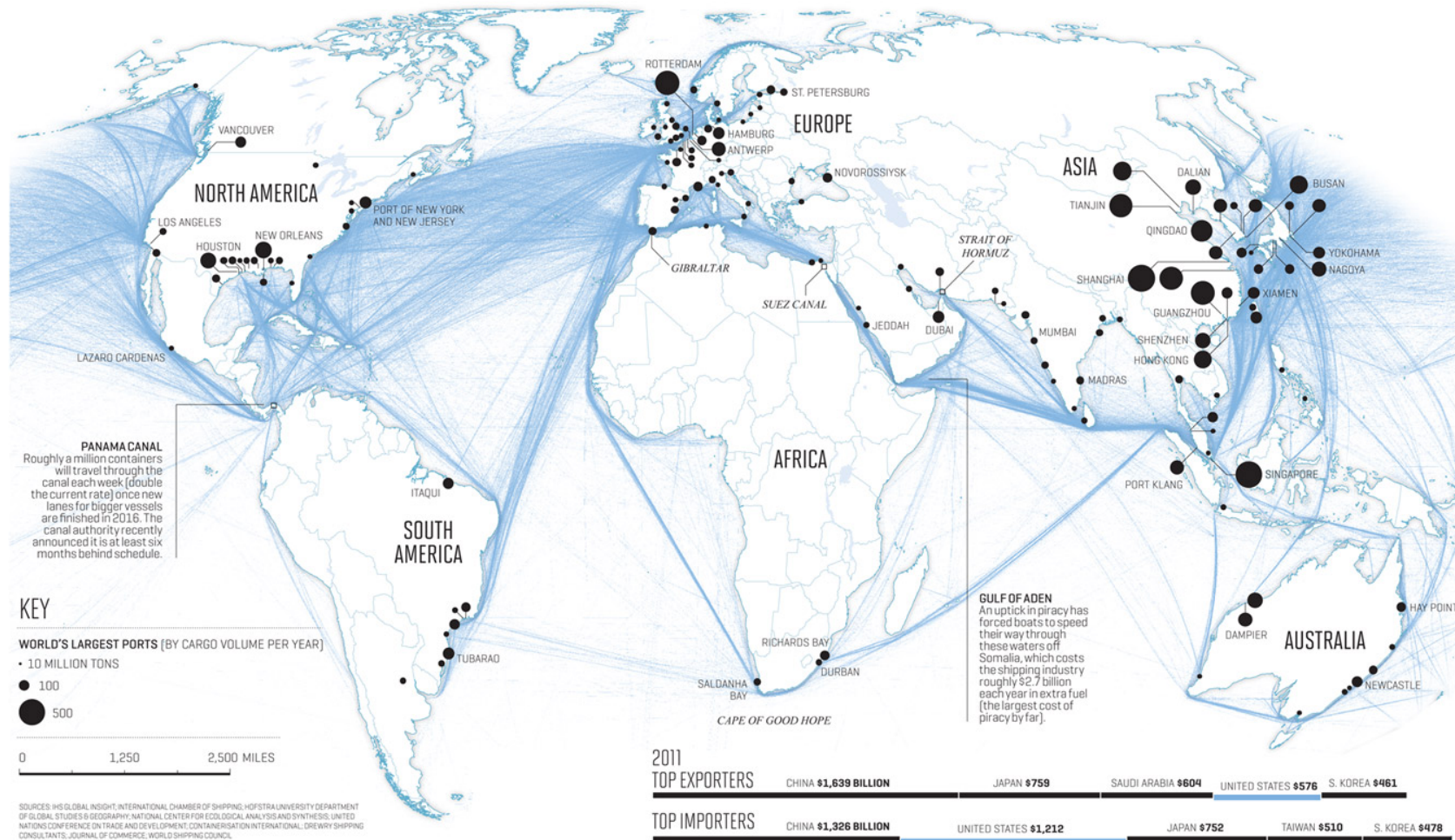
- Inclusion: Coastal Areas of the Mediterranean; Global Cities (Hinnebusch)
- Exclusion: Agrarian Peripheries, Labour, Provincial Urban Centres; Adults-Baby Boomers (Hanieh, Aita)

Patterns of Resistance

- Labour Mobilization, 2004-2010 (Beinin, Pioppi, Aita)
- Arab Uprisings, 2011 (Justice, Freedom, Dignity, State and Citizenship) (Hinnebusch)
- «Institutional Suffocation»/Disruption vs. Popular Expectations, 2011-2020 (SCPR)



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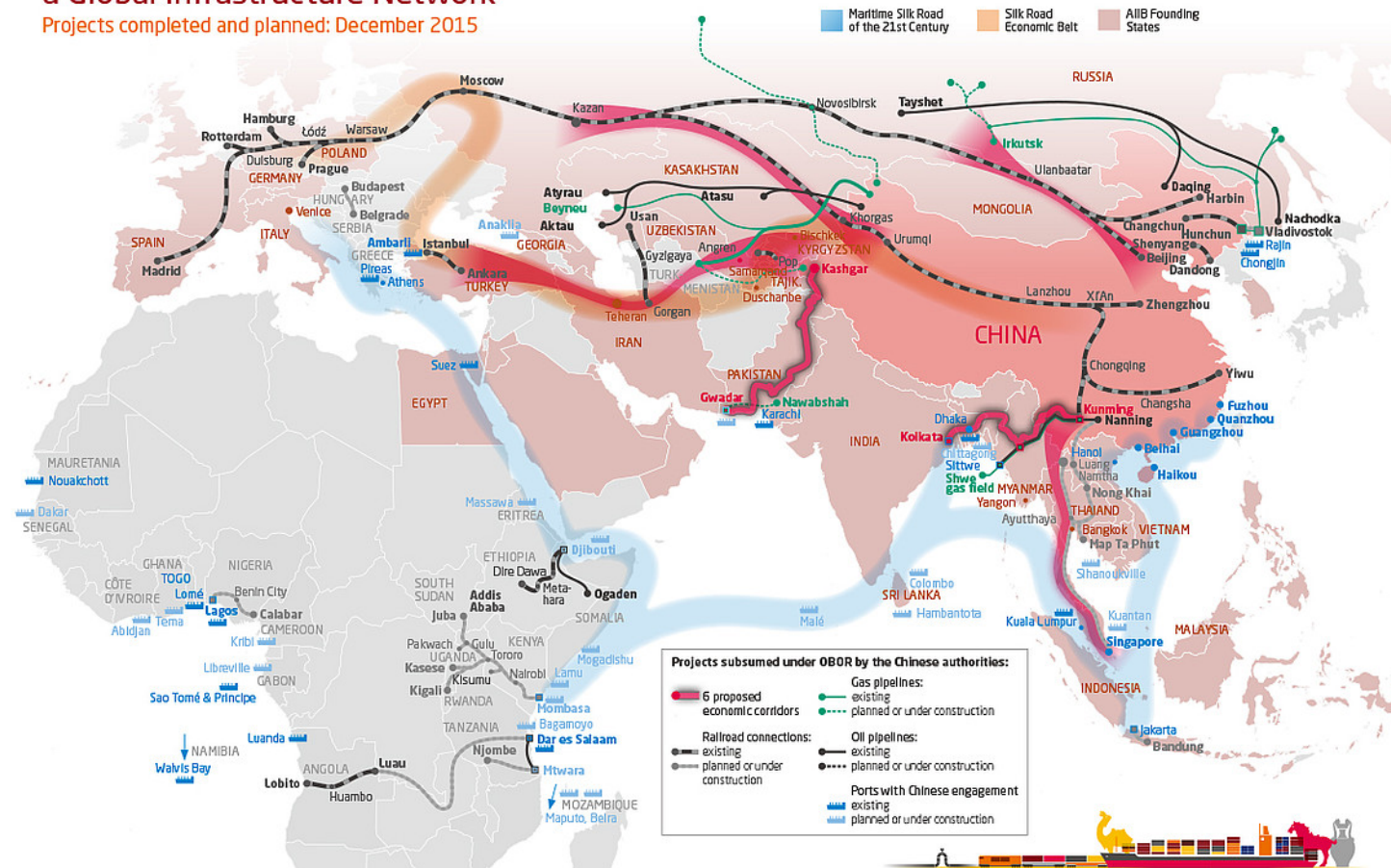


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MERICS China Mapping

One Belt, One Road: With the Silk Road Initiative, China Aims to Build a Global Infrastructure Network

Projects completed and planned: December 2015



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The Wealth of the Mediterranean: Space of Transit for Long-Distance Exchanges

Northern Africa and the Middle East



Political Epicentres in Postcolonial Mena:

Red: Secular Nationalism

Green: Religious Nationalism

Black: Uprisings and Wars



Terrorist Acts in the Mediterranean.

Source: IEMed Mediterranean Yearbook 2016. in Deniz Genç, Erhan Dogan, «The Mediterranean: Not a Union, but an Integrated Space?», Marmara University Journal of Political Science, 2018, DOI: 10.14782/ipsus.421013



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