



FORUM ON THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND WAR
GARNET - Jointly Executed Research Project 5.2.1

**THE EXTERNAL IMAGE OF
THE EUROPEAN UNION**

Director of Research: Sonia Lucarelli (Forum on the Problems of Peace and War – Florence - and University of Bologna at Forlì) – sonia.lucarelli@unibo.it

**REPORT ON
*Egypt***

Soha Bayoumi



The survey *The External Image of the European Union* has been conducted in the Framework of the Jointly Executed Research Project 5.2.1. (*Normative issues*) of the Network of Excellence *Global Governance, Regionalisation and Regulation: the Role of the EU* - GARNET (Contract No 513330); (EU 6th Framework Programme 2005-2010; Call Identifier: FP6-2002-Citizens-3). We are grateful to Garnet and to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for their financial contribution to the project.

ABSTRACT

This report attempts to identify the main sources of information regarding perceptions of the European Union in Egypt, chiefly through the analysis of existing opinion polls, governmental declarations, political party releases and opinions, the image of the EU in the press as well as the stance of organised civil society towards the EU. However, due to the lack of opinion polls, the scarcity of clear sources on the attitude of political elites and the lack of a coherent perception by the Egyptian civil society of the European Union, more emphasis has been placed on the perception of the EU in the press which acts, in general, as a public forum where various opinions can be depicted.

It is clear, through this report, that the Egyptian government views the European Union primarily in economic terms, due to its already “well-established” political ties with the United States which is seen as its main political ally and guide in regional and international politics. It is, however, also clear that the Egyptian government does not have prior long-term strategies in its relations with the European Union, nor a clear vision of methods and policies in its relations with the Union. The same goes to the political parties which appear content with insisting on the importance of strengthening relations with the European Union as a strategic partner and ally.

As far as organised civil society is concerned, civil society organisations have not yet developed a comprehensive or outspoken strategy towards foreign relations in general and towards the EU in particular. The overwhelming majority of these civil society organisations are Muslim-Brotherhood established and run organisations for charity works. The remaining are mainly human rights organisations that rely on European funding sources, usually official. Thus, these groups usually are more careful about expressing opinions on the EU openly, whether positive or negative, though they might criticise some aspects of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership or some official tendencies of the EU towards the region in general.

OVERVIEW OF EGYPT-EU RELATIONS*

Relations between the European Union and Egypt are governed by an Association Agreement. Negotiations between the EU and Egypt for the conclusion of an Association Agreement started in 1995 and lasted four and a half years. Following its signature in June 2001, the Association Agreement was ratified by the Egyptian People's Assembly and all the EU Member States. The Agreement entered into force on 1 June 2004.

Egypt and the European Community first established diplomatic relations in 1966. From 1977 to mid-2004, EU-Egypt bilateral relations were governed by a Co-operation Agreement. In agriculture, following the 1987 Protocol, Egypt enjoys preferential treatment on access to the EU market by means of tariff quotas and export calendars for its traditional flows. EU exports of agricultural products take place under MFN treatment. In the framework of the economic co-operation under the Co-operation Agreement, four financial Protocols have provided EC funding for programmes and projects in Egypt until the mid 1990s. Egypt and the European Union have also had considerable relations in the framework of the Barcelona Process since 1995 and the several Euro-Mediterranean cooperation projects before that. In addition, Egypt is one of the four signatories of the Agadir Free Trade Agreement with Jordan, Morocco and Tunisia which is open to accession by other countries. Egypt is one of the main beneficiaries of community assistance among Mediterranean partners. The EU (Community, Member States, EIB) is the second largest donor in Egypt. Community and macroeconomic assistance (MEDA I and MEDA II), in € million, are shown in the following table (Commission of the European Communities, 2005):

	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
Committed/Paid	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Total	13	64	0	63	78	26	104	57	159	151

It is worth-mentioning that EU-Egypt negotiations on the European Neighborhood Policy Plan of Action started in September 2005 in Cairo, and several follow-up rounds have been held in Brussels and in Cairo.

This report attempts to assemble the main sources of information regarding how the European Union is perceived in Egypt, chiefly through the analysis of existing opinion polls, governmental declarations and attitudes, political party releases and opinions, the image of the EU in the press as well as the approach of organised civil society towards the EU.

It is to be noted that when it comes to public opinion, the available information is very limited. This is due to several reasons, among which, we could note, most importantly, the lack of emphasis placed on opinion polls in general and on their documentation and archiving. Some casual polls are very rarely conducted by some newspapers, the Al-Ahram Newspaper for instance. In this case, there is only one relevant question, few online responses, and polls are subsequently not adequately documented. Another reason for the lack of opinion polls is, in our opinion, the relatively low level of politicisation of the population, especially when it comes to foreign actors. As for the opinions of

* I am particularly grateful to Dr. Hanaa Ebeid, for her helpful comments on earlier drafts of the report and for her invaluable help in providing more detailed data on opinion polls conducted by the Al-Ahram Center for Strategic Studies. I am also thankful to Dr. Gamal Soltan, head of the polling unit of the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, for his cooperation in providing us with the necessary data. I would also like to thank Dr. Daniela Pioppi and Dr. Laura Guazzone for their useful suggestions and comments on earlier drafts of this report. Last but not least, I wish to thank also our fellow-contributors in the Survey project and the other participants to the October 2006 seminar on *The external image of the EU*, namely Furio Cerutti, Elena Acuti, Chiara Bottici, Dimitri D'andrea, Renata Badii, Daniela Piana, Debora Spini, Rosa Balfour, Lisa Tormena, Daniela Sicurelli and Alberto Tonini for their useful insight. Needless to say, the responsibility for this work is exclusively mine.

the political elite, both the government and political parties, the sources used have been mainly official declarations and governmental and party newspapers. Analysis of the press has involved reviewing various newspapers (independent, government-leaning, opposition) and magazines. Sources on civil society depended mainly on communications, declarations and press releases made by NGOs and other civil society organisations. Some academic, research and documentation centers were of considerable value to this report, namely the Al-Ahram Foundation, the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, the Cairo University Center for European Studies, the CEDEJ (Centre d'Etudes et de Documentation Economiques, Juridiques et Sociales in Cairo), the Delegation of the European Commission in Cairo and Al-Mahrousa Center for Documentation. However, one should stress that the range of existing sources about the image of the EU in Egypt is still quite limited; this is largely due to the relatively narrow space occupied so far by the European Union in Egyptian politics, compared to that of the United States, for instance, as an extremely influential foreign actor on the Egyptian political scene. According to Amr El-Shobaki, expert in the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, the general lack of Egyptian interest in partnership and cooperation with the European Union is largely due to the concentrated attention paid to the American initiatives in the Middle East at the expense of any other initiatives (Nahdet Misr Newspaper, 13 December 2005).

1. PUBLIC OPINION

There is clear shortage in public opinion polls regarding the EU. In our opinion, this is due to the lack of information, amongst the public in general, about the EU and its role in the international arena, the lack of transparency about Egypt's relations with the EU and, particularly, the details of the EU-Egypt Association agreement. The Egyptians population, a third of which is illiterate¹, seems rather uninterested in following events in the international arena. Thus, Egyptians are generally considered not politicized enough, especially on issues relating to international politics, to have clear attitudes and perceptions of the EU. As Hanaa Ebeid puts it, with reference to the partnership with the EU: "levels of public awareness [of the partnership] are moderate and largely confined to officials, the media, research centers, universities, political elite, and the business class. Regular and comprehensive opinion polls are very rare and fail to provide adequate benchmarks to analyze the Egyptian view of the partnership and its evolution" (Hanaa Ebeid, 2004, p. 5)

One opinion poll and one internet survey were identified for the purposes of this survey. They were not directly related, however, to the Egyptians' view of the EU. One was conducted by the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in 2000 and asked about Egyptians' opinions on Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, as opposed to other forms of possible cooperation in the Middle East. The internet survey (a single question answered online) was conducted in 2005 and sought to identify Egyptian expectations from the EU in their mutual relations.

When asked about their opinion about Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, more than 60% of the examined sample of Egyptians² affirmed their belief in the efficiency of EU-Egypt cooperation (a

¹ Like other statistical data, there is a lot of conflicting data on literacy rates in Egypt. According to the last report of the Egyptian Government's Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS) in 2006 (www.capmas.gov.eg), the global illiteracy rate in Egypt amounts to only 15.3%. Although adopting the same definition of literacy as the latter (age 15 and over can read and write), the CIA World Factbook and UNICEF give very different accounts of literacy in Egypt (generally believed to be more realistic). The CIA Factbook, in its last update on 7 September 2006, states a 42.3% global illiteracy rate in Egypt (<https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/eg.html#People>), while UNICEF affirms a 45.5% rate (http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/egypt_statistics.html#15).

² The sample was divided into a national and a sectoral sample. Sectoral samples were subdivided to cover press figures, academics and business figures in the fields of agriculture, tourism, industry and communications. The demographic profile of the national sample is as follows: 51% male and 49% female. The education profile of the

yes-or-no choice). However only 12.5% believed that the European partnership was the best regional cooperation framework for the Arab countries, in general, and Egypt in particular (compared to 17.8% in favour of integration with Mashreq countries, 19.8% of the Arab Free Market, 25.6% of integration with Arab and Muslim countries, 10.8% of integration with Turkey and Iran) (questionnaire conducted by the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 2000).

In 2005, when asked about the most important expectations from Egypt's relations with the EU, the answers put forward the following issues in particular:

- A more efficient and impartial role in the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict (it is still largely remembered by Egyptians that Europeans are mainly responsible for the origins of this conflict through the English 1917 Balfour Declaration, promising to create a Jewish national home in Palestine).
- A supportive role of the EU in Egypt's attempts to develop its political and mobilisation capacities at the national and regional levels.
- Better understanding of the Egyptian and Arab aspirations to further Arab unity and effective presence in the regional and international arena.
- EU support in solving the various regional questions: the war in Iraq, potential wars on Iran and Syria, etc³.

Despite the lack of sufficient opinion polls on this question, we believe that other experiences and initiatives should be noted. One development in particular, imEU testifies of the growing interest shown by Egyptian youth, particularly university students, in the EU, its institutions and relations with the Middle East and Egypt in particular. In 1998-99, a group of students in the Cairo University Faculty of Economics and Political Science, a prestigious Cairo faculty forming a considerable share of Egypt's political and intellectual elite, started a small student extra-curricular activity, called FEPS Model European Union. The idea was that three or four students, who are particularly interested in the EU and have very good knowledge of its institutions, mainly because of their academic interests, form a simulation of three EU institutions, giving training sessions to other students on the EU institutions, negotiations, and different hot topics on the EU agenda, during a few months. The project was presented to the French Department of the Faculty that supported it fully. The French Embassy officially sponsored the initiative, as well as the German Embassy and the Delegation of the European Commission in Cairo. The International Model European Union (imEU) was held for the first time in 2002. It achieved considerable success, touching over 2000 students every year. It has played an important role in raising public awareness among young people about the EU. It has been widely publicised in the mass media as a pioneering experience.

2. POLITICAL ELITES

The Egyptian government has welcomed the relatively recent European Neighborhood policy as a means of deepening Euro-Mediterranean partnership and as a way to foster the benefits the Egyptian government can achieve from this partnership, noting that this policy should be considered an enhancement of the Barcelona process and not a replacement. The Egyptian government has also insisted on the necessity of elaborating working methods on a basis of bilateral negotiations between the EU and Egypt and multilateral negotiations involving all the Euro-Mediterranean partners and establishing common follow-up procedures. The aim has been to establish peer-to-peer

interviewees corresponds to the national proportions of literacy, basic education, higher education and graduate degree holders.

³ These were some of the comments by the participants in the Al-Ahram online survey conducted in 2005 and thus summarised by a journalist.

relationships instead of a surveillance process by the EU over the achievements of the South Mediterranean countries. However, in the various recent rounds of negotiations on the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) Plan of Action, the Egyptian government has been highly inflexible on many political issues, under the pretext that they do not lie directly under the political competence of the Action Plan, such as the independence of the media and human rights issues (Shaheera El-Rafiei, 10 October 2005). The Egyptian government has expressed its belief that the last European enlargement will create more opportunities to increase the amount of trade between Egypt and the EU, since the EU is the first trade partner for Egypt and the biggest common market in the world. It is to be noted, in this context, that the Egyptian government perceives the EU primarily as a trade and economic partner.

Many governmental sources believe that the European policy towards Southern Mediterranean countries has been crystallised thanks to the efforts exerted by several Arab parties, especially Egypt, and in response to their calls. In fact, the Egyptian government has exerted considerable effort to develop the Euro-Mediterranean framework of cooperation, after seeing the developments that took place in the relations of the EU with Central and Eastern European countries after the fall of the USSR, but also particularly after it was worried about the possibility of Egypt's marginalisation because of the potential development of the 5+5 formula of cooperation between the European Northern Mediterranean countries and the Western North African countries, as a result of the potential elaboration of a European-North African framework of cooperation. Thus, the Egyptian government feels responsible for the maintenance and the development of its relations with the EU (See Mohamed El-Sayed Selim, 2005).

Some of the Egyptian official criticisms of the EU's role in the Middle East and in the framework of the Euro-Mediterranean cooperation can be summarised as follows:

- The EU's incentive in the Barcelona process is mainly that of trying to reduce sources of instability, i.e. working to eliminate the negative consequences on the EU of the deterioration of the situation in the Southern Mediterranean. Thus, the incentives are those of "preventing the negative consequences" and not those of "reaping the fruits of cooperation".
- The dominance of security and political goals in the EU's vision while dealing with the Southern Mediterranean countries, also follows in the logic of avoiding "crises and problems coming from the south". The allusion here is made directly to certain questions like those of immigration or terrorism. The aim of the EU, in this respect, is seen not as attempting to help the Southern Mediterranean countries to solve their problems, but rather to help them manage them within their borders and avoid exporting them to their Northern Mediterranean neighbours (Emad Gad, 2001a, p. 116).

In his speech to the Euro-Mediterranean Summit celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Barcelona Process (1995-2005), delivered by Dr. Ahmed Nazif, Prime Minister of Egypt, President Mubarak insisted that "there are some who attribute the limited progress in the political and security chapter of the Barcelona Process to the link [Egypt maintains] between progress in this chapter and progress in the peace process". He underlined that "[Egypt's] insistence on such linkage is accompanied by a similar persistence in pushing the Peace Process forward on all tracks, together with parallel determination to reinforce Euro-Mediterranean cooperation in this chapter, as well as in the other chapters of the Barcelona Process". As for the "Neighborhood Policy", President Mubarak confirmed Egypt's aspiration to "enhanced cooperation in the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy" and insisted on the need for "clarifications on what it offers by way of additional incentives and new horizons, especially regarding the four freedoms for movement of goods, services, capital and individuals". An important mistake, however, in the President's address was to mention a speech given to the European Parliament in 1997 "four years before the launching of the Barcelona Process". It is hardly believable that President Mubarak's speech, delivered by the Egyptian prime minister, confused the launching of the Barcelona Process in 1995 with the

signature of the Association Agreement between Egypt and the EU in 2001! The recent EU enlargement to Eastern and Central European countries has been seen generally as a challenge to the EU's commitment to cooperation with Southern Mediterranean countries, since the EU would be more concerned with accommodating these new Member States.

Very few sources are available on the different political parties' perception of the EU. A few references can be found in parliamentary electoral programmes that generally concern very general issues regarding the EU and are usually related to the most global aspects of EU-Egypt relations. However, tracing the major trends shows an inclination of the different parties to support strengthening Egyptian relations with the EU as a counterbalance to the American hegemony in the region. This was mainly visible in the programmes of the various party leaders during the first presidential elections campaign in the summer of 2005, as well as in a limited number of articles in party newspapers, such as *Al-Wafd*, *Al-Ahaly* and *Al-Araby*, belonging respectively to *Al-Wafd* party (right wing, liberal), *Al-Tagammu* party (Left wing) and the Nasserist party.

3. PRESS

The Egyptian Press' interest in the EU is not as prominent as that in the activities of other international actors. Foreign and International Affairs pages in the Egyptian written press (newspapers and magazines) show a rather limited interest in the European Union as a foreign actor, compared notably to the United States. Apart from the minimal news, about EU summits, the rotation of the Presidency of the Council of the European Union, common statements on international affairs, analysis and comment on the actions of the EU and its relations with Egypt are quite rare. Recently however, more interest has been shown by the press into discussions of some "technical details" of the negotiations of the European Neighborhood Policy Plan of Action. Nevertheless, we quite agree with Hanaa Ebeid's view of the press as "the most comprehensive channel of views, if not the most accurate". In her study of the Egyptian press discourse on the Euro-Mediterranean partnership, she estimated the press to be "the main key to understanding Egyptian views of the partnership, as it reflects various strands of opinion through news coverage, editorials, and published official and non-official statements. The views of various think tanks, civil society associations, and the academic and business classes usually find their way into the press, either through news coverage, reports, Op-Eds, or paid advertisements. The press acts as a surrogate public opinion forum, which substitutes for the absence of public opinion polls and civil society positions" (Hanaa Ebeid, 2004, p. 5).

Analysing the press entails the analysis of various newspapers and magazines (independent, government-leaning, opposition), which led us to a quasi-exclusive examination of the Egyptian press on the question, for the period from 1995 to 2006, using the internet archive of *Al-Ahram* newspaper, the English-speaking *Al-Ahram Weekly*, the French-speaking *Al-Ahram Hebdo*, *Al-Ahram Center for Strategic studies* publications, as well as all the available archives of other independent and party newspapers. Some European embassies have rather poor press dossiers regarding the Egyptian discourse on the EU. Usage was made of the French and Italian embassies press dossiers, as well as those of the Delegation of the European Commission in Cairo and the Cairo University Center for European Studies.

Relations between the EU and southern Mediterranean countries, especially Arab countries, are generally considered by the Egyptian press to be in a critical and significant phase, since the EU is developing its process of integration and has, relatively, successfully achieved its hugest wave of integration, and progressed in developing its Common Foreign and Security Policy, a significant step towards the consolidation of its common stance in the international arena, while Arab countries, on the other hand, are considered to be currently witnessing an opposite movement of accelerated

division and the recoil of the possibilities of common Arab action, because of the stagnation of the peace process for a lengthy period of time, as well as the stumbling of political and economic development of these countries in general, besides other factors of instability in Iraq and Syria.

The experience of European integration is generally seen by the press in Egypt, as an exemplary experience of integration and as the most reasonable and realistic alternative to the failing pan-Arab projects. The idea of building an integration process among nations based on economic and commercial interests seems more viable and more likely to succeed than building it on culturalist and essentialist factors, such as “common” language, history or culture. It seems obvious to many Egyptian intellectuals, especially as Egypt has been for a long period of time, mainly under the Nasser regime, the leader of the pan-Arabist project, that the Arab world can draw many lessons from the European integration experience among nations devastated by war.

However, it seems that a dominant impression in the Egyptian press regarding EU-Egypt relations is that of a lack of real mutual understanding. The EU is seen to be dealing with Egypt, and the rest of the Arab countries, as economically developing and politically undemocratic. Thus, it seems that the Egyptian press is taking the EU visions regarding solutions for Egyptian and Arab problems as a political, economic and social “European recipe” that Egypt is supposed to follow closely if it wishes to achieve any worthy success. The EU is seen to be presenting to the Arab world, in general, a “ready-made model” for economic and political development to be taken or left altogether. Thus, the cooperation formula is considered to be twisted into “preaching” and the “partnership and dialogue one” are seen as “patronizing” (Emad Gad, 2001b, pp. 7-8).

Recently, the press was particularly interested in covering the process of ratification of the Treaty establishing a European Constitution, considered by the press and by the Egyptian intelligentsia as an important step not only in the history of the European continent, but also in the history of international politics. The failure to ratify the European Constitution in France and in the Netherlands was seen in Egypt as threatening to slow down the process of European integration. This was a source of controversy in the Egyptian press and among the Egyptian intelligentsia: some believe that this will delay the emergence of the EU as a counterbalance to the US, thus reducing the chances of Egypt to benefit from its existence as such; others believe, on the contrary, that Egypt has nothing to regret, since they are convinced that the stronger and the more unified the EU becomes, the readier it seems to pressurise the Arab world and the more willing it becomes to reconcile its Middle East policies with those of the US. As for the EU’s role in the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, it is also widely thought in the Egyptian press that there are several “objective factors” that hinder the enlargement of the EU’s policies towards the Middle East in general, especially in the political and security dimension. The “American factor” is one of the most important; successive American administrations have almost monopolised the management of the Arab-Israeli conflict, thus marginalising, sometimes deliberately, the European role (Hanaa Ebeid, 2001, p. 41).

The European policy in the Mediterranean is certainly seen in the context of the EU’s Common Foreign and Security Policy, which is still characterised by the relative weakness of its institutional structures and the lack of coherent strategic visions covering the various geographical areas surrounding the EU, despite the elaboration of certain initiatives, such as Neighborhood policies. Therefore, the EU is usually seen as incapable of and, often unwilling, to deal effectively with crises and complex problems on the international scene. The European “Foreign policy” is also seen as a “reaction” policy that develops mainly on the basis of gradual conditioning, on the one hand, and according to the pressures and the varying visions of the Member States and of the EU institutions, on the other. Thus the EU’s foreign policy is seen as not developing according to prior strategic plans, but according to the interaction amongst several immediate variables, on the one hand, and on European internal interactions and contradictions, on the other (Gamal Abdel-Gawwad, 2001b, p. 94).

As for the Egyptian press evaluation of the EU's foreign policy in general, there has been some insistence on the failures of the EU in achieving security in the European continent, the light has been particularly shed on the limits of the European role in the resolution of the Yugoslav conflict. However, the press is usually objective enough to cite some "successes" of the EU, without which the Continent could have been radically altered. The most important success on which the press focuses has been the continuing consolidation of the European integration process, despite the various obstacles and pressures and even despite some relatively minor failures. Other achievements of the EU, according to the Egyptian press, whose effect on European stability and security cannot be ignored, include the success of the European Commission in putting an end to the dispute between Hungary and Slovakia over the Gabčíkovo dam, as well as the EU's success in 1996, after five years of negotiations, in inciting both Romania and Hungary to sign a bilateral treaty in which the nature and extent of minority protection that Bucharest should grant to Hungarian citizens have been defined and in which Hungary dropped its demands for "autonomy" for the Hungarian minority in Romania. A further success story of the EU is that of preventing a huge national ethnic and religious conflict in Macedonia and avoiding a Serbian aggression aiming at deterring the small republic from gaining independence.

However, one of the most positive points, in this regard, according to the Egyptian press, is the realisation by the EU that focusing on preventing armed conflicts in the continent does not cancel out the need for military preparation that could be needed to intervene in case of necessity. This need has been reconfirmed due to the European failure in preventing armed ethnic conflicts in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia (Gamal Abdel Gawwad, 2001b, pp. 138-140). As for the role of the EU in the international arena as an international actor, many believe that the end of the bipolar world system is leading to the emergence of more contradictions and potentially, to new polarisation in the world system, leading, perhaps, to the creation of a multipolar system, composed mainly of the United States, the EU, Japan and, potentially, China. However, a minority is still skeptic towards this possibility and particularly towards the EU's capacity of emerging as a world power. They believe that the end of the Cold War presents more opportunities to develop deeper relations between the United States and the EU, whose ultimate interests are not contradicting, and who share many common cultural, social and economic factors, such as Christianity, liberalism and a market economy.⁴ The same poll conducted by the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies consecrated a special part to "journalists and media actors" with the same question on whether they consider the European partnership as the best regional cooperation framework for the Arab world. Almost 28 % of journalists and media actors answered yes to this question.

⁴ Abundant literature is available on this subject : See for example: هانى خلاف وأحمد نافع. "تطور العلاقات الأوروبية-الأمريكية وانعكاساتها على المصالح المصرية والعربية". هانى خلاف وأحمد نافع. نحن وأوروبا: شواغل الحاضر وأفاق المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 1997، ص ص 240-247. (The development of European-American relations and their reflections on Egyptian and Arab interests)

د. عبد المجيد إبراهيم. "القوة الأوروبية تحيي تعدد الأقطاب". الخليج 28 ديسمبر 2000. (The European power revives multipolarity)

د. عماد جاد. "السياسة الخارجية الأمنية المشتركة" د. عماد جاد (تحرير). "الاتحاد الأوروبي من التعاون الاقتصادي إلى السياسة الخارجية والأمنية المشتركة". القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 2001، ص ص 199-200. (The Common Foreign and Security Policy)

د. محمد السيد سليم. السياسات الأوروبية والأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط: توافق أم تعارض؟ القاهرة: كراسات استراتيجية، المجلد 14، نوفمبر 2004. (European and American policies in the Middle East: coordination or contradiction?)

د. عبد المنعم سعيد. "الأبعاد السبعة للعلاقات الأوروبية الأمريكية" الأهرام الاقتصادي، 4 ديسمبر 2000. (The seven dimensions of the European-American relations).

From an economic point of view, however, EU-Egypt relations and the Association Agreement draw considerable criticism. According to many, the economic elements of the agreement and the Euro-Mediterranean partnership represent a net loss to the Egyptian fragile economy. The liberalisation of trade in industrial products between Egypt and the EU will seriously harm Egyptian industries, especially infant ones that will not be capable of competing with European industrial products even within the Egyptian market itself. The effects and costs of lifting customs barriers, which represent a good source of income to the state budget, are also seen as severe, especially as the EU is Egypt's first trading partner (Ossama Gheith, 2000a). There is also criticism addressed to the agricultural component of the Association Agreement and the lack of liberalisation of agricultural goods and products which deprives Egypt from the benefits of a comparative advantage it enjoys in the agricultural sector. The economic side of the agreement is often seen as unjust, seeing that it demands the liberalisation of trade in industrial products, in which the EU enjoys a comparative advantage, while applying a restrictive quota system on trade in agricultural good and products, in which Egypt enjoys a comparative advantage (Ossama Gheith, 2000b).

From a political point of view, it is widely considered in the Egyptian press that the European Union has trimmed down the important issues relevant to the Arab world into two main policies: anti-terrorism policy and illegal immigration policy, aside from the increasing security obsession after 9/11, ignoring other aspects pertaining to peaceful and just resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, sustainable development, and the increasing scientific and technological gap between the North and the South of the Mediterranean. (Mahmoud Bassiouny, 11 December 2005).

As for the current rounds of negotiation on the European Neighborhood Policy Plan of Action, especially the deadlock on key human rights issues, some written media sources, especially in government-leaning newspapers and magazines, echoed the demands of the Egyptian government and urged the European partner, to the discontentment of the majority of Egyptian human rights activists and NGOs, to understand the specificities of the customs and traditions of each society and to accept the idea that each society should live according to its own convictions without any external pressures, alluding to the European pressure on the Egyptian government to guarantee respect for religious liberties and freedom of sexual orientation. The press tried, in this regard, to echo the governmental claims, according to which, these issues would not help the Europeans reach the stability they are seeking in the Southern Mediterranean countries and would not guarantee the required popular support in those countries, let alone the fact that "they are relatively irrelevant to the future relations between Egypt and the EU" (Shaheera El-Rafiei, 10 October 2005).

4. ORGANIZED CIVIL SOCIETY

The European Union is considered by certain liberal and leftist political opposition tendencies as a potential partner in the process of democratizing the Egyptian political scene, mainly strengthening civil society independence in the face of governmental pressures. Many civil society organisations see the EU as an important potential financier, seeing that they depend mainly for their funding on foreign financial sources.

Some criticise the Barcelona process as being too official a formula lacking positive participation from civil society actors from both sides of the Mediterranean, which might be due to the popular sensitivity in Egypt towards foreign factors, in light of its colonial experience. Several civil society actors believe that Egypt, and the Southern Mediterranean countries in general, are way down the EU agenda and list of interests, compared evidently to the EU's internal affairs and to its other deeper and more significant foreign affairs both in political and economic terms. They also believe that there is no sufficient awareness, let alone enthusiasm, among European public opinion and civil society towards the EU's Mediterranean policy, which means a lack of a supportive base and

internal pressure within European societies to push forwards the EU's Mediterranean policy. Accordingly, the potential cost that might be taken by the European political elites in case of failures of their Mediterranean policies is negligible (Gamal Abdel-Gawwad, 2001a, p. 93). Civil society organisations have called upon the EU and the Egyptian government to consult with civil society in the current bilateral negotiations on the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) Plan of Action. They assert that the Plan of Action should include concrete obligations on the government with regard to political reform, respect for human rights and civil society's monitoring of the implementation of the Plan.

These demands were expressed in a seminar organised jointly by the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS) and the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN) on "The European Neighborhood Policy: Human Rights in the European-Egyptian Relations" in Cairo, 26-27 January 2006. Several other important NGOs participated in this seminar, namely the Arab Network for Human Rights Information, the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, the Egyptian Association for Social Participation, the Egyptian Organisation for Human Rights, the Habi Center for Environmental Rights, the Egyptian Association for the Strengthening of Democratic Development, the Egyptian Center for Women's Rights, the Human Rights Association for the Assistance of Prisoners, the Center for Trade Union and Workers' Services, the Land Center for Human Rights, the Hisham Mubarak Law Center, the The Arab Organization for Penal Reform, the Ibn Khaldun center for development studies, Andalus Institute for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies, the Egyptian civil platform, the Karma center for development, the Egyptian women issues' center and the Sons of land institution. In this framework, participants have called on the Arab governments not to be inspired by the Israeli model and to learn instead from the Ukrainian experience in dealing with civil society before and after the adoption of the ENP Plan of Action. During negotiations, the Ukrainian government undertook intensified discussions with civil society on human rights in the Plan of Action. Following the adoption of the Plan, the government worked with civil society on setting a roadmap to implement the human rights and democracy obligations laid down in the Plan. Participants objected to the Egyptian government use of "national sovereignty" or "non-interference in the country's internal affairs" as pretexts during negotiations with the European party considering such pretexts on the part of the government's persistent attempts to abort political reform and promotion of human rights requested for years and in vain by Egyptians. In addition, the government itself does not resort to these pretexts during negotiations for economic aid, or for accession to any security or military cooperation scheme with European or Western countries. Participants asserted that the Plan of Action should necessarily include a number of priorities in the special chapter on human rights and democracy. These should include taking all measures to end the widely spread systematic practice of torture in detention places; adopting necessary policies to hold perpetrators of torture accountable and putting an end to impunity and Emergency Laws, which provide the Executive with almost absolute jurisdictions to infringe on public freedoms and rights. They also refuse reference to national legislation with regard to issues of human rights and democracy, and assert the necessity for reference to universal principles of human rights, which are absent from and even undermined in national legislation. The Plan of Action should also, according to the different participating NGOs, explicitly provide for enacting new legislation to free civil society associations, political parties and trade unions from arbitrary legislative restrictions and the interference by security and government bodies, amending media-regulating legislation to safeguard the freedom of establishing newspapers, TV and radio channels and to restructure state-owned media institutions in order to safeguard their independence from the ruling party. On the other hand, participants warned against human rights violations as a result of anti-terror legislation in some Arab and European countries. They assert that the proper approach to confront problems of security and terrorism is conditional upon the EU's ability to provide a comprehensive perspective toward development, promotion of human rights and democracy and activation of the role of the civil society. The EU should refrain from supporting authoritarian regimes in the Arab world. This used to take place for such regimes to protect the European gates

against terrorism and immigration with methods that do not serve peoples' interests and nourish terrorism. They added that the EU's capacity to activate the ENP, and make up for the failure of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership since the launching of the Barcelona Process in 1995, is conditional upon placing human rights and political reform priorities on top of the EU-Arab agenda. It is also conditional upon involving civil society in monitoring negotiations and implementation of the suggested Plans of Actions with neighbouring countries (Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network).

The Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS) and the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIRP), in collaboration with the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network (EMHRN), organised a joint mission to a number of EU institutions in Brussels from 20-22 March 2006. The delegation emphasised the need for the inclusion of concrete, measurable and time-bound commitments in the human rights chapter of the EU-Egypt Action Plan. The delegation urged the EU and the Egyptian government to include in the Action Plan the creation of a specific Sub-Committee on Human Rights within the framework of the EU-Egypt Association Agreement and to establish an efficient monitoring mechanism of the Action Plan once adopted. The delegation also asked for a strong and systematic involvement of civil society organisations in the implementation and monitoring phases (Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies, 26 March 2006). The resolution, adopted by the European Parliament on 6 April, reiterates the main demands of civil society associations in Egypt, which were first submitted to both the Egyptian and European parties in September 2005, and have been followed by subsequent detailed memoranda.

From the economic point of view, several civil society organisations complained that the Egyptian harvest of the last ten years of Euro-Mediterranean partnership was very poor, compared, for example, to Israel's share of profits from this partnership, according to Hafez Abou Seada, Secretary-General of the Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (Mahmoud Bassiouny, 11 December 2005). From the political point of view, many believe that the Euro-Mediterranean partnership has not been a real success, though the EU has long been considered a mediating partner in the Middle East peace process. They reckon that the EU has never adopted a positive and firm position towards the extreme human rights violation of the Palestinian people, besides its reluctance to impose sanctions on Israel for its lack of observance of international legitimacy and international human rights norms (ibid). A kind of general disappointment was also expressed towards the EU's contribution to increasing pressure on and exclusion of Syria (Al-Ahrar, 2 January 2006).

The Muslim Brothers (MBs) represent another dimension of Egyptian civil society's perception of the EU. On 23 May 2006, a delegation of the "banned but tolerated" MB members of parliament met with Mr. Oliver Nette, Counsellor in the Delegation of the European Commission in Egypt. During the meeting, the MBs asserted that if the EU respects democracy and the opinions of the people, it is not expected to adopt its current stance towards the Hamas government (there are obvious ideological links between the MBs in Egypt and Hamas) since it is the government chosen by the Palestinian people through democratic elections. They stressed that that exclusion and siege imposed on Hamas are actually imposed on Palestinian democracy. They also criticised the EU's position towards the Palestinian issue in general. As for the EU's pressure for democratising the region, the MBs expressed their discontentment with foreign interference in the internal affairs of the southern countries and requested it to leave the peoples deal, in their own way, with the ruling regimes (The Muslim Brotherhood website, 24 May 2006).

CONCLUSIONS

The general aim of this survey was to review the main sources of information with regards to how the European Union is perceived in Egypt and to analyse the data available with the aim of supporting further research concerned with the analysis of the external image of the European

Union. Regarding public opinion, it is to be noted that there are insufficient opinion polls and questionnaires on this subject that could enable us to depict precisely the Egyptian opinion trends on the EU. As for the political elites, it is clear that the Egyptian government views the European Union primarily in economic terms, due to its already “well-established” political ties with the United States, which it considers to be the main political ally and guide in regional and international politics. It is, however, clear as well that the Egyptian government does not have prior long-term strategies in its relations with the European Union, nor a clear vision of methods and policies in its relations with the Union. The same goes to the political parties that are simply content with insisting on the importance of strengthening relations with the European Union as a strategic partner and ally. The press has been widely used in this context. The European Union does not seem to be underrepresented or under portrayed in the Egyptian press or mass media. Thus, sufficient press sources have been found and used in this research. As far as organised civil society is concerned, it is clear that civil society organisations have not yet developed a comprehensive or outspoken strategy towards foreign relations in general and towards the EU in particular. According to official sources, Egypt has over 17,000 civil society organisations. The overwhelming majority of these CSOs are Muslim-Brotherhood established and run organizations for charity works. The rest are mainly human rights organisations that often depend on European funding sources. Thus, they often hesitate to express opinions, though they might criticise some aspects of the Euro-Mediterranean partnership or some official tendencies of the EU towards the region in general. The Muslim Brotherhood, the most important opposition group in Egypt, largely tolerated by the Egyptian government, though still banned to establish a political party, has established its own talks with the European Union (especially after winning 88 of the Egyptian Parliament’s 454 seats in the last Parliamentary elections in November 2005). The European Commission had several talks and meetings with representatives of the Brotherhood. It seems that the Brotherhood, with its usual prudence, is not very willing to talk about its “perception” of the EU, but instead offers some general observations about the EU’s attitude towards the region, and the EU’s stance towards the Hamas government which they use as an indicator for the former’s stance towards their potential attainment of power in Egypt.

REFERENCES

- Abdel Gawad, Gammal. (2001a) "The enlargement of the European Union: Challenges to Southern Mediterranean countries". Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. د. جمال عبد الجواد. توسيع الاتحاد الأوروبي: تحديات لدول جنوب المتوسط. عماد جاد (تحرير). الاتحاد الأوروبي والشرق الأوسط: الواقع واحتمالات المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 2001.
- Abdel Gawwad, Gamal (2001b) From enemies to threats and from deterrence to incentives and integration: European methods of dealing with post-Cold War problems. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. د. جمال عبد الجواد. "من الأعداء إلى التهديدات ومن الردع إلى الحوافز والإدماج: المنهج الأوروبي في التعامل الفعال مع مشكلات ما بعد الحرب الباردة". د. عماد جاد (تحرير). "الاتحاد الأوروبي من التعاون الاقتصادي إلى السياسة الخارجية والأمنية المشتركة". القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 2001.
- Abou Teleb, Hassan. (2001) The Egyptian-European Association Agreement. Cairo: Al-Ahram Strategic Dossier, Vol. 7, Number 79, July 2001. د. حسن أبو طلب. اتفاقية المشاركة المصرية الأوروبية. القاهرة: ملف الأهرام الاستراتيجي. مجلد 7، العدد 79، يوليو 2001.
- Address by President Mohammed Hosny Mubarak to the Plenary Session of The Euro-Mediterranean Summit, delivered by Dr. Ahmed Nazif, The Prime Minister of Egypt, Barcelona, 28 November 2005. http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/Upload/Speeches/23/Pres-Mubarak_Euro-Med_Speech_2005.pdf (accessed 20 January 2006).
- Al-Ahram questionnaires conducted by Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies in Cairo in 2000 and Al-Ahram Foundation in 2005, (available at Al-Ahram Foundation in Cairo, but without any detailed information)
- Al-Ahram, Analysts and Human Rights activists criticize harshly the Barcelona Declaration on Euro-Mediterranean partnership, 2 January 2006. الأحرار. حقوقيون ومحللون يوجهون انتقادات حادة لإعلان برشلونة للشراكة الأوروبية ومتوسطة. 2 يناير 2006.
- Alpher, Joseph (2000) "The political role of the EU in the Middle East". In: BEHRENDT, Sven and HANELT, Christian-Peter (ed.) *Bound to cooperate: Europe and the Middle East* Gutersloh: Bertelsmann Foundation Publishers, 2000.
- Bassiouny, Mahmoud (2005) Israel takes over double the share of the Arab countries in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership in Nahdet Misr newspaper, 11 December 2005. محمود بسيونى. إسرائيل. استحوذت على ضعف مخصصات الدول العربية فى الشراكة. نهضة مصر، 11 ديسمبر 2005.
- Bin, Alberto (1997) "Multilateral diplomacy in the Mediterranean: a comparative assessment", in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Summer 1997, pp. 57-75.
- Blank, Stephen (2000) "The Mediterranean and its security agenda", in *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Winter 2000, pp. 24-48.
- Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies, Press Release 28 January 2006, http://www.cihrs.org/Press_details_en.aspx?per_id=62&pr_year=2006 (accessed 1 February 2006).
- Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies, Press Release 26 March 2006, http://www.cihrs.org/Press_details_en.aspx?per_id=69 (accessed 1 April 2006).

- Colas, Alejandro (1997) "The limits of Mediterranean partnership: civil society and the Barcelona Conference of 1995", *Mediterranean Quarterly*, Fall 1997, pp. 63-80.
- Commission of the European Communities, Brussels, xxx SEC (2005) 287/3, COMMISSION STAFF WORKING PAPER, Annex to: "European Neighborhood Policy", Country Report: Egypt {COM (2005) 72 final}.
- Ebeid, Hanaa. (2001) *The European Policy towards the Middle East*. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. هناء عبيد. "السياسة الأوروبية تجاه الشرق الأوسط". عماد جاد (تحرير). الاتحاد الأوروبي والشرق الأوسط: الواقع واحتمالات المستقبل" القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 2001.
- Ebeid, Hanaa. (2004) *The partnership in southern eyes: reflections on the discourse in the Egyptian press*, Euromeso papers, No. 37, http://euromesco.com.pt/media/euromescopaper37_hebeid.pdf (last visited on November 27, 2006).
- El-Atrash, Mohamed. (1996) *The Middle East project, the Mediterranean project and the Arab world*, Al-Mostaqbal Al-Arabi, No 210, August 1996, pp. 4-29. محمد الأطرش. "المشروعان الأوسطي والمتوسطي والوطن العربي". المستقبل العربي، عدد 210، أغسطس 1996، ص ص 4-29.
- El-Naggar, Ahmed El-Sayed (2000) *The Egyptian economy and the EU partnership*. Cairo: Al-Ahram Strategic Dossier, Vol. 6, Number 68, August 2000 (أحمد السيد النجار. الاقتصاد المصري) (والشراكة مع الاتحاد الأوروبي. القاهرة: ملف الأهرام الاستراتيجي. المجلد 6، العدد 68، أغسطس 2000.
- El-Naggar, Said. (2000) *The missing dimension of the Association agreement with the EU*. Cairo: Al-Ahram newspaper, 16 July 2000. سعيد النجار. "البعد الغائب في اتفاق المشاركة مع الاتحاد الأوروبي". الأهرام، 16 يوليو، 2000.
- El-Naggar, Said. (2001) *The Arab-European Associations Agreements: an obstacle in front of Arab economic integration*. Al-Haya, 9 July 2001. سعيد النجار. "اتفاقات الشراكة العربية الأوروبية عقبة في طريق التكامل الاقتصادي العربي". الحياة، 9 يوليو 2001.
- El-Rafiei, Shaheera. (2005) *The political dossier: will it delay the Egyptian-European agreement?* In: Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi, 10 October 2005. شهيرة الرفاعي: الملف السياسي: هل يؤجل الاتفاقية المصرية الأوروبية؟ الأهرام الاقتصادي. 10 أكتوبر 2005.
- El-Sharqawi, Youssef. (1996) *Security and cooperation in the Mediterranean: the policy of the European Union*. Cairo: Strategic Cahiers, Vol. 6. يوسف الشراوى. الأمن والتعاون في المتوسط: سياسة الاتحاد الأوروبي. القاهرة: كراسات استراتيجية. المجلد السادس 1996.
- El-Shobaki, Amr. (2004) *Europe from the market to the Union: One industry*. Cairo: Strategic Cahiers, Vol. 14, July 2004. د. عمرو الشوبكى. أوروبا من السوق إلى الاتحاد: صناعة واحدة. القاهرة: كراسات استراتيجية. مجلد 14، يوليو 2004.
- Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, *European Neighborhood Policy: Human Rights in EU-Egypt Relations* <http://www.euromedrights.net/english/emhrn-documents/country-reports/EMHRN%20Egypt%20and%20ENP%20en%20FINAL.pdf> (accessed 1 February 2006).
- Gad, Emad. (2001a) *The EU and the Middle East: Past experiences and Future Horizons*. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. د. عماد جاد. "الاتحاد الأوروبي والشرق الأوسط: خبرة الماضي وآفاق المستقبل" د. عماد جاد (تحرير). الاتحاد الأوروبي والشرق الأوسط: الواقع واحتمالات المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 2001.

- Gad, Emad. (2001b) The EU and the Middle East: Reality and Future Possibilities. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. د. عماد جاد (تحرير). الاتحاد الأوروبي والشرق الأوسط: "الواقع واحتمالات المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 2001.
- Gad, Emad. (2001c) The Common Foreign and Security Policy. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. د. عماد جاد. "السياسة الخارجية الأمنية المشتركة" د. عماد جاد (تحرير). "الاتحاد الأوروبي من التعاون الاقتصادي إلى السياسة الخارجية والأمنية المشتركة". القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 2001.
- Ghali, Sameh. (1998) The question of the EU enlargement. Cairo: Al-Ahram Strategic Dossier, Vol. 4, Number 38, February 1998. سامح غالي. قضايا توسيع الاتحاد الأوروبي. القاهرة: ملف الأهرام الاستراتيجي. المجلد 4، العدد 38، فبراير 1998.
- Gheith, Ossama. (2000a) European Partnership and the paradoxes of the industrial dossier: constraints and imbalances. Al-Ahram newspaper, 26 August 2000. أسامة غيث. المشاركة الأوروبية (26 أغسطس 2000). (وتناقضات الملف الصناعي: القيود والاختلالات. الأهرام 26 أغسطس 2000.
- Gheith, Ossama. (2000b) Exports of agricultural goods: Why have they escaped the European Partnership accounts?, Al-Ahram newspaper, 2 September 2000. أسامة غيث. صادرات السلع الزراعية (2 سبتمبر 2000). (المصنعة: لماذا خرجت من حسابات المشاركة الأوروبية؟ الأهرام 2 سبتمبر 2000.
- Ibrahim, Abdel Meduid (2000) The European power revives multipolarity. Al-Khalig Newspaper, 28 December 2000. عبد المجيد إبراهيم. "القوة الأوروبية تحيي تعدد الأقطاب". الخليج 28 ديسمبر 2000.
- Khallaf, Hany and Nafiei, Ahmed (1997a) We and Europe: Present stakes and future horizons. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. هانى خلاف وأحمد نافع. نحن وأوروبا: شواغل الحاضر وآفاق المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية
- Khallaf, Hany and Nafiei, Ahmed (1997b) Towards the elaboration of a coherent Egyptian-Arab strategy towards Europe in the 21st century. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. هانى خلاف وأحمد نافع. "نحو صياغة استراتيجية عربية شاملة للتعامل مع أوروبا في القرن الواحد والعشرين". هانى خلاف وأحمد نافع. نحن وأوروبا: شواغل الحاضر وآفاق المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 1997.
- Khallaf, Hany and Nafiei, Ahmed.(1997c) The development of European-American relations and their reflections on Egyptian and Arab interests. Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies. هانى خلاف وأحمد نافع. "تطور العلاقات الأوروبية-الأمريكية وانعكاساتها على المصالح المصرية والعربية". هانى خلاف وأحمد نافع. نحن وأوروبا: شواغل الحاضر وآفاق المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز الأهرام للدراسات السياسية والاستراتيجية، 1997، ص ص 247-240.
- Mekheimer, Ossama Farouk (1998) Euro-Mediterranean cooperation: initiatives, issues and the future. Al-Mahrousa Center for Research and Documentation. د. أسامة فاروق مخيمر. التعاون (المتوسطى: المبادرات.. القضايا.. المستقبل. القاهرة: مركز المحروسة للبحوث والتدريب والنشر، 1998.
- The Muslim Brotherhood website, 24 May 2006. www.ikhwanweb.com
- Nahdet Misr Newspaper, Israel blocks partnership between the Arabs and Europe, , 13 December 2005, p.7

- Said, Abdel-Meneim. (2000) The seven dimensions of the European-American relations. Cairo: Al-Ahram Al-Iqtisadi magazine, 4 December 2000. "الأبعاد السبعة للعلاقات الأوروبية". عبد المنعم سعيد. د. الأمريكية "الأهرام الاقتصادية"، 4 ديسمبر 2000.
- Selim, Mohamed El-Sayed (2000) The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: an Arab view of the peace and stability pact. Cairo: Strategic Cahiers, No. 87, 2000. "المشاركة". محمد السيد سليم. د. الأوروبية-المتوسطية: رؤية عربية لميثاق السلام والاستقرار". القاهرة: كراسات استراتيجية، السنة العاشرة، العدد 87، 2000.
- Selim, Mohamed El-Sayed (2004) European and American policies in the Middle East: coordination or contradiction? Cairo: Strategic Cahiers: Vol. 14, November 2004. د. محمد السيد سليم. السياسات الأوروبية والأمريكية في الشرق الأوسط: توافق أم تعارض؟ القاهرة: كراسات استراتيجية، المجلد 14، نوفمبر 2004.
- Selim, Mohamed El-Sayed (2005) The Egyptian policy towards cooperation in the Middle East. Cairo: Strategic Cahiers: No. 27. د. محمد السيد سليم. السياسة المصرية تجاه التعاون في البحر المتوسط. القاهرة: كراسات استراتيجية، عدد رقم 27، 2005.
- Thabet, Ahmed (1995) Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: an assessment, Cairo: Center for Political Research and Studies, Political Research Series, No 103.. د. أحمد ثابت. المشاركة الأوروبية-المتوسطية: (دراسة وتقييم، سلسلة بحوث سياسية، رقم 103، القاهرة: مركز البحوث والدراسات السياسية، 1995).