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THE NURTURING AND DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE THROUGH YOUTH ACTION IN THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN REGION: «URBAN AND RURAL INSTITUTES» FOR THE YOUNG; A POLICY SUGGESTION FOR THE EMP YOUTH PROGRAMME

ABSTRACT

The third dimension of the European Mediterranean Policy (EMP) tries to achieve cultural and social development through enhancement of the civil society. Favouring close ties amongst the peoples on the shores of the Mediterranean, especially creating intercultural dialogue among the youth is one of its strong points and enormous potentials. This paper concentrates on youth activities, as these contribute in the most effective way possible to the future of the region in social and cultural cohesion, and proposes permanent structures which can make intercultural dialogue to be adopted as voluntary means to «doing together» in order to reach common and positive accomplishments.

Impacts of the Euromed Youth Programme so far have been considerable in creating communication and intercultural dialogue. The projects have contributed to promoting active participation of young people and opening them up to new cultures and ideas. Youth actions of the EMP have received a renewed impetus and have come under an envigorating decentralisation process. If further reinforced with prospects of occupational training and employment creation for the young, and situated upon permanent grounds, this programme will help build links at grass-roots level among the younger generations, and promote a better understanding of each other's cultures, perceptions and ways of life on both sides of the Mediterranean, and foster a willingness of planning on mutual survival and work.

INTRODUCTION

The year 2008, proposed by the European Commission as the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, promises to be a landmark date in the political history of Europe, including European citizens and all those living in the European Union (EU), as well as the wider European neighbourhood; just as the Year of the Mediterranean, 2005, heralded a renewed interest in this region, raised hopes for building further understanding, trust and cooperation between the parties who are ever enriched by the existing and increasing variation. The EU is already engaged in intercultural dialogue in vouth actions with the partner states of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). Now, it is time to find positive ways of making dialogue to be voluntarily declared a priority for interaction among voungsters of the region who have the negative inclination to observe each other as «the Other». In its third dimension, the EMP tries to achieve cultural and social development through enhancement of the civil society. Favouring close ties amongst the peoples on the shores of the Mediterranean, especially creating intercultural dialogue among the youth is one of its strong points and enormous potentials. It therefore concentrates on youth activities, as these contribute in the most effective way possible to the future of the region in social and cultural cohesion, and in managing the diversity through a «winwin» approach for all those involved.

The validity of the objectives and methods of the EMP has proven to be lasting even though the achievements of the Barcelona Process are questioned after 10 years of implementation. The new European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) approaches the Mediterranean more with the method of conditionality that has been used by the Commission in structuring relations with accession candidate countries. It has launched an action plan which aims to be an «outcome-focused» effective driver of political change in the South of the Mediterranean, as well as a step forward into the EU's internal market and participation in EU policies and programmes.¹ The ENP's package of incentives that are offered to partner states is a systemic/institutional advance in the decade-old EMP's objective of achieving a common area of peace, stability and prosperity in the Mediterranean region through ongoing dialogue, exchange and cooperation.

Communication from the Commission to the Council and the

European Parliament on the 10th anniversary of the EMP («a work programme to meet the challenges of the next five years», April 2005) said: «The promotion of intercultural dialogue among young people through youth exchanges, voluntary service and other nonformal education activities should continue».

The EU offers a sense of Euro-Mediterranean identity, with partial penetration of EU norms and standards into the economies and societies of the Southern neighbours. Arab, Turkish and other Islamic diasporas within the EU add another dimension to the process of demonstrating the compatibility of Islam and democracy, and survival of East and West in peace together. On what grounds intercultural dialogue can be achieved most effectively within the perspective of the long tradition of contagion of ideas and revolutionary political movements in Europe?²

Intercultural dialogue at all levels and among all age and gender groups primarily requires the existence of a «will» on the part of two or greater number of parties, to enter into a dialogue or establish a relationship. Intercultural does not mean just tolerating the «other» and managing to live next to each other in peace or in proximity; it means «doing» together, and sharing common interests in the context of real opportunities. The only ground upon which that «will» can be generated and flourished is where there are possibilities of accomplishments of common tasks, and exchanges of ideas and knowledge resulting in the fulfillment of common

interests. Otherwise, people of different cultures, religions and languages tend to remain aloof to the idea of entering into a dialogue

with each other, without any specific aim in mind.

Based on the above assumption, this paper explores from various perspectives the inherent truth and positive outcome of a policy suggestion, «Euromed Urban and Rural Institutes» (EMUI/EMRI), that has a strong potential of overcoming, at least for future generations, not one but two major problems presently encountered in the EU and in countries of the Mediterranean basin: the rising conflict between «civilisations» (Christianity versus Islam; Western values versus Eastern values), and the high unemployment rate especially among the young people, more specifically the youth of immigrant background in the EU and the youth in the partner countries of the EMP. Unemployment, ranging from 15-20%, is especially acute among the young and the uneducated, primarily in the urban areas.

These two problems are in a way connected since poverty and social exclusion are conducive to fundamentalism and religious fanaticism. These are traps into which primarily the young can easily fall and, in parallel to this, feed on feelings of racism and xenophobia against the «other» within proximity who threatens to take the few jobs available. Dialogue between the proponents of diverse cultures can be achieved through positive communication.

THE ELEMENT OF POSITIVE COMMUNICATION

A crucial element in Jürgen Habermas' theory of society is his theory of communicative action. Habermas set out to reconstruct universal features of using language; therefore he labelled his linguistic research programme as «universal pragmatics». He later replaced universal with the word formal. Formal refers to the rational reconstruction of general intuitions or competencies. There are unavoidable presuppositions that guide linguistic exchanges between speakers and hearers in everyday processes of communication in any language. There are certain presupposed things between communicating parties if communication is to be successful³.

Habermas claims that linguistic interaction is primarily a matter of raising and responding to validity claims. Communicative action is action whose success depends on the hearer's responding to the validity claims raised by the speaker. There are three basic types of validity claims that are raised by a speaker with her speech act: a claim to the truth of what is said or presupposed; a claim to the normative rightness of the speech act in the given context, or of the underlying norm; and a claim to the truthfulness of the speaker. In using a linguistic expression communicatively, the speaker raises all three of these claims simultaneously. These three validity claims are «universal» in the sense of being raised with every communicatively used speech act.

Habermas' three universal validity claims (to truth, to normative rightness, and to truthfulness) fit perfectly in the effort to create intercultural dialogue through Euro-Mediterranean youth activities, since young people who take part in such exchanges are elect and well-meaning individuals of the civil society whose truthfulness would hardly be questioned. Neither the truth of what they say

would be a problem since a project is prepared in advance on a theme by a group or an association of young people, and checked by the National Agency and the EU Commission. Normative rightness of the speech acts, which constitute the basic substance of the intercultural dialogue, are conveyed not only through speech but also through simulation games and atelier exercises enacted in the youth programmes, and through day and evening leisure time spent together often with some cultural content. A similar yet deeper system of positive communication can be extended further into the Euromed Urban and Rural Institutes (EMUI/EMRI) proposed in this paper.

EUROMED YOUTH ACTION

Europe wishes to see, at its Southern brim, a group of countries not at war with each other, not destabilised by conflicts, crime and corruption or the trafficking of drugs, but which start functioning in a spirit of shared responsibility. The aim is to overcome illegal migration, terror, use of drugs, and to end all socio-political conflicts among these states. Barcelona Declaration in November 1995 therefore had three major goals: political integration and stability, improvement of financial and economic issues, and cultural and social development. Such objectives would create an area of peace, stability and progress in the Mediterranean.

The Barcelona Declaration stressed the importance of youth in its third chapter, as one of the regional programmes entitled «partnership in social, cultural and human affairs», and stated that «youth exchanges should be the means to prepare future generations for a closer cooperation between the Euro-Mediterranean partners. A Euro-Mediterranean youth exchange cooperation programme should therefore be established based on experience acquired in Europe and taking account of the partners' needs».

Impacts of the Euromed Youth Programme have been considerable in creating intercultural dialogue. The projects have generated high level of enthusiasm and motivation and new expectations from beneficiaries. They have contributed to promoting active participation of young people and opening them up to new cultures and ideas. Participation in the programme also had a key impact on the

development of young people's skills, both linguistic and technical skills linked to project preparation, planning and management.

The impacts on social integration have been more indirect. Young people themselves expressed views to the following effect: projects have been effective in reinforcing mutual understanding and awareness as well as intercultural communication; breaking down prejudices both in the EU and Mediterranean countries and opening dialogue; giving young people a voice and increasing their confidence; showing young Mediterranean people that EU youth also face socio-economic problems such as exclusion and unemployment and encourage them to be active citizens in their countries.

Youth exchanges also raise awareness for the necessity of fighting for human rights and against racism and Islamophobia. Elimination of gender differences across the Mediterranean is to be promoted since youth programmes require a certain equilibrium in the number of men and women taking part in the projects. Besides stimulating an ongoing dialogue between young people, youth programmes increase their knowledge and access to information, make them better equipped to participate in public debates on current issues, discuss problems of migration and refugee matters.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE YOUTH PROGRAMME IN THE EURO-MEDITERRANEAN

The dialogue between young people, and youth exchanges in the Euro-Mediterranean have been supported within the framework of the Community Programme «Youth for Europe» since 1992; and since 1996, such activities have also been carried through the «European Voluntary Service» programme. EU officials and NGO representatives came together in a conference held in Amman in June 1996 on «Youth Exchanges between the European Union and Its Mediterranean Partners». At this conference they elaborated on the objectives of a new cooperation scheme under the EMP. The second Euro-Mediterranean Conference held in Malta in April 1997 reiterated that a programme of activities for youth should be put forward. The first Euromed Youth Programme was adopted in September 1998 by the European Commission and the Euro-Mediterranean (MED) Committee. A second phase of the Euromed

Youth Programme was adopted in November 2001 by a decision of the European Commission and the MED Committee.

The third phase of the Euromed Youth (2005-2006) was launched in September 2003 in Malta. The platform adopted the following, focusing on three main actions: multilateral exchanges of young people and of socio-educational coordinators, covering specific priorities common to the Mediterranean region; voluntary service with short or long term, individual, non-formal educational experiences, training on arrival, linguistic training, intermediate and final evaluation; and support measures such as planning/preparation, meeting visits on the programme, multilateral study visits, contact seminars, training courses at the national or international level for socio-educational young people and coordinators.

The Commission, before launching Phase III of the Euromed Youth Programme, decided to carry out a review of the centralised management mode of the programme to bring it in line with the principles of decentralised management in the context of the reform of external aid and cooperation. In order to support the decision-making process, the Commission's Cooperation Office «EuropeAid» (DG AIDCO) launched a feasibility study. The selection of projects submitted by youth organisations based in the Mediterranean partner countries was therefore suspended until the new management mode would be in place.

The decentralisation process entails the transfer of the management, i.e., the selection, issuing of contracts and financial management of the projects presented by youth organisations from the Mediterranean partner countries, to new structures which will be identified by the authorities of the relevant countries. The calls for projects for youth organisations from the Mediterranean partner countries will be reopened as soon as the new decentralised management structures are operational.

Directorate General «EAC» continues to manage the part of the Euromed Youth Programme regarding projects presented by youth organisations from the EU member states through national agencies as well as the centralised selection projects presented by Europewide youth NGOs. The decentralisation process in the Euro-Mediterranean partner countries, on the other hand, are divided into two phases: the first one focuses on the creation and capacity building of the new structures. The second consists in re-opening

project selections, which are managed in a decentralised fashion by the new structures. The process takes place under the supervision of DG AIDCO, which is responsible for the implementation of the Commission's external aid.

The long term objective of the decentralisation process is a better ownership of the programme by the Mediterranean countries. The management of the programme is expected to be transferred to the Mediterranean youth authorities, and operated by separate units within each MEDA ministry, the Euromed Youth Units (EMYUs). These units are set up by the national authorities with the support of a Regional Capacity Building and Support Unit. The decentralisation process in the Mediterranean partner countries promises to be a healthy accomplishment which will guarantee the effective continuation and functioning of the youth programmes. This process is also conducive to reinforce the sustainability of the youth programmes within a larger project such as the EMUI/EMRI, presented in this paper as an extension and elaboration of the youth policy.

The EMYUs, which are expected to take over the management of the Youth Programme, may well be situated as part of the proposed EMUI/EMRI. Within the new programme framework, the responsibilities of the EMYUs go beyond the traditional tasks assumed by the National Agency, which had been restricted to promotion, information and support to project promoters, and now include further tasks. The new EMYUs are responsible for all managerial tasks of the programme in its different phases, such as application, selection, contracting, monitoring and payment procedures. The change of the management system from a centralised to a decentralised mode requires the deployment of a Regional Capacity Building and Support scheme for the Mediterranean partner countries. This measure together with a close monitoring is essential to ensure the proper transfer of responsibility, the expected satisfactory performance of the new EMYUs, impact and visibility of the programme. Another change that takes place is the transferral of a number of responsibilities for the management of the Euromed Youth Programme from the Commission headquarters in Brussels to the respective EC Delegations in the MEDA partner countries.

Listed as one of the four major working areas on the agenda of the EU leaders and leaders of Euro-Mediterranean partner countries at the 10th anniversary of the Euro-Mediterranean Association, was education and cultural exchange: it said that youth, very especially on the southern rim, is the future, and education is the key to development for Mediterranean societies. Amongst others, programmes will be promoted for reducing illiteracy. At the same time, it is essential to promote mutual knowledge and understanding among cultures. The Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures is a good instrument for promoting this encounter of civilisations.

The Regional Indicative Programme 2005-2006 confirmed the major objectives of cooperation with the Euro-Mediterranean region based on the Regional Strategy Paper 2002-2006⁴. The Regional Indicative Programme 2005-2006, emphasized the role of regional cooperation in three aspects of major relevance in the Barcelona Process and the new ENP: the focus on reform, the need for enhanced dialogue, and the promotion of networks of cooperation. The proposal suggested in this paper, concerning the Euromed Urban and Rural Institutes, answers all three of the programme's basic goals.

INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE THROUGH «DOING TOGETHER»

The introduction of National Action Plans following the ENP will further help Mediterranean partners to work together in many areas in reaching the approximation of their respective legislation and regulatory frameworks towards common EU legislation, especially as regards the internal market. Reforms will be necessary in areas such as standards, investment, circulation of goods, capital, services and people, and increasing opportunities for south-south integration among the countries concerned, especially in devising the basic fundamentals of a common citizenship for the people of the Mediterranean partner states. A significant degree of harmonisation and regulatory convergence on the sub-regional scale will surely bring common and compatible standards, procedures, and practices.

The cooperation of young people on common projects of production and industry at the suggested «Institutes» will facilitate reforms and have positive effects also in the areas of justice and home affairs, covering the issues of an independent judiciary, the

fight against organised crime and terrorism, in the marketing of drugs, as well as improvement in the treatment of issues relating to the prevention of illegal migration, to the management of migratory flows to the EU countries, and to the social integration of people compelled to emigrate, as well as improved governance in urban and rural centers. The furthering of the dialogue of cultures, societies and civilisations in the Euro-Mediterranean region is a central aim, which will best serve all strata of the communities involved, including the unemployed and the most excluded.

The Euromed Youth Programme is meant to enhance the exchange of mutual knowledge among the young and to bring to focus understanding and a willingness to coexist. If reinforced with prospects of employment creation for the young, this programme will help build links at grass-roots level among the younger generations, and promote a better understanding of each other's cultures, perceptions and ways of life on both sides of the Mediterranean, and foster a willingness of planning on mutual survival and work. The creation of the EMUI/EMRI will necessitate cooperation between local authorities, which will contribute to the promotion of dialogue and direct contacts and collaboration between the cities, towns and local authorities of the region.

Networking in the Mediterranean area will bring together under a decentralised format the EU institutions of foreign policy and economy, the EMUI/EMRI, the respective governments, the municipalities and even smaller local authorities. EuroMeSCo, by setting up the network of foreign policy institutes, and FEMISE as the organizer of institutes of economy, can be effective in contributing to the establishment and functioning of the EMUI/EMRI⁵. FEMISE has the potential of strengthening dialogue on the economic and trade issues of the partnership. It has the tools to help with the progress of the Mediterranean partner countries on their way towards economic transition and opening, in particular as regards free trade and South/South cooperation and the ENP. FEMISE also ensures that socio-economic research is conducted on topics defined as a priority for the future of the Euro-Mediterranean region. Results of crucial topics are presented to the governmental partners of the Barcelona Process including agriculture, health, employment, education, role of women, integration and cooperation between the countries of the South of the Mediterranean, as well as the economic partnership between Europe and the Mediterranean countries.

A pilot project for the EMUI/EMRI can be started under the coordination and support of the Anna Lindh Foundation. The European Commission may grant a launching aid and the members of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership may each supply voluntary initial contributions, financial or in kind. The EMUI/EMRI may turn into self-supporting establishments once the participating youth start working on various enterprises, which will be expected to gain financial standing in time and help the youth to get on with their occupations independently but in continuous interaction with the «Institute».

There are two subjects which will constitute in the near future the major areas of cooperation between the EU and the Mediterranean partners: establishing city centers as units and platforms for the Euro-Mediterranean urban youth to learn, perform, interact, create, work and make money together; and the gradual integration of the Mediterranean partners, with their urban and rural products and contributions, into the EU internal market, and the creation of a Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area.

Extension of free trade to services and agriculture needs to be fully realised. As the Conclusion of the Euromed Conference of Foreign Affairs Ministers in Naples on 2-3 December 2003, and in accordance with the Action Plan adopted in Palermo in July 2003, priority sectors among the services and standards area have to be identified and put into implementation. For partner states whose priorities have been established and some specific reforms decided or initiated, it would be helpful to organise workshops and seminars in the sectors concerned, to provide technical assistance to accompany the process of reforms and help to train officials before and after the introduction of legislative and institutional reforms.

THE NEED FOR «EUROMED URBAN INSTITUTES» AND «EUROMED RURAL INSTITUTES»

The cities are «places of encounter, creation and exchanges». The major portion of wealth is created in the large metropoles. Scientific research is concentrated in the cities. High technology and the products of tomorrow are invented in the cities. The cities see the Euro-Mediterranean dialogue as a fundamental asset for the local authorities. The Valencia Action Plan approved by the Euro-

Mediterranean Foreign Ministers on 23 April 2002, «Welcomed the Declaration of the meeting of Euro-Mediterranean cities held in Barcelona» on 22 February 2002 and also agreed that «the Euromed PACT proposal presented by Eurocities must be studied further». A pilot cooperation programme of the European Commission, MEDACT, was a cooperation programme launched in 2003 between Euro-Mediterranean cities, local and territorial authorities, with the objective of starting a number of initial activities. The Euro-Mediterranean cities are confronted with similar problems, such as urbanisation, management of public transport improvement of the environment, safety and security, democracy, participation of citizens, and the activities of civil society. associations and NGOs. There are many fields in which much can be learned from cooperation, the sharing of experiences and achieving tasks together.

In the EMUI/EMRI, the youth may set up workshops in order to identify the common interests of the cities and local authorities of the EU and of the cities and local authorities of the Mediterranean partners, to come up with policy suggestions and proposals and try to promote the cooperation of all parties, facilitating their contacts and the sharing of experiences. By helping the local authorities in human resource-building, youth who thus get experienced in the management of urban problems may become eligible to be employed by the municipalities. Employability of the youth will be facilitated, while good practices of development, democracy and local governance will be promoted at the same time.

The proposed EMUI/EMRI will function as «sustainable cooperation networks between the Euro-Mediterranean cities and local authorities» and will help in the «transfer of expertise and know-how in the fields of the local governance and the management of municipal and regional bodies», as these are specific goals stated in the Indicative Programme⁷. The instruction and training methods employed at the EMUI/EMRI could comprise exchanges of personnel as teaching staff, seminars for the training of youth and exchanges of expertise, pilot projects designed and implemented on the development and training of the young staff of local communities, apprenticeships on the highlighting and identification of good practices.

In the EMUI/EMRI, the beneficiaries may also be involved in the training and creation of works, in 3-12 month periods or longer.

Such works may be in literature, theatre, pantomime, composing of music and playing of instruments, journalism, publishing, arts, photography, sculpture, cinema, production of all sizes and types of artifacts, toys, industrial designs, computer laboratories and software, integrated circuit design generation, etc. Language schools may also be set up where youth of European or partner countries may be employed to teach their own languages. The beneficiaries may be instructed and advised by competent professionals of renown in their respective fields, honorary or otherwise, in seminars and workshops. The beneficiaries may be supported in making their work public and obtain economic benefit as well as recognition from the exhibiting or marketing of their work. Literary works or journals may be published by the «Institute» or forwarded to publishing houses; artistic works may be offered for sale in exhibitions opened at or by the «Urban Institutes». In this way the young beneficiaries from the European Union member states as well as from the 10 partner countries of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership may make a successful start in their own choice of a creative and cultural profession. Besides, the participants while they share the tasks and pleasures of a communal life together at the «Institutes» will also help other applicants to carry on the same kind of intercultural dialogue activities that are normally performed at the current Euromed Youth Action or voluntary work programmes.

In the EMUI/EMRI, the areas of work offered to beneficiaries may be much more varied and may have the potential of enhancing the social and cultural development of many rural areas. Local products of geographical (regional) significance and reknown on both shores of the Mediterranean may be set up as joint small-size manufacturing plants. Especially in the 10 Euromed partner states, the sustainability of many a product, foodstuff or beverage such as honey, jams, canned or dried vegetables and fruits, pastry, sweets, carpets, kilims and other hand-woven cloths, having as origin a traditional and geographical significance will be promoted. Many cultural, literary and artistic areas of work can also be carried on at the EMUI/EMRI, next to the production of goods of local characteristics. A recent example from Turkey is expected to produce positive results in domestic intercultural exchange and employment creation. One thousand young women from Hakkari (an Eastern province) in Turkey are given a chance to exhibit and

put on sale their hand-woven carpets of local colour and design in one of the most popular/exclusive shopping centers in Istanbul. The said programme is supported by a non-governmental organisation, called «Support of Contemporary Life» (*Cagdas Yasamı Destekleme Dernegi*) and big industrialists in Turkey.

The EMUI/EMRI can offer more than one professional work area, in fact provide support for many different subjects at the same time. Most of the beneficiaries may be living at the site (campus) of the «Institute», which will likely consist of land and building(s) granted by the state or private individuals or enterprises. The EMUI/EMRI can be established in the member states of the EU or in partner countries of the Euromed Partnership, but the «Institutes» shall be available for the participation of young beneficiaries from any one of the 35 EMP states.

The details about the working of the «Institutes», such as administration, taxation, inspection, the system of turnover of beneficiaries and faculty, application procedures, the transformation of successful enterprises into independent firms can be determined by the competent staff of the EU Commission, at the relevant Directorate General. Even the title of 2007-2013 European Youth Programme is "Youth Action", in relation to which all partners and stakeholders are encouraged to further develop and enhance EU policies concerning young people and their employment. Turkish example of the «Village Institutes» in late 1930s and 1940s, planned and implemented by I. Hakkı Tonguç under the supervision of the Turkish Ministry of Education, can be studied and partly taken as a model⁸. The use of young beneficiaries in the performing of the tasks required for the running, maintenance, restoration, cleaning of the «Institutes» is likely to work positively for establishing cultural dialogue between the participants. Especially the young people, men and women together, can develop effective and lasting understanding and ability for survival in spite of different cultural backgrounds under the pressures of sharing daily responsibilities and achieve dialogue in terms of concrete behaviours. In the Turkish «Village Institutes», men and women students worked together in the growing of fruits and vegetables, planting of trees, producing honey, making jams and preserves, and the men students helped in the repairs and the construction of additional buildings. The system of the Turkish «Village Institutes» also allowed for assistance or help teams from one «Institute» to visit any other one of the 17

«Institutes» temporarily. Such exchanges were very effective in serving for the further development of intercultural dialogue within the country, as the youth of different regions of Turkey worked together on common tasks, including the documenting and spreading around of the cultural traits, arts and traditions of different regions of Turkey. Similarly, the Urban and Rural Institutes in the Euromed region, as proposed in this paper, will definitely promote the already existing local small and medium sized productions of goods, as well as contributing to the creation of new crops, works or goods, and open the way for universal citizenship «to include all», *ad omnes includendos*.

CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF EUROPE AND THE YOUTH

There is one important reason why the European Union needs to concentrate on the youth of today more than ever. The youth of Europe will carry the EU into the future; and the youth of the 35 states of the EMP will carry the said programme of the region, in line with the new ENP of the EU, into the future. Next to their economic worries and due to the same, peoples in Europe are under ever growing fear and hatred of immigrants, mostly of Islamic background. They are afraid of diluting or losing their traditional «European» identity due to the 15 million Muslims who already live in Europe; and the EMP is another platform where Europeans will meet again and again predominantly Islamic peoples.

The young Europeans are neither aware of their drastic past half a century ago, nor have any other good enough reason to develop a compensating desire for a common political future. Such a common political future is expected to involve them on the level of the European Union member states; but they may be (are) expected to be involved in a common political, economic and social future also with the southern partner countries of the EMP. Neither having lived the agonies nor the after-effects of WW II, the youth in Europe fails to realise that the Union is the holy «antidote» against another major war. It is up to the middle-aged leaders, especially in Paris, Berlin, London, Amsterdam, Warsaw, or Rome, to blow some life into the spirit of European integration; and it is up to the European Commission to be more creative and active in enhancing youth programmes, and extending these not only to the West, North and

East of Europe, but all around the Mediterranean Sea, which is the original bed of European civilisations as well as Islamic ones.

The greatest integration project of the 20th century and its most successful development in the last 50 years is under a great risk of collapsing. Efforts at making a new constitution have been halted; however if member states, with their leaders, bureaucrats, and publics are ready and willing, many of the reforms proposed in the Draft Constitution can be realised even without a new Constitutional Treaty. The ideals and objectives upon which the Community is based are threatened by rising economic nationalism and protectionism. There is loss of heart among the young due to unemployment, and the resulting loss of toleration and respect for anyone who is «different». New structures such as the Euromed Urban and Rural Institutes which will be built upon already existing European and universal values, will help to keep the future generations of the Euro-Mediterranean in intercultural dialogue by «doing» and «earning» together. It will provide for the actionoriented education, approved by UNESCO, and help the youth to take their first steps into a profession or vocation and gain a new civic identity in the process.

ANNEX

Policy recommendation: one specific policy recommendation which is introduced in this paper is the creation of permanent Euromed Urban and Rural Institutes. The aim is to create learning, training and job-creation possibilities for the young, as well as contribute to the creation of intercultural dialogue in practice, through «doing» things together. These «Institutes» may be situated at North and South of the Mediterranean, according to regional land and property contributions, where there would be the existence of positive prospects of starting new enterprises. The participants may be young persons, men and women, from any one of the 35 EMP states. The proposed «Institutes» may also be the seats of the newly created Euromed Youth Units (EMYUs), which are to assume all the managerial tasks of the national agencies under the Euromed Youth III in the partner states of the EMP.

1. The perceived advantages of the «Institutes» to a partner country, specifically in the form of creating opportunities for

employment for the youth, will be the most important determinant of the success of the EMP in contributing to intercultural dialogue and strengthening the potential of the ENP to bring about change.

- 2. Member and partner states should provide land, building and facilities in order to set up permanent grounds for youth actions, which are to be developed into Euromed Urban or Rural Institutes.
- 3. The Commission or its authorised representatives shall undertake financial audits and inspections at the «Institutes».
- 4. The Commission or its authorised staff shall be granted appropriate access to the grounds where the beneficiaries carry on their activities and the Commission shall have access to all the information, including information in electronic format. Beneficiaries shall keep for the Commission supporting documents for all expenditure.
- 5. The beneficiaries will be responsible to carry on the daily tasks at the «Institutes», from maintenance, upkeep of the facilities to daily chores, and administrative functions. Such work will be part of the training programmes and help to achieve dialogue in terms of concrete behaviours. Priorities may be established in the fields taken up at the youth «Institutes», in relation to the procedures under the open method of coordination (OMC). Projects run in different Euromed Urban or Rural Institutes may complement each other, facilitate access to each other, or design OMC comparison measures.
- 6. Methods may be developed for analysing and comparing the results of studies and works undertaken, the selection of beneficiaries, the implementation of small-size industrial projects and how to guarantee the quality of output, and increase profits.
- 7. Voluntary youth activities will be carried on alongside the investments in the training of young for real work and professional employment.
- 8. The running programme can also have cooperation activities with international organisations working in the youth field, such as the Council of Europe, the United Nations and its specialised institutions.

¹ S. Jones and M. Emerson, *European Neighbourhood Policy in the Mashreq Countries*. *Enhancing Prospects for Reform*, CEPS Working Document n. 229, September 2005, available at www.ceps.be.

² Europe has a long tradition of contagion of ideas and revolutionary political movements:

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from Renaissance and Reformation of the 15th to 17th centuries, to the republicanism of 1789, the liberalism of 1848, the communism of 1917, the post-fascist democracy of 1945, and the post-communist democracy of 1989-1991, which has recieved a new boost in 2004-2005, with the ratification of new democracies central on the enlargement of the European Union.

³ J. Habermas, On the Pragmatics of Communication, M. Cooke (ed.), London, Polity Press, 2002; id., The Inclusion of the Other. Studies in Political Theory, C. Cronin and P. De Craiff (ed.), London, Polity Press, 1000.

DeGreiff (eds.), London, Polity Press, 1999.

⁴ Foundation Euromed, http://ec.europa.eu/comm/external_relations/euromed/euromed_foundation/index.htm.

⁵ The Regional Strategy Paper was adopted by the Commission on 18 December 2001, after the favourable opinion of the MED Committee of 5 December 2001. The said programme took into account also the Commission Communication of 11 March 2003 on neighbourhood and the relevant Council conclusions. The introduction of the New European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), along with its principles of differentiation among partners, has become an important aspect of the Barcelona Partnership.

⁶ EuroMeŠCo, Euro-Mediterranean Foreign Policy Institutes, established at Sesimbra in 1996, is independent of but interacts with the Senior Officials meeting on the political and security dialogue. FEMISE, Forum Euroméditerranéen des Instituts de Science Économique, consolidates and develops the network of Euro-Mediterranean Economic Institutes; facilitates policy dialogue and improving knowledge of the economic developments of the region. More than 70 members of FEMISE, that are economic research institutes, represent 27 partners of the Barcelona Process.

⁷ The mayors of cities were eager to have a specific space within the Framework of Euro-Mediterranean Cooperation. An aspiration had been expressed several times during the various activities undertaken by the cities: at the Conference of Mediterranean cities in Barcelona, 1995; the Summit of Mediterranean Cities in Marseilles, 1998; Les Assisses de la Méditerranée en 2000, in Genua; meetings of the Mediterranean group of the World Federation of United Cities; the Standing Committee for the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership of Local and Regional Authorities; the Council of European Municipalities and Regions.

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