

Towards a security community for the Mediterranean. A feasibility study for an intercultural text book.

Objectives

The main objectives of the project are:

a) to create a university network which will not be based on disciplinary areas or area studies, but on the capacity and willingness of the participants to cooperate in defining an interdisciplinary editorial workplan on the basis of the common aim (To create a common language to discuss security in the Mediterranean).

b) to verify the intellectual feasibility of a text book (organized around one or more volumes) with Anglo-American, French, Arabic and Italian bibliography, intended as a reading on questions related to peace and war in the Mediterranean. The aim will be to write a table of contents for the volume/s. As a starting point, seven « conceptual couples » (or dyothomic visions about security) are proposed as a basis for discussion. Their validity, as tools for analysis and prescription, will be discussed and verified during the feasibility study.

c) To find out whether a community (in the sense of the « imagined communities » of Anderson) on this question could be built on **mastering past stories** (if enough commonalities can be found), as suggested in another context by Paul Ricoeur, or more attention should be given to the **creation ex novo of common civic values** for the future (Jurgen Habermas) or a *conscience civique* (Mohammed Arkoun)

Description of the activity for which the grant is requested:

Feasible study

The project is devised as a feasibility study beginning with the distribution to partners of a list of « conceptual couples » in order to have their comments, critiques and hindsight. Each of the partners, which will come from the Middle East, Europe and the United States, will be invited to choose the « conceptual couple » she/he wants to explore both at the level of a personal analysis or/and of a bibliographical research on the literature that could be put in the textbook in order to illustrate each couple.

Preliminary meeting

The preliminary meeting will take place in Forlì. 5 teachers and 10/15 post-graduate students will participate at the meeting. The aim of the meeting is to establish the modality of work and the tasks of each participant involved in the project.

Participants to the first preliminary meeting will be asked to contact other scholars whose contributions can be useful to the setting up of the final conference where the editorial plan of the book/s will be discussed.

Seminar

The seminar will take place in Forlì and will last three days. 10/20 teachers and 20/30 post-graduate students will participate at the seminar. Its aim will be to discuss and work out the final editorial plan for the textbook/s.

Web site

The web site will function as an information point and data base for the participants in the period between the preliminary meeting and the seminar, as well as an instrument for dissemination of the activities and aims of the project.

CD ROM

The CD rom will contain a short description of the project, the papers presented by both professors and post-graduate students and a bibliography selected by topics. The editorial plan will complete the CD rom.

Timetable Stage of project (activities)	Length of stage	Human resources required (by category)
Web site	20 days	Project leader, assistants
Call for papers	15 days	Project leader, assistants, secretary
Preliminary meeting	2 days	Project leader, assistants, administrator, secretary
Work out	150 days	Students
seminars	3 days	Project leader, assistants, administrator, secretary
Dissemination of results	20 days	Assistants, secretary
assessment	10 days	Administrator, assistant

Brief description of the activity(activities) which form the project (seminars, meetings, conferences, publications, Internet sites, etc. For each activity, please give the names of the speakers, participants, authors, duration, etc.

Preliminary meeting

The preliminary meeting will gather Chibli Mallat, Maurice Vaïsse, Charles Maier, Giuliana Laschi. All of them have been already alerted about the nature of the project and have contributed to its formulation. They will be requested to discuss freely the conceptual tools proposed by the authors of this project and propose a list of possible participants for the following seminar. Ten to fifteen post graduates students, whose research relates to the topics discussed will be invited to the meeting. Literature to be included in the editorial plan of the textbook will be also discussed and tasks of each participant for the next stages of the project decided.

Seminar

The five original members (the four invited professors and the proponent) as well as five new participants in the category of teachers will be present. During the first day, interventions will revolve around the conceptual tools (either one term or both of each conceptual couple will be analysed). During the second day, a list of literature to be reproduced in the textbook/s will be discussed. 20/30 post-graduate students will participate in either gathering the literature or discussing it. The third day will be devoted to the workout of the editorial plan of the book which will be written by the five original members during the morning and discussed with the entire group during the afternoon.

Web site

The web site will function as an information point and data base for the participants as well as an instrument for dissemination of the activities and aims of the project. It will be regularly updated especially as far as the literature to be selected for the textbook is concerned (e.g. if Weber is

thought to be an useful author to be put in the book under the conceptual couple “the means trough which security is granted”, his name will be put in a special part of the web site and participants of the group will be invited to signal excerpts of his work fit suitable to be inserted in the book).

CD ROM

The CD rom will contain a short description of the project, the papers presented by both professors and post-graduate students and a bibliography selected by topics. The editorial plan will complete the CD rom.

Original members:

Teachers:

Chibli Mallat, Professeur, Faculté de droit et des sciences politiques, Directeur, Centre d’Etudes sur l’Union Européenne, Université Saint Joseph, Beiruth

Maurice Vaïsse, Professeur des Universités, Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris DEA d’Histoire du XXè siècle

Charles Maier, Leverett Saltonstall Professor of History, Harvard University

Giuliana Laschi, Professor of history of international relations, University of Bologna, campus of Forlì.

Lorenza Sebesta, Chair Jean Monnet, University of Bologna, campus of Forlì

Post-graduate students:

20/30 selected post graduate students coming from different countries (Europe, Middle East, the US)

Description of the proposed project management:

The project management will be carried out by two committees: scientific committee and operational committee.

Scientific committee: the original members plus Rémy Leveau, Professeur emeritus des Universités, Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris, conseiller scientifique à l’Ifri pour le monde arabo-musulman, will be part of the Committee. This committee will be responsible for the scientific management of the project and will guarantee the final assessment of the project’s results.

Operational committee : composed by two assistants, a secretary and the project manager. This committee will carry out the management of the organization.

Anticipated results of the activity for which the grant is requested

(number of people affected by the project, multiplier effect of the project, etc.)

	No. of people directly affected	No. of people indirectly affected
<u>Whole of project</u>		
call for papers, seminars, dissemination50.....1000.....
<u>Parts of project</u>		
Call for papers.....35.....70.....
Seminars.....50.....100.....
Dissemination.....200.....1000.....

Activities planned for disseminating project results (communication aspect)

The results of the project will be spread out through the following ways:

- publication of papers and seminars' act on the web site
- the delivery of CD ROM to all the participants containing seminars papers and acts
- Table of contents of future text book

Plans for assessing project

The project will be assessed considering the following indicators:

- At least 10 written intervention produced for the preliminary meeting
- Capacity to organise the papers around the original conceptual tools (3 papers for each dicotomy) or the possibility to devise new ones and the solicit papers on them
- Possibility to find within the existent literature essays or excerpts of texts for each dicotomy
- At least 30 participants to the seminar, from all the scheduled universities
- At least 1000 web contacts by the end of the project
- Selling out of the total number of Cd Rom (100) by mid 2005
- The compilation of a editorial workplan for one or more volumes of the above-mentioned textbook.

The evaluation of the seminars will be done during the project with the help of the participants that will fill in a questionnaire at the end of the works.

Starting and finishing dates of the project (please indicate the period for which the grant is requested, taking account of any preparatory work and the time required for completion of the end-product financed by the grant).

December 2003 / December 2004

Summary of the project - in French or English only in view of the constraints imposed by the evaluation work of the group of experts:

Objectives

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are proposed as a basis for discussion. Their validity, as tools for analysis and prescription, will be discussed and verified during the feasibility study.

c) To find out whether a community (in the sense of the « imagined communities » of Anderson) on this question could be built on **mastering past stories** (if enough commonalities can be found), as suggested in another context by Paul Ricoeur, or more attention should be given to the **creation ex novo of common civic values** for the future (Jurgen Habermas) or a *conscience civique* (Mohammed Arkoun)

Intellectual background

Karl Deutch, in analysing the Atlantic Community back in the Fifties, defined it as a **security community** as far it implied :

1. the possibility of change without recourse to violence ;
2. a shared expectation that force would not be used in intercourse among members.

After him, many others have been trying to elucidate how **communities** are created and how do they function. Among the more convincing authors, Anderson and Ranger have pointed at the artificial origin of communities, suggesting that communities are an artificial artefact, which has to be « imagined » through myths, traditions, rhetorical discourses which can be shared by participants. This encompasses both the idea of **looking at the past**, in order to reconstruct a common history, heritage, as opposed to personal stories, memories (Paul Ricoeur), and the idea of **looking at the future** in order to build up such community on shared civic values (Jurgen Habermas) or *conscience civique* (Mohammed Arkoun).

If we try to apply this to the field of security, we ought to build up common imagines about security. The best way to do this is to verify how the discourses on security have been organized, and find out a common ground for a future reshaping. Dialogue is not enough when, following a recurrent cognitive pattern, it reinforce past stereotypes (Enrique Banus and Mohammed Arkoun). In order not to fall in this trap, a common ground for intellectual intercourse must be built.

Analytical tools

In order to begin the discussion around the book(s)' table of contents and the creation of a network of contributors , we suggest seven conceptual couples. These couples are not intended to be mutually exclusive for a theoretical point of view, by they are intended to represent opposed points of view around the same question. These points of view seldom happen to « speak to each other », because they are supported by experts of distant disciplines. For example, « the creation of a common constitutional space for human rights » is the domain of jurists (Antonio Papisca), while « the use of force » has been since ancient time the domain for strategists.

These couples are intended

- A. to help verify differences and similarities in the past;
- B. to build up a common view for the future ;
- C. to provide the readers with materials in order to analyse and promote a viable security for the Mediterranean

Here is a first suggested list :

ASSUMPTIONS OF THE DISCOURSE ON SECURITY

Disorder is a fundamental component of life, national and international communities. The problem is how to master this disorder (we have to build up common codes of conduct and rules to make them efficient and legitimate)

Order is a fundamental component of life, national and international communities. The problem is how to impose it (balance of power, hegemonic empire etc.)

THE AIM OF SECURITY

The integrity of the state territories, of physical border and values expressed by the communities that live within this borders.

The integrity of the human being, of his/her « borders » of dignity and respect.

National interests, as defined by the leaderships and the strongest interest groups within a given state.
National interests, as defined by others, a paradigm (whether colonial or cold war) built up elsewhere.

THE MEANS THROUGH WHICH SECURITY IS GRANTED

The use of force
The creation of a common constitutional space for human rights

Each discourse on security is deeply rooted in the geographical realities of a country, which are given facts, not subject to change. Globalisation (*mondialisation*) condemns some areas to be forgotten forever (*l'oublie éternel*).

Each discourse on security is built on regionalization, and the policies of regionalization change through time and space. Countries which were considered neighbours at the time of Philip II are now distant entities and the reverse

THE RETHORIC OF SECURITY

The discourses on war (the culture of war)
The discourse on peace (the culture of peace and internationalism)

God as the source of legitimation for the use of force
Legality and rationality as the source of legitimation for the use of force

Description

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ORIGINAL MEMBERS

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