

# THE EUROPEAN UNION'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEMOCRATISATION PROCESS IN EGYPT AND IN LIBYA BEFORE AND DURING THE ARAB SPRING

---

Aikaterini-Kaousar Ampou-Salim

Academic Year: 2011-2012

Supervisor: Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Wolfgang Benedek,  
Institute of International Law and  
International Relations, University of Graz

## **ABSTRACT**

The aim of this thesis is to shed light on the European Union's effectiveness in promoting democracy in Egypt and in Libya before and during the Arab Spring. While the EU has long tried to promote core values of democracy in its neighbourhood, it is argued that its initiatives have had limited impact until recently. Although democratisation could have been adequately promoted through the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) and the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), several internal and external factors undermined the impact and effectiveness of these frameworks. However, now that in these two states democracy has the potential to be based on strong foundations, the EU has the opportunity to be actively, effectively and substantially involved in the democratisation process. This thesis, on the one hand, points out the factors which made it impossible for the EU to convince Hosni Mubarak and Muammar Qadhafi to proceed with democratic reforms and which rendered the EMP and the ENP ineffective. On the other hand, by presenting the EU's responses to the Arab Spring as well as steps taken towards an effective democracy promotion, the author highlights the strengths and weaknesses of the EU's new approach and draws conclusions on its potentials.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

As widely acknowledged the writing up of a Master thesis can be a lonely and isolating experience, yet it is not possible without the support and encouragement of numerous people.

First, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Professor Wolfgang Benedek and his assistant Matthias Kettemann not only for believing in me and my work, but also for supporting my ideas, for inspiring me and for giving me food for thought. All the assistance and guidance was substantial, precious and continuous even in times when there was extensive work overload. I would also like to thank Professor Benedek for showing so much care and for making Graz feel like home.

A number of people in Venice and in Graz have also helped me in different aspects during this one-year Master's Programme. To this end, I would like to thank Angela Melchiorre, Monika Dabrowska, Jacques Hartmann, all the E.MA personnel and the other Masterinis for making this whole E.MA experience unforgettable. I also thank Martina Haller and Matthias Kindlhofer for all their assistance and hospitality. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr Klaus Starl for making me feel so welcome and for all these conversations we had which have been really insightful. Moreover, I thank Nora Scheucher for her assistance in every aspect of my stay in Graz.

I am also particularly grateful to Ambassador Mr Emmanuel Papadoyorgakis who was like a mentor to me. He has been standing next to me in each and every step I have taken, he advised me, encouraged me, helped me in different aspects and motivated me to pursue higher and higher goals even when frustration had taken over me. I would also like to thank Theodora Vergi for her continuous support and belief in me as well as for all the help she has provided all these years and the care she has taken of me.

Moreover, I would like to thank my friends for always supporting my efforts, expectations and dreams, for tolerating my moaning, for making me smile and for helping me to calm down whenever I was overwhelmed by stress and panic. I would like to thank Dimitris Bouris, Despoina Georgiadou, Panagiotis Ginis, Despoina Greasidou, Grigoris and Thymios Kapsalis, Peggy Kolovou, Teo Papadopoulos and Pari Sofianopoulou for being there.

Most of all I would like to thank my family for being always a motivating power, for standing next to me, for embracing my dreams and for supporting both financially and psychologically my thirst and passion for knowledge even when they had to see me fly away from them. This thesis is dedicated to them and in memory of my mother.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: PERCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY</b> .....	<b>10</b>
1.1 WHAT IS THE SO-CALLED LIBERAL DEMOCRACY? .....	10
1.2 THE EU AS NORMATIVE POWER AND ITS DEMOCRATIC VALUES .....	12
1.3 ARAB DEMOCRATIC VALUES .....	13
1.4 IS THERE A REAL DIFFERENCE IN PERCEPTIONS? .....	15
<b>CHAPTER 2: TRYING TO MAKE ARABS SEE DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE EU'S GLASSES?</b> .....	<b>17</b>
2.1 EU'S EXTERNAL ACTION AND DEMOCRACY PROMOTION .....	17
2.2 DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE BARCELONA PROCESS .....	19
2.3 DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE EUROPEAN NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY .....	24
2.4 SUB-CONCLUSIONS: TRYING TO MAKE ARABS SEE DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE EU'S GLASSES? .....	27
<b>CHAPTER 3: DEMOCRATISATION IN EGYPT AND IN LIBYA</b> .....	<b>29</b>
3.1 DEMOCRATISING MUBARAK AND QADHAFI: TURNING A FROG INTO A PRINCE? ..	29
3.2 EGYPT'S PROFILE .....	31
3.3 EU-EGYPT RELATIONS AND DEMOCRACY PROMOTION .....	35
3.4 LIBYA'S PROFILE .....	39
3.5 EU-LIBYA RELATIONS AND DEMOCRACY PROMOTION .....	43
3.6 SUB-CONCLUSIONS: DEMOCRACY – THE SLEEPING BEAUTY .....	48
<b>CHAPTER 4: ARAB SPRING – A WAKE UP CALL TO DEMOCRACY</b> .....	<b>51</b>
4.1 A SHORT OVERVIEW OF THE EVENTS IN EGYPT AND LIBYA .....	51
4.2 THE EUROPEAN POSITION VIS-À-VIS THE ARAB SPRING IN EGYPT AND LIBYA .....	54
4.3 “PARTNERSHIP FOR DEMOCRACY AND SHARED PROSPERITY WITH THE SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN”: SEIZING THE OPPORTUNITY FOR MAKING A NEW START? .....	57
<b>5. CONCLUSIONS</b> .....	<b>65</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>69</b>

2012

# The European Unions involvement in the democratisation process in Egypt and in Libya before and during the Arab spring

Ampou Salim, Aikaterini Kaousar

---

<https://doi.org/20.500.11825/668>

*Downloaded from Open Knowledge Repository, Global Campus' institutional repository*