

### **Executive Summary**

With the decline of France's role in African countries in the Sahel region in 2023, and as traditional allies face numerous challenges that have negatively impacted their partnerships with African nations, the path has become clear for building new partnerships based on equitable cooperation, including the Italian African partnership. This is particularly relevant in light of Italy's series of adjustments in its political, economic, security, and military approach toward Africa. Like other major powers such as the United States, China, and Russia, Italy seeks to enhance its influence in Africa and the Middle East as well.

Based on the above, this study highlights the significant role Italy plays in the Middle East and North Africa, where both Egypt and Tunisia are considered key partners for Italy in the region. While Egypt holds a strategic importance due to its distinguished geographical location on the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, Tunisia also serves as a vital link and gateway between Europe and Africa. This makes it essential to understand and analyze Italian foreign policy toward Egypt and Tunisia and the ways in which this policy affects Italy's relations with both countries, whether in terms of economic, security, energy, or irregular migration issues.

The study is divided into four axes. The first axis addresses the economic relations between Italy and Egypt compared to Tunisia, the nature of economic ties between Egypt and Italy and Tunisia and Italy, and an overview of the bilateral partnerships among them. From Egypt's perspective, Italy is one of its most important economic partners globally, with investments exceeding \$3 billion and the establishment of approximately 1,288 projects in various foreign direct investment sectors, particularly in industries such as manufacturing, agriculture,

tourism, information technology, and the transfer of technology and expertise across diverse productive and service sectors.

As for Tunisia, Italy's approach toward developing relations with Tunisia is closely tied to its goal of safeguarding its economic interests in the country. In this context, it is worth noting that the economic relations between the two nations are diverse, encompassing numerous projects and investments across different sectors. Looking at the trade volume between Tunisia and Italy in 2022, Tunisia's exports to Italy reached a value of \$3.45 billion, while Italy exported goods worth \$3.85 billion to Tunisia.

This comprehensive analysis aims to offer insights into Italy's foreign policy dynamics toward Egypt and Tunisia, underscoring the implications for economic, security, energy, and migration-related cooperation.

The second axis, titled "Italy's Role in Supporting Political Stability in Both Countries," highlights Italy's efforts to promote political stability in Egypt and Tunisia.

For Egypt, the focus is on Egyptian Italian cooperation in managing key foreign policy issues to safeguard national security. Regarding Egyptian European relations, both France and Italy have strongly supported Egypt in Libya, alongside the Egyptian Italian partnership in gas exploration activities in the Mediterranean.

For Tunisia, Italy has played an active role in addressing the political and economic challenges Tunisia has faced since President Kais Saied assumed power on July 25, 2021, following a decade of instability after the fall of the Ben Ali regime and attempts to establish a new constitution based on the rule of law and respect for human rights. However, these aspirations have not materialized. Tunisia faces a severe political crisis due to deep disagreements between the existing regime and the opposition. This crisis is exacerbated by Kais Saied's retention of exceptional powers, his dissolution of parliament, and the introduction of a constitution that expands executive authority, posing a threat to human rights.

The third axis, titled "Bilateral Partnerships in Security and Irregular Migration Issues," examines Egypt and Italy's cooperation in security matters. Italy prioritizes collaboration and coordination with Egypt to maintain regional security, particularly given current security challenges in the region. Notably, Egypt and Italy share alignment on the Libyan file, recognizing that the situation in Libya directly affects both countries. They work together to support Libya's state-building efforts and prevent its collapse into the hands of terrorist groups. Both nations face significant security challenges, including escalating tensions in the region, and Italy remains a key partner in supporting Egypt against potential border security threats.

The fourth axis, titled "The Impact of Political Transformations (Arab Revolutions and Political Transitions) on Relations with Both Countries," explores the effects of political changes on bilateral relations.

For Egypt, significant shifts occurred in the political landscape following the January 2011 Revolution. During these political transitions, the study highlights the influence of these transformations on Egypt's relations with Italy. After a period of stagnation in political relations and official visits following the January 25 Revolution, cooperation resumed, notably with President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi's meeting with Italian Foreign Minister Paolo Gentiloni in 2015. This meeting symbolized Italy's solidarity with Egypt in combating terrorism.

For Tunisia, relations between the two countries have undergone significant transformations due to the revolutions and political transitions, particularly following the Jasmine Revolution in 2011. The revolution resulted in an increase in

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irregular migration flows, and in its aftermath, the relationship between Tunisia and Italy experienced major shifts. Italy adopted a supportive stance toward Tunisia's democratic transition, assisting the Tunisian people in achieving their democratic aspirations. Italy provided the necessary support and aid to Tunisia during this critical phase.

#### Introduction:

Italy plays a significant role in the Middle East and North Africa, with Egypt and Tunisia being among its primary partners in the region. This is attributed to Egypt's strategic location on the Red Sea and the Suez Canal, while Tunisia serves as a vital gateway connecting Europe and Africa. These factors drive the need to understand and analyze the motivations behind Italy's policies toward Egypt and Tunisia and how these policies impact bilateral relations, particularly in the fields of economy and energy. Economic relations are a pivotal factor in shaping the general policies of states.

Additionally, the bilateral partnerships in security and irregular migration, especially between Italy and Tunisia, are of critical importance. The geographical proximity of the two countries plays a key role, as the majority of irregular migration flows reaching Italian shores originate from Tunisia. On the other hand, Italy also cooperates with Egypt in the security domain, particularly in combating extremism and terrorism, and in supporting stability and peace in the region.

Based on this, it can be said that Italy's policies toward Egypt and Tunisia are driven by its strategic and economic interests, with a focus on enhancing mutual cooperation in the areas of economy, security, and energy to achieve stability and development in the region.

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#### **Research Problem:**

This paper seeks to analyze Italy's policies toward Egypt and Tunisia in three key areas: economy, security, and energy. It also examines the differences in Italy's approach to each country, shaped by its strategic interests and the geographical factors that play a decisive role in shaping Italy's foreign policy toward both nations.

#### **Research Questions:**

This study addresses the primary research question: "What are the differences in Italy's approach toward each of the two countries, based on its strategic and geographical interests?"

From this central question, several sub-questions arise:

- 1. How do Italy's economic policies differ toward Egypt and Tunisia?
- 2. What role does Italy play in supporting political stability within the two countries?
- 3. Is there coordination between Italy and the two countries on security and irregular migration issues?
- 4. To what extent have political transformations affected Italy's relationships with both countries?

#### **Objectives:**

The study aims to:

- 1. Analyze Italy's policies toward Egypt and Tunisia in the areas of economy, security, and energy.
- 2. Highlight the differences in Italy's approach to each country.
- 3. Clarify the impact of strategic and geographical interests on Italy's relations with Egypt and Tunisia.

### **Methodology:**

The study relied on desk research to collect the required data. It also employed the comparative method to analyze the gathered data and develop recommendations for enhancing Italian Egyptian and Italian-Tunisian relations in the areas of economy, irregular migration, and energy.

## First: Economic Relations Between Italy and Egypt Compared to Tunisia

#### 1– Economic Relations Between Italy and Egypt:

Italy aims to position itself as a strong European actor in Africa. This ambition is evident in Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni's insistence on prioritizing Africa in the agenda of the G7 summit hosted in Rome last June. Africa, in general, is a cornerstone of Italy's foreign policy. This is clearly reflected in Italy's foreign policy strategies, which primarily aim to enhance Italy's role as a bridge between Europe and Africa by distributing natural gas from Africa and the Red Sea region to Europe, while simultaneously controlling irregular migration flows to EU countries.

In this context, Italian Interior Minister Matteo Piantedosi announced that Italy seeks to establish security infrastructure in Africa and invest in capacity building in the security and energy sectors. This aligns with the "Mattei Plan," which views African development as a critical factor in preventing irregular migration to Europe. The Mattei Plan is rooted in an initiative launched by Rome after World War II, aimed at securing energy resources for Italy through broad partnerships and cooperation across various sectors with African countries. This initiative successfully bolstered Rome's image in the region as a reliable strategic partner. Today, Italy is reviving this plan in light of the current complex geopolitical landscape and the government's desire to address critical issues such as energy security, migration, and economic development.

In this framework, Egypt and Italy have witnessed strong and developing relations, particularly in economic cooperation. This was underscored by the meeting between President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi and Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni as part of the Egypt-European Union Partnership Agreement. This meeting reflected the commitment of both countries to continue joint projects in trade, industry, and technology. Notably, Italy is Egypt's largest trading partner within the European Union, with trade volume between the two countries reaching approximately \$5.145 billion last year.

Italy stands out as one of Egypt's key global economic partners, with investments exceeding \$3 billion. Over 1,288 projects have been established in various sectors of foreign direct investment, especially in industry, agriculture, tourism, and information technology. These projects also include technology transfer and expertise sharing across various productive and service sectors.

Moreover, in recent days, the Egyptian Cabinet announced the launch of the first voyage of the Egyptian-Italian "Ro-Ro" line. This line, connecting Damietta Port in Egypt with Trieste Port in Italy, reduces the shipping time for goods to just 2.5 days compared to the previous 6 days. The project is expected to increase container traffic between Mediterranean ports by 3.5% annually until 2027. The initiative aims to position Egypt as a regional and African hub, while also boosting trade opportunities and supporting Egyptian exports of industrial and agricultural products by facilitating access to European markets<sup>(1)</sup>.

Sky News Arabia, Egypt.. Launch of the first Ro-Ro line flights to boost trade with Europe, published on: November 29, 2024, available at the following link: https://www.skynewsarabia.com/business/175839

#### **Energy Sector:**

Currently, Italy is opening more mines and advancing the extraction of raw materials located in Italy and across Europe, aiming to reduce dependence on China. In this context, the European Commission is establishing partnerships with non-European countries to achieve this goal, including partnerships with Kazakhstan and Chile. Egypt has the potential to join these partnerships, which could contribute to increasing European investments in the Egyptian market.

In terms of joint cooperation between the two countries on energy security, which has been a key area of partnership in recent years, the collaboration between Egypt and the Italian company Eni in the natural gas sector stands out. This partnership aims to leverage Egypt's diverse capabilities while contributing to Europe's ongoing challenge of addressing the energy crisis, such as the one currently driven by the Russia-Ukraine war.

To enhance energy cooperation further, Egypt's Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources, Karim Badawi, visited Italy in recent months to explore ways of cooperation between Egypt and the Italian company Eni in oil and gas activities. This visit underscored Egypt's focus on attracting more investments in the energy sector to achieve economic development and ensure secure energy supplies in the region, aligning with Egypt's efforts to establish itself as a regional energy hub<sup>(2)</sup>.

Additionally, the Italian government's foreign policy agenda includes a series of ambitious projects aimed at strengthening its role as an energy hub in the Mediterranean. This includes enhancing electricity and gas interconnections, with Egypt being a central focus. Situated at the crossroads of Europe, Africa, and Asia,

<sup>(2)</sup> Economy and Business, The Minister of Petroleum discusses ways to cooperate in the energy sector between Egypt and the Italian company Eni. Publication date: September 4, 2024, available at the following link:https://www.iktissadonline.com/news/2024/09/04

Italy leverages its location, ports, and energy infrastructure to position Egypt as a key partner in advancing the development of the entire region<sup>(3)</sup>.

#### 2- Economic Relations Between Italy and Tunisia

Italy's approach to strengthening relations with Tunisia is closely tied to its goal of securing its economic interests in the country. Economic relations between the two nations are diverse, encompassing various projects and investments across multiple sectors. In 2022, Tunisia's exports to Italy reached \$3.45 billion, while Italy exported goods worth \$3.85 billion to Tunisia<sup>(4)</sup>. By 2023, Italy's exports to Tunisia amounted to \$3.62 billion<sup>(5)</sup>.

During the first ten months of 2024, Italy's exports to Tunisia totaled 8.2 billion Tunisian dinars, a 2.8% decrease compared to the same period in the previous year, yet remaining ahead of other countries. In contrast, imports from Tunisia to Italy reached 4.1 billion Tunisian dinars, reflecting a 4.2% increase over the same period.

Additionally, Tunisia hosts over 900 Italian companies, making Italy the second-largest foreign direct investor in the country. In the first half of 2024, Italian investments in Tunisia amounted to 141.3 million Tunisian dinars<sup>(6)</sup>. Italy has also been Tunisia's top trading partner since 2021. In December 2022, a

<sup>(3)</sup> Decode39, IA, espacio, energía sustentanFortalecimiento de los lazos Italia-Egipto, fecha de emisión el 23 de abril de 2024, disponible en: https://decode39.com/8990/ai-space-energyitaly-egypt

<sup>(4)</sup> Observatory of Economic Complexity, Tunisia/Italy, 2022, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Foec.world%2Fen%2Fprofile%2Fbilateralcountry%2Ftun%2Fpartner%2Fita&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx %2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(5)</sup> Trading Economics, Italy Exports to Tunisia, 2024, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Ftradingeconomics.com%2Fitaly%2Fexports%2Ft unisia&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(6)</sup> Intisar Antar, a timid increase in foreign investments in Tunisia, Independent Arabia, 2024, the following link: https://n9.cl/7dfcel

project was announced to extend an undersea electricity cable between Italy and Tunisia, financed by the European Union with a budget of  $\notin$  307 million<sup>(7)</sup>.

Under the "Mattei Plan,<sup>(8)</sup>" economic and trade relations between Italy and Tunisia have seen significant development. Italy is Tunisia's largest investor in the energy sector and its top partner in agriculture<sup>(9)</sup>. The year 2024 witnessed further progress in economic relations, marked by a partnership agreement focusing on telecommunications, technological transformation, and energy supplies. This agreement aims to establish a permanent working group for communications and an AI center for sustainable development in Africa, providing direct support to Tunisia's energy sector. The agreement underscores Italy's commitment to strengthening cooperation with Tunisia, particularly in technological transformation and energy  $provision^{(10)}$ .

 (10) Decode39, The Mattei Plan strengthens strategic cooperation between Italy and Tunisia, 2024, AvaIlable at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fdecode39.com%2F9085%2Fthe-mattei-plan-strengthens-strategic-cooperation-between-italy-and-tunisia%2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2

<sup>(7)</sup> Nova news, Made in Italy is increasingly appreciated in Tunisia and exports are resisting the crisis, 2024, available at the following link: https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.agenzianova.com%2Far%2Fnews%2Fmad e-in-italy-sempre-piu-apprezzato-in-tunisia-lexport-resiste-alla-crisi%2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F

<sup>(8)</sup> Matteo's plan: This plan lays the "foundations of a new model of partnership between Italy and the countries of the African continent, including Tunisia, to promote integrated and multi-sectoral sustainable development."

<sup>(9)</sup> Nova news, Italy and Tunisia towards a new partnership model, 2024, the following link: https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.agenzianova.com%2Far%2Fnews%2F%25 D8

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In addition, Tunisia secured a  $\in$ 50 million loan from Italy, aimed at reducing the trade deficit and public spending on energy subsidies, while alleviating pressures on state finances<sup>(11)</sup>.

Despite these advancements, Tunisia continues to face severe economic challenges resulting from the economic downturn after the 2011 uprising and the impact of COVID-19. While the Tunisian government has partially addressed rising unemployment by creating job opportunities, inflation remains high. In 2022, Tunisia and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreed on a \$1.9 billion loan over 48 months. However, Tunisian President Kais Saied rejected the deal to avoid social unrest stemming from subsidy cuts and reductions in public sector wages. In response, Italy offered Tunisia a series of incentives to encourage acceptance of the deal and to support the country's economic stability<sup>(12)</sup>.

Energy remains a critical issue, as Tunisia's failure to repay its debts could jeopardize the flow of gas supplies from Algeria to Rome via the TransMed gas pipeline. This pipeline spans 370 kilometers through Tunisian territory before reaching the Mediterranean and Sicily. Additionally, the planned 230-kilometer electricity interconnection project, with a capacity of 600 MW<sup>(13)</sup>, underscores the importance of energy cooperation between the two nations.

<sup>(11)</sup> Cdp, Italy-Tunisia agreement: 50 million for the country's energy sector Reform, 2024, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.cdp.it%2fsitointernet%2Fpage%2F en%2Fitaly\_tunisia\_agreement\_50\_million\_for\_the\_country\_s\_energy\_sector\_refor ms%3FcontentId%3DPRG48694&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Cs h%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(12)</sup> Karam Saeed, The motivations behind Italy's Continued Support for Tunisia, Arab Wall, 2023, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Farabwall.com%2Fen%2Fthe-motivations-behind-italys-continued-support-for-tunisia%2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(13)</sup> Francesco Meriano, Italy looks to Tunisia for a solution, medDr LEONARDO FOUNDATION, 2023, Availableat: https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.medor.org%2Fen%2Fnews%2Ftra-roma-e-cartagine-nel-mediterraneo-allargato-meloni-e-litalia-

# Secondly: Italy's Role in Supporting Political Stability in Both Countries

#### First: Italy's Role in Supporting Political Stability in Egypt

Every country in the world is concerned with two essential issues: the first relates to foreign policy, and the second to domestic policy, as both encompass all elements related to the state's foundations.

## 1. Changes in the Political Landscape in Egypt After the January 25 Revolution

Significant changes occurred in the political landscape in Egypt following the January 2011 Revolution and continue to this day. After the fall of Mubarak's regime, many political and popular forces emerged, including partisan and nonpartisan, religious and non-religious groups.

The first phase of the political transformation followed Mubarak's fall and was characterized by the emergence of numerous political forces representing various political currents. The diversity and large number of political forces can be attributed to several factors. First, the nature of the post-revolution period often sees the rise of numerous political forces. Second, there was a lack of clear distinctions between political parties and popular movements. Third, the transitional administration's stance, represented by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), played a role. SCAF managed the transitional phase from February 2011 to June 2012 with a high degree of neutrality, maintaining equal

nella-corsa-pertunisi&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4 distance from all political and popular forces and avoiding any bias toward a particular political current<sup>(14)</sup>.

#### 2. The Transitional Phase of 2012:

This phase began with the announcement of the presidential election results and the transfer of power, lasting until the 2013 revolution and the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood regime. This phase was marked by the reclassification of political forces and popular movements along religious lines.

During these political transitions, it is essential to highlight the impact of these changes on Egypt's relations with Italy. Political relations and official visits between Egypt and Italy, which had slowed after the January 25 Revolution, witnessed significant development. They resumed with President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi's reception of Italian Foreign Minister Paolo Gentiloni in 2015. This meeting reflected Italy's solidarity with Egypt in combating terrorism, particularly following the terrorist attack on the Italian consulate in Cairo.

The two sides explored investment opportunities in Egypt, emphasizing that Italian companies were welcome in various sectors such as oil, gas, and infrastructure. Italy reaffirmed its full support for Egypt by encouraging economic and social development efforts, continuing the fight against terrorism and extremist ideologies, expanding cooperation in various fields, and recognizing Egypt's pivotal role in the region<sup>(15)</sup>.

<sup>(14)</sup> Samir Farag, how did Egypt succeed in achieving political stability? Publication date: August 31, 2023, available at the following link: https://gate.ahram.org.eg/daily/News/204597/4/912370/

<sup>(15)</sup> Karim merzan, Can Italy play an effective role In helping stabilize the Mediterranean region?, issuance date 31 march 2023, available at: https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource

## Secondly: Italy's Role in Supporting Political Stability in Tunisia

The stability of Tunisia is crucial for the stability of the entire Mediterranean region. Italy has played an active role in addressing the political and economic challenges Tunisia<sup>(16)</sup> has faced since President Kais Saied assumed power on July 25, 2021. This came a decade after the fall of the Ben Ali regime and attempts to establish a new constitution based on the rule of law and respect for human rights, which, however, have not been achieved. Tunisia now faces a political crisis under an authoritarian regime, with Saied retaining extraordinary powers, dissolving parliament, and introducing a constitution that expands executive authority, thereby threatening human rights.

Additionally, the president holds the power to appoint and dismiss judges and has dismissed 57 judges. Laws restricting freedom of expression have been enacted, used to launch investigations against government opponents and to justify arrests of opposition figures. Saied's policies during a period of high inflation have exacerbated economic and political instability, alongside violence against refugees, as reflected in his xenophobic rhetoric targeting refugees from sub-Saharan African countries. These actions prompted strong reactions from the African Union, the United Nations, the United States, human rights organizations, and several European countries. However, Italy's stance differed, as it refrained from criticizing Saied's authoritarian regime and instead<sup>(17)</sup> provided economic and political support.

<sup>(16)</sup> KUNA, US Italy agree to bloster stability In mediterraneanTunisia, 2023, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.kuna.net.kw%2FArticleDetails.aspx %3Fid%3D3099897%26language%3Den&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl 2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(17)</sup> Michaël Ayari, Riccardo Fabiani, To Deal or Not to Deal: How to Support Tunisia out of Its Predicament, Istituto Affari Internationali, 2023, Available at :

Italy plays a significant role in supporting political stability in Tunisia through various initiatives. Examples include providing post-revolution support by offering economic and developmental aid, loans, and grants to strengthen the economy, details of which will be elaborated upon later. Italy has also enhanced bilateral cooperation in various fields such as trade, economy, culture, education, and security. Moreover, it has supported Tunisia in international institutions like the European Union and the United Nations. For instance, Italian Foreign Minister Antonio Tajani sought to persuade the International Monetary Fund to release a \$1.9 billion loan for Tunisia. Additionally, Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni has urged the European Union to provide immediate support to Tunisia, which is currently grappling with a severe economic crisis<sup>(18)</sup>.

Italy has also strengthened diplomatic relations between the two countries through official visits and communications. Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni has visited Tunisia four times since taking office, reflecting the close friendship between the two nations. Furthermore, Italy has provided political and logistical support to promote democracy, the rule of law, and political and economic reforms in Tunisia.

https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.Iai.it%2Fen%2Fpubblicazioni%2Fdeal-or-not-deal-how-support-tunisia-out-its-

predicament&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4 (18) Karam Saeed, The motivations behind Italy's Continued Support for Tunisia, Arab Wall,

2023, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Farabwall.com%2Fen%2Fthe-motivationsbehind-italys-continued-support-for-

tunisia%2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2 %2F4

## Third: Bilateral Partnerships in Security and Irregular Migration

# First: Bilateral Partnership Between Egypt and Italy in Security and Irregular Migration Issues

#### **1-Security:**

Both Egypt and Italy face numerous security challenges, such as escalating tensions and crises in the region. They share common concerns, including combating terrorism and addressing irregular migration. Italy prioritizes collaboration and coordination with Egypt to maintain regional security, particularly given the current security challenges in the region.

It is worth noting that Egypt and Italy share alignment on the Libyan issue, working together to support Libya's state-building efforts and prevent its collapse into the hands of terrorist groups.

Given these shared concerns, both countries need to coordinate their efforts on various regional issues. Italy remains one of the key supporters of Egypt in addressing border security challenges amid the current regional tensions. These challenges include irregular migration, bilateral military relations, and other critical issues<sup>(19)</sup>.

#### a- The Libyan Issue:

Libya holds a top priority for Italy due to its strategic interests in the country and its geographical proximity, as well as the impact of Libya's internal developments on Italian national security. Despite the outcomes of the Berlin Conference, which emphasized that there is no military solution to the Libyan conflict and urged all parties to de-escalate and respect the ceasefire agreement,

<sup>(19)</sup> Middle East Magazine "COP 27... Egypt and Italy to Enhance Cooperation in Energy Security, Published on: November 7, 2022, Available at the following link: https://aawsat.com/home/article/3974566/

debates persist about the extent to which various parties adhere to these commitments<sup>(20)</sup>.

In addressing the challenges of irregular migration, efforts have been made to establish the Egyptian Italian Center, modeled after the Egyptian-German Center for Jobs, Migration, and Reintegration. This center aims to enhance cooperation between the Egyptian and Italian governments by supporting labor migration and fostering collaboration through strategic partnerships. Egypt and Italy are keen on advancing bilateral cooperation and promoting secure migration<sup>(21)</sup>.

#### **b- Irregular Migration:**

To tackle the challenges of irregular migration, the Egyptian Italian Center has been established, inspired by the Egyptian-German Center for Jobs, Migration, and Reintegration. The center focuses on fostering cooperation and joint efforts between the Egyptian and Italian governments to support labor migration and promote collaboration through strategic partnerships. Egypt and Italy share a strong interest in advancing bilateral efforts to enhance secure migration.

In this context, Egypt is considered the best African partner in combating irregular migration. As part of this cooperation, several agreements have been signed, including one stipulating the swift deportation of irregular Egyptian migrants from Italy. The number of Egyptian migrants in Italy has increased significantly since 2013 due to the region's instability during that time. These agreements have become increasingly critical for the Italian government, as both sides play a broader role in curbing migration, particularly by enforcing strict laws

<sup>(20)</sup> Future Center for Advanced Research and Studies, Securing Influence... The Motivations Behind Italy's Shift in Stance on the Libyan Crisis, published on January 28, 2020, available at the following link: https://futureuae.com/ar/Mainpage/Item/5225

<sup>(21)</sup> Sky News Arabia, "Italy and Libya... A rapprochement to avoid what Muammar Gaddafi warned against," published on December 4, 2021, available at the following link: https://www.skynewsarabia.com/middle-east/1484385

against human traffickers. Italy serves as a major departure point for refugees, with more than 180,000 refugees arriving by sea in  $2016^{(22)}$ .

## Secondly: Bilateral Partnership Between Italy and Tunisia in Security and Irregular Migration Issues

Tunisia faces numerous security challenges, and Italy is among the most significant countries supporting Tunisia in addressing these issues, including irregular migration and combating terrorism, among other critical matters.

#### **1. Irregular Migration:**

Before the migration agreement between Italy and Libya in 2017, 91% of irregular migration to Italy originated from Libya, making it the primary route for most migrants. However, this changed after the agreement, with Tunisia becoming the primary transit point. In 2019, 36% of migrants came from Libya and 32% from Tunisia. By 2020, 43% of migrants to Italy originated from Tunisia and 38% from Libya.

In 2021, Tunisia ranked first in the number of irregular migrants deported from Italy to North African countries. In 2022, 32,000 migrants arrived in Italy on dilapidated boats, of which 18,000 were from Tunisia. In 2023, 61% of arrivals to

<sup>(22)</sup> European Interest in Egyptian Stability: The Case of Italy, valentina comintti, issuance date at : 23 october 2017, available at : https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/European-Interest-in-Egyptian-Stability\_.pdf

Italy were from Tunisia, compared to 33% from Libya<sup>(23)</sup>. Containing migration remains a political priority for Italy's right-wing government<sup>(24)</sup>.

In 2023, Tunisia successfully thwarted over 6,000 border crossings and detained 80,000 irregular migrants. By January 2024, 258 irregular migrants from Tunisia reached Italian shores, marking a 25% decrease compared to the same month in 2023<sup>(25)</sup>.

Migration Agreements: Several agreements between Tunisia and Italy aim to address this complex issue:1998 Agreement: Tunisia committed to implementing coastal controls in exchange for annual migration quotas for Tunisian citizens.

2003 Agreement<sup>(26)</sup>: This aimed to enhance conditional cooperation, where Italy provided training and technical capacity-building for Tunisian police forces to control maritime borders in exchange for labor migration quotas.

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<sup>(23)</sup> MALCOLM H. KERR CARNEGIE MIDDLE EAST CENTER, Tunisia's Transformation Into a Transit Hub: Illegal Migration and Policy Dilemmas, 2024, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fcarnegieendowment.org%2Fresearch%2 F2024%2F03%2Ftunisias-transformation-into-a-transit-hub-illegal-migration-andpolicy-dilemmas%3Flang%3Den%26center%3Dmiddleeast&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(24)</sup> Debbie Mohnblatt, As African Migration to Europe Spikes, Tunisia Takes Center Stage In Italy's Foreign Policy Agenda, The medialine, 2024, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fthemedialine.org%2Fby-region%2Fasafrican-migration-to-europe-spikes-tunisia-takes-center-stage-in-italys-foreignpolicyagenda%2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2 %2F4

<sup>(25)</sup> Al-Munji Al-Saidani, Tunisia and Italy discuss the issue of irregular migration to Europe, Al-Middle East, 2024, following link: https://n9.cl/0r50r5

<sup>(26)</sup> ASGI, Italy-Tunisia repatriation agreements: as numbers of enforced removals rise, much is still to be known, 2021, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.asgi.lt%2Fen%2Fsciabacaoruka%2Fitaly-tunisia-repatriation-agreements-as-numbers-of-enforced-removalsrise-much-is-still-to-beknown%2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2

2009 and 2011 Agreements: These further strengthened the control of irregular migration<sup>(27)</sup>.

In 2023, Tunisia signed a comprehensive memorandum of understanding with the European Union to combat irregular migration and support Tunisia's economy. In October 2024, Tunisia and Italy signed a memorandum of understanding to manage migration flows. As part of this agreement, Italy pledged to employ 2,000 young Tunisians in Italian companies over three years (2024-2026), aiming to reduce irregular migration flows and provide Tunisians with formal work contracts<sup>(28)</sup>.

Recent Agreements and Financial Aid: In 2024, Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni signed three agreements with Tunisian President Kais Saied. These frequent diplomatic exchanges and comprehensive agreements underscore Tunisia's growing importance within Italian foreign policy as a primary departure point for irregular migration to Europe.

As part of its strategy to strengthen economic relations with Tunisia and address irregular migration to Europe, Italy provided  $\in 105$  million in financial aid and credit lines to Tunisia<sup>(29)</sup>. This included  $\in 50$  million in cash to improve energy efficiency and renewable energy projects and a  $\in 55$  million credit line to support

<sup>(27)</sup> Haitham Ben Zaid, Tunisian-European Cooperation Agreements in the Field of Migration: When Tunisia Becomes the Guardian of Europe's Southern Borders, Legal Agenda, 2020.The following link: https://n9.cl/z5di7k

<sup>(28)</sup> Hamadi Maamri, Tunisian Youth in the Tunnel of Employing Migrants within Italy, INDEPENDENT Arabic, 2024, the following link: https://n9.cl/z5di7k

<sup>(29)</sup> Bahrain News Agency, Italy: Funding for Tunisia amounting to 105 million euros to curb migration, 2024, following link: https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.bna.bh%2F.aspx%3Fcms%3Dq8FmFJgisc L2fwIzON1%252BDha%252FsbS%252BpvuaCegf2ZVCCpw%253D&utm\_campaign=aga &utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

Tunisian small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Additionally, the European Union offered a  $\in 1$  billion deal to Tunisia to help curb irregular migration<sup>(30)</sup>.

#### 2- The Deteriorating Situation in Libya:

Tensions in Libya negatively impact Italy's security and interests. As a result, Italy consistently seeks to protect its interests, striving to achieve this goal by enhancing bilateral cooperation with Libya's neighboring countries, particularly Tunisia. Stability in these countries is crucial to supporting efforts aimed at resolving the Libyan crisis and safeguarding Italy's interests in Libya.

#### **3- Increased Coordination Against Terrorist Organizations:**

Terrorist groups have infiltrated countries in the southern Mediterranean and carry out attacks within these nations. Consequently, Rome views enhanced security coordination with these countries as essential to limiting the capabilities of these organizations to execute potential attacks<sup>(31)</sup>.

Tunisia and Italy share historical ties due to their geographical proximity and mutual security challenges. During the first ten months of 2024, 46 military training exercises were conducted between the Italian and Tunisian armed forces<sup>(32)</sup>.

 <sup>(30)</sup> The Guardian, EU signs off €1bn deal with Tunisia to help stem Irregular migration, 2023, Available
 at:https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.theguardian.com%2Fworld%2F2023%2
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<sup>(31)</sup> Salem Ali Al-Barqi, Italian-Tunisian relations since 2011, African Studies Journal, Vol. 45, No. 3, 2023, pp. 45-48

<sup>(32)</sup> Tunisia Telegrah, within one year 46 military exercises between Tunisia and Italy, 2024, the following link: https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Ftunisie-telegraph.com%2Ftunisie-Tunisia2F%25D8%25AE%25D9%2584%25D8%25A7%25D9%2584-%25D8%25B3%25D9%2586%25D8%25A9-%25D9%2588%25D8%25A7%25D8%25AP%25D8%25AF%25D8%25A9-46

As part of their bilateral military cooperation, the Tunisian Chief of Staff, accompanied by a delegation, visited Italy in September to discuss collaboration in training and joint exercises. The visit also aimed to increase mutual visits for the exchange of expertise and to strengthen military cooperation. Additionally, the Italian Minister of Defense attended the 25th meeting of the Italian Tunisian Military Committee in Tunisia<sup>(33)</sup>.

## Fourth: The Impact of Political Transformations (Arab Revolutions and Political Transitions) on Relations with Both Countries

- 1- The Impact of Political Transformations in Egypt on Its Relations with Italy
- a- Changes in Egypt's Political Landscape After the January 25 Revolution

Significant changes occurred in Egypt's political landscape following the January 2011 Revolution and continue to this day. After the fall of President Mubarak's regime, numerous political and popular forces emerged, including partisan and non-partisan, religious and non-religious groups.

The first phase of political transformation followed Mubarak's fall and was characterized by the emergence of numerous political forces representing diverse political ideologies. The diversity and large number of these forces can be attributed to several factors:

(33) MINISTERO DELLA DIFESA, Tunisian delegation on official visit to Italy, 2024,Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.esercito.difesa.it%2Fen%2FNews %2FPagine%2Fdelegation\_tunisian\_ltaly.aspx&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=a gsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4 Post-Revolution Dynamics: The nature of post-revolution periods often sees the rise of numerous political forces,Lack of Clear Distinctions: There were no clear lines distinguishing political parties from popular movements,The Transitional Administration's Role: The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), which managed the transitional phase from February 2011 to June 2012, maintained a neutral stance, keeping equal distance from all political and popular forces without bias toward any specific political current<sup>(34)</sup>.

#### b-The Transitional Phase of 2012

This phase began with the announcement of presidential election results and the transfer of power, lasting until the 2013 revolution and the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood regime. This period was marked by the reclassification of political forces and popular movements along religious lines.

During these political transitions, Egypt's relations with Italy experienced notable shifts. After a period of stagnation following the January 25 Revolution, political relations and official visits between the two nations resumed, culminating in President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi receiving Italian Foreign Minister Paolo Gentiloni in 2015. This meeting symbolized Italy's solidarity with Egypt in combating terrorism, particularly following the terrorist attack on the Italian consulate in Cairo.

The two sides explored opportunities for investment in Egypt, emphasizing that Italian companies were welcome to operate in various sectors such as oil, gas, and infrastructure.

<sup>(34)</sup> Mohamed Fayez Farhat, "The Change in the Political Map of Egypt After the January 25 Revolution," Published on: January 26, 2017, Available at the following link: https://acpss.ahram.org.eg/News/15216.aspx

Italy reaffirmed its full support for Egypt by encouraging and promoting economic and social development, continuing efforts to combat terrorism and extremist ideologies, expanding bilateral cooperation across various fields, and recognizing Egypt's pivotal role in the region.

## Secondly: The Impact of Political Transformations on Italy-Tunisia Relations

Italy and Tunisia share historical ties, and their relations have undergone significant transformations due to the revolutions and political transitions, particularly in Tunisia after the Jasmine Revolution in 2011. The revolution resulted in increased irregular migration flows; at the beginning of 2011, Italian authorities recorded the arrival of 43,000 people at its maritime borders<sup>(35)</sup>.

Following the revolution in Tunisia, the relations between the two countries experienced substantial shifts. Italy adopted a supportive stance toward Tunisia's democratic transition and assisted the Tunisian people in achieving their democratic aspirations. Italy provided necessary aid and support to Tunisia during this period.

This is exemplified by the visit of the Italian President to Tunisia in 2012, accompanied by the Italian Foreign Minister, for a two-day trip. Notably, he was the first leader of a European Union country to address the Tunisian Constituent Assembly. During his speech, he emphasized the importance of ensuring broad representation in the parliament and stated that it was Italy's duty to support Tunisia's democracy.

(35) Migration Policy Institute, Revolution and Political Transition In Tunisia: A Migration Game Changer?, 2015, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.migrationpolicy.org%2Farticle%2Frevoluti on-and-political-transition-tunisia-migration-gamechanger&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4 Additionally, Italy and Tunisia launched a strategic partnership through a joint declaration signed by Italian Minister Terzi and his Tunisian counterpart Rafik Abdessalem. The declaration underscored Italy's commitment to helping Tunisia achieve a "privileged partnership" with the European Union and ensuring significant EU support for Tunisia's efforts in achieving social and economic developmen<sup>(36)</sup>t.

As part of this partnership, Tunisia signed an agreement with Italy to receive a  $\notin$ 73 million loan to support small and medium-sized enterprises. This protocol was signed in November 2011<sup>(37)</sup>.

Furthermore, Italy's Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs visited Tunisia in 2014 to attend the international conference "Invest in Tunisia," as part of Italy's efforts to support Tunisia's democratic transition. These efforts were reiterated in the May 2012 strategic partnership declaration.

In addition, Italy's Eni Corporation invested over \$600 million in Tunisia in 2012, focusing on developing Tunisia's oil fields and enhancing exploration sectors<sup>(38)</sup>.

(37) Ministero degli Affari EsterE della Cooperazione Internationale, Cooperation: Tunisia, 73 million In credit for SMEs, 2012, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.esteri.lt%2Fen%2Fsala\_stampa%2 Farchivionotizie%2Fapprofondimenti%2F2012%2F07%2F20120709\_cooptunipmi% 2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(36)</sup> Ministero degli Affari Esterie della Cooperazione International, Napolitano addresses the Tunisian Constituent Assembly: "Strategic partnership" a model for Mediterranean countries, 2012, Available at :https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.esteri.it%2Fen%2Fsala\_stampa%2Farchiv ionotizie%2Fapprofondimenti%2F2012%2F05%2F20120517\_napolitano\_partenariato\_strat egico%2F&utm\_campaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2F4

<sup>(38)</sup> Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internationale, Italy-Tunisia: The Tunisian model must act as a challenge to Islamic extremism, 2014, Available at : https://search.app?link=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.esteri.it%2Fen%2Fsala\_stampa%2Farchivi onotizie%2comunicati%2F2014%2F09%2F20140908\_Italiatunisiadellavedova%2F&utm\_c ampaign=aga&utm\_source=agsadl2%2Csh%2Fx%2Fgs%2Fm2%2

### **Conclusion:**

Italy plays a vital and significant role in the Middle East and Africa, with Egypt and Tunisia being key partners in the region. Egypt, with its strategic location and natural resources, serves as a regional hub and plays a crucial role in addressing issues in both the Middle East and Africa. Tunisia, on the other hand, acts as an essential gateway connecting Europe and Africa.

These factors drive the need to understand and analyze Italy's foreign policy toward Egypt and Tunisia. Economic relations are the main driving force shaping Italy's foreign policy orientations toward these two nations, along with other critical issues such as irregular migration, security, energy, counterterrorism, and bilateral military relations. Both Egypt and Tunisia are strategic partners for Italy, as evidenced by bilateral partnerships and efforts to further enhance cooperation in various sectors such as industry, agriculture, technology, and oil exploration in the Mediterranean region.

In summary, Italy's foreign policy toward Egypt and Tunisia focuses on achieving its strategic interests while contributing to stability and economic development in the region.

#### **Recommendations:**

Based on the discussions presented in this study, several recommendations can be made to strengthen economic relations and enhance cooperation between the three countries in areas such as security, energy, and irregular migration:

#### **Economic Level:**

- Simplify customs procedures by reducing tariffs on exchanged goods between the three countries.
- Encourage direct investments by providing investment incentives and simplifying legal procedures for companies in the three nations.
- Leverage existing trade agreements, such as the Agadir Agreement, to boost trade and investment between the countries.

#### Security Level:

- Strengthen mechanisms for intelligence sharing on terrorist threats and organized crime.
- Protect borders through joint patrols of land and maritime boundaries and equip border security forces with advanced technologies.

#### **Irregular Migration:**

- Collaborate to address the root causes of migration by promoting economic development and supporting local economies in Egypt and Tunisia as major migrant-sending countries.
- Establish international agreements to regulate irregular migration and protect the rights of migrants and refugees.
- Provide international support to Tunisia to address the causes of migration, given its geographic position, requiring coordinated efforts at the national, regional, and international levels.

#### **Energy Sector:**

- Develop electricity networks by accelerating and expanding the interconnection between the three countries to enable seamless energy exchange.
- Invest in renewable energy through joint projects such as solar and wind energy initiatives.
- Support research and development in renewable energy and develop new technologies for energy storage.
- Collaborate on natural gas by enhancing natural gas pipeline networks and utilizing the available gas resources in the region to meet energy demands.

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