



# CEPS Neighbourhood Watch

Issue 2, March 2005

**Editors' Note:** This second issue of the CEPS Neighbourhood Watch presents the latest from the European Commission on the European Neighbourhood Policy: 1) the European Commission's recommendations for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and for Egypt and Lebanon included in a Communication from the Commission to the Council published in March 2005; and 2) the speech by the Vice-President of the European Commission Margot Wallström delivered to Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly in Cairo on 14 March 2005. The Council appointed an EU Special Representative for Moldova on 16 March 2005 and we offer the press release on the Council's choice.

We also provide updates from the CEPS Strategic Agenda for the Greater European Neighbourhood (Stratagen), a CEPS programme for 2005-2010. Included are references to CEPS books and working documents from the Stratagen programme as well as the executive summary of a recently published CEPS paper on the southern dimension of the ENP: "From Barcelona Process to Neighbourhood Policy: Assessments and Open Issues" by Michael Emerson and Gergana Noutcheva.

Michael Emerson, Gergana Noutcheva, Marius Vahl

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## Communication from the Commission to the Council, European Neighbourhood Policy, Recommendations for Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and for Egypt and Lebanon Brussels, 2.3.2005, COM(2005) 72 final

### 1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The European Commission's European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) Strategy Paper<sup>1</sup> of May 2004, as endorsed by the Council in June 2004<sup>2</sup>, set out the orientations for the ENP for the coming years, defining the objectives and principles, geographical scope and methods to be used to implement the ENP. This was accompanied by Country Reports on Israel, Jordan, Moldova, Morocco, the Palestinian Authority, Tunisia and Ukraine and was followed, in December 2004, by the Commission's Communication<sup>3</sup> on proposals for Action Plans with those countries. These Action Plans were adopted by the Council and are in the process of being endorsed by partner countries.

In June 2004, the Council decided, on the basis of the Strategy Paper by the Commission, to include Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in the ENP, opening up the prospect of a significantly enhanced partnership and thus marking an important step forward in the EU's engagement with the Southern Caucasus region. The Commission services have prepared reports on these countries, which provide a comprehensive overview.

With the entry into force of the Association Agreement with Egypt and soon with Lebanon, the Commission services have prepared reports on these two countries. These Reports provide a comprehensive overview of the political and economic situation in those countries.

The present Communication presents the key elements of the five Country Reports drawn up by Commission services, with a contribution from the High Representative on matters related to political co-operation and the CFSP, and makes recommendations on Action Plans.

### 2. COUNTRY ASSESSMENTS

#### The Southern Caucasus

##### Armenia

During the first years following Armenia's independence, EU-Armenia relations focused on dealing with the difficult humanitarian situation resulting from the break-up of the Soviet Union and the conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. Some steps were taken to lay the foundations for the transition to democracy and a market economy. The entry into force of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA)

in 1999 marked an important stage in EU-Armenia relations.

Armenia has achieved a good macro-economic performance in recent years with impressive economic growth rates. There are indications that this is starting to have some impact on the high levels of poverty in Armenia. Its accession to the WTO in 2003 indicates that it has made progress towards key market-oriented reforms. There has also been progress in aligning Armenian legislation with that of the EU. The adoption of an anti-corruption strategy and the creation of an anti-corruption council are important steps.

However, major challenges remain for Armenia, particularly in the field of democracy and human rights and in implementing its obligations as a member of the Council of Europe and OSCE. Considerable improvement is needed in the electoral system notably to implement the recommendations of ODIHR following the 2003 presidential and parliamentary elections. Reform in the rule of law and law enforcement sectors is necessary to strengthen the respect for human rights. Considerable change is needed to develop a civil society including guarantees on freedom of the media. In the economic area, respect for the rule of law is essential to improve the business and investment climate. Improvement in the tax and customs systems will be important if there is to be a real impact on corruption. Implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme will be central to the efforts to develop sustainable economic growth and to reduce poverty and income disparities. Further restructuring of the energy sector will also be necessary including steps towards decommissioning the Medzamor Nuclear Power Plant. Pervading all aspects of political and economic life in Armenia is the conflict with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. Only if a peaceful, fair and lasting solution to this conflict is found will Armenia fully be able to develop its potential.

The Armenian government has declared its determination to address these challenges, to develop relations with the EU and to integrate further in European structures. The Commission is therefore of the view that, building on the commitments of the Armenian government, an ENP Action Plan could be used to strengthen relations between the EU and Armenia and to pro-

mote the implementation of the necessary reforms.

Key objectives for an Action Plan should include: strengthening the rule of law, of democratic structures and pluralism (e.g. the reform of electoral legislation in line with CoE/OSCE recommendations and the holding of democratic elections; constitutional reform taking into account CoE recommendations; reform of local self-government); strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, especially regarding freedom of expression and freedom of assembly; improvements in the business climate as well as public sector modernisation; effective combating of corruption and fraud; reform of tax and customs administrations and legislation in line with international and EU standards; progress in poverty reduction; sustainable development and environmental protection; the decommissioning of the Medzamor Nuclear Power Plant; progress towards conflict resolution and enhanced regional cooperation. Prudent macroeconomic policies need to be maintained to support effective implementation of an Action Plan.

Taking the current political, economic and institutional context, as described in the Country Report, as a starting point, an Action Plan for Armenia should provide for strengthened political dialogue; further implementation of the PCA; support for market economy reforms leading to gradual economic integration into the EU's Internal Market; further support for economic rehabilitation of conflict zones in the context of conflict settlement; increased financial support including an extension of the EIB mandate to Armenia as of 2007; enhanced support for regional cooperation; enhanced cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs possibly including establishment of a dialogue on visa cooperation/readmission agreement; intensification of cooperation in the energy, electronic communications and transport, environment and public health sectors as well as enhanced cooperation in the field of science and technology; intensification of people-to-people contacts in particular in the area of education, training and youth and also in the context of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict; and consideration to be given, if progress is being made with the implementation of an Action Plan, to the possibility of a new enhanced agreement to replace the PCA upon its expiry.

## ***Azerbaijan***

In the initial years following Azerbaijan's independence, EU-Azerbaijan relations focused on dealing with the difficult humanitarian situation resulting from the break-up of the Soviet Union, the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict with Armenia and the unstable domestic situation. Some steps were also taken to lay the foundations for the transition to democracy and a market economy. The entry into force of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) in 1999 marked an important stage in EU-Azerbaijan relations, providing in particular for regular political dialogue. The relations between EU and Azerbaijan have been steadily developing over recent years. Today's dialogue is much more focused and cooperation has been strengthened notably in the energy and transport sectors.

The overriding challenge still facing Azerbaijan is the need to strengthen the rule of law, democratic checks and balances (including free and fair elections), the fight against corruption and fraud and the protection of human rights, in line with its obligations as a member of the Council of Europe and OSCE. In the economic field, further improvement of the investment climate and diversification of economic activity will be a key factor for sustained growth. Effective implementation of the State Programme for Poverty Reduction and Economic Development will provide the framework for tackling some of the structural economic challenges facing Azerbaijan. In addition to these political and economic challenges, the resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict would remove a very serious obstacle to the development of Azerbaijan and the region.

The Azerbaijani government has declared its determination to address these challenges, to develop its relations with the EU and to integrate further into European structures. The Commission is therefore of the view that, building on the commitments of the Azerbaijani government, an ENP Action Plan could be used to further strengthen relations between the EU and Azerbaijan and to promote the implementation of the necessary reforms.

Key objectives for an Action Plan should include: strengthening the rule of law, democratic structures and pluralism (improved institutional division of powers, reform of local self government) and strengthening of electoral legislation

and processes so as to enhance democratic election standards; implementation of effective reform in field of rule of law (judiciary, law enforcement agencies); enhanced protection of human rights and of freedom and independence of the media; increased efforts towards a balanced development of the overall economic system; improvements in the business climate as well as public sector modernisation; reform of tax and customs administrations and legislation in line with international and EU standards; effective combating of corruption and fraud; increased transparency in the management of oil revenues and in the privatisation process; progress in poverty reduction; sustainable development and environmental protection; WTO accession; progress in conflict resolution and enhanced regional cooperation. Prudent macroeconomic policies need to be maintained to support effective implementation of an Action Plan.

Taking the current political, economic and institutional context, as described in the Country Report, as a starting point, an Action Plan for Azerbaijan should provide for strengthened political dialogue; further implementation of the PCA; support for market economy reforms leading to gradual economic integration into the EU's Internal Market; further support for economic rehabilitation of conflict zones in the context of conflict settlement; increased financial support including an extension of the EIB mandate to Azerbaijan as of 2007; enhanced financial support for regional cooperation; enhanced cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs possibly including establishment of a dialogue on visa cooperation/readmission agreement; the intensification of cooperation in the energy, electronic communications and transport, environment and public health sectors and of people-to-people contacts in particular in the area of education, training and youth; and consideration to be given, if progress is being made with the implementation of an Action Plan, to the possibility of a new enhanced agreement to replace the PCA upon its expiry.

The Commission intends to open a Delegation in Azerbaijan in the course of 2005.

## ***Georgia***

Following Georgia's independence in 1991, EU-Georgia relations focused on dealing with the difficult humanitarian situation in Georgia resulting from the break-up of the Soviet Union

and Georgia's internal conflicts. Some steps were also taken to lay the foundations for the transition to democracy and market economy. The entry into force of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) in 1999 marked an important stage in EU-Georgia relations, providing in particular for regular political dialogue. Insufficient progress towards democracy and market economy was noted by the Commission in its 2003 revised Country Strategy Paper: "Georgia's political situation is dominated by widespread poverty, serious problems of governance and weak rule of law, including high levels of corruption, strained relations with Russia, and internal conflicts, involving in particular the breakaway republics of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, as well as a high level of external debt."

The "Rose Revolution" in November 2003 was therefore welcomed by the EU and the broader international community. The subsequent holding of relatively free and fair presidential and parliamentary elections and the launching of an extensive reform programme are positive steps. Achievements include: 1) tackling certain forms of corruption; 2) improvement in tax collection; 3) salaries and pensions paid on time, 4) curbing of smuggling; 5) good macro-economic performance; 6) reintegration of Adjara into the economic, social and administrative system of Georgia; 7) renewed donor confidence in Georgia (successful donor conference in Brussels in June 2004).

The overriding challenge still facing Georgia is the need to strengthen the rule of law including public service reform and reform of the judiciary. Strengthening the democratic checks and balances within Georgia, in line with the membership obligations of the Council of Europe and OSCE, is also essential for the respect of the rule of law. Developments in these areas should help cement Georgia's fight against corruption in a law-based framework. In the economic field, further improvement of the investment climate will be a key factor for sustained economic growth. Effective implementation of the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Programme will be a key means of tackling the structural economic challenges facing Georgia. In terms of EU-Georgia relations, much remains to be done in the field of PCA implementation. Improving its relations with Russia and furthering its efforts aimed at the peaceful resolution of its internal conflicts will

also be important factors for Georgia to build the foundations of its long-term security and prosperity.

The Georgian government is committed to address these challenges, to develop relations with the EU and to integrate further into European structures. The Commission is therefore of the view that, building on the commitments of the Georgian government, an ENP Action Plan could be used to further strengthen relations between the EU and Georgia and to promote the implementation of the necessary reforms.

Key objectives for an Action Plan should include strengthening respect for the rule of law (reform of judiciary, law enforcement agencies, penitentiary) and enhanced human rights protection; the strengthening of democratic structures and pluralism (reform of parliament, strengthening independence of media, reform of local self government, electoral reform); improvements in the business climate as well as public sector modernisation; reform of tax and customs administrations and legislation in line with international and EU standards and effective combating of corruption and fraud; a transparent privatisation process; progress in poverty reduction, sustainable development; environmental protection; progress in the resolution of conflicts and enhanced regional cooperation. Prudent macroeconomic policies need to be maintained to support effective implementation of an Action Plan.

Taking the current political, economic and institutional context, as described in the Country Report, as a starting point, an Action Plan for Georgia should provide for strengthened political dialogue; further implementation of the PCA; support for market economy reforms leading to gradual economic integration into the EU's Internal Market; further support for economic rehabilitation of conflict zones in the context of conflict settlement; increased financial support including an extension of the EIB mandate to Georgia as of 2007 and enhanced financial support for regional cooperation; enhanced cooperation in the field of justice and home affairs possibly including establishment of a dialogue on visa cooperation/readmission agreement; intensification of cooperation in the energy, electronic communications and transport, environment, maritime affairs and fisheries and public health sectors as well as enhanced cooperation in the field of science, technology and

innovation and of people-to-people contacts, in particular in the area of education, training and youth; and consideration to be given, if progress is being made with the implementation of an Action Plan, to the possibility of a new enhanced agreement to replace the PCA upon its expiry.

### ***Egypt and Lebanon***

In June 2004, the Council invited the Commission, with the contribution of the SG/HR on issues related to political cooperation and the CFSP, to begin preparations for Action Plans with Mediterranean countries whose Association Agreements with the EU have been ratified by the countries. As a basis for the preparation of Action Plans, the Commission has therefore prepared the present reports on Egypt and Lebanon<sup>6</sup>.

For both countries, the full implementation of the Association Agreements remains the primary objective of bilateral relations. The ENP goes beyond this to offer the prospect of an increasingly close relationship involving a significant degree of economic integration and a deepening of political cooperation. On the basis of the content of the Country Reports, the Commission, in close cooperation with the Presidency and the High Representative where appropriate, will initiate as soon as possible formal consultations with Egypt and Lebanon aimed at concluding comprehensive and balanced Action Plans.

The key priorities of an Action Plan will cover two broad areas: first, commitments to specific actions which reinforce adherence to shared values in areas including respect for international obligations, democracy and the rule of law, including the holding of democratic elections, administration of justice and human rights and to certain objectives in the area of foreign and security policy; secondly, commitments to actions which will bring these partner countries closer to the EU in a number of priority fields such as economic and social development policy (including poverty reduction and sustainable development), trade and internal market (including sectors such as energy, transport, environment, maritime affairs and fisheries, information society, research and innovation, justice and home affairs and people-to-people contacts).

Priorities for action will be as specific as possible, depending on the issue at stake, and thus

will constitute benchmarks which can be monitored and assessed. The Action Plans will identify key actions in a limited number of fields which need to be addressed as a particularly high priority, as well as actions in a wider range of fields, corresponding to the scope of the bilateral agreements in force. A clear time horizon will be given for addressing these different priorities.

### **3. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The reports for the countries of the Southern Caucasus indicate the need for continued reform in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia and for progress in a number of key areas. The Commission considers that Action Plans would be a useful tool by which the EU can further strengthen its relations with the countries and actively encourage the necessary changes. The Commission therefore recommends that the Council approve the general orientations proposed here and agree that work should begin on preparing Action Plans for each of these countries, on the basis of which the Commission will, in close cooperation with the Presidency and High Representative where appropriate, make contact with the partner countries concerned. Work on these Action Plans would begin immediately. The Commission emphasises that the Action Plans will be tailored to the needs of each country and each country will be treated on its individual merits. Member States will be kept fully informed of the development of these consultations.

On the basis of the Country Reports on Egypt and Lebanon, the Commission will begin preparing Action Plans with each of these countries. It is recommended that consultations on these Action Plans should begin as soon as possible. With the resignation of the Lebanese Government, and elections scheduled for May, the evolution of the situation there will influence the timing of consultations. The aim is to achieve balanced Action Plans with each country, covering the same general areas as with previous partners *mutatis mutandis* i.e. political (including respect for international obligations and democracy and the rule of law) and economic aspects, including sustainable development and sectoral aspects (internal market and trade-related issues; justice and home affairs; environment issues; people to people contacts).

Member States will be kept fully informed during these consultations.

For all five of these countries, and as in the case of the other ENP countries, the relevant Association or Cooperation Councils will be invited to endorse the Action Plans, once adopted. The Action Plans should have a duration of three to five years and monitoring of implementation of the Action Plans will take place within the insti-

tutions of the relevant Association or Cooperation Agreements. On the basis of its assessments of the results of this monitoring process and of information provided by partners, the Commission, with the contribution of the High Representative on issues related to political cooperation and the CFSP, will present a mid-term review of progress achieved within two years and a further review within three years of the formal approval of each Action Plan.

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**The European Neighbourhood Policy and the Euro-Mediterranean partnership  
Speech by Margot Wallström, Vice President of the European Commission responsible for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy,  
Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly, Cairo, 14 March 2005**

Mr President,

Let me first greet you in particular as an Egyptian presiding over the work of this first session hosted here in Cairo. These two circumstances are symbolic and reflect your country's commitment to the Euro-Mediterranean partnership since its inception. This commitment will be illustrated yet again at the upcoming inauguration in Alexandria of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures.

Knowing Anna Lindh – she would have been proud of this foundation being realised.

Members of the Assembly,

There is no need for me to stress the importance the Commission attaches to the creation of the Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly. As you know, the Euro-Mediterranean partnership rests on three pillars: political, economic and social; meaning cultural and human. Since the launching of the Barcelona process, it has become apparent that these pillars were not equally strong and that whereas the economic and trade pillar was solid, those supporting the political, cultural and social aspects of the partnership were less so. The creation of the Euro-Mediterranean Parliamentary Assembly, which has a political mandate above all (even if it deals with other issues), bolsters the Partnership's foundations. The Commission will cooperate closely with your Assembly, and of course take account of any suggestions, ideas and initiatives that it puts forward.

I wish to speak to you about a relatively new aspect of the EU's foreign policy, namely the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), and rather spell out the ENP's relationship with the Barcelona process, which remains the nucleus of relations between the European Union and its southern Mediterranean partners.

What does the European Neighbourhood Policy consist of? It is based on a simple idea formulated by the Copenhagen European Council of December 2002 which stated that the Union should seize the opportunity offered by its enlargement to enhance relations with the neighbouring countries on the basis of shared values and avoid the creation of new divides within Europe.

To that end, the Council called for stronger relations with Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus and the countries of the southern Mediterranean. This circle of neighbours has been extended to other countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. The idea of the circle of friendly neighbouring countries has taken concrete shape over the last two years.

The main features of the Neighbourhood Policy are:

- 1) The new Neighbourhood Policy complements the Barcelona process.
- 2) The European Neighbourhood Policy has general objectives which are similar to the Mediterranean partnership and based on it, namely to work together with our partners to
  - reduce poverty

- create a space of prosperity and shared values, based on free trade
- increased economic integration
- stronger political and cultural ties
- greater cross-border cooperation and
- shared responsibilities in the prevention and resolution of conflicts.

3) These strands overlap with those defined in 1995 in Barcelona but with new stress on certain aspects.

The most important is the prospect of gradual participation in the EU internal market and its regulatory structures, including those relating to sustainable development (health, consumer and environmental protection), based on the approximation of legislation. More emphasis will also be put on integrating the two sides of the Mediterranean in transport, energy and telecommunications networks.

4) Differentiation is at the root of the new EU policy towards its neighbours and is implemented by action plans. These action plans will be tailor-made and set out strategic objectives and a timetable for achieving them.

5) This policy will be financed by a new neighbourhood instrument in support of this policy.

The European Neighbourhood Policy, when it was announced, provoked among our Mediterranean partners first surprise, then questions and even concern. Will this policy replace the Euro-Mediterranean policy, swallow it up or water it down? Would there be two policies for the same countries? What would be the relationship between the Neighbourhood Policy and the Euro-Mediterranean partnership? Some commentators pointed out certain contradictions between the Neighbourhood Policy and the Euro-Mediterranean policy. I see two main ones :

First:

On the geo-political level, despite the differences that exist within the area, the Euro-Mediterranean partnership encompasses countries which geographically the Mediterranean draws closer together more than it divides them. Historically, these countries have seen their destinies intertwined, even if this was sometimes through conflict. The Euro-Mediterranean idea is highly symbolic. As for the neighbourhood

policy, it has to be admitted that it concerns countries which are much more diverse.

Secondly, whereas the Euro-Mediterranean partnership approach is mainly regional, the Neighbourhood Policy is more bilateral and differentiates among the partners.

The few differences I have mentioned can be overcome. As it is a regional framework, we have to reiterate that the Barcelona process remains key to relations between the European Union and the southern Mediterranean.

But the differences in the Neighbourhood Policy approach should not be taken too far. The action plans already agreed with the first signatory Mediterranean countries contain differences. But they are also a bedrock of shared values and objectives which the Commission deems indispensable if we are to avoid diverging paths. It is more in the pace of progress that the divergences can exist.

Mr President, ladies and gentlemen,

The European Neighbourhood Policy does not replace the process launched ten years ago in Barcelona. It adds to it and make things happen.

Convergence between the two policies will be at the core of the Commission's communication ahead of the tenth anniversary of Barcelona Declaration. This communication, still in the pipeline, will propose for the next five years a limited number of initiatives with three main thrusts:

- continued promotion of political reform, including protection of human rights, in the Mediterranean, as reform is the key to security, peace and stability in the region.
- support for the development of education, particularly primary education, and vocational training, substantially increasing the means of financial cooperation earmarked for them.
- continued progress on trade liberalisation and economic reform, by starting negotiations on balanced liberalisation of services and adopting for agriculture an approach combining the opening up of markets and cooperation on rural development.

In conclusion, celebrating Barcelona must not simply be about marking the date. Anniversaries are about bringing us closer to events and not making them more remote. The European Neighbourhood Policy does not make Barcelona more remote, rather it brings it into sharper focus.

This Assembly meeting adds another dimension to our co-operation: country to country, people's representatives to people's representatives. This is an important event. We are looking forward to the conclusions and a follow-up in line with a high level of ambition.

Thank you.

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### **Appointment of an EU Special Representative for Moldova Brussels, 23 March 2005, 7023/05 (Presse 53)**

The Council adopted today, by written procedure, a Joint Action creating the position of EU Special Representative (EUSR) for Moldova and appointing Mr Adriaan Jacobovits de Szeged to this position. The Council had reached a political agreement on the appointment on 16 March 2005.

The EUSR's mandate will be to:

- strengthen the EU contribution to the resolution of the Transnistria conflict in accordance with agreed EU policy objectives and in close coordination with the OSCE;

- assist in the preparation, as appropriate, of EU contributions to the implementation of an eventual conflict settlement;

- follow closely political developments in the Republic of Moldova, including in the Transnistrian region, by developing and maintaining close contacts with the Government of the Republic of Moldova and other domestic actors, and offer as appropriate the EU's advice and facilitation;

- assist in the further development of the EU's policy towards the Republic of Moldova and the region, in particular regarding conflict prevention and conflict resolution.

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### **From Barcelona Process to Neighbourhood Policy: Assessments and Open Issues**

**Michael Emerson and Gergana Noutcheva**

**CEPS Working Document No. 220, March 2005,**

**The full text can be downloaded at [http://shop.ceps.be/BookDetail.php?item\\_id=1209](http://shop.ceps.be/BookDetail.php?item_id=1209).**

#### *Executive summary*

The Barcelona process so far has been a valuable systemic/institutional advance in Euro-Med relations and a confidence-building measure on a large scale. But it has not been a sufficient driving force to have created a momentum of economic, political and social advance in the partner states. It is therefore quite plausible that the EU should seek some new advance – through the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) – to build on the positive features of Barcelona and so try to introduce some new driving force.

The Action Plans currently being adopted seek to make the often vague intentions of the Association Agreements of the Barcelona process more operational by linking them to either domestic policy programmes of the partner state or to EU policy norms and standards as an external anchor.

In this paper we first crystallise alternative approaches for the ENP to become a real driving force under the headings of 'conditionality' and 'socialisation'. The conditionality concept would mean that the EU sets out i) what incentives it offers, and ii) the conditions on which these incentives would be delivered. The socialisation concept relies essentially on a learning process that comes from the extensive interaction between actors in the partner states and the EU, which induces the partner states to engage in policy reforms that are to a degree modelled on EU norms or derive some inspiration from them.

For the EU to become a driving force for reform in the region also requires that it does not have to face an uphill struggle against negative tendencies, for example in the widening and deepening of radical Islam – and here the issue of coherence in the approaches of the EU and US together is paramount.

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## Opinion survey on the possible accession of Ukraine, Russia, Turkey and Morocco

Of four hypothetical candidates for accession to the EU, a survey undertaken in six EU member states shows Ukraine to be the most popular,

followed by Russia, Turkey and Morocco in that order.

	Ukraine	Russia	Turkey	Morocco
<b>France</b>	58	45	37	39
<b>Germany</b>	41	45	36	24
<b>Italy</b>	62	62	49	42
<b>Poland</b>	77	46	55	42
<b>Spain</b>	60	59	49	34
<b>United Kingdom</b>	49	44	50	39
<b>Average of 6</b>	55	50	45	35

Source: TNS Sofres-Yes. Surveys undertaken between 24 February and 8 March 2005, samples of 1000 interviews per country.

The question asked was: “Supposing that Ukraine, Russia, Turkey and Morocco were candidates to accede to the European Union, and were fulfilling the criteria for accession, would you be in favour or against their entry into the EU?”

The Ukraine-Turkey comparison is the most relevant politically, since Turkey is a candidate state and Ukraine aspires to become a candidate. On the other hand neither Russia nor Morocco

are currently seeking membership (even if Morocco made a formal application in 1987). Ukraine achieves a higher score than Turkey by a substantial margin in all but one of the six states, and obtains majority support from all except Germany and the UK. Turkey on the other hand obtains majority support only in Poland and the UK. Russia obtains higher support than Ukraine only in Germany. Morocco does not achieve majority support in any of the six states.

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### Recent publications from the Stratagen programme at CEPS:

#### **Books**

*The Wider Europe Matrix*, Michael Emerson, CEPS Paperback, 2004.

*Europeanisation and Conflict Resolution – Case Studies from the European Periphery*, Bruno Coppieters, Michael Emerson, Michel Huysseune, Tamara Kovziridse, Gergana Noutcheva, Nathalie Tocci and Marius Vahl, Academia Press, Belgium, 2004.

#### **Working Documents**

*Europeanisation as a Gravity Model of Democratisation*, Michael Emerson and Gergana Noutcheva, CEPS Working Document No. 214, November 2004.

*European Neighbourhood Policy – Strategy or Placebo?*, Michael Emerson, CEPS Working Document No. 215, November 2004.

*Europe and Iraq – from Stan-off to Engagement?*, Richard Youngs, CEPS Working Document No. 216, December 2004.

*The Widening gap between Rhetoric and Reality in EU Policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, Nathalie Tocci, CEPS Working Document No. 217, January 2005.

*Models for the European Neighbourhood Policy – the European Economic Area and the Northern Dimension*, Marius Vahl, CEPS Working Document No 218, February 2005

*From Barcelona Process to Neighbourhood Policy – Assessments and Open Issues* Michael Emerson and Gergana Noutcheva, CEPS Working Document No. 220, March 2005.

*Conflict Resolution in the Neighbourhood: Comparing the Role of the EU in the Turkish-Kurdish and Israeli-Palestinian Conflicts*, Nathalie Tocci, CEPS Working Document No 221, March 2005.

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## **Strategic Agenda for the Greater European Neighbourhood (Stratagen)**

### ***A Programme of the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS), for 2005-2010***

#### **StrataGen Mission Statement**

- To define a vision for a Wider European order and the relationship between the enlarged EU and its Arab/Muslim neighbourhood;
- To develop these proposals in-depth and in policy-operational terms;
- To combine in-house research capacity with networks of individuals from leading research institutes in the EU and the neighbourhood, and to disseminate and advocate proposals throughout the region;
- To work independently from the EU institutions but in close interaction with them; and
- To decide on the sequencing and selection of priority topics with core stakeholders.

Over the last five years, CEPS has developed an exceptional expertise in European Union policies in the area often called the Wider Europe. This has been reflected in publications that have been both regional and thematic: *CEPS Plan for the Balkans* (1999), *Stability Pact for the Caucasus* (2000), *The Elephant and the Bear – EU, Russia and their Near Abroads* (2001), *Cyprus as Lighthouse of the East Mediterranean* (2002), *Norway, the European Economic Area and the European Union* (2002), *Europe's Black Sea Dimension* (2002), *The Rubic Cube of the Greater Middle East* (2003), *The Wider Europe Matrix* (2004), *Economic Transition in Central and Eastern Europe* (2004), *Europeanisation and Conflict Resolution* (2004), *Readings in European Security*, Vols. I (2002) and II (2004). These publications and related working papers are available from the CEPS' on-line bookshop, at <http://shop.ceps.be>

CEPS has decided to build on and strengthen its work in this broad area through the StrataGen programme over the five-year period 2005-2010. The rationale for this initiative follows from both the EU's historic enlargement on 1 May 2004, which now leads the EU to define a new neighbourhood policy, and the unprecedented turmoil in the Middle East in the aftermath of September 11th and the Iraq war, with its consequences for transatlantic relations.

The StrataGen programme will be organised under the following broad geographic areas:

- Northern neighbourhood policy, covering CIS states targeted by EU neighbourhood policy
- EU-Russian relations
- Southern neighbourhood policy, covering Mediterranean states, but reaching also into what is now officially called the Broader Middle East and North Africa (BMENA)
- Implications for transatlantic relations will be considered for all three regions above.

The analytical methodology will be multi-disciplinary: political science, international relations and European studies, economics and law.

The programme is led by Michael Emerson, CEPS Senior Research Fellow, together with Daniel Gros, CEPS Director. CEPS gratefully acknowledges financial support for the StrataGen programme from the Open Society Institute and the Compagnia di San Paolo.