

European Neighbourhood Watch

Issue 85 • September 2012



Thinking ahead for Europe

CEPS European Neighbourhood Watch monthly newsletter focuses on the EU's relations with its geographical neighbours: those in its midst, those included in the enlargement process, countries covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy and Russia. Each month the newsletter offers a round-up of the previous month's major developments with links to the full text of each corresponding news item, analysis or official document. These links are presented in chronological order. This overview is complemented by an editorial note that focuses on a current development or a more long-term trend pertaining to the EU's relations with its neighbours.

Table of Contents

Editorial: "The EEAS and the Eastern Partnership: let the blame game stop"

Eastern Neighbourhood

Armenia
Azerbaijan
Belarus
Georgia
Moldova
Ukraine

Russia

Southern Neighbourhood

Algeria
Israel
Lebanon
Morocco
Occupied Palestinian Territories
Syria
Tunisia

Enlargement

Serbia

Index of European Neighbourhood Watch Editorials

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Editorial

The EEAS and the Eastern Partnership: let the blame game stop

The enactment of the Lisbon Treaty raised the level of expectation for the EU's role on the global stage to a new high. One of the major institutional innovations, the European External Action Service (EEAS) and its head, the new High Representative and Commission's Vice-President (HR/VP) Catherine Ashton, in particular, were expected to 'put right' a whole series of problems that have beset EU foreign policy for years. The range of issues demanding attention include: improving the decision-making process, pooling diplomatic expertise, reacting in a timely and appropriate manner to world events, bringing greater consistency and coherence to the EU's external action – and all this at minimal cost.

In the first year and a half of its existence, however, the EEAS and its head have become the target of extensive criticism for the shortcomings of EU foreign policy; shortcomings that date back to the creation of the European Union. The EU's diplomatic service has been blamed variously for 'lacking clarity,' 'acting too slowly' and 'being unable to bridge the institutional divide'. These criticisms have often remained rather general, however, lacking empirical foundation and not taking into consideration the distribution of competences between the EU institutions and the EU member states (MS), or indeed the complex decision-making processes that govern the interaction between them.

Moreover, recriminations have often been 'personalised' and directed to the HR/VP, who is taken to be the embodiment of the EEAS itself. But any responsible critique of the EEAS' performance should make a distinction between, inter alia, what the desirable foreign policy goals of the EU are and the policy space available to the EEAS to actually achieve these goals.

An examination of the Eastern Partnership multilateral framework reveals that criticism directed to the EEAS is unfair. The discretionary power of the EEAS in this policy area is limited to that of an agenda-setter and for the rest is greatly dependent on the largest common policy denominator between a wide variety of stakeholders. The EEAS' performance in the Eastern Partnership should therefore be evaluated against the backdrop of constraints imposed by the environment in which the EU's diplomatic service operates.

The Eastern Partnership's objectives are implemented through twin bilateral and multilateral tracks. Unlike the bilateral dimension, the multilateral track functions largely outside of the legal framework. It is the result of political process and complements bilateral relations. Institutionally, the Eastern Partnership's multilateral dimension encompasses the biannual Summit of the Heads of State or Government, annual ministerial meetings, senior officials' gatherings on four thematic

platforms, supported by expert panels. These structures incorporate all the relevant actors of the Partnership.

The EEAS plays a role at each level of the Eastern Partnership multilateral framework. The HR/VP takes part in the summits and ministerial meetings. In coordination with the director-general of the Commission, the EEAS is the 'first mover' in the preparation of the Eastern Partnership Roadmaps, which function as a broader work programme within the cooperation. Moreover, the EEAS' Director of Russia, the Eastern Partnership, Central Asia and the OSCE, chairs the Platform N1 dealing with 'Democracy, good governance and stability.' This grants the EEAS the power of agenda-setter on the political platform of the Eastern Partnership, (the director is assisted by the EEAS' III.B.1 unit, which also deals with the Regional Cooperation and the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)). Furthermore, the EEAS supports the work of the three other thematic platforms that are chaired by the Commission. The EEAS therefore has some limited powers.

The EEAS' discretionary power in the Eastern Partnership multilateral framework is nevertheless restricted by the decision-making procedure, by the MS and the partner countries' competences, as well as by the EU institutions, international organisations and the Civil Society Forum (see below for more on this body). Decision-making in the multilateral framework of the Eastern Partnership requires consensus among 33 states (27 MS and 6 Eastern partners). The EEAS' role is therefore limited to conducting the 'orchestra' of 33 'musicians' in such a way that all the partners agree to play from the same score.

As an illustration of consensus-building prior to decision: to prepare the Eastern Partnership Roadmaps 2012-2013, the EEAS held four consultations with the Council's Working Party on Eastern Europe and Central Asia (COEST) where all the MS are represented. Besides the COEST, the EEAS held separate meetings with some MS bilaterally and in smaller groups (e.g. the Visegrád Group). During nearly three months of consultation, the EEAS sought the *ex ante* 'indication' of MS' support, which also maintain the right to endorse the Roadmaps in the Council conclusions *ex post*.

Finding a consensus among the MS on the Roadmaps is complemented by the search for agreement among the Eastern partners themselves. The EEAS held three rounds of consultations with the six partner countries together and two rounds of consultations with the each of them bilaterally.

Collectively, the MS and the Eastern partners also participate and take decisions in the summits, ministerial meetings and thematic platforms. Divergent interests, conflicting preferences and different priorities among the MS and partner governments characterise relations among the Eastern Partnership member governments. For the EU's diplomatic service to find common ground among the states involved in the Eastern Partnership is therefore a multifaceted process.

To varying degrees, the European Commission, the European Parliament (EP), the Committee of Regions, the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC), the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the European Bank for

Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) are also involved either as 'full' or 'permanent' participants of the Eastern Partnership thematic platforms. The formal decision-making right is reserved only to the 'full participants.'

The European Commission is present at the summits and ministerial meetings, chairs two-to-four thematic platforms and is a 'full participant' of the Platform N1. The EP is invited to take part in the summits and is a 'permanent participant' of platforms. The EP also holds discussions in its Committee on Foreign Affairs (AFET), issues resolutions in plenary sittings and in the newly created EURONEST parliamentary assembly. The Committee of Regions focuses on the role of the local governments, primarily through the Conference of the Regional and Local Authorities for the Eastern Partnership (CORLEAP). The EESC issues advisory opinions arguing for, *inter alia*, greater involvement of civil society actors and social partners. The EIB and EBRD are 'permanent participants' of the Platform N2 (Economic integration and convergence with EU policies) and N3 (Energy security) and are involved in a number of flagship initiatives. Through their respective roles, the aforementioned bodies thus function as 'institutional checks' on the EEAS, further limiting its discretionary power.

A number of relevant international and regional organisations are also invited to some of the platforms as 'permanent participants', not enjoying decision-making powers. The Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is invited to take part in Platform N1, for example. The Council of Europe is a participant in Platforms N1 and N4 (Contacts between people). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) takes part in Platform N4.

The Civil Society Forum has assumed the role of 'third party' monitor of the Eastern Partnership multilateral framework. The Forum brings together the EU's and partner countries' civil society actors to facilitate their input into the Eastern Partnership. The Forum participates in all platforms and in the ministerial meetings. It is also consulted by the EEAS in matters related to the Roadmaps and the agenda of the Partnership. The Civil Society Forum, with its national platforms and thematic groups, is well placed to sound the 'fire alarm' should the EEAS not fulfil or even overstep its mandate.

To conclude, in the case of the Eastern Partnership multilateral framework, the EEAS is closely monitored and tightly 'controlled' by the member states and a multiplicity of actors at national, European and intergovernmental level. This applies to many other domains where the EEAS is active. The mode of decision-making places a substantial number of brakes on the discretionary power of the EEAS. Any responsible analysis or critique of the EEAS in coordinating positions should therefore take these constraints into consideration. Ultimately, the EEAS is only able to craft EU foreign policy insofar as it is allowed to do so.

Hrant Kostanyan
CEPS Associate Research Fellow

Eastern Neighbourhood

European Union allocates new funding to improve transport and the environment in Eastern neighbourhood
Brussels, 1 August 2012. [Link](#)

Armenia

EIB supports upgrade of border crossing and water infrastructure in Armenia
07 August 2012. [Link](#)

European Commission allocates new funding for judicial reform and economic integration in Armenia
Brussels, 28 August 2012. [Link](#)

Azerbaijan

European Commission announces support for justice and migration in Azerbaijan
Brussels, 23 August 2012. [Link](#)

Belarus

Statement by the Spokesperson of High Representative Catherine Ashton following the meeting of the Political and Security Committee on Belarus
Brussels, 10 August 2012 [Link](#)

Georgia

EU provides funds to help 20.000 vulnerable Georgian families affected by natural disaster
06 August 2012 . [Link](#)

Local EU Statement on Prime Minister Medvedev's visit to the Georgian region of South Ossetia
11 August 2012. [Link](#)

European Commission announces new support for agriculture and food safety in Georgia
Brussels, 28 August 2012 . [Link](#)

Moldova

European Commission supports reforms in Moldova
Brussels, 03 August 2012 . [Link](#)

Ukraine

Local EU Statement on the Verdict of the Appeal Court in the case of Valery Ivaschenko in Ukraine
15 August 2012. [Link](#)

Joint statement by the spokespersons of EU High Representative Catherine Ashton and Commissioner Stefan Füle on the extradition of an internationally recognised refugee from Ukraine
Brussels, 17 August 2012. [Link](#)

Joint Statement by EU High Representative Catherine Ashton and Commissioner Stefan Füle on the judgement by Ukraine's Higher Specialized Court for Civil and Criminal Cases in the case of Yulia Tymoshenko
Brussels, 29 August 2012 . [Link](#)

Russia

Statement by EU High Representative Catherine Ashton on the sentencing of "Pussy Riot" punk band members in Russia
Brussels, 17 August 2012. [Link](#)

EU welcomes Russia's WTO accession after 18 years of negotiations
Brussels, 22 August 2012. [Link](#)

Southern Neighbourhood

Anna Lindh Foundation Internship Programme for residents of the 43 Euro-Med countries
02 August 2012. [Link](#)

President Hollande stresses on the importance of the Mediterranean as a major pillar of the French Foreign Policy
Paris, 28 August 2012. [Link](#)

Algeria

European Union mobilises to protect the environment in Algeria
Brussels, 16 August 2012. [Link](#)

Israel

Statement by the Spokesperson of High Representative Catherine Ashton on the signing of agreements between Israel and the Palestinian Authority improving the regulation of bilateral trade and taxation
Brussels, 1 August 2012 . [Link](#)

Statement by the spokesperson of EU High Representative Catherine Ashton on Remarks by leaders of the Islamic Republic of Iran about Israel
Brussels, 19 August 2012. [Link](#)

Statement by the spokesperson of High Representative Catherine Ashton on settlement expansion in East Jerusalem
Brussels, 22 August 2012 . [Link](#)

Lebanon

EU Managing Director for North Africa, Middle East, Arabian Peninsula, Iran and Iraq visits Lebanon to discuss EU-Lebanon Action Plan
Beirut, 26 August 2012. [Link](#)

Morocco

EU funding set to contribute to the development of Morocco's rural regions
13 August 2012. [Link](#)

Occupied Palestinian Territories

UfM presents the Gaza Desalination Project at the 2012 World Water Week in Stockholm
Stockholm, 29 August, 2012. [Link](#)

Syria

Statement by High Representative Catherine Ashton on the resignation of Mr Annan as the U1-LAS Joint Special Envoy to Syria
Brussels, 2 August 2012. [Link](#)

Statement by the Spokesperson of High Representative Catherine Ashton on expulsions by the Lebanese authorities of Syrian nationals to Syria
Brussels, 4 August 2012. [Link](#)

Declaration by the High Representative on behalf of the European Union on the alignment of certain third countries with Council Decision 2012/420/CFSP amending Decision 2011/782/CFSP concerning restrictive measures against Syria and Council Implementing Decision 2012/424/CFSP implementing Council Decision 2011/782/CFSP
Brussels, 8 August 2012. [Link](#)

Statement by EU High Representative Catherine Ashton on the appointment of Mr Lakhdar Brahimi as U1-LAS Joint Special Representative for Syria
Brussels, 18 August 2012. [Link](#)

Euromed Audiovisual gives homage to Syria, Brussels
September 14 to 17, 2012. [Link](#)

Tunisia

EU supports access to health care for 4 million people in Tunisia
Brussels, 6 August 2012. [Link](#)

Enlargement

Third Report on the Post-Visa Liberalisation Monitoring for the Western Balkan Countries
Brussels, 28 August 2012. [Link](#)

Serbia

Commissioner Štefan Füle following his meeting with Suzana Grubješić, Serbian Deputy Prime Minister in charge of European integration
Brussels, 30 August 2012. [Link](#)

Index of European Neighbourhood Watch Editorials

Issue n. 84, September 2012

Preparing for a post-Assad Syria: What role for the European Union?

Issue n. 83, June 2012

History does not move in straight lines

Issue n. 82, May 2012

Implications of the Eurozone crisis for EU foreign policy - costs and opportunities

Issue n. 81, April 2012

Do the BRICS make a Bloc?

Issue n. 80, March 2012

The Ukraine Question

Issue n. 79, February 2012

Some European comments Putin's foreign and security policy

Issue n. 78, January 2012

Putin's faltering return

Issue n. 77, December 2011

The Arab Spring – Is it a Revolution?

Issue n. 76, November 2011

The Responsibility to Protect and Regime Change

Issue n. 75, October 2011

East goes right, South goes left

Issue n. 74, August-September 2011

The political and legal logic for Palestinian statehood

Issue n. 73, July 2011

The Timoshenko case and the rule of law in Ukraine

Issue n. 72, June 2011

The Arab Regatta – a half year report card

Issue n. 71, May 2011

Review of the Review – of the European Neighbourhood Policy

Issue n. 70, April 2011

Bringing Democracy Support onto the Front-burner

Issue n. 69, March 2011

Interculturalism between the twin hazards of multiculturalism and assimilation

Issue n. 68, February 2011

Time for change: EU trade policy towards the Eastern Partners – The case of Georgia

Issue n. 67, January 2011

Dignity, Democracies and Dynasties

Issue n. 66, December 2010

Time for Justice in Kosovo

Issue n. 65, November 2010

Civil society in the Eastern Partnership

Issue n. 64, October 2010

Rendez-vous with Eastern Europe

Issue n. 63, September 2010

Here is your opinion of the European Neighbourhood Policy

Issue n. 62, July/ August 2010

What is your opinion of the European Neighbourhood Policy?

Issue n. 61, June 2010

Turkey and its neighbourhood

Issue n. 60, May 2010

Time for a Tripartite Gas Pipeline Consortium for Ukraine

Issue n. 59, April 2010

Yanukovich's dubious deal

Issue n. 58, March 2010

Russia in Europe and the West

Issue n. 57, February 2010

Messages from Central Asia for the High Representative

Issue n. 56, January 2010

Sequel to the Lisbon Treaty for the EU's diplomatic representation

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