



BALTIC SEA REGION AS A PILOT IN MACRO-REGIONALISATION IN EUROPE

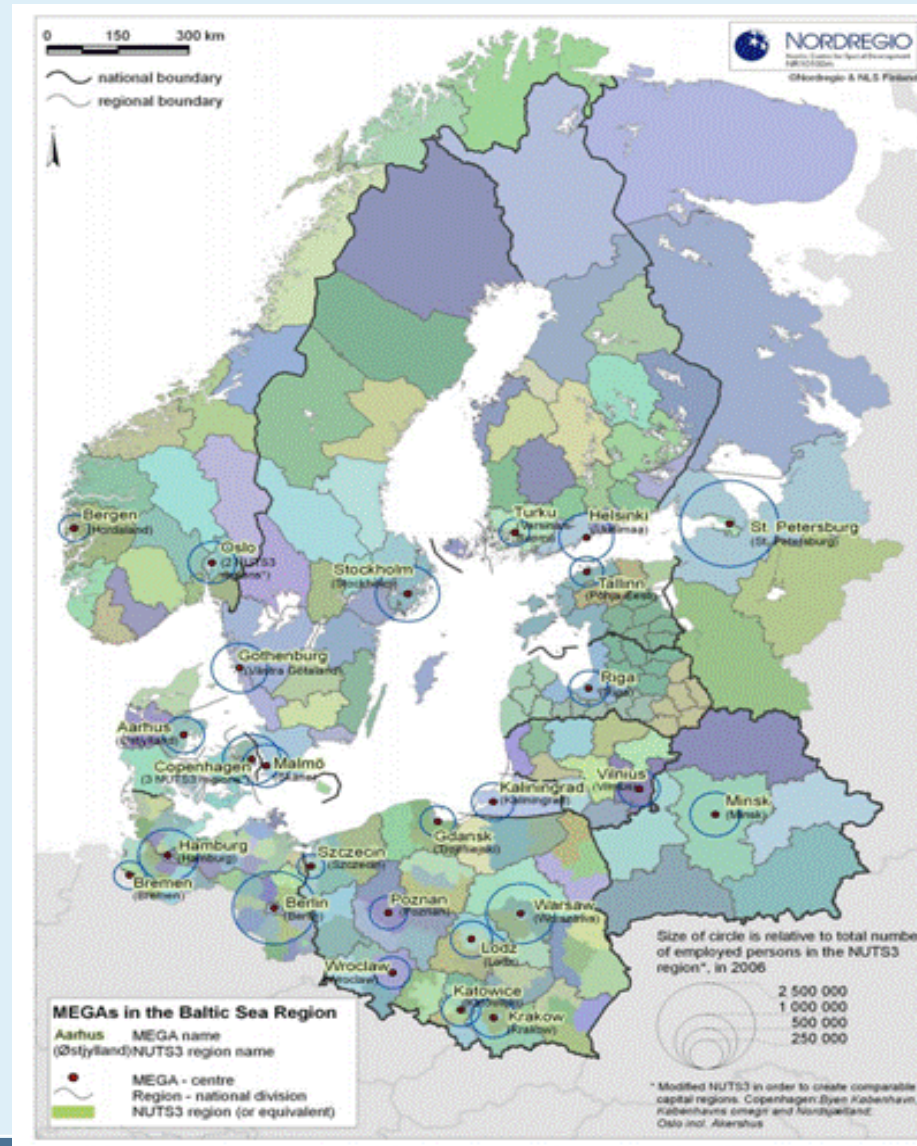
ESKO ANTOLA
CENTRUM BALTICUM

EUROPEAN COUNCIL DECISION

THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ADOPTS THE EU STRATEGY FOR THE BALTIC SEA REGION AND ENDORSES THE COUNCIL CONCLUSIONS ON THE SUBJECT (13744/09). THIS STRATEGY CONSTITUTES AN INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK TO ADDRESS COMMON CHALLENGES, I.A. THE URGENT ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES RELATED TO THE BALTIC SEA, AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ECONOMIC SUCCESS OF THE REGION AND TO ITS SOCIAL AND TERRITORIAL COHESION, AS WELL AS TO THE COMPETITIVENESS OF THE EU.

THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL CALLS UPON **ALL RELEVANT ACTORS** TO ACT SPEEDILY AND ENSURE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE STRATEGY, WHICH **COULD CONSTITUTE AN EXAMPLE OF A MACRO-REGIONAL STRATEGY**. IT INVITES THE COMMISSION TO PRESENT A PROGRESS REPORT TO THE COUNCIL BY JUNE 2011."

THE BALTIC SEA REGION TODAY



WHY MACRO-REGIONS – A NEW FORM OF DIFFERENTIATION

➤ WHY DIFFERENTIATION?

- ENLARGEMENT: GEOGRAPHICAL HOMOGENITY LOST
- POLITICAL IMPASSE IN INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS – SUBGROUP COOPERATION AS A REACTION
- NEED FOR MORE FLEXIBILITY

➤ TYPES OF DIFFERENTIATION

- TREATY-BASED (EMU, SCHENGEN)
- INITIALLY INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION TRANSFERRED TO TREATY (PRÜM)
- TREATY PROVISION TO ENHANCED COOPERATION
 - IN TREATY SINCE AMSTERDAM, NOT APPLIED
- FUNCTIONAL AND THEMATIC COOPERATION
- INTERGOVERNMENTAL AD HOC (E.G. DIRECTORATES OF LARGE MEMBER-STATES)
- *TERRITORIAL MACRO-ECONOMIC STRATEGIES*
 - *THE BALTIC SEA REGION AS A PILOT*

WHAT KIND OF A REGION?

➤ WHAT KIND OF A REGION?

➤ *"BALTIC SEA IS A NOTION THAN ANYTHING ELSE"* (JAMES SCOTT, 2002)

➤ CONSTRUCTED ("COGNITIVE IDEA"), TERRITORIAL, FUNCTIONAL, INSTITUTIONAL OR TERRITORIAL-FUNCTIONAL REGION?

➤ *MACRO-REGION*: "LINKED BY THE BALTIC SEA THAT INCLUDES ENTIRE MEMBER STATES, PARTS OF MEMBER STATES AND PARTS OF THIRD COUNTRIES" (EUROPEAN COMMISSION)

➤ OR

➤ *MEGA-REGION*: MEGA-REGIONS ARE INTEGRATED SET OF CITIES AND THEIR SURROUNDING SUBURBAN HINTERLANDS ACROSS WHICH LABOUR AND CAPITAL CAN BE REALLOCATED AT VERY LOW COST (FLORIDA ET AL, 2008)

➤ THE PROBLEM: SPILL OVER DOES NOT WORK WITHOUT POLITICAL COMMITMENTS

➤ ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN AS THE CORE

➤ DOES NOT LEAD AUTOMATICALLY TO POLITICAL COMMITMENT

➤ AGENDA DOMINATED BY EU DYNAMICS

BALTIC SEA STRATEGY

- DEFINITION: AN AREA COVERING A NUMBER OF **ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS** BUT WITH **SUFFICIENT ISSUES** IN COMMON TO JUSTIFY A **SINGLE STRATEGIC APPROACH**
 - “SUFFICIENT ISSUES”: NUMBERS OR WEIGHT?
 - WHO DECIDES WHAT IS SUFFICIENT?
 - ACTION PLAN: FOUR PILLARS – 15 PROJECTS – 78 FLAGSHIPS
- THREE-LEVEL SYSTEM OF GOVERNANCE ENVISAGED:
 - POLICY DEVELOPMENT (**MEMBER STATES**) – COORDINATION, MONITORING, REPORTING, FACILITATION, FOLLOW UP
 - (**COMMISSION**) – IMPLEMENTATION ON THE GROUND (“**PARTNERS ALREADY ACTIVE**”) (WHO, HOW, WHO MANDATES, ACCOUNTABILITY, DIVISION OF RESPONSIBILITIES AND COMPETENCIES?)
- NO NEW MONEY – NO NEW INSTITUTIONS

IMPLEMENTATION THE MAIN CHALLENGE

- BASED ON THE COMMUNITY METHOD: COMMISSION IN THE KEY ROLE: *"COORDINATION, MONITORING, REPORTING, FACILITATION OF THE IMPLEMENTATION AND FOLLOW-UP"*
- THE WEAKEST LINK: *"IMPLEMENTATION ON THE GROUND "*
- TWO QUESTIONS:
 - HOW TO STRENGTHEN AND PERSUADE COMMITMENT OF THE ACTORS IN THE REGION?
 - HOW TO INCORPORATE AND INDUCE *"PARTNERS ALREADY ACTIVE IN THE REGION"* ?
- TWO STEPS APPROACH:
 - CREATE A POLITICAL COMMITMENT BY ENGAGING POLITICAL ACTORS AND FORCES TO LEGITIMATE THE STRATEGY AND TO ENFORCE ACCOUNTABILITY
 - EMPLOY EXISTING INSTITUTIONS IN THE REGION TO ENSURE PARTICIPATION OF AND CONTROL BY THE *"ACTIVE PARTNERS"*
 - AN ACTION ARENA NEEDED TO KEEP STAKEHOLDERS INVOLVED

POLITICAL SPACE A AS A NEW FRAMEWORK

- *HOW TO BRING THE FORMAL (STATE-RELATED, COMMUNITY RELATED) INSTITUTIONS AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS TOGETHER?*
- POLITICAL SPACE CONCEPT:
 - ACTORS MEET TO MAKE, APPLY, INTERPRET AND ENFORCE RULES IN A POLITICAL SPACE WHICH IS AN ACTION ARENA WHERE ACTORS IDENTIFY SPECIFIC STRUCTURES OF THEIR INTERACTIONS
 - TRANSNATIONAL POLITICAL FORCES NEEDED
- CIVIL SOCIETIES - REGIONAL AUTHORITIES - PRIVATE INTEREST ACTORS AND STATE ACTORS GOVERN IN NEW COMBINATIONS
- REFORM AND EMPOWER EXISTING INSTITUTIONS
 - CBSS, HELCOM, NORDIC AND BALTIC INSTITUTIONS

BALTIC SEA POLITICAL SPACE

Country	Parties in coalition	Type of Coalition	Prime Minister
DENMARK	2	C/R	ALDE
ESTONIA	2	C/R	ALDE
FINLAND	4	C/R	ALDE
GERMANY	3	C/R	EPP
LATVIA	4	C/R	EPP
LITHUANIA	4	C/R	EPP
POLAND	2	R	EPP
SWEDEN	4	C/R	EPP

POLITICAL POWER IN THE EP

	EPP	PES	ALD E	GRE	UEN	GUE	INDE	OTH	TOT
FIN	4	2	4	2				1	13
SWE	5	5	4	2	1			1	18
DEN	1	4	3	2	2	1			13
GER	42	23	12	14		8			99
POL	28	7			15				50
LITH	4	3	2		2			1	12
LAT	1		1	1	3			2	8
EST	1	1	3					1	6
	85/ 39%	45/ 20 %	29/ 13%	21	23	9		6	218

AS OF JUNE 8TH

ADJACENT REGIONS: PERSUADE AND LOCK

- THE PROBLEM: AN INTERNAL STRATEGY OF THE EU
 - NO SLOT FOR OUTSIDERS IN INTERNAL REGIMES , NO INTERESTS OF OUTSIDERS TO TAKE COMMITMENTS WITHOUT PARTICIPATION
- "PERSUADE AND LOCK"
 - INCLUSION ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS IN CONCRETE ISSUES
 - ACTION PLAN AS A FRAMEWORK
 - INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS
 - "BEHAVIOURAL REGULARITY WHICH IS BASED ON SHARED RULES THAT ARE CREATED, "HABITS OF THOUGHT", COMMUNICATED AND ENFORCED BY THE PARTNERS AND OUTSIDE OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED AND ENFORCED INSTITUTIONS"
 - NEED FOR CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES
 - SET OF UNILATERAL, BILATERAL, OR MULTILATERAL ACTIONS OR PROCEDURES THAT ACT TO ENSURE TRUST BETWEEN A SET OR SETS OF STATES
 - MAKE THE CONDUCT OF COUNTRIES MORE CALCULABLE AND PREDICTABLE, SO THAT STATES CAN HAVE CERTAIN EXPECTATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE BEHAVIOR OF OTHER STATES

CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

- SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE
 - THE REGION HAS TO RECOGNISE THE VALUE TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK OUT INTERESTS AND ENSURE THAT THE VOICE IS HEARD IN BRUSSELS, IN OTHER MEGA-REGIONS, IN ADJACENT AREAS AND IN GLOBAL RESTRUCTURING: "G-SATION" DEMANDS COMMON VOICE
 - NEEDS INSTITUTIONALISATION
 - GIVES NEW LIFE FOR EXISTING INSTITUTIONS
- IDENTITY
 - DO MACRO-REGIONS NEED COMMON IDENTITY?
- ADJACENT REGIONS
 - RUSSIA THE MAIN PARTNER IN THE BSR
- MUST SHOW ADDED VALUE TO THE REGION AND TO THE UNION
 - FOCUS ON RESTORING ECONOMY
- THE NEXT INEVITABLE (?) STEP: FROM MACRO-REGIONS TO MEGA-REGIONS