

1-3 *The Path toward Collective Action*, by Dimitrios Triantaphyllou

December

4 Council of the EU, Declaration on “Presidential Elections” in Abkhazia, Georgia, 12 December 2009

4 European Council, Presidency Conclusions

4-6 Council of the EU, Conclusions on Enlargement/SAP

6 Presidency of the EU, First Foreign Ministers’ Meeting within the Framework of the Eastern Partnership

7 Council of the EU, Conclusions on the South Caucasus

7 Russian MFA, Joint Statement in Connection with the Expiration of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms

8-10 Council of the EU, EU-Ukraine Summit, Joint Statement

10-11 OSCE Seventeenth Meeting, Ministerial Declaration

11 OSCE, Joint Statement of the Minsk Group Co-Chair Countries and the Foreign Ministers of Azerbaijan and Armenia

November

12-14 President of Russia, Draft European Security Treaty

14 Gazprom and French EDF Memorandum on Joint Participation in South Stream

14-16 Council of the EU, Joint Declaration on Mobility Partnership between the EU and Georgia

16 Council of the EU, Conclusions on Fishing Opportunities in the Black Sea for 2010

16-17 ENP in Action: Launch of Cross-border Co-operation Programmes with Russia

17 EU External Relations Council, Conclusions on the ESDP

17-19 Memorandum on an Early Warning Mechanism in the Energy Sector, EU-Russia Energy Dialogue

19 EU General Affairs Council, Conclusions on Enlargement

19 Council of the EU, Declaration on Georgia

19 Presidency of the EU, Statement on Azerbaijan

20-21 Declaration of the Ministers of Information and Communication Technologies of the BSEC Member States

21-22 Priorities of the Bulgarian Chairmanship of the BSEC

October

22-23 29th Quadripartite Meeting between the Council of Europe and the EU

The Path toward Collective Action

By Dimitrios Triantaphyllou

Crises by definition portend systemic adjustments and instabilities. At the same time, however, they –by and large– provide opportunities, be it structural economic and political changes, domestic reforms and cooperation with other states and non-state actors at the regional and international level. The global economic crisis exemplifies this duality. Also, the crisis is at the same time economic and geopolitical in scope. The current crisis also introduces a time element as its likely duration and span are uncertain.

The economic effects lie beyond this commentary albeit it is safe to say that the relevant economic and social models of choice applied by governments to cope with its impact upon their political instruments and policy choices. This is particularly the case given the pressure and demand for the state authorities to assume a more intervening role in the functioning of the market

The crisis finds the international order in flux having entered into a new era characterised by dramatic changes both in terms of structure and process, thus resulting in the emergence of a precarious new world balance. With the election of Barack Obama in 2008 to the Presidency of the United States, the dismantling of a number of policies of the Bush era, and Russian-American relations somewhere between “reset” (to use

23	EU External Relations Council, Conclusions on Moldova
23	EU-Armenia Cooperation Council, Tenth Meeting
24-25	EU-Azerbaijan Cooperation Council, Tenth Meeting
25-26	EU-Georgia Cooperation Council, Tenth Meeting
26-27	European Commission, Communication on Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010
27-29	Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Armenia and Turkey
29	Presidency of the EU, Declaration on Armenia and Turkey
29-30	Russian MFA, Comments on the Tagliavini Report
30-31	Council of the EU, Presentation of the Report on the Conflict in Georgia
32-33	Recent Publications by the ICBSS
34-36	Other Recent Publications on the Black Sea Region
37-38	News and Events
39	ICBSS Black Sea Monitor Index

Hillary Clinton's term) and "reconfiguration" (in the words of Sergei Karaganov), the prospects for increased constructive cooperation at the international level in order to meet global challenges have significantly improved. Nevertheless, security dilemmas ranging from the perpetual Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the situation in Afghanistan and Iraq, the 2008 terrorist attacks in India combined with the tense relations with Pakistan and the "Iranian enigma," to name a few, persist thereby charging the international (security) agenda.

A number of questions arise in need to redress: Is there a link between the global financial and economic crisis and governance? What is its effect on democracy? What is its effect on the European Union (EU)? Does the crisis provide for opportunity?

Within the Black Sea regional context in particular, the global economic crisis has undoubtedly impacted it as much as it has other parts of the world, except maybe for the English Premier League where foreign investors continue buying football clubs at exorbitant prices. In fact, the sustained economic growth of the region over the last decade was halted abruptly by the crisis. In other words, while real GDP growth from 2000-2008 averaged 6.0% per annum denoting a cumulative real economic expansion of 68% during this period, the estimate is that GDP growth fell to 4.3% on 2008 and that it is bound to be even lower in 2009 (projected at -6.4%) and 2010.

Nevertheless, the Black Sea region in 2009 is radically different from what it was two decades ago, both economically and politically. While all the economic indicators over the said period have demonstrated a tremendous rise, indicative to a certain extent of the transformation processes in the former communist space in the post-Cold War period and the advent of globalisation and regionalisation, the changes in relations between the West and Russia have intruded on the political environment with a turn for the worse almost simultaneously with the incursion of the economic crisis. The democracy backlash is particularly relevant. In fact, there is a concern among democracy scholars about the ability of newer and less consolidated democracies to avoid political breakdowns as sharp drops in income and increases in unemployment occur.

The dual nature of the crisis shows how governments have to cope both with the challenges the crisis has posed and to seize the opportunities it has presented in terms of domestic and foreign policy rethinking. Faced with the threat of a democratic backlash in new democracies such as Georgia and Ukraine and with Russia's renewed determination to regain its lost influence in its "near abroad," the EU needs to rethink its regional role and to assume a greater leadership role.

This implies a number of dilemmas for the Union such finding the right balance between an "ethical foreign policy" and one that contains elements of realist thinking and "hard power." This is particularly tricky with reference to the Black Sea region where regional hegemons such as Russia and Turkey, have a preference, each for their own particular reasons, for realpolitik. In this context, are collective responses to problems possible? The EU also has to cope with its waning power of attraction in its eastern neighbourhood both because of Russia efforts to exert its influence there and the low expectations (especially financially) of its policies in the region. Another conundrum has to do with the rise of the promotion of effective multilateralism versus effective policies in its eastern neighbourhood. Which comes first in times of crisis? Finally, its prolonged period of institutional introspection with repeated delays at Treaty ratifications implies the need for a rapid implementation of the Lisbon Treaty if the Union is to regain the upper hand as the model of choice in its neighbourhood.

Nevertheless, the myriad of provisos, both real and perceived, that can act as barriers to cooperative action in order to

tackle the negative effects of the global crisis should not be an obstacle to joint action. The crisis brings at the forefront the need for coordination among nation states and organisations within the current global financial architecture while it also generates debate on the design of a new global mechanism or structure. The question is how to turn the negative effects of the crisis into an opportunity. In the post-crisis world, will the EU's Black Sea neighbours demand to establish closer relations with the EU thus promoting integration? Will the EU have the requisite policies in place to accommodate its eastern neighbours? Can Russia and the West develop a more sober relationship, profiting from their shared bitter experience in confronting the crisis?

The crisis conceivably provides the opportunity for a new paradigm, a new strategy in the relations between the European Union and the Black Sea Region which accommodates the interests of regional hegemony like Russia and Turkey as well as those of their smaller and less powerful neighbours. A coordinated common approach very well follows the logic of the promotion of "effective multilateralism" which was highlighted in its 2003 European Security Strategy. With all EU initiatives towards the East (European Neighbourhood Policy, Eastern Partnership, Black Sea Synergy) having their set of problems, a rethink of policy is necessary. The focus should be on stopping neighbouring states from collapsing into deeper crisis (the opportunity) and to curb the return of spheres of influence in the region (the challenge). In order for this to work, the formulation of a new regional dimension enhancing existing policies might be necessary.

Conditions might actually be ripe for a consensus to emerge given a thaw of sorts between Russia and Georgia, and between Russia and the West. Also, the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty provides for a more cohesive and institutional approach in its international relations (this was very much in evidence in the EU's handling of the Russia-Ukraine gas crisis of 2008/2009). As such, as key players in the emerging model of global governance, the European Union, Russia and Turkey have a responsibility to put their hubris aside and promote collective action.

Athens, 13 January 2010

Council of the European Union, Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union on "Presidential Elections" in Abkhazia, Georgia, 12 December 2009

Brussels, 15 December 2009 [Link](#)

The European Union has taken note of the "presidential elections" held in the Georgian territory of Abkhazia on 12 December. The European Union does not recognise the constitutional and legal framework within which these elections have taken place.

The European Union continues to support Georgia's territorial integrity and sovereignty, as recognised by international law.

[...]

European Council, Presidency Conclusions

Brussels, 10-11 December 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

Eastern Partnership and the Union for the Mediterranean

41. The European Council welcomes the start of the implementation of the Eastern Partnership since its launch at the Summit held in Prague on 7 May 2009 and notes with satisfaction all the recent steps and initiatives taken to strengthen and deepen the relations between the EU and the Partners. The European Council underlines the European Union's commitment to further the implementation of the Eastern Partnership and to promote political and socio-economic reforms of the partner countries, facilitating approximation towards the European Union.

42. The European Council underlines the importance of the enhanced partnership between the EU and the Mediterranean partner countries and welcomes the process of reinforcing relations as well as efforts to further strengthen cooperation and dialogue and establishing the structures of the Union for the Mediterranean.

[...]

Council of the European Union, Conclusions on Enlargement/Stabilisation and Association Process

Brussels, 7-8 December 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

Turkey

6. The Council welcomes Turkey's continued commitment to the negotiation process. Positive steps have been

registered in the areas of the judiciary, civil-military relations and cultural rights. The Council now expects that the implementation of the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, as well as the appointment of a full-time Chief Negotiator, will further focus the Turkish government's reform efforts.

7. Furthermore, the Council is encouraged by the government's democratic initiative, including on the Kurdish issue. This should lead to concrete measures guaranteeing all Turkish citizens full rights and freedoms and should significantly improve the situation in the South-East. The Council welcomes the government's efforts towards building of a national consensus, which will also be beneficial to the reform process, including the work on a constitutional reform.

8. The Council invites Turkey to step up the pace of reforms and to implement measures which have been started. Further efforts to ensure that Turkey fully meets the Copenhagen criteria are required in a number of areas, including freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of religion in law and in practice for all religious communities, respect for property rights, trade union rights, rights of persons belonging to minorities, civilian oversight of the military and women's and children's rights, anti-discrimination and gender equality. The Council welcomes the declared intention of the government to step up its efforts in the fight against torture and ill-treatment, including on the issue of impunity.

9. The Council notes that the negotiations have reached a more demanding stage requiring Turkey to step up its efforts in meeting established conditions. By advancing in the fulfilment of opening and closing benchmarks and of the requirements specified in the Negotiating Framework, which cover inter alia implementation of the Accession Partnership and compliance with the obligations stemming from the Association Agreement, Turkey will be able to accelerate the pace of the negotiations.

10. Turkey is an important regional player, inter alia for the security in the Middle East and the Southern Caucasus and plays a key role in energy supply and the promotion of dialogue between civilisations. The Council thus welcomes the significant diplomatic efforts made to normalise relations with Armenia, resulting in the historic signature of protocols for the normalisation of relations in October 2009. It looks forward to the ratification and implementation of the protocols as soon as possible. The Council welcomes that in July 2009 Turkey signed the Intergovernmental Agreement on the Nabucco gas pipeline and underlines that the timely completion of the Southern corridor remains one of the EU's highest energy security priorities.

11. The Council further welcomes the beginning of the reinforced dialogue on migration with Turkey and calls

EUROPEAN SECURITY TREATY

for concrete steps to be taken rapidly, in particular as regards readmission and border control, in accordance with the conclusions of the European Council of June and October 2009. The Council welcomes the start of a new round of talks on an EU-Turkey readmission agreement and stresses that adequate implementation of already existing bilateral readmission agreements remains a priority.

12. In line with the Negotiating Framework and previous European Council and Council conclusions, the Council underlines that Turkey needs to commit itself unequivocally to good neighbourly relations and to the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the United Nations Charter, having recourse, if necessary, to the International Court of Justice. In this context, the Union urges the avoidance of any kind of threat, source of friction or actions which could damage good neighbourly relations and the peaceful settlement of disputes. Furthermore, the EU stresses again all the sovereign rights of EU Member States which include, inter alia, entering into bilateral agreements, in accordance with the EU acquis and international law, including the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

13. Recalling its conclusions of 11 December 2006 and the declaration of 21 September 2005, the Council notes with deep regret that Turkey, despite repeated calls, continues refusing to fulfil its obligation of full non-discriminatory implementation of the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement. In the absence of progress on this issue the Council will maintain its measures from 2006, which will have a continuous effect on the overall progress in the negotiations. Furthermore, Turkey has not made progress towards normalisation of its relations with the Republic of Cyprus. The Council invites the Commission to monitor closely and specifically report on all issues covered by the declaration of the European Community and its Member States of 21 September 2005 in its forthcoming annual report. On this basis, the Council will continue to closely follow and review progress made, in accordance with its conclusions of 11 December 2006. Progress is now expected without further delay.

14. As emphasised by the Negotiating Framework, the Council also expects Turkey to actively support the ongoing negotiations aimed at a fair, comprehensive and viable settlement of the Cyprus problem within the UN framework, in accordance with the relevant UN Security Council resolutions and in line with the principles on which the Union is founded. Turkey's commitment and contribution in concrete terms to such a comprehensive settlement is crucial.

[...]

Albania

34. The Council welcomes the progress achieved in certain areas, in particular electoral reform and the smooth start of the implementation of the Stabilisation and Asso-

ciation Agreement. Parliamentary elections met most international standards but some shortcomings remained and the ODIHR recommendations need to be followed up. Strengthening the rule of law and notably the fight against organised crime and corruption, as well as the proper functioning of state institutions, especially the independence of the judiciary, remain urgent challenges for Albania. Administrative and enforcement capacity require further strengthening, and independence of the administration needs to be ensured. More efforts should be made to improve conditions for media freedom. The Council notes that Albania has made progress in fulfilling the benchmarks set in the framework of the visa liberalisation dialogue. The Council encourages Albania to continue its constructive role in the stability of the region. The EU also calls on all political parties in Albania to pursue a constructive political dialogue, including in parliament.

35. The Council recalls that it invited the Commission in November 2009 to submit its opinion on Albania's application for membership in the European Union. The application will be assessed according to the principles set out in the Treaty and the criteria defined by the Copenhagen European Council in 1993, as well as the December 2006 European Council conclusions on the renewed consensus for enlargement. The Council agrees to return to the matter when the Commission has presented its opinion.

[...]

Serbia

40. The Council welcomes Serbia's commitment to EU integration by undertaking key reforms in line with European standards and by gradually building up a track-record in implementing the provisions of the Interim Agreement with the EU. The Council notes that the Office of the Prosecutor of the ICTY is satisfied with the current level of efforts undertaken by Serbia's authorities in their cooperation and insists that Serbia maintain these efforts in order to achieve additional positive results. Recalling the Council conclusions of 29 April 2008, the Council decides that the Union will start implementing the Interim Agreement. The Council will turn to the next issue – ratification of the Stabilisation and Association Agreement – in six months time.

41. The Council stresses that the reform agenda must be continued. Strengthening the rule of law, fight against corruption and accelerating economic reforms remain important. A constructive approach towards regional cooperation, including trade, remains essential. In terms of cooperation with EULEX, the Council welcomes the signing of the protocol on police cooperation but stresses that further efforts are needed, especially with respect to the operation of EULEX in the north of Kosovo. The Council restates its view that Serbia, with its strong administrative capacity, can accelerate its progress towards the EU, including candidate status, as soon as all necessary conditions are met.

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[...]

Presidency of the European Union, Chair's Conclusions, First Foreign Ministers' Meeting within the Framework of the Eastern partnership

Brussels, 8 December 2009 [Link](#)

1. On 8 December the first Foreign Ministers' meeting within the framework of the Eastern Partnership was held in Brussels.

2. The meeting drew high level participation from the 27 EU Member States, the European Commission, the General Secretariat of the EU Council, the six Eastern European Partner countries (hereinafter the Partner countries), the European Parliament, the European Investment Bank, the Committee of the Regions and the Economic and Social Committee. The meeting was chaired by the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Carl Bildt, currently holding the EU Presidency. The European Commission was represented by the Commissioner for Trade and Neighbourhood Policy Benita Ferrero-Waldner. Foreign Ministers Edward Nalbandian of Armenia, Elmar Mammadyarov of Azerbaijan, Sergey Martynov of Belarus, Grigol Vashadze of Georgia, Iurie Leanca of the Republic of Moldova and Petro Poroshenko of Ukraine represented the Partner countries.

3. The Ministers discussed the state of play of the Partnership on the basis of a report from European Commission. They took note of the substantive implementation achieved so far, and welcomed the steps taken in the bilateral relations between the Partner countries and the EU, as well as the establishment of the multilateral dimension of the Partnership. The Ministers welcomed the launch of Flagship Initiatives on Integrated Border Management and

Regional Electricity Markets, Improved Energy Efficiency and Increased use of Renewable Resources, as well the Eastern Europe Energy Efficiency and Environment Partnership. The meeting formally endorsed the Work Programmes of the four thematic platforms within the multilateral dimension of the Partnership.

4. During the Ministerial meeting, four representatives of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum, presented to the ministers the conclusions and recommendations of the Civil Society Forum, which met for the first time in Brussels on 16-17 November. The ministers welcomed the active engagement of civil society in the development and implementation of the Partnership.

5. The ministers recalled the Eastern Partnership Declaration, adopted at the Summit on 7 May in Prague, and reconfirmed their commitment hereto. In particular, they recalled that the Partnership is based on commitments to the principles of international law and to fundamental values, including democracy, the rule of law and the respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as to market economy, sustainable development and good governance. They also underlined the importance of the principles of inclusiveness, differentiation and conditionality, as well as joint ownership.

6. The participants underlined the strategic importance of the Eastern Partnership as a way to deepen and strengthen relations between the EU and the Partner countries, to accelerate political association, further economic integration and approximation towards the European Union and to support political and socio-economic reforms of the Partner countries.

7. During the discussion on the priorities for the coming period of implementation, Ministers highlighted the need to make further progress in line with the priorities of the Partnership, inter alia negotiations on Association Agreements, including Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas, where appropriate, mobility of citizens, availability of funding from EIB, EBRD and international financial institutions to the Eastern Partnership, the Comprehensive Institution-Building Programmes, energy cooperation, adoption of EU standards by Partner countries and other areas.

8. The ministers agreed to hold the next Eastern Partnership Foreign Ministers Meeting during the Belgian Presidency of the EU, during the second half of 2010. They endorsed the proposal to hold the next Eastern Partnership Summit under the Hungarian Presidency of the EU, during the first half 2011.

9. The participants agreed to continue the implementation of the Eastern Partnership during 2010 with sustained priority.

Council of the European Union, Conclusions on the South Caucasus

Brussels, 8 December 2009 [Link](#)

The Council adopted the following conclusions:

“1. The Council recalls the Conclusions of the European Council on 19-20 March 2009, as well as the Joint Declaration of the Prague Summit on 7 May 2009, which established the Eastern Partnership, as a specific Eastern dimension of the European Union Neighbourhood Policy. This Partnership entails a new vision for the development of relations between the European Union and Eastern Partners, on the basis of common values and principles, including democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights. The Partnership includes the prospect of concluding Association Agreements, including Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Areas (DCFTAs), between the EU and Partner countries that are willing and able to enter into such a deeper engagement.

2. The Council welcomes the expressed commitment of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia to strive for an enhancement of their respective relations with the EU on the basis of the perspective provided through the Eastern Partnership.

3. The Council underlines the importance of the political association and gradual economic integration of partner countries with the EU, including, when the countries are members of the WTO and ready to comply with the resulting commitments, the establishment of DCFTAs. In this context, the EU has started preparations for upgrading its contractual relations with the three South Caucasian countries. The process will be guided by the principles of inclusiveness, differentiation and conditionality, as well as joint ownership. The Council welcomes the presentation of proposals for draft negotiating directives for Association Agreements, aiming at developing ambitious and comprehensive agreements going beyond existing commitments, while taking into account country-specific circumstances. It will proceed to a timely adoption of these directives and looks forward to the start of negotiations on Association Agreements with each of the respective countries, taking into account the relevant conditionalities.

4. The EU will continue to promote stability, cooperation, prosperity and good governance throughout the South Caucasus and remains committed to contribute to this end, including through technical assistance programmes.”

MFA of the Russian Federation, Joint Statement by the United States of America and the Russian Federation in Connection with the Expiration of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, Press Release

Moscow, 4 December 2009 [Link](#)

The United States of America and the Russian Federation recognize the significant contribution of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to successful implementation of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START) Treaty.

The value of the START Treaty was greatly enhanced when the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine removed all nuclear weapons from their territories and acceded to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) as non-nuclear-weapon states. The actions of these states have enhanced the NPT regime, had a beneficial impact on international security and strategic stability, and created favorable conditions for further steps to reduce nuclear arsenals.

The United States of America and the Russian Federation welcome the commitment of the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to their status as non-nuclear-weapon states.

The fulfilment by these states of their obligations under the Protocol to the START Treaty of May 23, 1992, (Lisbon Protocol) and their accession to the NPT as non-nuclear-weapon states strengthened their security, which was reflected, inter alia, in the Budapest Memoranda of December 5, 1994. In this connection, the United States of America and the Russian Federation confirm that the assurances recorded in the Budapest Memoranda will remain in effect after December 4, 2009.

Council of the European Union, EU-Ukraine Summit, Joint Statement

Kiev, 4 December 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

Recognizing that Ukraine as a European country shares a common history and common values with the countries of the European Union, acknowledging the European aspirations of Ukraine and welcoming its European choice, the Presidents welcomed the substantial advances made in EU-Ukraine relations in the past year in all areas of mutual interest including through cooperation on foreign policy and security policy issues; the economic and financial sectors; the energy sphere and in the area of environment and climate and in justice, freedom and security matters as well as many other sectors.

Internal developments in the EU and Ukraine

The leaders of the EU and Ukraine discussed the Ukrainian presidential elections which will take place on 17 January 2010, as well as the implementation of Ukraine's on-going reform agenda. They emphasized the crucial importance of these elections being conducted in accordance with European and international standards for democratic elections. They stressed the need for political and economic stabilisation notably through constitutional reform, consolidation of the rule of law and renewed efforts to combat corruption and improve the business and investment climate. They called for increased efforts to advance the reform process in Ukraine.

The leaders welcomed the completion of ratification process of the Treaty of Lisbon, which will provide the European Union with institutional framework necessary to meet future challenges.

Global challenges

The Presidents discussed the global economic and financial crisis and its impact in the region. Noting the stability achieved over the past twelve months with the support of the IMF Standby Arrangement, the EU side called on Ukraine to ensure that the programme remained on track and that necessary economic reforms were implemented in the interests of economic stability and early recovery. The leaders recalled the importance of cooperation in the trade area as a vehicle for prosperity and stability. The leaders emphasised that protectionism was not an answer to current difficulties and that the obligations and responsibilities flowing from membership of the World Trade Organisation should be respected in full. The leaders recognised the potentially significant negative impact of the crisis in the region on the unemployed and on the most vulnerable in society.

The leaders of the EU and Ukraine underlined that climate change is one of the most important global chal-

lenges of our time which demands urgent and cooperative action. Ukraine and the EU recognized the scientific view that the increase in global average temperature above pre-industrial levels ought not to exceed 2°C and that peaking of global emissions should take place as soon as possible in order to make a global reduction of 50% by 2050 compared to 1990. In this spirit, the sides agreed that both the EU and Ukraine need to increase their mitigation efforts and present mid-term emission reduction targets for 2020. The EU and Ukraine will, under the framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) work together for a comprehensive and ambitious outcome at the 15th Conference of the Parties of the UNFCCC in December 2009 in Copenhagen. In this context, the leaders agreed that the issue of unused emission units should be addressed in such a way that it positively contributes to the outcome of the Copenhagen COP 15 meeting.

The leaders welcomed the continuous development of environmental cooperation between the EU and Ukraine and the potential for further initiatives. They noted the progress made in negotiations on the establishment of the Regional Environmental Centre of Ukraine.

The leaders of the EU and Ukraine welcomed deepening cooperation on the use of renewable energies and increased energy efficiency. The Summit welcomed the launch of the Eastern Europe Energy Efficiency and Environment Partnership, which took place in Stockholm on 26 November, 2009, where Ukraine, the European Commission, and EU and other bilateral donors announced the creation of a support fund with an initial volume of approximately €90 million. This has the potential to facilitate several billion Euro of investments by European and international financial institutions in energy efficiency in Ukraine. The leaders encouraged other donors and institutions to participate in this partnership.

They welcomed the continuing progress in the implementation of the priorities of the EU-Ukraine Memorandum of Understanding on Energy Cooperation of 1 December 2005, as set out in the 4th progress report presented to the Summit. While noting the good progress in the roadmaps on nuclear safety, energy market integration and energy transit, the leaders call for further progress in the coal sector and in the promotion of energy efficiency and renewable energies.

The leaders of the EU and Ukraine stressed the importance of Ukraine's accession to the Energy Community Treaty (ECT) and in that respect looked forward to the ECT Ministerial Council in Zagreb on December 18, 2009. They also agreed on the importance of Ukraine's implementation of the relevant energy sector reform commitments. They underlined in particular the importance of security of energy supplies. They expressed their determination to work closely to ensure the security of energy supplies to the EU.

Taking into account the fact that Ukraine is the single most important transit country for gas supplies to the EU and that it is in the strategic interest of all to ensure the efficiency, reliability and transparency of gas supply routes to the EU: in their entirety, the leaders stressed the importance of efforts to reform the energy sector. In this regard, they welcomed the Joint Declaration endorsed by the Joint EU-Ukraine International Investment Conference on the Modernisation of the Gas Transit System which took place on 23 March 2009 and emphasised the urgency of implementing the commitments contained in the Joint Declaration, as well as the wider reform engagements of 31 July 2009 in the context of IFI support for Ukraine's gas sector reform.

Ukraine-EU relations

The leaders of the EU and Ukraine welcomed the 3rd progress report on negotiations on the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement, noting the substantial further progress that has been achieved in the course of the year. They recalled the forward-looking, innovative and comprehensive nature of the Agreement. They confirmed their strong commitment to complete negotiations as soon as possible, bearing in mind the complex, ambitious and technically demanding character of many aspects of the Agreement and notably the deep and comprehensive free trade area part.

The leaders welcomed in this regard the recent launch of the EU-Ukraine Association Agenda which will prepare for and facilitate the entry into force of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. Based on principles of joint ownership and joint responsibility, the Association Agenda is a qualitatively new instrument which replaces the EU-Ukraine Action Plan. Together with the Association Agreement, the Association Agenda will facilitate greater political association and economic integration with the EU.

The Parties re-confirmed increasing policy convergence, based on shared values and commitments, in the field of foreign and security policy. They highlighted in particular the value of continued close cooperation on regional stability and crisis management, and noted the importance of regular policy consultations and Ukraine's alignment with EU foreign policy statements and common positions. The leaders agreed on the aim to further increase Ukraine's participation in European Security and Defence Policy operations and activities, recalling that the Framework Participation Agreement has enhanced possibilities for cooperation in this regard.

The leaders welcomed efforts of the European Union to help deter, prevent and repress acts of piracy and armed robbery off the Somali coast, particularly the EU NAVFOR Somalia – Operation Atalanta. In this regard they welcomed the fact that Ukraine is considering a contribution to international efforts in combating piracy

through taking part in the Operation Atalanta.

The Parties noted the continuing progress in the area of justice and home affairs. They underlined the continuing importance of the revised JLS Action Plan and the accompanying Scoreboard in promoting reforms and strengthening common values, notably as regards respect for human rights, democratisation and the rule of law, which are the cornerstone of the EU-Ukraine relationship

The leaders of the EU and Ukraine welcomed the conclusion of the Strategic Co-operation Agreement between Ukraine and Europol and a Memorandum of Understanding between the Ukrainian Ministry of Health and the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction.

The leaders agreed on the importance of promoting mobility between the EU and Ukraine and welcomed the progress in implementation of the Ukraine-EU visa facilitation and readmission agreements promoting people-to-people contacts and assisting the Parties to combat illegal migration. In this context the Parties also recognized the importance of comprehensive migration policies and international standards on protection and asylum.

The leaders underlined the importance of continued cooperation in the full implementation of the EU-Ukraine visa facilitation and readmission agreements and looked forward to constructive discussions on the Visa Facilitation Agreement in the competent Joint Committee in spring 2010, in the light of Ukraine's proposals for further facilitations for Ukrainian citizens as well as developments in EU legislation in the area of visa policy.

The EU and Ukraine leaders reviewed progress in the dialogue launched in 2008 with the aim of developing relevant conditions to establish a visa free regime as a long term perspective. They welcomed the report of the Senior Officials of 19th November to the Summit, noting progress made to-date, and endorsed the proposal to move to a structured visa dialogue focused on sequenced priorities of action and recommendations to the Ukrainian authorities.

The EU and Ukraine looked forward to a discussion on the visa dialogue at the next EU-Ukraine Justice Freedom and Security Ministerial meeting in the light of a progress report by Senior Officials.

The leaders welcomed the implementation and functioning of the local border traffic regime between Ukraine and Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, and encouraged all parties to make best use of the local border traffic regime in accordance with the EU acquis.

The leaders also welcomed progress achieved in the negotiations on the EU-Ukraine Agreement on Common Aviation Area and encouraged the negotiators to finalise the negotiations at technical level at the next round as soon as possible.

Eastern Partnership

The leaders expressed their full commitment to the Eastern Partnership which was launched on 7 May 2009 in Prague. In this regard the leaders looked forward to the forthcoming meeting of Foreign Ministers on 8 December in Brussels, and welcomed mutual efforts to give the Eastern Partnership practical effect. They recalled that the Eastern Partnership complements and contributes to existing bilateral relations.

The leaders underlined their wish for the Eastern Partnership to contribute to political association and economic integration. To this end they agreed that the Eastern Partnership should provide for new mechanisms of cooperation, inter alia within the Comprehensive Institution Building programmes currently being developed in order to meet this goal.

The leaders encouraged the European Commission to take an ambitious approach to preparation of future projects within bilateral and multilateral dimensions of the Eastern Partnership, giving due regard to proposals of the Partner States.

Encouraged by the recently agreed Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of a Dialogue on Regional Policy and Development of Regional Cooperation, and by the EU's Joint Initiative for Crimea, the leaders welcomed closer practical cooperation between the EU and Ukraine's regions. They underlined the importance to model such regional cooperation on the principles of EU cohesion policy as foreseen by the Eastern Partnership. They also expressed hope that the EU's "Joint Cooperation Initiative in the Crimea" will provide an important contribution to sustainable regional development. The parties expressed appreciation for the continuing positive cooperation with the EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) at the Ukrainian-Moldovan border and for the extension of the mission's mandate until 2011.

International issues

The leaders discussed relations with Russia and the issue of European security, namely the Corfu Process. They expressed interest in further coordination within the OSCE's Corfu Process on the basis of shared positions, stressing their strong commitment to the OSCE and its role as the main forum for the debate on Euro-Atlantic Security, based on its comprehensive approach to security.

The leaders underlined the efforts of both sides to encourage closer ties between the EU and Belarus and agreed on the need to support democratic development in Belarus. They welcomed close practical cooperation between Ukraine and Belarus in the context of the Eastern Partnership.

The Parties stressed the need for continued efforts to resume negotiations in the "5+2" format with an aim to reach a peaceful and viable settlement of the Transnistria

conflict in the Republic of Moldova.

OSCE Seventeenth Meeting, Ministerial Declaration on the OSCE Corfu Process: Reconfirm-Review-Reinvigorate Security and Co-operation from Vancouver to Vladivostok

Athens, 2 December 2009 [Link](#)

1. We, the Foreign Ministers of the 56 participating States of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, meet, for the second time this year after our informal meeting in Corfu, to mark the significant progress that we have achieved together since the reunification of Europe and the elimination of Europe's old divisions. We reconfirm that the vision of a free, democratic and more integrated OSCE area, from Vancouver to Vladivostok, free of dividing lines and zones with different levels of security remains a common goal, which we are determined to reach.

2. To achieve this goal, much work remains to be accomplished. We continue to be seriously concerned that the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and OSCE commitments are not fully respected and implemented; that the use of force has not ceased to be considered as an option in settling disputes; that the danger of conflicts between States has not been eliminated, and armed conflicts have occurred even in the last decades; that tensions still exist and many conflicts remain unresolved; that stalemates in conventional arms control, resolution of disagreements in this field, resumption of full implementation of the CFE Treaty regime, and restoration of its viability require urgent concerted action by its States Parties; and that our common achievements in the fields of the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms need to be fully safeguarded and further advanced. This is occurring at a time when new emerging transnational threats require, more than ever, common responses.

3. We recognize that these security challenges, further accentuated by the ongoing international financial and economic crisis, should be tackled with a renewed commitment to achieve results through multilateral dialogue and co-operation. At this stage, our highest priority remains to re-establish our trust and confidence, as well as to recapture the sense of common purpose that brought together our predecessors in Helsinki almost 35 years ago. In this context, we welcome the dialogue on the current and future challenges for security in the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian area, initiated at the 2008 Helsinki Ministerial Council and launched by the Greek Chairmanship in June 2009 as the "Corfu Process", aimed at achieving the aforementioned goals. We consider the first ever OSCE Informal Ministerial Meeting

in Corfu, with broad participation, as a milestone in this process, where we expressed our political will to confront security challenges, in all three OSCE dimensions.

4. The Corfu Process has already improved the quality and contributed to the revitalization of our political dialogue in the OSCE on security and co-operation from Vancouver to Vladivostok. We are committed to continue and further develop this process, setting ambitious, concrete and pragmatic goals, while also focusing on the key issues identified in our work so far. The OSCE, due to its broad membership and its multidimensional approach to common, comprehensive, co-operative and indivisible security, provides the appropriate forum for this dialogue. We welcome the valuable contributions of all relevant organizations and institutions dealing with security, on the basis of the Platform for Co-operative Security.

5. The dialogue within the Corfu Process will be grounded in the OSCE and in the principles of equality, partnership, co-operation, inclusiveness and transparency. It will aim at addressing disagreements openly, honestly and in an unbiased manner, acknowledging our diversities and concerns, in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding. It will build on three basic guidelines:

(a) Adherence to the concept of comprehensive, co-operative and indivisible security, as enshrined in the OSCE fundamental documents;

(b) Compliance with OSCE norms, principles and commitments in all three OSCE dimensions, in full and in good faith, and in a consistent manner by all;

(c) Determination to strengthen partnership and co-operation in the OSCE area, as well as to enhance the effectiveness of the OSCE and its contribution to security in our common space.

6. The Corfu Process will be taken forward by our Permanent Representatives to the OSCE in Vienna, in accordance with the decision we are adopting today. We remain committed to provide strong political impetus to the Corfu Process, and we are looking forward to reassessing its progress in 2010, in the format and level that we will deem appropriate, taking into consideration the results we achieve.

7. We welcome Kazakhstan in the 2010 OSCE Chairmanship, the first ever to be exercised by a Central Asian OSCE participating State. We note with interest its proposal to hold an OSCE summit in 2010. We point out that such a high-level meeting would require adequate preparation in terms of substance and modalities. We task the Permanent Council to engage in exploratory consultations to determine the extent of progress on the OSCE agenda to inform our decision.

OSCE, Joint Statement by the Heads of Delegation of the Minsk Group Co-Chair Countries and the Foreign Ministers of Azerbaijan and Armenia

Athens, 1 December 2009 [Link](#)

The Heads of Delegation of the OSCE Minsk Group Co-Chair countries, Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation Sergei Lavrov, Foreign Minister of France Bernard Kouchner, and Deputy Secretary of State of the United States James Steinberg met in Athens on December 1 with the Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan Elmar Mammadyarov and Foreign Minister of Armenia Edward Nalbandian.

The five Heads of Delegation recalled the commitments in the November 2008 Moscow Declaration and the December 2008 Helsinki OSCE Ministerial Statement, They noted the positive dynamic in the talks, demonstrated through six meetings this year between the Presidents of Armenia and Azerbaijan. They agreed that the increasing frequency of these meetings has significantly contributed to an enhanced dialogue between the parties and forward movement toward finalizing the Basic Principles for the Peaceful Settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, proposed in Madrid on November 29, 2007.

Foreign Ministers Lavrov and Kouchner and Deputy Secretary Steinberg reiterated the commitment of their countries, as expressed in the Joint Statement on the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict at the L'Aquila Summit of the Eight on July 10 issued by their three Presidents, to support the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan as they complete work on the Basic Principles and urged that the parties complete this work as soon as possible. They stressed that agreement on the Basic Principles would provide the framework for a comprehensive settlement to promote a future of peace, stability, and prosperity for the entire region.

The Foreign Ministers of Armenia and Azerbaijan reported on progress during the course of this year in achieving common understandings on points of the Basic Principles. They stated the willingness of their countries to complete work on the Basic Principles, as stipulated by the Presidents of the Co-Chair countries at L'Aquila. The Ministers reaffirmed their commitment to work intensively to resolve the remaining issues, to reach an agreement based, in particular, upon the principles of the Helsinki Final Act of Non-Use of Force or Threat of Force, Territorial Integrity, and the Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples.

President of Russia, Draft European Security Treaty

Moscow, 29 November 2009 [Link](#)

(Unofficial translation)

Draft

The Parties to this Treaty,

Desiring to promote their relations in the spirit of friendship and cooperation in conformity with international law,

Guided by the principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (1970), Helsinki Final Act of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (1975), as well as provisions of the Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes (1982) and Charter for European Security (1999),

Reminding that the use of force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other way inconsistent with the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations is inadmissible in their mutual relations, as well as international relations in general,

Acknowledging and supporting the role of the UN Security Council, which bears the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security,

Recognizing the need to join efforts in order to respond effectively to present-day security challenges and threats in the globalized and interdependent world,

Intending to build effective cooperation mechanisms that could be promptly activated with a view to solving issues or differences that might arise, addressing concerns and adequately responding to challenges and threats in the security sphere,

Have agreed as follows:

Article 1

According to the Treaty, the Parties shall cooperate with each other on the basis of the principles of indivisible, equal and undiminished security. Any security measures taken by a Party to the Treaty individually or together with other Parties, including in the framework of any international organization, military alliance or coalition, shall be implemented with due regard to security interests of all other Parties. The Parties shall act in accordance with the Treaty in order to give effect to these principles and to strengthen security of each other.

Article 2

1. A Party to the Treaty shall not undertake, participate in

or support any actions or activities affecting significantly security of any other Party or Parties to the Treaty.

2. A Party to the Treaty which is a member of military alliances, coalitions or organizations shall seek to ensure that such alliances, coalitions or organizations observe principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, Helsinki Final Act, Charter for European Security and other documents adopted by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as in Article 1 of this Treaty, and that decisions taken in the framework of such alliances, coalitions or organizations do not affect significantly security of any Party or Parties to the Treaty.

3. A Party to the Treaty shall not allow the use of its territory and shall not use the territory of any other Party with the purpose of preparing or carrying out an armed attack against any other Party or Parties to the Treaty or any other actions affecting significantly security of any other Party or Parties to the Treaty.

Article 3

1. A Party to the Treaty shall be entitled to request, through diplomatic channels or the Depositary, any other Party to provide information on any significant legislative, administrative or organizational measures taken by that other Party, which, in the opinion of the Requesting Party, might affect its security.

2. Parties shall inform the Depositary of any requests under para.1 of this Article and of responses to them. The Depositary shall bring that information to the attention of the other Parties.

3. Nothing in this Article prevents the Parties from undertaking any other actions to ensure transparency and mutual trust in their relations.

Article 4

The following mechanism shall be established to address issues related to the substance of this Treaty, and to settle differences or disputes that might arise between the Parties in connection with its interpretation or application:

- a) Consultations among the Parties;
- b) Conference of the Parties;
- c) Extraordinary Conference of the Parties.

Article 5

1. Should a Party to the Treaty determine that there exists a violation or a threat of violation of the Treaty by any other Party or Parties, or should it wish to raise with any other Party or Parties any issue relating to the substance of the Treaty and requiring, in its opinion, to be considered jointly, it may request consultations on the issue with the Party or Parties which, in its opinion, might be inter-

ested in such consultations. Information regarding such a request shall be brought by the Requesting Party to the attention of the Depositary which shall inform accordingly all other Parties.

2. Such consultations shall be held as soon as possible, but not later than (...) days from the date of receipt of the request by the relevant Party unless a later date is indicated in the request.

3. Any Party not invited to take part in the consultations shall be entitled to participate on its own initiative.

Article 6

1. Any participant to consultations held under Article 5 of this Treaty shall be entitled, after having held the consultations, to propose the Depositary to convene the Conference of the Parties to consider the issue that was the subject of the consultations.

2. The Depositary shall convene the Conference of the Parties, provided that the relevant proposal is supported by not less than (*two*) Parties to the Treaty, within (...) days from the date of receipt of the relevant request.

3. The Conference of the Parties shall be effective if it is attended by at least two thirds of the Parties to the Treaty. Decisions of the Conference shall be taken by consensus and shall be binding.

4. The Conference of the Parties shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

Article 7

1. In case of an armed attack or a threat of such attack against a Party to the Treaty, immediate actions shall be undertaken in accordance with Article 8(1) of the Treaty.

2. Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 8 of the Treaty, every Party shall be entitled to consider an armed attack against any other Party an armed attack against itself. In exercising its right of self-defense under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, it shall be entitled to render the attacked Party, subject to its consent, the necessary assistance, including the military one, until the UN Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Information on measures taken by Parties to the Treaty in exercise of their right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the UN Security Council.

Article 8

1. In cases provided for by Article 7 of this Treaty, the Party which has been attacked or threatened with an armed attack shall bring that to the attention of the Depositary which shall immediately convene an Extraordinary Conference of the Parties to decide on necessary collective measures.

2. If the Party which became subject to an armed attack is not able to bring that to the attention of the Depositary,

any other Party shall be entitled to request the Depositary to convene an Extraordinary Conference of the Parties, in which case the procedure provided for in Para. 1 of this Article shall be applied.

3. The Extraordinary Conference of the Parties may decide to invite third states, international organizations or other concerned parties to take part in it.

4. The Extraordinary Conference of the Parties shall be effective if it is attended by at least four fifths of the Parties to the Treaty. Decisions of the Extraordinary Conference of the Parties shall be taken by unanimous vote and shall be binding. If an armed attack is carried out by, or a threat of such attack originates from a Party to the Treaty, the vote of that Party shall not be included in the total number of votes of the Parties in adopting a decision.

The Extraordinary Conference of the Parties shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

Article 9

1. This Treaty shall not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting the primary responsibility of the UN Security Council for maintaining international peace and security, as well as rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations.

2. The Parties to the Treaty reaffirm that their obligations under other international agreements in the area of security, which are in effect on the date of signing of this Treaty are not incompatible with the Treaty.

3. The Parties to the Treaty shall not assume international obligations incompatible with the Treaty.

4. This Treaty shall not affect the right of any Party to neutrality.

Article 10

This Treaty shall be open for signature by all States of the Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian space from Vancouver to Vladivostok as well as by the following international organizations: the European Union, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Collective Security Treaty Organization, North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Community of Independent States in ... from ... to

Article 11

1. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by the signatory States and to approval or adoption by the signatory international organizations. The relevant notifications shall be deposited with the government of ... which shall be the Depositary.

2. In its notification of the adoption or approval of this Treaty, an international organization shall outline its sphere of competence regarding issues covered by the Treaty.

It shall immediately inform the Depositary of any relevant

changes in its sphere of competence.

3. States mentioned in Article 10 of this Treaty which did not sign the Treaty during the period indicated in that Article may accede to this Treaty by depositing the relevant notification with the Depositary.

Article 12

This Treaty shall enter into force *ten days* after the deposit of the *twenty fifth* notification with the Depositary in accordance with Article 11 of the Treaty.

For each State or international organization which ratifies, adopts or approves this Treaty or accedes to it after the deposit of the *twenty fifth* notification of ratification, adoption, approval or accession with the Depositary, the Treaty shall enter into force on the *tenth* day after the deposit by such State or organization of the relevant notification with the Depositary.

Article 13

Any State or international organization may accede to this Treaty after its entry into force, subject to the consent of all Parties to this Treaty, by depositing the relevant notification with the Depositary.

For an acceding State or international organization, this Treaty shall enter into force *180* days after the deposit of the instrument of accession with the Depositary, provided that during the said period no Party notifies the Depositary in writing of its objections against such accession.

Article 14

Each Party shall have the right to withdraw from this Treaty should it determine that extraordinary circumstances pertaining to the substance of the Treaty have endangered its supreme interests. The Party intending to withdraw from the Treaty shall notify the Depositary of such intention at least (...) days in advance of the planned withdrawal. The notification shall include a statement of extraordinary circumstances endangering, in the opinion of that Party, its supreme interests.

Gazprom and French EDF Memorandum on Joint Participation in South Stream, Press Release

Moscow-Paris, 27 November 2009 [Link](#)

Today in Paris and in the presence of Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin and Prime Minister of France François Fillon Gazprom Management Committee Chairman Alexey Miller and EDF CEO Henri Proglio signed a Memorandum of Understanding on the possibility of EDF participating in the construction of the offshore section of the South Stream pipeline.

The document specifies that the details of EDF's participa-

tion in the project will be worked out jointly with ENI, which currently owns 50 per cent of South Stream AG, the operator of the offshore section of South Stream.

The Memorandum states that EDF's entering the South Stream will foresee the conclusion of new long-term gas sales contracts. It will secure Gazprom's marketing of the resources with one of the reliable European customers and enable EDF, which handled 29 billion cubic meters in 2008, to obtain guaranteed volumes of hydrocarbons from Russia in the long term. According to the Memorandum Gazprom and EDF will also expand cooperation in the electricity sector in France and elsewhere.

"We are gaining a new reliable and long-term partner today in EDF. The participation of a French company in the South Stream project underscores the pan-European scale of the pipeline and is additional evidence of its tremendous importance for ensuring stable energy supplies to the continent. We are confident that South Stream, along with Nord Stream, which is being recognized by a growing number of European countries, will ensure the well-being of Gazprom's customers in terms of energy," said Alexei Miller.

"The agreement signed with Gazprom, the largest gas producer in the world marks the start of a long term partnership between the two companies. It enables EDF to complete a further major step forward in its strategy aiming to secure its gas supplies, both for supplying its own electricity production facilities and for selling of natural gas to its clients. The Group therefore strengthens its presence through gas reserve and infrastructure project," said Henri Proglio.

Council of the European Union, Joint Declaration on a Mobility Partnership between the European Union and Georgia

Brussels, 20 November 2009 [Link](#)

Georgia, the European Community, and the participating Member States of the European Union, namely the Kingdom of Belgium, the Republic of Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Estonia, the Hellenic Republic, the French Republic, the Italian Republic, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Latvia, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Republic of Poland, Romania, the Kingdom of Sweden, the United Kingdom (hereinafter referred to as "the Signatories");

[...]

HAVE DECIDED on a Mobility Partnership based on reciprocity. The Mobility Partnership will have the purpose of better managing legal migration including circular and temporary migration, in particular for development pur-

poses, within the limits of the respective competences of the Signatories and taking into account their labour market and socio-economic situation, establishing cooperation on migration and development, and preventing and combating illegal immigration and trafficking in and smuggling of human beings, as well as promoting an effective readmission and return policy, while respecting human rights and the relevant international instruments for the protection of refugees and taking into account the situation of individual migrants and the socioeconomic development of the Signatories.

To this end, they will ENDEAVOUR to develop further their dialogue and cooperation on migration issues, and in particular along the following lines:

Mobility, legal migration, integration and asylum

1. To promote a better framework for legal mobility, included through circular and temporary labour migration schemes, supported by more information and concrete and effective initiatives as well as protection of migrants, to reduce the risks of illegal migration and the danger of trafficking in human beings.

2. To strengthen the Georgian institutional capacity to manage migration, in particular through deepening inter-agency cooperation and coordination for effective exchanging information, as well as in the field of improving the legal framework and monitoring its implementation, especially through qualified human resources' development; to develop the legal and technical framework on migration related data collection and management, including cooperation with national institutions and European agencies like the European Training Foundation (hereafter referred to as ETF).

3. To inform potential migrants on ways of legal migration to the European Union and on requirements for legal staying, possibilities for studying in the Member States, and where appropriate to elaborate a legal framework relating to employment conditions for migrants, while matching labour market opportunities, fully respecting Signatories' competences in this field and taking into account the different labour market situations and needs in Georgia and the Member States', as well as to provide information on job opportunities, the labour market situation and migration policies in Georgia and in the European Union;

4. To implement pre-departure training, especially in the area of vocational training and language training; to promote or establish exchange programmes and joint programmes in the area of higher education, including academic and professional mobility schemes in accordance with the Bologna Process Ministerial Communiqués; to establish schemes for recognition of academic and professional qualifications;

5. To deepen the dialogue on visa issues and to improve the consular capacities through stepping up cooperation

between Member States' diplomatic missions in Georgia or ensuring their representation by other already present Member States' consular posts;

6. To facilitate the reception and adaptation of asylum seekers through the development of specific simplified procedures, in particular for those with special needs . To build capacity of Georgian government to implement asylum policy.

Migration and development

7. To support the capacity to monitor migration through improvement of data collection and analysis systems and cooperation with the countries of destination;

8. To prevent, reduce and counteract the negative effects of the brain drain and brain waste, including through return policies targeting specific categories of Georgian migrants; to facilitate the recognition of skills and qualifications, to develop labour-matching tools, to enhance exchange of students, researchers and specialists, training and temporary exchange and work programmes, including with the assistance of ETF;

9. To promote and support voluntary return and sustainable reintegration of returning migrants through implementation of specific joint programmes offering training, possibilities to improve migrants' employment qualifications and assistance in finding jobs; to provide joint specific programmes devoted to protection of and assistance for vulnerable categories of returning migrants;

10. To enhance cooperation with Georgian communities abroad, strengthening the links with the diasporas; to support programmes creating the conditions for boosting the Diaspora's investment, including remittance schemes; to cooperate further in the field of double taxation and portability of rights; to involve diaspora in sustainable return or circular migration activities.

Border management, identity and travel documents, fight against illegal migration and trafficking in human beings

11. To enhance Signatories' efforts to fight further illegal migration and trafficking in human beings, to strengthen the implementation of the integrated border management, including through further improvement of border management capacities and cross-border cooperation; to strengthen the security of travel documents, identity documents and residence permits, and to fully cooperate on return and readmission;

12. Taking into account the European Pact on Immigration and Asylum, only case-by-case regularisation under national law can be used.

13. To broaden further the application of readmission procedures through concluding and implementing the Readmission Agreement with the EC, to intensify the cooperation with the EU Member States through concluding agreements on border cooperation, and implementing

joint specific programmes on these issues;

14. To develop effective mechanisms and concrete initiatives for preventing and combating illegal migration, including by public awareness raising;

15. To enhance the security of identity documents as well as to facilitate the authentication of citizens through introduction of the fingerprints searching systems as well as of the multifunctional electronic identification cards.

16. To improve the joint fight against illegal/irregular migration and related cross border crime through joint operational measures including the exchange of information, best practices and risk analysis as well as improving the operational interoperability between the relevant border guard organisations of the EU Member States and Georgia in cooperation with the European Agency for the Management of the Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union (hereafter referred to as FRONTEX).

[...]

Implementation

17. The Mobility Partnership is conceived as a long term framework based on political dialogue and cooperation, which will be developed on the basis of the existing relationship between Georgia and the European Community and its Member States in the framework of their Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and the European Neighbourhood Policy, and will evolve over time.

18. The EU intends to contribute to implementing the partnership through Community and Member States' initiatives, within the limits of their respective competences, in conformity with the applicable procedures and with due regard for the principle of Community preference. The Community agencies, in particular Frontex and the ETF, will be involved, as appropriate, in the implementation of the partnership. The partnership remains open to any other Member State wishing to participate.

19. In order to determine the issues of common interest and needs linked to migration, the Signatories intend to further develop their dialogue and consultation, in a spirit of partnership. To support their informed dialogue they will develop the migration profile of Georgia.

20. They intend to meet at least twice a year at the appropriate level, in the framework of the existing structure for dialogue and cooperation, in order to reconsider the priorities and further develop the partnership if need be. The Signatories intend to cooperate, at an operational level in the field, to further improve coordination between them for the implementation of this partnership, including by incorporating relevant partners and actors present in Georgia through a cooperation platform as appropriate.

21. With a view to implementing the Mobility Partnership, the Signatories confirm their intentions with regard

to the initiatives set out in the Annex, subject to their available financial means and – on the EU side – respecting the division of competences between the Community and the Member States and in conformity with the applicable procedures. They intend to ensure good coordination of their respective efforts. They intend to update the Annex with proposed activities on a regular basis.

22. Whenever appropriate, the Signatories will conduct an evaluation of the current partnership.

23. The provisions of this joint declaration are not designed to create legal rights or obligations under international law.

[...]

Council of the European Union, Conclusions on Fishing Opportunities in the Black Sea for 2010

Brussels, 20 November 2009 [Link](#)

The Council reached unanimous political agreement on a draft regulation fixing the fishing opportunities in the Black Sea for 2010 (14074/09).

The Council agreed in particular on:

– a TAC of 96 tonnes - shared equally between Bulgaria and Romania - for turbot (*Psetta maxima*), linked to a commitment to establish a common action plan setting out benchmarks for control measures and inspections to be met at the latest on 15 February 2010;

– Fishing for turbot is not authorised before 15 February 2010, a ban on turbot fishing from 15 April to 15 June, a minimum landing size of 45 cm and a 400 mm minimum legal mesh size for bottom-set nets used to catch turbot;

– a TAC of 12750 tonnes for sprat (*Sprattus sprattus*), i.e. a roll-over of the 2009 TAC;

Due to the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty on 1 December, the proposal will be adopted by written procedure after finalisation by the legal/linguistic experts.

[...]

European Neighbourhood Policy in Action: Launch of Cross-border Co-operation Programmes with Russia, Press Release

Brussels, 18 November 2009 [Link](#)

At the EU-Russia Summit today Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner and the Russian Minister for Regional

Development, Viktor Basargin, signed the Financing Agreements for five cross-border co-operation programmes (CBC). These financing agreements are central to the implementation of cooperation programmes between the border regions of the European Union and Russia. The programmes have a total budget of approximately €437 million until 2013, and are funded by different sources: European Commission (€267 mio), Member States (€67 mio) and the Russian Federation (€103 mio). The cofinancing by the Russian Federation confirms the spirit of partnership at the core of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI).

"The CBC programmes with Russia will allow the regions on both sides of the border to intensify co-operation in the areas of common interest that have been jointly identified.", Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy, Benita Ferrero-Waldner declared. She added "The border regions will jointly promote economic and social development, address common environmental challenges and ensure efficient and secure borders. Direct people-to-people contact is an essential element of these programmes, so joint actions in areas as education, culture, civil society are a central component. I am convinced that the CBC programmes will bring tangible benefits to people in the regions on both sides of the EU border".

There is a wide array of issues that can be addressed in Cross-Border-Cooperation programmes – examples include promotion of small and medium enterprises, business and trade, transport, technology, research, and tourism. The regions will address common challenges in the areas of environment, nature protection and renewable energy, culture or protection of historical heritage.

The innovative character of this kind of cooperation lies in its balanced partnership: for the first time partner countries and EU member states apply a single set of implementing rules, share one single budget and take decisions together within a common management structure. Common needs are identified by local partners on both sides of the border for activities that are most relevant to their local situation, creating an approach from the bottom and according to real needs.

The programmes involving Russia are:

- "Kolarctic-Russia" (Sweden, Finland, Norway, Russia) – €70.48 mio
- "Karelia-Russia" (Finland, Russia) – €46.40 mio
- "South East Finland-Russia" (Finland, Russia) – €72.36 mio
- "Estonia-Latvia-Russia" – €73.08 mio
- "Lithuania-Poland-Russia" (the Kaliningrad programme) – €176.13 mio

[...]

EU External Relations Council, Conclusions on the European Security and Defence Policy

Brussels, 17 November 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

I. ESDP MISSIONS AND OPERATIONS

South Caucasus

EUMM Georgia

16. The Council welcomed the Mission's contribution to the overall EU effort towards conflict resolution in Georgia, especially by monitoring the implementation of the Agreements of 12 August and 8 September 2008. Given the cessation of the UN and OSCE monitoring missions, EUMM is now the sole international monitoring mission in Georgia. This has increased the significance of EUMM activities. The mandate of the mission was extended by the Council for another year until 14 September 2010.

17. The Council welcomed the mission's contribution to stability, normalisation and confidence building in Georgia. The Council reiterated its support to the full implementation of EUMM's country-wide mandate, including access to the de-facto entities. While expressing its continued commitment to Georgia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as to the principal of non-use of force, the Council emphasised the importance of measures to further build confidence among the parties, including through taking advantage of the agreed Incident Prevention and Response Mechanisms (IPRM). This should enable human and trade contacts throughout Georgia leading to further improvement of living conditions for all populations affected by the conflict. In this context, the Council invited all parties to use all means at their disposal to contribute to these efforts.

[...]

Memorandum on an Early Warning Mechanism in the Energy Sector within the Framework of the EU-Russia Energy Dialogue

Moscow, 16 November 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

Section 2

Objective of the Memorandum

The objective of this Memorandum is to set out practical measures aimed at preventing, and rapidly reacting to an emergency situation or to a threat of an emergency situation to be undertaken by the EU-Russia Energy Dialogue Coordinators (Coordinators hereinafter) and the structures

reporting to the Coordinators.

Section 3

Early Evaluation

An early evaluation of potential risks and problems related to the supply and demand of energy materials and products is conducted by the Thematic Groups on Energy Strategy, Forecasts and Scenarios and Market Developments under the EU-Russia Energy Dialogue, and is regularly reported to the Coordinators.

Section 4

Prevention and Rapid Reaction

The Early Warning Mechanism applies in case of either of the Sides discovering circumstances relating to an emergency situation or a threat of an emergency situation in the supply of natural gas, oil and electricity from the Russian Federation to the territory of the European Union, including supplies transiting through third countries.

Section 5

Notification

5.1. Under the circumstances set out in Section 4, the Coordinators notify each other, within the shortest possible time, of the use of the Early Warning Mechanism aimed at preventing, and rapidly reacting to an emergency situation or to a threat of an emergency situation.

5.2. The notification indicates, *inter alia*, designated persons authorized by the Coordinators, who maintain permanent contact with each other.

Section 6

Exchange of Information

6.1. Upon notification in accordance with Section 5, each Side provides the other Side with its own assessment of the circumstances which could lead to Prevention and Rapid Reaction - Section 4.

6.2. Such an assessment includes an estimate of the timeframe within which the threat of an emergency situation or the emergency situation could be eliminated.

6.3. Both Sides react promptly to the assessment and complement it with additional information available on its side.

Section 7

Consultations

7.1. If one Side is unable to adequately assess or accept the other Side's assessment of the situation or the estimated timeframe within which a threat of an emergency situation or an emergency situation may be eliminated, the corresponding Coordinator can request consultations, which are intended to take place within a time period not exceeding 3 days from the moment of forwarding the no-

tification foreseen in Section 5.

7.2. Such consultations take place through the Expert Group of the Early Warning Mechanism consisting of representatives authorized by the Coordinators.

7.3. The consultations aim at:

- elaborating a common evaluation of the situation and of the possible further development of events;

- elaborating recommendations to eliminate the threat of an emergency situation or to overcome the emergency situation;

- elaborating recommendations on a joint action plan of the Sides in order to minimize the impact of an emergency situation and, if possible, to overcome the emergency situation, including the possibility of establishing a Special Monitoring Group.

7.4. The consultations, common evaluations and proposed recommendations are based on the principles of transparency, non-discrimination and proportionality.

7.5. The Coordinators, within their competencies, work to eliminate the threat of an emergency situation or overcoming the emergency situation taking into account the recommendations that were elaborated as the result of the consultations.

7.6. The Expert Group of the Early Warning Mechanism reports its activities within a short time period after the implementation of any agreed plan of action in an emergency situation, to the Coordinators.

Section 8

Monitoring

8.1. If an emergency situation occurs, the Coordinators may establish a Special Monitoring Group for examining the ongoing circumstances and development of events and for an objective record of them. The Group consists of:

- representatives of both Sides;

- representatives of energy companies;

- representatives of international energy organizations, proposed and mutually approved by the Sides;

- independent experts proposed and mutually approved by the Sides.

8.2. The Special Monitoring Group starts its work without delay and operates, as necessary until the emergency situation has been solved. A Decision on the termination of the work of the Special Monitoring Group is taken jointly by the Coordinators.

[...]

Section 10

Implementation

From the moment of discovering the circumstances de-

scribed in section 4, and until the completion of the procedure of applying the Early Warning Mechanism, as well as until the elimination of the threat of an emergency situation or the resolution of the emergency situation, the Sides refrain from any actions that deepen the negative consequences of such an emergency situation.

Section 11

Costs

Each Side independently carries the costs relating to the actions in the framework of this Memorandum.

[...]

EU General Affairs Council, Conclusions on Enlargement

Brussels, 16 November 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

ENLARGEMENT

Albania - Application for EU membership - Council conclusions

The Council adopted the following conclusions:

"On 28 April 2009, President Mr. Bamir TOPI and Prime Minister Mr. Sali BERISHA presented the application of the Republic of Albania for membership of the European Union. The Council decided to implement the procedure laid down in Article 49 of the Treaty on the European Union. Accordingly, the Commission is invited to submit its opinion.

Recalling the renewed consensus on enlargement as expressed in the conclusions of the European Council of 14/15 December 2006, the Council reaffirms that the future of the Western Balkans lies in the European Union. It reiterates that each country's progress towards the European Union depends on its individual efforts to comply with the Copenhagen criteria and the conditionality of the Stabilisation and Association Process. Recalling Council conclusions of 8/9 December 2008, it is noted that a country's satisfactory track-record in implementing its obligations under a Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA), including trade related provisions, is an essential element for the EU to consider any membership application."

Council of the European Union, Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union on Georgia

Brussels, 13 November 2009 [Link](#)

The European Union expresses its deep concern with respect to the recent detentions of Georgian citizens, especially the detention of four minors at the administrative boundary line to South Ossetia, Georgia, on 4 November and urges for a rapid release of all detained persons.

The European Union underlines the need to take into account the specific rights of underage detainees in accordance with international standards, in particular the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The European Union urges all sides to address incidents of this kind within existing mechanisms, in particular to make full use of the good offices offered by the European Union Monitoring Mission and of the Incident Prevention and Response Mechanism. In this context the European Union underlines its support of the Geneva talks and calls for constructive and sustained engagement from all sides.

The European Union calls on all parties to use their influence to prevent incidents of this kind from taking place and reiterates its full respect for Georgia's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders.

[...]

Presidency of the European Union, Statement on Azerbaijan

Brussels, 12 November 2009 [Link](#)

The Presidency of the European Union expresses its concern with respect to the verdict against the two bloggers, Emin Milli and Adnan Hajizade, which was pronounced on 11 November by the Sabail District court in Baku. The Presidency regrets that the trial proceedings did not reflect due process and believes that the court decision may further undermine the freedom of expression in Azerbaijan.

The Presidency recalls that Azerbaijan has committed itself to the principles of democracy, good governance and the respect for the rule of law and human rights, when joining the OSCE and the Council of Europe, as well as in the context of its relationship with the European Union.

The Presidency reiterates that the European Union is willing and ready to assist Azerbaijan in developing its democratic institutions, while offering the prospects of a deeper bilateral relationship within the framework of the Eastern Partnership.

Declaration of the Ministers of Information and Communication Technologies of the BSEC Member States

Baku, 4 November 2009 [Link](#)

The Ministers of Information and Communication Technologies of the Member States of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) met in Baku on 4 November 2009.

The Ministers:

ACKNOWLEDGING that efficient communications (telecommunications, broadcasting, cable television and information networks-Internet) are essential for economies and societies of the BSEC Member States and their integration into the global economy,

REITERATING their adherence to the provisions of the Joint Declaration of the Ministers in Charge of Information Technologies and Communications (Moscow, 2006),

RECOGNIZING the important role of the BSEC Related Bodies (PABSEC, BSEC Business Council, BSTDB, and ICBS) in the identification, study and promotion of ICT projects,

WELCOMING the establishment by the BSEC countries of a Forum of the Black Sea Broadcasting Regulatory Authorities as an important mechanism on exchange of experience and information on broadcasting and its regulatory aspects, promotion of multicultural dialogue, elaboration of standards for independent, objective, responsible and accountable broadcasting in the BSEC countries, directed, in particular, to the protection of human rights and dignity, individual privacy, protection of children, freedom of expression, respect of intellectual property,

HIGHLY APPRECIATING the work done by previous Country-Coordination of the BSEC Working Group on Information and Communication Technologies – Republic of Turkey (2002-2004), Russian Federation (2004-2006), Ukraine (2006-2008) for the development of ICT cooperation in the BSEC,

WELCOMING the appointment of the Republic of Azerbaijan as a Country-Coordinator of the ICT Working Group for the period of 2009-2011,

NOTING the importance of cooperation with other international organizations in the field of ICT including International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Universal Postal Union (UPU) and Regional Commonwealth in the Field of Communications (CIS RCC),

AGREED on the following:

•To cooperate in development of information and communication technologies (ICT) based on internationally interoperable technical standards, technical normative documents, and technological innovation, as well as sys-

tems in exchanging knowledge at regional or sub-regional levels.

•To develop joint projects for the introduction of new ICT applications in different areas including e-government, e-business, e-learning, e-health services etc. For these purposes to use the opportunities provided by the BSEC Project Development Fund.

•To promote, support and consider the best ways of realization of the joint international and regional ICT and telecommunications backbone network projects, inter alia, the initiative of the Government of the Republic of Azerbaijan on Trans-Eurasian Information Super Highway and the Black Sea Interconnection Project, coordinated by the Republic of Turkey and under implementation, for the efficient use and further development of existing infrastructure.

•To support and seek the ways for possible BSEC involvement into the next phase of the Black Sea Interconnection project.

•To coordinate positions of the BSEC Member States in laying the plan for digital broadcasting on the basis of internationally recognized standards.

•To cooperate in the field of frequency coordination between Member States and cross border interference in the UHF-FM frequency band and television broadcasting.

•To organize exchange of experts in order to utilize the experience of BSEC Member States in ICT management.

•To consider the issue of developing cooperation in the field of satellite technologies.

•To seek ways for more active involvement of the regions of the BSEC Member States in cooperation in the field of ICT, including through extending invitations to the regional authorities to take part in the ICT events in the BSEC Member States. And in this regard, to participate in conferences, exhibitions and workshops in the field of ICT in accordance with the Working Program of the WG for 2009-2011.

•To promote contacts among ICT administrations, regulatory authorities, operators and the private sector in BSEC Member States.

•To exchange information on legislative, regulatory and standard framework in the field of ICT, including issues related to information security.

•To inform the BSEC Member States about the administrative changes and reforms undertaken at the national level that leads to the change of state policy in the field of ICT.

•To promote development and implementation of programs for disposal and recycling of discarded ICT hardware and parts with the aim of the environmental protection.

•To exchange information on the use of the ICT standards

in developing information systems for government authorities, state and business organizations.

- To coordinate and develop cooperation in the framework of international organizations.

- To request the BSEC Working Group on Information and Communications Technologies to take necessary steps for the implementation of this Declaration.

The Ministers expressed their gratitude to the Government and the Ministry of Communication and Information Technologies of the Republic of Azerbaijan for the excellent organization of the Meeting and hospitality extended.

Statement of the Georgian Delegation

In August 2008, we witnessed Russia's large scale military aggression against Georgia and the subsequent occupation and recognition of the non-existent so called "independence" of my country's inalienable territories, where ethnic cleansing continues and where human rights are being gravely violated on daily bases. These actions indubitably constitute a grave violation of norms and principles of international law and step of the main goals and objectives of BSEC.

With deep indignation, we have to underline that one of the BSEC Member States, namely the Russian Federation, declares an intention, by violating of norms and principles of International law and Acts of International Telecommunication Union (ITU), to willfully grant with world's numbering codes of 7th zone to so called "Republic of Abkhazia", when Abkhazia, Georgia and South Ossetia-Tskhinvali Region, Georgia, both are an integral parts of Georgia, recognized by UN relevant resolutions, EU and International Community.

We state that some Russian companies, by rough violation of international legislation as well as the legislation of Georgia, continue illegal activities on the territory of Georgia: arranged direct international communications between subscribers of fixed and mobile networks of the Russian Federation and parts of the unite telecommunication network of Georgia, which are located in Abkhazia, Georgia and South Ossetia/Tskhinvali Region, Georgia, by using Georgia's scarce natural resources (Radio frequencies) created and running (namely, "Megafon") mobile cellular radio communication networks, broadcasting TV-Radio programs (namely, "ORT" "NTV" and "Vesti-FM").

We consider the above fact, as a continuation of annexation of Georgia. We hope that this fact will be properly evaluated by the BSEC Member States. At the same time, we kindly request all the BSEC Member States to prevent this illegal actions and to encourage relevant authorized organizations of the countries to conduct international telephone calls to Abkhazia, Georgia and South Ossetia/Tskhinvali Region, Georgia only by international codes of Georgia.

We believe that any multilateral or regional organization should place the universal values and principles of international law at the cornerstone of cooperation. In this regard, the very principle of respect of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Member States, within the internationally recognized borders, must be the main obligation for states to ensure fruitful multilateral economic cooperation.

The Priorities of the Bulgarian Chairmanship of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation [1 November 2009–31 May 2010]

Istanbul, 10 November 2009 Link

Bulgaria is assuming the Chairmanship-in-Office of BSEC with clear vision about the work to be done during the next seven months. The Bulgarian Chairmanship is guided by the following principles:

Continuity: Working on the priorities the Chairmanship has carefully studied the positive results accomplished within BSEC in recognition of the work done by the previous CiO;

Inclusiveness: Bulgaria shares the view that if possible all member-countries should be on board when implementing the Resolutions and Decisions of the Councils of FM;

Different geometry: If consensus could not be reached (and there are such observations) those who do not want to participate in certain regional projects (for their own reasons) should not prevent the others to go ahead with the implementation, leaving the door open for the outsiders to join in a later stage.

Following the logic of the aforementioned principles Bulgaria is going to:

A. To keep on **improving the functioning of the Organization** for further increasing its operational activities and its capacity. In this respect CiO will continue to focus the debate on the following:

- Bulgaria will assist the process of adopting the necessary amendments to the Financial Regulations and Procedures and other related adaptations following the Resolution of the last Council in Baku for two chairmanships in one calendar year implies.

- The Chairman-in-Office intends to continue the debate on the enhancement of the effectiveness of BSEC:

- Improvement of the conducting of the Committee of Senior Officials' Meetings by avoiding overburdening and observing punctuality

- Assessing the functionality of the Working Groups in view to increase their efficiency and focusing on the

Working Groups on Energy, Environment, Transport, Science and Technology, Tourism;

c) Furthering the discussion on the Draft Paper on Enhancement of the status, capacities and capabilities of the Permanent International Secretariat in planning and implementation of BSEC activities.

d) Project and added value orientation of the Working Groups focusing on the efficiency of the Project Development Fund.

B. As for the sectoral cooperation Bulgaria has the intention to accentuate on **energy, tourism, science and technology, transport and “soft security measures”**.

-In view of the gas crisis countries suffered last January, it is obvious that several issues related to Energy are of utmost importance. As country coordinator of the Working Group on Energy Bulgaria intends to elaborate on some of these urgent issues as priority.

-Bulgaria is a Country-Coordinator of the Working Group on Science and Technology as well and for sure it is another priority too. There is strong believe that the BSEC countries are in a position to make steady common efforts to measure up high levels in research as other regions in the world.

-No doubt the regional transport infrastructure is of common priority. The Memoranda of Understanding for the Coordinated Development of the Black Sea Ring Highway and on the Development of the Motorways of the Sea offer us the legal basis for enhancing the cooperation among us thus creating new opportunities for sustainable economic development.

-In “soft security measures”, Bulgaria believes that a working visit in the Black Sea Border Coordination and Information Centre in Burgas will be of interest for all BSEC Member-States and not only for the littoral states. The aim is to contribute to strengthening the efficiency of Border management.

-Tourism is among the priorities of the BSEC countries, which are rich in cultural diversity, sites and traditions. Jointly attracting the touristic interest would have for sure added economic value for all members.

As to the Sectoral Ministerial meetings the CiO will organize such meetings in the energy, science and technology and transport sectors.

C. No doubt, Bulgaria as an EU member country is going to reflect on the **BSEC-European Union Interaction** as priority. There are three dimensions of this interaction:

-The sectoral partnerships in the framework of the Black Sea Synergy. The Black Sea Synergy is the first concrete and systematic EU approach towards the Black Sea region within its Neighbor Policy. Together with Romania and the Hellenic Republic Bulgaria will continue working on Partnerships in Energy, Transport and Environment and if

visible to launch one of them during our CiO;

-Bulgaria will work with the European Commission and the other EU Member-States with an Observer status to BSEC, namely: Austria, Germany, Italy, Poland, Slovakia, France and the Czech Republic, as well as the Swedish and Spanish Presidencies of the EU to make their involvement with BSEC more efficient;

-The Chairman-in-Office will enhance the BSEC-EU dialogue through Meetings in Brussels in the framework of COEST Working Party.

Bulgarian Chairman-in-Office very much counts on the cooperation of all BSEC countries to reach these ambitious goals in order to promote peace, stability, cooperation and prosperity in the wider Black Sea region in the spirit of understanding and common will.

29th Quadripartite Meeting between the Council of Europe and the European Union, Luxembourg, 27 October 2009, Conclusions

Brussels, 27 October 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

The participants recalled that ratification of the Lisbon Treaty will make accession by the EU to the European Convention on Human Rights possible. They expressed their support for an early start of the accession process, since accession would represent an important step towards better human rights protection for everyone in Europe.

They noted that the permanent participation of the Council of Europe in two multilateral platforms of the Eastern Partnership also opens new prospects. The participants reaffirmed their intention to continue to strengthen their partnership, and notably in relation to frozen conflicts.

The participants agreed that the situation in **Georgia**, including Abkhazia and South Ossetia, required continued and close attention. The participants underlined the importance of full compliance with the Agreements of 12 August 2008 and 8 September 2008. They underscored the need for further efforts to achieve tangible results in the Geneva discussions. They noted that the Council of Europe could make a useful contribution in this context in the area of its expertise. Reference was made to the regular reports of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe on the human rights situation in the areas affected by the conflict in Georgia which are sent to the Co-Chairs of the Geneva discussions.

The participants highlighted the important role played on the ground by the European Union Monitoring Mission in Georgia (EUMM), and reiterated the need for full access by the Mission to all areas affected by the conflict. They welcomed the successful cooperation between the Council

of Europe and EUMM with regard to the human rights training for the EUMM monitors, and continuation of it as the need arises.

The participants agreed that cooperation between the two organisations to promote confidence building and respect for human rights in Georgia, including Abkhazia and South Ossetia, was important and should continue.

The participants commended the efforts of the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights to address human rights issues in conflict areas and reiterated their call for all sides to respect his recommendations with regard to the humanitarian situation and the rights of the IDPs in the areas affected by the conflict.

The participants noted all political contributions to the democratic process following the elections in the **Republic of Moldova**. They underscored the need for constructive dialogue and a climate of responsible cooperation between all political forces in the face of the formidable challenges the country faces.

The participants agreed on the need for the Republic of Moldova to make progress in implementing reforms particularly in view of the impact of the global economic and financial crisis in the country. They stressed their readiness to help the Republic of Moldova in these efforts.

The participants welcomed the readiness of the European Union to start negotiations on a new agreement with the Republic of Moldova that will replace, and go beyond, the current Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. They recalled in this context the need for the Republic of Moldova to continue to make progress in the field of respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, including freedom of expression and media freedom, and welcomed early signals from the new Moldovan government to this effect. They welcomed joint Council of Europe-European Union efforts to implement a democracy-support assistance package initiated by the European Commission to underpin government efforts in this regard. They confirmed their intention to cooperate closely in implementing such assistance in the framework of Joint Programmes, including in the specific area of media training for non-biased pre-electoral campaign coverage.

The participants agreed that the resolution of the Transnistrian issue is possible only through peaceful means and transparent negotiations in the 5+2 format. They welcomed the efforts deployed by both organisations to contribute to confidence-building measures in the context of the Transnistrian settlement, in the areas of environment, health, education, media and civil society. They noted the launch of confidence-building projects supported by the EU in the economic and social fields.

The participants also discussed the situation in **Belarus** and reconfirmed their readiness to continue to engage with Belarus to promote democratic development in the coun-

try with the instruments at their disposal, including in the framework of the Eastern Partnership.

The participants expressed their concerns about the recent lack of progress with regard to the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Belarus despite some encouraging steps earlier this year. They encouraged Belarus to progress further in adopting the fundamental values of democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law. They welcomed the opening on 8 June 2009 of the Council of Europe Information Point in Minsk, which serves as a tool in raising awareness on human rights and European values, as illustrated by the recent launching of two Council of Europe campaigns (“Europe Against the Death Penalty” and “Stop Domestic Violence”).

The participants reiterated that a significant move in showing Belarus' commitment to the shared values would be the immediate introduction of a moratorium on the death penalty and its subsequent abolition, as a crucial step forward on its path to joining the Council of Europe. The participants confirmed their intention to further enhance support to civil society and free media and their willingness to pursue their efforts and cooperation to encourage Belarus in moving ahead on all these issues

[...]

EU External Relations Council, Conclusions on Moldova

Brussels, 27 October 2009 [Link](#)

The Council discussed the situation in the Republic of Moldova, following a briefing by the presidency on a EU troika visit to the country on 16 October.

It expressed commitment to supporting the Republic of Moldova's reform efforts and reiterated the EU's readiness to start negotiations on a new EU-Moldova agreement, replacing and going beyond the current partnership and cooperation agreement. The negotiating mandate was adopted in June, and the Commission is preparing to launch negotiations shortly.

[...]

Council of the European Union, EU-Armenia Cooperation Council, Tenth Meeting, Luxembourg, 26 October 2009, Press Release

Brussels, 26 October 2009 [Link](#)

The Cooperation Council between the European Union (EU) and the Republic of Armenia held its tenth meeting on Monday 26 October 2009. The meeting was chaired by Mr Edward Nalbandyan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Armenia. The EU delegation was led by Mr Carl Bildt,

Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden. Ms Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy represented the Commission and Mr Diego López Garrido, State Secretary for European Affairs represented the incoming Spanish Presidency. The EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, Ambassador Peter Semneby also took part in the meeting.

The recent EU Foreign Ministers' Troika visit to Yerevan (20 July 2009) marked the continuing high level political dialogue between the EU and Armenia.

During the Cooperation Council, the parties discussed the implementation of the EU-Armenia European Neighbourhood Policy Action Plan and issues connected with enhancing of EU-Armenia relations, including prospects for the negotiation of a new EU Armenia Association Agreement within the framework of the Eastern Partnership. The Cooperation Council noted Armenia's strong commitment to the implementation of the ENP Action Plan, welcomed the progress made in some areas and agreed on the need to focus the efforts on further implementation, as reflected in the ENP Action Plan implementation Progress Report by the Commission, published in April 2009.

The Cooperation Council also provided a timely opportunity to take stock of developments in the South Caucasus, as well as the advancement of political and economic reforms in Armenia.

The EU underlined the importance of sufficient progress in democracy, rule of law and human rights, which belong to important conditions for the deepening of bilateral cooperation between the EU and Armenia within the framework of the Eastern Partnership. The EU further stressed that fundamental freedoms, as well as freedom of expression and freedom of the media are essential elements in the bilateral dialogue with Armenia. It reaffirmed its willingness to continue its support for the further development of democratic institutions in Armenia, including in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership.

The Cooperation Council also took note of the positive results of the first meetings of the multilateral thematic platforms of the Eastern Partnership, stressing the importance of a continuing positive attitude of all partners to this form of cooperation.

The Cooperation Council welcomed the signature by Armenia and Turkey of the two protocols relating to the establishment of diplomatic relations and the development of bilateral relations between the two countries, including the opening of the border. The Cooperation Council underlined that the full normalisation of bilateral relations between Armenia and Turkey would be an important contribution to security, stability and cooperation throughout this crucial region. The EU will continue to offer its political and technical support to this process.

The Cooperation Council explored the state of play concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The EU welcomed the intensified dialogue between Armenia and Azerbaijan within the OSCE Minsk Group, which has enabled to narrow the differences and indicated its willingness to support confidence building measures to facilitate the process of resolving the conflict.

The plenary meeting of the Cooperation Council was preceded by a joint ministerial working breakfast between the EU and Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia to discuss Eastern Partnership and prospects for deeper cooperation between the EU and the three South Caucasian countries, as well as Conflict Resolution. Mr Carl Bildt, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden represented the EU Presidency. He was accompanied by Mr Javier Solana, High Representative for CFSP, and by Mr Hugues Mingarelli, Deputy Director-General, Directorate General for External Relations, representing the Commission, as well as Mr Diego López Garrido, State Secretary for European Affairs, represented the incoming Spanish Presidency.

Council of the European Union, EU-Azerbaijan Cooperation Council, Tenth Meeting, Luxembourg, 26 October 2009, Press Release

Brussels, 26 October 2009 [Link](#)

The Cooperation Council between the European Union (EU) and the Republic of Azerbaijan held its tenth meeting on Monday 26 October 2009. The meeting was chaired by Mr Elmar Mammadyarov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan. The EU delegation was led by Mr Carl Bildt, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden. Ms Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy represented the Commission and Mr Diego López Garrido, State Secretary for European Affairs represented the incoming Spanish Presidency. The EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, Ambassador Peter Semneby also took part in the meeting.

President Aliyev's visit to Brussels (28-29 April 2009), as well as the recent EU Foreign Ministers' Troika visit to Baku (19-20 July 2009) are examples of the continuing high level political dialogue between the EU and Azerbaijan.

During the Cooperation Council, the parties discussed the implementation of the EU-Azerbaijan European Neighbourhood Policy Action Plan and issues connected with enhancing of EU-Azerbaijan relations, including prospects for the negotiation of a new EU-Azerbaijan Association Agreement within the framework of the Eastern Partnership. The Cooperation Council agreed on the need to accelerate the efforts to implement the jointly agreed

ENP Action Plan including in the context of meeting political and trade related conditionalities for the new agreement in the areas of political dialogue and reform, as well as WTO accession.

The Cooperation Council also provided a timely opportunity to take stock of broader developments in the South Caucasus, as well as the advancement of political and economic reforms in Azerbaijan.

The EU underlined the importance of sufficient progress in democracy, rule of law and human rights, which belong to important conditions for the deepening of bilateral cooperation between the EU and Azerbaijan within the framework of the Eastern Partnership. The EU further stressed that fundamental freedoms, as well as freedom of expression and freedom of the media are essential elements in the bilateral dialogue with Azerbaijan. It reaffirmed its willingness to continue its support for the further development of democratic institutions in Azerbaijan, including in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership.

The Cooperation Council also took note of the positive results of the first meetings of the multilateral thematic platforms of the Eastern Partnership, stressing the importance of a continuing positive attitude of all partners to this form of cooperation.

The Cooperation Council discussed EU-Azerbaijan cooperation in the energy sector, in particular the further implementation of the EU-Azerbaijan Memorandum of Understanding on energy jointly signed in November 2006. The Cooperation Council also discussed the progress already made and further efforts underway to establish the Southern Corridor.

The Cooperation Council explored the state of play concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The EU welcomed the intensified dialogue between Azerbaijan and Armenia within the OSCE Minsk Group, which has enabled to narrow the differences and indicated its willingness to support confidence building measures to facilitate the process of resolving the conflict.

The European Union outlined the EU's vision of the South Caucasus, where the opening of all borders would enhance peace, security and stability and permit the region to develop its full economic potential.

The plenary meeting of the Cooperation Council was preceded by a joint ministerial working breakfast between the EU and Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan to discuss Eastern Partnership and prospects for deeper cooperation between the EU and the three South Caucasian countries, as well as Conflict Resolution. Mr Carl Bildt, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden represented the EU Presidency. He was accompanied by Mr Javier Solana, High Representative for CFSP, and by Mr Hugues Mingarelli, Deputy Director-General, Directorate General for External Rela-

tions, representing the Commission, as well as Mr Diego López Garrido, State Secretary for European Affairs, represented the incoming Spanish Presidency.

Council of the European Union, EU-Georgia Cooperation Council, Tenth Meeting, Luxembourg, 26 October 2009, Press Release

Brussels, 26 October 2009 [Link](#)

The Cooperation Council between the European Union (EU) and Georgia held its tenth meeting on Monday 26 October 2009. The meeting was chaired by Mr Grigol Vashadze, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Georgia. Mr Giorgi Baramidze, Vice Prime Minister of Georgia, State Minister for European and Euro-Atlantic Integration also participated in the meeting. The EU delegation was led by Mr Carl Bildt, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Sweden. Ms Benita Ferrero-Waldner, Commissioner for External Relations and European Neighbourhood Policy represented the Commission and Mr Juan José Rubio de Urquía, Deputy Director General for Eastern European Affairs represented the incoming Spanish Presidency. The EU Special Representative for the South Caucasus, Ambassador Peter Semneby also took part in the meeting.

The recent EU Foreign Ministers' Troika visit to Tbilisi (16-19 July 2009) marked the continuing high level political dialogue between the EU and Georgia.

During the Cooperation Council, the parties discussed the implementation of the EU-Georgia European Neighbourhood Policy Action Plan and issues connected with enhancing of EU-Georgia relations, including prospects for the negotiation of a new EU-Georgia Association Agreement within the framework of the Eastern Partnership. The Cooperation Council noted Georgia's strong commitment to the implementation of the ENP Action Plan, welcomed the progress made in some areas and agreed on the need to focus the efforts on further implementation, as reflected in the ENP Action Plan implementation Progress Report by the Commission, published in April 2009.

The Cooperation Council also provided a timely opportunity to take stock of political developments in Georgia, as well as the advancement of political and economic reforms, in particular "the second wave of democratic reforms" announced in September 2008 by President Saakashvili.

The EU underlined the importance of sufficient progress in democracy, rule of law and human rights, which belong to important conditions for the deepening of bilateral cooperation between the EU and Georgia within the framework of the Eastern Partnership. The EU further stressed that fundamental freedoms, as well as freedom of expression and freedom of the media are essential elements in the bilateral dialogue with Georgia. It reaffirmed

its willingness to continue its support for the further development of democratic institutions in Georgia, including in the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy and the Eastern Partnership.

The Cooperation Council also took note of the positive results of the first meetings of the multilateral thematic platforms of the Eastern Partnership, stressing the importance of a continuing positive attitude of all partners to this form of cooperation.

The Cooperation Council discussed the increased EU role in the conflict settlement, in particular through the continued presence on the ground of the EU Monitoring Mission (EUMM Georgia), the EU's role in the Geneva international discussions and the increased financial assistance pledged by the EU in the framework of the International Donors' Conference (October 2008) aimed at post-conflict rehabilitation, support of internally displaced persons and economic stability. The EU underlined its commitment to Georgia's security and stability, based on full respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to a peaceful and lasting conflict resolution.

European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010

Brussels, 14 October 2009 [Link](#)

[...]

Regional cooperation

The Commission will prepare an EU strategy for the Danube region by the end of 2010, following the European Council conclusions of June 2009. The enlargement countries as well as organisations concerned will be closely involved in this exercise. Regarding the Black Sea region Turkey is committed to cooperation in the region and is part of the Black Sea Synergy framework. The Commission supports Turkey's participation in the Black Sea basin cooperation programme under the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI).

[...]

4. Progress in the Enlargement Countries and Agenda for 2009- 2010

4.1. Steering the candidate countries and potential candidates towards the EU

Turkey

Turkey has continued to express its commitment to the EU accession process. Free and fair local elections have been held. Positive steps have been taken in the areas of the judiciary, with the adoption of the judiciary reform

strategy and action plan, civil-military relations and cultural rights. In particular, parliament amended legislation to allow civilian courts to try military personnel in peace time. The government has opened a wide-ranging public debate with a view to addressing the Kurdish issue, and the public television started operating a channel which broadcasts entirely in the Kurdish language.

Regarding the accession negotiations, additional chapters have been opened. Turkey adopted a National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis. The appointment of a full-time Chief Negotiator should help streamline the efforts of the government in the context of EU-related reforms. This is especially important as the accession negotiations reach a more demanding phase requiring Turkey to step up its efforts in meeting benchmarks to allow for further progress in the opening of chapters.

Turkey was strongly affected by the economic crisis but its impact was mitigated by a resilient banking sector and anti-crisis measures. The continuation of structural reforms combined with a prudent fiscal policy is essential to further enhance its competitiveness.

The investigation of the alleged criminal network Ergenekon has led to serious criminal charges, involving military officers and nationalist circles. This case is an opportunity for Turkey to strengthen confidence in the proper functioning of its democratic institutions and the rule of law. It is important that proceedings in this context fully respect the due process of law, in particular the rights of defendants.

The pace of reforms now needs to be significantly stepped up. Concerns remain in a number of areas, including freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, trade union rights, civilian oversight of the military and women's rights and gender equality. Much more needs to be done regarding impunity for those involved in torture and ill-treatment. The government initiative on the Kurdish issue should lead to concrete measures guaranteeing the Turkish citizens, irrespective of their origin, full rights and freedoms and significantly improve the situation in the South-east. Better dialogue among political parties will be beneficial to the reform process, including the work on Constitutional reform.

Turkey has expressed support for the ongoing negotiations under UN auspices between the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities to reach a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem. However, there has been no progress towards normalisation of bilateral relations with the Republic of Cyprus. Turkey has not fully implemented the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement and has not removed all obstacles to the free movement of goods, including restrictions on direct transport links with Cyprus. It is urgent that Turkey fulfils its obligation of full non-discriminatory implementation of the Additional Protocol and makes progress towards

normalisation of bilateral relations with the Republic of Cyprus. The EU will continue to follow up and review progress made on issues covered by the Declaration of 21 September 2005, in accordance with the Council Conclusions of 11 December 2006.

A considerable number of formal complaints were made by Greece about continued violations of its airspace by Turkey, including flights over Greek islands.

Good neighbourly relations remain key.

Turkey plays a key role in regional security and the promotion of dialogue between civilisations. Turkey has taken initiatives to contribute to stabilisation in the Southern Caucasus, the Middle East and other regions. It participates in a number of EU peace-keeping missions. Significant diplomatic efforts to normalise relations with Armenia were made, resulting in the signature of protocols for the normalisation of relations in October 2009. It is important that these protocols are swiftly ratified by both countries.

In July 2009 Turkey signed the Intergovernmental Agreement on the Nabucco gas pipeline.

This project is an important strategic step towards closer energy cooperation between the EU, Turkey and other States in the region as well as towards the diversification of energy sources.

The timely completion of the Southern Gas corridor, through notably the swift implementation of the Nabucco Intergovernmental Agreement, remains one of the EU's highest energy security priorities.

The EU accession process provides a strong incentive for Turkey to pursue reforms, strengthen democracy and human rights and further modernise the country. The pace of reforms in Turkey continues to be the key consideration in taking forward this process.

[...]

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

Based on the above analysis, the Commission puts forward the following **conclusions** and **recommendations**:

[...]

14. Turkey needs to build on the renewed political reform efforts which have begun. The accession negotiations have reached a more demanding stage requiring Turkey to step up its efforts in meeting relevant conditions. The EU accession process provides a strong incentive for Turkey to strengthen democracy and human rights, further modernise the country and bring the country closer to the EU. Turkey plays a key role in regional security, energy supply and the promotion of dialogue between civilisations. Significant diplomatic efforts to normalise relations with Armenia were made, resulting in the historic signature of protocols for the normalisation of relations in October

2009. Turkey needs to ensure full, non-discriminatory implementation of the Additional Protocol to the Association Agreement and to make progress towards the normalisation of relations with the Republic of Cyprus. The EU will continue to follow up and review progress made on the issues covered by the Declaration of 21 September 2005, in accordance with the Council Conclusions of 11 December 2006. Good neighbourly relations remain key.

15. As regards the Cyprus issue, the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities are entering a decisive phase of negotiations on a comprehensive settlement under the auspices of the United Nations. The Commission supports their efforts and provides technical advice on issues within EU competence. It calls on both leaders to strengthen their efforts to bring the settlement talks to a successful end as soon as possible and on Turkey to contribute in concrete terms to such a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus issue.

[...]

Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between Republic of Armenia and Republic of Turkey

Zurich, 10 October 2009 [Link](#)

The Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey.

Desiring to establish good neighbourly relations and to develop bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other fields for the benefit of their peoples, as envisaged in the Protocol on the development of relations signed on the same day.

Referring to their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, the Helsinki Final Act, the Charter of Paris for a New Europe,

Reconfirming their commitment, in their bilateral and international relations, to respect and ensure respect for the principles of equality, sovereignty, non-intervention in internal affairs of other states, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers,

Bearing in mind the importance of the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of trust and confidence between the two countries that will contribute to the strengthening of peace, security and stability of the whole region, as well as being determined to refrain from the threat of the use of force, to promote the peaceful settlement of disputes, and to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Confirming the mutual recognition of the existing border between the two countries as defined relevant treaties of international law,

Emphasizing their decisions to open the common border,

Reiterating their commitment to refrain from pursuing any policy incompatible with the spirit of good neighbourly relations,

Condemning all forms of terrorism, violence and extremism irrespective of their cause, pledging to refrain from encouraging and tolerating such acts and to cooperate against them,

Affirming their willingness to chart a new pattern and course for their relations on the basis of common interests, goodwill and in pursuit of peace, mutual understanding and harmony,

Agree to establish diplomatic relations as of the date of the entry into force of this Protocol accordance with the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 and to exchange Diplomatic Missions.

This Protocol and the Protocol on the Development of Bilateral Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey shall enter into force on the same day, i.e. on the first day of the first month following of instruments of ratification.

Signed in (place) on (date) in Armenian, Turkish and English languages authentic copies in duplicate. In case of divergence of interpretation, the English text shall prevail.

For the Republic of Armenia

For the Republic of Turkey

*** Protocol on Development of Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey ***

The Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey.

Guided by the Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Turkey signed on the same day,

Considering the perspectives of developing their bilateral relations, based on confidence and respect to their mutual interests,

Determining to develop and enhance their bilateral relations, in the political, economic, energy, transport, scientific, cultural issues and other fields, based on common interests of both countries,

Supporting the promotion of the cooperation between the two countries in the international and regional organizations, especially within the framework of the UN, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and the BSEC,

Taking into account the common purpose of both States to cooperate for enhancing regional stability and security for ensuring democratic and sustainable development of the region,

Reiterating their commitment to the peaceful settlement of regional and international disputes and conflicts on the basis of the norms and principles of international law,

Reaffirming their readiness to actively support the actions of the international community in addressing common security threats to the region and world security and stability, such as terrorism, transnational organized crimes, illicit trafficking of drugs and arms,

1. Agree to open the common border within 2 months after entry into force of this Protocol,

2. Agree to

conduct regular political consultation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries;

implement a dialogue on the historical dimension with the aim to restore mutual confidence between the two nations, including an impartial and scientific examination of the historical records and archives to define existing problems and formulate recommendations;

make the best possible use of existing transport, communications and energy infrastructure and networks between the two countries and to undertake measures in this regard;

develop the bilateral legal framework in order to foster cooperation between the two countries;

cooperate in the fields of science and education by encouraging relations between the appropriate institutions as well as promoting the exchange of specialists and students, and act with the aim of preserving the cultural heritage of both sides and launching common cultural projects;

establish consular cooperation in accordance with the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963 in order to provide necessary assistance and protection to the citizens of the two countries;

take concrete measures in order to develop trade, tourism and economic cooperation between the two countries;

engage in a dialogue and reinforce their cooperation on environmental issues.

3. Agree on the establishment of an intergovernmental bilateral commission which shall comprise separate sub-commissions for the prompt implementation of the commitments mentioned in operation paragraph 2 above in this Protocol. To prepare the working modalities of the intergovernmental commission and its sub-commissions, a working group headed by the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs shall be created 2 months after the day following the entry into force of this Protocol. Within 3 months after the entry into force of this Protocol, these modalities shall be approved at ministerial level. The intergovernmental commission shall meet for the first time immediately after the adoption of the said modalities. The sub-commissions shall start their work at the latest 1 month thereafter and they shall work continuously until the completion of their mandates. Where appropriate, international experts shall take part in the sub-commissions.

The timetable and elements agreed by both sides for the implementation of this Protocol are mentioned in the annexed document, which is an integral part of this Protocol.

This Protocol and the Protocol on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Armenia shall enter into force on the same day, i.e. on the first day of the first month following the exchange of instruments of ratification.

Signed in (date, place) in Turkish, Armenian and English authentic copies in duplicate. In case of divergence of interpretation, the English text shall prevail

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

FOR THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Swedish Presidency of the EU, Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union on Armenia and Turkey

Brussels, 10 October 2009 [Link](#)

The European Union welcomes the signature by Armenia and Turkey, in Zürich on 10 October, of the two protocols relating to the establishment of diplomatic relations and the development of bilateral relations between the two countries, including the opening of the common border. The European Union encourages Armenia and Turkey to remain committed to the process of normalisation and calls for the ratification and implementation the protocols as soon as possible.

The European Union believes that the full normalisation of bilateral relations between Armenia and Turkey would be an important contribution to security, stability and cooperation throughout this crucial region and will continue to offer its political and technical support to this process.

The Candidate Countries Croatia* and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia*, the Countries of the Stabilisation and Association Process and potential candidates Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and the EFTA countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway, members of the European Economic Area, as well as Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova and Georgia align themselves with this declaration.

* Croatia and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia continue to be part of the Stabilisation and Association Process.

MFA of the Russian Federation, Comments on the Publication of the Tagliavini Commission Report, Press Release,

Moscow, 30 September 2009 [Link](#)

Moscow has awaited with interest the publication of the report of the EU's Commission on the causes and culprits of the conflict in August 2008. We expected that the abundance of facts and evidence before the Commission would clearly indicate those bearing full responsibility for the tragedy and, thereby, prevent the recurrence of such criminal acts in the future.

As is known, Russia did not participate in the creation of this Commission in December last year. Nevertheless, we responded to the Commission's inquiries in a serious and responsible manner. Its head, Heidi Tagliavini, has long been known in Russia as an authoritative Swiss diplomat capable of independent assessments and conclusions. Numerous documents on military, legal and humanitarian aspects of last year's tragedy were transmitted by us to the Commission's members and experts. Official representatives of competent Russian ministries and departments repeatedly met with Ms. Tagliavini and her team, and provided them with detailed explanations of the nature and sequence of the August events.

Paying tribute to the transparent form of presentation of the report and to the simultaneous acquaintance of most of the concerned parties with its contents, we expect that the authors will find a suitable formula for its transmission to the representatives of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, the more so as they participate on an equal basis in the Geneva Discussions on Transcaucasia and are quite open to international contacts.

In our opinion, the efforts of the EU's Commission have not been wasted – from the report published on September 30, any sane person would come to the core conclusion that the aggression against South Ossetia on the night of August 7-8, 2008 was unleashed by the current leadership of Georgia. Ultimately, it is the main outcome of the work of the "Tagliavini Commission." Indeed, it is difficult to imagine otherwise, if one recalls the content of Order No. 02 to the chief of staff of the 4th infantry brigade of Georgia's armed forces: "The task force shall carry out a combat operation in the Samachablo (South Ossetia) region and rout the enemy within 72 hours. Georgia's jurisdiction shall be restored in the region."

It is also important that the published document clearly points at the states which armed and trained the Georgian army.

However, the report contains a number of ambiguities. In particular, its section alleging a disproportional use of force by the Russian side raises big questions. Yet in the same report one can easily find arguments that show the

artificial nature of such reasoning. Let us only note the remarkable finding of German law professor Otto Luchterhandt, who participated on the “Tagliavini Commission” as an independent expert, that “Russia can justify its military operation against Georgia by the right of self-defense (Article 51, UN Charter) and by the right of collective self-defense, along with South Ossetia, against Georgia’s armed attack.” Comments, as they say, are superfluous. As to the thesis of “disproportionality,” the Russian side used force to neutralize those positions on Georgian territory that were being used for the attack on South Ossetia.

In any case, the report of the EU’s Commission gives additional food for thought over the risk of counting on the use of force to resolve conflicts and shows how such adventures lead to a breakdown in the territorial integrity of states and to the exacerbation of international tension in general.

From the lessons of the past one ought to be able to draw correct conclusions. A year after Georgia's aggression South Ossetia and Abkhazia are looking confidently to the future. With the support of friends the new republics are engaged in the construction of their own statehood, predicated on the principles of democracy and human rights and on respect for the universally recognized norms of international law. Russia’s recognition of these two states must be perceived through this prism.

It is important that the international community should not once again miss the opportunity to take a close look at the findings contained in the report of the EU’s Commission. Some vague and ambiguous language there, we understand, reflects the still lingering politicized approaches of many EU countries to the events of August 2008 and their consequences. However that cannot overshadow the main conclusion of the report about Tbilisi's guilt for unleashing an aggression against peaceful South Ossetia and the complete illegitimacy of Georgia's actions.

Council of the European Union, Presentation of the report of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia, Press Release

Brussels, 30 September 2009 [Link](#)

Today, Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini, Head of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia (IIFFMCG), presented the results of the investigation conducted by the IIFFMCG to representatives of Georgia, the Russian Federation, the European Union, the United Nations and the OSCE.

The European Union wishes to express its appreciation to Ambassador Tagliavini, and to the entire staff of the

IIFFMCG, for the work accomplished under complex and challenging circumstances.

The EU welcomes the presentation of this report and takes note of its content. Underlining the independent nature of the report, the EU hopes that its findings can contribute towards a better understanding of the origins and the course of last year's conflict and, in a broader perspective, serve as an input to future international efforts in the field of preventive diplomacy.

The EU also recalls that a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflicts in Georgia must be based on full respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity as recognised by international law, including the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and United Nations Security Council resolutions.

Background

The Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia

The Council decision of 2 December 2008 enabled the establishment of the Independent International Fact-Finding Mission on the Conflict in Georgia (IIFFMCG).

The aim of the factfinding mission has been to investigate the origins and the course of the conflict, including with regard to international law, humanitarian law and human rights.

Ms. Heidi Tagliavini, a Swiss diplomat and former head of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia, was appointed head of the mission. The mission, based in Geneva, started its work on 2 December 2008.

The mission’s mandate originally covered the period 2 December 2008 - 31 July 2009. The mandate was subsequently extended by two months.

The report itself provides further details on the procedures of the Fact-Finding Mission

The role of the EU

After playing a key role in the ceasefire agreements of 12 August and 8 September 2008, the European Union has spearheaded the efforts of the international community aimed at the stabilisation and normalisation of the post-conflict situation in Georgia. On 15 September 2008, the Council launched the European Monitoring Mission in Georgia and appointed an EUSR for the crisis in Georgia.

The EU is committed to Georgia’s security and stability, based on full respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to a peaceful and lasting solution to the conflicts in Georgia. This commitment is tangible in several ways, notably:

– the continued presence on the ground of the EU Monitoring Mission (EUMM Georgia) in order to monitor the implementation of the ceasefire agreements of 12 August

and 8 September 2008, to contribute to the stabilisation and the normalisation of the situation in the areas affected by the war, and to observe compliance with human rights and the rule of law;

- the leading role played by the EU, together with the UN and the OSCE, as co-Chair of the Geneva talks, where vital security and humanitarian issues arising from the conflict are substantially addressed;

- the increased financial assistance pledged by the EU in the framework of the International Donors' Conference on 22 October 2008 aimed at post-conflict rehabilitation, support of internally displaced persons (IDP) and economic stability.

Recent Publications by the ICBSS

First Policy Report of the Commission on the Black Sea



Gavras, Panagiotis. *The Current State of Economic Development in the Black Sea Region. Policy Report I*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, January 2010.

Panayiotis Gavras, co-Head of the Policy and Strategy Department of the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (BSTDB) in Thessaloniki, is the author of the first of four policy reports presented by the Commission on the Black Sea. Gavras analyses within his paper the transformation of the economies of the Black Sea countries, specifies the implications of the global crisis for the Black Sea Region and formulates policy recommendations against the background of the challenges economies in the Black Sea Region are facing today.

The Commission on the Black Sea is a civil society initiative, jointly developed and launched in 2009 by the German Bertelsmann Stiftung, Gütersloh; the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation (BST - GMFUS), Bucharest; the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), Ankara; and the International Centre for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS), Athens. Among members of the Commission on the Black Sea are a former vice prime minister, former ministers, current and former parliamentarians, public intellectuals and scholars from the whole Black Sea region, the European Union and the United States

The Bridge Magazine

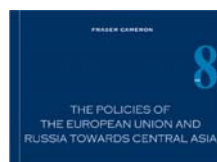


The ICBSS and *The Bridge* magazine, a quarterly review on European integration, SE Europe and the SE Mediterranean, jointly issued *The Bridge*, a4/2009, Issue 14, December 2009.

The issue's cover story "Promoting synergies across regions" on pp. 30-62 contains articles by Nadia Alexandrova-Arbatova, Fraser Cameron, Spyros Economides, Tedo Japaridze, Carlo Masala, Dimitrios Triantaphyllou, Yannis Tsantoulis, Andrew Wilson and Nicu Popescu, as well as interviews with Benjamin J. Broome and Matthew J. Bryza by Eleni Fotiou.

Xenophon Paper Series

Cameron, Fraser. *The Policies of the European Union and Russia towards Central Asia*. Xenophon Paper, no.8. Athens: ICBSS, November 2009.



After many years of neglect, Russia has rediscovered the importance of Central Asia. The EU has also moved to implement a new strategy for the five Central Asian states which inevitably brings it into conflict with Russia in some areas. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, with many differences as well as some similarities, are struggling to establish themselves and at the same time tackle a growing array of threats. They have all been severely affected by the global economic crisis. As the former colonial master, Russia is well positioned to develop its influence in the region. It has a better understanding of business practices than the EU and is also able to offer a range of inducements, from financial to security. The EU was late in coming to Central Asia and its motives were largely concerned with efforts to diversify its energy supplies. Unlike Russia, it seeks to promote democracy and human rights in the region. The main area for conflict between the EU and Russia is energy, with a struggle over new supplies and rival pipelines. The Central Asian states are seeking to play off one side against the other. Several other powers, notably China, Turkey, the US and Iran are also engaged in Central Asia seeking to expand their influence and interests. Rivalry between the EU and Russia in Central Asia will continue with Russia best placed to develop its influence in the short term. But many in the region are attracted to the EU, especially because it eschews great power politics and has developed a political, social and economic system much admired in Central Asia.

ICBSS Policy Briefs

Markesinis, Basil. "The American and Russian Economies in Moments of Crisis: A Geopolitical Study in Parallel." *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no.20. Athens: ICBSS, November 2009.



This Policy Brief compares the American and Russian economies during a period of global economic and financial crisis and attempts to assess their respective strengths and weaknesses. It also assesses the ways in which the two powers have reacted to common chal-

lenges. In doing so, it tries to suggest another way of comparing the two economies namely, by focusing on a certain convergence in the way these two different systems are handling the same crisis.

Gavras, Panayotis, and Ghinea Arminio Iorga. "The Impact of the Current Economic and Financial Crisis on the Black Sea." *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no. 18. Athens: ICBSS, October 2009.



The Black Sea Region was impacted severely by the advent of the September 2008 global financial and economic crisis. Access to financing disappeared, especially hitting economies that are dependent upon external financing flows. Timely government interventions averted financial collapse, but a sharp economic downturn followed, which for most countries

has resulted since then in economic contraction and uncertainty concerning future performance. Black Sea countries are currently coping with the downturn, mostly individually, but recovery also depends on exogenous factors and developments, namely the situation internationally in general and within the eurozone in particular. Aside from increased official lending, there has been no direct support or cooperation at the regional and international level, nor has there been any support from the European Union's side. A full return to previous high growth appears unlikely, but medium-term prospects are good for resumed growth, even at lower levels.

Stribis, Ioannis. "Pooling Forces in Protecting the Black Sea Marine Environment Actors and Actions." *ICBSS Policy Brief*, no. 17. Athens: ICBSS, October 2009.



The starting point of this Policy Brief has been the call of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the BSEC Member States (Ankara, 25 October 2007) to strengthen the cooperation among international institutions for the protection and rehabilitation of the Black Sea marine environment. After a succinct reminder of the natural facts impacting on the state of the

Black Sea marine environment, the paper goes on to present the international legal framework that regulates the protection and preservation of the marine environment, in order to identify the main principles of the international cooperation in this field. It then identifies the international organisations, institutions and programmes that develop activities relating to the protection of the Black Sea marine environment and analyses their relevant competences and operations. The paper explores the existing

institutional and working interaction of these organisations in activities aimed at the protection of the Black Sea marine environment and studies ways and means that such a cooperation can be strengthened, and enlarged to cover international actors that have been so far not involved in the joint effort to protect, preserve and rehabilitate the fragile and vulnerable marine environment of the Black Sea.

Other Recent Publications on the Black Sea Region

The following are selected recent publications pertinent to the Black Sea region

January 2010

- Wood, Joseph. "Security Choices After the Election: New Direction for Ukraine?" *Focus on Ukraine*. Washington, D.C.: GMF of the US, 13 January 2010. [Link](#)
- Nanivska, Vira. "EU standards of democratic governing—The only way to desovietize public administration in Ukraine." *European Focus*, no. 4. Kyiv: ICPS, 12 January 2010. [Link](#)

December 2009

- Darvas, Zsolt. "The EU's Role in Supporting Crisis-Hit Countries in Central and Eastern Europe." *Bruegel Policy Contribution* 2009/17. Brussels: Bruegel, 31 December 2009. [Link](#)
- Greene, Samuel A. and Dmitri Trenin. "(Re) Engaging Russia in an Era of Uncertainty." *Policy Brief*, no. 86. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Zalewski, Piotr. "Abnormalisation: The bumpy road to Turkish-Armenian rapprochement." *CEPS Commentary*. Brussels: CEPS, 17 December 2009. [Link](#)
- Polyvana, Tetiana. "The 2010 Gas Conflict: To be or not to be?" *Policy brief*. Kyiv: ICPS, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Riley, Alan. "The Yukos Decision: Profound implications for the EU-Russia energy relationship?" *CEPS Commentary*. Brussels: Center for European Policy Studies, 10 December 2009. [Link](#)
- The EU-Russia Centre. "The EU-Russia Review: 'Europe and Russia – Trusting Friends or Fearful Neighbours?'" Issue thirteen, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Kaczmarek, Marcin. "Russia's revisionist policy towards the West." *OSW Studies*, no. 33. Warsaw: CES, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Gültekin Punsmann, Burcu. *Abkhazia for the Integration of the Black Sea*. Background Paper. Ankara: Ankara: TEPAV-ORSAM, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Emerson, Michael and Evgeny Vinokurov. "Optimisation of Central Asian and Eurasian Trans-Continental Land Transport Corridors." *EUCAM*,

EU-Central Asia Working Paper, no. 7, Brussels/Madrid: CEPS/FRIDE, December 2009. [Link](#)

- Fischer, Sabine. "Abkhazia and the Georgian-Abkhaz Conflict: Autumn 2009." *ISS Analysis*. Paris: ISS, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Blandy, C. W. "North Caucasus: Negative Trends." *Caucasus Series*. Shrivenham: Defence Academy of the UK, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Dellecker, Adrian and Thomas Gomart, eds. *Russian Energy Security and Foreign Policy*. London: Routledge, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Laruelle, Marlène. "The Growing Illiteracy in Central Asia: A Challenge for the EU." *EUCAM, EU-Central Asia Commentary*, no. 6. Brussels/Madrid: Center CEPS/FRIDE, December 2009. [Link](#)
- Carati, Andrea and Carlo Frappi, eds. *NATO in the 60th Anniversary of the North Atlantic Treaty. Challenges and strategic divergences from national perspectives*. Milan: ISPI, 2009. Includes (among other) articles by: [Link](#)

Carlo Frappi, "Transformation and Enlargement: Challenges for NATO in the Wider Black Sea Area,"

S. Gulden Ayman, "NATO's Transformation and Turkey,"

Paul Duta, "Evolution of Relations between NATO and Romania,"

Tedo Japaridze, "The Geopolitics of Georgian Security: NATO's Unfinished Business in the Southern Caucasus,"

Serena Giusti and Tomislava Penkova, "Ukraine in NATO: An Inconsistent Recipe for a Troublesome Country,"

Sergei Medvedev and Igor Tomashov, "NATO and Russia in the Post-Wall Europe."

November 2009

- Winrow, Gareth. "Turkey, Russia and the Caucasus. Common and Diverging Interests." *Chatham House Briefing Paper* 1. London: Chatham House, November 2009. [Link](#)

- *Energy Dialogue EU- Russia: The Tenth Progress Report*. Presented by the Commissioner of the European Commission on Energy Issues, Andris Piebalgs and Minister of Energy of the Russian Federation Sergey Shmatko. Moscow, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Trenin, Dmitri. "Russia Reborn: Reimagining Moscow's Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 6, no. 88 (November/ December 2009). [Link](#)
 - Fischer, Sabine, ed. *Back from the cold? The EU and Belarus in 2009*. Chaillot Paper 119. Paris: EUISS, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Gavrilis, George. "Beyond the Border Management Programme for Central Asia (BOMCA)." *EUCAM Policy Brief*, no. 11. Brussels/Madrid: CEPS/FRIDE, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Boonstra, Jos. "The EU Strategy for Central Asia says 'security'. Does this include Security Sector Reform?" *EUCAM Policy Brief*, no. 10. Brussels/Madrid: CEPS/FRIDE, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Ryabkov, Maxim. "Studying Europe in Central Asia: The Case of Kyrgyzstan." *EUCAM Policy Brief*, no. 5. Brussels/Madrid: CEPS/FRIDE, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Karaganov, Sergei, and Timofei Bordachev. "Towards a new Euro-Atlantic Security Architecture." Report of the Russian Experts for the Valdai Discussion Club Conference. Moscow: Valdai International Discussion Club; Council on Foreign and Defense Policy; The Russian News & Information Agency RIA Novosti, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Popescu, Nicu. "Re-setting the Eastern Partnership in Moldova." *CEPS Policy Brief*, no. 199. Brussels: CEPS, 4 November 2009. [Link](#)
 - "Russia, the OSCE and European Security." *The EU-Russia Centre Review* 12. Brussels: EU-Russia Center, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Kanet, Roger E., ed. *A Resurgent Russia and the West: The European Union, NATO and Beyond*. The Hague: Dordrecht 2009.
 - Eberhardt, Adam. "The Revolution that Never Was: Five Years of 'Orange' Ukraine." *Policy Brief*. Warsaw: CES, November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Düzgit, Aydin Senem and Nathalie Tocci. "Transforming Turkish Foreign Policy: The Quest for Regional Leadership and Europeanisation." *CEPS Commentary*. Brussels: CEPS, 12 November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Lesser, Ian. "The New Turkish Lexicon." *On Turkey*. Washington D.C.: GMF of the US, 3 November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Lukyanov, Fyodor. "The South Caucasus in the International Spotlight." *Caucasus Analytical Digest*, no. 10, 2 November 2009. [Link](#)
 - Missiroli, Antonio. "Georgia on the EU Mind." *Caucasus Analytical Digest*, no. 10, 2 November 2009. [Link](#)
- October 2009**
- Volten, Peter M.E., ed. *Perceptions and Misperceptions in the EU and Turkey: Stumbling blocks on the road to accession*. Harmonie Paper 23. Groningen: CESS, October 2009. [Link](#)
 - Rogoż, Jadwiga. "The power gained, we will never surrender': Russian ruling elite versus the succession and economic crisis." *Policy Brief*, no. 19. Warsaw: CES, October 2009. [Link](#)
 - "The Russian Judicial and Penitentiary System." *The EU-Russia Centre Review* 11. Brussels: EU-Russia Center, October 2009. [Link](#)
 - Akcakoca, Amanda. "Turkish foreign policy—between East and West?" *EPC Policy Brief*. Brussels: EPC, October 2009. [Link](#)
 - Brockmann, Kathrin, and David Bosold, eds. "Democratization and Security in Central and Eastern Europe and the Post-Soviet States." *DGAPbericht*, no. 17. Berlin/Prague: DGAP/Institute of International Relations, October 2009. [Link](#)
 - Zagorski, Andrei, Mustafa Aydin, Tabib Huseynov, Alexander Iskandaryan, and Armando García Schmidt. "After Soccer Diplomacy: The Turkish-Armenian Relations." *Spotlight Europe*. Guetersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, October 2009. [Link](#)
 - Cagaptay, Soner. "Is Turkey Leaving the West? An Islamist Foreign Policy Puts Ankara at Odds with its Former Allies." *Foreign Affairs*, 26 October 2009. [Link](#)
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News and Events

Joint Workshop on the Impact of the Global Economic Crisis on the Black Sea Economies

A closed workshop on “The Regional Impact of the Global Economic Crisis: Looking into the Black Sea Economies” was held in Thessaloniki on 4 December 2009. The event was jointly organised by the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (BSTDB), the BSEC Business Council, the UNDP Black Sea Trade and Investment Promotion Programme (BSTIP) and the ICBSS.

Over thirty invited participants discussed the impact of the global economic crisis on the economies of the Black Sea region. Discussants included representatives of international financial institutions, officials from central banks

of several Black Sea countries as well as researchers and other experts. They considered aspects such as the impact of the crisis on regional trade and investment flows and debated ways to mitigate the crisis. In this context they focused on the role and responses of key actors such as governments, the private sector, international financial institutions, multilateral and regional organisations.

For further information on the event click [here](#).



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Fourth ICBSS Annual Lecture 2009 by Sir Basil Markesinis



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On Monday, 2 November 2009, prominent scholar Sir Basil Markesinis imparted the Fourth Annual Lecture of the International Centre for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS) speaking on “A Study in Parallel of the Economies of Russia and the USA”. The event held in Athens met with great success.

The lecture focused on a comparative study of the economies of the USA and Russia against the backdrop of the global financial crisis. Starting from the premise that the two economies are grounded on fundamentally different

politico-economic ideologies, Sir Markesinis presented the subject from six different but interrelated standpoints: “The impact of geography”, “Historical upheavals; autocracy versus democracy”, “Natural resources as a predicate of the future”, “More facts and figures”, “A state economy using private talent: the rise and taming of the Russian oligarchs”, and “Ability to cope with new challenges”.

A number of distinguished guests from the political, academic and business environments honoured the speaker and the ICBSS with their presence, amongst which Messrs. P. Doukas, I. Kapsis, V. Kedikoglou, I. Korantis, F. Kouvelis, A. Livanis, G. Niotis, P. Paylopoulos, A. Peponis, A. Psarouda-Benaki, L. Tsoukalis, G. Valinakis, I. Varvitsiotis, and E. Veryvakis.

Audiovisual material from the lecture is available on the website of the ICBSS (www.icbss.org).

With a view to enhancing direct dialogue with citizens the ICBSS provided interpretation between Greek, English and Greek sign language. In addition to the approx. 450 guests present, more than 700 persons accessed the lecture via live webcast through the ICBSS website.

Lecture by H.E. Egemen Bagis

On Thursday, 5 November 2009, the International Centre for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS) hosted a lecture by H.E. Egemen Bagis, Minister of State and Chief Negotiator of the Republic of Turkey, on “Turkish Membership and a

Stronger EU”.

The Turkish proposal for creation of a High Level Cooperation Council to facilitate meetings between Prime Ministers and at ministerial level between Greece and Turkey, his country’s EU accession negotiations and related reform process, as well as the future of EU-Turkey and Greek-

Turkish relations formed the core of Mr. Bagis' speech.

Mr. Bagis opened his lecture pointing to a "new era" in Greek-Turkish relations and stressed the importance of dialogue and Turkey's willingness to further improve bilateral relations through close cooperation at all levels.

Speaking on Turkey's EU accession bid Mr. Bagis argued that it creates a win-win situation. Emphasising the geopolitical importance of his country, he underlined that acting as a bridge between East and West, Turkey has a lot to offer the EU. By way of example, Mr. Bagis stated that "70% of resources for Europe's energy needs are located South and East of Turkey". At the same time he underlined that the EU accession negotiations are the "most important external driving force" for reforms in Turkey and that the country is strengthening its democracy, addressing past taboos such as minority rights and gender equality. He also remarked that "the Turkey of today is not joining the European Union, Tur-



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key will be different and the EU will be different", stating that "Turkey, when ready, will join the EU and the EU when ready, will embrace Turkey".

Concerning the Cyprus issue he stated a solution to be in the interest of all parties and that Turkey supports current negotiations between the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot leaders, hoping to use this window of opportunity to reach a comprehensive settlement for peace and stability. Regarding the issue of illegal migration Mr. Bagis pronounced himself in favour of a common solution between the EU, Greece and Turkey based on burden sharing and fairness.

In the audience were members of parliament, former ministers as well as ambassadors amongst whom, Messrs. V. Antonaros, N. Dentias, T. Giannitsis, G. Korantis, G. Valinakis, inter alia. Audiovisual material from the lecture will be uploaded on the website of the ICBSS (www.icbss.org) in the next days. With a view to enhancing direct dialogue with citizens the ICBSS provided interpretation between English, Greek, and Greek sign language, while the lecture was also transmitted via live webcast through the ICBSS website.

Photo Exhibition "Faces from the Mediterranean"



The photo exhibition of Eleni Fotiou entitled "Faces from the Mediterranean" opened in Rhodes on 9 December 2009 with a discussion jointly organised by the International Centre for Black Sea Studies and the Department of Mediterranean Studies of the University of the Aegean in the framework of its 10 year anniversary celebrations.

Issue 13, September 2009

- “Focusing on the East,” by Dimitrios Triantaphyllou
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Press Release, Seventh Round of Geneva Discussions of Security and Stability in Transcaucasia (18 September 2009)
- EU External Relations Council, Southern Caucasus (15 September 2009)
- EU General Affairs Council, Conclusions on the Mechanism on Cooperation and Verification for Bulgaria and Romania (14 September 2009)
- Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union on the Situation in Georgia (4 August 2009)
- EU External Relations Council, Conclusions on Georgia (27 July 2009)
- EU General Affairs Council, Conclusions on the Relations with the Republic of Moldova (15 June 2009)
- The Priorities of the Azeri Chairmanship of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (10 June 2009)
- Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the EU on the “Parliamentary Elections” in South Ossetia, Georgia (2 June 2009)
- Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union – Report on the Council of Europe and the Conflict in Georgia (28 May 2009)
- Joint US-EU Statement on Georgia (25 May 2009)
- News Conference Following Russia-EU Summit (22 May 2009)

Issue 12, July 2009

- “The Nabucco Pipeline and Energy Dilemmas,” by Dimitrios Triantaphyllou
- President Barroso and Commissioner Piebalgs Welcome the Signature of the Nabucco Intergovernmental Agreement (10 July 2009)
- Declaration by the Presidency on behalf of the European Union on the Termination of UNOMIG (19 June 2009)
- Council of the European Union, Presidency Conclusions (18-19 June 2009)
- EU/Belarus Human Rights Dialogue (16-17 June 2009)
- EU-Ukraine Cooperation Council Thirteenth Meeting (16 June 2009)
- Joint Statement by the Group of Friends of the UN Secretary General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia Resolution (16 June 2009)

Issue no. 11—May 2009

Issue no. 10—January 2009

Issue no. 9—November 2008

Issue no. 8—September 2008

Issue no. 7—April 2008

Issue no. 6—December 2007

Issue no. 5—July 2007

Issue no. 4—June 2007

Issue no. 3—March 2007

Issue no. 2—November 2006

Issue no. 1—July 2006



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THE BLACK SEA MONITOR

The ICBSS has identified the need for a special circular on developments in and around the Black Sea region that goes beyond the mere news brief format. Therefore, the Centre has set up an electronic review focused particularly on the Black Sea region, aiming to provide stakeholders and other interested parties around the globe with an exclusive information service. The Monitor offers brief commentaries and refers key documents, publications and events of interest that impact on the wider Black Sea region.