



With the support of the
Erasmus+ Programme
of the European Union



Санкт-Петербургский
государственный
университет
www.spbu.ru

Formats and contents of transborder cooperation: Challenges for sustainable development

Alexander Sergunin
St. Petersburg State University

START! Summer School
Pskov, July 2021



Objectives of the course:

The course is focussed on Russian approaches to cross-border co-operation (CBC) with the European Union. After completing the course, students will gain the following:

- 1) knowledge of Russia's vision of CBC with the EU, including academic and political debates on this issue;
- 2) an understanding of the historical experience of EU-Russia CBC in the post-Cold War era;
- 3) familiarity with the role of CBC in maintaining and further developing the mechanism of EU-Russia interdependency.



Some caveats/reservations:

- It's difficult to draw clear lines between the Russian academic and political debates on CBC.
- Any kind of typology/categorization is conditional/contextual. In reality, there are no 'ideal types' of schools of thought, hybridity prevails.
- Many Russian theoretical approaches to CBC/border studies draw heavily on and copy Western theories.



The Russian discourse on CBC/borders

Economics/economic geography:

- Regional/spatial planning
- Management: developmental and capacity-building strategies



Russian discourse on CBC/borders

*Political geography/political science/
International Relations:*

- Neo-realism
- Neo-liberalism
- Globalism
- Post-positivism



Neo-realism

- CBC is a continuation of power struggle but by different, non-military, means.
- There are hegemons/leaders and recipients/subordinates as well as winners and losers in the CBC process.
- Pragmatic approach.
- Emphasis on national interests' protection.
- CBC is an integral part of national foreign policy strategy.



Neoliberal (integration) theories

- Neo-functionalism (spill-over effects)
- Liberal intergovernmental approach (Moravcsik): mostly elite-focused
- Poly-regionalism
- Interdependency theory
- Soft power concept (Joseph Nye)
- Geographic diffusion theory (IR/political geography): Europe's spatial proximity is conducive to the diffusion of Western resources, values and norms to the transitional countries and sub-national units. Leverages and linkages sub-theory (Lankina and Getachew 2006).



Globalisation-related theories: glocalisation

The rise of sub-national units as international actors is caused by decentralisation of the nation-state and coming of a 'post-sovereign' state, crisis of the 'classic' models of federalism, spread of network-type relations, replacement of the international relations system by the paradigm of global governance, emergence of the glocalisation/fragmentation phenomenon



Globalization-related theories: paradiplomacy

Soldatos (1990) and Duchacek (1986, 1990): paradiplomacy is an aspect of the world-wide processes of globalisation and regionalisation, under which sub- and non-state actors play an increasingly influential role in world politics. Regions, members of federations, cities, companies, NGOs, etc., seek their way to promote trade, investments, cooperation and partnership on the international scene and account for a significant part of contemporary cross- and trans-border contacts. The phenomenon of paradiplomacy raises new theoretical questions concerning the role of the state, sub-state and non-state actors in international affairs as well as challenges the existing state system and international law that have provided the grounds for the international political order in the Westphalian era.



Questions on paradiplomacy:

- What are the basic motives laying behind the sub-national and non-state actors' international activities?
- What strategies, instruments and institutions are available for them to implement their foreign policies?
- Is paradiplomacy a challenge or compliment to/enrichment of Russia's national sovereignty?



Contending views on Russian sub-national actors' paradiplomacy

- Entails a further disintegration of the Russian Federation and the rise of cleptocratic and authoritarian regimes in the Russian regions
- Institute of democracy; serves as a proper check on the growing authoritarianism in Russia's domestic and foreign policies
- In line with the global trend toward the increasing role of sub-national/non-state actors in world politics; provides them with one more capacity to ensure their sustainable development



Post-positivism: global regionalism

Northern Europe belongs to the category of the so-called “global regions” which are based on functional, network-type, identity, multi-actor and multifactor principles rather than on geographic proximity (Lagutina, 2009; Lagutina & Vasilyeva, 2012; Acharya, 2014; Heininen, 2016; Hettne et al., 1999; van Langenhove, 2011).



Post-positivism: global regionalism

Global regions have a cross-cutting nature: they easily permeate various levels – local, regional and global – to create a completely different type of world politics (Avdokushin & Zharikov, 2013; Meena, 2015).

Emerging global/transnational agenda:

- development of industrial and commercial relations;
- energy security;
- cooperation in the field of climate change and environmental protection;
- joint research projects;
- the fight against organised crime and international terrorism, and
- coordination of countries' activities in international organisations.



Post-positivism: marginality theory (political geography/political science)

Parker (2000), Browning and Joenniemi (2003):

The marginal actors can make use of their geographic location acquiring, for instance, the roles of mediator or 'bridge' between different countries. They also can turn the marginality from disadvantage to a resource and transform themselves from remote and provincial territories to attractive places hosting intense international flows of goods, services, capital, technologies and people.

On a more general plane, CBC contributes to the processes of de-bordering and de-sovereignisation in a globalising world.



Post-positivism: familiarity/unfamiliarity theory (anthropology/cultural studies)

Spierings & van der Velde 2008 and 2013; Scott 2013; Joenniemi & Sergunin 2013 and 2014:

Familiarity rests on the utilisation of a common cultural heritage with the cooperative experiences as well as a downplaying of negative historical memories related to conflicts, although familiarity may also entail an up-grading of negativities located in the past.

Unfamiliarity, in turn, relates to a reading of cooperation as something entirely new and previously unexplored. It may hamper the construction of commonality straddling borders as fear and worries about the unknown, albeit it may also bring about fascination and seductive attraction of the relatively unknown.

The most important question here is how the past is interpreted and what figures as the prevailing reading of the current encounter on the two sides of a border now changing significantly in meaning.



Liminality theory (anthropology/cultural studies)

In anthropology liminality (from the Latin word *limen*, meaning “a threshold”) implies the situation that takes place in the middle stage of rituals, when participants no longer hold their pre-ritual status but have not yet begun the transition to the status they will hold when the ritual is complete. The dissolution of order during liminality creates a fluid, malleable situation that enables new institutions and customs to become established (Stevens 2007; Thomassen 2006).

Social scientists (e.g. Joenniemi 2013) argue that in the case of CBC liminality can be equated with play in the sense of framing an escape from the established social conditions and it amounts to an exploration of new possibilities. Particularly, twinning challenges the nature of nation-states and more broadly the rules underlying the conduct of international relations.



Conclusion

- The (urgent) need for a multidisciplinary approach
- Research problem for the future: is it possible to combine theoretical approaches from different disciplines and paradigms? How to avoid eclecticism?



Russian Legislation on Cross-Border Co-operation: an early phase

- Federal laws “On International Treaties of the Russian Federation” (1995); “On Co-ordination of International and Foreign Economic Relations of the Members of the Russian Federation” (1999); “On General Principles of Organisation of Local Self-Governance in the Russian Federation (2003); “On Special Economic Zones” (2005): regulated specific aspects of Russia’s CBC with foreign countries.



Russian Legislation on Cross-Border Co-operation: an early phase

- The only law – “On the Foundations of State Regulation of Foreign Trade Activity” (2003) – had a special clause (no. 41) which contained a definition of cross-border trade.



Russian Legislation on Cross-Border Co-operation: Soft Law

- The concepts of Russia's CBC with foreign countries (2001 and 2009 versions): specified the rules for cross-border contacts of Russian regions and municipalities.
- The Strategy for the Socio-Economic Development of the North-Western Federal District up to 2020 (adopted in 2011) established some priorities for the CBC with neighbouring countries: (a) economic development; (b) removal of the transport, energy, information and other infrastructural limitations and barriers; (c) social development of the NWFD; (d) tackling environmental problems.



International agreements

- Russia's bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries.
- In 2003, Moscow joined the European Outline Convention on Trans-frontier Co-operation between Territorial Communities or Authorities (the Madrid Convention) which was launched by the Council of Europe in 1980.



Russian Legislation on Cross-Border Co-operation

- The Federal Law “On the Foundations of Cross-Border Cooperation” (July 2017):

The law defined the principles, main objectives and venues of Russia’s CBC with neighbouring countries as well as the prerogatives of border regions and municipalities in this sphere. It was stipulated that specific CBC programmes should be the subject of international agreements concluded by either the federal government or regional and municipal authorities with same-level partners. The law identified potential/preferable areas of CBC: the economy, transport, communications, energy, science, education, culture, the arts, sport, healthcare, etc.



EU normative basis on CBC: an early stage

- TACIS, PHARE and Interreg (European Regional Development Fund) programmes of the 1990-2000s.
- The Northern Dimension (ND) of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (2000). Reformatted into the ND partnerships with Russia, Norway and Iceland (2006).
- The Road Map for the EU-Russia Common Economic Space (2005) acknowledged the need for deepening and diversification of interregional cooperation.



EU normative basis on CBC

- European Neighbourhood Policy (2004)
- European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (2006): a new policy and implementation framework for CBC.
- ENPI was further detailed in the Implementing Rules (2007).
- For the 2014–20 EU budget cycle, a European Neighbourhood Instrument was adopted in March 2014.
- A programming document for EU support to ENI CBC and new ENI Implementing rules were approved the same year. The rules established for the ENPI CBC have been simplified and adapted based on experience.



EU normative basis on CBC

- According to the above EU documents, CBC is a key element of EU policy towards its neighbours. The CBC programme aims to support sustainable development along the EU's external borders, as well as to help reduce differences in living standards and address common challenges across these borders. Of the 16 programmes identified in the ENI CBC Programming Document 2014–20, eight involve Russia.
- The CBC budget comes from two sources: ENI and contributions from the European Regional Development Fund.



Baltic Sea Region programme

The area cooperation covers 11 countries: eight EU member states and three partner countries. The EU member states taking part are Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany (the *Lander* of Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Schleswig-Holstein and Niedersachsen (Luneburg region)), Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Sweden.

Partner-country participants are Belarus, Norway and Russia (St Petersburg, Arkhangelsk, Kaliningrad, Leningrad, Murmansk, Novgorod, Pskov and Vologda Regions, Republic of Karelia, Komi Republic and Nenetsky Autonomous District).



Programme area





Baltic Sea Region programme

The overall objective of the programme is to strengthen integrated territorial development and cooperation for a more innovative, better accessible and sustainable BSR. The programme's priorities include the development of innovation infrastructure, efficient management of natural resources, regional transport systems, maritime safety, environmentally friendly shipping and urban mobility. Projects must involve at least three partners from three different countries within the programme area. Funds available for the programme come from the ERDF (EUR 263.8 million), ENI (EUR 8.8 million), Russia (EUR 4.4 million) and Norway (EUR 6.0 million).



Kolarctic programme

- Russia: Murmansk and Arkhangelsk regions, Nenets Autonomous District
- Finland: Lapland
- Norway: Finnmark, Troms, Nordland
- Sweden: Norrbotten
- Adjoining areas: Pohjois-Pohjanmaa (Finland), Vasterbotten (Sweden), Republic of Karelia, Leningrad Region and St. Petersburg (Russia).



Kolarctic programme





Kolarctic programme

The overall aim of this programme is to promote a viable economy and the attractiveness of the region, where inhabitants and visitors come to enjoy the Arctic flora and fauna and where natural resources are used in a sustainable way.

The programme has the following thematic objectives: business and SME (small and medium enterprises) development; environmental protection, climate change mitigation and adaptation; improvement of accessibility to the regions, development of sustainable and climate-proof transport and communication networks and systems; and promotion of border management and border security, mobility and migration management.



Kolarctic programme

The indicative allocation of EU funding for the Kolarctic CBC programme 2014–20 is EUR 24.718 million. Availability of an additional ERDF allocation of EUR 10.355 million for years 2018–20 is subject to a mid-term review by the EU and the availability of matching ENI funds. Norwegian equivalent funding totals EUR 7 million. National co-financing from EU member states (Sweden and Finland) is a total of EUR 12.359 million; Russia is to provide the same amount. The programme requests all individual projects to allocate their own contribution of a minimum of 10% of the total project budget.



Karelia CBC programme

Core area:

- Finland: Pohjois-Pohjanmaa (Northern Ostrobothnia), Pohjois-Karjala (North Karelia) and Kainuu
- Russia: Republic of Karelia

The adjoining areas:

- Finland: Lapland, Pohjois-Savo, North Savo, South Savo and South Karelia
- Russia: the Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and Leningrad regions and St Petersburg



Karelia CBC programme





Karelia CBC programme

The overall objective of the programme: to make the programme area attractive for the people to live and work and businesses to locate and operate.

The programme's thematic objectives are similar to the previous one with one addition: promotion of local culture and preservation of historical heritage.



Karelia CBC programme

The programme is co-funded by the EU out of the ENI and ERDF allocations, and by Russia and Finland, with each source providing EUR 10.75 million. Forty joint projects were selected for funding by the stakeholders.



South-East Finland–Russia CBC programme

Core area:

- Finland: Etela-Karjala (South Karelia), Etela Savo (South Savo) and Kymenlaakso
- Russia: Leningrad Region and St. Petersburg

Adjoining areas:

- Finland: Uusimaa, Paijat-Hame, Pohjois-Savo, North Karelia
- Russia: Republic of Karelia



South-East Finland–Russia CBC programme





South-East Finland–Russia CBC programme

The programme's overall objective will be achieved through “improved competitiveness, increased economic activity, a knowledge-based economy, skilled labour force, high-level cultural events and tourism, pure nature and waters, easy mobility, good transport corridors, and smooth and modern border crossing points”.

The programme's total funding is EUR 72.294 million, of which the EU will provide 50% and Finland and Russia the other half (divided between them on a 50–50 basis).



Estonia–Russia programme

Core area:

- Estonia: Kirde-Eesti, Louna-Eesti, Kesk-Eesti
- Russia: Leningrad, Pskov regions and St. Petersburg

Adjoining areas:

- Estonia: Pohja-Eesti



Estonia–Russia programme





Estonia–Russia programme

Strategic objectives: (a) promote economic and social development in regions on both sides of the common borders; (b) address common challenges in the environment, public health, safety and security; and (c) promotion of better conditions and modalities for the mobility of people, goods and capital.

Funding: The EU's financial contribution to the programme is EUR 16.808 million, while Estonia and Russia will contribute EUR 9.013 million and EUR 8.404 million respectively.



Latvia–Russia programme

Core area:

- Latvia: Vidzeme and Latgale regions
- Russia: the Pskov region in Russia

The adjoining area:

- Latvia: the Pieriga and Zemgale regions
- Russia: the Leningrad Region



Latvia–Russia programme





Latvia–Russia programme

- *The strategic goal* is to support joint efforts to address cross-border development challenges and promote sustainable use of the existing potential of the area across the border between Latvia and Russia.
- *Funding:* The EU contribution is EUR 16.055 million (EUR 17.554 million together with co-financing partners), while Latvia will contribute EUR 1.035 million and Russia will give EUR 7.938 million (EUR 8.743 million together with partners' co-financing).



Lithuania–Russia programme

Core area:

- Russia: the Kaliningrad Region
- Lithuania: the Klaipeda, Marijampole and Taurage counties



The adjoining regions:

- Lithuania: the Alytus, Kaunas, Telsiai and Siauliai counties



Lithuania–Russia programme



-  Core regions
-  Adjoining regions
-  Regions outside the Programme area



Lithuania–Russia programme

Thematic objectives: (a) promotion of local culture and preservation of historical heritage; (b) promotion of social inclusion and the fight against poverty; (c) support for local and regional good governance; (d) promotion of border management and border security, mobility and migration management.

Funding: The EU and Russia together with co-financing partners will contribute EUR 18.71 million and EUR 8.5 million respectively.



Poland–Russia CBC programme

Core area:

- Russia: the Kaliningrad Region
- Poland: Gdański, Trojmiejski and Starogardzki sub-regions (all in Pomorskie region); Elbląski, Olsztyński and Ełcki sub-regions (all in Warmińsko-Mazurskie region); and Suwalski sub-region (in Podlaskie region)

Adjoining areas:

- Poland: the subregions of Słupski (Pomorskie region) and Białostocki (Podlaskie region)



Poland–Russia CBC programme

 Kaliningrad Region, Russia

 Warmińsko-Mazurskie Region, Poland

 Podlaskie Region, Poland

 Pomorskie Region, Poland





Poland–Russia CBC programme

Specific priorities: (1) cooperating on historical, natural and cultural heritage for their preservation and cross-border development; (2) cooperation for a clean natural environment in the cross-border area; (3) accessible regions and sustainable cross-border transport and communication; and (4) joint actions for border efficiency and security.



Poland–Russia CBC programme

Funding: The financial allocations of the EU are 41.645,86 million, while the Russian contribution to the programme is EUR 20.652,617 million and minimum co-financing is EUR 5.713,532 million



EU-Russia CBC programme's funding for 2014-2020, million EUR.

Programme	ERDF	ENI	Finland	Sweden	Norway	Russia	Total
Baltic Sea Region	263.8	8.8	–	–	6.0	4.4	283.0
Kolarctic	24.718		12.359		7.0	12.359	56.436
Karelia	10.75	10.75	10.75	–	–	10.75	43.0
South-East Finland–Russia	36.147		18.0735	–	–	18.0735	72.294
Estonia– Russia	16.808 (EU) + 9.013 (Estonia)		–	–	–	8.404	34.225
Latvia–Russia	17.554 (EU) 1.035 (Latvia)		–	–	–	8.743	27.332
Lithuania–Russia	18.71		–	–	–	8.5	27.21
Poland–Russia	20.653	20.992	–	–	–	20.653	62.298
Total	459.73		34.7535	6.18	13.0	91.8825	605.546



Assessment of ENI CBC programmes

- The ENI CBC programmes are much better designed than ENPI ones. Building on previous experience, and mirroring the approach of the Interreg programmes, important efforts were made towards narrowing down the thematic focus of the ENI CBC programmes with a view to maximising their impact.



Assessment of ENI CBC programmes

- The Joint Monitoring Committees of the specific programmes provided an effective forum for all parties to articulate concerns about various aspects of programme progress and/or to propose alternative approaches to the achievement of overall programme objectives. All partners had an opportunity to participate and some fundamental changes were made to some programmes as a result. While the constant reformulation of programmes is not to be recommended, the responsiveness of programme management to changing circumstances is an important success factor.



Assessment of ENI CBC programmes

- Russian co-funding is very important for the success of the CBC programmes. At a general level, it has helped to create a sense that the CBC programmes are recognised as a genuine joint effort to address shared social and economic problems, rather than being some external aid programme over which the participants have little control. At the more operational level, Russian co-funding has imposed legal and administrative obligations on Russia to obtain a good return on the investment.



Assessment of ENI CBC programmes

- The activities of the ENI CBC programmes have been implemented with a high level of mutual understanding and respect between the partners on both sides of the border. This “parity of esteem” is extremely important for the Russian partners in particular and is an important ingredient in the maintenance of good diplomatic and political relations between the programme countries.



Assessment of ENI CBC programmes

The impact of global issues, such as conflict, terrorism and migration, on the scope of cooperation is still felt by a number of participating countries. For example, the use of the “polar routes” (via the Finnish–Russian and Norwegian–Russian borders) by refugees from the Middle East in 2015–6 was a major shock for Helsinki and Oslo. Previously the assumption had been that these were well-managed borders, but since then the perception has changed and migration from the south and from the north-east has become a challenge for the Nordic countries.

Eston Kohver and Frode Berg cases.



Assessment of ENI CBC programmes

The decision by Poland in 2016 to suspend (allegedly for security reasons) the visa-free regime for residents of the Kaliningrad oblast and two Polish border regions in the aftermath of the crisis in Ukraine has had a negative effect on the Poland–Russia ENI CBC programme because it made the free movement of people in the region more difficult and resulted in a reduction in tourism and cross-border trade.



Assessment of ENI CBC programmes

There are also challenges around the complexity of procedures relating to implementation, reporting, control, audit and recoveries, the capacity of projects to create synergies with other processes and the delineation of roles and responsibilities between stakeholders, which could have impacts on the pace of implementation. Problems like the signature of financing agreements and the making of special provisions for Russian procurement, visibility and administrative concerns can absorb a significant amount of management time and leave less resources to deal with the practical challenges of project implementation

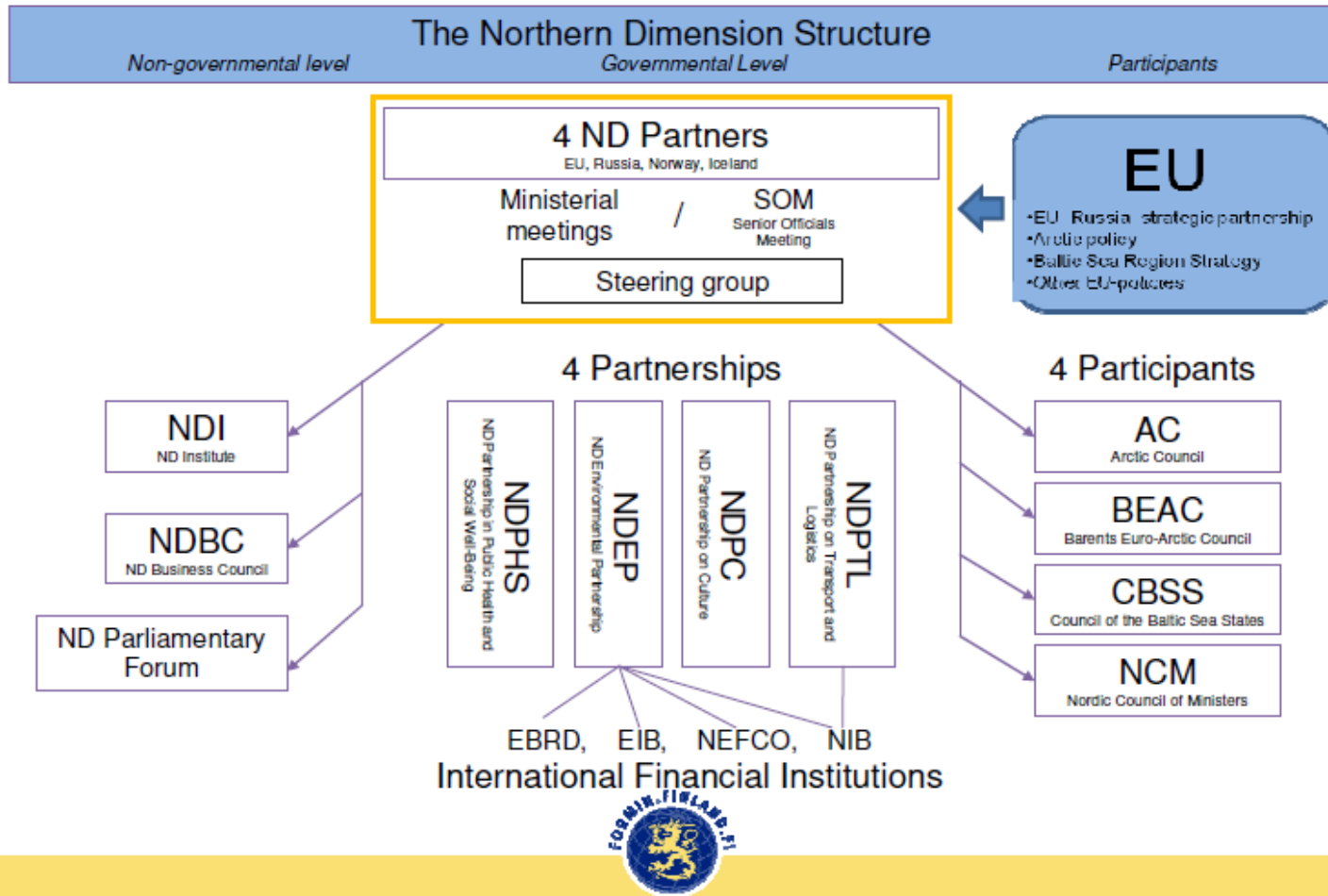


Northern Dimension

- Paavo Lipponen's initiative (1997)
- Formally approved by the EU in 2000. The first Action Plan 2000-2003.
- ND's reform in late 2006.
- four partnerships: the Northern Dimension Environmental Partnership (NDEP), and the Northern Dimension Partnerships in Public Health and Social Well-being (NDPHS), on Transport and Logistics (NDPTL) and on Culture (NDPC). The structure, nature and tasks of partnerships vary from project-centred financing to expert-oriented cooperation.



ND institutions





Northern Dimension 2007-2013

The ND covered a wide range of sectors, such as the environment, nuclear safety, health, energy, transport, logistics, promotion of trade and investment, research, education and culture.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

NDEP: dozens of wastewater treatment plants were built or rehabilitated in Arkhangelsk, Kaliningrad, Leningrad Region, Novgorod, Komi Republic, Petrozavodsk, Pskov and St. Petersburg. Heating systems were modernised in Kaliningrad and Vologda. A solid-waste management project was implemented in Petrozavodsk. The NDEP participated in the construction of the St. Petersburg Flood Protection Barrier.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

The NDEP's nuclear "window": nuclear waste management in north-west Russia. Its focus was on the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk regions, which constituted the largest repository of nuclear waste in the world. The NDEP coordinated its work with the Contact Experts Group of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

NDEP nuclear safety projects included the construction of facilities for the storage of spent nuclear fuel, defueling of nuclear submarines and modernisation of transportation systems for spent nuclear fuel on the Kola Peninsula.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

The specific aims of the NDPTL included:

- Facilitating improvements in the major transnational transport connections between the partner countries with the view of stimulating sustainable economic growth at the local/regional and global levels.
- Accelerating the implementation of transport and logistics infrastructure projects along the major transnational connections, and facilitating the approval of projects of mutual interest.
- Accelerating the removal of non-infrastructure related bottlenecks, affecting the flow of transport in and across the region, and facilitating the improvement of logistics in international supply chains.
- Providing effective structures to monitor the implementation of the proposed projects and measures.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

The key problems that have been confronting the NDPTL in 2008-2014 were:

- Lack of (agreed) strategic framework/vision.
- Lack of shared focus and approach among partners.
- Organisational issues (problems with establishing the secretariat and support fund).
- Lack of funding.
- Lack of co-operation with other funding possibilities.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

Only by the end of 2012, the secretariat was fully operational. At the end of 2012, following lengthy preparations and negotiations, an NDPTL support fund was established and first projects could be funded.

It turned out, however, that Russia was not a high priority for the NDPTL partnership: in 2013, the secretariat selected only one (road from “Brusnichnoye” border-crossing point to Vyborg bypass) of 12 projects submitted in the first call.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

NDPHS had two priority areas:

- Reducing major communicable diseases and prevention of lifestyle related non-communicable diseases. The main focus was on HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, sexually transmitted diseases and antibiotics resistance. Concerning non-communicable diseases, special attention was paid to the determinants of cardiovascular diseases, including excessive use of alcohol and smoking as well as the use of, and the risk factors associated with excessive consumption of alcohol and illicit drug use.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

- Enhancing and promoting healthy and socially rewarding lifestyles. Under this objective, the partnership focused on nutrition, the enhancement of physical activity, creating smoke-, alcohol-, and drug-free environments, the practice of safe sexual behaviours, and supportive social and work environment and constructive social skills. Children and young people were the main target groups.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

The EU started to fund the NDPHS projects rather late - since 2011. In 2011-2014, there were only three projects financially supported by Brussels: “Providing support to meetings aimed to develop NDPHS projects”; “Alcohol and drug prevention among young people in Baltic Sea region communities; situation analysis for evidence based policies”; “Building capacity in prevention of HIV and associated infections among youth at risk in the Northern Dimension area”. The second and third projects were specifically aimed at the Kaliningrad Region and north-western Russia.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

Despite the EU's modest participation in the NDPHS projects, Russia was rather supportive of this partnership. Russia has become increasingly involved in the NDPHS, considering it a politically important partnership that could play a significant role in the regional co-operation. Russia actively participated in the work of expert and task groups, being the co-lead partner in two expert groups and one task group, and was engaged in the running of NDPHS projects. It also contributed financially although its contribution was limited to the secretariat budget, but it promised to increase its financial participation in the forthcoming years.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

Established in 2010, the NDPC is the youngest of the four partnerships in the ND Policy. From the very beginning, the aim of the NDPC was to contribute to the social and economic development in the ND area by focusing on culture-based creativity co-operation, promoting the operating conditions for cultural and creative industries (CCI), by bridging the gap between public and private funding and strengthening co-operation between the cultural and creative industries and the business community throughout the entire ND area. Furthermore, culture was seen as the driving force in regional and international development and an important part of co-operation in all other sectors across the ND area.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

The NDPC's strategy document for 2012-2016 defined three focus areas:

- Serve as a focal point for networks, projects and other cultural activities in the ND area: exchange of best practices, dialogue between public and private actors, as well as cultural and business sectors, facilitating co-operation in the field of culture among Council of the Baltic Sea States, Barents-Euro-Arctic Council, Arctic Council and Nordic Council of Ministers to promote synergies, act as a point of information on plans and activities.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

- Support priority projects that highlight the goals of the partnership: present ND cultural products and services to internal and external audiences, develop tailor-made cultural tourism products, promote cultural activities with a people-to-people focus, strengthen capacity in the field of marketing and business for cultural actors.
- Facilitate access to financing, including public-private funding for collaboration projects.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

The EU financial contribution to the NDPC was quite modest. Brussels funded four projects with Russia's participation in 2011-2014:

- A study on the Viking route heritage sites in Russia.
- Mapping study of music industry operators in North West Russia.
- Presentation of the results of the studies on Viking route heritage sites and music industry in Russia.
- Northern Dimension co-operation for cultural and creative industries' development.

The EU's total contribution was as little as EUR 572.498.



Northern Dimension 2007-2013

Fundamental conceptual differences between the EU and Russian partners: While CCI was a fast developing sector in Europe, it was not the case in Russia. Only recently Russia has taken an interest in this sector and its contribution to economic development. It should be mentioned that many EU stakeholders were unconvinced that the CCI belongs to the cultural area and therefore questioned the focus of the NDPC. The fact that it was the ministries of culture that participated in the NDPC was also questioned, as some countries saw CCI as part of economic development. + additional funding is needed.



The ND in the post-Ukrainian era

In contrast with the ENI CBC programmes, the ND developed rather sluggishly after 2014: some projects were cancelled or suspended; only projects approved in the pre-crisis period were continued and no new projects were launched. For example, the NDEP did not initiate any new projects with Russia in the 2014-2020 EU budget cycle, but, at the same time, turned its attention to co-operation with Belarus. Some modest activities and progress can be observed only in the cases of NDPHS and NDPC.



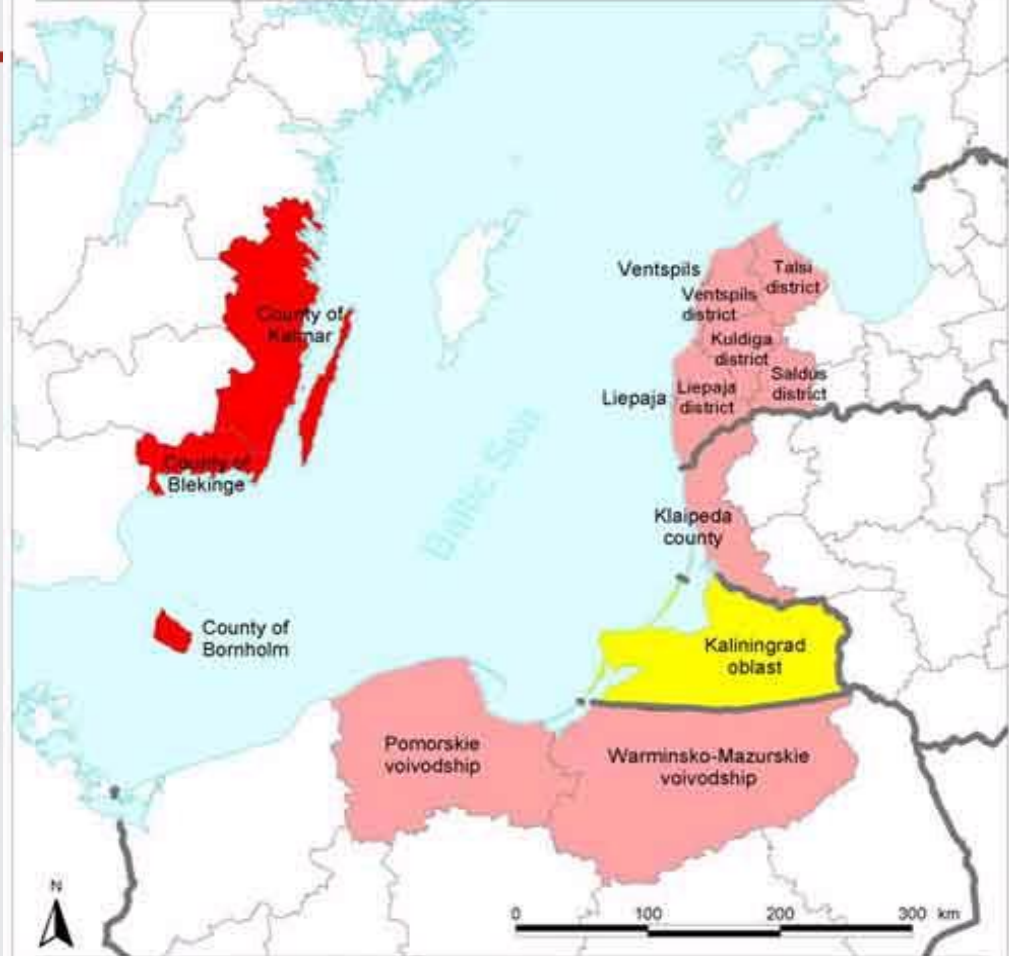
Euroregions

Euroregions are administrative-territorial units designed to promote CBC between neighbouring local or regional authorities in countries that share land or maritime borders. In fact, they constitute well-known mechanisms for cooperation between regions and municipalities. The projects implemented under Euroregions auspices aimed to develop regional transportation, energy and border-crossing infrastructure; monitor environmental risks; train municipal officials; and establish cultural, educational, youth and other people-to-people contacts. In this respect, the Euroregions foster Europeanisation, de-bordering, de-marginalisation, increased awareness and familiarisation.



Euroregion “Baltic”

**CBC regions in the Baltic States and North-West Russia
Euroregion Baltic**



Members: County of Bornholm (DK)
Regional council of Kalmar, Kronoberg County
Association of Local Authorities and Blekinge region (SE)
Kurzeme Planning Region (LV)
Klaipėda county (LT)
Pomorskie and Warmińsko-Mazurskie voivodships,
Association of communes of Poland (PL)
Association of municipalities in Kaliningrad region,
Kaliningrad oblast (RU)

■ European Union ■ Non-EU countries National boundary
■ EU accession countries Boundary of region



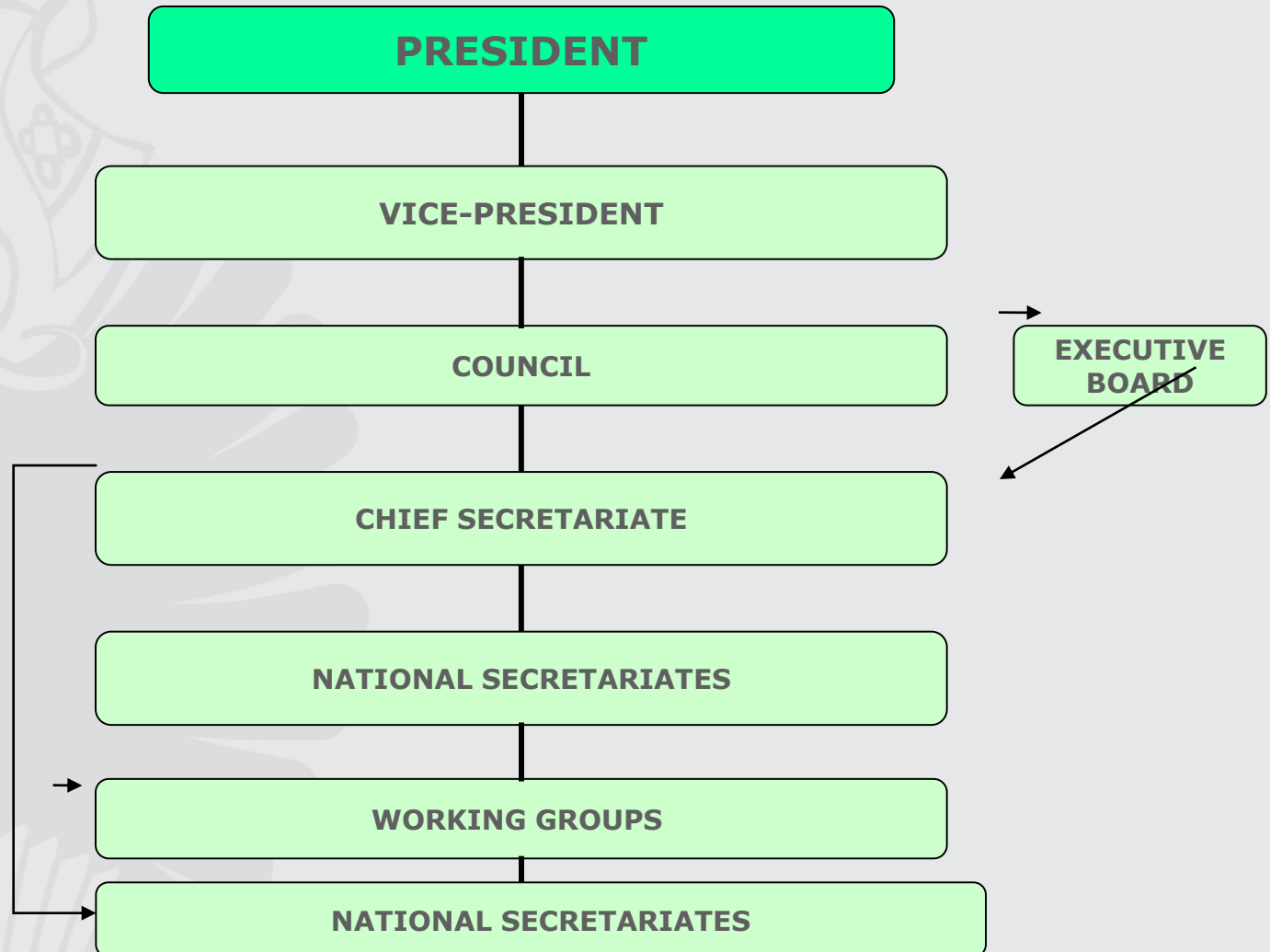


PRIORITIES FOR THE BALTIC EUROREGION

- Development of a comprehensive and long-term strategy for the Euroregion.
- Water resources: monitoring of the current situation and further reduction of water pollution.
- Establishing of innovation centers to support small and medium-size businesses.
- Development of rural areas, including introduction of new technologies and development of the transport infrastructure.
- Introduction of information technologies and improvement of communication systems. Under this subproject TACIS provides the local authorities with equipment, software and expert assistance. For example, with the TACIS help a new website was developed for the Baltiysk national secretariat.

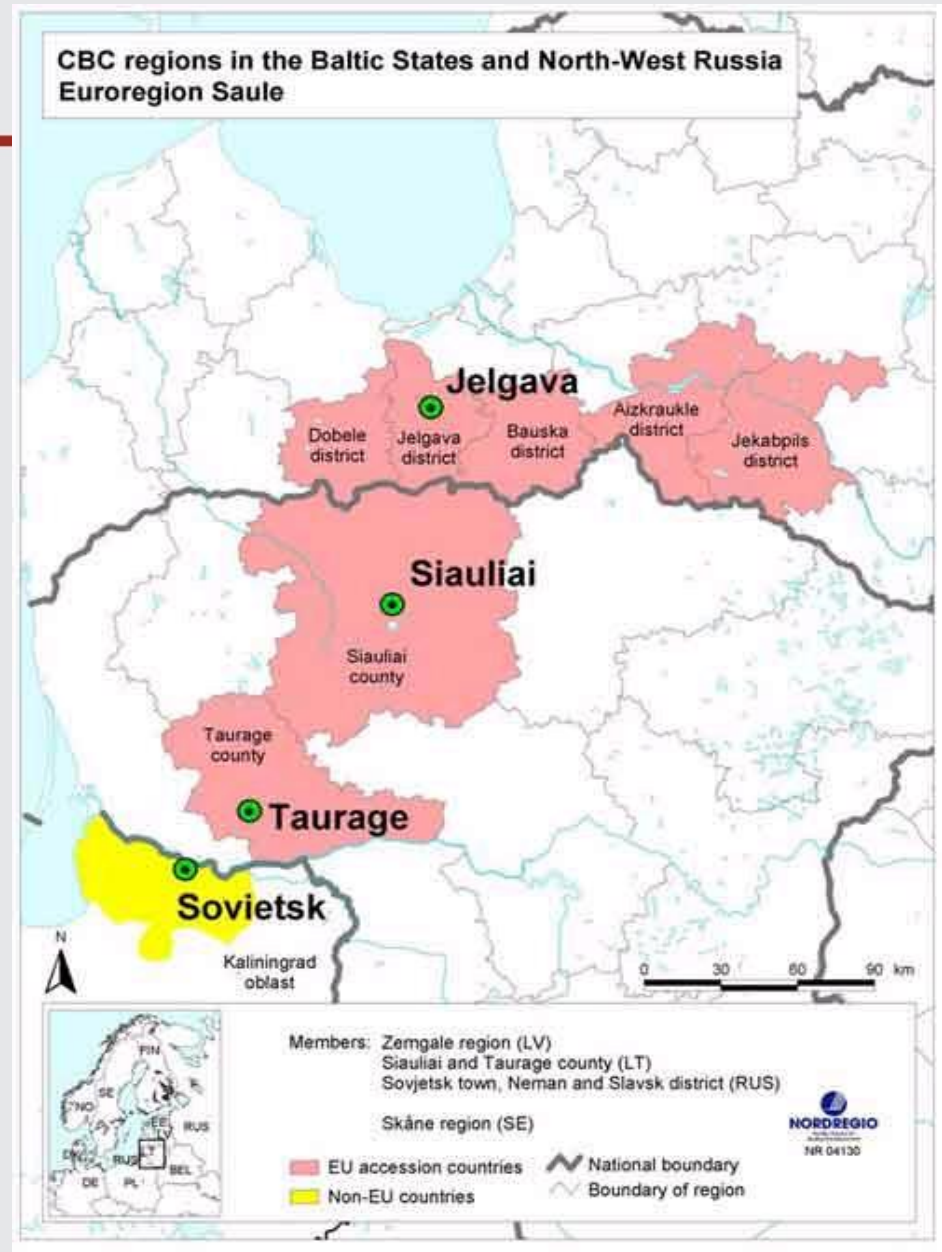


The administrative structure of the Baltic Euroregion



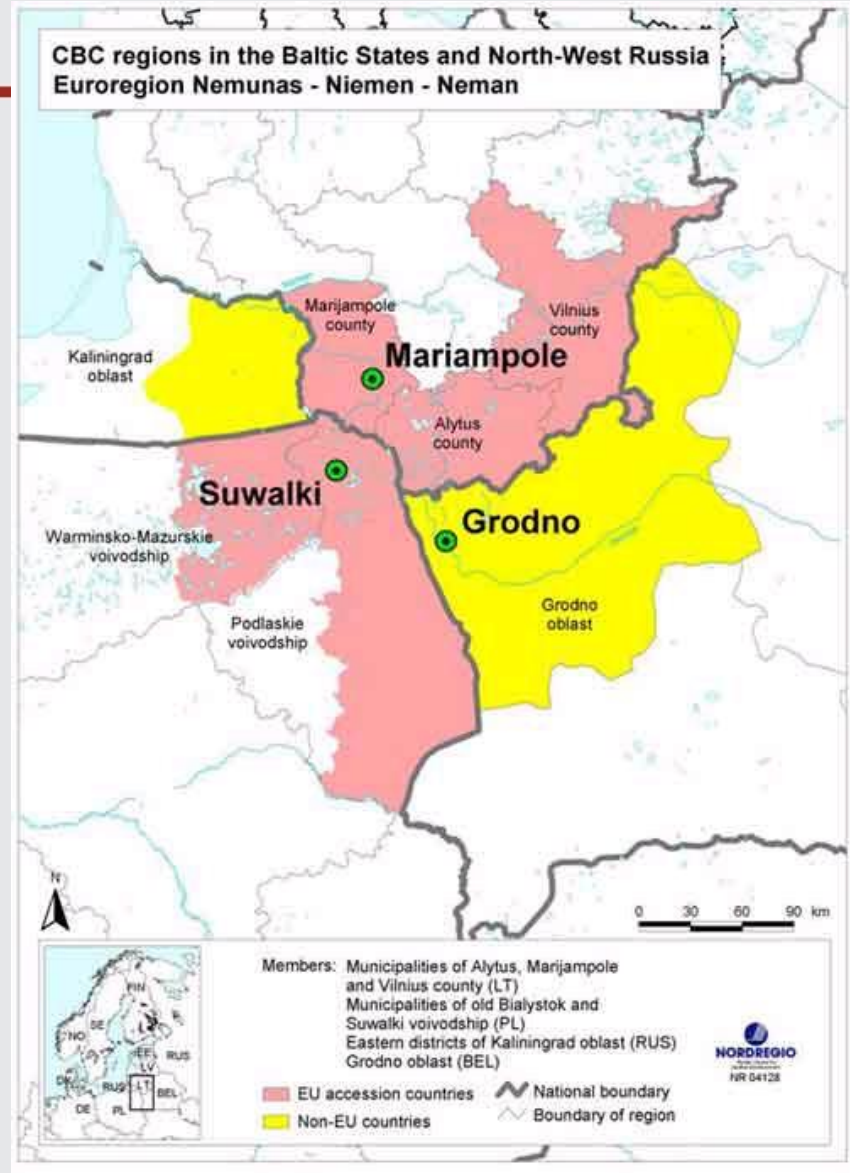


Euroregion “SAULE”



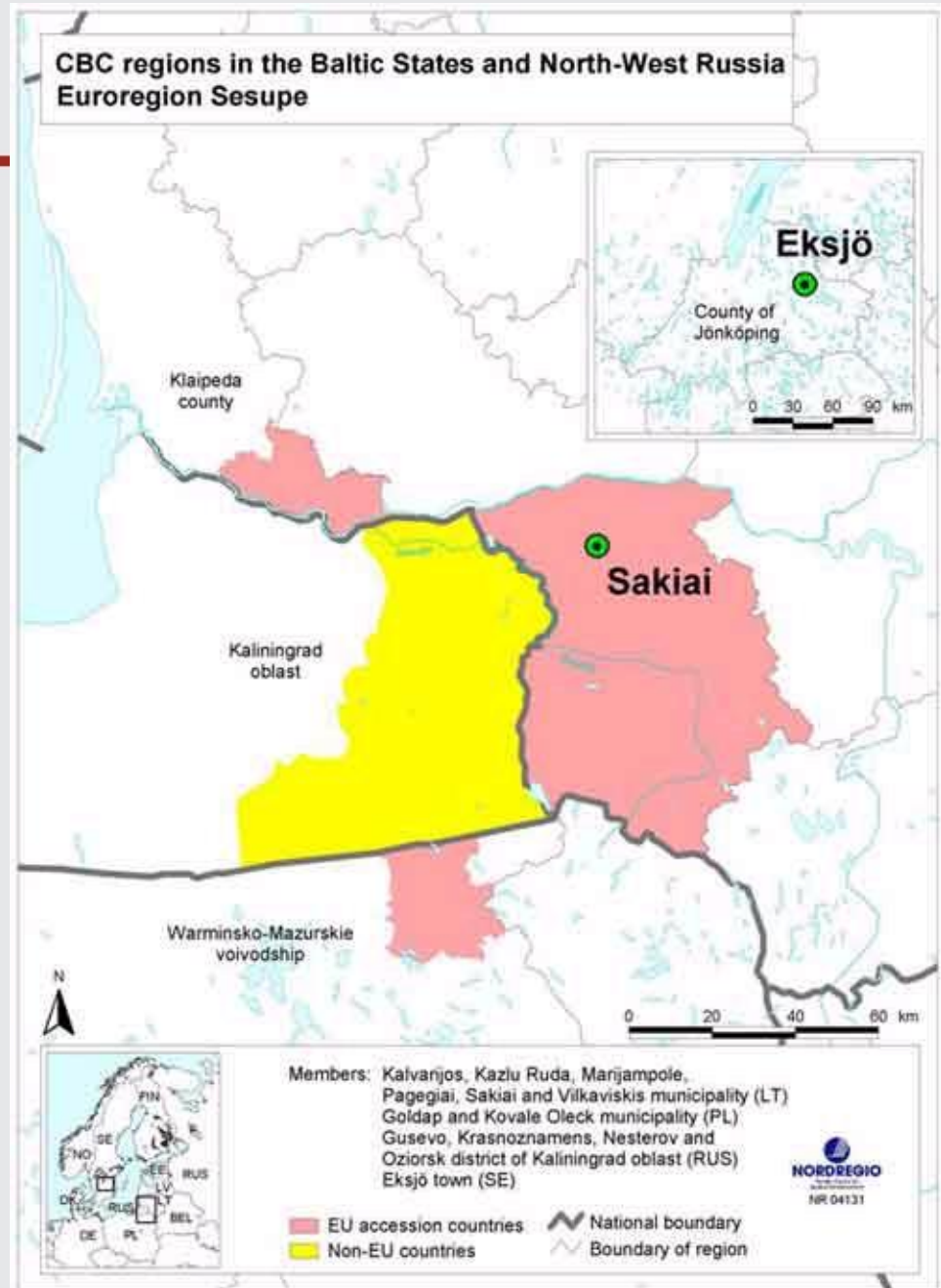


Euroregion “NEMAN”



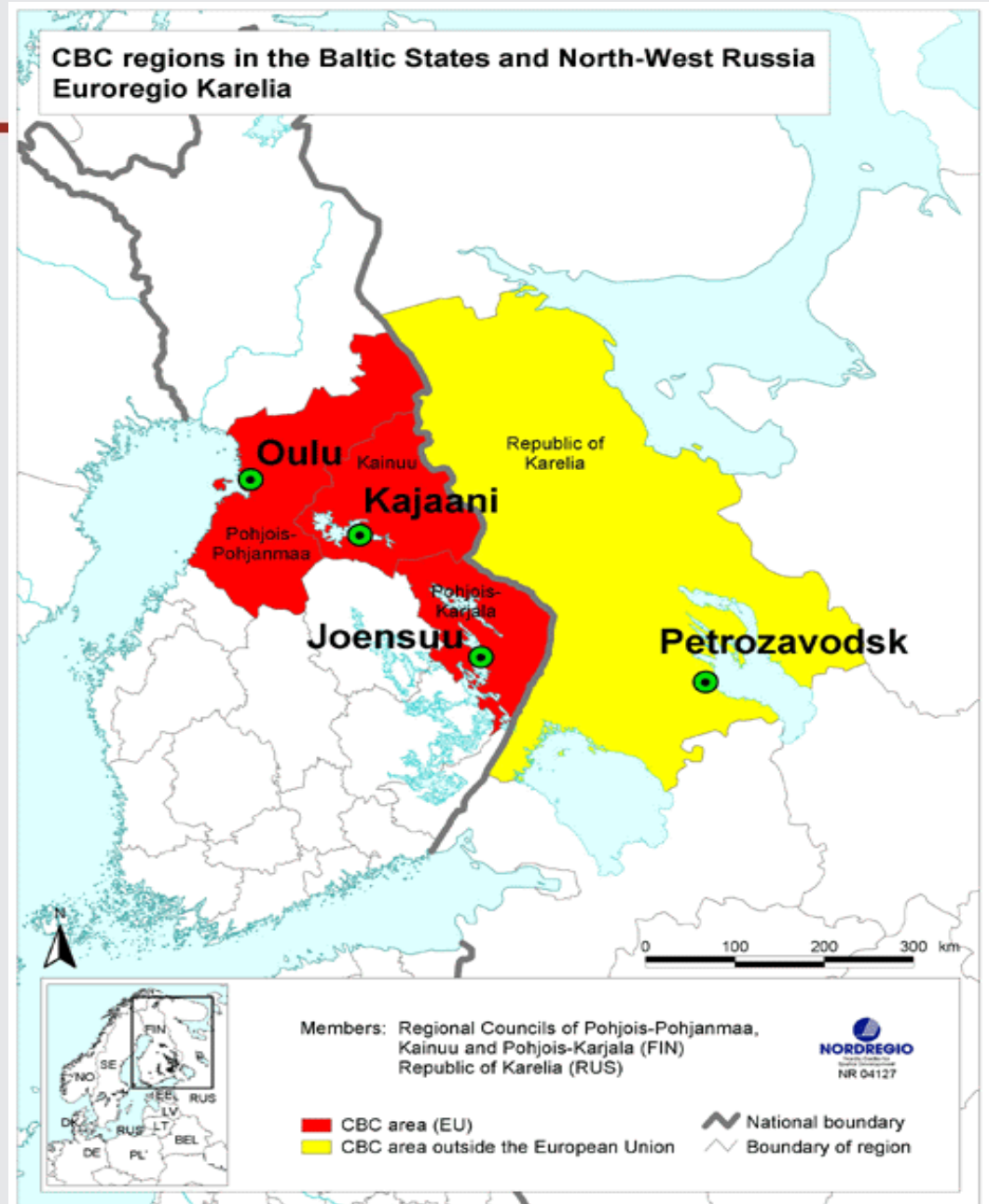


Euroregion “Šešupė”





EUROREGION “Karelia”





Euroregion Pskov-Livonia (2003)





LESSONS FROM THE EUROREGIONS' EXPERIENCE

- With exception of the Baltic and Karelia Euroregions, they are semi-dormant, do not work properly
- Basically reduced to the 'bureaucratic tourism'
- A lot of overlapping, the lack of coordination and a proper division of labour
- It is unclear: whether each Euroregion should specialize on particular freedoms or cover all 4Fs?
- Unhealthy competition for funds/sponsors
- Are the Euroregions sustainable without or with a minimal support (financial, administrative, moral) of Moscow, EU, IFIs, etc.?



POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS:

- The existing and future Euroregions with Russia's participation should become one of the locomotives of the EU-Russia cooperation on CES/FTA business. While general rules are established at the national/supranational level the implementation of concrete projects should be done by local companies and governments. It is advisable that the creation of the CES and promotion of the 4Fs should become the main priority for the Euroregions.
- The Euroregions also can contribute to facilitation of the movement of people and goods in the sub-region by building new and developing the existing border crossings and the transport infrastructure in the area. Currently, local governments prefer to shoulder this responsibility on the federal budget. However, with providing local government with more powers in taxation the local authorities will feel themselves more responsible for this business (on the one hand) and get more funds for implementing projects (on the other).



POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS:

- A better division of labour should be established between the Euroregions. While the Baltic and Karelia Euroregion could keep its current specialisation on sub-regional economic planning, support of private entrepreneurship, environment protection and home and justice affairs (particularly, fighting organised crime), Saule Euroregions could focus on cross-border trade and developing the transportation infrastructure. The Neman, Lyna-Lava and Sesupe Euroregions could pay more attention to development of people-to-people contacts, education, culture and cooperation between NGOs. In addition, the Neman Euroregion could focus on engaging Belarus (which is becoming an important priority for the ENP) in sub-regional co-operation. Border crossings development could be a joint sphere of responsibility for all Euroregions.



City twinning

City-twinning has become a widespread phenomenon elsewhere in Europe, including in former socialist countries like Russia. The Russian and European municipal actors believe that border-related resources can be utilized more effectively with cooperation extended beyond state borders, although the efficiency and scale of twinning projects vary across Russia's border municipalities to a considerable degree.



Geographical scope

Three city pairs are chosen for case studies: Narva-Ivangorod, Imatra-Svetogorsk and Kirkenes-Nickel which are located on Russia's borders with Estonia, Finland and Norway, respectively.



City-twinning: a conceptual dimension

Related concepts:

- 'connected cities'
- 'border-crossing cities'
- 'trans-border cities'
- 'partnership cities'
- 'bi-national cities'
- 'sister cities'
- 'sputnik-cities'



Defining the concept of ‘twinning’:

Twin-cities: city-pairs that do not just aim at bridging and intensified international cooperation as ‘border cities’ or ‘connected cities’ but also at creating – in varying degrees – communality and joint space



Typical characteristics of twin-cities

- They should harbor a joint history as cities that have existed as administrative units in the past, prior to national borders separating them.
- Although previously separated by borders, this delimiting should have been traded for open borders.
- A preferable case consists of cities where a river both separates and connects the cities facing each other across the river (and, for this reason, they are called *bridge towns*).



Typical characteristics of twin-cities

- There should be connecting factors and features conducive to cooperation such as ethnic minorities as well as command of the neighbor's language.
- There should be a certain level of institutionalization of cooperation between the twins in terms of unified administrative structures and common urban planning.
- The most advanced twin towns purport themselves as 'Euro-cities' in emphasizing their European rather than national identity.



City Twins Association (2006):

- Imatra-Svetogorsk
- Narva-Ivangorod
- Frankfurt (Oder)-Slubice
- Görlitz-Zgorzelec
- Tornio-Haparanda
- Valga-Valka
- Cieszyn-Cesky Tiesin
- Candidates: Kirkenes-Nickel



Imatra-Svetogorsk



Imatra hydroelectric plant



Svetogorsk Paper Combine



Imatra-Svetogorsk cooperative projects

- «Air quality in the Imatra-Svetogorsk region»
- «Development of fisheries in the Vuoksi River, Svetogorsk» (Phare/Tacis CBC TSP 36/97)
- «Program for the development of the Svetogorsk energy system and cooperation with Imatra» (CBC TSP 29/97)
- «Developing tourism in Svetogorsk (Russia) and Imatra (Finland)» (CBC TSP/RL/9803/037).
- «Centre for Business Partnership in Svetogorsk»
- «Twin-Cities Day»



Narva-Ivangorod





Narva-Ivangorod cooperative projects:

- Monitoring of fish stocks
- Ecotourism: Narva River Water Routes (water tourism)
- Cleaning of the Narva riverside with the aim to create a historical promenade on the both sides of the river



Polar 'city-pair'



Kirkenes



Nickel



The areas of cooperation:

- Support for small and medium-size business
- Establishment of a joint Business Cooperation Centre in Nikel
- Environment protection
- Health care (including direct cooperative schemes between municipal hospitals)
- Education (direct links between elementary and secondary schools)
- Training programs for municipal officials
- Tourism
- Cultural festivals and exhibitions
- Library and museum cooperation
- Mass media cooperation
- Women and youth cooperation
- Sports



Conclusions (on twinning)

There has been a clear paradigmatic shift in Russian local actors' motivation as regards twinning. Whereas in the 1990s and early 2000s twinning with foreign partners was a survival strategy as well as an additional arm in the center–periphery tug-of-war, now it has become an integral part of municipal paradiplomacy and a means to improve border cities' international image and attractiveness.



Conclusions (on twinning)

Russian and European border municipalities regard twinning as an adequate and preferable response to numerous environmental challenges that they face in their day-to-day life. Twinning is viewed by its participants not only as an efficient instrument for solving local ecological problems but also for ensuring their sustainable development.



CONCLUSIONS (GENERAL)

In general, EU–Russia CBC programmes provide a very effective instrument for the promotion of strategic cooperation between the partner countries, even in the post-2014 environment. Relations between some EU member states and Russian institutions in the transport, border management, environmental, healthcare, educational and cultural sectors seem to be very strong and there is great willingness to continue cooperation. These practical forms of cooperation appear to be strongly supported at high political levels in both the EU countries and Russia, despite ongoing diplomatic tensions.



CONCLUSIONS

There are, however, a number of caveats regarding the role of CBC in developing strategic cooperation between the EU and Russia. While relations between European and Russian national and subnational authorities seem to be strongly supported by past and present programmes, the same impact is not so evident in relations between Brussels and Moscow. There are many complex geopolitical factors that negatively affect EU-Russian relations, including in the CBC sphere. For this reason, CBC programmes probably have the greatest strategic value at the regional and local/municipal levels rather than at the top tier.



CONCLUSIONS

Meanwhile, there is a growing feeling in Brussels that CBC provides a valuable forum for practical cooperation between the EU and Russia, which may eventually facilitate a broader political engagement. The European Council's decision (taken in the aftermath of the crisis in Ukraine) to exclude CBC from the restrictions on cooperation with Russia confirms this trend.



CONCLUSIONS

On a practical note, better coordination and synergies could be sought between ENI CBC and other ENPI instruments (bilateral, regional and neighbourhood-wide assistance) and EU political initiatives (the EU SBSR and the ND policy). It is especially important to establish a proper division of labour between ENI CBC programmes on the one hand and the ND partnerships and Euroregions on the other. Some duplication currently exists in terms of specific projects, participants and funding schemes. The ND partnerships, Euroregions and city twinning should be revived because they have proved to be important CBC instruments that complement and reinforce ENI CBC programmes.



CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, in spite of a number of negative factors – such as an unfavourable geopolitical environment, EU-Russian tensions and mutual sanctions, the lack of some stakeholders' commitment to specific CBC projects, some partners' inexperience in managing international projects, and numerous technical difficulties in project implementation – EU–Russia CBC appears to be a useful and effective instrument in building practical cooperation and trust at the transnational, national, regional and local levels. This in turn results in creating and sustaining a solid interdependency mechanism between the EU and Russia.