



**GROUPEMENT D'ÉTUDES ET DE RECHERCHES
NOTRE EUROPE**

President : Jacques DELORS

**CROSSBORDER AND TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION,
THE NEW EUROPE IS INVENTING ITSELF IN ITS
MARGINS**

**Seminar organised
by Unioncamere and Notre Europe
in Brussels the 13 November 2001**

Report by Jean-Louis Arnaud

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Notre Europe

Notre Europe is an independent research and policy unit whose objective is the study of Europe – its history and civilisations, integration process and future prospects. The association was founded by Jacques Delors in the autumn of 1996. It has a small team of in-house researchers from various countries.

Notre Europe participates in public debate in two ways. First, publishing internal research papers and second, collaborating with outside researchers and academics to contribute to the debate on European issues. These documents are made available to a limited number of decision-makers, politicians, socio-economists, academics and diplomats in the various EU Member States.

The association also organises meetings and conferences in association with other institutions and publications. Under the organisation's articles of association, a European Steering Committee comprising leading figures from various European countries and political and professional origins meets at least three times a year. Website: www.notre-europe.asso.fr

Unioncamere

Unioncamere is the Italian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture.

In 1999, the Association set up the Brussels-based European Research Laboratory on the relations between enterprises and the European institutions, in order to meet the need to examine more closely those subjects which directly impact on European enterprises when they come into contact with the institutions: the challenge of competitiveness and globalisation, and the difficult choice of a model of development for the Union which takes into account localised needs and can bring about economic and social cohesion. From the point of view of its institutions, the Union is seeking new forms of governance which can increase participation by the public, business, civil society and all of the public and private players from all over the territory in the European project.

The Laboratory has already organised several seminars on the major challenges facing Europe and has published reports on these debates. Website: www.unioncamere.it

The organisers would like to warmly thank the Committee of the Regions for its support.

FOREWORD

The disappearance of physical borders and the freedom to move and exchange is the most immediate expression of the European dream for the citizens of our countries. But what shall actually happen to the borders that are supposed to have been abolished between the current Member States and, in the immediate future, for the candidate countries in the process of accession? It is in response to this question that Notre Europe and Unioncamere organised, on 13th November 2001, a seminar based on six examples of cross-border and transnational co-operation.

A new way of building and living Europe is being invented at these borders. The themes of co-operation do not exactly coincide with the political priorities of the European Union, but relate in large part to culture and communication, education, employment, health, and at times, immigration. In short, they reflect the daily concerns of the populations. To the same degree, the actors are not those of the Brussels Europe, above all they are the municipalities, non profit organisations, and small and medium sized firms. Contrary to those who would like to place an institutional model over these practices : this is not the Europe of the Regions. It is something more simple and more innovative : the manifestation of a community of interests that transcends national borders, and the desire to break through these barriers to make life more easy.

But, there are numerous difficulties for those who attempt this simple programme ! There are no legal frameworks or pertinent financial networks, national and community programmes have not adapted to this transborder reality: 15 years after the adoption of the Single European Act, it appears as if the central administrations take some cruel pleasure in re-closing national borders through procedures.

When it relates to co-operation between regions of current and future members (three of the six cases studied here), these difficulties become excessive even more so when one considers that these problems are often of a totally new character: the lot of ethnic minorities, police security, the struggle against illegal immigration. Decisions taken recently to facilitate the relations between the INTERREG programmes – for the current Member States – and PHARE – for the future Member States – appear rather timid. Nevertheless, the process of integration, the key to the success of the reunification of Europe, is patently clear in these studies. Learning new methods of public management, exchanging ideas and sharing resources in order to mount common projects is common. When one remembers that these border regions, the ones that shall be most effected by enlargement, constitute 68% of the territory and 58% of the population of the future Member States, one can clearly judge the size of the challenge.

The aim of this seminar was not to define what might be the shape of future European programmes in this area, but rather to look differently these cross border region, to analyse them as sites of opportunity and creativity, and not merely as marginal areas that are the source of problems. Notre Europe is honoured to have been able to contribute to this debate with the help of Unioncamere, and I am grateful to Marjorie Jouen who was at once the inspiration and the driving force behind the project with Alessandra Pasetti.

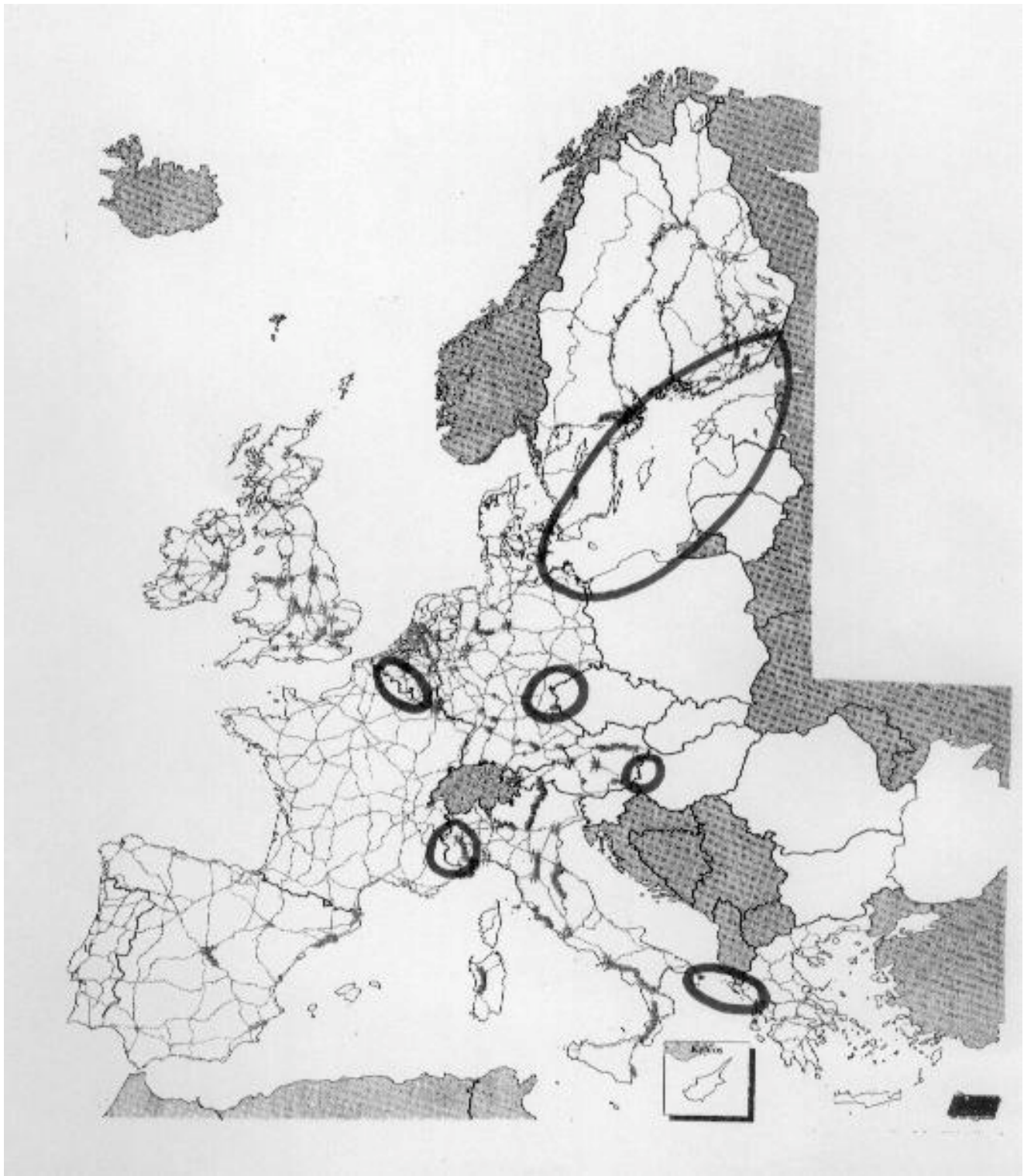
Jacques Delors

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MAP OF CASE-STUDIES



REPORT

The seminar opened with, by way of epigraph, a quotation from the Italian author Claudio Magris on the ambiguous nature of borders, described as a "bridge towards others" but also "a barrier against them", which often reflect "an obsession to position someone or something on the other side..."¹.

A description which, according to *Unioncamere's* secretary-general, **Giuseppe Tripoli**, aptly reflected the value of the six case studies on crossborder cooperation that were about to be presented. He pointed out that the multiplicity of borders enhance Europe's diversity and, in these days of globalisation, are an asset which sets it apart from other regions of the world. And while these borders bear witness to frequently violent confrontation, the scars are no longer as deep as they were a few decades ago. The time has come to erase the last traces by establishing a mesh of relations between areas that have long been separated but are no longer as isolated from one another as they were in the past.

The euro will facilitate integration and price comparability across borders. And the enlargement process is already changing the status of thousands of kilometres of frontiers. Once the Union's external borders, these are set to become internal. The process will encourage massive investment in infrastructure, capital goods, networks and services, said Tripoli, before insisting on three points:

- Alongside the States and the European institutions, the real players in European integration are those operating at grassroots level: citizens, enterprises and local authorities. Their contribution is not yet sufficiently exploited.
- And the regions, on account of their geographical, economic and cultural homogeneity, are playing an increasingly important role in competition compared with the Member States.

¹ The study « Is the new Europe inventing itself in its margins ? Crossborder and transnational cooperation » coordinated by Marjorie Jouen, James W. Scott, Daniel Poulenard, Peter Jurczek, Bernard Köppen, Ferenc Mészlivetz and Ferruccio Dardanella (October 2001) may be printed from the Website (www.notre-europe.asso.fr). It is available in French, English and Italian.

- Hence a movement towards the regions and a new political environment in which a polycentric model is taking the place of the former single administration and government centre. Each participant can take the initiative in this "governance" system, in which chambers of commerce in particular have a major role to play.

1 – PRESENTATION OF THE COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

Marjorie Jouen, an advisor at *Notre Europe*, coordinated the preparatory work. The sample of cooperation case studies selected, she explained, was designed to reflect the enlarged Union and the diversity of situations: maritime and landlocked areas, plains and mountain regions, and hermetic or, on the contrary, open internal and external borders. The case studies do not focus only on the programmes financed by the European Union (INTERREG and PHARE) but cover all aspects of cooperation. They are built around answers to five questions on the adoption of new methods of public administration, the actors of change, and the qualitative effects, preferred themes and external impact of the cooperation schemes. The purpose is to determine whether the cooperation being established between border regions can be said to foreshadow tomorrow's Europe.

Europe is indeed inventing itself along its borders, because it has to and has no other option, in the opinion of the Hungarian sociologist **Ferenc Miszlivetz**², who presented the **study on West Pannonia**, a small euroregion formed by Győr-Sopron, Vas and Zala (three of the most prosperous counties in Hungary, located in West Transdanubia), and Burgenland (which is, on the other hand, the least developed of the Austrian *Länder*).

West Pannonia has based its strategy on its unique geographical position at the crossroads of five countries (Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Croatia and Slovenia). Sixty-five percent of the outward-bound Hungarian traffic travels through its borders and, on the Hungarian side, it is the most attractive area for foreign investors after Budapest and its conurbation. Its unemployment rate is the lowest in the country. Paradoxically, the uncertain legal and administrative status of the Hungarian regions turned out to be an asset, as it gave the three Hungarian counties involved more room for manoeuvre. In 1999, they were brought together within a single regional development council which acts to all intents and purposes as a local parliament, with a development agency providing the regional development impetus.

² Of the Institute for Social and European Studies of Koszeg-Szombathely, in Hungary.

When Austria joined the European Union in 1995, Hungary (and Transdanubia in particular) became eligible to take part in the assistance programmes for crossborder cooperation. Among other achievements, Miszlivetz mentioned training programmes for socio-economic managers and the establishment of information centres on employment, with the twinning of Szombathely (in Hungary) and Oberwart (in Austria). He also spoke of the Kőszeg nature park association, which brings together the national organisations responsible for protecting the Kőszeg massif – an area of exceptional tourist value. These organisations issue joint publications in Hungarian and German, including brochures, maps and calendars of local tourist events.

Those involved in the daily life of the area have understood that the most urgent issues could not be resolved within the traditional framework of the counties and municipalities, Miszlivetz pointed out. He believes the West Pannonia region, for all its shortcomings and hesitations, can serve as development model for other areas. Horizontal networking is now a common procedure. Players on the ground have realised that the region could not be organised "from the top down" and that it was up to them to decide how to contribute to the regional development process.

The main points of Miszlivetz's presentation also included the following:

- crossborder cooperation has suffered from the Union's failure to harmonise the INTERREG and PHARE programmes
- governance at intermediate level is now being practised in Hungary
- there has been a change of attitude in Burgenland and in other Austrian areas such as Steiermark, which were previously concerned about the social implications of the enlargement to the East: 59% of the population of Burgenland are now in favour of Hungary's accession and only 21% are categorically against it; moreover, the *Land's* president has called for crossborder cooperation to be speeded up in the areas of transport, communication and tourism

"Common sense and regional and crossborder interests have prevailed over national ideology," Miszlivetz pointed out. He added that "regionalisation can be seen as a new means of tapping into the unused potential of civil society at local level" and regretted the fact that

"the local representatives of the national political parties are merely playing a role of passive observers rather than instigators of change".

The study on cooperation in the Baltic Sea region, presented by **Andreas Uhlrau** on behalf of **James Wesley Scott**, of the Free University of Berlin, highlights the diverse nature of this macroregion which encompasses 11 States³ and two economic systems – democratic, highly industrialised countries to the West and countries of the former soviet bloc to the East – with great disparities in infrastructure, living standards and administrative practices. Regional cooperation has nevertheless moved forward in the last ten years; a decisive step was the creation of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) in 1992 to promote democratic institutions and interregional cooperation. A number of other organisations have been created, such as the Helsinki Commission (for the protection of the marine environment), the Baltic Sea Chambers of Commerce Association and the Union of Baltic Cities.

The study looks at the role of the European structural initiatives, and more specifically at the INTERREG II "Baltic Sea" programme, whose main objectives were sustainable cohesion, balanced growth and competitiveness. 120 proposals were submitted and 45 accepted. The total budget was EUR 45 million for the period 1998-2000. The next phase (INTERREG III B) is already under way and will last until 2006. The study focuses more specifically on two projects:

- *Baltic Bridge*, involving Germany, Poland and several Swedish regions (a combination of western European advanced economies and eastern European transition economies), led by the joint planning office of Berlin-Brandenburg and featuring four working parties (strategic regional management, urban networks, improving communications and transport, and sustainable development of rural areas)
- *Via Baltica*, which initially involved a development corridor stretching from Tampere and Helsinki (Finland), through Tallinn (Estonia) to Riga (Latvia), and was subsequently modified to become a Helsinki-Warsaw link along the Baltic Sea coast, involving Poland and Germany and preventing the Baltic countries and certain Polish regions from being cut off from the main Paris-Berlin-Poznan-Warsaw-Moscow axis

³ Norway, Denmark, Germany, Sweden, Poland, Belarus, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Russia.

Analysing the frequently contradictory outputs of these experiments, the study's author regretted the fact that the Baltic Sea project was coordinated by two separate secretariats – one in Germany, the other in Sweden –, and operated as an instrument to accumulate diverse projects rather than interlink them, hence resulting in a scattering of resources. He also noted that the public administrations, which had their own vested interests in terms of planning, took over the programme and that the contribution of NGOs and private-sector players proved to be of little importance. However, the programme did help to achieve a change in local and regional priorities in a broader geographical context and made the local players understand that lobbying is an indispensable part of promoting cooperation aims.

The study's author further welcomed the fact that the project had succeeded in creating horizontal networks across administrative and sectoral borders. However, he also remarked on the incompatible nature of Eastern and Western European financing instruments, which tend to aggravate disparities between unequal partners (Member States, associated States and the countries which will not take part in the next enlargement exercise). The Baltic partners of the *Via Baltica* project, he observed, thus found out that the local PHARE offices, which were responsible for coordinating Community development aid, were very much focused on national projects and rather unwilling to support transnational cooperation...

The experiment of the **Sea Alps** region, presented by the president of the Cuneo chamber of commerce, **Ferruccio Dardanello**, was started in 1994 by three chambers of commerce (Cuneo, Nice and Imperia) and rapidly attracted other partners, including the chambers of commerce of Genoa, Turin, Marseille and Asti, *Unioncamere Piemonte*, the port of Savona, the municipality of Cuneo and the European Regional Bank.

These "Sea Alps" cover Piedmont, Liguria and the Provence-Alpes-Côtes d'Azur region – an area of 70,000 sq. km and 11 million inhabitants (a population similar in size to Belgium's), featuring 150 sailing resorts, 140 ski resorts, 6,500 hotels, nature parks, thousands of historic monuments and a centuries-old gastronomic tradition.

The partnership instrument is a European economic interest grouping, the Eurocin EEIG, which is active in 55% of the euroregion's area and serves 78% of its population. The aim of this consortium of local authorities and crossborder businesses is to promote the economic activity of its members, encourage the region's integration by developing crossborder exchanges and promote a common image within and outside its borders.

The EEIG can carry out the following tasks:

- publish and disseminate journals and newsletters for the business community and social organisations
- take part in fairs, exhibitions, national and international business events
- carry out market surveys, draw up sales promotion plans, and launch advertising and public relations campaigns
- promote the marketing of products and services
- raise national and Community funds

The EEIG builds on the heritage, natural environment and unique features of an area that was gradually pieced together like a mosaic, and urges the population to adopt a common culture, since this is essential to make a success of the project. It has concluded partnership agreements with the universities of Turin, Nice and Genoa for joint schemes in the field of training; it also publishes a bilingual Sea Alps magazine called *Il rendez-vous* and collaborates with the daily newspapers *La Stampa* and *Nice Matin*. Its aim is to use Europe to further integrate the crossborder region in terms of tourism, but also trade and industry. With this in mind, it has created a common logo and trademark to promote all of the region's products (such as agrifood produce) and services. Transport and communications are among its main concerns. Hence its interest for the completion of a high-speed train project that would link France and Italy through a tunnel, the building of new roads and the development of a website that would bring together the region's 800,000 businesses.

The **Egrensis euroregion**, straddling the Czech Republic and, on the German side, Bavaria, Thuringia and Saxony, was ethnically and linguistically homogeneous until the end of the

second world war, when a large part of its mainly German-speaking population was expelled from north-west Czechoslovakia. Carefully avoiding the term "Sudeten", which is still too intimately linked to unhealed wounds, **Bernhard Köppen**, a geographer from Chemnitz university, nevertheless recalled the fact when he presented the report on cooperation in the area that he had drawn up with Professor **Peter Jurczek**.

A crossroads of central Europe that had long been a transit point and centre for intercultural exchanges, this region of low mountains and vast forests, famous for its spa resorts, was split in two by the Iron Curtain and thus became an outlying area – a situation it is just beginning to overcome after ten years of effort. Its population is unevenly distributed: 76 inhabitants/sq. km in the Czech part, 114 in Thuringia, 115 in Bavaria and 218 in Saxony. Its economy, based on agriculture, tourism and mature industries (textiles, glass and porcelain), is fragile. Hence the fact that many Czech and Saxon border workers seek work in Bavaria. And the existence of illegal immigration and smuggling.

When it began, the crossborder cooperation initiative – which had cultural objectives (developing the feeling of a common culture and fostering school exchanges) in addition to economic ones – had to contend with a centralised Czech system (the fact that everything had to go through Prague), financing complications, discouraging delays (up to 19 months) for field workers and lack of staff.

The study's authors nevertheless reported that significant progress has been made over the last ten years: in particular, greater motivation of the various players on either side of the border and a better understanding of mutual interests, a common image and promotion at national and international level, a good degree of professional cooperation in areas such as forestry, tourism, nature protection, school and university education, culture and sport, etc. The authors also deplored the fact that the INTERREG and PHARE programmes were not compatible. They called for the financing of projects in accordance with their crossborder significance, keeping administrative burdens to a minimum, and underlined the risk of massive migration if the flexibility on employing workers and service providers from Central and Eastern Europe is not temporarily restricted once their respective States join the European Union.

Between Belgium and France, the area **covering the Hainaut province on the one hand and Nord-Pas de Calais and Picardie on the other** offers a typical example of an open border. **Daniel Poulenard**, of the network *Parcourir France*, pointed out that the administrative border of this plain, which is devoid of geographical obstacle, appears to be totally illogical. In actual fact, it is the product of a succession of historical pacts which separated coherent economic zones and split entire cities and their hinterlands. The area reflects 200 years of common economic history which saw major French and Belgian mining basins grow and prosper, before recently experiencing severe restructuring difficulties. It is densely populated – 2.5 million inhabitants in the Nord *département* alone and 1.3 million in the province of Hainaut – and has a high unemployment rate: over 12% in France in 2000 (2 points above the national average) and 23% in Belgium (8 points above the average). Hence the decision to include part of this region (notably Valenciennes in 1994) among the "Objective 1 areas". And the successive INTERREG investment programmes: EUR 32 million between 1991 and 1993, and EUR 72 million between 1994 and 1999.

In this region, the INTERREG I and II programmes brought together or confronted spontaneous forms of crossborder exchanges resulting from history and a European logic primarily geared to organising these flows. Poulenard made a distinction between rational cooperation – as in the case of the Lille conurbation – and opportunistic, politically or economically motivated cooperation (where there was no absolute obligation to cooperate with the neighbour).

According to Poulenard, the main players were the local and regional authorities, which were involved on an experimental basis. He noted that the private sector was very poorly represented, and suggested that this lack of enthusiasm was due to fear of competition, but also administrative red tape. He pointed out the important role played by NGOs, which often grew stronger thanks to the cooperation programmes themselves.

What lessons can be drawn from these measures? Very often, the experiments undertaken have not yet enabled the joint management of projects, observed Poulenard. Among their achievements, he mentioned greater awareness of the regional dimension, the creation of crossborder employment areas and the removal of certain border-related handicaps (in the field of transport and healthcare).

What is holding things up is mainly the lack of appropriate legal instruments; as a result, local cooperation is often based on makeshift arrangements. "The transition from 'crossborder process' to 'crossborder area' cannot be achieved without substantial harmonisation of not only legal, but also technical, taxation and administrative provisions at national level," he said, mentioning the lack of a suitable European legal status for a crossborder management body as the most striking example. Another obstacle is the way programmes are organised. Institutions are given too strong a role, to the detriment of businesses and civil society. Poulenard identified two ways of moving forward in the short term: opening programmes up to civil society (the media, school exchanges and cooperation, development agencies as instruments to break institutional deadlocks, etc.), and progressing from experimentation to action and joint management.

It was then the turn of the president of the Lecce chamber of commerce, **Sergio D'Oria**, to present the last case selected for the seminar: **the Ionian Sea cooperation initiative between the province of Lecce (Italy) and the province of Ioannina (Greece)**, which are both Objective 1 areas for the purposes of the Community's Structural Fund assistance.

Puglia and Lecce are enjoying the benefits of recent but intense industrialisation, with newly created small and medium-sized enterprises, a young and skilled workforce, a university that is a recognised centre of excellence in the field of human sciences and technology, and a very strong tradition of social cohesion. However, the region is also having to cope with bottlenecks that are undermining its development: limited capacity to deliver technological innovation and insufficient infrastructure (in particular in the tourist sector, where reception and accommodation facilities are woefully inadequate).

As for Epirus and Ioannina, D'Oria highlighted a situation of social and economic deadlock, with living standards below the European average, a population concentrated around the city of Ioannina (which is steadily increasing as a result of returning migrants), and an unemployment rate above the national average. On the other hand, the region has considerable development potential as regards agrifood processing (milk, oil, fish and wine), natural, historical and architectural resources which provide a sound basis for investment in tourism, hydroelectric resources and a university whose number of students has risen in recent years.

EUR 3.6 million have been allocated to the cooperation project (65% from the ERDF and the rest from the chamber of commerce of Lecce). The project's aim is to encourage joint promotion of products and sites, using economic studies on the agrifood sector as a basis to determine the most appropriate economic development strategy. D'Oria made particular mention of the fairs of Galatina and Salento, which will host Italo-Greek events. Among the results already achieved, he pointed to an intensification of exchanges between the two areas and the positive effects of a joint promotion strategy towards the outside world (in Europe, Japan and Canada). He also said that there had been a marked increase in employment in businesses (quoting a figure of 20% to 25%) and alluded to a future direct air link between Lecce and Ioannina.

Marjorie Jouen then drew **overall conclusions from the six studies** and observed that a new Europe – albeit a somewhat unexpected one – is indeed developing along its former internal and external borders. In this portrait of a newly emerging Europe, what caught her attention was primarily:

- the changes in behaviour, rather than the emergence of new frameworks reflecting institutional reforms
- the opportunities for a "crash course" on decentralisation, contributing to a better use of local administration instruments
- local decision-makers on one side of the border taking into account what is decided by their neighbours on the other side, possibly to review their own decisions or even develop joint projects in response to a common need in the border area
- the fact that commitment to working together is more important than how long the cooperation has lasted.

Who are the most enthusiastic players? Mainly those involved at local level, such as the mayors and elected representatives of border cities, but also enterprises operating near the border, said Marjorie Jouen. Then the public-sector players: administrative bodies and to a lesser extent the representatives of civil society (probably an effect of the INTERREG instrument). Lastly, organisations whose priority is societal issues – the problems experienced

by the population in its daily life and its cultural and educational expectations, rather than more structural needs.

Enterprises frequently play second fiddle to the public sector but, where the State is not present, they readily take on the role they should rightfully have. She also noted the business community's willingness to innovate and to take action without necessarily waiting for a Community cooperation programme to be established. In practice, those that play a driving role are often the organisations representing enterprises rather than enterprises themselves.

Marjorie Jouen observed that cooperation at local level makes the border more permeable for those who have to live with it on a daily basis and that regions that have long been excluded are well on the way towards breaking their isolation or have even already become major transit areas. She also highlighted the fact that communication, information and culture are predominant themes in cooperation programmes. The media, the press, universities and other cultural organisations are far more represented than more traditional sectors of activity. Then come education and research, followed by all that has to do with daily life, employment and health, before the economy and innovation or leisure and tourism. She further noted the cooperation on issues related to policing and security, with a view to combating illegal migration and criminal financial activities. Paradoxically, regional planning is at the bottom of the list. Lastly, she pointed out that legal, financial and accounting obstacles were preventing the emergence of crossborder regional entities. This has to do with the nature and extent of the problems at certain borders, as well as the predominance of the public sector and ensuing delays and lack of dynamism.

By way of conclusion, Marjorie Jouen invited participants to:

- regard border areas as "lands of opportunity and creativity" rather than as costly problem areas
- overcome the limitations of the INTERREG system by means of a more political approach and openness towards governance techniques
- set priorities at the relevant level, and at European level if necessary, as is the case for immigration and criminality issues and the status of minorities

- develop appropriate legal instruments by basing themselves on the Committee of the Region's recommendations on EEIGs, in such a way as to encourage crossborder cooperation so that programmes can be designed for experimental purposes, with appropriate human and accounting resources

2 – WHAT ARE THE BEST WAYS OF TACKLING THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES RAISED BY CROSSBORDER AND TRANSNATIONAL COOPERATION?

As director of the Centre for International Borders Research at Queen's University Belfast, **Liam O'Dowd** is in an ideal position to appreciate the originality and merits of this comparative study of crossborder cooperation in a Europe where, since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the number of borders has increased as much as integration and globalisation. "But we must not delude ourselves," he said. "Borders can change without disappearing, since where borders are concerned, we simultaneously create, preserve and eliminate them."

"Borders are inherent to human behaviour. They stem from a need for order, control and protection and reflect our contradictory aspirations to similarity and difference, our desire to put a marker between *us* and *them*," he added. He went on to observe that, paradoxically, borders governed the development of democracy and the welfare State, while imposing geographical limits on them. They therefore "include as much as exclude, act as barriers as well as bridges; the development of a political system presupposes the creation or preservation of borders."

He noted that the six case studies deal with governance issues at various levels and in the context of two forms of governance: one that is designed for authorities with a pluralistic orientation and that has a geographical basis (municipality, region, State), and another more functional one that is built around specialist networks and organisations operating in areas governed by various administrative authorities.

Crossborder cooperation is easier under the second type of governance. Pluralistic governance is more open to democratic control but is somewhat inflexible, and attached to administrative hierarchy and non-extensible geographical powers. Functional governance is better equipped to solve the problems and more suited to the principle of mutual recognition of each party's standards without need for harmonisation. However, it can be viewed as elitist, technocratic and lacking democratic legitimacy.

O'Dowd believes that one of the key questions is to determine how the extension of the market and consequent dismantling of borders can be reconciled with the development of political systems, since the latter process presupposes the creation or preservation of borders. Furthermore, how can a functional cooperation policy, often implemented by technocrats or individual interest groups, be reconciled with concerns for collective security, representative democracy and social redistribution? "Whatever the answers," he concluded, "borders and border areas will clearly remain ideal laboratories for researchers interested in the changing relationships between economics, politics and culture within a Europe that is itself undergoing a process of change."

In the opinion of Prof. **Manfred Dammeyer**, vice-president of the Committee of the Regions, this round table on crossborder cooperation was an opportunity to call for the powers of regions to be extended in a changing European Union.

"The regions, and border regions in particular, have become essential players in the integration process," he said. "As, step by step, the Union's sphere of competence is being extended to new areas, such as home affairs, justice and security, the nation-States are losing their former leading role." And globalisation has upset the historical pattern whereby the State, society and the economy operated within a single area delimited by national borders.

"Increasingly caught up in the interdependent web of a global economy and society, the State, based on geographical principles since the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, is losing its autonomy and legal capacity as well as its democratic substance," he added, pointing out that, conversely, the regions' political, economic and cultural significance is steadily growing. He believes we are heading towards a new division of political powers between three levels: the regions, the Member States and the European Union.

"For the Member States and regions to be able to protect and foster their political, economic and cultural identity, they must be granted a high degree of autonomy," he continued, before explaining that the Committee of the Regions is in favour of using the principle of subsidiarity as an instrument to share out powers between the regions, the Member States and the Union. "A clear division of powers is the first task lying ahead," he claimed.

Dammeyer, who rejects the idea of a second parliamentary assembly at European level, then called for more power to be given to the Committee of the Regions – both in its capacity as representative of the regions taking part in the Community decision-making process and as advocate of subsidiarity, decentralisation and proximity to citizens. He also argued in favour of mobilising endogenous forces at regional level and of extending cooperation to all partners. In his view, the issue is not "who does what?" or "who is competent for what?" but rather "how and with whom shall we collaborate?". His conclusion was that "crossborder cooperation between regions of several Member States is not a luxury but a political, economic and social necessity."

Claude du Granrut, a member of the Committee of the Regions and regional councillor of Picardie, then drew up a list of the interregional cooperation issues she believes should be studied before the next reform of the Structural Funds:

- the legal status of cooperation initiatives and improvement of the financial networks specific to this form of cooperation
- the grouping of projects, since experience has shown that they serve an area better if they are brought together so that all measures converge towards that area's development
- the division of Community policies by sector, which should be abandoned – or at least reviewed –, in the context of promoting cooperation and economic cohesion between the Union's regions
- the search for a sustainable and coherent instrument for expanding the scope of cooperation programmes so that regions can benefit from the full range of Community programmes

Claude du Granrut feels that the Union's assistance for the accession countries could usefully be focused on crossborder cooperation systems. The question is at least worth examining, she suggested. We should also attempt to determine whether these Central and Eastern European countries should establish forms of crossborder cooperation with those of their neighbours which are not – and will possibly never be – candidates for accession. She also attached considerable importance to the experiments and studies on governance that the convention (which is due to meet in March 2002) could draw on in seeking new forms of political administration.

"All forms of border cooperation are political in nature. They all have – or should have – political repercussions," she observed, before wondering whether crossborder cooperation could not be viewed as "the revenge of geography over history, and the triumph of people over history".

The border regions, which used to be obstacles, have for the last 15 years been crossroads, remarked **Jacky Marteau**, a member of Michel Barnier's Cabinet, the European Commissioner responsible for regional policy. Marteau suggested analysing border regions in terms of "development opportunities and prospects" and noted that the enlargement exercise will substantially change the situation, since these regions account for 68% of the candidate countries' surface and are home to 58% of their population.

Marteau welcomed what had been said about governance. In his view, governance has played an essential role in the success of INTERREG and other Community initiatives such as LEADER, which enable their participants to demonstrate what they can do. He therefore argued in favour of preserving the atypical nature of INTERREG, pointing out that this confrontation of practices and methods holds many promises for the future.

Given that chambers of commerce are closely involved, it should come as no surprise – contrary to what the studies have suggested – that individual businesses are poorly represented, he said. "An individual business cannot automatically take part in managing a programme, whereas that is the normal role of representative organisations such as chambers of commerce."

Marteau insisted on the significance of the INTERREG initiative which, he said, "is one of the priorities of what will be the Community's future interregional policy". Alongside crossborder cooperation, he also mentioned transnational cooperation as a fruitful and promising area. "The development of the Rhône-Alpes region depends just as much on the Lyon-Turin-Milan axis as on the Lyon-Paris axis," he said, adding that analysis frameworks would have to be transnational in future.

Arnaldo Abruzzini, the secretary-general of Eurochambres, supported Jacky Marteau by indicating that over 200 chambers of commerce operate in border areas and underlining the fact that many valuable experiments have been carried out by organisations in the regions involved rather than by public authorities. "The world at large does not move forward solely within the framework of borders set by political and historical events," he said. "It is also carried forward by civil society, which businesses are a part of."

"Prospects for cooperation are not necessarily related to commitments to improve certain aspects of the social and economic situation of an area, but often also arise from the will to compete with other regions or areas," said Abruzzini, who believes this spirit of competition is a stimulus to all enterprises. He insisted on competition as a necessary dimension of a form of cooperation that is geared to improving the economic parameters of the business environment, rather than of businesses themselves. "If we were able to identify this need for competition more precisely in areas that are not clearly defined in institutional terms, we could help a number of networks and organisations, that have no visibility at national and regional level, to make a greater contribution to the debate." He went on to quote the example of the Baltic Sea and of measures which none of the countries involved recognise as a priority, despite the fact that they would deserve to be included in a transnational or transregional cooperation scheme.

Rinaldo Locatelli, of the Congress of Local and Regional Powers of Europe⁴, then proposed to give an outsider's view of the European Union and asked participants not to neglect the European outline convention on crossborder cooperation. That legal instrument was first adopted in 1980 but was substantially complemented in 1996 and 1998 by two protocols. The first involves the validity in domestic law of acts adopted under such forms of cooperation and the legal status of any body that might be established, while the second deals with transnational cooperation between regional entities which do not share a common border. Locatelli insisted on the importance this latter form of "distance cooperation" will have in tomorrow's enlarged Europe, for instance between the Rhône-Alpes region and a region of Poland, Slovakia or Hungary.

⁴ An organisation of the Council of Europe, which currently numbers 43 members and will bring together 45 – all European countries – in 2002.

He stressed that for the local and regional public authorities, crossborder cooperation cannot go beyond the powers of the municipalities and regions. Hence the need to foster decentralisation, "a sizeable problem in the current Member States of the Union, but an even greater one for the candidate countries who have only recently introduced democratic systems," he pointed out, mentioning the work accomplished by the Council of Europe in recent years to implement local and regional democracy in these countries⁵.

Locatelli responded to Marteau by pointing out that, in the candidate countries that have not yet created their regions or are in the process of creating them, it is often said that their negotiations with the Commission are pushing them to give their regions a size and efficiency that will allow the latter to deal with Brussels at a later stage, even if this has a negative impact on their democratic workings. In any event, he welcomed the fact that many cooperation initiatives were emerging among euroregions that were not waiting for enlargement, but noted two causes for concern:

- the fear that visa requirements might separate countries or regions from their immediate neighbours, whose population often has the same ethnic origin
- the feeling that the combined weight of national and European bureaucracy may make it more difficult to adjust INTERREG and PHARE assistance to the situation on the ground and may give governments sole power over the use of available funds

For **Jean-Eric Paquet**, a member of Günter Verheugen's Cabinet, the European Commissioner responsible for enlargement, "the relevance of crossborder cooperation has never been greater than in the context of enlargement viewed in terms of its impact on daily life, and in the context of the hopes and fears enlargement is prompting, above all – sometimes even exclusively – in the border regions and outlying regions of the European Union and the candidate countries."

The worries that are emerging in these regions, he explained, are of an economic nature. Enterprises are concerned about the fact that their counterparts in the accession countries will be able to benefit from lower salaries for a certain period, and will therefore be more

⁵ By means of the European Charter on Local Autonomy and the draft Charter on Regional Autonomy.

competitive. Some fears relate to security, free movement of people and migration. Others stem from the differences in standards with respect to the environment or to increased transport flows further to economic integration.

To resolve these difficulties, the Commission adopted a series of measures in July 2001 to help border regions:

- more investment in transport infrastructure, not only in the current Union but also in the candidate countries
- measures for SMEs, in particular in crossborder areas, with the help of European chambers of commerce
- better coordination between existing Community instruments, and in particular the INTERREG and PHARE CBC programmes, where they have to do with improving the daily life of citizens
- particular attention to the crossborder aspects of the existing Community programmes in the fields of education, training and youth
- specific treatment regarding free movement of persons
- a special role for regions in the communication policy on enlargement launched by the Commission

As regards the impact of crossborder cooperation on the political and administrative bodies in the regions taking part, Paquet indicated that the Union has more than one model to put forward and that the Commission had made the twinning instrument available to regions. In several cases, he pointed out, it is the representatives of the Union's regions who provide explanations and help the candidate countries to establish the frameworks and policies they will eventually need to benefit from the Structural Funds.

ANNEXES

THE RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE: THE CROSS-BORDER ISSUE IN EUROPE

Liam O'Dowd

Centre for International Borders Research, Queen's University Belfast UK

1 - Growth in research in parallel to expansion of cross-border co-operation

Over the last ten years there has been a dramatic growth in disciplinary and inter-disciplinary research on state borders and border regions. Much of this focuses on rapid development of cross-border co-operation (CBC) in Europe driven by the widening and deepening of the EU. Researchers have come to understand CBC as a response to two interrelated aspects of border change:

- Processes of fragmentation (i.e., border creation)– the proliferation of state borders in Europe, post- 1989. On one estimate 8,000 miles of new state borders have been added in Europe since that date (Foucher, 1998). In addition, the spread of regionalisation has created or enhanced borders within states.
- Processes of integration – the impact of accelerated globalisation in its economic, political, cultural and technological forms on the meaning and significance of state borders.

Of course, regional cross-border co-operation did not begin in Europe in 1990. There had been a number of early pioneers in the Rhine Basin dating back to the 1950s and the Council of Europe had long helped, if not fund, many of these early efforts (see Anderson, O'Dowd, and Wilson, 2001). It was not until the end of the Cold War, however, that the outlines of a more coherent EU borders policy has begun to crystallise with the proliferation of Euroregions along state borders.

Since 1989, the European Commission has been the main institutional focus for CBC. This has made CBC more amenable to social scientific research, at least at a general policy level. Rather more difficult to handle analytically is the enormous variety of borders and border regions in Europe – with different histories of border formation and incorporating a great diversity of locational, socio-economic and cultural conditions. Certainly, there have been many illuminating studies of individual border regions and examples of cross-border co-operation. Rather less progress is evident, however, in the comparative study of border regions and CBC. Here the initiative coordinated by Marjorie Jouen marks a welcome and all too rare attempt to draw lessons from comparing a range of CBC experiences.

2 - The Necessity of Bordering Processes

While there is a new enthusiasm and impetus for advancing and analysing CBC, it is important, however, that both analysts and practitioners do not blind themselves to certain enduring realities: borders may change but they will not disappear. Axiomatically, humans are simultaneously border creating, border maintaining as well as border transcending beings.

While CBC is typically identified with border transcendence or border crossing, it cannot be fully analysed or understood without recognising its co-existence with ongoing border creation and border maintenance. Borders separate and connect and it is not possible to have separation without connection and vice versa.

Borders, therefore, are integral to human behaviour – they are a product of the need for order, control and protection in human life and they reflect our contending desires for sameness and difference, for a marker between ‘us’ and ‘them’. They are ubiquitous human constructions, an inevitable outcome of the range and limits of power and coercion, social organisation, the division of labour and the promotion of collective identity within a bordered territory. Yet, all boundaries must be sufficiently fluid and permeable to accommodate survival and change and permit cross-border exchange (see Duchacek, 1986).

State borders, the most significant political borders of the last two centuries, have been typically the products of warfare, invasion, coercion, and imposition. Few borders have been created by democratic plebiscite. Yet, paradoxically, they have been the *sine qua non* for the development of parliamentary democracy and the welfare state. The latter have only flourished however when the coercive origins of state borders have been forgotten or at least removed as a factor in day to day political activity

Borders remain, therefore, somewhat ambiguous, even contradictory phenomena. They facilitate democracy yet impose geographical limits on it. They include as well as exclude. They are barriers as well as bridges. For many, including borderland residents they constitute material resources (both legal and illegal) and they are important sources of symbolism and identity.

3 - Borders of Polity-Building and Market-Building

A necessary part of building any polity is the creation and maintenance of its borders. In addition, rules have to be established for border crossing. Until relatively recently, the EC/EU had no explicit borders policy – this was seen as largely the province of member states – successive enlargements have created a piecemeal process of defining and managing the boundaries of the EU in a more collective manner – witness the development of the Schengen process - the growing attempts to regulate at EU level the cross-border movement of migrants and refugees across external borders. Similarly, the changing nature of border security or insecurity in terms of issues such as terrorism, crime, and environmental risk, has intensified the pressure for EU level border policy.

However, as these case studies demonstrate, the primary goal of EU border policy remains primarily market –building in the first instance and polity-building only secondarily. Despite the economic emphasis of CBC, however, one of the key characteristics of cross-border co-operation in Europe, as these case studies show, is the relatively small role played by private business and the large part played by public authorities and non-profit organisations. (The reverse is the case on the US-Mexican border, for example). Indeed, the danger that border regions might be ignored by business in the Single Market is one of the key rationales for the promotion of economic cross-border co-operation. Border regions are perhaps oversupplied with back to back jurisdictional rules, institutions with mismatched competencies on either side, not to mention legacies of long term division, mistrust and sometimes outright hostility.

One of the characteristics of border change is that the relationship between economic, political and cultural borders is somewhat looser than it was in the Cold War period. Researchers therefore need to be alert to the unanticipated consequences of increased cross-border co-operation and contact in border regions. Such co-operation sometimes encourages subversive memories which recall the frequently coercive or 'imposed' origins of the border. It sometimes revitalises old borders and links between communities and ethnic groups on either side of the border and helps change the geo-political and geo-economic role of border regions. Moreover, although borders and border regions are important in their own right, they also provide important clues about the type of polity that the EU is becoming.

4 - Two types of governance

Cross-cutting these six case studies is a concern with governance, in particular, multi-level governance. One way of examining governance in border regions would be to adapt Hooghe and Marks (2001) distinction between two types of governance. Although we can distinguish them analytically, they interrelate in practice, perhaps most visibly in border regions.

The first type of governance is associated with polity-building and includes territorial, multi-task jurisdictions like localities, municipalities, regions and states. The EU may be added to the list to the extent that it assumes a range of state-like qualities. The second type of governance is functional and involves networking, problem-solving, single issue organisations where the geographical remit is not exclusive but multi-jurisdictional. Building the Single European Market has boosted this type of governance in the EU.

Each type of governance manifests different characteristics. Multi-task governance is potentially more democratically accountable and more clearly a focus of collective identity even it often lacks flexibility and expertise. Its structure is typically hierarchical and centralised and facilitates homogenisation and harmonisation within fixed, exclusive, multi-purpose state borders. Its potential to mobilise popular support is greater than the second type of governance, in part because it manages issues of collective security, welfare and social redistribution. Indeed, its borders are barriers more than bridges, while also enclosing important material and symbolic resources for the bordered population. This form of governance crosses existing state borders with difficulty unless state borders themselves change their location. As these case studies show, the accelerating process of CBC has not yet generated cross-border regions which might be characterised as examples of multi-task governance capable of attracting a degree of popular or collective identification.

Functional governance, on the other hand, is driven by individual policy problems and projects and practised by inter-regional commissions, police forces, task forces, inter-city agencies and non-profit organisations. This form of governance is typically network based and multi-level in form. It is also differentiating. Its outcome is more likely to involve mutual recognition of standards rather than the homogenisation or harmonisation of such standards. It is this type which has been most prominent to date in EU sponsored cross-border co-operation (as the foregoing case studies demonstrate). It is geared to problem solving rather than dealing with distribution questions. As such it is suited to facilitating and regulating market relationships. Its territorial limits are variable but it frequently suffers from excessive bureaucracy and lack of coordination. A strong theme running through the case studies is the inhibiting bureaucracy of INTERREG and related initiatives. It is also frequently driven by state and interest group lobbying and by local elites who lack direct

democratic accountability. For this type of governance to flourish, state borders must be seen more as bridges than barriers.

This second type of governance dominates the discussion in *Notre Europe – Unioncamere* research study. Its merits are clear – flexibility, bridge-building, a rhetoric of co-operation and common interest rather than one of division and hostility. Its drawbacks are also made relatively clear: excessive bureaucracy and lack of co-ordination, its limited budgets and its difficulty in spanning borders which are asymmetrical in economic and political terms. It also replicates in border areas some of the perceived drawbacks of European integration as a whole – its elite-driven and technocratic nature, a lack of popular legitimacy and a degree of democratic deficit.

5 - Future Research Questions

CBC understood as this type of governance needs to be subjected to further rigorous analysis in terms of a number of cross-cutting research themes or questions which take into account the great variety of Europe's border regions. These themes might include:

1. The longevity and different pathways of CBC in each region in the light of specific histories of border formation.
2. Sustainability – i.e., whether EU funding programmes have encouraged durable long term cross-border links.
3. The degree to which CBC has aided the transfer of good practice in public and private sector activity. Has it added value to organisations working on either side of the border?
4. The remaining obstacles to CBC.
5. What are the external effects of CBC on the geo-political or geo-economic position on would-be cross-border regions.
6. The symbolic effects of CBC – as a potential resource for forming, or re-forming cross-border identities.

These case studies make a useful beginning in answering some of these questions.

More difficult, however, is the question of how this type of multi-level governance relates in practice to the other type of governance, - that of multi-task jurisdictions, notably regions, states and municipalities. The lack of effective cross-border legal and financial frameworks highlighted in these studies is in part due to the border creating and maintaining activities of these polities.

One of the key challenges facing practitioners and analysts of CBC is to determine how market-building (border-crossing) initiatives relate to polity-building initiatives, which are border creating and maintaining (see O'Dowd, 2001). How can a politics of functional co-operation often driven by technocrats and special interest groups fruitfully mesh with a policy of collective security, representative democracy and social redistribution? Has European CBC the potential to be polity-creating? Can it or should it help create multi-purpose cross-border regions that might be building blocs of an emergent transnational polity at EU level?

Whatever the answers to these questions, it is clear that borders and border regions remain key laboratories for researching the changing relationships between economy, politics and culture in a changing Europe.

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INTERREG AND PHARE PROGRAMMES

(Communications of the Commission 28/4/2000 - ECOJ C 143 23/5/2000, August 2001 - ECOJ C 239 25/8/2001 and 7/5/2001 - ECOJ 15/5/2001)

Source : www.europa.eu.int

The third phase of the Community initiative programme INTERREG comes after INTERREG I (1989-1993) and INTERREG II (1994-1999), with a budget of 3519 million ecu (1996). For the period 2000-2006, INTERREG III has a budget of 4875 million euro, under the exclusive control of ERDF.

Community contributions will not exceed 75% of the total cost of the programmes in Objective 1 regions, and 50% elsewhere. The Community initiative INTERREG III aims to reinforce economic and social cohesion across the Union through crossborder co-operation (strand A), transnational co-operation (strand B), and inter-regional co-operation (strand C), and favours integration, and balanced and harmonious development of the European territory.

Strand A « crossborder co-operation »

The objective here is to develop economic and social poles over borders through common strategies and sustainable territorial development. The Member States contribute at least 50% of their total funds allocated to INTERREG III to this strand. Areas eligible for INTERREG III are all of NUTS III level in Eurostat terminology. They are all zones that fringe internal and external borders of the Community as well as coastal frontiers, et areas neighbouring or wedged in these eligible zones under a ceiling of 20% of the total IC budget.

The domains of priority action are the following :

- The promotion of urban, rural, and coastal crossborder development ;
- The development of entrepreneurship and Small and Medium Sized Entreprises (SMEs), tourism and local development and employment initiatives (LDEIs);
- The emergence of an integrated labour market and social inclusion;
- Co-operation in the field of research, technological development, learning, culture, communication, health and civil protection;
- Protection of the environment, energy efficiency and renewable energy sources;
- Basic infrastructure of crossborder relevance;
- Co-operation in administrative and judicial fields;
- Co-operation between citizens and institutions; technical assistance.

Strand B « transnational co-operation »

This strand aims to promote a greater degree of territorial integration among large groups of European regions. Its objective is to achieve a sustainable, harmonious and balanced development across the Community, as well as a better territorial integration with the candidate countries and other neighbouring countries.

The eligible zones cover the entire territory of the Community and include 13 groups of regions: Western Mediterranean, the Alpine Area, Atlantic Area, South West Europe, North West Europe, the North Sea Region, the Baltic Sea Region, Cadises, Northern Periphery, Archimed, Caribbean Area, Açores-Madeira-Canarias Area, Indian Ocean-Réunion Area.

The Member States give strand B at least 14% of their total funds allocated to INTERREG III. Taking into account the political priorities of the Community and the recommendations of European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP), the domains of co-operation are the following:

- Strategies for territorial development;
- Development of efficient and sustainable transport systems and the improvement of access to the information society;
- Promotion of the environment, the sound management of cultural heritage and natural resources, in particular water;
- Technical assistance to create transnational partnerships.

Co-ordination between ERDF and PHARE, TACIS, MEDA, CARDS, EDF, SAPARD et ISPA

Between 2000-2002, cross-border co-operation benefited, for the countries involved in INTERREG III, from:

- An aid of 480 million euros in the context of the PHARE-CBC cross-border co-operation programme;
- An aid from national programmes such as PHARE, ISPA and SAPARD;
- Allocation determined by the annual budgetary procedures associated with TACIS, MEDA, CARDS and EDF

For Strand A of INTERREG III, the contributions of PHARE, TACIS, MEDA, CARDS, SAPARD and ISPA respect the principles and rules of the instruments. The application of a minimum size for projects (2 million euros for PHARE-CBC and 5 million euros for ISPA) can benefit from a derogation on the basis of an examination on a case by case basis and the recommendations of the follow-up committee.

AGENDA

Friday 13th November 2001

9.00 a.m. **Opening speech:** **Guiseppe Tripoli**, Secretary-general Unioncamere

9.30 a.m. **Presentation of the comparative research**

Moderator : **Vittorio Macchitella**, Coordinator of the European Research Laboratory, Unioncamere

Methodological introduction

Marjorie Jouen, Notre Europe

1st case study « Cooperation in Western Pannonia between Austria and Hungary »

Ferenc Miszlivetz, Institute for Social and European Studies – Szombathely (H)

2nd case study « Cooperation and governance in the Baltic Sea »

Andreas Uhrlau, Freie Universität Berlin (D)

3rd case study « Cooperation between France and Italy in the Sea Alps »

Ferruccio Dardanello, President of the Cuneo Chamber of commerce (I)

4th case study « Cooperation between Germany and the Czech Republic in the Egrensis Euroregion »

Bernhard Köppen, University of Chemnitz (D)

5th case study « Cooperation between France and Belgium in the Nord-Pas de Calais – Wallonia »

Daniel Poulenard, Réseau Parcourir (F)

6th case study « Cooperation in the Ionian Sea between Italy and Greece »

Sergio D'Oria, President of the Lecce Chamber of commerce (I)

Synthesis of the findings and proposals

Marjorie Jouen, Notre Europe

11.00 a.m. **What are the best ways of tackling the economic, social and political issues raised by crossborder and transnational cooperation ?**

The research perspectives : the cross-border issue in Europe

Liam O'Dowd, Centre for international borders research, Belfast (UK)

Round table moderated by **Vittorio Macchitella**, Coordinator of the European Research Laboratory, Unioncamere

Manfred Dammeyer, Vice-president, Committee of Regions (D)

Claude Du Granrut, member of the Committee of Regions, member of Picardie regional Council, Deputy Mayor of Senlis (F)

Jacky Marteau, Member of Mr Barnier's Cabinet, Commissioner responsible for Regional Policy

Arnaldo Abruzzini, General Secretary, Eurochambres

Rinaldo Locatelli, Executive Director of Congress of Local and regional Authorities of Europe/Council of Europe

Jean-Eric Paquet, Member of Mr Verheugen's Cabinet, Commissioner responsible for Enlargement

1.00 p.m. **Closure of the seminar**

PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED "SEMINARS":

(the more recent are available on the website of Notre Europe
<http://www.notre-europe.asso.fr/Seminar.htm>)

- *Paris (31-1st January, 2002): **The future of the structural funds and the cohesion policy***
Available in French and German.
- *Brussels (23rd May, 2001): **How to enhance Economic and Social Cohesion in Europe after 2006?***
Available in French and english.
- *Berlin (11-12th April, 2001): **Towards a new social contract in Europe: French and German social models and economic transformations.***
Available in French and German.
- *Paris (4th September, 2000): **European Union: The reform of the Council of Ministers.***
Available in French, English and German.
- *Brussels (28th November, 2000): **Reuniting Europe.***
Available in French and English.
- *Berlin (3rd & 4th February, 1999): **The Franco-German axis: the test of Agenda 2000.***
Available in French.
- *Madrid (27th & 28th November, 1998): **Fifteen countries in a boat: Economic and social cohesion, the cornerstone of European integration.***
Available in French, English, Spanish and German.
- *Athens (13th & 14th November, 1998): **Europe in search of (an) identity(ies).***
Available in French, English, German and Greek.
- *Brussels (10th June, 1998): **National Employment Pacts.***
Available in French, English, German and Italian.
- *Luxembourg (11th September, 1997): **Industrial Relations in the European Union.***
Available in French and English.
- *Brussels (29th May, 1997): **Economic convergence and employment in Europe. What does EMU promise?***
Available in French.