

# Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations	13
1. Introduction	19
1.1 Relevance of the study	19
1.2 Theoretical framework	32
1.3 Methodological considerations	57
1.4 Structure of the study	67
1.5 State of the art and sources	70
2. Part I: The European and regional policy of Germany, France and Poland	75
2.1 Introduction	75
2.2 The European and regional identity of selected EU member states	76
2.2.1 Germany – an old EU member state in the East of the old EU and in the centre of the enlarged EU	76
2.2.1.1 Foreign and European policy actors and their competences in the parliamentary system of the Federal Republic of Germany	76
2.2.1.2 The aim of German European and regional identity: security through broad cooperation on the European continent	87
2.2.1.3 Theoretical implications and specific hypotheses	107
2.2.2 France – an old EU member state in the South of the EU	110
2.2.2.1 Foreign and European policy actors and their competences in the President-dominated governmental system of the Fifth French Republic	110
2.2.2.2 The aim of French European and regional identity: maintaining France’s international rank	123

*Table of Contents*

2.2.2.3	Theoretical implications and specific hypotheses	140
2.2.3	Poland – a new EU member state in the East of the EU	143
2.2.3.1	Foreign and European policy actors and their competences in the nascent governmental system of the Third Republic of Poland based upon the Third Constitution dating from 1997	143
2.2.3.2	The aim of Polish European and regional identity: building up its international position	156
2.2.3.3	Theoretical implications and specific hypotheses	178
2.3	The Weimar Triangle as an illustration of cooperation between Germany, France and Poland in Europe	181
2.4	Conclusion	186
3.	Part II: The regional concepts of Germany, France and Poland and their modes of interaction in the European decision-making process in European Neighbourhood Policy	198
3.1	Introduction	198
3.2	The European Neighbourhood Policy as a ring of friends around the EU	199
3.2.1	European foreign policy actors and their competences in accordance with the Treaty of Nice	199
3.2.2	The EU's relations with its broader neighbourhood in 2002	210
3.2.3	The formulation of ENP between 2002 and 2004: should the policy be focused on a limited or an extended circle of addressees?	215
3.2.4	A critical evaluation of ENP	232

3.3	The phase of strengthening ENP from 2006 to 2009: selected EU member states and their respective regional concepts and modes of interaction in the European policy-making process	237
3.3.1	The German regional concept of European Ostpolitik in the ENP decision-making process	237
3.3.1.1	The regional concept of a European Ostpolitik in Germany	238
3.3.1.1.1	Germany's support for ENP	238
3.3.1.1.2	The European Ostpolitik: a comprehensive concept towards the East	245
3.3.1.1.3	The approaches of political parties within the Grand Coalition	259
3.3.1.2	The European negotiations of the European Ostpolitik	267
3.3.1.2.1	A broad consultation process with EU member states: mixed interpretations by the Eastern and Southern EU member states	274
3.3.1.2.2	Close cooperation with the European Commission and the importance of European norms and values	286
3.3.1.3	Conclusion	294
3.3.2	The French regional concept of a Mediterranean Union in the ENP decision-making process	297
3.3.2.1	The regional concept of a Mediterranean Union in France	298
3.3.2.1.1	The ENP as an issue of EU internal and external balance	298
3.3.2.1.2	The Mediterranean Union: a minimalistic concept towards the South	303
3.3.2.1.3	Broad national consensus for French engagement towards the Mediterranean	305



*Table of Contents*

3.3.2.2	The European negotiations of the Mediterranean Union	326
3.3.2.2.1	The reactions of the EU member states: support by Italy and Spain, December 2007. The Appeal of Rome	326
3.3.2.2.2	The Franco-German compromise as a basis for negotiations within the European institutions: the Paris Summit, July 2008. The Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean	342
3.3.2.3	Conclusion	362
3.3.3	The Polish regional concept of an Eastern Partnership in the ENP decision-making process	366
3.3.3.1	The regional concept of an Eastern Partnership in Poland	367
3.3.3.1.1	Polish ambiguity towards ENP	367
3.3.3.1.2	The Eastern Partnership: bringing the Eastern neighbours closer to the EU	380
3.3.3.1.3	Institutional and party political differences towards the Eastern Partnership	385
3.3.3.2	The European negotiations of the Eastern Partnership	390
3.3.3.2.1	Strong regional consultation and cooperation as well as the general support of EU member states	392
3.3.3.2.2	Constructive negotiations within the European institutions: the Prague Summit, May 2009. The Eastern Partnership	415
3.3.3.3	Conclusion	431

3.4	The effects of the European debate about regional concepts on the ENP in the broader context of the current challenges facing the EU	434
3.4.1	The effects of the European debate about regional concepts on the ENP	435
3.4.1.1	The EU's relations within the broad neighbourhood after the strengthening phase of the ENP	435
3.4.1.2	Forms of internal cooperation during the European decision-making process about the ENP	448
3.4.2	The ENP in the broader context of the current challenges faced by the EU	454
3.4.2.1	The ENP within the new institutional setting of the Treaty of Lisbon	454
3.4.2.2	The ENP in the context of deepening and widening the EU and reflections about forms of differentiated integration	463
4.	Final conclusion	482
4.1	Empirical findings	482
4.2	Theoretical implications	501
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>509</b>