AN ANALYSIS OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN TRANSPORT NETWORK

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ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN
TRANSPORT NETWORK

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This thesis analyses the process of the creation of the Pan-European Transport Network connecting the European Union with the neighbouring regions and Caucasus and Central Asia in the long run. The thesis focuses on the incentives in establishing a continental transport network stemming from the nature of the capitalist relations between market and national and supranational forces in the margins of the global economy. In this context, the parallel processes of the acceleration of the European integration and the establishment of the Pan-European Transport Network are explored. Furthermore, in the thesis, the components of the Pan-European Transport Network, namely the Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T), the Pan-European Transport Corridors and Areas (including Turkey), and the Eurasian transport routes are analysed. The thesis seeks to show that the Pan-European Transport Network has been planned to ensure the economic and political cohesion of the European Union and regulate the trade relations between Europe and Asia, including the transportation of the energy resources. The lack of specific analyses on the main problem of the thesis and the incrementalism in the processes of the European integration and development of the Pan-European Transport Network induce the interpretation of the raw and first hand information, such as technical reports, intergovernmental declarations, official documents, speeches and press releases.

Keywords: Pan-European Transport Network, Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T), transport, ten corridors.

ÖZ

AVRUPA ULAŞTIRMA AĞLARININ ANALİZİ

Doğan, Torgay
Yüksek Lisans, Avrupa Çalışmaları Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Mustafa Türkeş

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Bu tez, Avrupa Birliği'ni yakın çevresi ve uzun vadede Kafkaslar ve Orta Asya ile birleştirecek Avrupa Ulaştırma Ağı'nın oluşturulması sürecini incelemektedir. Bu tez, kıta genelinde bir ulaştırma ağı oluşturulmasının, küresel ekonomi içinde pazar ile ulusal ve uluslarüstü güçler arasındaki kapitalist ilişkilerden kaynaklanan çıkış noktalarına odaklanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Avrupa bütünleşmesinin ivme kazanması ile Avrupa Ulaştırma Ağı'nın oluşturulması süreçleri de paralel olarak ele alınmaktadır. Öte yandan, tezde, Avrupa Ulaştırma Ağı'nın unsurları olan Avrupa-ötesi Ulaştırma Ağları, Avrupa Ulaştırma Koridorları ve Alanları (Türkiye'de dahil olmak üzere) ile Avrasya ulaştırma yolları irdelenmektedir. Bu tez, Avrupa Ulaştırma Ağı'nın, Avrupa Birliği'nin ekonomik ve siyasi birlikteliğini sağlamak ve enerji kaynaklarının taşınmasını da içeren Avrupa ve Asya arasındaki ticari ilişkileri düzenlemek amacıyla planlanmış olduğunu göstermektedir. Tezin ana sorunsalı konusunda özgül incelemelerin olmayışı ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi ile Avrupa Ulaştırma Ağı'nın gelişimi süreçlerindeki "inkrimantalizm"; teknik raporlar, hükümetlerarası bildiriler, resmi belgeler, konuşma ve basın açıklamaları gibi ham ve ilk elden bilgilerin yorumlanmasını gerektirmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Avrupa Ulaştırma Ağı, Avrupa-ötesi Ulaştırma Ağları, ulaştırma, on koridor.

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEATA	:	Barents Euro-Arctic Transport Area
BEAC	:	Barents Euro-Arctic Council
BSCE	:	Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organisation
CBSS	:	Council of the Baltic Sea States
CEEC	:	Central and Eastern European Countries
EBRD	:	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	:	European Community
ECMT	:	European Conference of Ministers of Transport
EIB	:	European Investment Bank
EMU	:	Economic and Monetary Union
ENP	:	European Neighbourhood Policy
ERDF	:	European Regional Development Fund
ERT	:	European Round Table of Industrialist
ESA	:	European Space Agency
EU	:	European Union
ISPA	:	Structural Policies for pre-Accession
MEDA TEN-T:		Mediterranean Transport Networks
MoU	:	Memorandum of Understanding
NIS	:	Newly Independent States
PETrA	:	Pan-European Transport Areas
PHARE	:	Poland and Hungary Actions for Economic Reconstruction
PPP	:	Public and Private Partnerships
RF	:	Russian Federation
SAPARD	:	Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development
TEN	:	Trans-European Networks
TEN-T	:	Trans-European Transport Networks
TEM	:	Trans-European Motorways

TER	:	Trans-European Railways
TINA	:	Transport Infrastructure Needs Assessment
TRACECA	:	Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia
UK	:	United Kingdom
UNECE	:	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe
UNDF	:	United Nations Development Fund
USA	:	United States of America

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Until the early 1990s, the European Community (EC) transport policy had been tackled particularly within the scope of economic integration, taking its roots from functionalism. In the same token, the transport policy analyses for this period focused on economic integration in general and examine it as a tool for the creation of the common market. That is to say, the Common Transport Policy of the EC was promoting the interconnection of national systems by eliminating the bottlenecks, filling in missing links and aligning technical standards to complete a common internal market for the free mobility of capital, goods and persons and ultimately to create a single market.[1]

The creation of the single market and then acceleration of the political and economic integration in the 1990s has given impetus not only to the consolidation but also acceleration of the Common Transport Policy. Moreover, the objectives defined by the Maastricht Treaty for the creation of a Union among the member states of the EC, to some extent, have gone beyond the boundaries of the Member States. The dissolution of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the socialist regimes in the countries around the European Community/European Union (EU) have resulted in opportunities and some burden to the EC/EU. Therefore, the EU has developed strategies to complete its internal integration on the one hand, and to include the Central and Eastern European countries into the EU economy through accession strategy on the other, while enhancing cooperation with the Russian Federation (RF). The official documents also highlights that the strategy was basically to complete

[1] Werner Weidenfeld, Wolfgang Wessels, *Europe from A to Z: Guide to European Integration*, Belgium, Institut für Europaische Politik and European Commission, 1997; Rıdvan Karluk, *Avrupa Birliği ve Türkiye*, 5.Baskı, İstanbul, Beta, 1998; Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union; An Introduction to European Integration*, Second Ed., London, Lynne Reinner, 1999.

internal market and to prepare the associated countries for integration into the internal market of the Union through developing the infrastructures.[2]

Therefore, the transport corridor and area concepts aiming at connecting and integrating the EU with the neighbouring regions and beyond have been developed in parallel with the Trans-European Networks (TENs) consisting of not only transport but also energy and telecommunication. Indeed, the TENs and the Corridors, as well as the Areas and the extension to Asia, are the components of the "Pan-European Transport Network" which has been formed as part of a greater strategy creating a transport network throughout Eurasia. All these cannot be regarded as a mere infrastructure problem, but a "planned" transport network system.

The documents related to the Pan-European Conferences, underline that the foundations of a Pan-European transport policy are laid down on the grounds of market economy, and in this regard transition of the former socialist countries through the EU pre-accession strategy, is indispensable for a greater European market.[3] At the same time, the analyses specifically focused on the subject in question highlight that the transition process of the Central and Eastern European Countries (CEEC) is about the construction and improvement of the infrastructure in these countries to connect the EU with Asia, the Mediterranean and beyond.[4]

The thesis, in brief, is based on the assumption that the European integration process and the creation of a pan-European transport network, connecting core of

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[2] Essen European Council Presidency Conclusion, 9-10 December 1994, http://ue.eu.int/cms3_applications/applications/newsRoom/loadBook.asp?BID=76&LANG=1&cmsID=347, accessed on 26.11.2004.

[3] Pan-European Transport Conference Declarations: *Prague Declaration*, 29-31 October 1991; *Crete Declaration*, 14-16 March 1994; *Helsinki Declaration*, 23-25 June 1997; www1.oecd.org/cem/topics/paneurop/index.htm, accessed on 16.10.2003.

[4] Tamás Fleischer, "Infrastructure Networks in Central Europe and the EU Enlargement", the Polish-Hungarian Workshop Paper, Warsaw, 7-8 October 2002, p.6, http://www.vki.hu/~tfleisch/PDF/pdf02/INFNET-CE_021005en.pdf, accessed on 04.11.2003; Pavel Antonov, "Roads to riches..or ruin?" *REC Bulletin*, V.10 N.3, http://bulletin.rec.org/bull103/roadstorich.html, accessed on 04.11.2003; Martti Miettinen, "Pan-European Corridors and Area-Experiences"(Presentation), Billund, Transys Ltd., 25-26.11.2002, www.ntf-research.org/…/papers/Pan-European%20corridors%20and%20arca%20by%20Martti%20Miettinen.ppt, accessed on 04.11.2003.

Europe with the immediate neighbourhood and in the long run the Central Asia are part of a greater picture; that is the capitalist relations between market and national as well as supranational forces which are all linked to the global economy. Development of a transport infrastructure across Europe and beyond, indeed, is nothing but supranational forces' endeavour to expand the market, which induces new regions to integrate with and to establish where the market forces can easily regulate economic activity. The parallel processes of the acceleration of the European integration and the strengthening of market forces is essential to better understand the main structure which is planned and successfully established by the supranational European forces. In this regard, the national and trans-national actors, the institutions of the European Union, especially the Commision, had some interests in the formation of a pan-European transport network, thus their place and position in the process of this formation is determinant.

Turkey, which is situated at the crossroads of the historical trade routes and is surrounded by three seas, draws special attention in reading how the Pan-European Network will evolve. Turkey's integration with the planned Pan-European Transport Network becomes crucial considering Turkey's EU membership perspective and its location where all four components of the Pan-European Transport Network connect.

Following the Introduction, the Chapter 2 provides historical, and theoretical to some extent, analysis of the process in defining a Pan-European Transport Network, aiming to promote integration inside and outside of Europe, is laid down in respect to the structural relations within the European "market".

In Chapter 3, the components of the Pan-European Transport Network and the inherent dynamics of each component are explored. Parallel and diversifying developments in the TENs, the Pan-European Transport Corridors and Areas and other transport routes are portrayed in order to give a broader picture of the strategy defined above. The system established by the EU which its "networks" standing at the centre and extending to Eurasia through the "Corridors" or "Areas", is detailed. Furthermore, the reactions of the countries through which the Corridors pass, to the whole Network, and the struggles in prioritisation of the Corridors are analysed.

Turkey is also taken up in Chapter 4. Turkey's role in the development of a Pan-European Transport Network and extending it to Asia is analysed, considering Turkey's EU membership aspiration. What is more, other countries which may compete with Turkey in prioritising transport routes through the Caucasus and Central Asia, are explored.

Methodologically, the lack of specific analyses on the main problem of this thesis necessitates posing arguments developed over the raw information. In this context, the incrementalism in the process of the development of the transport networks, together with the incrementalism within the EU integration, is of great importance for this methodology. In addition, the speeches and the press releases of the prominent actors who have a say in the development of transport networks are scrutinised. The technical information and the literature based on technical reports, intergovernmental declarations, official documents of the EU, national governments and non-governmental organisations pose some difficulties in reaching conclusions about the above-noted greater picture. Therefore, interpretation of these first hand documents is crucial for not only to see the stance of the national actors but also to examine the developments achieved over one and every defined and prioritised network project.

CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND AND EVOLUTION OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN TRANSPORT NETWORKS

2.1. Theoretical Basis

Establishment of a transport network and development of a transport infrastructure throughout Europe have been the core of the creation of a common market and then a single market among the members of the EC/EU. It is, therefore, crucial not only for the functioning of market economy, but also for the cohesion of the Community/Union. Moreover, extension of these transport links beyond EC/EU borders is a tool to integrate Eastern European and candidate countries into the European market striving to restructure itself on a continental scale in competition with the economies of the USA and Japan. The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) aiming to integrate the Russian Federation,[5] Ukraine, Moldova and the countries of South Caucasus, Central Asia and the Mediterranean into the European political and economic area without giving membership perspective, is also of vital importance in this respect.

Consolidation of political structure and achievement of economic development by establishing a functioning transport network have always been a strategic objective throughout European history. The roads constructed in the era of the Roman Empire, which were three times longer than the proposed trans-European road network,[6] similarly intended to control and secure economic activity within the

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[5] Although Russia has been initially considered within the ENP, the EU and Russia have then agreed to develop their relations on the basis of "strategic partnership". At the St. Petersburg Summit in 2003, it was decided to create "four common spaces"; a common economic space, a common space of freedom, security and justice, a space of cooperation in the field of external security, and a space research and education, including cultural aspect. See http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/russia/ intro/ index.htm, accessed on 03.07.2005.

[6] See Debra Johnson and Colin Turner, *Trans-European Networks: The Political Economy of Integrating Europe's Infrastructure*, Macmillan Press, London, 1997, p.1, note 2.

Empire. Furthermore, innovations in maritime and exploration of the new routes in the 15th century gave way to trade expansion on a global scale and the control of the trade routes dominated the relations among the powers of the time. The Industrial Revolution which took place in England during the 19th century was also achieved by development of a transport system connecting the whole country in the form of a single market. In this regard, as Johnson and Turner point out, the parallels between the revolution in England and trans-European network project can be clearly seen. To put in other words, "the EU is attempting to emulate on a European scale what happened spontaneously in Britain during the nineteenth century.[7]"

Theorists of political economy, describing the changing relations between political systems (both national and trans-national) and economic forces, and how world economy is organised politically,[8] give constructive explanations to the development of market economy in England during the 19th century. They assume that what was experienced in England at the time was not a spontaneous event, but an artificial transformation of economic, social and political relations.

According to Karl Polanyi who criticises the classical political economy, the free market economic order, *laissez-faire*, was "planned" basically in England in the 19th century, which was a *Great Transformation*, indeed.[9] The objective was to free economic life from social and political control and to replace more socially rooted markets that existed in England for centuries by a deregulated market.[10] The *laissez-faire* is based on the assumption that the market regulates itself, therefore, there should be no state intervention in economic life. By the creation of a self-regulating

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[7] *Ibid*., p.3.

[8] Ngaire Woods, "The Political Economy of Globalisation", Ngaire Woods (Ed.), *The Political Economy of Globalisation*, St.Martin Press, New York, 2000, p.1; Björn Hettne, "Introduction: The International Political Economy of Transformation", Björn Hettne (Ed.), *International Political Economy: Understanding Global Disorder*, Zet Books, London, 1995, p.1.

[9] Fred Block, "Introduction", Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, Beacon Press, Boston, 2001, p.12.

[10] J. Gray, "From the Great Transformation to the Global Free Market", *False Dawn*, Granta, 1998, p.1.

market, the economy, historically subordinated to society, was successfully "disembedded" from society and came to dominate it.

The 19th century free market, however, disappeared as a result of increasing resistance to the negative effects on social relations, similar to what we are living through today. Furthermore, the two World Wars, economic (the Great Depression) and political (the rise of fascist movement) dynamics during the interwar years, put an end to the era of self-regulating free market economy.

Global economic crises in 1970s questioned the welfare state system, developed in wake of the World War II on the bases of Keynesian economic rationale. Interestingly, by 1980s, the free market appeared again in Britain as an intervention to declining productivity, social and industrial conflicts. In fact, "neo-liberal" (the New Right) thinking of reinventing the free market has involved ambitious social engineering on a broader scale, aiming at global, worldwide free market.[11]

According to neo-liberals, the welfare state failed to meet the needs of the so-called post-industrialisation world in terms of economic efficiency, growth and personal freedoms.[12] Neo-liberalism suggested that the impediments over the world trade (market) should be removed by limiting state intervention into economy. In this regard, privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation of states' activities over the market became the motto of the neo-liberal policies of the 1980s, impersonated by Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the USA.[13]

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[11] Eleni Paliginis, "Economic Integration and the Future of the Welfare State in the European Union" George M. Korres and George C. Bitros (ed.), *Economic Integration: limits and prospects*, Palgrave, 2002, *et. al.*; J. Gray, "From the Great Transformation to the Global Free Market", *False Dawn*, Granta, 1998, p.16.

[12] Eleni Paliginis, *op. cit.*, p.251.

[13] A similar phenomenon was experienced in Turkey to a certain extent when Turgut Özal came to power during 1980s.

It is not a coincidence, in this regard, that development of the common transport policy of the EC shifted due to the accession of the UK, Ireland and Denmark in 1973, which were tended to be more market-orientated in terms of how transport policy was seen. Thus, early thinking of the common transport policy, characterised by a focus on harmonisation, was replaced by a focus on liberalisation.[14]

Parallel to this theoretical debate, integration process within the European Community has gained impetus during 1980s. The structural needs of the Community to achieve further integration and the global dynamics made the restructuring of the Community indispensable.

First and foremost, globalisation which can be defined in basic terms as the internationalisation (or trans-nationalisation) of production through the great achievements in technology,[15] weakened the states in the regulation of their economy. According to Woods, globalisation, quantatively speaking, refers to increasing in trade, capital movements, investments and people, to lesser extent, similar to the early 1900s. What is new about the globalisation is, however, qualitative changes in the way people and groups think and identify themselves, and in the way of interests of state, firms and other actors.[16] This means, to a certain degree, a fledging supranational restructuring which necessitates a partial transfer of power from the nation-state to a supranational body.

Although the governments have some concerns about the pace and direction of the integration, the supranational structure established so far, dominates the integration process. Theoretically, intergovernmental approach which explains the nature, pace and scope of integration on the basis of inter-state bargaining[17], falls

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[14] Kenneth J. Button, "Transport Policy in the European Union", Jacob B. Polak and Arnold Heertje (Ed.), *Analytical Transport Economics: an International Perspective*, Edward Elgar Publ., Cheltenham (UK), 2000, p.279-281.

[15] Eleni Paliginis, *op. cit*., p.248,

[16] Ngaire Woods, *op. cit*., p.2.

[17] Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz, "Integration Supranational Governance, and the Institutionalisation of the European Polity", A.S. Sweet and W. Sandholtz (Ed.), *European Integration and Supranational Governance*, Oxford University Pres, New York, 1998, p.7.

short to analyse the incremental character of the integration and role of the interest groups in this process. In neo-functionalist words, however, the benefits, and hindrances to some extent, provided by the new global market economy have generated pressures on EC institutions, supported by the trans-national interest groups, to act in line with the functional needs of the integration rather than national interests. In this context, once a supranational competence is granted in one sector, it also generates a need to transfer of power to the supranational institutions in related sectors. In parallel to this "functional spill-over", the supranational institutions and groups attain higher autonomy to set the political agenda and lead the integration process, which is called "political spill-over".[18]

Similarly, the recession in the 1980s increased the unemployment in the European Community higher than the rates in the other industrialised countries, notably the USA. Therefore, uncompetitiveness of the European economy has drawn attention to the need for deepening as well as enlargement which would strengthen the position of the Community on global scale.

Furthermore, the accession of the respectively less developed countries of Greece, Spain and Portugal to the Community changed the whole structure of the EC. Regional disparities within the Community, therefore, became a problem to be solved for further integration together with the issues of labour mobility and migration.

In the light of these dynamics, the European Community initiated its programme on the Single European Market, aiming to stimulate growth, liberalise, restructure and increase the efficiency and competitiveness of the Community. Furthermore, by the creation of a Single Market, the Community set a framework for a monetary union, which would also limit the power of state in regulation and implementation of their economic policies. Before the creation of the Single Market, the Member States conducted their regulatory policy from a national perspective on the bases of bilateral and multilateral agreements. Modest attempts in 1960s and 1970s set guidelines in the conduct of common transport policy which failed in lack

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[18] B. van Apeldoorn, H. Overbeek, M. Ryner, "Theories of European Integration: A Critique", Alan W. Cafruny and Magnus Ryner (Ed.), *A Ruined Fortress?: Neoliberal Hegemony and Transformation in Europe*, Rowman and Littlefield Publ., USA, 2003, p. 20-21.

of strong political will and of infrastructure. Creation of the Single Market, therefore, made the creation of a Europe-wide integrated transport system possible. Besides, the campaign establishing the Single Market also caused business to consider new opportunities and challenges with the need of EC/EU infrastructure.

The European Round Table of Industrialist (ERT), a think tank comprising the heads of prominent European industrialists and very influential in the orientation of the EU, expressed its fears about inadequate infrastructure, which would damage the Single Market. In fact, the ERT was founded on the preoccupation that there was still no real "Single Market", set by the Treaty of Rome in 1957. What is more, the situation of the European economy was in decline in the 1980s in comparison with that of Japan and the USA, diagnosed as "eurosclerosis" (lack of dynamism, innovation and competition).[19] In this respect, European market forces encouraged by and even in cooperation with the Commission, created "a platform that would capitalise on the experience of European business-leaders, and argue for the opening up of borders and promotion of a more competitive Europe."[20] ERT's role in the promotion and development of the Single Market was also highlighted in its first report "Missing Links" proposing three major infrastructure projects,[21] which would be then included into the Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T) projects. The Economic and Monetary Union, seen as a necessary pillar for the Single Market, was welcomed by the ERT.[22]

The ERT, in this context, underlined the need for the infrastructure development. Bangemann, Vice-President of the Commission of the EC of the time, stressed that the previous attempts to remove transport bottlenecks within the

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[19] Speech by Gerhard Cromme, (Chairman of the ERT), ERT 20th Anniversary Reception, 20 June 2003, www.ert.be, accessed on 20.12.2004.

[20] *ibid.*

[21] EuroRoute-a channel link between England and France; Scanlink-a plan to fill in the road and rail gaps between Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Northern Germany; and a high-speed train networks, *Missing Links: Upgrading Europe's Transborder Ground Transport Infrastructure*, a report for the ERT, 1984.

[22] *ERT Highlights 1983-2003*, www.ert.be, accessed on 20.12.2004.

Community had been disappointing and highlighted the importance of a European transport network for the internal market after 1992.[23]

The ERT further emphasised the "crisis of transport in Europe" due to the fact that while trade volume among the countries of Europe has increased over the last 30 years, the infrastructure in Europe mostly defined in the first industrial revolution, has remained national. According to the ERT, the main reason behind this crisis has been the lack of private financing in infrastructure projects. Because of the expensive and time-consuming construction process in infrastructure projects, Europe's infrastructure has been financed traditionally by governments. However, the need for adjusting capital to new economic and social patterns of global production and to the integration of Europe has induced more active participation of private investment in financing infrastructure projects, just as was in the First Industrial Revolution. Secondly, the inadequacy in decision-making process at local, national and international levels has fallen short to create, expand and operate transport infrastructure projects. In this regard, the rendering philosophy of market over the social planning and centralisation has been in need of a supranational institutional innovation.[24]

These concerns were taken into account by the Strasbourg and Dublin European Councils and resulted in the 1990 Action Programme which set the foundations for the inclusion of the Trans-European Networks in the Maastricht Treaty (Treaty of European Union).

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[23] "The Internal Market Needs a European Transport Network", *Europa Rapid Press Releases*, Ref.: IP/90/437, accessed on 14.01.1992.

[24] *Need for Renewing Transport Infrastructure in Europe; proposal for improving the decision-making process*, ERT, March 1989; *Missing Networks: A European Challenge, proposal for the renewal of Europe's infrastructure*, ERT, May 1991; *Reshaping Europe*, ERT, September 1991; *Growing Together: One Infrastructure for Europe*, Report by the Working Group on Infrastructure of the ERT, May 1992.

2.2. Pan-European Transport Networks: redefinition of the European transport system

Development of a Europe-wide transport policy and infrastructure networks, have been aimed at since the World War II. In the early post-war years, there were emerged the need for institutions to coordinate rebuilding of transport infrastructure destroyed during the war, and in this regard the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), the European Conference of Ministers of Transport (ECMT) and non-governmental organisations for transport were established. The ECMT has been an important intergovernmental forum for policy consultations on the reconstruction of transport sector at a ministerial level without an ideological colouring.[25]

The UNECE, on the other hand, financed by the United Nations Development Fund (UNDF), has developed projects similar to the TEN-T of the EU, called "Trans-European Motorways" (TEM) in 1977 and "Trans-European Railways" (TER) in 1990, providing international legal and technical framework for the development of international transport throughout Europe (Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe). Although the conditions of the bi-polar system and the lack of political will have forestalled the further development of this initiative, the infrastructure in Europe, developed thanks to these projects, forms the backbone of the Pan-European Transport Network.

In parallel to the deepening of the European integration and the developments lived through in the fabric of Europe, the concept of Pan-European Transport Network was debated during the early 1990s through "Pan-European Transport Conferences". The Pan-European Transport Conferences originally organised by the European Commission and the European Parliament of the European Communities (of the European Union) in close collaboration with the international organisations responsible for transport, basically the European Conference of Ministers of Transport (ECMT) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and the representatives of the European countries, accession countries and

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[25] *European Conference of Ministers of Transport 1953-1993*, ECMT, 1993, *et. al.*

other countries invited, to promote the establishment of all the necessary components for a future Pan-European Transport Network.

The First Pan-European Conference was held in Prague on 29-31 October 1991, in an atmosphere where the reform process towards a democratic and a market-oriented system was started within the Soviet Union and the Central and Eastern European Countries; the European Community was prepared for Economic and Monetary Union, and Political Union in parallel to the completion of the Single Market; the Uruguay Round negotiations were concluded as of December 1990 emphasising the gradual removal of barriers to multilateral free trade.[26] In "Prague Declaration on an All European Transport Policy",[27] development of an efficient, intermodal, combined, safety and environmental-friendly all European transport system based on the principles of market economy and fair competition together with an adequate European transport infrastructure network plan, were set as the objectives.

In his speech at the Prague Conference Van Miert, member of the Commission of the EC responsible for transport of the time said:

> Transport is by definition an international activity that extends beyond the external frontiers of the Community. On the other hand, our common transport policy entails the creation of common responsibilities and competence. The logical conclusion is that transport relations with third countries have to be brought in line and must be dealt with at the Community level.
>
> …realisation of the internal market, coupled with the sustained prosperity of our Member States and the liberalisation process in Central and Eastern Europe will boost trade and economic activities in different regions of the Community. This phenomenon will be reflected in our transport system as growth in demand becomes more and more a dominant feature of modern society.[28]

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[26] For comparative reading of the developments of the time, see Dublin and Rome European Council Conclusions, June and December 1990 respectively.

[27] Prague Declaration, 31 October 1991, http://www1.oecd.org/cem/topics/paneurop/index.htm, accessed on 16.10.2003.

[28] "Policy Objectives and Requirements for a Single Market for Transport Services", Speech by Mr. Van Miert at the European Transports Conference, Prague, 30 October 1991, *Europa Rapid Press Releases*, Ref.: SPEECH/91/110, accessed on 30.10.1991.

Van Miert, in his review of progress in 1991 also stated:

> 1991 marked a turning point, moving away from the process of completing the single market (harmonisation, free movement, opening of markets) to that of pursuing the objectives for the year 2000 (integrated transport policy approach, major continental networks, external dimension of transport policy).[29]

In this framework, the EC/EU has developed a new approach to neighbouring countries chartered by the so-called Europe Agreements. At the Rome European Council Summit it was stated that Community's internal development is linked with the adoption of an open approach to the world and close cooperation with the other European countries and all the advantages of the large market will fully emerge only if it is supported by a major transport, energy and telecommunications infrastructure network.[30]

At the Second Pan-European Conference on 14-16 March 1994 in Crete, it was referred to "the need of cooperation in Europe necessitates the gradual opening of internal markets to third countries and the defence of the principles of a social market economy with free and fair competition"[31] and welcomed the steps to develop a Europe-wide transport policy. Furthermore, it was also defined, to some extent, the conditions for the development of such policy in all participating states and at European Community level, which are the principles of social market economy and free and fair competition; safe, multi-modal and environmental-friendly transport; legal, technical and fiscal harmonisation, and coordinated planning. Last but not the least, the corridor concept was defined in the development of a pan-European infrastructure as a starting point. Therefore, the countries of Western, Central and Eastern Europe were incorporated into the networks of the European Union by the

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[29] "Mr. Van Miert's Review of Progress 1991 (January 1992)", *Europa Rapid Press Releases*, Ref.: MEMO/92/1, accessed on 14.01.1992.

[30] Rome European Council Presidency Conclusions, 15 December 1990, http://ue.eu.int/cms3_applications/applications/newsRoom/loadBook.asp?BID=76&LANG=1&cmsID=347, accessed on 26.11.2004.

[31] Crete Declaration, 16 March 1994, http://www1.oecd.org/cem/topics/paneurop/index.htm, accessed on 16.10.2003.

nine identified long-distance transport corridors, together with the Trans-European Networks laid by the Maastricht Treaty.

In parallel to this, the EU, which stepped into the second stage of EMU by 1993, adopted Christopherson Group Report on TENs at Essen European Council Summit in December 1994,[32] prioritising transport infrastructure projects within the EU Member States. In the same context, the development of the EU's relations with the Russian Federation was also underlined in Essen and called on the need for a sustained constructive dialogue and partnership with the RF. Similarly, EU's willingness to establish partnership with the countries of the Mediterranean, representing "a priority area of strategic importance" for the EU was shown.

Though the above-noted institutions cooperate in the development of a European-scale transport infrastructure, they have not been in full agreement especially in planning and prioritising of the infrastructure.

> The ECMT's perspective is necessarily different from that of the European Union which, as one would expect, tends to weigh up the situation more or less directly in terms of its own context. The above-mentioned corridors differ, moreover, from the networks of European interest defined by the UNECE, which are fully-fledged, fairly dense networks and not selected corridors, and which reflect essentially national views on infrastructure. The ECMT's contribution is in fact specific and consistent with the development of a strategy to cater for priority needs in Europe as a whole during the difficult period of transition and restructuring.[33]

A year after the EU had adopted the guidelines for the development of the Trans-European Transport Networks in 1996, the Third Pan-European Conference was held on 23-25 June 1997 in Helsinki, where common principles of a Europe-wide transport policy were laid down. In "Helsinki Declaration Towards a European Wide Transport Policy: A Set of Common Principles", the overall objective was defined as

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[32] Essen European Council Presidency Conclusions, 10 December 1994, http://ue.eu.int/cms3_applications/applications/newsRoom/loadBook.asp?BID=76&LANG=1&cmsID=347, accessed on 26.11.2004.

[33] *European Conference of Ministers of Transport 1953-1993*, *op. cit.*, p.33.

"to promote sustainable, efficient transport systems which meet the economic, social, environmental and safety needs of European citizens, help to reduce regional disparities and enable European business to compete effectively in world markets."[34] What is more, non-discrimination, sustainability, protection of transport users, workers and the public at large, cooperation, interoperability, subsidiarity, transparency, contribution to costs, efficiency in the use of infrastructure and consultation were enumerated as the principles, to be applied to the realisation of the objectives. In this respect, a tenth corridor and the Pan-European Transport Areas for maritime basins were added into the Pan-European Transport Network.

The agenda of the Helsinki Conference was set by the five-point action plan announced before Helsinki. The plan highlighted five themes for action:[35] fixing the Pan-European Corridors and Areas as a framework for ensuring efficient transport services with all EU neighbours (similar approach to the Mediterranean Basin); preparation for extension of the TEN to the applicant countries as a part of the pre-accession process; a common approach to transport technology throughout the pan-European network; the encouragement of intelligent transport technologies; and closer cooperation on research and technology.

As will be detailed in Chapter 3, the Pan-European Transport Network (See Appendices A and B) is planned to be consist of the Trans-European Transport Networks on the territory of the EU (TEN-T); the Pan-European Transport Corridors, which is situated in the candidate countries for accession, in the Newly Independent States[36] (NIS) and beyond; the TINA Network,[37] which is composed of the ten Pan-European Transport Corridors and the additional network components within the candidate countries for accession; the Four Pan-European Transport Areas (PETrAs)

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[34] Helsinki Declaration, 25 June 1997, http://www1.oecd.org/cem/topics/paneurop/index.htm, accessed on 16.10.2003.

[35] "Commission calls for a continent-wide European transport network to meet the needs of the 21st century", *Europa Rapid Press Releases*, Ref.: IP/97/340, 23.04.1997.

[36] Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

[37] TINA Network will be studied in Chapter 3.

covering maritime zones: Black Sea, Mediterranean, Adriatic/Ionian Sea and Barents/Euro Arctic Area; and the Euro-Asian links, notably the TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia).

It is beyond doubt that the Pan-European Transport Network is a long-standing project "planned" by the EU, not only to complete its internal integration through removing obstacles for the free movement of labour, capitals and goods, but also to incorporate the neighbouring countries, which are destined to become member into the European market economy. Moreover, the improvement of the infrastructure within the acceding and candidate countries, notably transport networks, stands at the core of the pre-accession strategy of the EU. To some extent, therefore, neo-liberal policies of the so-called "Washington consensus" which originally "refer to the lowest common denominator of policy advice being addressed by the Washington-based institutions to Latin American countries as of 1989"[38] were imposed on the acceding countries within the framework of the pre-accession strategy.

In this respect, examination of the political integration of the EU (enlargement process on the one hand, economic integration and completion of the single market on the other) is of great importance, particularly for the network strategies. The completing a single market and consolidating an economic and monetary union within the member countries necessitates the creation of new links with the neighbouring countries within a similar political, legal, technical and social structure facilitating the incorporation of these countries with the EU. Therefore, the EU tries to complete its internal integration and to incorporate neighbouring countries into its economic and political system, or to enhance cooperation with them.

Given the Lisbon strategy, which is a new strategic goal for the next decade (2010) set by the EU in Lisbon European Council special meeting on 23-24 March 2000, the EU intends to regain the conditions for full employment and to strengthen

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[38] John Williamson, "Did the Washington Consensus Fail?" Outline of remarks at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 6 November 2002, Institute for International Economics, http://www.iie.com/publications/papers/williamson1102.htm, accessed on 29.11.2004, John Williamson, "What should the World Bank Think about the Washington Consensus?", *The World Bank Research Observer*, Vol.15, No. 2 (August 2000), p.251-264.

regional and social cohesion. [39] In this manner, a transport system, functioning not only within the Union but also in the regions which are essential for the EU's development, appears as the vital instrument in the physical achievement of Union's economic, political and social goals.

The nascent Neighbourhood Policy of the EU deserves special attention, in this respect. The roots of the "Wider Europe-Neighbourhood" concept, promoting to integrate Southern and Eastern neighbours into Europe with the exception of membership perspective, were laid down by the 2003 Strategy Paper of the European Commission,[40] and clarified by a new Strategy Paper, issued in 2004 only days after the accession of 10 CEE countries to the Union. 2004 Strategy Paper[41] refers that the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) is a response to the new situation in which the Union has acquired new neighbours and new borders.[42] It is of crucial importance to see geographical convergence of the map of the so-called Wider Europe plus Russia and of the Pan-European Transport Network. Similar to above-noted transport networks components, the geography defined in the ENP consisted of southern neighbours, Mediterranean Arab countries and eastern neighbours; the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, plus countries of South Caucasus in the longer run.[43] In brief, new neighbourhood policy of the EU is designed to establish a

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[39] Lisbon European Council Presidency Conclusions, 23-24 March 2000, http://ue.eu.int/cms3_applications/applications/newsRoom/loadBook.asp?BID=76&LANG=1&cmsID=347, accessed on 26.11.2004.

[40] Continuing Enlargement: Strategy Paper and Report of the European Commission on the progress towards accession by Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey, http://europa.eu.int/comm/enlargement/report_2003/pdf/strategy_paper2003_full_en.pdf, accessed on 12.04.2005. See also Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament "Wider Europe – Neighbourhood: A New Framework for Relations with our Eastern and Southern Neighbours" (COM(2003) 104) final and on the Communication form the Commission "Paving the Way to a New Neighbourhood Instrument" (COM (2003) 393 final).

[41] Communication from the Commission European Neighbourhood Policy Strategy Paper, (COM(2004) 373 final), Brussels, 12.05.2004.

[42] Communication from the Commission European Neighbourhood Policy Strategy Paper, (COM(2004) 373 final), Brussels, 12.05.2004.

[43] "EU Enlargement and the Union's Neighbourhood Policy", Speech by Günther Verheugen, Diplomatic Academy, Moscow, 27.10.2003, p.5, http://europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/speeches_en.htm, accessed on 27.12.2004.

kind of privileged relations with neighbouring countries in order to integrate them into the European economic and political area with the exception of full membership perspective. In this regard, Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, and Western Balkan countries in the long run, which have already been offered a clear accession perspective, have been excluded from the ENP.[44]

> The ENP is distinct from the issue of potential membership. It offers a privileged relationship with neighbours, which would build on mutual commitment to common values principally within the fields of the rule of law, good governance, the respect for human rights, including minority rights, the promotion of the good neighbourly relations, and the principles of market economy and sustainable economy.[45]

Apart form the discussions about whether the ENP is a real strategy or just a thin diplomatic gesture of the EU to keep its neighbouring countries close;[46] the ENP's success will no doubt affect the development of the Pan-European Transport Network throughout the surrounding regions.

At the same time, in parallel to the European integration process and the development of the market economy, EU strategy regarding the energy resources throughout the Caucasus and Central Asia and their transportation into Europe via safer, shorter and more profitable ways is, to some extent, complementing the analysis of Pan-European Transport Network.

Turkey is also crucial for the extension of the European networks beyond EU borders given the corridors traversing within its territories and the transport areas in its surroundings. In addition to Turkey's strategy towards the Pan-European Transport Network in general, exploration of the position of Turkey within a possible EU strategy towards the energy resources and their flow into the European market as an alternative or as a complementary to Russian networks is of vital importance.

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[44] *Ibid.*

[45] European Neighbourhood Policy, http://europa.eu.int/comm/world/enp/index_en.htm (European Commission web page), accessed on 27.12.2004.

[46] See Michael Emerson, "European Neighbourhood Policy: Strategy or Placebo?", *CEPS Working Document*, No.215/November 2004.

CHAPTER 3
PORTRAIT OF THE PAN-EUROPEAN TRANSPORT NETWORK

3.1 Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-T)

The first seeds of transport infrastructure policy were sown in the late 1970s with the establishment of the Transport Infrastructure Committee, which has functioned as a platform for the discussions about the development of the EC's transport infrastructure. In the 1980s, the process in creating a modern network was accelerated given the campaign of completing the Single Market throughout the EC. The "Memorandum on the Role of the Community in the Development of Transport Infrastructure" adopted in 1979 and the Action Programme adopted in 1990, were the forerunners of the TEN-T to be created by the Maastricht Treaty.[47]

By the year 1992, the completion of the Single Market and the successive enlargement process to the south, comprising respectively less-developed countries of Greece, Portugal and Spain, necessitated a network properly linked by modern and efficient transport infrastructure. Moreover, the shift in trade patterns in the wake of the collapse of Communist systems in Central and Eastern Europe made it indispensable not only to create such a network within the EU but also to extend it.

In this regard, configuration of transport infrastructure determined by mostly national governments within the national boundaries has been incorporated into the competence of the Union. Therefore, identification and development of individual transport projects has gained a legal base and policy framework as a sector of the Trans-European Networks.

The Maastricht Treaty creating the European Union defines new responsibilities in terms of development of the transport infrastructure. The Trans-

[47] Debra Johnson and Colin Turner, *Trans-European Networks: The Political Economy of Integrating Europe's Infrastructure*, Macmillan Press, London, 1997, p.46-47.

European Networks not only for transport but also for energy and telecommunications noted in the Chapter XV (Art.154-156),[48] aims to contribute to create a working an internal single market and strengthening the economic and social cohesion of the regions.[49]

For this purpose, the Treaty gives the Union the tasks of laying down specific guidelines in identifying projects of common interest, backing the projects of common interest and ensuring the interoperability of the networks.

> Following the entry into force of the Maastricht Treaty in 1993, the Commission put forward a comprehensive global framework for the development of trans-European networks. This was the first time since the Roman era that Europe had started to think about transport systems going beyond national frontiers.[50]

Indeed, the responsibility for creating transport networks lies mainly with the Member States in line with the principle of subsidiarity. The European Union's role as a structure and as an actor is, in this context, to act as a catalyst and problem-solver proposing the network design, encouraging Member States to apply it and trying to remove financial and regulatory obstacles.[51] While the financial support from the TEN budget is less than 10% in principle, the Cohesion Fund and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) as well as European Investment Bank (EIB) funds play an important role in the investment of the infrastructure projects. In order to solve the problem in financing transport infrastructure projects, it has been

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[48] See the Treaty Establishing the European Community, http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/treaties/dat/C_2002325EN.003301.html , accessed on 19.11.2004.

[49] Elena Triffonova, Vanya Kashoukeeva-Nousheva (ed.), *Regional Infrastructure Projects in South-Eastern Europe*, Institute for Regional and International Studies, Sofia, 1999, p.219- 220.

[50] Foreword by Loyola de Palacio (Vice-president of the European Commission and Commissioner for Energy and Transport), *Trans-European Transport Network: TEN-T priority projects*, Brussels, 2002, p.2.

[51] European Commission, *The Trans-European transport network: transforming a patchwork into a network*, Brussels, 1995, p. 15.

developed “Public and Private Partnerships” (PPP), which is an instrument providing the public and private sectors with co-sharing of risks in the construction of such great projects.

> The Commission’s view is that private and public investors should form partnerships in which each deals with the risks over which they have most control: thus the private sector assumes financial, design, construction and traffic risks, while the public sector takes on political, legislative or planning risks.[52]

To solve the problem of investment in constructing infrastructure projects, it is developed a concept of “priority projects” and some major projects are identified in a list of priority projects. While they only represent a part of numerous projects of the TEN-T, their selection from a wide-range of projects give them a high profile making it possible to concentrate, attract and coordinate financial resources.[53]

In the light of these tasks, the main practice of the EU is to develop “guidelines”, covering the objectives, priorities, identification of projects of common interest and measures by the proposal of the Commission and approval of both the Parliament and the Council after the consultation of the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions.[54]

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[52] *Ibid*. p.18.

[53] *Priority Projects for the Trans-European Transport Network up to 2020*, European Commission DG for Energy and Transport Memo, 2003.

[54] *Trans-European Networks*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/ten/index_en.html, accessed on 15.02.2005.

Table 1

The Projected size of the TEN-T network in 2010:	TEN-T costs and financing
• 75 200 km of road • 78 000 km of railways • 330 airports • 270 international seaports • 210 inland ports • Traffic management systems, user information and navigation services Source: European Commission DG for Energy and Transport Memo www.europa.eu.int/scadplus/leg/en/s13000.htm	• Total estimated costs: € 400 billion (1996 estimates) • Estimated total funding € 19 billion per year Community funding in 2000-2006 • Trans-European networks budget € 4.2 billion • Cohesion Fund € 9 billion • Structural Funds € 4-6 billion • Annual loans by EIB (in 2000) € 6.6 billion

To move TEN-T forward, a group of personal representatives of the Heads of State or Government, chaired by Commission Vice-President, Henning Christophersen (Christophersen Group), was created and in December 1994, the Corfu and Essen European Councils endorsed the Group's main recommendations, which included establishing 14 transport network projects as Union priorities. The Group's choices were determined by the size of the projects (they had to be large scale), their economic viability, their potential attractiveness to private investors and whether they could be launched within two years.[55]

In 1996, the European Parliament and the Council adopted Decision No. 1692/96/EC on "Community guidelines" for the development of the Trans-European Transport Networks, in compliance with the tasks given by the Treaty. Therefore, the Community sets a general reference framework for the implementation of the network and identification of projects of common interest. The scope of the Trans-European Transport Network to be established gradually for the time horizon of 2010,

[55] European Commission, *op. cit.*, p.16.

is defined by transport infrastructure, traffic management systems and positioning and navigation systems.[56]

The Guidelines which initiate a process of reviewing the development of the TEN-T also include the list of 14 projects which were already adopted by the Essen European Council. The first project[57] is the "High-Speed Train/Combined Transport North-South" (Germany-Austria-Italy). The ongoing project (total 958 km) will streamline rail journeys along one of Europe's major transport routes crossing the Alpines, from Berlin (Germany) to Verona (Italy), together with an increase in rail freight capacity. It is expected to cut journey times significantly and to reduce road congestion along this axis by shifting freight and passengers to the railway. The project consists of the construction of new lines as well as upgrades of the existing infrastructure. In 2001, the project was extended from Verona to Naples, by the Commission's proposal. Funding from the EU up to 2000 is around € 260 million. It is foreseen that the EU will support the whole project by € 258 million within 2001-2006 period.

The second is the "High-Speed Train Paris-Brussels-Cologne-Amsterdam-London" (France-Belgium-Germany-the Netherlands-UK). The project which is Europe's first cross-border high-speed rail project (total 1065 km), was launched in 1989 by the agreement of France, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. It is aimed to be an alternative to air transport by reducing rail journey times between the countries concerned. It will also establish a rail network between the airports of these countries and also contribute to the promotion of intermodal air-rail journeys. Until 2000, nearly € 600 million was paid from the EU budget. Additional € 300 million is foreseen for the period of 2001-2006.

The third is the "High-Speed Train South" (Spain-France).The project (total 1601 km) aims to reduce journey times between Madrid and France as well as within

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[56] Decision No.1692/96/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 July 1996 on Community guidelines for the development of the trans-European transport network, Official Journal L 228, 09/09/1996.

[57] The information about the TEN-T projects is compiled from *Trans-European Transport Network: TEN-T priority projects*, European Commission, Brussels, 2002, *et al.*

Spain. It also connects with the Multimodal Link Portugal-Spain-Central Europe (Project 8). As a whole, it represents a major advance in linking Spain to Central Europe through the French high-speed railway network. Improved transport links to be constructed within the project will accelerate economic development in the regions of Spain, and the extension of European standard gauge to Spanish network will stimulate international trade by allowing trains for the first time to cross the French border without having to change gauge. The expected support from the EU budget is about € 137.9 million (2001-2006). Spain is also supported by the Cohesion Fund within the framework of the project.

The forth is the "High-Speed Train East" (Paris-eastern France-southwest Germany, including Metz-Luxembourg branch). The project (total 551 km) is designed to connect periphery regions of France and Germany with the extensive high-speed rail networks that already exist in these two countries. It also forms the first stage of an east-west axis linking Europe's major economic centres with the acceded countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In addition to € 90 million allocated until 2000, a € 151 million is programmed within the TEN Programme for the period 2001-2006.

The fifth is the "Conventional Rail/Combined Transport: Betuwe line" (Rotterdam-Dutch/German border). The project (total 160 km) is planned to facilitate the movement of maritime freight from Rotterdam port to the centre of Europe by reducing the current dependence on the road and inland waterway networks often causes congestion along key routes. It will also improve freight links between the Netherlands and the rest of Europe, boosting Rotterdam's development as a major centre for transport, distribution and production. EU support of € 80 million is foreseen in the framework of the TEN Programme 2001-2006. The whole project is expected to be completed by 2006.

The sixth is the "High-Speed Train/Combined Transport France-Italy". The project (total 770 km) will bring relief to Alpine valleys in France and Italy suffering from high road traffic densities and serious pollution by a new high-speed rail link through the Alps. The shift of traffic from road to rail will make a significant contribution to reducing the number of trucks crossing the Alps. In the longer term,

the project will serve as the backbone of an Atlantic-Adriatic route, and a platform for its eastward development towards the accession countries. The total TEN-T contribution to the whole project for the period 2001-2006 is € 170 million.

The seventh is the "Greek Motorways: PATHE and Via Egnetia". The project (total 1580 km) involves construction of two new motorways across Greece. The first runs from west to east and follows the route of the "via Egnatia" dating from the second century BC. The second is an upgrade of the current Pathe road running from south to the north. The population living in the cities will directly benefit from the construction of these roads. It will also accelerate the economic and regional development. Furthermore, the project provides access to neighbouring countries such as Bulgaria, Macedonia, Albania and Turkey. The support from the EU will be about € 30 million within the TEN Programme 2001-2006. It has also benefited substantially from EU Structural Funds and EIB loans.

The eight is the "Motorway Lisbon-Valladolid" (Portugal-Spain). The project will link Portugal and Spain with the rest of Europe by three multimodal axes. It makes an important contribution to continuing efforts to improve links between the centre of the EU and its peripheral regions and will strengthen the position of the Iberian Peninsula as a western European gateway. TEN-T funding to date totals around € 30 million. Additional € 12 million is foreseen for the period 2001-2006. It has also received substantial support from EU Structural Funds.

The ninth is the "Conventional Rail Link: Cork-Dublin-Belfast-Larne-Stranraer" (Ireland-UK). The project (total 502 km) which was completed in 2001 is an upgrade of the existing rail link between Ireland's three largest cities; Cork and Dublin in the Republic of Ireland and Belfast in the Northern Ireland. It is designed to increase the speed and frequency of both passenger and freight services and shift the traffic from road to rail. The total cost is about € 360 million and it has been supported by EU Structural Funds.

The tenth is the "Milano Malpensa Airport" (Northern Italy). Malpensa Airport, which is located in the third most dense business area in Europe, is among Europe's largest and most important transport infrastructure. The project is an upgrade of the runway capacity, a brand new passenger terminal, a new aircraft

parking area or apron and a cargo centre. It facilitates links between the commercially important Lombardy region and the rest of Europe and streamlines trade between Europe's Schengen zone of easy cross-border travel. The EU has granted around € 26.8 million from TEN-T budget for the period 1995-2001.

The eleventh is the "Fixed Rail/Road Link (Øresund Link) between Denmark and Sweden". The project (total 52.5 km) consists of the Øresund bridge creating a direct road and rail link across the Danish straits from Copenhagen in Denmark to Malmö in Sweden with a four-lane motorway running above a double-track railway, new access routes from the road and rail networks of the two countries and a new railway station at Copenhagen airport. The Øresund link which was completed in 2000 also extends the St. Peterburg-Helsinki-Stockholm-Copenhagen axis (Project 12). TEN-T support for the period 1995-2001 was € 127 million.

The twelfth is the "Nordic Triangle" (Finland-Sweden). The multimodal Nordic Triangle project (total 2517 km) upgrades road, rail and maritime infrastructures in Sweden and Finland to improve freight and passenger transport between the Øresund link (Project 11), Stockholm, Oslo, Turku, Helsinki and the Finnish-Russian border. The total investment is estimated at more than € 7 billion and EU support of € 85.5 million is foreseen for the period 2001-2006.

The thirteenth is the "Ireland-UK-Benelux Road Link". The project (total 1530 km) will improve road transport between Cork, Dublin and Belfast complementing the development of Ireland's main west coast rail line (Project 9). It will also provide upgraded links to mainland Europe via ferry links. The project aims to contribute to economic and social cohesion of one of Europe's peripheral regions by connecting Ireland to Belgium and the Netherlands. The EU will support the project with € 30.8 million in the period 2001-2006. The project is also eligible for EU Structural Funds support.

The fourteenth is the "West Coast Main Railway Line" (UK). The project (total 850 km) will renew and upgrade Britain's main west coast railway line, which runs from Glasgow through Liverpool and Manchester to Birmingham and London. It will be connected to the Channel Tunnel Rail Link in London. The project as a whole

is due to be completed in 2007 with the EU support of € 44 million for the period 2001-2006.

The development of the TEN-T did not advance as rapidly as expected. The investment in the TEN-T projects in 1996-1997 was about € 38 billion, while € 400 billion is needed to complete the whole network by 2010. In view of the delays in development of TEN-T projects, it was considered that new infrastructures cannot be established before the adopted projects completed.[58] Given the economic growth rate envisaged by the Lisbon European Council (Lisbon Strategy) for 2010, it is likely to generate increases of 38% in freight traffic and 24% in passenger journeys, compared with 1998. This connection is also the focal point of the "White Paper on European Transport Policy for 2010: time to decide" adopted in 2001 and it considers the ways of breaking the link between the economic growth and traffic growth.[59] The White Paper also highlights the need for completion of the priority projects already adopted and calls for the revision of the Community Guidelines, which will include six or more additional priority projects, in view to future enlargement of the EU.

In this context, the Commission initiated in 2001 a first revision of the TEN-T Guidelines, which identifies new 6 priority projects. Although the Commission's proposal was adopted by the European Parliament, the Council was not able to reach an agreement on this proposal, due to the disagreement between the Member States on proposed six priority projects. Without waiting for the adoption of the first proposal, the Commission initiated a second and more profound revision of the guidelines, including larger number of priority projects. In this regard, a High-Level Group on the TEN-T has been set up, chaired by Karel Van Miert (Van Miert Group), who is the Commission's former Vice-president responsible particularly for transport policy.[60]

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[58] The Trans-European Transport Networks Community Guidelines, http://europa.eu.int/comm/ten/transport/guidelines/index_en.htm, accessed on 16.12.2003.

[59] *White Paper on European Transport Policy for 2010: time to decide*, (COM (2001) 370 final), Brussels, 12.09.2001.

[60] *Priority Projects for the Trans-European Transport Network up to 2020, op. cit.,* p.2.

The Group consisted of one representative from each Member State, one observer from each acceding country and one observer from the EIB. The main task of the Group was to identify, by the summer of 2003, the priority projects and a number of connections with third countries as well as obstacles in the implementation of the projects (horizontal issues) up to 2020 on the basis of proposals from the Member States and acceding countries.

The Group developed its own methodology and selected a restricted number of priority projects among the 100 projects submitted by the Member States and acceding countries.

> The list of priority projects includes only "the most important infrastructure for international traffic, bearing in mind the general objectives of the cohesion of the continent of Europe, modal balance, interoperability and reduction of bottlenecks". In addition, an assessment was made as to "how well each project fits the objectives of European transport policy, the added value for the Community and the sustainable nature of its funding up to 2020."[61]

The High Level Group recommended Commission to concentrate on the 5 priority projects of the 14 priority projects identified by the Christophersen Group and adopted by the Essen European Council (List 0), and on the new projects to be started (List 1) with a time horizon of 2020. Some of the projects representing a high European value added (List 2) and contributing to the economic and social cohesion (List 3) were also considered to be priority projects (See Appendix C).

The Group also defined why a project is prioritised:

> This label of "priority project" must lead to the coordination and concentration of Community financial resources -whatever their origin or designation- and of the financial contributions of the States and local authorities allocated to the trans-European transport network. This label must also serve as a reference for the loan policy of the European Investment Bank. …this label, thanks to suitable legal structures, will help to attract private investors.[62]

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[61] *Report of the High-Level Group on the Trans-European Transport Network*, 27 June 2003, p.4.

[62] *Ibid*., p.5

Estimation of the Group on the total cost of the TEN-T network, both including priority projects and other projects, is about € 600 billion.

As a follow-up of the submission of the High-Level Group's Report, the Commission made its proposal for the revision of the Community Guidelines to the Parliament and the Council and it was adopted just a couple of days before the accession of the new members to the Union.

> This rapid adoption of the Commission's proposal by the two co-legislators demonstrates a genuine wish to make enlargement a success and is a warm welcome to the new Member States who will join the Union in a couple of days.[63]

The "Decision No.884/2004/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council Amending Decision No.1692/96/EC on Community Guidelines for the Development of the Trans-European Transport Network"[64] revises the Community Guidelines and re-examines the list of priority projects in Annex III of the Decision No.1692/96/EC. It is defined that the growth in traffic and bottlenecks on the international transport axes, objective of the shifting balance between transport modes, need for completion of some priority projects and forthcoming enlargement call for a revision of the TEN-T (See Appendix D).

The Decision No.884/2004/EC amends the date by which the trans-European transport network will be established as 2020 and includes some new concepts and instruments for the proper implementation of the transport infrastructure projects. Fist of all, the concept of the "Motorways of the sea" are defined. It aims to concentrate freight flows on a limited number of sea connections to reduce road traffic and to improve access to peripheral and island regions and states. Secondly, the Commission may designate case by case a person called "European Coordinator" for projects or

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[63] Loyola de Palacio (Commission Vice-President responsible for energy and transport), *Boosting the trans-European transport network: Loyola de Palacio welcomes the new Guidelines adopted today*, IP/04/515, Brussels, 21 April 2004.

[64] Decision No.884/2004/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council Amending Decision No.1692/96/EC on Community Guidelines for the Development of the Trans-European Transport Network, OJ L 167/1, 30.04.2004.

group of projects in order to facilitate the coordination in the implementation of the infrastructure projects. The European Coordinator will give financial, socio-economic and environmental advices to the Member States, local and regional authorities concerned. Thirdly, the priority projects identified in the Annex III are declared to be of European interest. This declaration intends to concentrate the financial instruments of the Community on the defined projects and to ensure the timely completion of them. If a project faces serious delays without adequate justification, the Commission may take appropriate measures to tackle the problems.[65] Furthermore, a limited number projects are prioritised. The 30 priority projects, including 14 priority projects already adopted, are identified on the criteria that they are intended to eliminate a bottleneck or complete a missing link on a major route of the trans-European network; they are on a large scale; they present socio-economic benefits, they contribute to interoperability of national networks, territorial cohesion and sustainable development; and they demonstrate commitment on the part of the Member States to complete the work in time.

Therefore, the "Global Navigation and Positioning Satellite System (Galileo)" is defined as the fifteenth project of the TEN-T. Galileo is Europe's initiative to create a global satellite navigation system, offering precise position and timing services for commercial and personal users anywhere in the world, using a small and inexpensive receiver. The system will consist of an array of 30 satellites together with associated infrastructure on the ground and newly developed applications and services, when it will be fully deployed. The Galileo aims to make Europe independent in a technological field of strategic importance. It is designed to respond to the needs of every transport domain, including pedestrians. The EU and the European Space Agency (ESA) will co-finance the development phase at a cost of € 1.1 billion. Furthermore, a Galileo Joint Undertaking is being set up, managed by the European Commission and the ESA, and open to private sector participation. EU support of € 550 million is foreseen for the 2001-2006 period.

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[65] *Trans-European Transport Network: Revised proposals on guidelines and financial rules 2004*, European Commission DG for Energy and Transport, Luxembourg, 2004, p.8.

The sixteenth is the "High-capacity Rail Link across the Pyrenees". The project (total 150 km) consists of the construction of a new high-capacity rail link across the Pyrenees, connecting the networks of France and Spain. It will complete a major south-west European trade route, linking Portugal and Spain with the rest of Europe on which overall traffic flows is expected to more than double. The total investment of € 5 billion is foreseen.

The seventeenth is the "Eastern European Combined Transport/High-Speed Train". The project (total 672 km) aims to develop the east-west rail route between Stuttgart and Vienna, a significant part of which goes through the Danube axis. Given further development of the east-west trans-European transport axes linking the EU and the CEE countries, the project will contribute to integration of these countries with the EU. Total investment expected is about € 10.8 billion.

The eighteenth is the "Danube River improvement between Vilshofen and Straybing". The project (total 70 km) aims to improve the navigability of the Danube in Germany, relieving a major bottleneck in the trans-European waterways network and allowing boats to make a continuous journey from the North Sea to the Black Sea. It will, therefore, lead to a shift of goods from roads to waterways. Facilitating the development of inland shipping on east-west axis will also contribute to integration of the countries located on this axis. € 700 million is expected for the investment of the whole project.

The nineteenth is the "High Speed Rail Interoperability on the Iberian Peninsula". The project involves the construction of new lines and the standardisation of gauges between the networks of Spain and Portugal with that of Europe.

The twentieth is the "Fehmarn Belt fixed link between Germany and Denmark". The project (total 19 km) will consist of the construction of a bridge, a tunnel, or both to form a fixed road and rail link spanning the 19-km-wide Fehmarn Strait between Germany and Denmark similar to Øresund link (Project 11) completed in 2000 on the same route. The total investment expected is € 3 to 4.5 billion.

The twenty first is the "Motorways of the sea". It is composed of the Motorway of the Baltic Sea linking the Baltic Sea Member States with Member Sates in Central and Western Europe including the route through the North Sea-Baltic Sea

Canal; the Motorway of the sea of Western Europe leading from Portugal and Spain via the Atlantic Arc to the North Sea and the Irish Sea; the Motorway of the sea of South-East Europe connecting the Adriatic Sea to the Ionian Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean to include the island of Cyprus; and the Motorway of the sea of South West Europe (western Mediterranean) connecting Spain, France, Italy and including Malta, and linking with the motorway of sea of South East Europe including the Black Sea. The High Level Group set the criteria for the projects, proposing the development of a motorway of sea in the above-noted maritime areas. The projects should be proposed at least by two Member States, should concern the smallest possible number of ports (ideally two in each different Member State); should alleviate road traffic congestion on the main axes. Greece and Italy proposed initially to develop Motorway of the Sea of South East Europe.[66]

The twenty second is the "Railway axis Athina-Sofia-Budapest-Wien-Praha-Nürnber/Dresden", which largely comprises pan-European Corridor IV and connects the Black Sea to the centre of Europe.

The twenty third is the "Railway axis Gdansk-Warszawa-Brno/Bratislava-Wien". The project based largely on the pan-European Corridor VI, is an alternative to the existing saturated north-south axes from the North Sea.

The twenty fourth is the "Railway axis Lyon/Genova-Basel-Duisburg-Rotterdam/Antwerpen". The project aims at to release the capacity of the existing lines for freight and passenger transport by the construction of new high-speed lines.

The twenty fifth is the "Motorway axis Gdansk-Warszawa-Brno/Bratislava-Wien". The project, which runs in parallel to the Project 23 and corresponds with largely pan-European Corridor VI, provides intermodality for the countries concerned.

The twenty sixth is the "Railway/road axis Ireland/United Kingdom/continental Europe". The project will improve the freight transport between major British ports. In Ireland, it corresponds with the Projects 9 and 13.

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[66] *Report of the High-Level Group on the Trans-European Transport Network*, *op. cit*., p.33 and 42.

The twenty seventh is the “Rail Baltica axis Warsaw-Kaunas-Riga-Talinn-Helsinki”. The project will ensure the connection the Baltic Member States with the Central Europe through the Polish network.

The twenty eight is the “Eurocapril” on the Brussels-Luxembourg-Strasbourg railway axis.

The twenty ninth is the “Railway axis of the Ionian/Adriatic intermodal corridor”.

Finally, the thirtieth is the “Inland waterway Seine-Scheldt”. The project will contribute to improve the inland waterway connections between France, Belgium and the Netherlands.

To be brief, the EU has developed an integrated and continental-wide transport network on the bases of each and every Member State’s transport infrastructure. The completion of the Single Market and the acceleration of political and economic integration have made such a network essential. The supranational competences of the EU institutions given by the Maastricht Treaty have complemented to the coordination and implementation of integrated infrastructure development throughout the continent. The establishment of the network, therefore, have provided the EU with a well-functioning transport system which is vital for the economic, political and social cohesion of the Union, just as was achieved in England during the Industrial Revolution.

Due to the fact that the overall transport infrastructure development is economically impossible in the short run, the concept of “priority projects” has been developed. In this regard, limited number of selected projects has proposed by the Member States and identified by the EU institutions. Through the selected projects the Central European countries have been integrated within a unique transport system by which the physical European single market was established. The TEN-T, therefore, has been developed as the core of the Pan-European Transport Network.

3.2. Pan-European Transport Corridors

The planning of a core network within the territory of the EU has induced further extensions to neighbouring regions, because of the EU enlargement strategy

and nature of economic relations. Therefore, the corridor concept for the acceding and candidate countries has been developed, which promotes a similar structure already established by the EU. The corridor concept is designed to connect the EU with the neighbouring regions and extend the planned transport network to the Caucasus and Central Asia.

The Pan-European Transport Corridors have also been used as a tool for pre-accession strategy of the EU and the acceding and candidate countries has redefined their national transportation priorities in line with the Pan-European Transport Corridors crossing through their territories.

Christian Reynaud, analysing corridor concept and its historical background in planning infrastructure development, defines the corridor concept as a tool "to resolve a specific problem of cooperation between partners developing links along a given corridor in which they have shared."[67] Reynaud further emphasised that the corridor concept has developed within the framework of formal arrangements and agreements between national and international institutions, in parallel to the integration process in Europe.

Similarly, at the "Seminar on Transport Infrastructure Development for a Wider Europe" to which Reynaud contributes, the corridor concept is noted as:

> a means of developing international cooperation in transport between neighbouring States in order to avoid wasting resources through the co-ordination between individual countries' projects. … It is an approach that makes it possible to give due emphasis to projects of international interest compared to national or regional projects.[68]

The initial example of the corridor identification in Europe was the UNECE corridors in Europe developed during the 1980s. The UNECE corridors, linking

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[67] Christian Reynaud, "The Concept of Corridors and Networks in Developing Pan-European Infrastructure", *Seminar on Transport Infrastructure Development for a Wider Europe*, Session 1-Planning Infrastructure Development, Paris, 27-28 November 2003, p.4. http://interdev.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/Reynaude.pdf, accessed on accessed on 10.05.2004.

[68] "Final Conclusions", *Seminar on Transport Infrastructure Development for a Wider Europe*, Paris, 27-28 November 2003, p.3, http://interdev.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/Concluse.pdf, accessed on 10.05.2004.

Northern Africa with Europe, Scandinavia with Italy, and Baltic States with the countries on the Aegean and Black Sea coasts (TEM and TER projects), comprised the UNECE region, excluding the territories of the USSR. The priority of these corridors was to provide the connection between North and South and an access to Northern Europe and the Mediterranean.[69]

> These projects were not of an overtly political nature and mainly involved research agencies and study centres, even though the long-term objective was indeed to help bring countries closer together, strengthen co-operation, facilitate trade and provide better co-ordination of policies and investment.[70]

As was stated before, the practice of the corridor concept was initiated by the Pan-European Conferences held respectively in 1991 (Prague), 1994 (Crete) and 1997 (Helsinki). In cooperation and coordination of the EU, ECMT, UNECE and the countries concerned, agreed on to identify multimodal transport corridors as a part of Pan-European Transport Network comprising the whole continent and beyond. This process succeeded due to the political atmosphere, evolved after the collapse of the socialist republics of the Central and Eastern Europe. This also gave way to integrate these countries with the European market by extending to the East, which was not possible for years because of the certain boundaries defined by the bi-polar system.

> This (Pan-European Transport Conferences initiative) was without doubt the most important initiative involving a corridor approach and was set against the highly politicised background of the early stages in the process of opening-up to Eastern Europe. This initiative was backed by commitments at the very highest level by international organisations and governments.[71]
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> The phase that followed the Crete Conference also saw efforts to generalise the use of the corridor concept in the sense of implementing a new international practice for infrastructure planning, not only in Central Europe

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[69] Christian Reynaud, *op. cit.*, p.5.

[70] I*bid.*, p.5.

[71] *Ibid.*, p.6.

but also in cooperation with the other countries sharing a common border with the European Union.[72]

In parallel to the Pan-European Transport Conferences, the EU set up a process called "Transport Infrastructure Needs Assessment" (TINA) in 1995 to coordinate the development of an integrated transport network planned to be established by 2015 in 11 applicant countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Southern Cyprus Greek Administration, Romania). The aim of the process is to define the future TEN-T in the enlarged European Union by coordinating the integration of the infrastructures projects in these countries with those implemented in the EU. In order to monitor the TINA process, a Group of Senior Officials (the Group), comprising officials from 15 EU Member States and 11 candidate countries, was established in 1998.[73]

The design of the network, which comprises 20924 km of railways, 18683 km of roads, 4052 km of inland waterways, 40 airports, 20 seaports, 58 river ports and 86 terminals, can be divided into two steps. The first is to define the backbone network and estimate its cost. It is agreed that the network defined at the Pan-European Transport Conferences in Crete and in Helsinki forms the backbone network of the TINA process. The second step is to define additional network components proposed by the TINA Group. The main criteria for defining the additional network components and the total network are; the continuity of the links at the borders between the two TINA countries, the continuity of the links at the borders of the TINA countries with the Newly Independent States, the continuity of the links at the borders of TINA countries with the EU countries, the general consistency of the network structures, to reach a network density and structure similar to that of the network in the EU countries, the financial capacity of the country to realise the network.[74]

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[72] I*bid.*, p.9.

[73] See "Heading east with TINA", http://europa.eu.int/comm/transport/themes/network/english/hp-en/ctina/tn_15_en.html, accessed on 11.04.2005 and TINA web page, http://www.tinasecretariat.at, accessed on 11.04.2005.

[74] "The Network", http://www.tinasecretariat.at, accessed on 11.04.2005.

Within this framework, countries submitted proposals on additional components to TINA Secretariat and the maps of the overall network, including that of the separate countries, were presented.

> As a result of this work (TINA process) priority corridors have become even more of necessity in order to provide a firm foundation for the future development of European networks at the level of both the European Commission and the countries of Central Europe. At present, priority corridors take pride of place in most of national planning schemes of most Central European countries and it would be fair to say that many countries have adjusted their national plans on the basis of the priority corridors which have been identified and which have to a certain extent provided the template for new infrastructure planning and scheduling at the level of these countries.[75]

In brief, the TINA process aims to priorities the candidate countries for accession, particularly the Central and Eastern European countries, in terms of transport infrastructure development and to prepare them to the membership.

> Agenda 2000 emphasises the urgent necessity of developing and improving the transport infrastructure in the candidate countries for accession. Above all, it is vital to create the necessary link between these countries and the present Union.
>
> Transport infrastructure improvements are regarded as essential elements of the strategies designed to boost economic development, as only this approach will enable the countries concerned to cope with the competitive pressure and market forces within an enlarged Union. For this purpose, the TINA process (Transport Infrastructure Needs Assessment) was launched on the basis of the TEN and the Pan-European Corridors and implemented by the European Commission as an accompanying measure to establish a Pan-European transport infrastructure.[76]

The institutional and legal framework of the Pan-European Transport Corridors (and Areas analysed below) have been established through the

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[75] Christian Reynaud, *op. cit*., p.19.

[76] "Transport Strategies", TINA VIENNA, http://www.tinavienna.at/verkehrsnetz.htm, accessed on 21.12.2003.

Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), signed by participating countries along a corridor or of an area. It is a voluntary commitment between the participants and shows the intention of the signatories to conduct joint efforts in the development of the Pan-European Transport Network.

Briefly, the Western, Central and Eastern European countries (acceding and candidate countries) were linked to the networks of the EU, as a part of the pre-accession strategy developed for these countries. To prepare the acceding and candidate countries for the enlargement, the EU planners have designed 10 multi-modal transport corridors to connect these countries with the Trans-European Networks that are already developed in the Western part of Europe.[77]

Corridor I[78] (Via Baltica, Rail Baltica) (see Appendix E) is a multimodal transport link in the North-South direction and it traverses Helsinki (Finland), Tallinn (Estonia), Riga (Latvia), Kaunas (Lithuania), Warsaw (Poland) with a spur Riga and Kaliningrad (the RF) Gdansk (Poland). In Kaunas it crosses with the Corridor IX, running in the East-West direction. Corridor I consists of three components with 1655 km of railways, 1630 km of roads, 6 airports, 11 sea and/or riverports. The road Corridor (*Via Baltica*) runs from Tallinn to the Latvian capital Riga and then to Kaunas. It crosses the Lithuanian-Polish border at Kalvarija-Budzisko and ends in Warsaw. The rail Corridor (*Rail Baltica*) starts Tallinn through Tartu (Estonia) and Riga and crosses the Latvian-Lithuanian border at Meitene-Kalvai and continues to Siauliai and Kaunas. It further crosses the Lithuanian-Polish border at Mockava-Trakiszki and ends in Warsaw. The third multimodal branch of the Corridor called IA, runs from Riga and continues to Kaliningrad and Gdansk. The development of the transport infrastructure of the Kaliningrad Oblast is the high priority of the RF, due to the fact that after the dissolution of the USSR, Russia was deprived of the ports of the

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[77] Pavel Antonov, "Roads to riches or ruin?" *REC Bulletin*, V.10 N.3, http://bulletin.rec.org/bull103/roadstorich.html , accessed on 04.11.2003.

[78] The basic information about the corridors is compiled from *Final Report on the Status of the Pan-European Transport Corridors and Transport Areas: Developments and Activities in 2000 and 2001,* TINA Vienna Transport Strategies and European Commission DG Energy and Transport, Vienna, April 2002, www1.oecd.org/cem/topics/paneurop/index.htm, accessed on 23.12.2003.

former Baltic Soviets. The Oblast, which became an enclave within the EU after the accession of Lithuania and Poland to the EU, is very important for the RF's foreign policy and trade, given its ice-free ports and corridor branches (Corridors I and IX) connecting it with the EU, as well as the Baltic countries. Due to the differential emphasis placed on rail and road development by Estonia and Latvia on the one hand, and by Lithuania and Poland on the other, there are cross bordering problems. As far as the ports are concerned, there are two possibly competing areas of influence. One comprises Poland, Lithuania and Russia in relation to Kaliningrad favouring rail and the corridor branch A through Belarus, with Gdansk dominating as a port; the other comprises Estonia and Latvia in relation to Moscow and Finland, and favouring the Estonian and Riga ports. Future development will depend on first, the Russian strategy regarding the opening towards the North and second, the scope of regional cooperation between the three Baltic States.[79] Latvia, which pays special attention to become a transit traffic country in the Baltic Sea region, has strived to connect its ice-free ports of Ventspils, Riga and Liepaja with the Corridors I, II and IX. Latvia's ports and their hinterland are specialised in oil and oil products and Latvia seeks to attract oil export traffic to its ports, regarding the potential growth of the oil transit amount from Russia and Kazakhstan to Europe in the coming years.[80]

Corridor I has some advantages comparing with the others, due to the fact that the cooperation among the countries of the Corridor is institutionalised by the efforts of the Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS). Furthermore, the Northern Dimension developed within the EU, is a good leverage in developing transport infrastructure ensuring the integration of the region with the core of Europe. Being the main artery of the energy transportation between Russia and Europe is also of great importance.

Corridor II is a multimodal East-West link (see Appendix F), consisting of 2313 km of railways, 2200 km of roads, 3 airports and 2 sea and/or river ports, starts

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[79] Liana Giorgi, Annuradha Tandon, "Towards a Prioritisation of Corridor Developments in the East", Liana Giorgi, Ronald J. Pohoryles (ed.), *Transport Policy and Research: What Future?*, Ashgate Publ., Burlington, 2001, p.220.

[80] "About the Ministry of Transport and Communications of Republic of Latvia", http://en.sam.gov.lv/about, accessed on 14.04.2005.

from Berlin (Germany) and runs to Warsaw (Poland), Minsk (Belarus), Moscow (the RF) and Nizhni Novgorod (the RF). The extension of the Corridor from Moscow to Nizhni Novgorod, providing it access to the inland waterways in Russia through the Volga River to the Caspian Sea and the Volga-Don Canal to the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, was agreed on at the Helsinki Pan-European Conference in 1997. In Poland, the road links are prioritised over the rail links. However, only the western part of the road connection (from the German border to Warsaw) is cleared regarding implementation, whereby barriers are expected with reference to Warsaw section. The situation in the eastern part is less clear mainly due to problems of financing. For Belarus, the rail links would appear to be of slightly higher priority, whereas for the RF reconstruction of the highway (and especially of the bridges) along Corridor II is the project of highest national priority.[81]

Corridor III is a multimodal link (see Appendix G), starting from Berlin/Dresden (Germany) and running to Wroclaw, Katowice, Krakow (Poland), Lviv and Kiev (Ukraine). The Corridor comprises 1650 km of railways and 1700 km of roads, running in parallel for the most part, 4 airports and 9 sea and/or river ports. The main concern about the Corridor is border crossing problems on the Polish/Ukrainian border. Railway and road infrastructure of Ukraine needs to be improved in line with the European standards.

Corridor IV (Link EU-South-eastern Europe) is a multimodal Northwest-Southeast link (see Appendix H), running from Berlin, Dresden, Nuremberg (Germany) to Prague (Czech Republic), Vienna (Austria), Bratislava (Slovak Republic), Gyor and Budapest (Hungary). In Romania, it divides into two branches; the northern branch runs from Arad, Bucharest and Constanta to the Black Sea, the southern branch runs from Arad and Craiova to Sofia, Plovdiv (Bulgaria) and continues in two ways to Thessaloniki (Greece) and Istanbul (Turkey). Corridor IV consists of 4340 km of railways, 3640 km of roads, 10 airports and 8 sea and/or river ports. There is also a ferry-boat link for rail transport over the Danube. Corridor IV presents a number of competing priorities between countries as well as between rail

[81] *Ibid.*

and road modes. The Czech Republic desires to improve in particular the conditions for cross-border road traffic with Germany, thus prioritises the western roads part of the Corridor over the eastern and southern road and rail segments. Slovakia is primarily concerned with the construction of the Petrzalka-Parndorf railway line towards Austria, which will speed up the traffic between Vienna and Bratislava and enable the re-routing by rail of high-goods vehicles. This is in line with Austrian priorities towards the Slovakian border. Hungary concerns the upgrading of the rail infrastructure and railway stations on the Budapest-Kelebia line towards the south for connecting to Corridor X. Due to the situation in the Balkans, Hungary can shift away from Corridor IV (east connections) towards Corridor X (south connections). In Romania, the road projects on the western part of the country, for instance between Nadlac-Bucharest-Constanta, are prioritised by reason of the importance attached to the Constanta port for the Romanian transport system. The same is the case with the upgrading of the rail connection between Curtici-Bucharest-Constanta. However, considering the situation of the road network in Romania generally, the road connections are prioritised over the rail connections. The same is true for Bulgaria where in particular the Southern connections to Greece and Turkey and those to Serbia and Montenegro are prioritised. With regard to both Bulgaria and Romania and the Corridor IV, the Corridor X would place these two countries in direct competition in terms of channelling the traffic to the Asia through to the ports in the Black Sea Region.[82]

Corridor V is a multimodal link (see Appendices I and J), starting from Venezia, Trieste (Italy) and traversing Koper, Ljubljana, Maribor (Slovenia), Budapest (Hungary), Uzgorad, Lviv and Kiev (Ukraine). There are also branches running to ports in Adriatic Sea, and one branch connecting it with Corridor IV in Bratislava The ports on the Adriatic Sea, such as Venezia, Trieste, Koper and Rijeka, are of crucial for the development of the Corridor V. Ports of Ploce and land port Zahony which is the biggest transhipment land port in Europe, are also part of the Corridor. 3270 km of railways, 2850 km of roads, 5 airports and 3 sea and/or river

[82] Giorgi and Tandon, *op. cit*., p. 221.

ports are the components of the Corridor. The competition between ports, in particular Trieste, Koper and Rijeka, is of great importance. Clearly how Corridor V develops will depend on the extent to which these three ports collaborate or compete but also, perhaps more importantly, on whether they will be feeding points for the North (along Corridor X and/or VI) or for the East (along Corridor V).[83] Italy has developed a strategy to concentrate its efforts in improving the infrastructure of the Corridors V and VIII, as an alternative to TEN-T project *Via Egnatia*, which runs through in the East-West direction same as the ancient Roman road from Greece to Turkey. Italy, in this regard, holds the financial burden in integrating infrastructure of the Corridor in Italy with that of the TEN-T, running along Trieste, Torino, Lyon and Lisbon.[84]

Corridor VI is a multimodal North-South link (see Appendices K and L) which connects the Polish ports of Gdynia and Gdansk on the Baltic Sea and the Czech Republic via Katowice and Ostrova. It is also crossing with the Corridor II in Poznan (Poland), Corridor IV in Ostrova (Czech R.) and Corridor V in Zilina (Slovak R.). It is considered that this Corridor is the most preferable North-South transport link in the Central Europe. It consists of 1800 km of railways, 1880 km of roads, 6 airports and 5 sea and/or river ports.

Corridor VII (the River Danube) is a waterway route on the Danube from Germany to the Black Sea (see Appendix M). The Danube is the second longest river in Europe and links Western and Eastern Europe through the Rhine, the Main and the Rhine-Main-Danube canal. It crosses Germany, Austria, Slovak Republic, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova and Ukraine. The Corridor VII refers to; the Danube inland waterway, the Black Sea-Danube canal, the Danube branches Kilia and Sulina, inland waterway links between the Black Sea and the Danube, the Danube-Sava canal, the Danube-Thissa canal, and the relevant port infrastructures. It is approximately 2850 km length, of which 2415 km are used for navigation, and comprises 44 sea and/or river ports. The function of inland ports is

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[83] *Ibid.*

[84] *Il Giornale Newspaper*, 8 September 2004.

not limited to inland shipping. Most of the ports on the Danube have rail and road connections. There is also a sea port Constanta, lying at the mouth of the Danube-Black Sea canal. Due to the environmental problems, the EU intends to promote environmentally friendly modes in the direction of the traffic on the continent. The Danube, in this regard, provides a good example. Beside the environmental considerations, the development of infrastructure on the Danube causes tensions among the countries, situated along the Danube. For instance, Romania, rallying the support of the environmental NGOs, intends to prevent Ukraine from constructing a deep-water canal near Ukraine-Romania border, which provides Ukraine with an additional outlet to the Black Sea. In this respect, Romania considers to construct its own canal, which will make the Ukrainian canal useless by withdrawing the major share of waters from the Kilia Channel.[85]

Corridor VIII is a multimodal East-West link (see Appendix N), connecting the Adriatic-Ionian PETrA and the Black Sea PETrA. The Corridor runs through Durres, Tirana (Albania), Skopje (Macedonia), Sofia, Plovdiv, Burgas and Varna (Bulgaria). It crosses with the Corridor IV in Sofia and Plovdiv. It is also considered to connect the Corridor VIII with the ports of Italy and the TEN-T network in Greece. Corridor VIII, consisting of 1270 km of railways, 960 km of roads, 4 airports and 2 sea and/or river ports, has bottlenecks due to the missing links on railways and poor road infrastructure, especially in Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria. Bulgaria gives priority to the Corridor by defining the link between Europe and Asia as a natural continuation of it from Burgas to Poti in Georgia. Similarly, Romania implements the same strategy by prioritising the port of Constanta (Corridor IV) as an eastern door to Europe on the East-West link. Macedonia also gives special interest to the development of the Corridor, which ensures integration of Macedonia into the transport flow between Europe and Asia by providing it with outlets on both the

[85] "Romania says Ukrainian canal project will damage Danube Delta", *RFE/RL Newsline*, Vol. 8, No.91, Part IX, 14 May 2004; Aleksey Shevchenko, "Total Canalization: Romania has the plan of forcing Ukraine to abandon the idea of its canal in the Danube estuary-to make its own canal", *Correspondent*, 21 August 2004.

Black and the Adriatic Seas.[86] Furthermore, the USA, through US Trade and Development Agency in the framework of the South Balkan Development Initiative, encourages Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria to cooperate on common projects to spur regional cooperation and economic integration by using Corridor VIII as a tool.[87] In 2000, the countries of the Corridor VIII have agreed at the expert meeting in Rome on the joint protocol for the construction of the Pan-European Transport Corridor VIII, except Macedonia and Albania. It appeared that they have reservations towards the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The disagreement is about the generally accepted implementation that main route of the corridor should be constructed as well as the parallel road connections. Macedonia's main concern is that the funds allocated to the construction of the main route might be challenged towards the connections. In fact, it is known that Corridor VIII deposited to the EU by Italy, is conflicting with the priorities of Greece. Greece tries to rearrange the Corridor to the south and connect Thessaloniki to Skopje and Dedeagac to İstanbul. It is obvious that Greece has strategic interests in former Yugoslavia, which complements the interests of some circles in Macedonia and Serbia and Montenegro. Therefore, it is said that the reluctance of Macedonia in signing the MoU stems from the efforts of the Greek lobby in Macedonia.[88] The possible blocking of the construction of the Corridor would lead to hinder the railway connection between Macedonia and Bulgaria, which is planned to transport Caspian oil from the Black sea port of Burgas (Bulgaria) to the Adriatic Sea port of Vlore (Albania). This would also complement to Greek project for oil transit Burgas-Alexandroupolis (Greece) together with the Via Egnatia route and would place the East-West infrastructure axis in the Balkans entirely under Greek

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[86] Elena Triffonova, Vanya Kashoukeeva-Nousheva (ed.), *Regional Infrastructure Projects in South-Easten Europe*, Institute for Regional and International Studies, Sofia, 1999, p.227.

[87] *Ibid*., p.235 and 239.

[88] The information is obtained from "Macedonia delays its position on Corridor 8", *Centre for SouthEast European Studies (CSEES) Analyses*, 31 August 2002, www.csees.net/?page=analyses&a_id=5, accessed on 02.06.2005.

control.[89] Turkey, on the contrary, intends to cooperate with Albania, Macedonia and Bulgaria so as to prevent Greek control over the Balkans on a Pan-Slavic basis.[90]

Corridor IX is the longest of the Pan-European Transport Corridors (see Appendices O and P), starting from Helsinki (Finland) and running to St.Petersburg, Moscow, Pskov (the RF). There are also two branches; one traverses Kiev, Ljubasevka, Odessa (Ukraine), Kishinev (Moldova), Bucharest (Romania), Dimitrovgrad (Bulgaria), Alexandroupolis (Greece), the other runs Kiev (Ukraine), Minsk (Belarus), Vilnius, Kaunas (Lithuania), Klaipeda, Kaliningrad (the RF). It crosses the Corridor II in Minsk. It comprises 6500 km of railways, 5820 km of roads, 4 airports and 2 sea and/or river ports. Given its length and the number of countries passing through, the border crossing is the main problem of the development of the corridor. Russia has proposed to extend Corridor IX to Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea and to Novorossisk on the Black Sea, which are both important ports in transporting Russian oil and gas resources to the world market. Considering the development of relations between Scandinavian and Black Sea countries, the countries of the two regions compete to prioritise their ports in directing multimodal transport between the Baltic and Black Seas. In this regard, Belarus intends to establish bilateral cooperation with the countries in Europe and Asia and to conclude a quadrilateral transport infrastructure agreement with the RF, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Poland and Ukraine also agreed on to establish a supplementary and shorter link between the ports of Gdansk and Odessa. For Denmark, it provides the opportunity to realise land connections with Sweden on the one hand (Øresund Fixed Link is completed) and Germany on the other (the Fixed Fehmarn Belt is still in the planning stage) despite strong opposition from population related to environmental issues. Similar is the case in Sweden with regard to the Malmo city tunnel and the upgrading of the railway to Stockholm. In Finland, priority is given to the railway upgrading of the route from Helsinki to the Russian border and the road reconstruction in the same direction. In

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[89] *Ibid*.

[90] *Ibid*.

Russia, the improvement of the cross-border connections to Finland is also considered important, so is the upgrading of the railway infrastructure around St. Petersburg.[91]

Corridor X (see Appendix Q) was identified as the tenth Corridor at the Pan-European Transport Conference in Helsinki in 1997, in order to accelerate the integration of the former Yugoslav republics with Europe. The corridor development was initiated in parallel to the stabilisation process of the region. It is a multimodal Northwest-Southwest link, connecting Salzburg (Austria), Ljubljana (Slovenia), Zagreb (Croatia), Belgrade, Nis (Serbia and Montenegro), Skopje (Macedonia) and Thessaloniki (Greece). The Corridor has four branches. Branch A is Graz (Austria), Maribor (Slovenia), Zagreb (Croatia); Branch B is Budapest (Hungary), Novi Sad, Belgrade (Serbia and Montenegro); Branch C is Nis (Serbia and Montenegro), Sofia (Bulgaria) and further along Corridor IV to Istanbul; Branch D is Veles, Bitola (Serbia and Montenegro), Florina, Kozani-via Egnatia and Igoumenitsa (Greece). It consists of 2528 km of railways, 2300 km of roads, 12 airports and 4 sea and/or river ports. In Austria, the expected increase of traffic from both the east and the south in relation to Corridors IV and X has led to a reassertion of the importance of key railway links between south and East, whereby there is no agreement on the primary location of these. Railway links with reference to Corridor X are also considered a priority in Slovenia and Croatia. Although both countries place an emphasis on the reconstruction of the motorways, Slovenia is already well advanced with the implementation of its motorway construction and upgrading programme. For Hungary and Bulgaria, Corridor X provides an opportunity to improve the road and rail links to former Yugoslavia. For Serbia and Montenegro, both rail and road projects to Hungary are important. Any developments along Corridor X are largely dependent on the stabilisation of the situation in the Balkans following the Kosovo crisis.[92] The Corridor provides Macedonia, of which transport connections with Europe have been mainly from North to South until now, with alternative transport

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[91] Giorgi and Tandon, *op. cit*., p. 222.

[92] *Ibid.*

connections in the direction of East to West.[93] Greece pays special attention to develop its maritime links and to modernise its port infrastructure, due to its geographical advantages. The ports such as Thessaloniki and Alexandroupolis are the final destinations of Pan-European Transport Network (Corridors IV and VIII, Via Egnatia Motorway of the TEN-T). Moreover, the importance of these ports is crystal clear as far as the project of trans-Balkan oil pipeline planned to be constructed from Bulgarian port of Burgas to Greek port of Alexandroupolis is concerned.[94] Regarding to air transport, Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey compete to attract international traffic between Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East, by modernising their airports.[95] Serbia and Montenegro and Bulgaria cooperate in improving the infrastructure along the Corridor X and agree to establish a joint border railway station in Dimitrovgrad (Serbia and Montenegro) and Dragoman (Bulgaria). It will be the first joint border station in the Balkans when it is opened in 2006 and it will lead to considerable increase in traffic along the Corridor from Belgrade to Sofia and İstanbul.[96]

The main instrument in financing the infrastructure projects[97] is basically the national budget of the countries. The EU has also created instruments for the finance of the projects along the corridors. Three pre-accession funds were created for the accession and candidate countries, Instrument for "Structural Policies for pre-Accession" (ISPA), "Special Accession Programme for Agriculture and Rural Development" (SAPARD) and "Poland and Hungary Actions for Economic Reconstruction (PHARE).

The PHARE programme which started in 1989, aims to consolidate administrative structure in ensuring the implementation of the EU legislation and to assist in the investment of social and economic sectors, mainly infrastructures.

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[93] Triffonova and Kashoukeeva-Nousheva, *op. cit.*, p.276.

[94] *Ibid.*, p.322.

[95] *Ibid.*, p.331.

[96] "Prime Ministers of Bulgaria and Serbia Discuss Possibilities for Joint Customs Control", *Bulgarian News Agency (BTA)*, 16 April 2005, http://www.bta.bg/site/en/indexe.shtml, accessed on 11.04.2005.

[97] For further information about the financing, see *Final Report on the Status..., op. cit.* p. 10-16.

SAPARD, which particularly supports the applicant countries for their adaptation to the Common Agriculture Policy, includes measures concerning rural development, protection of the environment and technical assistance.

ISPA is an instrument used for the finance of the construction of large transport and environmental protection projects, similar to the Cohesion Fund. The overall pre-accession aid provided by the EU for the period of 2000-2006 is about € 21.840 million (€ 10.920 million for PHARE, € 3.640 million for SAPARD and € 7.280 million for ISPA).

Apart from the accession and candidate countries, the EU has supported the Newly Independent States (NIS) through TACIS programme in achieving their integration with the market economy. The technical assistance was given to 13 countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, namely Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Mongolia, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. More than 3.000 projects have been launched whose cost is about € 3.290 million. The Council Regulation No.99/2000, covering the years 2000-2006, was adopted in 1999, replacing the Council Regulation No.1279/96. The new Regulation concentrates on some areas of cooperation such as institutional legal and administrative reforms; private sector and economic development; infrastructure networks; environmental protection; rural economy and nuclear safety.

Additionally, the infrastructure projects in the CEE countries have been financed by some international financing institutions. Firstly, The European Investment Bank (EIB), which is an institution of the EU providing long-term investment, supports the projects in all candidate countries, facilitating the adoption of the EU acquis and strengthening EU integration. Secondly, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), aiming at facilitating the integration of these countries with the market-oriented system, has been granting loans to CEE countries since 1992. Finally, the World Bank has assisted these countries through not only loans but also analytical work.

The Pan-European Transport Corridors, defined in the mid of 1990s on the territories of the neighbouring countries of the EU, were included into the TEN-T

after some of these countries became members of the EU. This phenomenon has raised questions about the compatibility of the existing corridors within the new situation.

> Pan-European corridors form part of a different institutional framework (intergovernmental cooperation) from the trans-European network (Community framework). They have played an important role, in particular because in the early 90', there was no network clearly established like in western countries. Today in the enlarged Union and the increased scope and complexity the trans-European network, the needs are different and require a different approach. The identification of trans-European axes aims at ultimately establishing a core network.[98]

Furthermore, at the Seminar on "Transport Infrastructure Development for a Wider Europe", the process of infrastructure development in a "Wider Europe" was examined and the need for revision of the corridor concept was emphasised.

> A process of reviewing existing corridors should be initiated rapidly in order to verify whether the definition of these corridors is still valid, modify and/or extend them, eliminate certain segments if need be, and add other major axes that have clearly become necessary with EU enlargement and the globalisation of trade.[99]

In the same manner, Suchorzewski, who is the rapporteur of the above-noted Seminar and prepares the Final Report, highlights the necessity of the revision and analyses the proposals intend to revise the existing corridor concept:

> There was a general agreement that the concept of transport corridors, with a concentration of attention on selected axis, proved to be useful. However, it requires revision. Proposals went in two directions. Limiting the number of corridors would make the programme more affordable and enable more rapid

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[98] *Report of the High-Level Group on the Trans-European Transport Network*, 27 June 2003, p.49, http://europa.eu.int/comm/ten/transport/revision/hlg/2003_report_kvm_en.pdf , accessed on 25.08.2004.

[99] "Final Conclusions", *op. cit.* p.3.

> implementation. On the other hand, if the "Wider Europe" is to be better served and connected to Asia, adding new corridors may be necessary.[100]

Suchorzewski further emphasises competing strategies in the development of transport infrastructure. While some supports the construction of new and highest standard facilities, the others advocates step by step approach, which is adaptation, rehabilitation and upgrading the existing infrastructure.

The Seminar concludes that the strategy on the development of corridors should be to reinforce the corridors already approved and to create new corridors if needed in the new situation. Therefore, some criteria are listed:[101] concentration primarily on the links between the enlarged EU and its neighbouring countries; extension of links to the East, including the Mediterranean Basin and the Middle East; improvement of the "motorways of the sea", particularly to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; definition of corridors on the bases of economic rationale and the needs of the users, rather than political choices; improvement of intermodality; securing a balance between national, regional and international approaches; and revision of Pan-European Transport Areas, considering the "motorways of the sea".

Suchorzewski also summarises the conclusions of the Seminar and adds:

> The corridor approach should, therefore, be pursued as a central element of the strategy for the development of infrastructure in the Wider Europe and beyond. However, the existing corridor layout may have to be adopted after the European Union enlargement which will create a new situation with a large part of the existing corridors inside the European Union. This would mean that some existing corridors, or parts thereof, would disappear and others would need to be extended or newly created.
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> While the future new corridors will focus primarily on links between the European Union and its neighbouring countries, the Euro-Asian transport

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[100] Wojciech Suchor, "Final Report", *Seminar on Transport Infrastructure Development for a Wider Europe*, Paris, 27-28 November 2003, p.5, http://interdev.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/FinalRepe.pdf, accessed on 10.05.2004.

[101] "Final Conclusions", *op. cit.,* p.4 - 6.

links should be taken into account, because of the foreseeable increase of trade with Asia, particularly with China.[102]

Additionally, "High Level Group Extension of the Major Trans-European Transport Axes to the Neighbouring Countries and Regions" develop a methodology regarding the identification corridors. In this manner, the methodology, which is inspired by the work undertaken by Van Miert High Level Group for the TEN-T,[103] consists of identification of major transport axes connecting the EU with the neighbouring countries or broader regions first, and then identification of priority projects on these major axes.[104]

The criteria proposed in the identification of major axes are: a priority axis should facilitate and stimulate the extension of 30 TEN-T axes to the neighbouring countries or regions; a priority axis should be an important route for international traffic flows between the EU and neighbouring countries or regions; a priority axis should allows traffic to avoid a major environmental bottleneck or barrier.

The criteria for the identification of the priority projects on the axes are: a priority project should form a part of the priority axes; a priority project should be mature to further develop (not too small, not too regional); and there should be a firm commitment made by the country or region concerned to implement the project.[105]

After the accession of the CEE countries into the EU and their integration with the TEN-T system, the revision of the Pan-European Transport Corridors becomes a requisite. Beside the objective criteria, it is no doubt that the new corridors will be identified in consistency with the main project aiming to establish an integrated Eurasian transport network. Therefore, EU's enlargement strategy in the next decade is of crucial in the sense that new regions within the scope of the Trans-European

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[102] Wojciech Suchor, *op. cit.*, p.12.

[103] See p.29.

[104] *Methodology for the Identification of Major Transport Axes and Priority Projects*, High Level Group Extension of the Major Trans-European Transport Axes to the Neighbouring Countries and Regions Working Document, Meeting of 29 November 2004, p.1, http://www.traceca.org.tr/projects.htm, accessed on 01.05.2005.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.

Networks may well be taken into account in order to accomplish the "planned" integration with the European economic area. However, the way in which such incorporation of the new regions may not necessarily result in the full membership to the EU but different mechanisms and forms of incorporation may take place.

3.3. Pan-European Transport Areas (PETrAs)

In view to the integration process and strengthened cooperation in Europe, it became clear that the corridor concept is not totally applicable to some regions, such as the Black Sea and its links with the Aegean and Arctic or the Mediterranean basin and its links with the Adriatic Sea. It was realised that seas and its hinterlands surrounding Europe create so many missing links within the planned Europe-wide transport network. For that reason, the European Commission suggested that the Corridor concept be complemented by a new one, the Pan-European Areas. The decision on that was taken at the Third Conference in Helsinki and defined the "Barents/Euro-Arctic" (See Appendix R), "Black Sea" (See Appendix S), "Mediterranean" (See Appendix T) and "Adriatic/Ionian" (See Appendix U) as the four Pan-European Areas.

It was stated that in these areas the infrastructure will develop on a regional level and the possibilities of incorporation them into the Trans-European Transport Networks will be studied.[106] Furthermore, the concept of the motorways of the sea developed by the EU to give access to areas separated from the rest of the EU networks by seas is also a complementary to the integration of these areas into the core networks of the Union.

The common denominator of the development of these transport areas, as well as of the Pan-European Transport Corridors, is that the whole process has been established on the *ad hoc* intergovernmental meetings of the countries of the certain areas. In this framework, the development of a transport network in the mentioned area to be integrated with the TEN-T and the Pan-European Transport Corridors has

[106] Elena Triffonova, Vanya Kashoukeeva-Nousheva (ed.), *op. cit.*, p.225.

been implemented mainly by the inherent dynamics of each area. Moreover, the process of integrating these transport areas into the backbone of the continental transport networks shows that the identified areas are interconnected whose transport links extends beyond.

The financial support for the transport infrastructure projects within the Pan-European Transport Areas is not clear as is in the TEN-T, due to the lack of regular and comprehensive institutional framework. However, it can be said that the countries of the certain areas are the main investors of the transport infrastructure. The support given by the EU, as similarly noted above for the Pan-European Transport Corridors, is generally limited to give the countries concerned guidance in establishing and financing the transport infrastructure through technical assistance or loans allocated by the financial institutions of the EU.

In brief, it is crystal clear that the infrastructure network development in the transport areas aims to mostly integrate, or interconnect at least, the infrastructure of the Central Asia or Middle East with that of the enlarging Union. In this respect, the process of establishing energy infrastructure and identifying main energy routes has been developed mostly in parallel to planned transport infrastructure, connecting Europe with the regions which are rich in energy resources.

The (Barents) Euro-Arctic Transport Area (BEATA) is the first of the four areas defined. The economic and social development of the region dated back to 1990s. The European integration process and the developments in the socialist neighbouring countries have stipulated the cooperation among the countries of the region. To this end, in 1993 the Barents Euro-Arctic Council (BEAC), which is a forum for intergovernmental cooperation, was established. Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden are the members of the Council. The European Commission is a member of the BEAC, as well. The region covers the 13 provinces (or counties) of Sweden (Norrbotten, Västerbotten), Finland (Kainuu, Lappland, Northern Ostrobothnia) Norway (Finnmark, Nordland, Troms) and the Russian Federation (Arkhangelsk, Karelia, Komi, Murmansk, Nenets). The Euro-Arctic region, which is rich in forests, fish, minerals, oil and gas reserves, is characterised by its harsh climate and long distances. Besides the natural resources, it

is the meeting point between Europe and the Russia. As far as transport infrastructure is concerned, the road and railway systems are well-developed in the Nordic part of the region, while the rail system in the Russian part is better developed than the road system.[107] In order to integrate the transport network of the region with the Pan-European Transport Network, three transport axes were identified to provide a basis for national decisions as regards improvements of the infrastructure in the region.[108] East-west axis Murmansk/Archangelsk-Kandalaksha-salia-Haparanda-Narvik, East-west axis Murmansk-Nikel-Boris Gleb/Storskog-Kirkenes, and North-south axis Ivalo-Nikel/Pechenga-Kirkenes which is on the Norwegian and/or Russin side of the Pasvik valley. In this respect, the priority transport infrastructure projects such as "Reconstruction and modernisation of the Murmansk and Archangelsk commercial harbours", "Reconstruction and modernisation of international airports of Murmansk, Archangelsk and Petrozavodsk", "Improvement of the flight connection Lulea-Rovaniemi-Murmansk-Archangelsk", "Construction and reconstruction of the road connections Kirkenes-Nikel-Murmansk", "Completion of the construction of the railway Ledmozero-Kochkoma (Archangelsk corridor)", and "Development of the border-crossing stations of Vartsila-Niirala, Kivijarvi-Vartius, Kelloselka-Salla (Barents corridor) and Borisoglebsk-Storskog" have been identified by the BEAC.[109]

While the Baltic Sea region was not defined as a special transport area, the same process lived through in the Baltic Sea region makes a broader Euro-Arctic Region perspective indispensable. The Baltic Sea which is located in the northern Europe and bounded by Scandinavian Peninsula, European mainland and the Danish islands, is the main trade route for export of Russian oil.[110] Similarly, the Council of

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[107] Facts about the Barents Euro-Arctic Region, http://www.beac.st , accessed on 26.03.2005.

[108] Joint Statement of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council Second Session, 14-15 September 1994 in Tromso (Norway), http://www.beac.st, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[109] Joint Statement of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council Third Session, 9-10 October 1995 in Rovaniemi (Finland.), http://www.beac.st , 26.03.2005; Statement of the Meeting of the Ministers of Transport of the Members of the Barents Euro-Arctic Council, 10 September 1996 in Archangelsk (the RF), http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[110] *Baltic Sea*, the Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltic_Sea , accessed on 01.04.2005.

the Baltic Sea States (CBSS) was established in 1992 as a regional forum for international cooperation. Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Russian Federation and Sweden are the founding member of the Council. In 1995, Iceland joined the CBSS.[111] A member of the European Commission also attends to the meetings of the Council regularly. At the Conference of the Transport Ministers of the CBSS in Berlin in 1997, the need for further development of the Northern Sea Route by establishing "Euro-Arctic" transport network combining the Baltic Sea and with the Barents Euro-Arctic Region, is noted. In contrast to the regional priority projects defined in the Barents Euro-Arctic region, the countries of the Baltic Sea support the extension or upgrading specific Pan-European transport corridors such as "Via Baltica" or Corridors II, VI and IX.[112] In this context, the countries of the Baltic Sea proposed new axes such as the corridor linking the Baltic Sea region with the Black Sea region and the corridor linking Scandinavia through Szczecin with Central Europe, to ensure the interconnection of the overall Pan-European transport network.[113] In 1998, the Ministers of Transport of Finland, Norway, Russia and Sweden as well as the Commissioner responsible for Transport of the European Commission signed a Memorandum of Understanding of BEATA so as to develop transport and its infrastructure in the Barents area.[114] After the accession of the four Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland) into the EU in 2004, the cooperation among the countries of the "Euro-Arctic" including the European Commission, is enhanced by the Northern Dimension, developed by the EU to coordinate the implementation of the specific priorities and projects in the region. The existing partnership between the EU and the non-EU member countries of the region strengthened through the European Economic Area, gives a high profile to the infrastructure projects specifically identified in the region.

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[111] http://www.cbss.st/history, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[112] Communiqué of the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Transport of the Baltic Sea States, 21 April 1997 in Berlin (Germany), http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[113] Gdansk Conference Declaration, http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[114] *What is BEATA*, http://www.barentsinfo.fi/beata/about_us.asp, accessed on 24.05.2005.

The Black Sea, which is an inland sea between the South-eastern Europe (the Balkans) and Asia Minor (Anatolia), is located on the main energy transportation and trade route by its connections to the Mediterranean and the Sea of Azov. The countries bordering on the Black Sea are Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, the Russian Federation and Georgia.[115] The Black Sea Transport Area, in broader perspective, is a link connecting the littoral countries of the Black Sea, the CEE countries through the Pan-European Transport Corridors, the Caucasus and Central Asia through TRACECA and the Mediterranean Transport Area. The Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) signed in 1999 by Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldavia, Romania, the Russian Federation, Turkey and Ukraine excluding the European Commission, defines the area as:

> Black Sea Pan-European Transport Area refers to the road, rail, inland waterway, maritime, air, combined and inter-modal transport infrastructures and services, … which are located in the coastal regions of the littoral States of the Black Sea, as well as a land connection encircling the Black Sea. (*Bulgaria*: Dobric, Varna, Burgas - *Romania*: the .Judeth of Constanta, Tulcea, Galati, Braila - *the Republic of Moldavia* - *the RF*: Rostov oblast, Krasnodarskiy Krai including the Sea of Azov - *Ukraine*: Odessa, Nikolayov, Kherson, Zaporozh'e, Donets oblast as well as the Republic of Crimea - *Georgia*: the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, the regions of Samegrelo and Guria, the Autonomous Republic of Adjara *Turkey*: the provinces on the Black Sea and the north-western littoral provinces of the Anatolian Peninsula, on the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea, including the Gulf of Izmir as well as the railway line between Izmir via Ankara, Erzurum and Kars, and adjacent areas in the neighbouring countries in Caucasus - *Greece*: the regions of Thrace and Macedonia on the Aegean Sea including the Gulf of Thessaloniki).[116]

As was seen in other PETrAs, the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organisation (BSCE), which is an intergovernmental organisation, together with the ECMT, promotes the cooperation among the countries of the region and leads to

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[115] *Black Sea*, the Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Sea , accessed on 01.04.2005.

[116] The Memorandum of Understanding on the Development of the Black Sea Pan-European Transport Area, 1 July 1991 in Tbilisi, http://www.bs-petra.org, accessed on 30.03.2005.

develop a regional transport network to be integrated into the European and Asian transport networks on an ad hoc basis. The BSCE, of which Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, the RF, Turkey and Ukraine are the members, was founded in 1992. Given the modest economic structure of the countries of the region, the priority has been to rehabilitate or reconstruct the existing transport infrastructure (TEM and TER infrastructure) and removal of the bottlenecks or filling in the missing links rather than the construction of new infrastructure:

> The countries of the Black Sea Region should concentrate on the identification of bottlenecks and impediments to smooth traffic flows and missing links in the existing networks. A network of multimodal road and rail links and terminals, inland waterways, ports and airports is a key factor in the inter Black Sea connections to European Union and other European countries. In identifying important infrastructure links in a regional Black Sea network, it should be recalled that the corridor concept should include major international ports and airports. In this respect, emphasis should be placed on identifying links from these nodes to the infrastructure networks of the region utilising the existing facility of TEM and TER.[117]

The Black Sea Pan-European Transport Area is crucial for the development of the overall Pan-European Transport Network in so far as it connects the TEN-T through pan-European corridors IV, VII (the Danube), VIII (East-West) and IX (North-South), with that of the Caucasus and Central Asia. This is also further emphasised at the meeting of the countries of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea Region in Baku, stating that the aim of the transport cooperation among the countries of the two region is to expand international trade and transport of goods including energy resources to the world markets through the development of the Pan-European Transport Corridors crossing the region.[118] In this respect, Russia proposes to connect the transport networks of the Caspian and Black Sea region by using the Volga-Don

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[117] Annex to Kiev Declaration, Black Sea Transport Conference, 15-16 May 1997 in Kiev (Ukraine), p.6, http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[118] Declaration on the Development of Transport Cooperation in the Black and Caspian Seas Region, 3 October 2003 in Baku, p.1, http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

Navigation Channel.[119] To this end, the projects identified in the Black Sea PETrA are as follows.[120] "Construction and modernisation of Constanta port", "Construction of highways Buzau-Bucharest, Maresesti-Buzau, Albita-Maresesti, Bucharest-Lehliu, Lehliu-Fetesti, Cernavoda-Constanta, Bucharest-Brasov", "Construction of railways Bucharest-Brasov, Bucharest North-Baneasa and Fetesti-Constanta, Baneasa-Fetesti, Bucharest-Videle-Giurgiu, Ploiesti-Focsani, Focsani-Pascani-Iasi-Ungheni, Bucharest North-Giurgiu", "Construction of the Istanbul Bosporus Tube Crossing", "Rehabilitation of Ankara-Istanbul Existing Railway Line Section - Second Phase", "Black Sea Coastal Road Project", "Kars-Tbilisi Railway Project", "Feasibility Study on Establishing a rail-sea Combined Transportation to the Port of Samsun, Mersin, Batumi, Varna, Burgas, Constanta" and "Railway Line Between Samsun, Mersin and Iskenderun Ports". In addition, there is also an imaginative project encircling the Black Sea called "Black Sea Ring Road".

The term Mediterranean derives from a Latin word *mediterraneus* meaning "inland". The Mediterranean which was the superhighway of transport in ancient times, is an inland sea between the three continents, namely Europe, Asia and Africa. It is connected to the Atlantic Ocean by the Strait of Gibraltar and to the Sea of Marmara and the Black Sea by the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. The Suez Canal also connects the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea.[121] Beside the historical ties between the countries of the Mediterranean region, the geographical proximity and transportation of the energy resources imported from the Central Asia and Gulf through the Mediterranean makes it special for Europe. In this respect, the process lived through in the second half of the 1990s in the neighbouring regions of Europe has developed within a more comprehensive and regular framework as far as Mediterranean is concerned. Development of a regional transport network to be

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[119] Joint Statement of the Ministers of Transport of the BSEC Member States, 30 March 2001 in Sochi (the RF), p.2, http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[120]The projects identified in Romania and Turkey are only available in the Black Sea PETrA, see http://www.bs-petra.org, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[121] "Mediterranean Sea", the Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mediterranean, accessed on 01.04.2005.

integrated with the TEN-T and Asian transport networks, and identification of priority projects have been realised through the "Euro-Mediterranean Partnership", as well as regional *ad hoc* ministerial meetings among the countries of the region. The Partnership, also known as the "Barcelona Process", set up in 1995 in Barcelona as a framework for the political, economic and social relations between the Member States of the EU and Partners of the Southern Mediterranean (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, S. Cyprus, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, and Libya as an observer).[122] Development of an integrated transport network (MEDA TEN-T) between Europe and the Mediterranean Partners is also vital given the planned establishment of a Euro-Mediterranean Free Trade Area as of 2010. Based on the Association Agreements negotiated and concluded between the EU and the Mediterranean Partners, as well as free trade agreements among the Partners themselves, it is planned to establish physical infrastructure for the free trade area, as was achieved in the European Single Market through TEN-T. In this framework, the transport ministers of the countries of the Mediterranean and the Member States of the EU met in Lisbon in 1997 and set the principles of cooperation for the development of a integrated multimodal transport network in the region which will integrate with the TEN-T.[123] During the 3rd Pan-European Transport Conference in Helsinki, the CORRIMED study was presented by the Euro-Med Working Group on Network and Infrastructure as a starting point for the establishment of multimodal priority corridors in the region. Therefore, all transport networks around the Mediterranean, "Trans-Maghreb Multimodal Corridor", "Trans-Maghreb motorway (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia)", "Trans-Maghreb high-speed train (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia)", "The coastal traffic and the port desserts", "The maritime multimodal north-south connections (connection to the TEN-T)", "Eastern Mediterranean Multimodal Corridor", "Terrestrial axe for the EU, Central Europe and Eastern Mediterranean connected to the Pan-European Corridor IV", "Two north-south

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[122] *Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/Barcelona Process*, http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/euromed/index.htm, accessed on 05.04.2005.

[123] Lisbon Declaration, Mediterranean Transport Conference, 23-24 January 1997 in Lisbon (Portugal), http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

(Eastern and Coastal) corridors through the Middle East countries", "The Latin arc" and "The fixed link across the Strait of Gibraltar" were identified. The institutionalised cooperation and the political and economic support given by the EU, some of which Member States are Mediterranean countries, have accelerated the realisation of the MEDA TEN-T and the corridor concept has been developed similar to that of the CEE countries. In this regard, Paris-Bordeaux-Madrid-Rabat-Dakar (Corridor 1), Paris-Marseille-Algiers (Djhen-Djhen)-Transahara (Corridor 2), Paris-Marseille/Genoa-Tunis/Sfax (Corridor 3), Berlin-München-Verona-Naples (Palermo)-Tunis (Corridor 4), Marseille-(Italy)-Malta-Limassol-Beirut/Tartus-Baghdad (Corridor 5), Trieste-Igoumenitsa-(Volos)-İzmir-Limassol-Tartus/Beirut (Corridor 6), Alexandria/Port Said-Cairo-Aqaba-Amman (Baghdad-Gulf)-Damascus-Alepo-Ankara-İzmir-İstanbul (branches from İzmir to Antalya through Konya and Mersin) (Corridor 7), Alexandria/Port Said-Beirut/Limassol-Piraeus/Thessaloniki-İzmir-İstanbul (Corridor 8), Rabat-Algers-Tunis-Tripoli-Alexandria-Cairo (Corridor 9) axes were defined as the MEDA TEN-T corridors.[124]

Adriatic and Ionian Seas are both the arms of the Mediterranean Sea. While the Adriatic Sea running along the countries of Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, and Albania, separates Italy from the Balkan Peninsula, the Ionian Sea bounded by Italy, including Calabria and Sicily, Albania and large number of Greek islands (Ionian Islands) is located in the south of Adriatic Sea.[125] In broader perspective, Adriatic and Ionian Transport Area covers the Balkan Peninsula (South East Europe), particularly the countries of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Croatia and Macedonia.[126] Economic deficiencies and political instabilities stemming from the successive conflicts and wars in these five countries have damaged the physical transport infrastructure and

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[124] http://medatent.nestear.net/, accessed on 21.05.2005.

[125] "Adriatic Sea", the Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adriatic_Sea, accessed on 01.04.2005; "Ionian Sea", the Wikipedia Encyclopaedia, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ionian_Sea, accessed on 01.04.2005.

[126] Development of transport infrastructure in other two countries of the region, namely Romania and Bulgaria is governed by the pre-accession strategy.

interrupted the functioning of the existing transport network throughout the region. Therefore, the region poses a missing link within the fledging Pan-European transport network. This fact is also underlined by Jack Short, Deputy Secretary General of the ECMT:

> It is clear that a well functioning transport system in the South East of Europe is of vital importance not only for the region but also for the entire continent and its international trade and traffic. This is attested by the fact that no fewer than 6 of the 10 pan-European Transport Corridors pass through the region.[127]

In order to include the countries of the region into the European integration process, so many initiatives have been developed among which the Stabilisation and Association Process is the main tool of the EU towards the region. In this respect, development of transport and energy networks in the region is considered as an important means of integrating these countries into the European political and economic system, by giving them a perspective of "potential candidate countries" for the EU membership.[128] The Paper on Transport and Energy Infrastructure in South Eastern Europe prepared by the EU defines the infrastructure situation in the region and sets the principles in developing integrated transport network throughout the region. The defined network covers the main road, railways, inland waterways and river ports, sea ports, airports and terminals. In all five countries, while road networks are relatively extensive, railways networks densities are low. The countries of the region have outlets to the Adriatic Sea via major ports in Rijeka, Split, Ploce, Dubrovnik (Croatia), Bar (Serbia and Montenegro) and Durres (Albania), which are important for hydrocarbons and bulk commodities. Although the traffic on the Danube has fallen sharply over the past decade due to the conflicts, it remains the main inland waterway link for the whole Europe, especially after the construction of

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[127] Speech by Jack Short, International Road Congress for South Eastern Europe, Sofia (Bulgaria), 18-20 September 2000, p. 1, http://www1.oecd.org/cem, accessed on 26.03.2005.

[128] Paper on Transport and Energy Infrastructure in South Eastern Europe, Working Group of the Commission Services, DG for Energy and Transport, DG for External Relations, EuropeAid Cooperation Office, Brussels, 15.10.2001, p.3, http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/ten/infrastructure/index_en.htm, accessed on 29.11.2003.

the connection with the Rhine-Main. The air route network in extensive and there are international airports in each country. In the context of the given situation, the paper adopted that the connections with TEN-T or Pan-European Transport Corridors are considered as part of the network and the relevant sections of Corridors IV, V, VI, VIII and X will be included in the backbone network. Moreover, while the priority is given to the use of existing infrastructure by repairing and rehabilitating it, upgrading or construction of new infrastructure should be kept to a minimum.[129] In this respect, other than the projects restoring the navigability on the Danube, the motorway Ljublana-Zagreb-Belgrad-Nish-Skopje-Thessaloniki and the motorway Budapest-Sarajevo-Ploce were identified as important projects. Furthermore, a Memorandum of Understanding aiming to cooperate on the development of main and ancillary infrastructure on the multimodal South East Europe Core Regional Transport Network was signed among Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro including Kosovo, Croatia, Macedonia and the European Commission on 11 June 2004.[130] The network identified by the MoU consists of 4300 km of railways, 6000 km of roads, major airports, sea ports of Rijeka, Split, Dubrovnik, Nis, Durres and Vlore, inland waterways on the Danube and the Sava, and 58 border crossing. The total cost of the network estimated is over € 16 billion.[131] The MoU also considers the Corridors V, VII, VIII and X is a high priority.

In the final analysis, it is apparent that the concept of the Pan-European Transport Areas has been developed to integrate the regions surrounding Europe into the core network of the EU. It is not a coincidence that the geography comprising the four Transport Areas overlap with the geography defined within the framework of the European Neighbourhood Policy. In this context, the Transport Areas not only constitute one of the main elements of a Europe-wide network, but also complement

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[129] *Paper on Transport and Energy Infrastructure in South Eastern Europe*, *op. cit., et. al.*

[130] Memorandum of Understanding on the Development of South East Europe Core Regional Transport Network, Luxembourg, 11.06.2004, http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/ten/infrastructure/index_en.htm, accessed on 08.04.2005.

[131] "Commission opens the door to Western Balkans transport network development", *Europa Rapid Press Release*, IP/04/737, Brussels, 11 June 2004.

to the development of the European Neighbourhood Policy. Therefore, the cooperation between the countries within the Transport Areas and the EU and development of the transport network are determinant in analysing the scope of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

3.4. Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia (TRACECA)

Starting with the late 1990s, the transport networks concept has also been developed throughout the Eurasian region in order to promote the economic and social development of countries in Asia and to connect the continent with the networks of Europe in ensuring economic cooperation. Due to the expected rise in traffic in the direction of Asia (and the existence of the energy resources), it will be of great importance to extend the European Transport Networks into the Caucasus and Central Asia. Therefore, it is examined that the project TRACECA may serve as a basis for creating a concept for the future transport links between Europe and Asia.[132] The TRACECA was, in this respect, initiated in Brussels in May 1993 with the participation of the trade and transport ministers from the five Central Asian countries and three Caucasian countries namely Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. These countries decided to run the European Union funded Technical Assistance Programme aimed towards the development of the transport corridor from the west across the Black Sea, through the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea to Central Asia (See Appendix V).

In 1996, the Mongolia and Ukraine and in 1998 Moldova joined the TRACECA. Furthermore, in March 2000 Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey officially applied to European Commission with a request to join the TRACECA programme.[133]

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[132] Elena Triffonova, Vanya Kashoukeeva-Nousheva (ed.), *Regional Infrastructure Projects in South Eastern Europe*, Institute for Regional and International Studies, Sofia, 1999, p.226.

[133] *The TRACECA Overview*, http://bs-petra.org/6/ , accessed on 18.12.2003.

The objectives[134] of the TRACECA project are to support the political and economic interdependence of the republics by enhancing their capacity to access European and world markets through alternative transport routes, encourage further regional cooperation among the partner states, increasingly use TRACECA as a catalyst to attract the support of international financial institutions and private investors, and link the TRACECA route with the Trans-European Networks. TRACECA intend to be developed as the shortest and potentially the fastest and cheapest route from Central Asia to the world market.

> The leaders of the partner states consider that the TRACECA route is of strategic importance, by assuming them of an alternative transport link to Europe. TRACECA stimulates competition between and with their previously exclusive route to the north, and newer alternative routes to south. Furthermore, it is seen as complementary to their renewed commercial exchanges with the Far East, evoking the possibility of the ancient Silk Route becoming once again a major trade corridor.[135]

The TRACECA has been developed and supported by the EU to diversify the existing trade and transport routes dominated by the Soviets and then the RF, and to open up new routes to the world market. The EU aims to realise this project as a competing with, as well as complementary to the routes traversing on the north and south.

Within the framework of the TRACECA, 39 technical assistance projects (€ 57.4 million) and 13 projects on rehabilitation of infrastructure (€ 54 million) have been financed by the EU.[136] The other financing instruments of TRACECA are investments from European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the World Bank and Asian Development Bank.

With the inclusion of Mongolia, Ukraine, Moldova, Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey into the TRACECA in the late 1990s, the link between the TRACECA and

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[134] "Introduction", *TRACECA-Transport Corridor Europe Caucasus Asia*, http://www.traceca.org.tr, accessed on 03.05.2005.

[135] *Ibid.*

[136] Barış Tozar, Metin Katı, İzzet Işık, *IGC TRACECA Hükümetlerarası Komisyon 3. Yıllık Toplantısı Raporu*, http://www.traceca.org.tr/10ekim03.htm, accessed on 03.05.05.

the Black Sea region was established. This process was initiated in April 1997 in Tbilisi at a joint TRACECA-BSEC Conference organised by the EU to examine the possibilities of linking TRACECA route with the Black Sea region and the TEN-T. This process has also created a platform of both TRACECA and Black Sea countries for the Pan-European Transport Conference in Helsinki 1997, by which the Black Sea region was identified as a Pan-European Transport Area and TRACECA as one of the components of the Pan-European Transport Network.

In parallel with the extension of existing European transport network infrastructure such as TRACECA programme, Eurasian countries also have laid the ground for the Euro-Asian transport system similar to TEN-T. At the 2nd International Euro-Asian Conference on Transport in St. Petersburg in 2000, the Euro-Asian Land Transport Corridors were determined. The "Trans-Siberian" corridor links with Europe (Pan-European Corr. II, III, IX) with the Russian Federation, Korean Peninsula and Japan, with two branches from the Russian Federation to Kazakhstan-China and Mongolia-China. The "TRACECA", as examined above, connects the Eastern Europe (Pan-European Corr. IV, VII, VIII, IX) with the Caspian Sea and Central Asia across Black Sea and the Caucasus. The "Southern corridor" which starts from the South-eastern Europe (Pan-European Corr. IV) and crosses Turkey and Islamic Republic of Iran, with two branches to Central Asia-China and South Asia-South East Asia/Southern China. The "North-South corridor" links the Northern Europe (Pan-European Corr.IX) with the Russian Federation with two branches to Caucasus-Persian Gulf and Central Asia-Persian Gulf.

In regard to the transport development in Asia, Russian perspective and its strategy seems to be significant. The RF pays special attention to becoming a transit country on the way from Europe to Pacific region. In fact, President Putin himself prioritises two of the Euro-Asian transport corridors, one crossing the Caspian region north-south and second crossing Siberia east-west (Trans-Siberian). The use of such corridors, according to Putin, would bring Asia and Europe closer by reducing the amount of time needed to ship goods between the two continents. To make these

corridors more attractive the RF plans to further liberalise its economy and considerably reduce the tariffs.[137]

How the strategic partnership between the EU and the RF will be evolved is crucial for the development of the Pan-European Transport Network and its extensions in Asia. Together with the existing cooperation on the transportation of Russian energy resources to Europe, prioritisation of the Russian corridors seems to be useful.

[137] "Putin outlines special Russian Role in Globalisation", *RFE/RL Foreign Policy and Security Watch*, Vol. 1, No.18, 20 Nov. 2000.

CHAPTER 4
TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF REDEFINING TRANSPORT ROUTES

Turkey, straddling on Europe and Asia, and situated at the crossroads of the main trade routes, conducts a strategy to build new infrastructure and to develop the existing one, connecting international transit traffic. This strategy is naturally making use of its geo-strategic situation as a bridge between Europe, Asia, Africa and the Middle East.[138]

Turkey mainly intends to integrate with and extend the Trans-European Transport Networks, within the EU membership perspective. In this regard, Turkey's Transport Main Plan Strategy is prepared (yet to be published) to examine the infrastructure needs of Turkey, and it has been noted in the National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis that the EU legislation concerning the TEN Guidelines will be taken into account in determining the objectives of the Transport Main Plan Strategy.[139] The projects, such as the bridge between İzmit Bay and Çanakkale over the Dardanelles, the tube channel to connect Europe and Asia through the Bosporus and the motorway along the coast of the Sea of Marmara and then the coast of the Black Sea are all part of its strategy to access to the European and world markets.[140] These projects are also crucial for Turkey in reducing the traffic through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles Straits, in view to the increasing amount of oil and gas transportation from the Caucasus and Central Asia.

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[138] Elena Triffonova, Vanya Kashoukeeva-Nousheva (ed.), *Regional Infrastructure Projects in South-Eastern Europe*, Institute for Regional and International Studies, Sofia, 1999, p.240.

[139] National Programme for the Adoption of the Acquis, Chapter IV, Title 9 "Transport Policy", p.334, Official Gazette No.25178, 24 July 2003, http://www.abgs.gov.tr/NPAA/up.htm, accessed on 04.09.2005.

[140] *Ibid*., p. 277.

To conduct its transportation strategy, Turkey has three options which are interconnected. First of all, many Pan-European Transport Corridors (Corridor IV, VIII and X) running from Europe through the Balkans, reaches İstanbul or to the Turkish border at least. However, development of the Pan-European Corridors in Turkey is not promising, due to the fact that definition and establishment of the Corridor infrastructure is a process which goes hand in hand with the EU pre-accession strategy. Therefore, the corridor development has been strictly bound by the EU's enlargement perspective. In this regard, the countries, which were declared as future EU members, have realised the infrastructure development mostly through the support provided by the EU. It is not a coincidence that the Corridors defined for Turkey ends in İstanbul, not beyond. However, after the accession of the CEE countries to the EU, the need for revision of the Pan-European Transport Corridors has been considering. Therefore, Turkey has a chance to prioritise its projects as the new lines of Pan-European Transport Corridors, in the coming years.

Secondly, as complementary to the corridor concept, the Pan-European Transport Areas such as the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, gives Turkey the chance to integrate into the Pan-European Transport Network. In parallel to its active role in cooperation with the countries of the Black Sea, Turkey has developed concrete and feasible transport projects, ensuring the connection between Europe and the Central Asia through the Black Sea basin. Moreover, in regard to the concept of the motorways of the sea and development of the Mediterranean Transport Area in the recent years, Turkey has become a main transit country in the maritime transportation (together with its land connections) of the Central Asian energy resources to the world markets. That is why the proposed 3 of 9 MEDA TEN-T corridors traverse through Turkey (See Appendices W, X and Y)

The construction of Istanbul Bosphorus Tube Crossing (Marmaray)[141] (See Appendix Z) is one of the crucial projects defined within the territories of Turkey. The existing ferry crossing of Bosphorus Strait between Haydarpaşa Station on the Anatolian side and Sirkeci Station on the European side, causes delays in rail

[141] Information about the projects is compiled from "Transport Projects for Black Sea region - Black Sea Pan-European Transport Area", http://www.bs-petra.org/18/55_1.html, accessed on 25.05.2004.

transportation. The transfer of the trains to either side of the Strait lasts 2 hours at least. The planned tube tunnel crossing will not only provide uninterrupted railway transportation between the two continents, but will also connect the Pan-European Corridors, mainly Corridor IV, with the networks of TRACECA and Black Sea PETrA. The project covers the construction of a twin truck tunnel of 13.3 km length and the improvement of the 63 km existing lines, including the metro lines. The total cost of the project estimated is about $ 2.5 billion ($ 803 million for Tube Tunnel Crossing, $ 700 million for Surface Metro System, $ 1 billion for the Vehicles). The credit of the project has been provided from Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC).

The rehabilitation of Ankara-İstanbul existing railway line (Second Phase) is also critical, as far as the development and maintenance of the east-west transport link in Turkey. The project aims to improve the infrastructure of 567 km Ankara-İstanbul line and to provide a second line. The cruise speed will increase to 230 km/h by which the travelling time will decrease from 7 hours to 4.5 hours. The construction of the project is underway and the estimated total cost of it is $ 1 billion.

In the same manner, the Black Sea Coastal Road Project is complementary to the Turkey's strategy to become a transit country in the direction of east-west link. The road linking 7 cities, 9 harbours and many districts and towns, from Sinop to the Georgian border is about 715 km. It will provide Turkey with a main access to Caucasia and to Central Asia, via Caspian Sea ferryboat service. Gerede-Merzifon, Merzifon-Samsun and Samsun-Trabzon-Hopa-Sarp sections are also designated as E-80, E-95 and E-70 respectively within the UNECE framework. The project will be completed by 2005 as dual carriageway.

Kars-Tbilisi Railway Project is further important due to the fact that it is the eastern gateway of Turkey to the Central Asia. The project will fill in the missing link of the East-West railway connection by ensuring a direct railway route between Turkey and Georgia. In broader perspective, this will contribute to facilitate international railway transportation between Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia by the shortest route, with regard to the transportation of energy resources throughout

the region. The new 68 km line forms the major part of a 98 km rail connection project between Kars and Tbilisi. The estimated total cost is about $ 463 million.

The feasibility study on establishing a rail-sea combined transportation to the Port of Samsun is the main project defined in the north-south direction. Within the framework of the construction of Kars-Tbilisi Ralway Project, the railway connection towards the Caucasian region will be sustained through the railway ferry between the ports of Samsun, Batum and Poti. The project will provide a railway-sea combined transport (railway ferry transport) and ensure a direct link between the countries of the region. Furthermore, the Black Sea freight transport towards the Mediterranean through the railway connection between the ports of Samsun and Mersin, İskenderun.

Turkey further intends to include a new railway line between Samsun, Mersin and İskenderun into the TRACECA network up to 2008. The importance of this link is that it will provide a transit transport connection from the Caucasus to Europe via the Mediterranean Sea, and *vice versa*. It is beyond doubt that the line will help to decrease the traffic along the Bosporus and the Dardanelles.

An integrated transport network to be developed throughout the Mediterranean region (MEDA TEN-T) intends to establish a physical interconnection of the countries of the region in achieving economic and social development. Furthermore, it aims to integrate the region with first and foremost with Europe and then with the Caucasus and Asia. Therefore, Turkey, situated at the heart of three continents plays a pivotal role. The planned 3 of 9 MEDA TEN-T corridors, that is to say Corridor 6 running Trieste, Igoumenitsa, Volos, İzmir, Limassol, Tartus, Beirut; Corridor 7 running Alexandria, Port Said, Cairo, Aqaba, Amman, Baghdad, Gulf, Damascus, Alepo, Ankara, İzmir, İstanbul with branches from İzmir to Antalya through Konya and Mersin; Corridor 8 running Alexandria, Port Said, Beirut, Limassol, Piraeus, Thessaloniki, İzmir, İstanbul, traverses within Turkey. All the three MEDA TEN-T corridors running through Turkey provide the interconnection between Europe, Asia and the Middle East, and strengthen Turkey's position as a main transit country between three continents.

Together with the Black Sea PETrA, development of the Mediterranean Transport Area is a useful leverage for Turkey in the integration with the TEN-T of the EU, given the importance of the motorways of the sea for the EU.

Thirdly, Turkey has paid a special attention to the development of the TRACECA route, which is an east-west link between Europe and the Caucasus and the Central Asia, and has actively participated in the TRACECA programme. It is certain that Turkey's participation in the TRACECA ensures the interconnections between different transport routes in the direction of east-west as well as north-south between Europe and Asia.

Initially, the TRACECA used to run directly from the port of Constanta of Romania to the port of Poti of Georgia, excluding Turkey. The tendency prevailed among the countries of the TRACECA, to extend it through north-south direction in the Black Sea and Turkey's willingness to be part of the TRACECA open way to inclusion of Turkey into the programme. Consequently, Turkey, together with Romania and Bulgaria, was declared as a member at the 2nd IGC TRACECA Conference in 2002 in Tashkent.

Within the TRACECA programme, Turkey has proposed a project called "Feasibility Study for the establishment of rail-sea combined transport link between ports of Samsun (Turkey), Poti and Batumi (Georgia), Varna, Burgas, Constanta, Ilyichevski, including rehabilitation of links plan and construction of bogie exchange station in Samsun port". This project, as mentioned above, will ensure the extension of the TRACECA through the Mediterranean and Turkey will become the main transit countries in the east-west direction. Therefore, Turkey has proposed the project to be included in the 2002-2003 TRACECA programme, yet financial aid could not be provided due to the fact that Turkey does not take part in the TACIS programme. However, Turkey has achieved to have this project re-included in the TRACECA 2004-2006 programme and present the project not only in favour of Turkey but also of the TRACECA countries of the Black Sea.[142]

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[142] Barış Tozar, Metin Katı and İzzet Işık, *Yurtdışı Geçici Görev Raporu*, http://www.traceca.org.tr/10ekim03.htm, accessed on 03.05.05.

Similarly, Turkey intends to have the project, linking port of Samsun with Mersin and İskenderun ports by a railway line in the north-south direction, included in the TRACECA programme.

Briefly, Turkey's strategy regarding the TRACECA is to ensure trade connection between Europe and Central Asia through Turkish railway and roads, as the shortest route; reconsider opening of the Turkish-Armenian border and railway line between Ahırkapı-Ahuryan, which technically gives Turkey advantages; develop small-sized railway, road and port projects within the TRACECA corridor to be supported by the EU, in parallel to the Turkish membership process; support Greece's membership to the TRACECA so as to extend Thessaloniki-İstanbul line within the TRACECA programme.[143]

Turkey, moreover, supports the İstanbul-Tehran-Tashkent line which is a part of the East-West Trans-Asia railway route. Given Iran's possible membership to the TRACECA, its position on whether it supports the East-West route or North-South route, which runs from Russia to Persian Gulf and Central Asia, is of great significant. In this respect, Lake Van North Transit Project to be constructed will make the İstanbul-Tehran-Tashkent line as an alternative to both the TRACECA and the Trans-Asia route running from Russia.

It is obvious that Turkey's geo-strategic location provides it with many opportunities in integration with the Pan-European Transport Network. In the process of redefinition of the world trade routes both in the east-west and north-south directions, Turkey is determined to take part in the map as one of the main transit countries. Indeed, it has instantly been declared by the high level authorities that Turkey at the crossroads of the three continents would be a natural terminal and contribute to further establishment of cooperation among the countries of Europe, the Caucasus and the Central Asia.[144] The transportation of the energy resources of the

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[143] *Ibid*. p. 12-13.

[144] Speech by President Süleyman Demirel, Avrupa-Asya Ulaşım Koridoru Zirve Toplantısı, Baku, 1998, Anadolu Ajansı , 8 Eylül 1998, http://www.turkishpilots.org/NEWS/HABERLER/bababakuda.html , accessed on 03.05.2005; speech by Foreign Minister İsmail Cem, II. Dünya İşadamları Kurultayı, İzmir, 30 Nisan 1998,

Central Asia through Turkey to world market is, in this context, worth to be examined. Turkey's terminal strategy is meaningful when it is considered within the framework of energy pipeline projects such as Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan, Samsun-Ceyhan and the projects initiated together with Greece and Iran.

Turkey's EU membership aspiration is also complementary to this strategy. However, the realisation of Turkey's transport strategy depends on the relations between Turkey and the EU itself. Whether Turkey will be the member of the Union or a special partnership will be established between the EU and Turkey as an alternative to the full membership, is the determining element of Turkey's inclusion of the Pan-European Transport Network. As a full member of the EU, Turkey will no doubt fully integrate with the TEN-T and the borders of the Union will reach to the Middle East and the Central Asia. This will give also strategic advantages to the EU in attaining its objectives as a fledging world power. Furthermore, the development of the transport networks throughout the Black Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, through which energy resources export to the world markets, will be controlled by the EU. For Turkey, EU membership will facilitate the realisation of Turkey's intentions to prioritise its territory for the world trade routes as was before (Ancient Silk Road). Moreover, the needed investment for the great infrastructure projects will be provided through the EU funds and the development of infrastructure will consolidate Turkey's position as a transit country.

On the contrary, the perspective excluding Turkey from the EU will be problematic for both Turkey and the EU. A non-EU member Turkey will try to conduct its strategy on the basis of intergovernmental cooperation between the EU and neighbouring countries, as is today. This option grants Turkey a limited integration with the Pan-European Transport Network as a periphery country to the core European networks.

What is more, realisation of Turkey's strategy of becoming transit country especially in the east-west direction is competing with that of Russia. The RF, one of the main energy exporting country of the world, pursues also a similar strategy in integrating with Europe and meeting the energy demands of European countries,

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http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ/AyinTarihi/1998/nisan1998.htm, accessed on 04.07.2005.

which is increasing year by year. In the transportation of Russian energy resources to the world markets, the RF monopolises the transportation routes both from east to west and from north to south. However, exploitation of the Central Asian energy resources and its exportation to the world markets has offered an alternative to the Russian monopoly. This alternative route comprising the countries of Central Asian and Caucasus as well as Iran and Turkey, has been promoted by the EU and the USA.[145] Therefore, possible inclusion of Iran into the TRACECA route is of crucial importance for Turkey. Iran's strategy is critical for the RF as well, given Russian intentions to develop a route running through Caspian region from north to south.

In brief, Turkey's geographical location is determining in the realisation of Eurasian transport network. Turkey has a chance to become a terminal at the crossroads of the trade routes running between Europe and Asia and a terminal in the transportation of Central Asian energy resources to the markets. The membership perspective given to Turkey is therefore promising in the revision of the Pan-European Transport Corridors and prioritisation of Turkish transport routes mainly in the east-west direction, which will make Turkey as a terminal at the crossroads of the three continents. However, prospects for Turkey's EU membership is still an open-ended process, therefore, other mechanisms of accommodating Turkey in the larger Pan-European Transport Network may also be taken into account.

[145] Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline Project can also be considered in this respect.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

Establishment of an integrated transport network within certain geography has been aimed at regulating mainly economic relations and consolidating socio-political cohesion in that geography. The initial example of such a massive planning and construction were the ancient Roman roads running throughout the territories of the Empire. A similar structure was established in England during the Industrial Revolution, on a smaller scale. What was achieved through establishing a transport network is the creation of a functioning single market which further consolidates political and military power.

Based on this incentive, the European planners had realised that the European integration has slowed down during the 1980s and Europe has lost its competitiveness in comparison with the USA and Japan. Furthermore, the collapse of the bi-polar system and the effects of globalisation have strengthened the market forces and world order has been restructured. The European integration, therefore, has gained impetus and supranationality facilitating the operation of market forces, has dominated the process of integration, to some extent at the expense of intergovernmentalism. In this regard, the Single European Market programme, which would induce a functioning integrated Europe-wide transport system, was initiated by the Commission in strong collaboration with trans-national interest groups. This system would necessitate not only integration of national transport infrastructure of each member country, but also construction of new infrastructure extending beyond the borders. Together with the impetus of the European integration, the Maastricht Treaty creating the European Union has granted the Community organs with the competence to establish such kind of network throughout Europe. For this purpose, the EU has developed different financial instruments to ensure the realisation of European scale great projects and prioritised limited projects (priority projects) presented by the Member States.

The integration of the former socialist countries with the European market after the collapse of Soviet Union, facilitated the extension of this "planned" system to these neighbouring countries. Hence, development of a pan-European transport networks running throughout Europe and beyond has been promoted and the Pan-European Transport Network project has been initiated in the 1990s to integrate the Eurasian region within a single transport system to be contributed to the creation of a larger market. In this regard, the "core transport network" (TEN-T) has been established within the EU and the arteries connecting it with the distant regions have been identified through the concepts of "Corridors" and "Areas".

The Corridor and Area concepts have been put forward by EC/EU as a tool to improve the transport infrastructures of the neighbouring Central and East European countries and to ensure their integration with the developing European transport networks. The Pan-European Transport Corridors comprising mainly the CEE countries, the Pan-European Transport Areas covering especially maritime zones and the other axes (TRACECA and Asian transport corridors) extending to the Central Asia have been promoted by the EU. In the creation and implementation of these networks, the European Commission supported by the European market forces, has led the process. This process has been implemented in the neighbouring regions through the intergovernmental cooperation, enhanced by the EU's financial and administrative instruments. Although the pace and content of this process has differed from the TEN-T, the countries concerned have reorganised their national infrastructure planning in accordance with the map of this project. Furthermore, these countries have strived to prioritise the corridors running in the same direction over the other, just as like the EU Member States' struggle for giving priority to infrastructure projects they present.

The EU has also used the whole network project as a pre-accession strategy tool to integrate the countries intended to be a member of the Union. The acceding and candidate countries, therefore, have been incorporated into not only the physical infrastructure but also political, economic and social activity of the Union. It is obvious that this strategy has been successful, given the accession of the CEE countries to the Union in 2004. Therefore, the need for revision of the corridor

concept appeared. Nevertheless, the competing strategies of the countries on the existing corridors as well as identification of new priority corridors, complicate the revision process.

The transportation of the Central Asian energy resources to the world market is also crucial in explaining the whole Pan-European Transport Network project. The abundance of energy resources in Europe and increasing need for it have also necessitated creating an energy network throughout the Eurasian geography. It is not a coincidence that the energy and transport are the components of the Trans-European Networks, by which transport and energy infrastructure projects run through in the same geography.

The Pan-European Transport Network project, in conclusion, have been planned to ensure the economic and political cohesion of the European Union and regulate the trade relations between Europe and Asia. this Furthermore, it is designed to meet the energy needs of Europe by creating the infrastructure improving the transportation of energy resources of the distant regions.

Turkey, in this regard, is located on a strategic position in the development of the Pan-European Transport Network, and conducts a strategy to become a transit country between Europe and Asia, as well as the Middle East. The geographical advantages of Turkey keep it at the centre of the Pan-European Transport Network map. Given the revision of the Pan-European Transport Corridors after the accession of CEE countries in the Union and the developments in the Transport Areas, especially efforts to create the MEDA TEN-T, Turkey's geographical location is significant for the enhancement of the whole project and thus Turkey is likely to take an active role in the further development of the project. Turkey's EU membership aspiration and its integration with the transport networks of the core EU Member States in this regard, is complementary.

Turkey's transport strategy, however, is much related with that of the RF and Iran. The RF and Turkey conduct similar and competing strategies in prioritising transport routes between Europe and Asia. Iran's role is also significant and remains to be seen whether it supports Russian north-south transport route or the TRACECA route which runs in the east-west direction. Turkey's possible membership to the EU

will undoubtedly strengthen its position. This will also contribute to the realisation of Turkish strategy being a terminal not only for the trade between east and west, but also for the transportation of energy resources to the world markets. However, it seems that Turkey's membership to the EU is an open ended process. Therefore, other mechanisms to be developed for accommodating Turkey into the larger Pan-European Transport Network project may well be worked out. The strategic partnership established between the EU and the RF, in this regard, remains to be seen how it will be evolved.

It should also be considered that the realisation of the whole network project, not only within the EU but also throughout Eurasian and Mediterranean countries, depends on the financing capability of Europe and willingness of the countries concerned. Therefore, the financial instruments developed by the EU to support the Member States and neighbouring countries in the construction and rehabilitation of the transport systems are essential. These instruments will no doubt ensure the continuation and enhancement of the existing cooperation among Eurasian countries. In this regard, the development of EU's neighbourhood policy (ENP) and its adoption by Eurasian and Mediterranean countries will be determinant in establishing the Pan-European Transport Network. This will also facilitate the creation of a greater market strengthened by a network including not only transport but also energy and telecommunications sectors, throughout Europe, Asia and the Mediterranean region.

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APPENDICES

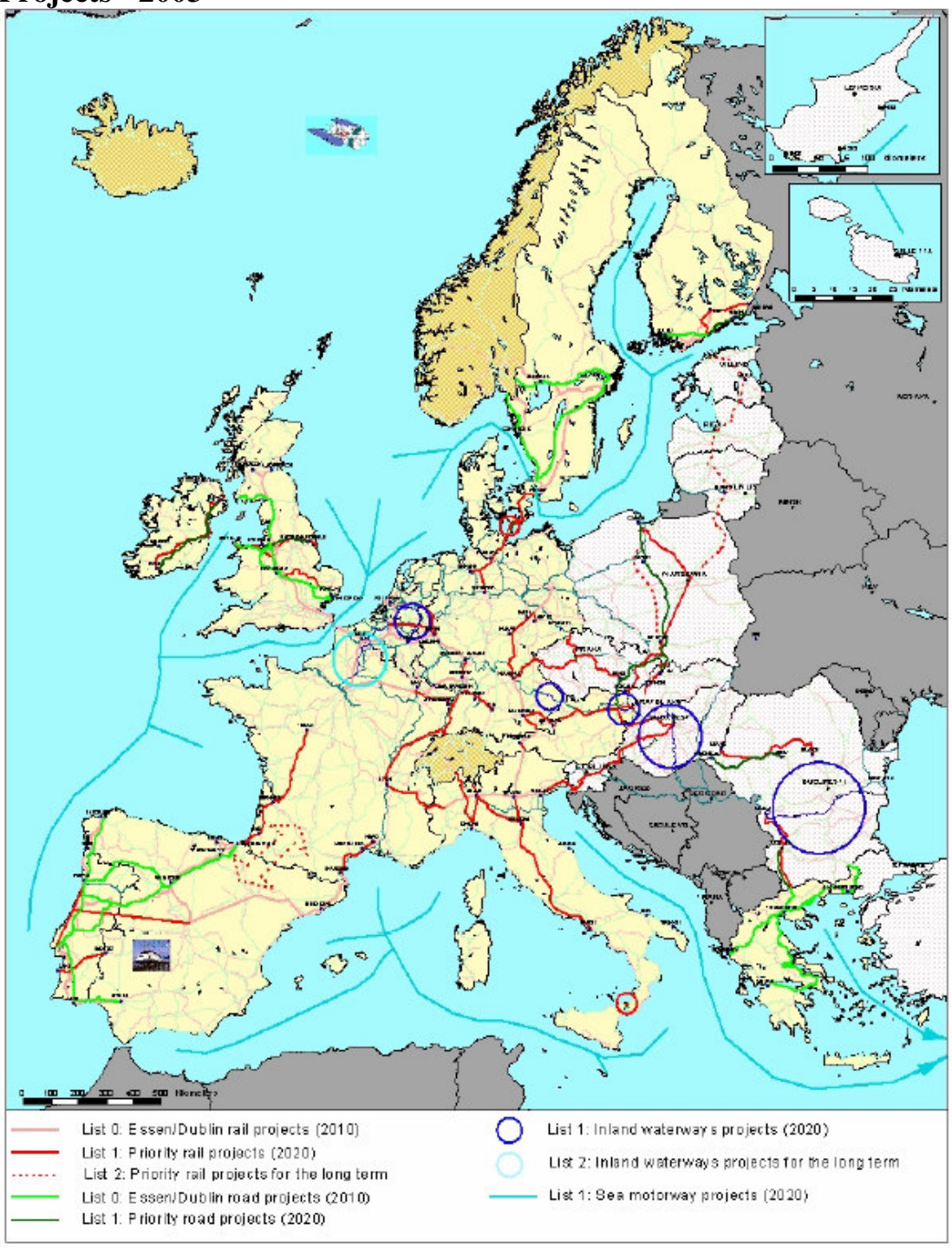
Appendix A: Map of the Pan-European Transport Rail Network

Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix B: Map of the Pan-European Transport Road Network

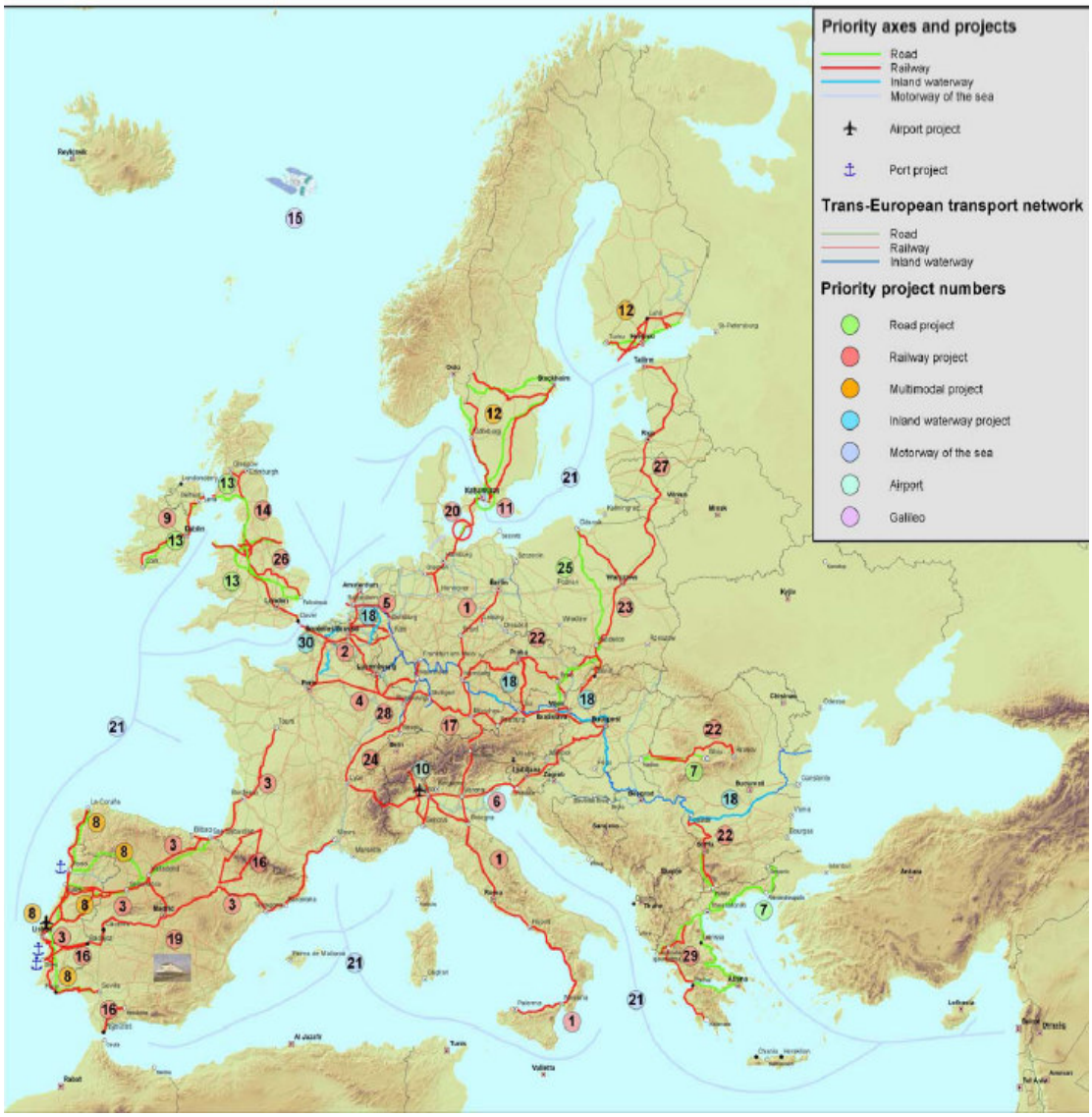
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix C: Map of the Van Miert High-Level Group's TEN-T Priority Projects - 2003



Source: Trans-European Networks, http://europa.eu.int/comm/ten/index_en.html

Appendix D: Map of the Trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T) Projects - 2004

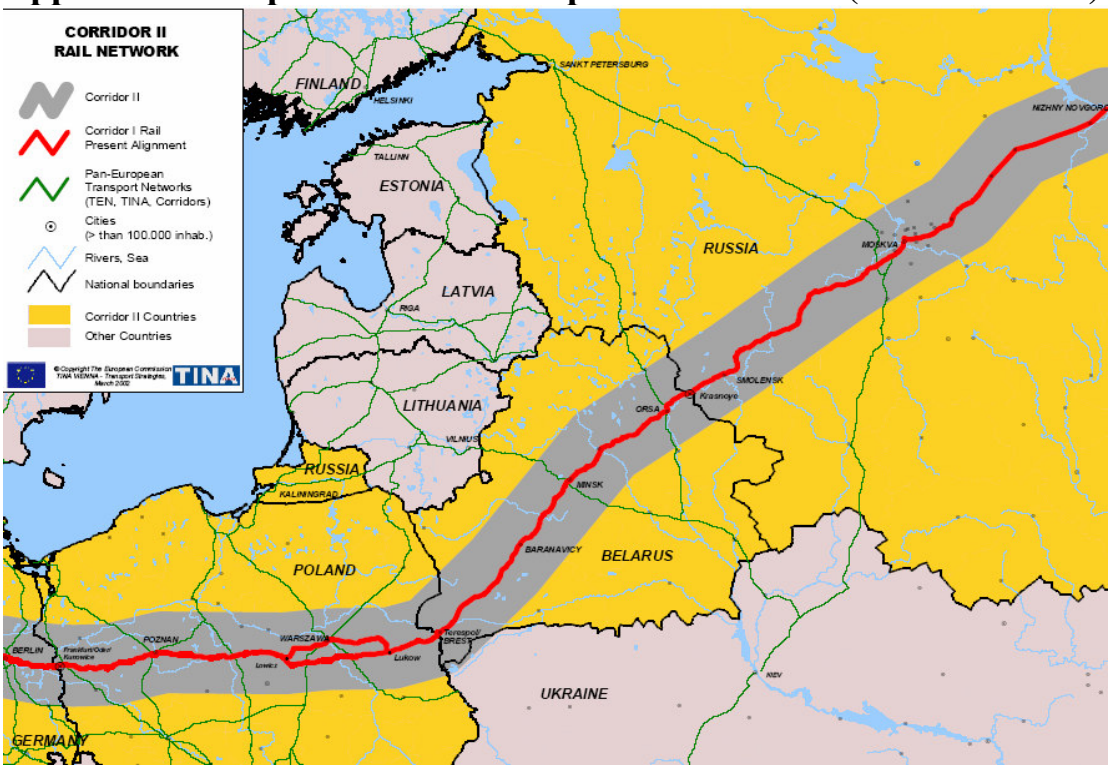


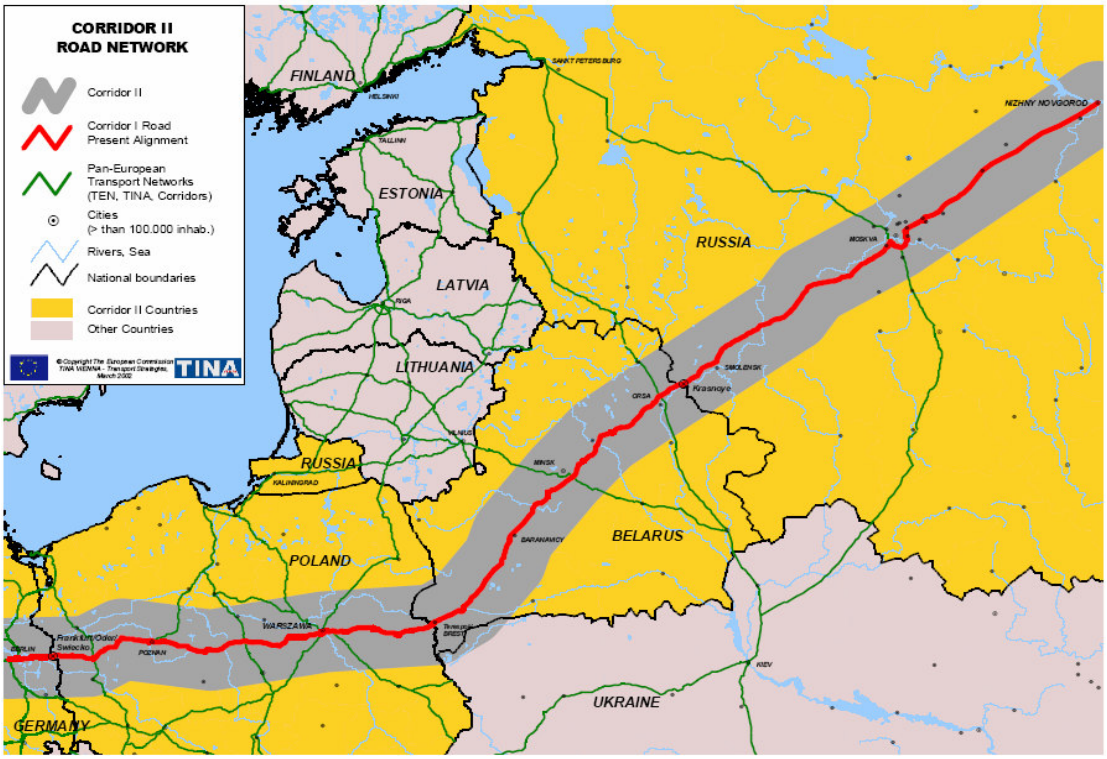
Source: http://europa.eu.int/comm/ten/transport/maps/doc/pp00.pdf

Appendix E: Map of the Pan-European Corridor I (Road)

Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

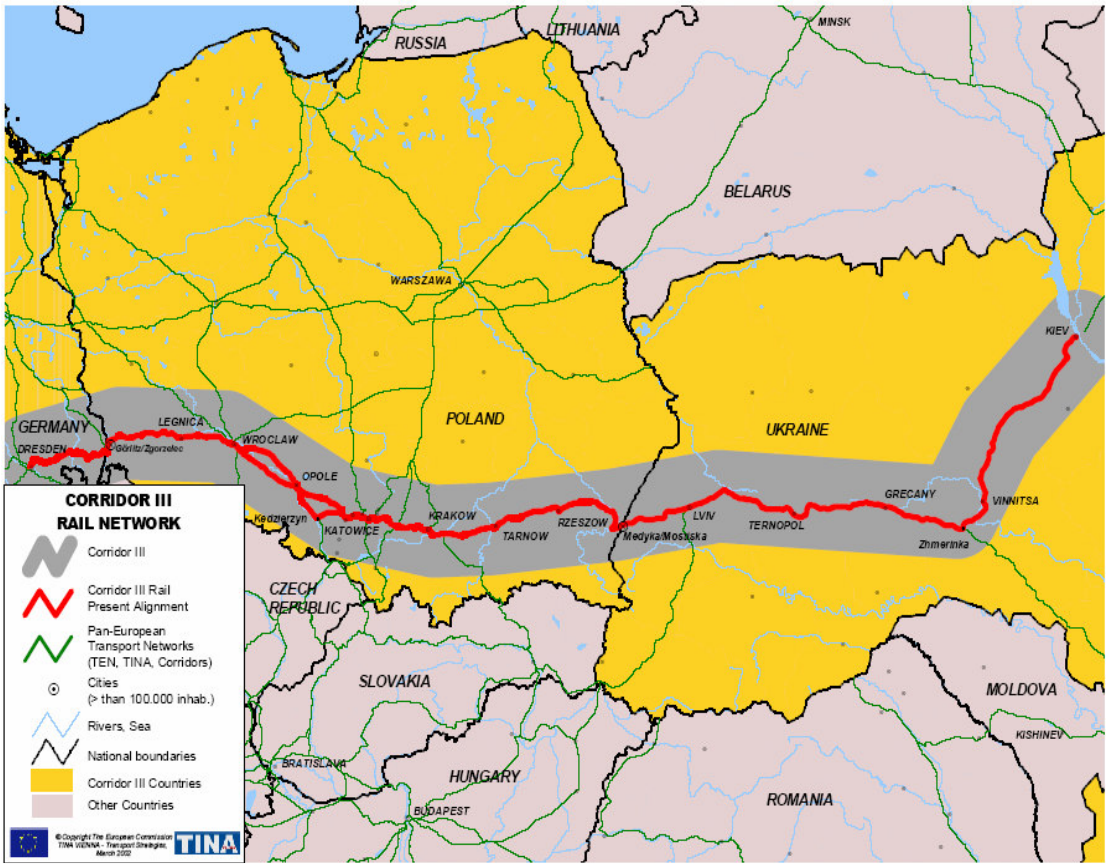
Appendix F: Maps of the Pan-European Corridor II (Rail and Road)





Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix G: Map of the Pan-European Corridor III (Rail)

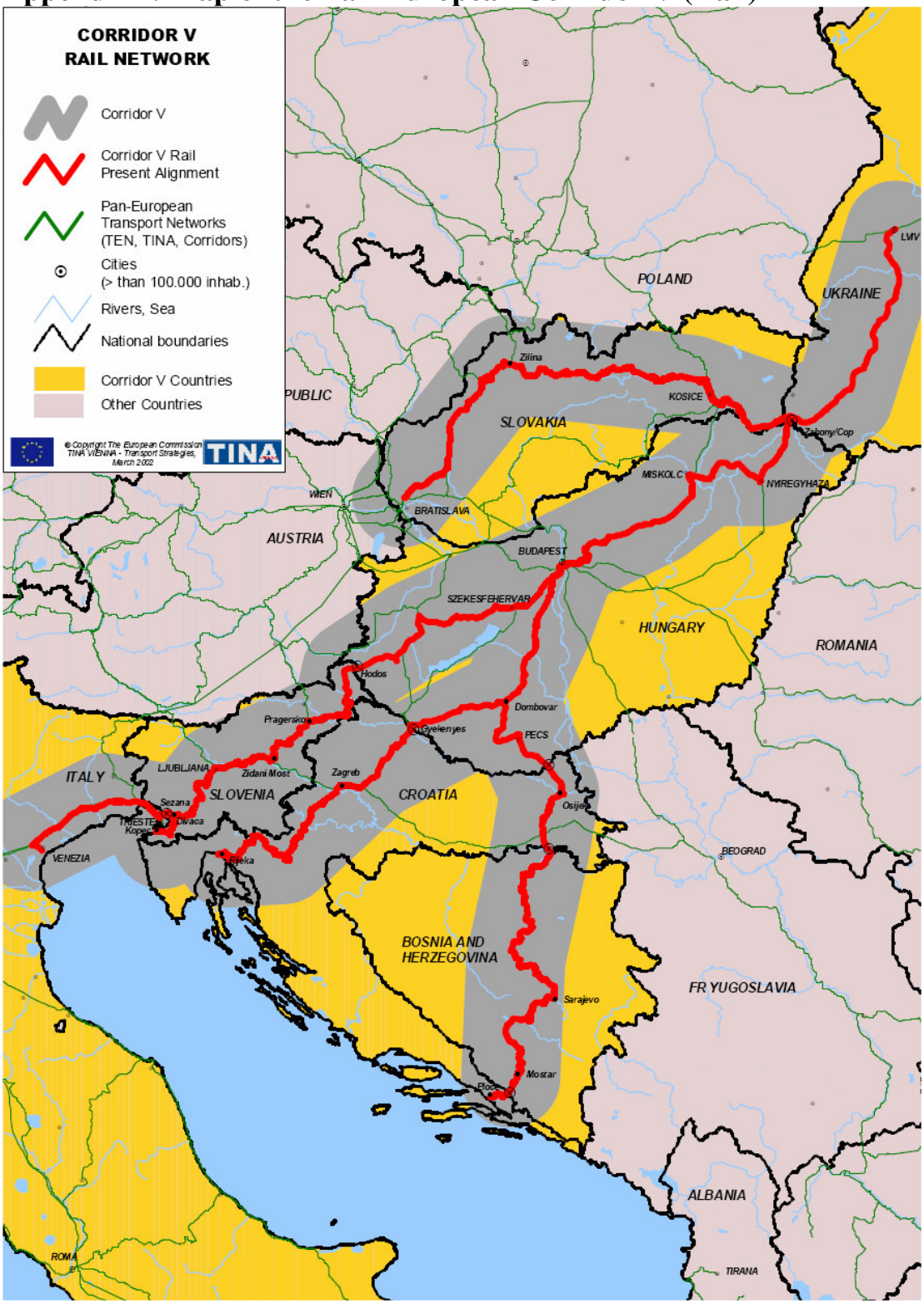


Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix H: Maps of the Pan-European Corridor IV (Rail and Road)

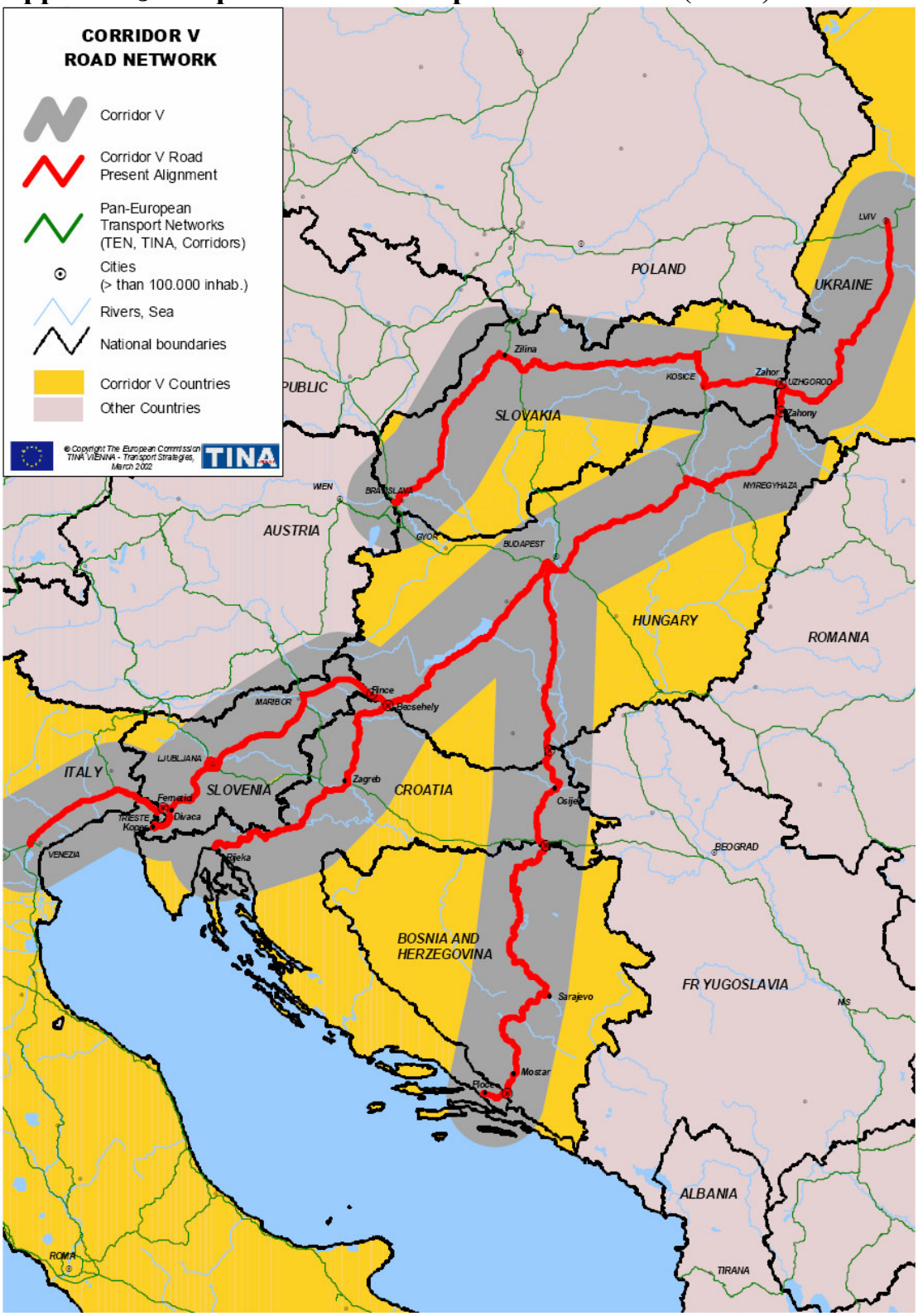
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix I: Map of the Pan-European Corridor V (Rail)



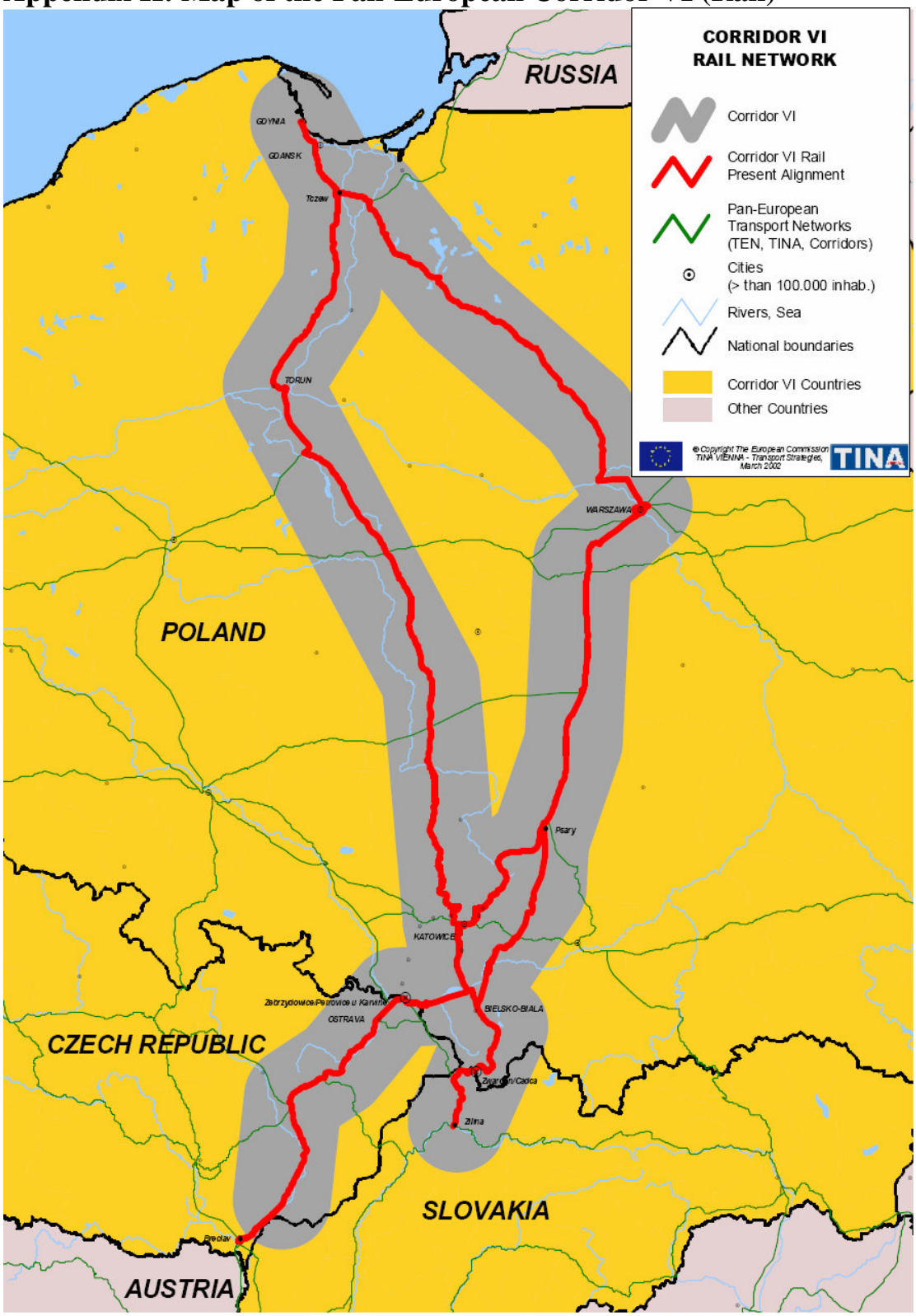
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix J: Map of the Pan-European Corridor V (Road)



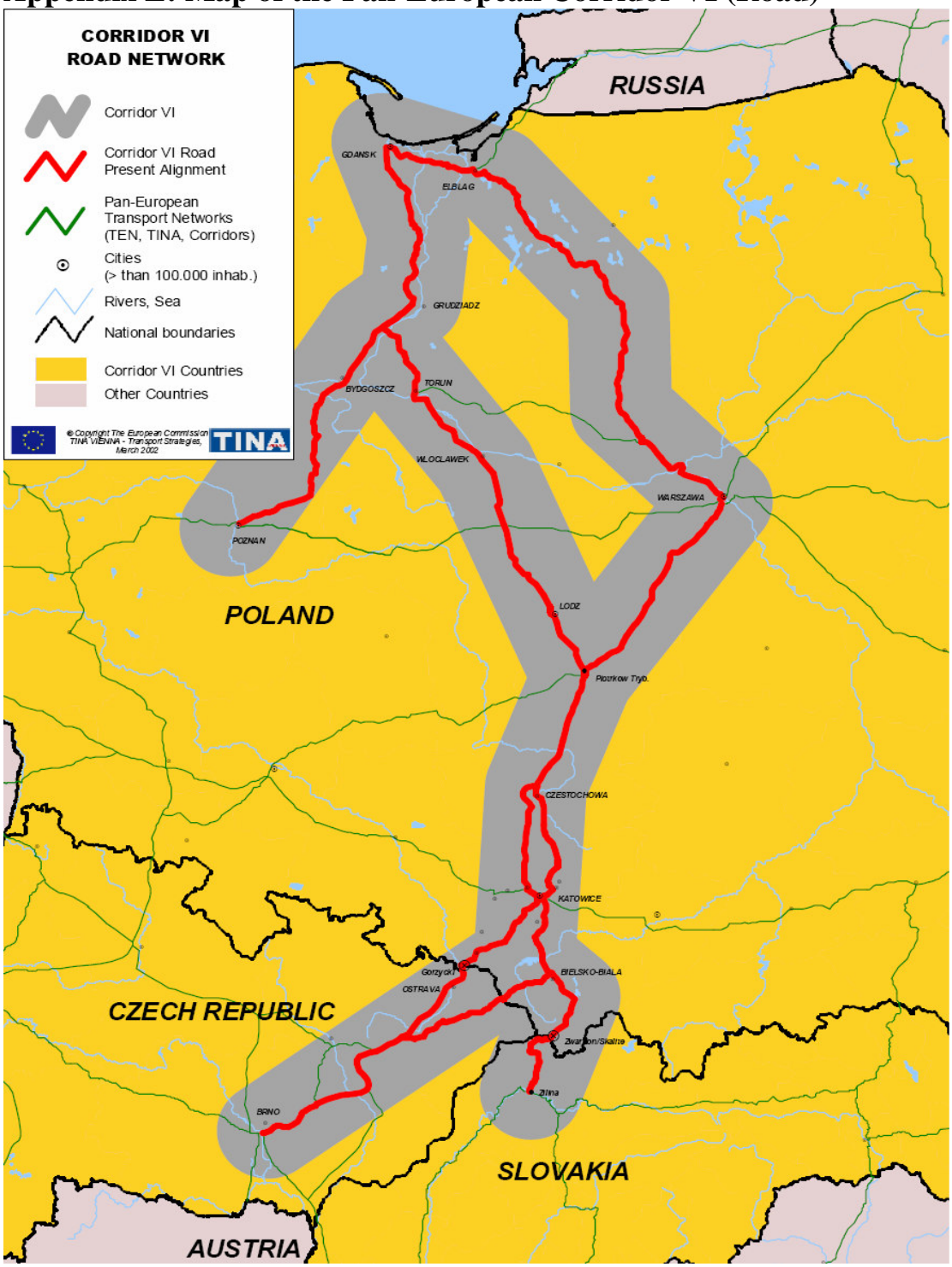
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix K: Map of the Pan-European Corridor VI (Rail)



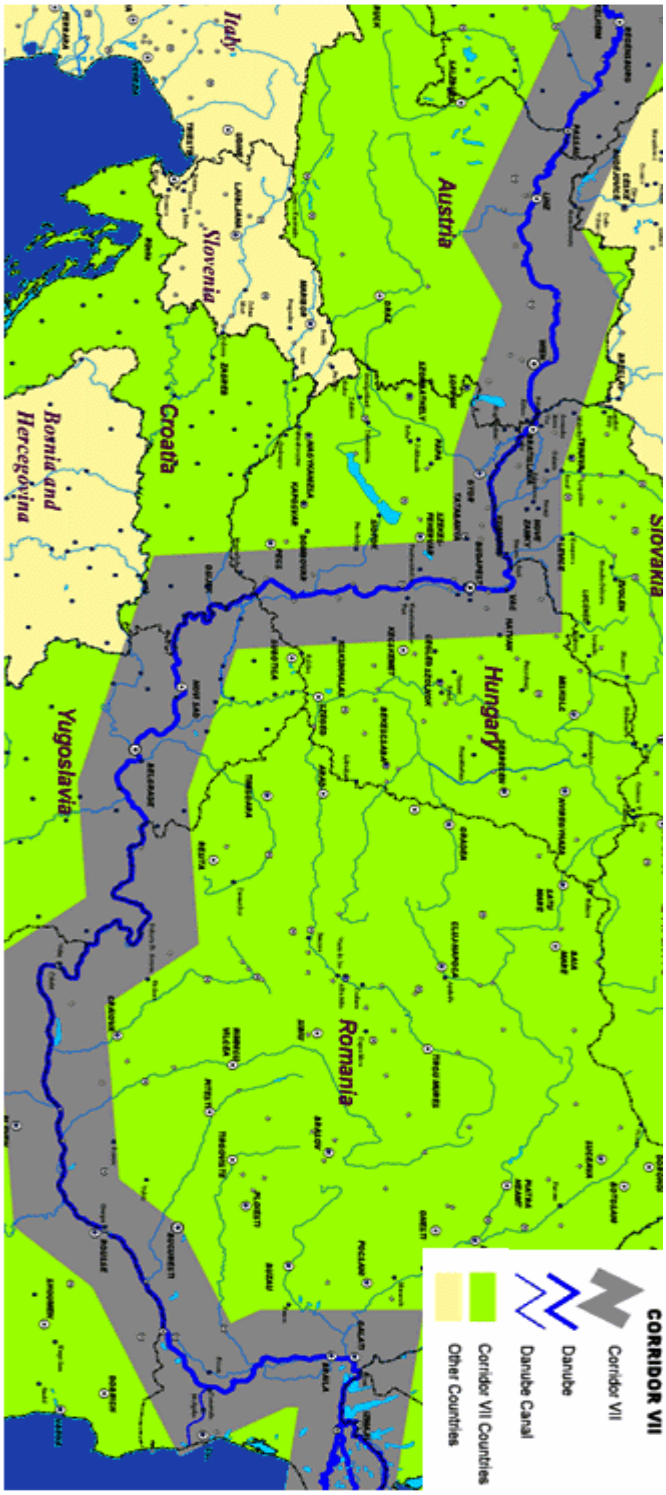
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix L: Map of the Pan-European Corridor VI (Road)



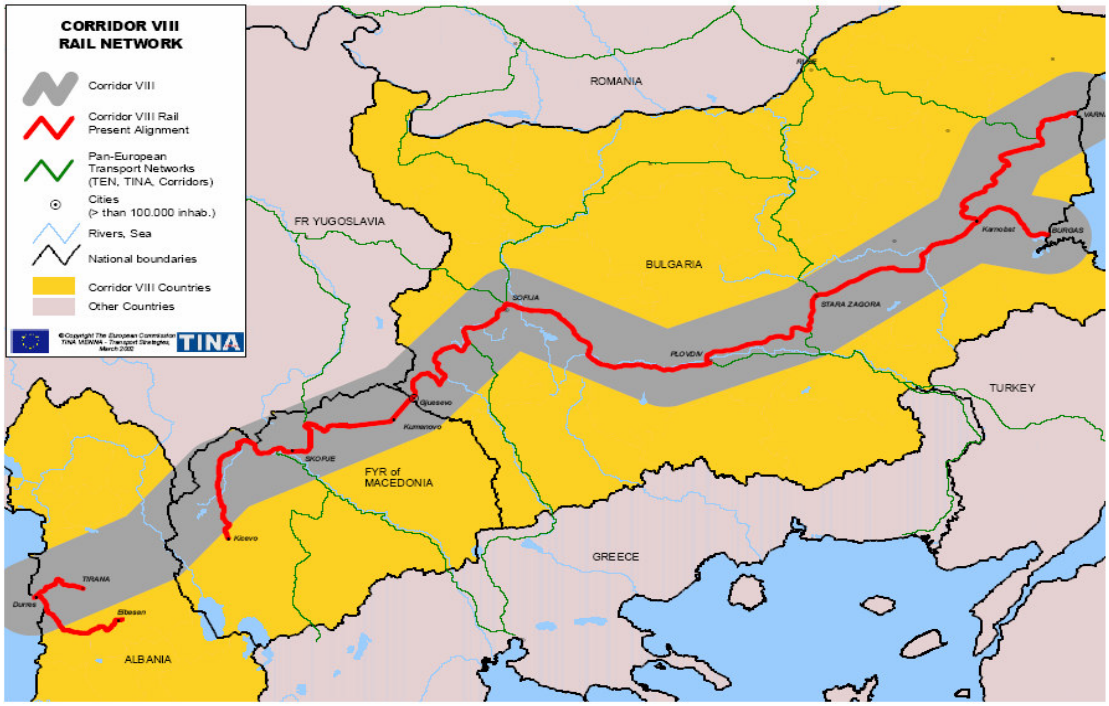
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

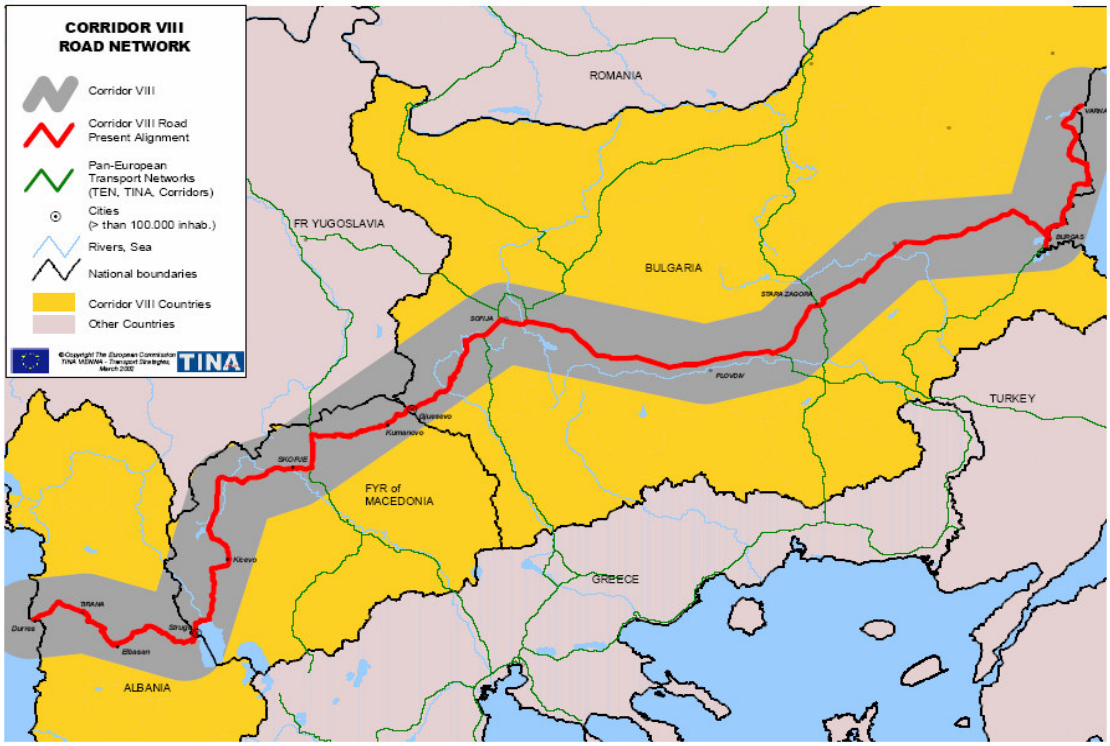
Appendix M: Map of the Pan-European Corridor VII (The River Danube)



Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix N: Maps of the Pan-European Corridor VIII (Rail and Road)





Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

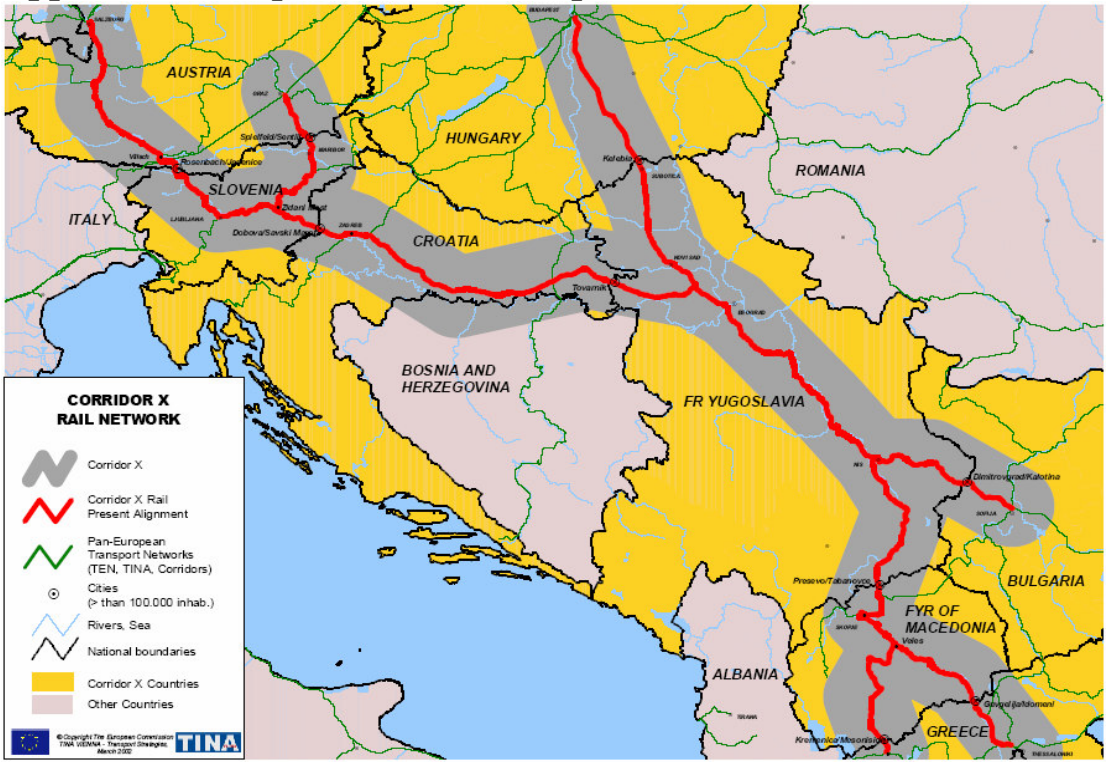
Appendix O: Map of the Pan-European Corridor IX (Rail)

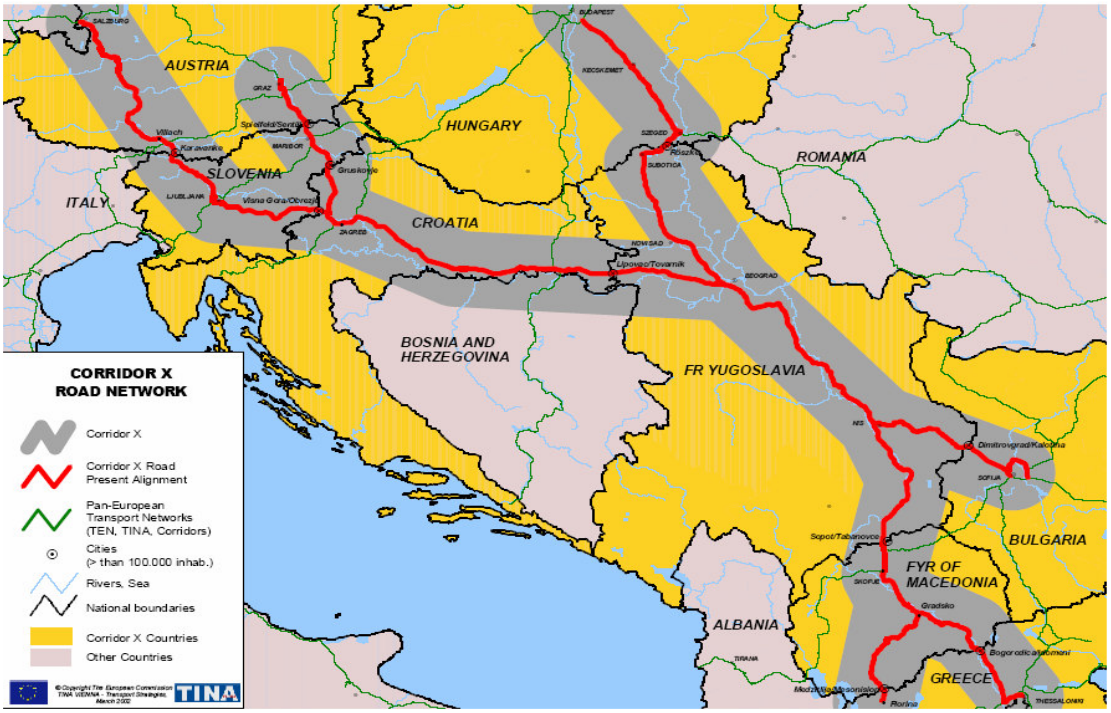
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix P: Map of the Pan-European Corridor IX (Road)

Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

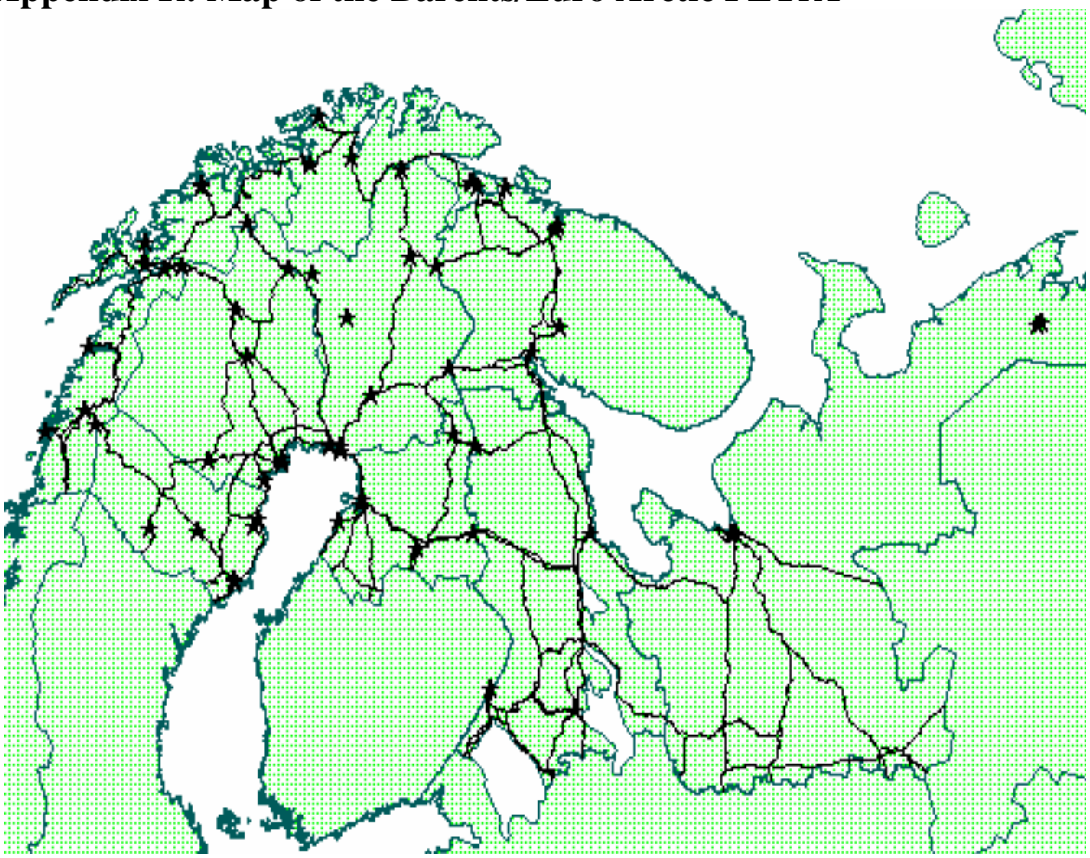
Appendix Q: Maps of the Pan-European Corridor X (Rail and Road)





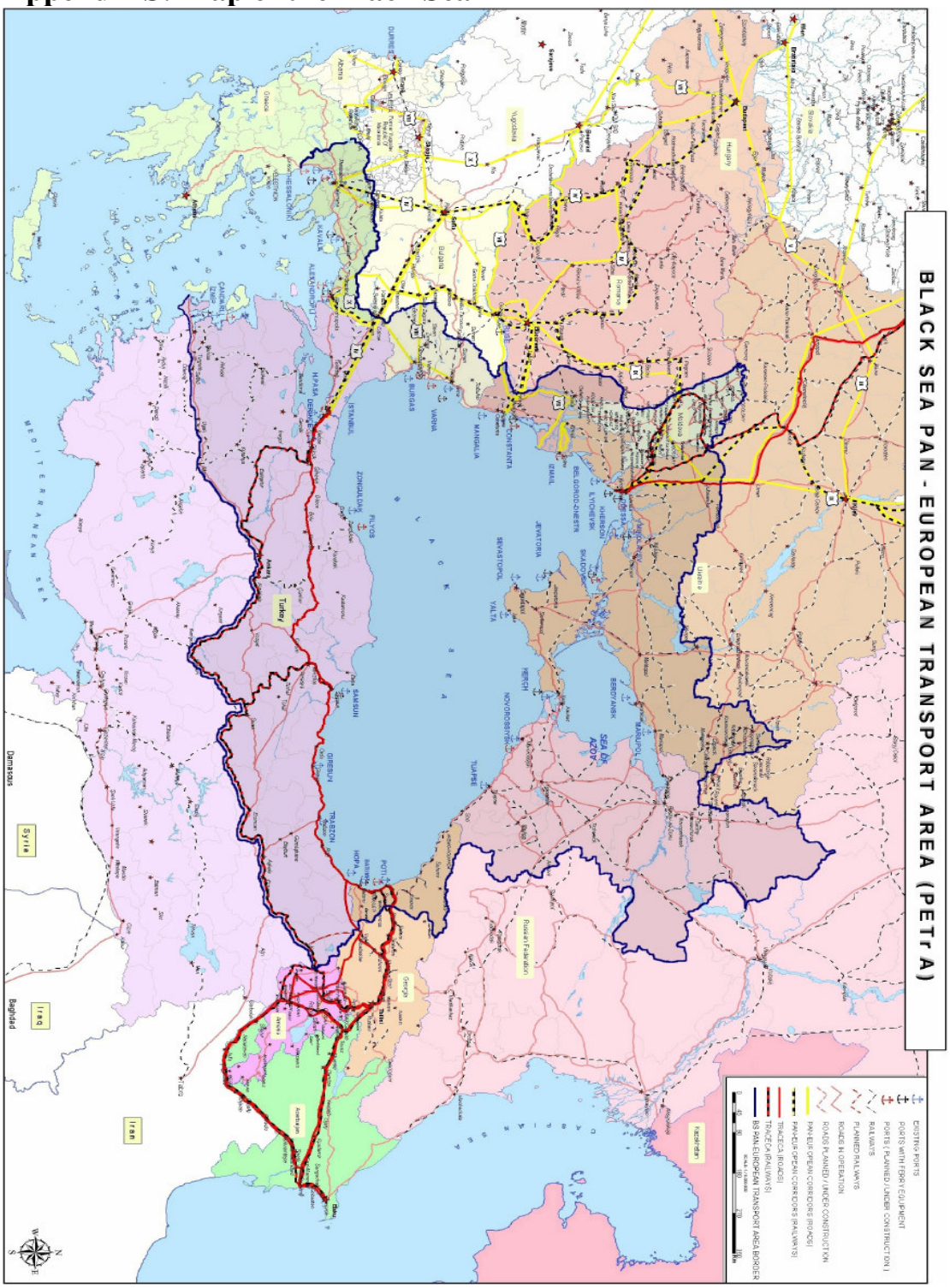
Source: http://www1.oecd.org/cem/online/infrastr03/corridormaps.htm

Appendix R: Map of the Barents/Euro Arctic PETrA



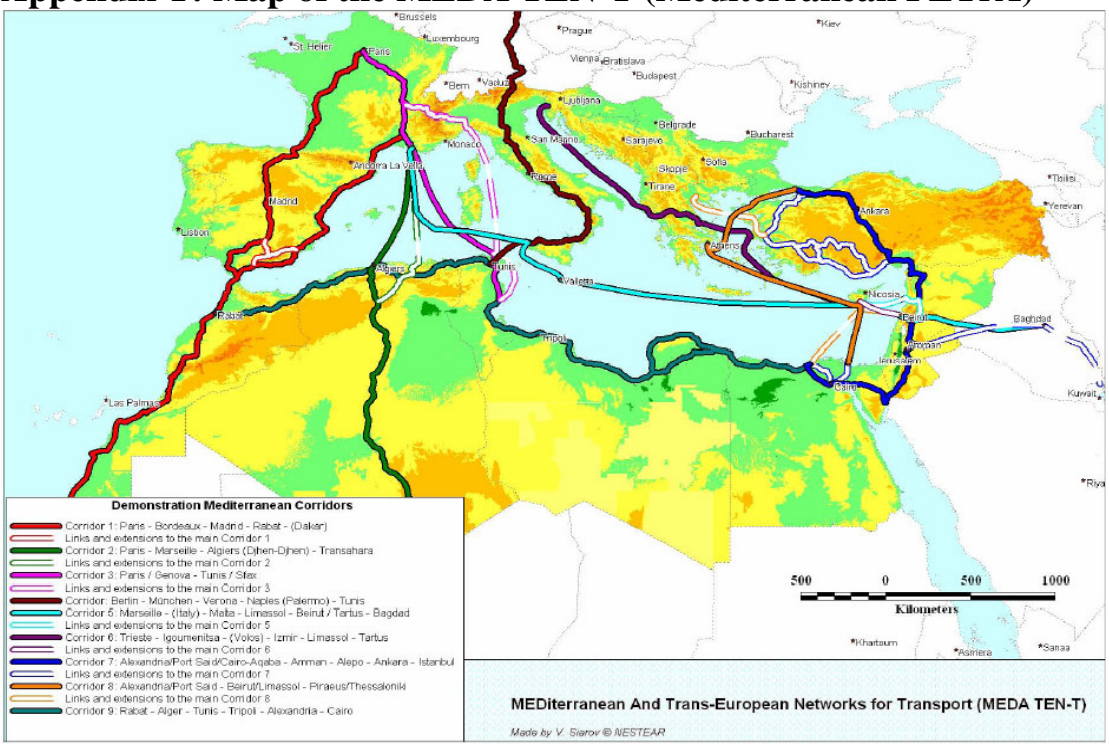
Source: http://www.barentsinfo.fi/beata/beatagis/mappage.asp

Appendix S: Map of the Black Sea PETrA



Source: http://www.ukar.org/danube/dd01-petra.html

Appendix T: Map of the MEDA TEN-T (Mediterranean PETrA)

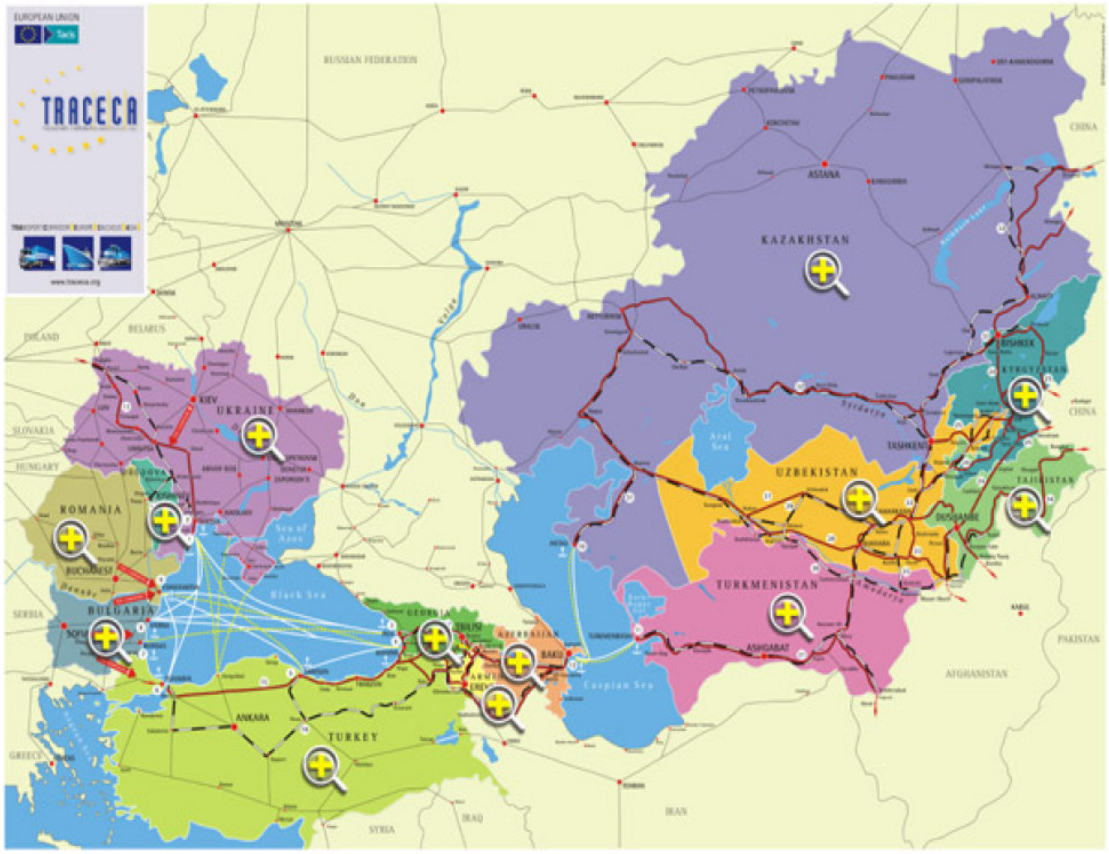


Source: Mediterranean GIS, http://medatent.nestear.net

Appendix U: Map of the Adriatic/Ionian PETrA

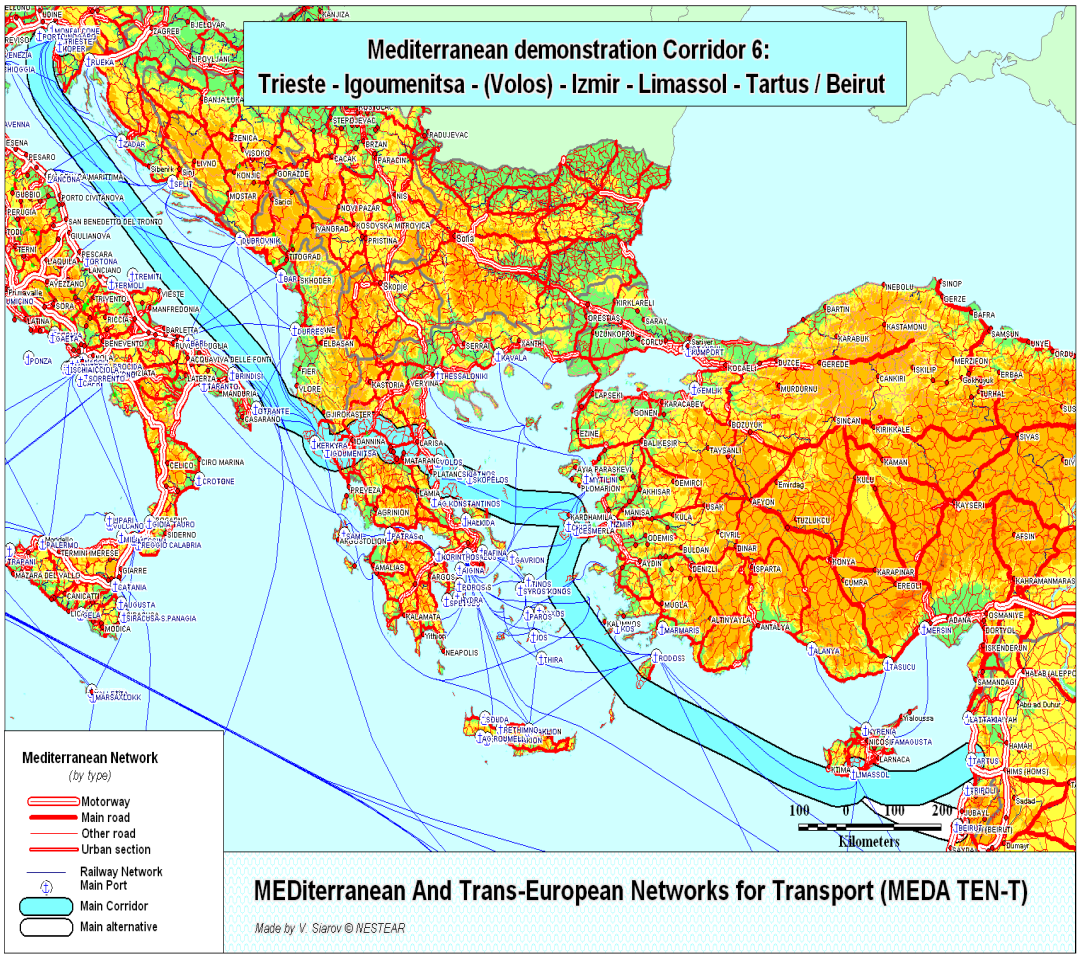
Source: http://www.seerecon.org/infrastructure/documents/ec_transport_energy_infrastructure_see.pdf , p.14

Appendix V: Map of the TRACECA



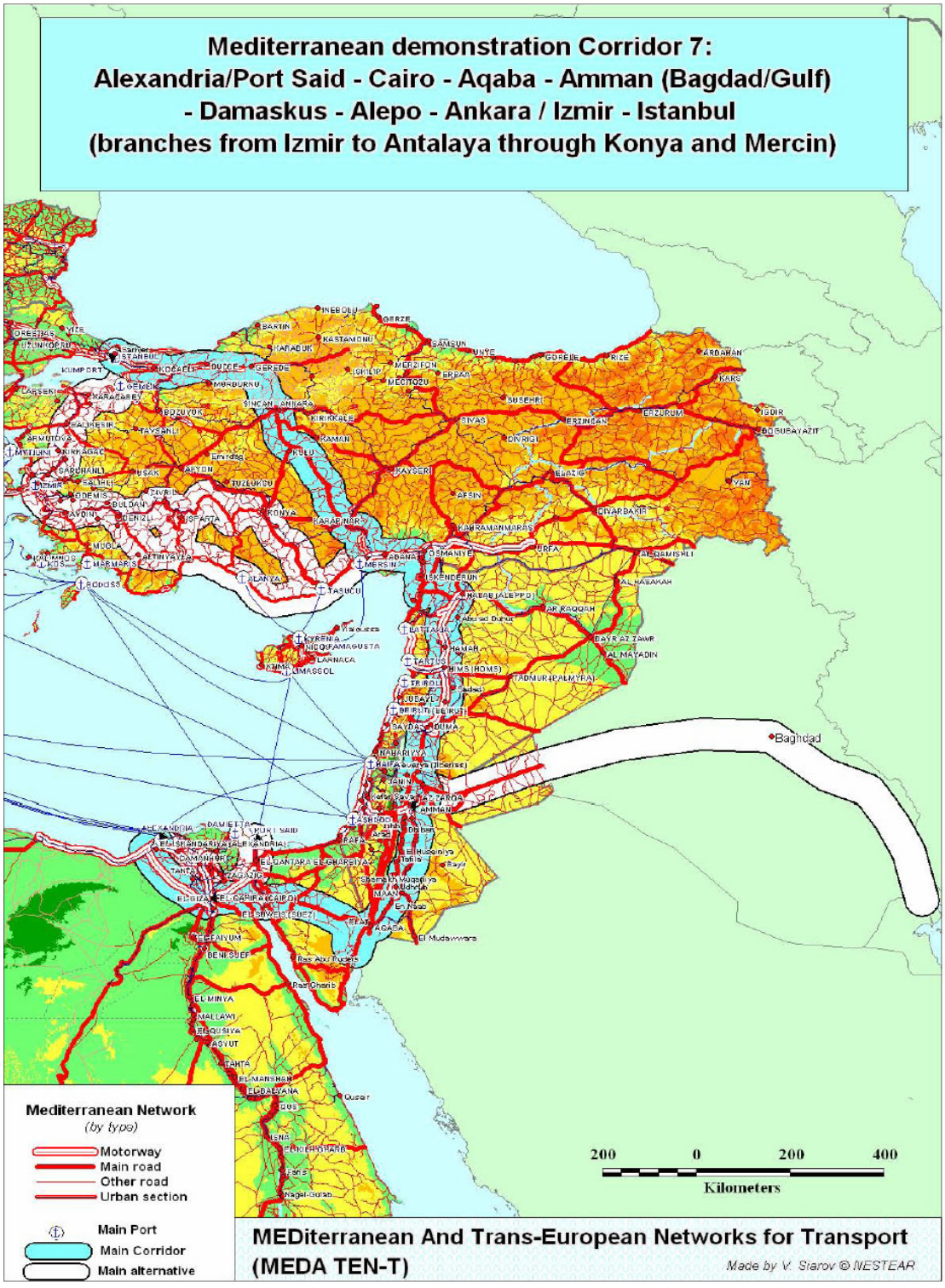
Source: http://www.traceca-org.org/rep/traceca_map/TRACECA_MAP_A3.pdf

Appendix W: Map of the MEDA TEN-T Corridor 6



Source: Mediterranean GIS, http://medatent.nestear.net

Appendix X: Map of the MEDA TEN-T Corridor 7



Source: Mediterranean GIS, http://medatent.nestear.net

Appendix Y: Map of the MEDA TEN-T Corridor 8

Source: Mediterranean GIS, http://medatent.nestear.net

Appendix Z: Map of the Tube Channel Crossing (Marmaray) Project

Source: Mediterranean GIS, http://medatent.nestear.net