

THIS PAPER IS PREAPARED FOR

EUROPEAN NEIGHBORHOOD POLICY AND DEMOCRACY PROMOTION

Introduction

The European Union has included ten new countries in May 2005, and then aimed to establish “Wider Europe”, a stable and secure geography by the ENP. Before the enlargement, the candidate countries are required to adopt the Copenhagen criteria and this process helped those countries to democratize their institutions. After the enlargement, the European Union has planned for to have good relations in economic, political and social terms with the new neighbor countries such as Ukraine, Russia, Georgia, Tunisia, Morocco, Israel and The Palestinian Authority. The EU provides aid to expand Europeanization; European ideas, values and policies to those countries without membership perspective. In the short term, the ENP facilitates economic integration to the EU market; and achieving the four fundamental freedoms of movement, persons, goods, services and capital in the long term. It is easier to realize democratization during the EU membership process, yet, the neighborhood countries are also expected to realize democratization in partnership with the EU.

Thus, we would like to emphasize that while the EU takes the ENP mainly from the security perspective, it also promotes democracy in the neighborhood countries by the help of taken actions. With the development of the ENP, the EU acquired new instruments to promote democracy in the neighborhood countries. Thus, in the context of the EU enlargement and the progress of the ENP, democracy promotion is an important issue. The objective of the present paper is to shed some light on the ENP and democracy promotion strategy. The paper starts by setting a conceptual framework and explaining why democracy promotion is an important issue. In the second part, we will explain the main EU democracy promotion strategy based on

enlargement. In the last part, we will look at the ENP and its effects on democracy promotion and compare it with the enlargement policy.

The Importance of Democracy Promotion

Democracy has universal appeal among people of every ethnic group, every religion, and every region of the world. Principles commonly associated with democracy include protection of the minority rights, freedom of speech, respect for the rule of law, freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, private property rights, and accountable government.¹

While democracy is widely regarded as an ideal system of government, democracy promotion as a foreign policy goal has become increasingly acceptable throughout most of the international community.² As Dahl stresses, because of the need of security and stability, the countries aim to prevent rule by cruel and vicious autocrats in the other countries. Democracy guarantees citizens a set of fundamental rights, ensures a broader range of personal freedoms, helps people protect their own fundamental interests, provides the maximum opportunity for self-determination, provides the maximum opportunity for the exercise of moral responsibility, encourages human development, fosters a relatively high degree of political equality, and promotes peace. According to Dahl, democracies do not fight one another, and they generate prosperity in their geography.³

However, the literature on democracy promotion has grown considerably in recent years. The international environment changed in the 1990s and there have been new opportunities for democracy promotion.⁴ When we analyze from the historical perspective, we see that at the end of the Cold War, a major wave of democratization brought new democracies worldwide. The spread of democracies triggered an intensification of democracy promotion. The political debate

¹ Clifton Sherrill, "Promoting Democracy: Results of Democratization Efforts in the Philippines", **Asian Affairs**, p. 212

² Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as A World Value", **The Washington Quarterly**, Winter 2004-05, p. 148

³ Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as A World Value", **The Washington Quarterly**, Winter 2004-05, p. 149

⁴ Antoaneta Dimitrova, and Geoffrey Pridham, "International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Central and Eastern Europe: The Integration Model and its Limits", **Democratization**, Vol.11, No.5, December 2004, p. 91

on democracy promotion increased in the 1990s, and different actors such as the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United States (US) and the European Union (EU) intervened in domestic politics.⁵ Especially the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a strengthened Western policy on democracy promotion.⁶

The philosophers and academicians have different views for democracy. Fareed Zakaria explains in his essay “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy”, liberalism and democracy are together meaningful. According to him, if all aspects of liberalism is completely removed from the concept of democracy, people are left with mob rule.⁷ Francis Fukuyama stresses that there is a correlation between the level of development as measured by per capita GDP and democracy. According to him, if a country wants to promote democracy, it is very helpful to promote economic development.⁸ Fukuyama points out that all of the industrialized countries are functioning democracies, and relatively few poor countries are democratic and the ability to sustain a stable democracy correlates with the level of income in the society.⁹

In addition to liberalism and income level impacts, societies are obviously influenced by what goes on around them. And democratization of a state is partly dependent on political changes in its neighbors.¹⁰ The fall of the Berlin Wall had impacts on Asia, Latin America, and there was a wave of democratic transitions in sub-Saharan Africa.¹¹ In addition, the world witnessed the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and new political movements started in other parts of the world.¹²

⁵ Daniel Silander, “Democracy From The Outside-in?”, **Social Alternatives**, Vol. 24 No.3, Third Quarter, 2005, p. 28

⁶ Daniel Silander, Democracy From The Outside-in?, Social Alternatives Vol. 24 No.3, Third Quarter, 2005, p. 28

⁷ Clifton Sherrill, “Promoting Democracy: Results of Democratization Efforts in the Philippines”, **Asian Affairs**, p. 212

⁸ Do We Really Know How to Promote Democracy?, *Remarks by Francis Fukuyama*, **Romanian Journal of Political Science**, p. 164

⁹ Do We Really Know How to Promote Democracy?, *Remarks by Francis Fukuyama*, **Romanian Journal of Political Science**, p. 163

¹⁰ Stephen Knack, “Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?”, **International Studies Quarterly** (2004) 48, p. 257

¹¹ Do We Really Know How to Promote Democracy?, *Remarks by Francis Fukuyama*, **Romanian Journal of Political Science**, p. 166

¹² Do We Really Know How to Promote Democracy?, *Remarks by Francis Fukuyama*, **Romanian Journal of Political Science**, p. 166

The growing field of democracy promotion includes many foundations in different countries, even governments and multi-lateral organizations. In addition, political parties, independent media, trade unions, business associations, human rights groups and a wide variety of civil society non-governmental organizations (NGOs) include in democracy promotion instruments.¹³ Democracy promotion develops with the increasing number of actors, the growing number of international structures, treaties and laws crafted to protect rights, liberties and international intervention in state politics. This intervention is in the shape of traditional persuasive methods in diplomacy and economic cooperation.¹⁴

Robert Kagan stresses that Europeans and Americans have profoundly different perceptions of international relations. The Europeans would like to structure the new world order based on laws, rules and negotiations, using its soft power, but the Americans find the new world order anarchic and justifies the requirement for the use of pre-emptive force.¹⁵ Although the governments and people around the world accept the norm of democracy promotion, we see that the democratic states disagree about how to do it. According to some, that military force is justified to advance democratization. But some does not accept this. Democratic states have also disagreed about using economic sanctions as a method for promoting democratic regime change.¹⁶

The Methods of Democracy Promotion

The methods of democracy promotion may be channelled top-down or bottom-up. The top-down channel for democracy promotion refers to democracy promotion directed towards the political sphere, state institutions and the political elite. The elites have a central role in enhancing democratization. They are convinced and trained in democratic behaviour, and are expected to establish democratic institutions. The elites negotiate and bargain in the international

¹³ Carl Gershman, "Democracy Promotion: The Relationship of Political Parties and Civil Society", **Democratization**, Vol.11, No.3, June 2004, p. 28

¹⁴ Daniel Silander, "Democracy From The Outside-in?", **Social Alternatives**, Vol. 24 No.3, Third Quarter, 2005, p. 29

¹⁵ Daniel Silander, "Democracy From The Outside-in?", **Social Alternatives**, Vol. 24 No.3, Third Quarter, 2005, p. 29

¹⁶ Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as A World Value", **The Washington Quarterly**, Winter 2004-05, p. 157

arena with pro-democratic actors. However democracy promotion strategies faced the problem that the transition to democratic regime was a destabilizing period, during which elites were encouraged to balance internal strains.¹⁷

On the other hand, the bottom-up channel involves democracy promotion being directed towards the civil society. Democratization from below consists of targeting cultural and socioeconomic organisations, associations and movements to become pro-democratic in nature. For example, a dynamic pro-democratic civil society can promote democracy by educating citizens into political consciousness. This requires awareness of democracy within civil society and a willingness to work against dictatorial regimes to support this democracy.¹⁸ If civil society is weak and not democratically oriented, democracy promotion through bottom-up is unlikely to succeed.¹⁹

Democracy is promoted both domestically and internationally; both vertically and horizontally. The horizontal development refers to the consolidation of the norm at home, while the vertical development of the norm refers to the reinforcement of democracy to others. The spread of democracy at home may spill over to other states.²⁰ Some international organisations have been involved in promoting democracy. For example, the European Union (EU), NATO and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) promote democracy in Europe, but also globally. The promotion of democracy by these actors has reinforced and legitimised domestic institutions and values abroad.

EU Democracy Promotion Strategy Based on Enlargement

¹⁷ Stephan Stetter, "Democratization without Democracy, The Assistance of the European Union for Democratization Processes in Palestine, Euro Mediterranean Relations After September 11", p. 153

¹⁸ Stephan Stetter, "Democratization without Democracy, The Assistance of the European Union for Democratization Processes in Palestine, Euro Mediterranean Relations After September 11", p. 153

¹⁹ Daniel Silander, "Democracy From The Outside-in?", **Social Alternatives**, Vol. 24 No.3, Third Quarter, 2005, p. 31

²⁰ Daniel Silander, "Democracy From The Outside-in?", **Social Alternatives**, Vol. 24 No.3, Third Quarter, 2005, p. 29

There is an increasing trend in exploring the role of international organizations (IOs) as promoters of democracy and stability. The EU applies a fundamentally different approach to democracy promotion from other IOs.²¹

Groups such as the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), and the Carter Center aim to promote democracy. They regularly send monitors to oversee elections in the countries. Many of these same organizations also began to provide technical assistance to new democracies, to share experiences, and give advice in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Those external actors provide direct material support and technical assistance to electoral commissions, parliaments, courts, human rights monitors, political parties, trade unions, and business associations. By supporting NGOs committed to democratic norms, these foreign institutions help to change the balance of power within domestic politics in favor of democrats. EU's TACIS (Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]) program for Russia and the other CIS states, the EU's PHARE (Poland and Hungary Action for Restructuring of the Economy) program for eastern Europe, the party institutes in Germany, the Westminster Foundation in the United Kingdom, the Institute for Democracy in eastern Europe provide democracy promotion. And there is a fact that total European resources devoted to democracy promotion exceed U.S. budgets.²²

All major European regional organizations have used political conditionality to promote human rights, the rule of law, and democracy in Central and Eastern Europe after the downfall of communism. In applying political conditionality, they set the adoption of liberal-democratic norms. They present rewards such as international recognition, financial assistance, trade liberalization, or military protection.²³

²¹ Dimitrova Antoaneta, and Geoffrey Pridham, "International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Central and Eastern Europe: The Integration Model and its Limits", **Democratization**, Vol.11, No.5, December 2004, p. 92

²² Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as A World Value", **The Washington Quarterly**, Winter 2004-05, p. 156

²³ Frank Schimmelfennig, "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe", Paper prepared for Club de Madrid - IV General Assembly, Prague, 10-12 November 2005, p. 4

The European Community aimed to protect human rights and to promote democratic principles in its policies firstly with the Single European Act. According to the Treaty on European Union that entered into force in November 1993, "it is one of the main objectives of the common foreign and security policy to develop and consolidate democracy and the rule of law, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms".²⁴ In May 1995, the Commission adopted a communication "on the inclusion of respect for democratic principles and human rights in agreements between the Community and third countries."²⁵

Having developed as an economic community, the EU did not dedicate itself to the systematic promotion of democracy until the mid 1990s. Certain principles, such as the inviolability of the *acquis communautaire*, were established as early as the first enlargement with the UK, Denmark and Ireland. The accessions of Greece, Spain and Portugal are usually cited as the EU's first contribution to democracy promotion. Because certain democratic conditions were brought for membership. Enlargement with Finland, Austria and Sweden in the 1990s had not emphasized democracy. Because those states were considered to be fully functioning democracies.²⁶ The promise of EU membership helped to realize the process of democratic consolidation and to speed the process of political reform in the central and eastern European countries. By the way, it can be said that integration became an effective tool of democracy promotion.²⁷ But it has been in the long process of the preparation for entry of the central and eastern European countries.²⁸ The EU became a good chance of promoting democracy effectively in those countries by the help of the membership perspective.²⁹

²⁴ The External Dimension of the EU's Human Rights Policy: From Rome to Maastricht and Beyond. Commission Communication COM (95) 567 of 22 November 1995, p.2

²⁵ Iryna Solonenko, "The European Union as Democracy Promoter: The Case of Ukraine", **Romanian Journal of Political Science**, p. 59

²⁶ Antoaneta Dimitrova, and Geoffrey Pridham, "International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Central and Eastern Europe: The Integration Model and its Limits", **Democratization**, Vol.11, No.5, December 2004, p. 95

²⁷ Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as A World Value", **The Washington Quarterly**, Winter 2004-05, p. 157

²⁸ Antoaneta Dimitrova, and Geoffrey Pridham, "International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Central and Eastern Europe: The Integration Model and its Limits", **Democratization**, Vol.11, No.5, December 2004, p. 95

²⁹ Frank Schimmelfennig, "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe", Paper prepared for Club de Madrid - IV General Assembly, Prague, 10-12 November 2005, p. 12

The geography, common history, shared strategic assets, common concerns and challenges have role in democracy promotion policies. Central and eastern Europe is a region as being “a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.”³⁰

Through treaties such as the Lome IV agreement of 1989, the European Initiative for Development and Human in Rights in 1999, and the European Neighborhood Policy in 2003, the EU has made the promotion of democratic values a core policy objective of its external relations.³¹

European Neighborhood Policy and Democracy Promotion

With the eastward enlargement process completed, more attention and energy will be dedicated to make aid and support to the neighbor countries.³² EU aimed to democratize the neighbouring countries through either conditionality or socialisation, or a mixture of the two. Conditionality implies that the EU makes assistance, ranging from economic, political and institutional incentives to full membership on the condition that political and economic objectives are met. Socialisation implies that the EU does not pursue a forceful policy, but engages its neighbours in multiple personal and institutional contacts and joint activities, offering a model for successful transformation.³³

The European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) defines further steps in support of the democratization processes in such countries as Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Palestine, Syria and Tunisia.³⁴ This

³⁰ George Cristian Maior, and Mihaela Matei, “The Black Sea Region in an Enlarged Europe: Changing Patterns, Changing Politics”, **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Winter 2005, p. 34

³¹ Michael McFaul, “Democracy Promotion as A World Value”, **The Washington Quarterly**, Winter 2004-05, p. 157

³² Roland Dannreuther, “Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy”, **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 11, p. 193

³³ Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, “EU Enlargement and Democracy Progress”, *Democratisation in the European Neighborhood*, Centre for European Studies, Brussels, October 2005, p. 16

³⁴ George Cristian Maior, and Mihaela Matei, “The Black Sea Region in an Enlarged Europe: Changing Patterns, Changing Politics”, **Mediterranean Quarterly**, Winter 2005, p. 46

policy envisions closer relations with those neighbors willing to share the European Union's values and respect its vital interests.³⁵

Chris Patten, the former external relations commissioner, made this brutally clear when he stated that "Over the past decade, the Union's most successful foreign policy instrument has undeniably been the promise of EU membership. This is not sustainable. For the coming decade, we need to find new ways to export the stability, security and prosperity we have created within the enlarged Union".³⁶

The European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) is a part of the EU's most recent foreign policy efforts aimed at strengthening its security with respect to the new neighbouring countries resulting from enlargement.³⁷ ENP ensures that there should not emerge new dividing lines between the enlarged Union and its neighbours. Financial resources are provided to the neighbours, and there is an active support from the EU as provided by the Action Plans and annual reviews.³⁸

The EU provides economic assistance to the neighbor countries in addition to opening up its domestic markets and offering political assistance through the Barcelona Process targeted the Mediterranean basin, as well as the more recently adopted new neighbourhood policy, which aims to deepen ties with countries on Europe's periphery.³⁹

The EU's Neighbourhood Policy constitutes an important policy shift within EU policy towards the south, particularly if it is compared to the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership. The concept of 'wider Europe' and the ENP are a clear result of the EU's internal dynamics. European Mediterranean Policy was launched at the Barcelona conference of November 1995 and focused on economic and political issues such as human rights and democracy. In this respect, European

³⁵ Is the EU's Policy Helping or Hurting Belarus?, Tales From the Wild East, Presence, p. 1

³⁶ Roland Dannreuther, "Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 11, p. 187

³⁷ Roberto Aliboni, "The Geopolitical Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Vol: 10, 2005, p. 1

³⁸ Roland Dannreuther, "Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Vol: 11, p. 195

³⁹ Stephan Stetter, "Democratization without Democracy, The Assistance of the European Union for Democratization Processes in Palestine, Euro Mediterranean Relations After September 11", p. 156

Parliament started to adopt the MEDA Democracy programme which provided for EU assistance to NGOs in the Mediterranean countries.⁴⁰ The EU increasingly sees itself as a normative or soft power which drives its global actor strength from the promotion of norms. In general, 90 per cent of democracy promotion funds gone to non-governmental organizations.⁴¹ The development of the ENP and the adoption of Action Plans led the way for new prospects in democracy promotion in the states surrounding the EU. From the beginning of the ENP, the EU strongly emphasized that "democracy, pluralism, respect for human rights, civil liberties, the rule of law and core labour standards are all essential prerequisites for political stability, as well as for peaceful and sustained social and economic development." The Strategy Paper of the ENP adopted in May 2004, and endorsed by the Council of the EU in June 2004, states that the EU's goal is to create "a ring of countries, sharing the EU's fundamental values and objectives..."⁴²

ENP countries will be provided through a dedicated European Neighborhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) starting from 2007.⁴³ By ENP, TACIS and MEDA funds are aimed to be replaced with ENPI.⁴⁴ In December 2004, it was announced that the Commission would seek a budget of EUR 14.9 billion for the ENPI for the period 2007-2013. However, TACIS and MEDA funds were EUR8.5 billion between 2000- 2006.⁴⁵

The cost-benefit ratio between EU membership and ENP is not the same.⁴⁶ ENP does not provide adequate incentives for the political elites and the societies concerned to tackle economic and political reforms. But the new policy would give the neighbouring countries decidedly closer relations with the EU compared with non-neighbouring countries, including the chance to

⁴⁰ Roberto Aliboni, "The Geopolitical Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, Vol: 10, 2005, p. 4

⁴¹ Judith Kelley, *New Wine in Old Wineskins: Policy Learning and Adaptation in the New European Neighborhood Policy*, Working Papers Series, January 2005, p. 10

⁴² Brussels, 29.9.2004, COM(2004) 628 final, 2004/0219 (COD)

⁴³ European Neighborhood Policy, http://ec.europa.eu/world/enp/faq_en.htm#4.1

⁴⁴ Roland Dannreuther, "Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 11, p. 193

⁴⁵ Roland Dannreuther, "Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy," **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 11, p. 193

⁴⁶ Raffaella A. Del Sarto, and Tobias Schumacher, "From EMP to ENP: What's at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean?", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 10, 2005, p. 37

integrate further economically in the EU market and then achieving the four fundamental freedoms of movement - persons, goods, services and capital in the long term.⁴⁷

ENP offers its eastern and southern neighbours many of the benefits previously associated only with membership, such as being in the internal market, involvement in EU programmes, and cooperation in transport and energy networks. As the neighbor countries fulfill their commitments to strengthen the rule of law, democracy and respect for human rights; promote market-oriented economic reforms; and cooperate on key foreign policy objectives such as counter-terrorism and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, EU will offer a deeper relationship.⁴⁸

Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova and Armenia have stressed the long-run objective of EU membership, to gain credibility and legitimacy as democratic regimes.⁴⁹ While the Arab countries and Israel are currently willing to accept that they are not potential candidates of the EU, this is not the case for the western NIS, in particular Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova.⁵⁰

In 2005 new opportunities appeared for the EU to play a more active and successful role in building a democratic Ukraine. European values, the ENP and the EU-Ukraine Action Plan created a framework for the EU to be active and efficient player in promoting democracy in Ukraine.⁵¹

According to Michael Emerson, EU extends to Ukraine programmes aimed at fostering people-to-people contacts and sharing the experience of transformation at all levels in socialization process. Educational programmes such as Jean Monnet Action and Erasmus

⁴⁷ Roberto Aliboni, "The Geopolitical Implications of the European Neighbourhood Policy", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 10, 2005, p. 2

⁴⁸ Benita Ferrero-Waldner, "The European Neighbourhood Policy: The EU's Newest Foreign Policy Instrument," **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 11, p. 140

⁴⁹ Michael Emerson, Senem Aydin, Gergana Noutcheva, Nathalie Tocci, Marius Vahl, Richard Youngs, "The Reluctant Debutante: The EU as Promoter of Democracy in its Neighbourhood", **Democratisation in the European Neighbourhood**, Centre for European Studies, Brussels, October 2005, p. 170

⁵⁰, Roland Dannreuther, "Developing the Alternative to Enlargement: The European Neighbourhood Policy", **European Foreign Affairs Review**, 11, p. 199

⁵¹ Iryna Solonenko, "The European Union as Democracy Promoter: The Case of Ukraine", **Romanian Journal of Political Science**, p. 57

Mundus, and the extension of TaieX and Twinning to Ukraine, will allow Ukraine to strengthen its administrative capacity and implement integration policies, as well as to build sustainable contacts with civil servants from EU member states.⁵² The recent EU focus on democracy promotion in Ukraine via the ENP, combined with Ukraine's own openness and interest in cooperation with the EU have created a favourable atmosphere for democracy in Ukraine. For that reason, according to Frank Schimmelfennig, the EU should act quickly to negotiate integration and establish a conditional membership perspective with countries such as Ukraine and Georgia.⁵³

The democracy deficit remains greatest in the Middle East. Autocrats in Morocco, Jordan, and Bahrain have recently introduced minor political reforms.⁵⁴ According to Stephen Stetter, the establishment of a democratic regime is primarily a domestic issue. In this respect, EU alone clearly would not establish a Palestinian democracy.⁵⁵

If the EU wants to pursue a long-term strategy to help promote democratic change in the broader Middle East, it must step up its efforts to resolve the region's core geopolitical conflicts and support the creation of a more peaceful security environment.⁵⁶ The new "action plans" that the EU is concluding with Middle Eastern countries also have the potential to develop into a model for those countries. These conditions have the advantage of being very detailed and of having been negotiated with civil society groups as well as the regimes.⁵⁷ The EU has a geo-

⁵² Iryna Solonenko, "The European Union as Democracy Promoter: The Case of Ukraine", **Romanian Journal of Political Science**, p. 66

⁵³ Frank Schimmelfennig, "European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe", Paper prepared for Club de Madrid - IV General Assembly, Prague, 10-12 November 2005, p. 14

⁵⁴ Michael McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as A World Value", **The Washington Quarterly**, Winter 2004-05, p. 151

⁵⁵ Stephan Stetter, "Democratization without Democracy, The Assistance of the European Union for Democratization Processes in Palestine, Euro Mediterranean Relations After September 11", p. 154

⁵⁶ Ronald D. Asmus, Larry Diamond, Mark Leonard, and Michael McFaul, "A Transatlantic Strategy to Promote Democratic Development in the Broader Middle East", **The Washington Quarterly**, Spring ,2005, Vol. 28, Issue. 2, p. 13

⁵⁷ Ronald D. Asmus, Larry Diamond, Mark Leonard, and Michael McFaul, "A Transatlantic Strategy to Promote Democratic Development in the Broader Middle East", **The Washington Quarterly**, Spring ,2005, Vol. 28, Issue. 2, p. 9

strategic interest in political stability and in a strong Palestinian leadership. Morocco and Jordan have made modest progress toward liberalization.⁵⁸

Conclusion

As a conclusion, it can be summarized that while EU has membership perspective in the enlargement process, ENP does not have membership opportunities for the neighbor countries. The EU adopts political conditionality for the candidate countries. The Copenhagen criteria make the candidate countries bound to adopt them in order to gain membership. In addition, the EU has a big share for cohesion funds for the candidate and new member countries such as PHARE, SAPARD and ISPA. Those financial instruments also motivates the candidate countries to adopt criteria. On the other hand, neighbor countries are seen as partners of the EU. Although there is no membership perspective, those countries have the chance of close economic, political and social relations with EU and democratize their institutions. And EU has technical assistance such as TACIS and ENPI for the governments and the civil society organizations in those countries in order to promote democracy and human development.

⁵⁸ Ronald D. Asmus, Larry Diamond, Mark Leonard, and Michael McFaul, "A Transatlantic Strategy to Promote Democratic Development in the Broader Middle East", **The Washington Quarterly**, Spring ,2005, Vol. 28, Issue. 2, p. 17